

Strengthening from Within

An Analysis of the Economic and Social Well-being of Toronto's Muslim Community

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Abstract

Theory posits that the key factors to ensuring a unified and well-functioning society are its ability to foster a sense of belonging, inclusion, participation and legitimacy among all members. If this is so, how can the situation be improved for the Muslim population of the GTA, a group that is currently excluded economically and socially from the rest of the Torontonians population? Using existing research and literature as well as raw data provided by the Ethnic Diversity Survey conducted in 2006, this paper explores the experiences of the Muslim population and suggests which theories and policies surrounding integration might be altered in order to enable its members to more fully participate in Canadian society.

Introduction

Prior to 1967, race played a role in admission criteria for newcomers to Canada. This facilitated the arrival of predominantly Western European immigrants during the first half of the twenty-first century, followed by Eastern and Central Europeans during the 1950s and 1960s (Dewing and Lemman 2006). However, in 1967, race-based criteria were eliminated and replaced with a race-free, points-based system that served as a standardizing tool for the selection of economically beneficial immigrants. With the removal of race-barring measures, immigrants from previously excluded areas such as Asia, Africa and more generally, the Global South, flooded to Canada at consistently increasing rates.

Before 1961, merely 221 Canadian immigrants identified themselves as Muslim. This number increasingly rose following the removal of racial entrance barriers and from 1996 until 2001 alone, 84,002 Muslim immigrants entered Canada. In 2001, the Toronto Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) had a population of 4,647,844. Of this number, 256,181

people identified as Muslim, which accounted for approximately half of the Muslim population of 579,600 in Canada at that time. Of the 256,181 Muslims living in Toronto in 2001, 78 percent were foreign-born. This number includes both permanent immigrants (75 percent) and non-permanent residents (three percent) and incorporates all sects of Islam (D'Addario et al. 2008, 4).

Contrary to preconceived notions of newcomers who emigrate from developing countries, Muslim immigrant men and women are statistically better educated than the average Canadian adult in the Toronto CMA (ibid., 2008, 7). According to the 2001 Census, immigrant Muslim men and women had obtained higher levels of education than the total adult population over the age of 15 and were also statistically more educated than the average immigrant man or woman in the Toronto area (ibid.). Despite these statistics as well as the group's high levels of fluency in English, Muslim immigrant men and women in the Toronto CMA were underrepresented in the labour market. The rates of Muslim immigrants of both genders who were not participating in the labour market in 2001 were higher than the rates of non-participation for immigrants overall (ibid., 8). Forty-nine percent of Muslim women, or nearly half of that population, were not employed in 2001, compared with 43 percent of immigrant women and 31 percent of Canadian-born women in the metropolitan area (ibid.). One would assume that higher levels of education would be correlated with higher levels of employment and therefore higher income levels, yet ethnic minorities and immigrants in particular are currently found to be in higher levels of poverty than ever before (Slade 2003, 2).

In addition to Muslim immigrants' lack of participation in the labour force, the socio-economic well-being of Toronto's greater Muslim community is threatened by other recent developments. The Western world's spotlight on Islam due to September 11, the 2005 London bombings, and the 2005 Paris riots has resulted in sometimes unwelcome attention focused on Muslims. This trend, combined with other exogenous factors, has begun to reshape traditional views on multiculturalism. In many cases, the priority of national governments is currently shifting away from the promotion of diversity toward an emphasis on social integration and cohesion (Soroka et al. 2007, 3). The extent to which this global trend applies to Canada is debatable, but certainly "cracks in Canadian equanimity seem to be appearing" (ibid).

Rhys Andrews of the Centre for Local and Regional Government Research in the United Kingdom notes that, "little sustained attention has yet been paid to the potential for civic engagement to moderate *negative* externalities for social capital associated with ethnic heterogeneity such as mistrust and lack of respect" (Andrews 2009, 429). Current theory

posits that the key factor to ensuring a unified and well-functioning society is the ability to foster a sense of belonging, inclusion, participation, and legitimacy among all members. If this is so, how can we improve the current situation for a group that is excluded in certain important ways from the rest of Torontonians society? This paper examines the broad Muslim population residing in the Toronto CMA and seeks to analyze its current relationship with and participation in the greater Toronto community.

Ethnic Diversity Survey Data

To address this question, I began by attempting to garner a better sense of how the demographic differences among Torontonians Muslims affect their participation in the social and cultural life of the city and the broader community.

The Ethnic Diversity Survey was a collaborative project between Statistics Canada and the Department of Canadian Heritage in 2002. The final result was a survey with a cross-sectional design that sampled 57,242 persons in ten provinces. Of that number, 42,476 responded to the survey, resulting in an overall response rate of 75.6 percent. Responding to the survey was voluntary and data were collected directly from survey respondents (Statistics Canada 2002).

Table 1.1 was generated using data from the Ethnic Diversity Survey and STATA software as an analysis tool. The dependent variables in the left-hand column relate to survey questions that attempted to gauge levels of participation in civil society, belonging to one's civic environment, feelings of inclusion or exclusion and trust of one's neighbours. After converting the eight categories of survey responses into binary variables, I calculated the probabilities for eight categories:

- all Toronto CMA residents,
- CMA residents who identify as Muslim,
- CMA males who identify as Muslim,
- CMA females who identify as Muslim,
- CMA residents under age 18 who identify as Muslim,
- CMA residents over age 18 who identify as Muslim,
- first-generation Muslim immigrants who reside in the CMA (including non-permanent residents defined as people from another country in Canada on

employment and student authorizations, Minister's permits and refugee claimants, and any family member living with them) and,

- second- and third-generation Muslim immigrants who live in the CMA (meaning the children of immigrants or those whose grandparents were immigrants but who were born in Canada).

Table 1.1: Ethnic Diversity Survey Analysis

Census Question	Percentage for all CMA Residents	Percentage for those who identify as Muslims	Percentage for Men who identify as Muslims	Percentage for Women who identify as Muslims	Percentage for those who identify as Muslim, Under Age 18	Percentage for those who identify as Muslim, Over Age 18	Percentage for those who identify as Muslim, 1st Generation Immigrants	Percentage for those who identify as Muslim, 2nd or 3rd Generation Immigrants
Regular Participation Within a Religious Organization	0.8259	0.7692	0.8333	0.7143	0.7143	0.7895	0.8462	0.6923
Regular Participation Within an Ethnic/Immigrant Organization	0.4399	0.4706	0.4000	0.5714	0.5000	0.4615	0.5385	0.2500
Strong Sense of Belonging to Municipality/City	0.5619	0.6806	0.6264	0.7391	0.6000	0.6931	0.7137	0.5957
Experienced Some Type of Discrimination	0.03212	0.02479	0.01470	0.03774	0.0000	0.02941	0.02500	0.02439
Experienced Discrimination of Basis of Religion	0.1312	0.4250	0.3433	0.5283	0.5500	0.4000	0.3974	0.4762
Experienced Discrimination of Basis of Ethnicity/Culture	0.3002	0.3167	0.3134	0.3208	0.2500	0.3300	0.2692	0.4048
Currently Feels Uncomfortable Due to Religion	0.1488	0.4184	0.3718	0.4762	0.5000	0.4094	0.3883	0.5000
Feels Trust Toward People in Neighborhood	0.5661	0.5045	0.5000	0.5096	0.3778	0.5245	0.5401	0.4149

Given the increase in the number of Muslim immigrants in recent years, second- and third-generation immigrants were likely to be relatively young at the time of the survey.

The first variable, “Participation Within a Religious Organization,” is derived from a survey question that asked respondents to convey how often they participate in religiously-affiliated groups, choosing from “once a week,” “once a month,” “at least three times a year,” “once or twice a year” and “not at all.” I chose to combine the first two responses, “once a week” and “once a month,” into “regularly participate” while combining the other three responses into “does not regularly participate” when creating my binary variable.¹ I calculated that the probability that a resident of the Toronto CMA will participate “regularly” within a religious-affiliated organization is 82.6 percent. The likelihood that a resident of the CMA who also self-identified as Muslim on the survey will participate within a religious organization is lower than the CMA average at 77 percent. Additionally, the likelihoods for both men and women who self-identify as Muslims and live in the CMA are 83.3 percent and 71.4 percent respectively. The probability that CMA youth (under age 18) who identify as Muslim participate within a religious organization is also 71.4 percent while the probability for CMA residents over age 18 is 78.9 percent. Lastly, first-generation immigrants who identify as Muslim demonstrate an 84.6 percent likelihood of participating regularly while for second- and third-generation immigrants, the likelihood is lower at 69.2 percent.

The subsequent dependent variable is very similar to the first except that it examines participation in an ethnic or immigrant organization as opposed to a religiously-affiliated group. The binary variable was constructed in the same manner as with the previous question, where the first two responses to the question were grouped into “regularly participates” and the latter three into “does not regularly participate.” The results show that the likelihood of a resident of the CMA participating in an ethnic or immigrant organization is 44 percent, while the likelihood for a resident who self-identifies as Muslim is 47.1 percent. The likelihood for man who resides in the CMA and identifies as Muslim is lower at only 40 percent while for self-identified Muslim women from the CMA, it is higher than the overall average at 57.1 percent. The likelihood for Muslim youth in the CMA is 50 percent and 46.2 percent for Muslim adults. For first-generation Muslim immigrants the likelihood is 53.8 percent and for second and third-generation it is 25 percent.

The third variable is derived from a survey question that asked respondents to rank their sense of belonging to their city or municipality on a scale of 1 to 5, 1 being “not strong at all” and 5 being “very strong.” To create a binary variable based on this question, I chose to group rankings 1, 2 and 3 into “does not have a strong sense of belonging” while 4 and

¹ While the decision on how to divide the responses into binary variables was subjective, grouping it another way is unlikely to significantly alter the conclusions drawn from the data analysis.

5 were grouped into “does have a strong sense of belonging.” The results indicate that residents of the Toronto CMA have a 56.2 percent likelihood of possessing a strong sense of belonging to their city/municipality while residents of the CMA who identify as Muslims are more likely to feel a sense of belonging at 68 percent. For self-identified Muslim men, the probability is 62.6 percent and self-identified Muslim women are even more likely to feel a sense of belonging at 73.9 percent. For Muslim youth in the CMA, the likelihood is lower at 60 percent while for adults it is 69.3 percent. For first-generation immigrants, the probability is 71.3 percent and for second and third-generation it is 59.6 percent.

The next four variables indicate that self-identified Muslims are more likely to experience discrimination or feel uncomfortable due to their religion. The survey questions relating to these topics were simply “yes” or “no” responses, so the binary variables I created correlate directly with the respondents’ answers. According to the results, a resident of the CMA has a 32.1 percent likelihood of experiencing discrimination, while for self-identified Muslim residents the likelihood is lower at 24.8 percent. For self-identified Muslim male residents, the likelihood is 14.7 percent and for Muslim females, it is 37.7 percent. For Muslim youth, the probability is 0 percent while for adults, it is 29.4 percent. For first-generation Muslim immigrants in the CMA, the likelihood is 25 percent and for second- and third-generation, it is 24.3 percent. However, the likelihood of a CMA resident experiencing discrimination *on the basis of religion* is 13.1 percent while for self-identified Muslim residents it is 42.5 percent. For Muslim men, the likelihood is 34.3 percent and for Muslim females it is 52.8 percent. For Muslim youth, the likelihood is 55.0 percent while for adults it is 51.0 percent. For first-generation Muslim immigrants in the CMA, the likelihood is 39.7 percent while for second and third-generation immigrants it is 47.6 percent. As a comparison, the likelihood of a CMA resident experiencing discrimination on the basis of ethnicity or culture is 30.0 percent, 31.6 percent for Muslim residents, 31.3 percent for male Muslim residents, 32.1 percent for female Muslim residents, 25.0 percent for Muslim youth and 33.0 percent for Muslim adults. For first-generation immigrants the likelihood is 26.9 percent and for second and third-generation immigrants, 40.5 percent.

Another survey question asked respondents whether or not they feel uncomfortable on the basis of their religion. The results from this analysis show that the likelihood of a CMA resident feeling uncomfortable due to his or her religion is 14.9 percent, while for self-identified Muslim residents this probability is much higher at 41.8 percent. For Muslim male residents the probability is 37.2 percent while for females it is 47.6 percent. For Muslim residents under age eighteen the likelihood is 50.0 percent and for adults, 40.9 percent. First-generation Muslim immigrants have a 38.8 percent likelihood of feeling

uncomfortable on religious grounds while for second- and third-generation immigrants this likelihood is higher at 50.0 percent.

The final survey question I chose to include in the analysis asked respondents to rank their trust in their neighbours on a scale from 1 to 5, 1 being “do not trust at all” and 5 being “trust a lot.” As before, I chose to group responses 1, 2 and 3 into “do not trust” and 4 and 5 into “trust” when creating a binary variable. The analysis indicates that the likelihood of a self-identified Muslim CMA resident trusting his or her neighbours (50.4 percent) is slightly lower than for the average CMA resident (56.6 percent). This is also true for both male Muslim residents (50.0 percent) and female Muslim residents (51.0 percent). However, for Muslim youth in the CMA, this percentage is lower at 37.8 percent, while for adults it is closer to the overall CMA average at 52.4 percent. For first-generation Muslim immigrants the likelihood is 54.0 percent while for second- and third-generation immigrants, the likelihood drops to 41.5 percent.

Analysis of Findings

As a whole, these results present several interesting findings. Overall, Muslims in Toronto are less likely than the average resident to regularly participate in a religious organization, though male Muslims are more likely to participate than the average resident. Conversely, Muslims are more likely than the average resident to regularly participate in an ethnic/immigrant group, though they are less likely to participate in these types of groups than in religious organizations. Interestingly, second- and third-generation Muslim immigrants are less likely to regularly participate in both religious and ethnic organizations.

While Muslim residents of Toronto are more likely to feel a strong sense of belonging to the city/municipality than the average resident, they are also much more likely to experience discrimination on the basis of their religion and also much more likely to feel uncomfortable on its account. This is especially true for females, Muslim youth and second- and third-generation Muslim immigrants, and these same groups are also much more likely to feel uncomfortable on the basis of their religion. While Muslims in general are likely to exhibit the same levels of trust in their neighbours as the average CMA resident, this probability is lower for Muslim youth and for second- and third-generation Muslim immigrants.

These results are somewhat troubling. First, it is evident that Muslim CMA residents are more likely than the average CMA resident to feel marginalized on the basis of their religion. If Muslims are marginalized in both the labour market and in social

circumstances, their ability to participate in a meaningful way to the Toronto community is greatly diminished. Second, these results appear to counter the commonly held belief that second- and third-generation immigrants are more likely to successfully integrate into Canadian society. Instead, the data demonstrate that second- and third-generation Muslim immigrants are less likely to feel a sense of belonging to their city, more likely to experience discrimination and feel uncomfortable on the basis of their religion, and less likely to feel trust toward their neighbours. It may be the case that this group's expectations of equality are greater than the expectations of their parents or grandparents, causing their ratings on these issues to be more pessimistic (Reitz and Banerjee 2007, 34). Yet the fact remains that the younger Muslim population feels less trustful of and less connected to the greater Toronto community.

According to researcher Stuart Soroka and his colleagues, there is a growing emphasis being placed on interpersonal trust in terms of its ability to foster cooperation among people and facilitate collective action (Soroka et al. 2007, 8). Soroka et al. emphasize that, "Given the wide range of social benefits associated with trust, it is not surprising that the apparent decline in levels of trust has set off alarm bells" (ibid.). The results derived from the Ethnic Diversity Survey demonstrate that feelings of exclusion in Toronto's Muslim population are rising and that feelings of trust among Muslim youth and second- and third-generation Muslim immigrants are diminishing. These findings naturally lead to questions of causality. Are these sentiments caused purely by exogenous factors, such as recent global events or discriminatory practices, or are they being perpetuated by the choices of the Muslim community in terms of where they live and how they relate to the rest of Toronto? To explore this question in the subsequent section, I examine the spatial layout of the Muslim community within Toronto in the hope that it will provide insight into the group's interaction with the broader population.

Housing Patterns

Toronto is a city well known for its "ethnic enclaves," or neighbourhoods comprised predominantly of residents from particular ethnic backgrounds. Whether such enclaves are beneficial to ethnic groups is highly contested. Choosing to live near people who speak the same languages and share certain traditions is a natural tendency for those settling into new environments. Yet Uzma Shakir, Executive Director of the South Asian Legal Clinic Ontario (SALCO), notes that such patterns become problematic when enclaves are characterized as not only being ethnic, but ethnic *and* impoverished. If this is the case, such neighbourhoods essentially become ghettos. Regarding ghettoization, Shakir explains, "the fact that people want to live with other people who look like them and talk like them is really not such a big deal. After all, Rosedale in Toronto is an ethnic

ghetto: it's very white and very rich. Ghettoization is more about lack of access to power and lack of access to services" (Krishna 2007). Researcher Mohamed Qadeer also notes that ethnic enclaves can potentially be "isolating and inhibit immigrants' acculturation to the ways of both the Canadian job market and Canada's social norms" (Qadeer 2003, 22). For the Muslim population, which is already underrepresented in the labour market and marginalized socially, the practice of ethnic or religious enclaves may be problematic.

Yet Qadeer also acknowledges that Toronto's enclaves can be expressions of preferences, allowing residents to pursue common interests, build social networks and fulfill the cultural or religious needs of their residents (Qadeer 2003, 26). Qadeer asserts that such neighbourhoods provide "familiarity and security to new immigrants, and serve as the basis for their integration into the Canadian economy and society. Ethnic enclaves are especially helpful to women, children, and seniors, particularly those not fluent in English and who are accustomed to the supportive presence of friends and relatives" (ibid.). In conducting his research, Qadeer draws upon the earlier work of sociologists John Myles and Feng Hou who examined the housing patterns of visible minority immigrants by analyzing census data. Myles and Feng found that in Toronto, Blacks and South Asians have tended to move out of disadvantaged immigrant enclaves once they achieved greater affluence, while Chinese immigrants more often chose to remain in their ethnic neighbourhoods (Myles 2002, 50-52). This study, further supported by Qadeer's work, emphasizes the fact that members of *some* ethnic backgrounds choose to remain among other members of their ethnic communities, despite having the levels of wealth to relocate (Qadeer 2003, 22).

While significant research has been generated regarding the living patterns of immigrants sorted by their countries of origin, few studies have examined the spatial layout of Toronto's religious groups. In order to address whether "enclaving" might prove helpful or disabling to the Muslim community in the Toronto CMA, it will prove helpful to scan what is known about the settlement patterns of Muslims.

Two Case Studies

Two sets of researchers have posed the question, "what does the Muslim community in Toronto look like geographically?" The first study, led by Mohamed A. Qadeer, chose the "Nugget mosque" as its starting point. The researchers then sampled residents of the subdivisions within walking distance (400 metres or five to ten minutes) to determine information regarding their social background, family characteristics, civic participation

and “neighbourliness” (Qadeer 2008, 2-3). In total, members of 30 randomly selected households were interviewed.

While the neighbourhood surrounding the Nugget mosque was deemed to be “ethnically Muslim,” Qadeer and his research team discovered that its residents were far from homogenous. Surprisingly, the proportion of Roman Catholics in the neighbourhood (22.1 percent) was actually higher than the relative amount of Muslims (17.9 percent) and Hindus (13.1 percent) (*ibid.*, 4). As more than seventy percent of the residents owned their homes and nearly fifty percent of residents earned more than \$60,000 annually, Qadeer placed this neighbourhood in the middle-class income category. Lastly, Qadeer noted that 63 percent of its inhabitants were immigrants, and 17 percent of the population had arrived between 1996 and 2001 (*ibid.*).

Qadeer questions whether this neighbourhood can be called a “faith community” given its heterogeneous character. Upon analysis, he concludes that while Nugget Avenue may constitute a “Muslim-dominated” enclave, it was not an exclusively Muslim community (*ibid.*: 13). He attributes this finding to three factors. First, the neighbourhood was once dominated by members of the Roman-Catholic faith who generally still reside in the area. Second, the Muslims who inhabit the area are of diverse ethnic backgrounds, including Pakistanis, Indians, and Guyanese, so the unifying factor of religion is complicated by disparate nationalistic ties. Third, the scale of the concentration of Muslims in the area was so small that residents could not avoid encountering others of both the same faith and those outside one’s religious community (*ibid.*: 12). As the Nugget mosque was what originally attracted Qadeer to the neighbourhood, he concludes with the observation that “...the mosque as an institution, and faith as a binding force, had some bearing on the neighbourliness in this area” (*ibid.*: 13).

Silvia D’Addario et al. also use a mosque as a starting point for their research into Muslim settlement patterns in the Toronto CMA. D’Addario et al. determine that some Muslim residents wish to remain in high-density centers as opposed to more suburban settings as moving away from city cores - and consequently away from mosques - would, “threaten their capacity to practice their religion and the ability of their children to learn about Islam” (D’Addario et al 2008, 4). The research team used the case study of the Ahmadiyya Muslim community in the city of Vaughan to examine the theory that Muslim ethnic enclaves do not wish to exclude themselves from the rest of Canadian society but instead wish to strengthen their presence within it (*ibid.*, ii). The Ahmadiyya community resides in the “Peace Village” which was designed and funded by Naseer Ahmad in the 1990s on fifty acres of land. It is centered around the Bai’tul Islam mosque, and at the time of the study it consisted of 265 semi-detached and detached homes with an

additional 50 homes under construction (ibid., 21). Each home within the development was constructed to particularly fit the Ahmadi way of life and to reinforce the cultural, religious and social practices of Islam. D'Addario et al. observe that both the Bai'tul Islam Mosque and the surrounding Peace Village development serve as powerful markers of the presence of Ahmadis in Toronto as well as their stability in the multicultural landscape of the CMA (ibid., 22).

While the case study of the "Nugget Avenue" neighbourhood and that of the Ahmadi Peace Village provide useful insights into two distinctive Muslim communities, it is difficult to generalize these studies in order to draw conclusions about the wider Muslim population of the CMA. First, both of these communities constitute middle or upper class neighbourhoods and thus their residents' social norms, access to institutions and reasons for settling in these locations may be very different than those of Muslims of other socioeconomic status. The very ability to choose to live in such locations is not necessarily open to all Muslims, especially those who are recent immigrants and are grossly underrepresented in the labour force. Second, the Ahmadi Peace Village study examines a very particular sect of Islam that has demonstrably declared its location in the CMA. Other sects of Islam in Toronto may lack the means or cohesiveness by which to proclaim their respective presences within the larger community and thus are spread more heterogeneously throughout the metropolitan area. This makes it difficult for researchers to examine the smaller communities within Toronto's larger Muslim population.

Nonetheless, the Nugget mosque neighbourhood and the Ahmadi Peace Village may serve as a point of reference or a benchmark that could help other fragments of the Muslim community in Toronto to overcome current feelings of exclusion. While it is not possible to say so empirically, the groups living in these two communities appear to possess a strong sense of religious and cultural identity. In the case of the residents of Nugget Avenue, this reinforced identity helped to increase neighbourliness in the community. While faith was a binding force among Muslims in the Nugget Avenue area, it was not a deterring force for members of other faiths who shared the neighbourhood. The Ahmadi Peace Village is much less heterogeneous, but the residents interviewed by D'Addario et al. expressed that faith helped to bind them to their immediate neighbours while also increasing their willingness to interact with the greater Toronto community. These case studies therefore further the theory that "enclaving" can contribute to strong communities and an increased spirit of cooperation and cohesion within *and* across enclaves.

Conclusion

This paper explored the current socioeconomic situation of Muslims residing in the Toronto CMA. Through the examination of current research as well as an analysis of data provided by the Ethnic Diversity Survey, it is clear that Muslims, taken as whole, are heavily underrepresented in the labour force and are more likely to be marginalized in certain respects on the basis of their religion. These results are especially pertinent for specific divisions within the broad Muslim population such as females, youth and second- and third-generation immigrants. The fact that, according to the data analysis, the Muslim population as a whole is more likely to feel a greater sense of belonging to the city of Toronto is encouraging. However, it may suggest that Muslims feel this way not because they are well integrated into the mainstream functioning of the city, but because they have formed strong Muslim enclaves or other kinds of enclaves in which they feel a sense of community and connection. The two case studies of Muslim geographic representation in the Toronto CMA further this argument, as both demonstrate that retaining and promoting a Muslim religious identity has increased feelings of neighbourliness and pride among the residents of the Nugget Avenue and Ahmadi Peace Village neighbourhoods.

At present, there are two prominent theories regarding social cohesion. The first advocates that cohesion is built on the foundation of a common national identity and shared social values. Along this line of reasoning, current literature on multiculturalism has suggested that, “the celebration of difference is corroding the social solidarity that underpins the welfare state, contributing to a slow decline in the redistributive role of the state,” or that “an emphasis on respecting...cultural difference has diverted attention from solving...economic and social problems” (Soroka et al. 2007, 2). Governments and citizens alike have begun to worry that the promotion of diversity has created deep divisions that contribute to a diminishing sense of shared identity and social unity.

However, given Toronto’s current ethnic and religious make-up, a theory that advocates the promotion of a single, national identity is too narrow to capture the social realities and dynamics of the city. In fact, seeking to build a single, overarching sense of identity may actually be counterproductive and exclusionary (ibid., 24). The second theory of social cohesion assumes that we cannot rely on shared identity and values to unify our increasingly diverse societies, and that instead, the encouragement of engagement and participation will build solidarity and help societies manage diversity (ibid., 2). The evidence presented in this paper serves to further the argument that the promotion of diversity and an emphasis on individual identity will, in the long run, contribute to a greater sense of national or at least city-wide unity. While Canada’s official

multiculturalism policy has long advocated the promotion of diversity, this support must be demonstrated in a more meaningful way than through festivals which celebrate ethnic cuisine or dancing. Instead, policymakers at the federal, provincial and city-wide level need to examine the dynamics contributing to the aspects of inequality discussed in this paper and determine which social policies might be altered in order to promote the various identities of Canada's multi-faceted citizenry.

The younger members of Toronto's broad Muslim population are currently experiencing the negative repercussions of global attention being paid to their religious identity, evident in their greater levels of mistrust. If their sense of belonging and self-worth was first nurtured within smaller, more homogeneous enclaves, they might be better prepared to engage and participate in the larger Toronto community, both socially and in greater numbers in the labour force. Because enclaves can help to foster this sense of confidence, religious and social divisions should not be viewed as exclusionary or as a barrier to social cohesion, but instead as an attribute and a means by which to strengthen Toronto's health and wellbeing. As D'Addario et al. discover from their investigation of the Ahmadi Peace Village, "concentration does not imply a turning away from the rest of Canadian society. Rather, the residential concentration provides the foundation for facilities and activities that will make Muslims and their religious beliefs and practices better known to a larger public" (D'Addario et al. 2008, 24). Groups, in this case the Muslim community, should therefore be encouraged to promote and declare their presence as an important element of Toronto's cultural mosaic. This process might be instigated by an increased availability of funding for programs, perhaps run through schools or community organizations, that serve to enhance the social capital, network strength and pride of ethnic minority groups, especially their younger members. If a particular group is experiencing difficulties in terms of inclusion, then the process to increase its connectivity must begin on a micro-scale and be built up over time. Enclaves and neighbourhoods founded on religious or ethnic ties therefore represent an important step in the process toward fostering a more unified Toronto.

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