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Region of Peel Immigration Discussion Paper

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Social Cohesion, Social Exclusion, Social Capital

Grace-Edward Galabuzi
and Cheryl Teelucksingh

Table of Contents

1	Introduction: Diversity, Social Cohesion and Social Capital	1
1.1	Social Cohesion	
1.2	Social Capital	
1.3	Summary	
2	Social Exclusion: Immigrants and Racialized and Religious Minorities	9
2.1	Social Exclusion And Recent Immigrant Communities	
2.2	Social Exclusion, Low Income and Recent Immigrant Communities	
2.3	Exclusion in the Labour Market	
2.4	Social Exclusion and the Social Determinants of Health	
2.5	Other Dimensions of Social Exclusion	
2.6	Summary	
3	Social Capital, Social Relations and Social Networks	20
3.1	Existing Conditions	
3.2	Social Networks and Responding to the Challenge of Social Exclusion	
3.3	The Implications of Ethnic Social Networks	
3.4	Ethnic Enclave Economy	
3.5	Ethnic Enclaves and Social Distance – Contact Hypothesis	
3.6	Faith-Based Networks and Neighbourhoods	
3.7	Summary	
4	Promising Practices from Other Jurisdictions	28
4.1	Anti-racism action	
4.2	Promising Practices	
4.3	Summary	
5	Promising Strategies and Solutions	34
5.1	Social Inclusion, Social Cohesion and Public Policy	
5.2	Future Research on Social Capital and Peel Region	
	References	37

1. Introduction: Diversity, Social Cohesion and Social Capital

At a time of low birth rates, labour shortages and growing elder dependency in Western industrialized countries, South-North migration has become an indispensable resource for economic survival, societal renewal and nation building.

Much of the academic and policy attention regarding the implications of immigration flows from the global South, and the resulting ethnic diversity on social cohesion has focused on the national level. However, immigrant integration is a process that plays out at both the national and local level, and so there is now growing public policy interest in the process at the municipal and Regional levels (Maclellan, 2008; Clutterbuck & Norvick, 2003).

Clutterbuck and Norvick (2003) have identified the changing ethnic and racial make up of Canadian municipalities and the social disparities along ethnic and racial lines as key pressures arising out of a decade of federal disengagement from national social programs and provincial restructuring of social policy in the 1990s, at a time when immigrant integration has become more complex because of ethnic and racial diversity.

They argue that the situation calls for a renewed focus of public policy development relating to immigrant integration at the local government level. As regions such as Peel Region increasingly become key destinations of choice for new immigrants as well as attractive relocation points for secondary migration, pressure is growing on federal and provincial governments to support the efforts of local authorities seeking innovative ways of making immigrant integration work for local communities (Maclellan, 2008; Mohanty, 2004, 2007; Social Planning Council of Peel, 2006).

Immigration flows trigger two-way processes of integration for host communities and immigrants with social, economic, cultural and political implications at the regional and local community level. It is in local neighbourhoods that the changes to economic and social life are felt first hand. It is in local neighbourhoods that the promise of new vitality and possibilities represented by the arrival of immigrants, but also the challenges associated with it, play out. As is the case in many of Canada's urban centres, these processes of change bring with them both opportunities and challenges, particularly given the ethnic and racial diversity among early 21st century immigrants.

The changing ethnic and racial make up of the population means that social cohesion must be reconstituted around new and varied points of common bonding that internalize diversity. Research from many western countries shows that the existence of cultural differences between immigrants and receiving populations does not in and of itself undermine successful integration, and that building mutual support and solidarity within communities can be a basis for effective integration into mainstream society (Banting, Courchene & Seidie, 2006; Berry et al. 2006; Banting & Kymlicka, 2006; Harty & Murphy, 2005).

Ensuring a sense of worth, dignity and recognition through affirming cultural diversity for diverse groups of immigrants benefits all members of local communities.

Not only do distinctive identities and practices encourage precisely the notions of cosmopolitan citizenship that accommodate difference in ways that are essential in modern multicultural societies, diversity is a positive societal value.

Richard Florida (2002) has suggested that diversity, as a key positive value, can be harnessed for community renewal, since it offers new ideas and creative energy vital to the organic process of community building. For instance, Diversity Management (DM) has evolved as a form of human resource management that values highly the idea of workplace relationships among diverse group members as a key to increased productivity (Mor-Barak, 2005; Cornelius, 2002).

Investments in diversity and maintaining strong community relationships pay off not just for local or ethnic communities but also for other sectors of society such as the business sector (Prusak & Cohen, 2001). There are other benefits documented in the literature. Kawachi (1999) has noted the value of social networks in dealing with health and mortality rates. The work on social determinants of health indicates a close correlation between strong relationships and well-being (Kawachi, 1999; Hyman, 2001; Raphael, 2004; House et al. 1982). In immigration settlement, the activity of receiving new residents into communities often invokes normative structures, including existing social networks, norms and shared values that act as community assets, representing a renewable “capital” that can provide the glue and the institutional bulwark around which to constitute “new” functional communities (World Bank, 1999). Such social networks are applicable whether they are within ethnic communities or cross-cultural.

1.1 Social cohesion

Social cohesion refers to a process and outcome of social solidarity based on shared values, common norms and common bonds within a national population or community (Jenson, 1998; Osberg, 2003). Social cohesion is a complex process that often requires the explicit intervention of governments to maintain (Spencer, 2007; U.K. Commission on Integration and Cohesion, 2007). There are two key approaches to the concept. The first suggests that it is rooted in common norms and shared values that make society possible and national unity necessary (Durkheim, 1997 (1893); Almond & Verba, 1963). The focus here is on how homogeneity provides the glue or common bond that unites individuals and groups is and the basis for national or group identity.

The second approach focuses on citizenship practice and social exclusion/inclusion based on the broad community engagement and citizen participation as keys to a form of social integration that acknowledge the multiple identities that compose modern nation states and societies (Jenson, 1998, 2002; Kymlicka, 1998). Jenson (1998) has argued that social cohesion represents the absence of exclusions and marginalization, and a contrast between a sense of belonging versus isolation, participation versus non-engagement, recognition versus rejection and legitimacy versus illegitimacy.

In essence, social cohesion is a process and outcome that seeks to actively eliminate social exclusion and build social inclusion (Galabuzi, 2006).

The focus here is not so much on the essential differences –ethnic, religious, racial, gender – as on a general consensus around institutions, processes and procedures that uphold liberal democratic and social justice values of inclusion (Kymlicka, 1995).

There is another approach that is increasingly cited in the literature – one that equates the idea of social cohesion with the dependence on social capital maintenance and formation (OECD, 2001; Osberg, 2003; Soroka, et al. 2006). Drawing largely from Robert Putnam’s work, there is a growing understanding that social cohesion requires the constant maintenance and regeneration of social capital, understood as representing networks of social trusts, civic organizations and associational life generally (Putnam 1995; 2000). There is some convergence between the first approach and the third, in that there is a tendency to observe diversity as representing a threat to social cohesion (Letki, 2006; Alesina & Ferrara, 2002).

Social cohesion is a major framework within which issues of social exclusion/inclusion for minoritized groups and the utility of social capital for corrective action are discussed in many Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries (Spencer, 2007). Growing ethnic diversity has helped to push the issue of social cohesion to the policy agenda by highlighting the intersection between the celebration of diversity on one hand and the imperative towards maintaining social integration (Soroka, Johnston & Banting, 2006).

While one suggests the need to expand space for immigrants and minorities in the public sphere as a signal of an inclusive citizenship – maintaining common bonds of community and solidarity as a means of integrating minoritized groups fully into society, the other points to the need to protect the historical bases of national identity and social solidarity – in essence implying that difference represents a threat to shared citizenship (Huntington, 2004; Goodhart, 2004).

Soroka et al. (2006) have argued that both inclusive citizenship and social solidarity or (social cohesion) though seemingly contradictory agendas are critical to the life of diverse, multicultural societies and need to be pursued through public policy. Kymlicka (1998) has suggested that they are mutually compatible, in that to successfully integrate marginalized groups or new immigrants into a society, it is essential that such groups retain a sense of their heritage as a basis for engaging in the broader society. No longer are societies faced with the false options of forced assimilation of minorities into the dominant culture or persistent threats to social cohesion.

Most Western countries have adopted varying degrees of accommodation for minoritized groups involving public recognition of difference and public policies that allow for expression of cultural and religious diversity (Banting, Courchene & Seidle, 2007). This is consistent with the liberal democratic political order and expresses a form of cultural pluralism that also aims to maintain social cohesion based on a liberal democratic set of shared values (Kymlicka, 1998).

However, in some European countries, recent events involving poorly integrated minority groups have pointed to tensions and raised questions about the success of the multicultural model of social cohesion. Riots in Paris in 2005 and Australia in 2006, illiberal practices in some religious communities, as well as national security concerns relating to terrorism in the post-September 11 era have forced new debates about diversity, multiculturalism and the appropriate public policy approach to social cohesion. While these debates have not been full blown in Canada, concerns have been raised by some regarding the effect of immigration and diversity on social cohesion (Collacott, 2007).

Social cohesion may or may not be built around a commitment to social justice, as monocultural societies with small stigmatized minorities can often sustain socially cohesive arrangements. But in the early 21st century, immigration from the global South to European and North American countries has focused attention on social cohesion as a social value related to meaningful social, economic and political inclusion. It has focused public policy attention on the influence of such forces as nationalism, multiculturalism, diversity and successful immigrant integration on social cohesion (Spoonley & Peace, 2007; Winter, 2005; Gregg, 2006).

Canada's official multicultural framework seeks to acknowledge diversity and difference (Ley, 2000; Kunz & Sykes, 2005). But, in other places, such forces as European nationalism have historically been based on ethnic homogeneity, a contrast with the more heterogeneous Canadian, American and Australian versions. This has complicated the integration of immigrants in the contemporary context where multiple identities are the norm (Zetter et al. 2006; Cheong et al. 2007; Letki, 2006). Yet North American societies increasingly face similar challenges to social cohesion to those faced by Europeans, and increasingly seek public policy action to address issues of economic and social marginalization among immigrants.

Zetter et al. (2006) observed that in the U.K. and Europe in the current context, social cohesion policies have emerged largely out of the need to promote social and economic integration with a view to minimizing the risk of social and political disruption.

Increasingly, this is pursued through attempts to reconcile immigrants and minorities to a pre-existing set of values and modes of behaviour that represent the dominance of the majority group. This assimilationist notion of integration does not resonate with the Canadian-style Official Multiculturalism perspective, since it views migrant diversity principally as a potential threat to a fixed form of "national identity" (Zetter, et al., 2006, pp.4 -5; Kundnani, 2007; Cattle, 2005).

While European literature on social cohesion is useful in understanding how social values operate to secure cohesion at the national and local levels, it is limited in its relevance to the Canadian context because of the real differences in the approaches to diversity, and particularly immigrant integration, in Canada. Canada's commitment to official multiculturalism as a framework for mediating ethno-cultural differences represents a particular model of social cohesion based on assumptions and claims of unity in diversity.

It is more in line with an understanding of social cohesion as a process of eliminating exclusion and achieving social inclusion as opposed to diminishing difference. Canada, and Peel Region, is multicultural societies that subscribe to inclusive notions of citizenship that value diversity, privilege, cultural pluralism, and encourage ethnic and religious groups to form bonds that are consistent with the ideal of social inclusion.

However, such aspirations are subject to limits based on the differential attention and awareness of various groups to the gaps in social cohesion that draw from Canada's history as a society dominated by people of European heritage. Data from the Ethnic Diversity Survey, prepared by the Multicultural Branch of Canadian Heritage, looking at the integration of diverse ethnic groups in Canada, suggest that there are significant social gaps in experiences and perceptions among ethnic groups, particularly dominant groups with European heritage and racialized (ethnic minority) groups (Reitz & Banerjee, 2006; Derouin, 2003; Nakhaie, 2007). Racialized and immigrant groups tend to be much more conscious of the existence of barriers to full participation than are members of the dominant culture.

A recent ethnic diversity survey showed that 36% of racialized group members were conscious of the existence of racism, compared with only 10% of the broader public. The numbers were higher among specific racialized groups – with Blacks at 55% (Ethnic Diversity Survey, 2004).

The survey is of particular significance because it seeks to provide some empirical evidence not only on the experience and perception of discrimination by particular ethnic groups, but also regarding tolerance of diversity and social trust as critical elements of the concept of social capital. Social capital theory suggests that social trust is a critical ingredient in social relationships and is indispensable in the process of community building and social cohesion (Putnam, 1995, 2000; Woolcock, 2001; Portes, 1998; Gould, 2001; Coleman, 1988,1990; World Bank, 1999).

Consistent with the multicultural framework, the Canadian experience implies approaching social cohesion from a social exclusion/inclusion perspective. Canadian research shows that the threats to social cohesion relate to impediments to equal participation of diverse communities more so than the actual existence of diversity in the society. Data show that a growing intersection between low income and ethnicity is increasingly correlated to neighbourhood selection (Hulchanski, 2007; United Way of Greater Toronto/CCSD, 2004; Preston & Giles, 1995).

These conditions can amplify isolation, marginalization and powerlessness, and limit the capacity for civic engagement. They are also increasingly correlated with lower economic and political participation for recent immigrants and racialized groups (Galabuzi, 2006; Herberg, 1990; Hiebert, 1997; Hou, 2004; Picou & Hou, 2003; Preston & Man, 1999; Pendukar & Pendukar, 1998). However, there is also literature that shows that ethnic concentration, especially around coherent social networks, tends to moderate the negative effect of such conditions and provides a bridge to better service delivery in ethnic enclaves (Agrawal et al. 2007; Qadeer & Kumar, 2006; Reitz, 1995).

In the Canadian context, Qadeer & Kumar (2006) have argued that there are social advantages of ethnic enclaves, relating to access to entry-level employment for recent immigrants, building a sense of belonging and providing an informal infrastructure for social service delivery. These, they suggest, outweigh the disadvantages of social exclusion in such enclaves. In a region such as Peel, both these expressions of ethnic concentrations are prominently represented, as we will discuss later in the paper. Their co-existence represents an intriguing entry point into the debate about the value of social capital.

1.2 Social Capital

While social capital has become a topic of interest for policy makers and practitioners, community leaders and researchers, it remains an elusive concept to define. Certainly there are many attempts to try to nail it down but little consensus (Winter, 2000; U.K. Office for National Statistics, 2001). Most research correlates social capital to forms of social trust and associational networks with desirable social policy outcomes.

Putnam suggests that social capital has quantifiable effects on different aspects of life in the community, and goes well beyond community or cultural pride (Putnam, 2000, p.23). The U.K. Office for National Statistics notes that it is associated with better health (Wilkinson, 1996), better educational achievement (Coleman, 1988), greater income equality (Wilkinson, 1996; Kawachi et al. 1997), improved child welfare (Cote & Healy, 2001), effective governance, (Putnam, 1995), enhanced economic achievement and low transaction costs (Fukuyama, 1995) and a housed, hired and happy population (Woolcock, 2001).

Social capital is also related to human capital and cultural capital (although human capital, as an attribute individuals possess in the form of skills from training, is more distinct than cultural capital) related to community pride, celebration, rites and dialogue (Gould, 2001). Social capital may also be understood as being embedded in relationships, partnerships and networks that can be used to enhance positive outcomes or, on the negative side, impede access to opportunity either through social closure or by virtue of its absence (Putnam, 1995, 2000).

Two dimensions are often used to describe social capital – homogeneous (i.e., relations or ties among those of similar background or interests), relating to what is called bonding capital, and heterogeneous (i.e., relations or ties that cross boundaries of ethnicity, race, class, minority status), relating to bridging capital. In both cases, we come to understand individual or group actions as being both potentially rational and self-interested, on the one hand, and socialized, or governed by social norms, rules and obligations (Coleman, 1985) on the other.

The social networks or relationships perform a social function in individual and group interactions within broader structural contexts such as political institutions, labour markets, the health care system and the education system. Social networks also affirm social recognition – a sense of worth, dignity and belonging to which some have attributed human action beyond self-interest (Latham, 1997; Fukuyama, 1995).

Social capital is, therefore, said to have various social functions that relate to bridging, bonding or linking. Bridging capital is said to allow for communities or individuals to get beyond their preoccupation with common bonds and engage in cross-community, cross-cultural or mainstream relation building (Shirley, 1997). It represents a value to building alliances and social movements.

On the other hand, according to Putnam, “bonding capital constitutes a kind of sociological super glue” that keeps pre-existing networks together and may be valuable for immigrants who need to transition into integration by offering familiar environments and reference points, up to and including such frameworks as ethnic and religious social networks and ethnic enclaves (Qadeer & Kumar, 2007; Evans, 2005). But bonding capital also has the potential to be exclusionary and to invoke social closure.

The third formulation is linking capital, which focuses on the relationship between individuals and groups and their ability to leverage those relationships for individual and social benefit. Onyx and Bullen (1997) have identified eight factors, or elements, that can be said to constitute social capital in action:

- Participation in local community
- Neighbourhood connections
- Family and friends connections
- Tolerance of diversity
- Work connections
- Proactivity in a social context
- Feelings of trust and safety
- Value of Life

Based on their work in five communities in New South Wales, Australia, they are able to demonstrate that social capital can be quantified and measured, diminished and enhanced based on public policy and community action. From a public policy standpoint, there is, therefore, value to exploring social capital as a tool to measure and strengthen some of the key ingredients of the processes of social cohesion and community building, such as social trust and social networks (Zetter et al. 2006; Li, 2004; Kazemipur, 2006).

In the Canadian context, various efforts in this regard have been undertaken, and provide a basis for a serious consideration of social capital as a policy instrument. Work by the federal government’s Policy Research Institute on social capital, launched in 2003, has enhanced the debate substantially and substantively by offering an analysis of various approaches to utilizing social capital as a policy tool (PRI, 2005). This effort was a follow-up to a national research policy conference held in 2001 by the PRI, entitled, *Building Communities Together*. Li (2004) has discussed how ethnic attachment as a form of social capital affects the economic performance of immigrants and racialized groups, while Reitz and Banerjee (2006) have written about racial inequality and the differential experiences of racialized groups undermine social cohesion.

Aizlewood and Pendakur (2003) have addressed the potential negative association between ethnic heterogeneity and community cohesion. Kazemipur (2006) has identified ethnic diversity (among other factors) as having a positive correlation to social trust in Canadian cities (except in Quebec). Nakhaie (2008) has analyzed the impact of social capital on ethnoracial differences in income. A better understanding of the theoretical and functional dimensions of the concept of social capital is warranted here.

1.3 Summary

This section introduces the key issues of diversity among immigrants: social cohesion and social capital. It considers the ways in which individual or group action is dependent on the social environment, and discusses eight key factors for utilizing social capital.

Diversity: In multicultural societies, accommodating difference is essential to successful immigrant integration, making diversity a positive societal value. The cultural differences that exist between immigrants and receiving populations can be harnessed for community renewal, building mutual support and solidarity within communities as a basis for effective integration into mainstream society.

Social cohesion: Social cohesion refers to a process and outcome of social solidarity based on shared values, common norms and common bonds within a national population or community.

Social capital: As a resource derived from social relations that can be harnessed for building social cohesion, social capital promotes social inclusion and the empowerment of local communities. Social networks or relationships perform a social function in individual and group interactions within broader structural contexts, such as political institutions, labour markets, the health care system and the education system. Social capital is said to have various social policy functions that relate to bridging, bonding or linking relationships.

2. Social Exclusion: Immigrants and Racialized and Religious Minorities

The concept of social exclusion has attracted the attention of scholars as well as policy makers concerned about the emergence of marginal subgroups that may pose a threat to social cohesion in industrial societies (Guildford, 2000; Galabuzi, 2006; Omidvar & Richmond, 2004).

Social exclusion is understood as describing both the structures and the dynamic processes of inequality among groups in society which, over time, structure unequal access to critical resources that determine the quality of membership in society and ultimately produce and reproduce a complex of unequal outcomes (Madinapour, et al. 1998; Byrne, 1999). It is a concept increasingly applied to the condition of racialized groups and those with immigrant status in Canada (Galabuzi, 2006; Labonte, 2004). It is manifested through structural inequalities and unequal outcomes in access to social, economic, political and cultural resources (Galabuzi, 2006).

Social exclusion is maintained by institutional arrangements responsible for according advantages and benefits to some individuals and groups and imposing disadvantages and burdens on others. These tend to build on long-standing processes of social closure that emerge from social relations and institutional social structures, such as social networks, that act to define those who have different identities as the “other” (Razack, 2002).

A related concept is social inclusion which while conceptually in line with the ideal of maintaining social cohesion through meaningful and equal access to the society’s resources, does not necessarily represent a linear progression along a continuum (Lister, 1999; Omidvar & Richmond, 2003; Labonte, 2004; Saloojee, 2005).

Starting in the 1980s, conceptions of social inclusion have attempted to move away from the assimilation orientations of immigrant integration associated with monocultural notions of social cohesion, & to acknowledge the need for both the host society and newcomers to change (Omidvar & Richmond, 2003). Social inclusion is “characterized by a society’s widely shared social experience and active participation, by a broad equality of opportunities and life chances for individuals and by the achievement of a basic level of well-being for all citizens” (Sen, 2001).

In this sense, social inclusion, as both a goal and a process (Omidvar & Richmond, 2003), involves a commitment on the part of dominant groups to bring about the conditions of inclusion¹. Social inclusion is based on removing all barriers to individuals’ opportunities in the labour market, housing and access to social services. Within an inclusive society, free from forms of exclusion, newcomers can actualize their human and cultural capital to their

¹ Laidlaw’s working paper series on social inclusion defines and explores the concept of social inclusion in depth, as a framework to address social policy questions in Canada. The series has identified five critical dimensions of social inclusion: valued recognition, human development, involvement and engagement, proximity and material well-being (Omidvar & Richmond, 2003, p.ix).

full potential. In addition, social inclusion facilitates bridging social capital and horizontal ties in a context where diversity is valued and all groups' values are seen as equally important to the society as a whole.

A sizable body of literature addresses the experience of recent immigrants and the challenges they face in integrating into Canadian life. Despite Canada's official multiculturalism policies, the assumptions of equal access to opportunity cannot be sustained. Implicit and explicit systems of racism and discrimination persist and determine access to opportunities and resources for the largely racialized immigrant population (Reitz & Banarjee, 2006; Henry & Tator, 2000; Ornstein, 2006; Teelucksingh & Galabuzi, 2005; Omidvar & Richmond, 2003). Social exclusion, in its many manifestations, has consequences not just for the groups experiencing the exclusion, but everyone in the society. Omidvar & Richmond (2003) note that:

“Whether the source of exclusion is poverty, racism, fear of difference or lack of political clout, the consequences are the same: a lack of recognition and acceptance; powerlessness and ‘voicelessness;’ economic vulnerability; and diminished life experiences and limited life prospects. For society as a whole, the social exclusion of individuals and groups can become a major threat to social cohesion and economic prosperity.” (p.viii)

2.1 Social Exclusion And Recent Immigrant Communities

Among others, Pendakur & Pendakur (1996), Picot & Hou, 2003), Ornstein (2000, 2006), Frenette & Morissette (2003), Teelucksingh & Galabuzi (2005) and Reitz & Banerjee (2005) have noted the difficulties that racialized immigrants, in particular, experience with labour market integration. Immigrants arriving in Canada and Peel Region take longer than previous cohorts to gain employment comparable to their human capital investment (Reitz, 2001).

Immigrant exclusion from the labour market leads to such outcomes as high levels of unemployment, underemployment and underutilization of skills (Reitz, 2001; Boyd, 2002; Galabuzi, 2006), as well as problems associated with poverty, including neighbourhood selection and the poor integration of children into school systems (Boyd, 2002; Preston & Giles, 1995).

In part, the underemployment and underutilization of immigrant skills are tied to structural changes resulting from globalization and neo-liberalism², which is resulting in a bifurcated labour force with extremes between the demands for highly paid professional new-economy workers and poorly paid service sector workers. The implications of these difficulties are a disproportionate experience of low income.

² Neo-liberalism is a restatement of classical liberalism, a political ideology of the 19th century which espoused personal freedom and free markets. Neo-liberalism seeks to transfer economic control from the public to the private sector under the belief that it will produce a more efficient government and improve a nation's economy. Its key policies include trade liberalization, deregulation, privatization of state enterprises, and reduced state intervention in the economy.

Siemiatycki & Isin (1997) have elaborated the challenges to civic participation represented by the modes of incorporation recent immigrants are subjected to, along with the centrality of municipal governments in their lives.

Social exclusion reinforces social inequality. Its dimensions include various forms of oppression, such as racism, sexism, religious oppression, anti-Semitism and homophobia that, operating independently or together, maintain the advantages, power and privileges associated with certain social groups, depriving other social groups and limiting their life chances.

- Galabuzi (2006) identifies four aspects of social exclusion:
- Economic exclusion: unequal or lack of access to forms of livelihood.
- Exclusion from civil society: disconnection through legal sanctions, institutional mechanisms or systemic discrimination based on race, ethnicity, gender, disability, sexual orientation or religion.
- Exclusion from social goods: failure of society to provide for the needs of particular groups, such as language services for immigrants and sanctions that deter discrimination.
- Exclusion from social production: denial of opportunity to participate actively in society.

These four aspects highlight the fact that social exclusion is experienced in multiple and reinforcing dimensions. Therefore, individuals and communities who are structurally excluded from the labour market are often also marginalized in terms of adequate housing, education, health care and social services.

In a national survey, Derouin (2003) explored the relationship between discrimination and aspects of social capital in Canada. The sample distinguished between visible minorities, non-visible minorities and the total Canadian population. Social capital was operationalized in terms of: trust and individuals; trust at work and schools; overall satisfaction with life; and sense of belonging (both within and outside of one's own ethnic group). Discrimination was associated with unfair treatment. Key findings from Derouin's (2003) study include:

- Among visible minorities (Chinese, South Asians and Blacks), Blacks were more likely to report having experienced discrimination and/or unfair treatment.
- Respondents who reported having experienced discrimination also reported that they had greater concerns (but not to a large extent) about trusting people – with surprisingly, visible minority status (as an aggregate category) not being a factor.
- Blacks that had experienced discrimination reported being significantly less trusting in comparison with Chinese and South Asian respondents.
- The impact of discrimination played a role in respondents' trust at work and school.

- The relationship between discrimination and the sense of belonging to one's ethnic group was greatest for visible minorities, especially Blacks, then South Asians and Chinese.

Derouin's (2003) results are important for communities with diverse populations, such as Peel, for many reasons. First, the findings highlight the importance of acknowledging the differences between immigrant groups and/or visible minority groups. Second, they point to the various levels in which discrimination or exclusion can negatively affect social cohesion. As Halpern (2005) argues, social capital functions on individual, community and organizational levels. However, due to its systemic nature, the consequences of discrimination have their greatest impact at the institutional level, which could directly affect groups' abilities to access social and economic resources. Lastly, Derouin's (2003) findings suggest a link between exclusion and social capital. Communities with poor relations between host communities and newcomers will encourage intra-ethnic networks as a survival strategy. However, some ethnic communities vary in terms of the quality of the networks they offer their members.

Research shows that, left unattended, conditions of social marginalization persist and have adverse effects on social cohesion, and may lead to forms of social breakdown that could trigger community violence. This is particularly the case in neighbourhoods where marginalization is not based solely on social class, but also on ethnicity or religion. While bringing human and financial capital, skills and creative energy, and social/cultural vitality, immigrant populations have faced challenges to successful integration as measured by such key social indicators as labour market participation, unemployment, ability to translate human capital into comparable employment and income, levels of poverty, health care utilization, contact with the criminal justice system (Gilmore, 2008; Picot & Hou, 2003; Ostrovksy, 2008; Galabuzi, 2006) and civic engagement (Siemiatycki & Isin, 1997). They have increasingly become subject to spatial segregation and exclusion to ethnic enclaves (Halli & Kazimapur, 2000; Qadeer & Kumar, 2003).

According to Picot & Myles (2005), in 1980, the earnings of recent male immigrants working full time for the full year was 84% of that of comparable Canadian-born males. By 2000, it had dropped to 60% (Picot & Myles, 2005; Frenette & Morissette, 2003). This earnings gap is also reflected in low-income rates, with immigrants contending with low income rates 2.5 times those of Canadian-born by 2000 (Picot & Hou, 2003). These patterns in the case of the Region of Peel increasingly determine the experience of local citizenship and belonging for many immigrant communities (Mohanty, 2007; Social Planning Council of Peel, 2005).

During the last two decades, low income increased among successive groups of recent immigrants. In 1980, 24.6% of immigrants who had arrived during the previous five-year period lived below the poverty line. By 1990, the low-income rate among recent immigrants had increased to 31.3%. After peaking at 47.0% in 1995, the rate fell back to 35.8% in 2000. These developments reflected the rise in low income among racialized groups, who made up an average of 75% of new immigrants during the 1990s and early 21st century.

2.2 Social Exclusion, Low Income and Recent Immigrant Communities

“Montreal, Winnipeg, Quebec City, Toronto, Saskatoon, Regina and Vancouver – have large concentrations of racialized group members and immigrants in neighbourhoods with a poverty rate of 40 percent and higher.” (Kazemipur & Halli, 2000)

Social exclusion is increasingly manifest in urban centres, where racialized groups are concentrated through the emergence of racial enclaves and a growing set of racially segregated low income neighbourhoods. Immigrants in Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal are more likely than non-immigrants to live in neighbourhoods with high rates of poverty.

Canada’s urban neighbourhoods have been impacted by the restructuring of the economy as well as immigration patterns over the last quarter century that have established racialized countries as the predominant sources for immigration. As the changing economy has generated a growing gap between rich and poor over the last 25 years, the polarization has been felt in the neighbourhoods. This has been compounded by the fact that urban centres such as Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal are magnets for immigrants, taking in almost 78% of the new immigrants to Canada.

In Canadian urban centres, racialized people are two or three times as likely to be poor compared with other Canadians. This disproportionate and persistent exposure to poverty among racialized groups has been termed the racialization of poverty (Galabuzi, 2006). It is linked to the process of the deepening social exclusion of racialized and immigrant communities. A key contributing factor is the concentration of economic, social and political power and the uneven access to such power for immigrant and racialized communities.

Disproportionate exposure to low income leads to powerlessness, marginalization, voicelessness, vulnerability, insecurity and an inability to participate fully in society or develop a sense of belonging and national or community identity. The various dimensions of the experience of poverty interact in important ways to reproduce and reinforce social exclusion.

According to Mohanty (2007), in 2001, while Peel Region ranked in the middle of the pack in Ontario communities with an incidence of low income at 11.6%, some of the neighbourhoods with the highest concentrations of immigrant and racialized populations, such as Cooksville/Dixie (40%), Malton (69%) or Central Brampton (40%), also suffered above-average rates of low income vulnerability (Cooksville/Dixie, 16.5%; Malton, 20.5% and Central Brampton, 12.7% respectively).

This emerging phenomenon suggests a relationship between poverty, race and immigration status. The experience of low income is concentrated in particular neighbourhoods and communities, often coinciding with a profile of high immigration status and disproportionately more racialized group composition.

It speaks to the intersection between low income and immigrant status and racialization – which both suggest the possible intensification of social exclusion based on low income, race

and immigrant status and the need for a better understanding of what the characteristics and implications might be. This can be achieved through a systematic process of fact finding.

These conditions represent a form of dysfunctional integration that may be difficult to reverse in the long run. The possible institutionalization of forms of social and economic marginalization could undermine the prospects and well-being of entire communities, compromising the promise of equal citizenship. The outcome could be the intensification of a social distance between these communities and the rest of the residents of Peel Region (DeCoito, 2008).

Such processes of social exclusion can morph into structures of inequality among groups in society that, over time, produce unequal access to critical resources that determine the quality of membership in society and ultimately produce and reproduce a complex of unequal outcomes. An added concern relates to the ethnic character of such inequalities and the potential for inter-racial breakdown, as has been experienced in other jurisdictions, particularly the U.S. (Kerner, 1968) and Europe (Scarman, 1986).

In European countries, racially defined riots such as those in Paris, France in 2005 are one form of the manifestation of these forms of social alienation. In Canada, these concerns are reflected in attempts to encourage cross-cultural understanding through multiculturalism-inspired policies at the national, provincial and local municipal levels (Kunz & Sykes, 2007; Reitz & Banerjee, 2006; Clutterbuck & Norvick, 2003).

2.3 Social Exclusion in the Labour Market

In the context of Peel, exclusionary processes within labour market patterns follow the trends experienced by immigrants and racialized groups throughout Canada. Numerous studies have focused on the question of the recent patterns of integration into the labour market for immigrant and racialized groups (Picot & Hou, 2003; Hou & Coulombe, 2003; Frenette & Morissette, 2003; Teelucksingh & Galabuzi, 2005).

Attachment to the labour market is essential to the experience of full citizenship. It is a source of livelihood, identity formation and a sense of belonging. Teelucksingh & Galabuzi's (2005) study examined racial discrimination in the labour market and employment and its impact on the status of racialized group members in the Canadian labour market.

Based on a quantitative analysis of census data, the Survey of Labour and Labour Income Dynamics, and Human Resources and Skills data, they compared both racialized groups to non-racialized groups and examined the change across time from 1996 to 2001 in terms of social indicators such as: rates of poverty; sectoral and occupational concentrations; unemployment and employment rates; and the ability to convert educational attainment into comparable occupational status and compensation.

Teelucksingh & Galabuzi (2005) found that there were ongoing barriers to upward mobility for racialized people summarized in terms of three major findings. First, double-digit income

disparities still exist (13.3% median after tax income). This finding represents an improvement from 1996 when the median after-tax income for racialized persons was 23.2% lower than for non-racialized persons. However, the size of the gap does reflect a persistent under-valuing of the work of racialized persons in the Canadian economy.

Second, the differential rate of unemployment continued to exist, such that participation rates still lag behind the non-racialized population. The 2001 unemployment rates for the total labour force, at 6.7%, in comparison with 12.1% for recent immigrants and 12.6% for visible minorities, indicates a clear differential in access to the labour market. It is taking much longer for racialized immigrants to catch up with other Canadians, in comparison with past European immigrants.

Lastly, labour market segmentation continues because racially defined concentrations exist in certain sectors and occupations. Racialized groups continue to be overrepresented in lower-paying sectors and occupations and underrepresented in higher-paying sectors and occupations. Immigrants and racialized people are also overrepresented in precarious forms of work (Vosko, 2006) and among the working poor (Jackson, 2005). This reflects the growth of precarious employment or non-standard forms of work – part time, contract, seasonal, piece-work, on-call work and self-employment. These forms of work now account for 37% of paid employment in Canada, up from 25% in the 1980s.³ By 2005, nearly half of all low-income families with children (48% or 576,000) worked for only part of the year. Those rates have remained over 40% since the mid-1990s.

Various studies looking at the experience of immigrants, especially internationally educated professionals and tradespeople, suggest strongly that the differential outcomes identified can be attributed to racially discriminatory systemic practices, such as:

- Differential treatment in recruitment, hiring and promotion;
- Extensive reliance on non-transparent forms of recruitment, such as word of mouth, which reproduce and reinforce existing networks;
- Differential valuation or effective devaluation of internationally obtained credentials;
- Use of immigrant status as a proxy for lower quality of human capital.⁴

³ Saunders, R. *Defining Vulnerability in the Labour Market*. (Ottawa: Canadian Policy Research Networks, 2003)

⁴ See Akbari, A., *The Economics of Immigration and Racial Discrimination: A Literature Survey (1970-89)* (Ottawa: Multiculturalism & Citizenship Canada, 1989);

De Silva, A. “Wage Discrimination Against Visible Minority Men in Canada” (Ottawa: Human Development Canada, 1997); Hiebert, D. *The Colour of Work: Labour Market Segmentation in Montréal, Toronto and Vancouver, 1991*. (Vancouver, RIIM, March 1997); Kunz, J.L., Milan, A. & Schetagne, S. *Unequal Access: A Canadian Profile of Racial Differences in Education, Employment and Income* (Toronto: Canadian Race Relations Foundation, 2000)

Social exclusion in the labour market has consequences for racialized peoples and immigrants' livelihoods and their sense of identity and belonging. Social exclusion in the workplace and labour market positions immigrants as outsiders and reduces their ability to develop horizontal ties and social networks due to the social distance it imposes. A commitment to anti-discrimination strategies in the workplace is one step toward addressing forms of economic exclusion. The role for policy to address social exclusion in the labour market includes the need:

- To identify and remove barriers to equitable access to the labour market and to particular workplaces.
- For appropriate policies and programs to ensure a smooth transition for internationally trained professionals and tradespeople into their fields of expertise.

2.4 Social Exclusion and the Social Determinants of Health

A companion paper (submitted to the Region, but not published) by Ilene Hyman addresses the experience of immigrants and health in greater detail. That work and other research identify social exclusion as an important social determinant of health (Hyman, 2001; O'Hare, 2006; Galabuzi, 2002). However, the Canadian health system as a whole has been slow to address the implications of social exclusion experienced by racialized groups and new immigrants with regard to health disparities (Galabuzi, 2002; 2004). From a social determinants of health perspective, Galabuzi (2004) argues that there is a need to take into account the health impacts of not having equal access to social, economic, political and cultural systems that determine the distribution of society's resources due to racial or ethnic characteristics.

The experience of social exclusion can translate into differential health outcomes and the underutilization of health services. Similarly, Noh & Kaspar (2003) suggest that forms of social exclusion as well as institutional racism in the health care system both play a role in explaining why the overall health of immigrants deteriorates over time as immigrants attempt to integrate into Canadian society. According to Galabuzi (2004), addressing inequalities in health and toward social inclusion, requires that the health sector and policy makers consider:

- Increasing access to appropriate health services for immigrants and racialized groups, ones that incorporate culturally sensitive and language-specific services for all health needs, including mental health services.
- Helping immigrants and racialized communities to build support networks within and outside of their communities.
- Training health workers to provide services that are culturally sensitive.
- Hiring workers from racialized groups.
- Supporting ethno-specific service delivery, at least as a transitional measure

2.5 Other Dimensions of Social Exclusion

Research has also found that all members of immigrant families suffer from other dimensions of exclusion. Social exclusion is also reflected in the educational differences experienced by immigrant and racialized students. Davies & Guppy (1998) and others document immigrant and racialized students' struggles relating to rates of drop-out and levels of educational achievement. Students' challenges are linked to their experiences of institutional and cultural discrimination.

Education matters in terms of creating a socially inclusive society since education facilitates both economic and non-economic forms of capital. In a more complex global economy, acquiring educational credentials no longer guarantees employment, but education is essential for broadening opportunities and allowing for expanded social networks. Social exclusion in the Canadian educational systems further disadvantages new immigrant parents who might already be marginalized in terms of language skills and their ability to access social networks that are familiar with the Canadian educational system.

Often times, these multiple layers of discrimination translate into the inability of immigrant parents to advocate for their children's educational needs. Schools system and policy makers can work toward making education accessible to all students in a manner that is free from forms of exclusion. As discussed below, public schools are potential sites for creating new social networks.

Kilbrides (2000) work on the effects of the settlement process for immigrant youth addresses some of the challenges they face. The study highlights the isolation that youth experience related to racism and discrimination and the intergenerational consequences of their parents' challenges in the labour market. It also emphasizes the great need for better language facility for immigrant youth (Kilbride et al. 2000). Gender and age are other factors that affect the nature of the exclusion experience by immigrant youth (Tyyska, 2001).

The experience of social exclusion among religious minorities often leads to alienation and social distance from mainstream society. Religious minorities are marginalized and denied access to the dominant groups' advantages and ideologies, which limits their networks and interactions. In the context of Britain, Cheong et al. (2007) note that British responses to September 11, 2001 have resulted in Asian Muslims, in particular, and other immigrants being subjected to new citizenship practices that seek to narrowly define British identity, as well as assimilation expectations that, in practice, exclude religious and ethnic diversity.

Settlement services play an important role in assisting immigrants to overcome social exclusion by improving access to needed information in ways that are linguistically and culturally appropriate for all members of immigrant families (Omidvar & Richmond, 2003). Omidvar & Richmond (2003, p.7) and Reitz (1998) also identify that the provision of social services is essential to maintaining the public's support of high levels of immigration.

Thus, it is crucial for Peel to continue to make newcomers aware of the range of initiatives available to support recent immigrants both within the Region of Peel's Human Services department, such as The Peel Newcomer Strategy Group and the Peel Immigrant Web Portal, as well as services provided by agencies in the Region. These initiatives, in addition to providing valuable information, also provide avenues to expand the newcomers' social networks by connecting them with a range of stakeholders in the community. In this manner, settlement services can attempt to address inequalities in access to resources that may exist in some marginalized ethnic communities.

However, there are two important challenges facing settlement services in overcoming exclusion and fostering inclusion. As Saloojee (2003) asserts, even where social inclusion frameworks exist, there is still a need to engage with anti-racism perspectives in order to address the weaknesses associated with multiculturalism. An anti-racism perspective includes questioning structures of privilege and the need for all social groups to have access to power and decision-making processes. In this sense, immigrant and racialized groups should be equal partners in the community in terms of mandates and programs associated with settlement services.

Second, settlement services are often vulnerable to cutbacks, concurrent with an increase in demand for these same services. In this context, immigrant serving agencies are turning to a combination of sources of support (Omidvar & Richmond, 2003; Mwarigha, 2002). Therefore, there is progressively more need to build on the alliances across settlement service providers. In many cases, multistakeholder collaborative efforts already exist between and across Regional municipal departments, other levels of government and jurisdictions, and with businesses and non-governmental organizations.

2.6 Summary

In this section, we have considered the fact that social exclusions are experienced in multiple and reinforcing dimensions. We have also argued that:

- Structurally, social exclusion is a reflection of the uneven access to power for immigrants and racialized and religious minorities, which compromises equal citizenship.
- In Peel Region, the role of policy to address social exclusion and foster horizontal ties and social networks is to implement strategies that counter forms of social exclusions at the level of individuals, communities and institutions. Programs and policies that seek to improve the distributions of the society's resources, such as better access to the labour market, housing and education, will also improve marginalized residents' sense of identity and belonging.

At the same time, it is important to acknowledge that immigrants and racialized and religious minorities in Peel Region should not be exclusively framed as socially, economically and politically deprived. Rather, lessons can be learned from examples of social inclusion and attempts to address power inequalities.

For instance, some ethnic minorities in Peel Region have successfully used social capital to elect racialized representatives at both the provincial and federal levels (Siemiatycki, Matheson & Bagga, 2005). If enhanced, diverse political representation in Peel has the ability to foster both bonding and bridging social networks.

The next section examines components of the social bonds within immigrant and ethnic communities, which are also important in assisting immigrants in the settlement process.

3. Social Capital, Social Relations and Social Networks

This section examines social capital as a policy tool aimed at creating a framework to explore the conditions of exclusion experienced by immigrants and ethnic communities in Peel and other jurisdictions.

3.1 Existing Conditions

The complex conditions that have been unleashed by the changing demographic profile of Canadian society all draw attention to the need to engage public policy responses that will mitigate the tensions arising from conditions of social exclusion and create conditions within which access to opportunities are enhanced and institutionalized for immigrant communities. The recognition that the very communities that face the most immediate challenges are often resilient and develop survival strategies that draw on their resourcefulness and have a variety of associational life, institutions and social networks that often substitute for government inaction is a jumping off point to consider how the concept of social capital can be relevant to these challenges.

How does the notion of social capital apply to the situation such as in Peel Region? How can it be strengthened, enhanced and leveraged to meet the challenges the Region faces. How can social capital help address the gap in social cohesion that is growing with the social distance the social economic indicators imply?

Social networks have been used successfully as a foundation for local social and economic development in many countries in the global South (Favreau et al. 2001). There are now numerous examples of deploying social capital in development, health, child welfare, education and in the fight against poverty (Durstun, 1999). Developing new social networks or utilizing existing ones has proven effective in addressing such social problems as youth violence, drug addiction and student engagement (Shirley, 1997; Campbell, 2005).

3.2 Social Networks and Responding to the Challenge of Social Exclusion

Increased levels of racialized immigration in the Region of Peel and other communities have raised concerns about the need to establish positive relations between the receiving populations and recent immigrant groups (Qadeer & Kumar, 2006). As Qadeer & Kumar (2006) suggest, immigrants' social relationships and networks, along with other forms of capital, can offer potential solutions to improving their economic and social well-being, which in turn benefits society as a collective. However, social capital as a mechanism for social cohesion/social inclusion must be considered in terms of its ability to address both social exclusion and enhance the value of specific social networks.

The implications of ethnic businesses, ethnic transnationalism and faith-based neighbourhoods as strategies for some ethnic groups to mobilize resources and to pursue economic and social goals are also explored in the context of the foreseeable consequences for Peel Region.

3.3 The Implications of Ethnic Social Networks

As immigrants go through the various stages of settlement into Canadian society, they rely on different types of social networks. Results from the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada found that friends and family are a key reason for immigrants' decision to immigrate and where to reside in Canada (Kunz, 2005, p.54). In addition, newcomers use these familiar contacts to help them find a place to live and to adjust to their new host societies, including obtaining information about employment, health care and education.

Since communities vary in terms of the quality of their social networks and their abilities to help newcomers to integrate into the labour market, particularly the mainstream labour market, it is important to explore the implications of ethnic networks in challenging or perpetuating social inequality.

Qadeer & Kumar (2006) had addressed the positive role that ethnic enclaves play in the process of settlement in Peel Region. They argue that in Peel Region, ethnic enclaves are largely an expression of preference, common interest, social networks and cultural or religious needs of immigrants and serve as a pathway for integration into Canadian society. They see enclaves as rich in social capital, mutual support networks and associational life that can be leveraged to acquire benefits such as access to the labour market, particularly in the enclave economy and informal service delivery.

There is ample evidence to suggest that primary and secondary migration into middle-class neighbourhoods, particularly in Mississauga and Brampton, supports this thesis. However, there is also evidence that suggests that, important as these observations are, this is a partial reality. Mohanty (2007) shows that there are also concentrations of low income immigrants that would qualify as ethnic enclaves in places such as Malton.

Here, ethnic enclaves do not seem to be a form of 'voluntary segregation,' rather, immigrants choices are determined by economic constraints and disadvantages in access to well-paying work that would allow them better housing budgets. In such environments, the quality of social capital is inferior to that in the upscale ethnic enclaves and with the absence of government intervention, it is unlikely to improve.

Beyond neighbourhood selection and its impact on social capital, differential experiences among racialized groups can also determine the quality of social networks and social capital. Some ethnic groups are more likely than others to leverage social capital both from within the groups and from the broader community. They are also more likely to be represented in the low social capital and low income neighbourhoods than in the middle class high-quality social capital neighbourhoods. Government action here should be directed by a disaggregation of the data on immigrant and/or racialized categories to ensure programs are targeted for maximum community impact.

3.4 Ethnic Enclave Economy

The ethnic enclave economy refers to situations in which immigrants are employed in businesses within their own ethnic group that are owned and operated by that ethnic group. This is distinct from segments of the mainstream labour market that are characterized as having segregated or ethnically homogeneous workers. Li (2004) defines the ethnic enclave economy as a parallel economy to the mainstream economy in that the “immigrant-based economy thrives as a separate but protected and unified system where a common language and ethnic affinity provides conditions for immigrant businesses to prosper. In turn immigrant workers enjoy positive returns to human capital investments similar to those from in the primary labour market” (2004, p.180).

European and American literature largely presents ethnic enclaves as a negative development in relation to social cohesion (Reitz & Sklar, 1997; Fukuyama, 1995; Letki, 2004). But Canadian literature is largely mixed on the issue, with some reporting a positive relationship between enclaves and immigrant integration and identifying benefits for ethnic enclaves such as providing essential supports for integration (Kazemipur, 2005-2006; Qadeer & Kumar, 2006; Johnston, Soroka & Banting, 2002; Li, 2004). In contrast, others see possible negative implications from ethnic attachment largely through isolation from information flows that pertain to mainstream networks (Li, 2001; Kalback & Kalback, 2002; Pendukar & Penduka, 2002).

Successful enclave economies in Toronto exist in parts of the Chinese community, where they have strong internal solidarity and are created by using ethnic ties to build trust and to form networks to pool financial resources (Li, 2004; Salaff et al. 2006). Successful ethnic enclave businesses often benefit from ethnic transnationalism, in which immigrants are able to draw from social networks and business communities both in their home country and in their new host country (Saleff et al. 2006; Li, 2004). Developments in telecommunications have helped to facilitate these links. Gaster et al. (1999) have identified a number of positive features of ethnic enclave economies including:

- a) informal on-the-job training;
- b) higher productivity in companies with same-language workers;
- c) a denser network of job-sharing information;
- d) valuation by ethnic employers of international credentials and experience;
- e) social capital formation.

The successful enclave economy does not deprive its participants of the opportunity to develop bridging capital even as it provides opportunities for transition through utilization of ethnic social networks to acquire employment (Li, 2004). Chang & Cheung’s (1985) study of Chinese businesses in Toronto in the 1980s showed benefits from certain collective resources such as group solidarity, ethnic customers and ethnic labour. In the 1990s, a study by Teixeira & Murdie (1997) of Portuguese-owned businesses showed benefits from local networks in the Portuguese community.

More recently, making a distinction between voluntary and imposed residential selection, Qadeer & Kumar (2006) argue that both ethnic residential enclaves and ethnic businesses that result from voluntary “segregation” provide opportunities for sustaining culture and strengthening the community’s political and economic power. This is exemplified in the increase of visible minority representation in elected office in Peel (Siemiatycki, Matheson & Bagga, 2005).

According to Qadeer and Kumar (2006), there are social advantages for individuals in ethnic communities, such as seniors, who would otherwise be isolated without the access that bonds social ties. Li (2004) concludes that literature on ethnic enclave economies suggests that ethnic ties foster the development of a sheltered economy where ethnic entrepreneurs take advantage of the ethnically bounded community as a labour pool and consumer market – leading to opportunities for immigrant labour but also to possibilities of exploitation.

For instance, Ng (1999) has documented these processes of exploitation in her work on Chinese workers in the garment industry. She argues that the absence of employment standards in these sweatshops is partly explained by the ethnic enclave nature of the sub-contracted operations. In fact, much of the literature on employment in ethnic economies associates them with poor working conditions and low wages (Reitz, 1990; Hiebert, 1997; Pendukar, 2000; Li, 2004).

Li (2004), has suggested that the ethnic enclave economy, by its nature, is potentially exclusionary since it limits the amount of interaction with those outside of the ethnic group. But as a repository of social capital, ethnic economies can be enabling because of their link to other forms of capital, particularly financial capital and the associated class-based advantages (Li, 2004). Different ethnic groups may adopt different combinations of capital to access resources (Cheong et al. 2007). Li (2004, p.182) argues that the success of an ethnic enclave economy is dependent on factors such as the size of the enclave and its degree of urban concentration.

Since bonding social capital is linked to other forms of capital, the quality available to those who are poor and socially deprived is limited by the strength of their social network, even within their own ethnic communities. As a result, for a majority of immigrants employed in their own ethnic group, due to the poor quality of their social capital and poor access to other forms of capital, they tend to be economically marginalized in lower-paying positions in poorer-paying labour market sectors (Kunz, 2005).

Social class is an important determinant of social capital even within ethnic enclaves. More research is needed to determine the extent to which those outside of the ethnic group, particularly governments, but also business associations, can contribute to expanding opportunities afforded by ethnic economies.

In addition, the quality of social networks in immigrant and ethnic communities is tied to the communities’ institutional completeness (Reitz, 1998; Kunz, 2005). Institutional completeness refers to the full range of parallel institutions in comparison with those found in the mainstream society. The more institutionally complete a community is, in terms of

businesses, churches, banks and social services, the more it can offer newcomers and established members in terms of resources that increase ethnic attachment and bonds (Kunz, 2005, p.55). In general, the groups that have settled the longest in Canada are the most institutionally complete. Immigrants and members of ethnic groups may choose to work in ethnic businesses and participate in ethnic institutions, particularly when their community is institutionally complete and has strong and trusted contacts. Still, establishing social networks outside of one's own ethnic group is especially important for groups who do not have high socioeconomic status.

Racialized immigrants, who are more likely to encounter diverse forms of exclusion, have a difficult time using their networks to gain higher-earning jobs and higher socio-economic status (Kunz, 2005, p.55; Qadeer, 2003). It is challenging for racialized minorities to broaden their social contacts in a way that will improve their social and economic standing. The downside to ethnic networks then is the potential that they can prevent members of ethnic groups from integrating fully into the mainstream, both socially and economically.

While it may not matter for those with limited skills, for internationally trained immigrants, this social and economic isolation may occur at the cost of realizing the investments in human capital. On the other hand, broadening social networks through bridging social capital could lead to better jobs and earnings in comparison with most ethnic enclave networks (Li, 2004).

3.5 Ethnic Enclaves and Social Distance – Contact Hypothesis

Minoritized communities are often subject to social distance from the dominant cultural group. This distance interferes with their ability to utilize their social capital and to build relations with members of the broader community. An important dimension of the process of bridging capital is, therefore, the development of relations between dominant groups and minority groups – whether they are new immigrants or historically minoritized and in some cases, stigmatized groups.

The argument here is that greater contact through inclusive public institutions, such as schools, recreational centres, hospitals, public spaces and libraries can help diminish the social distance between groups and open the door for sharing social capital across cultural or ethnic boundaries. Providing opportunities to bridging and linking social capital also has the possibility to reduce discrimination due to increased contact between dominant and minority groups in line with Allport's (1984) contact hypothesis.

Recent work on Allport's (1954) Intergroup Contact Theory has highlighted the opportunities available to diminish social antipathy among dominant and subordinate groups. Allport's work sought to explain the high levels of prejudice between Southern American and Blacks.

From a social psychology perspective, Allport (1954) argued that there were positive effects of intergroup contact, not the least of which is a reduction in "prejudice" and a closing of the social gap between diverse groups (Allport or Forbes

1997). The intergroup hypothesis has generated a lot of research and policy controversy when applied to the problems associated with race relations, since it was largely conceived as simply advocating the improvement of conditions of stigmatized groups through face-to-face group interactions. While various interpretations of Allport provide varied understandings of his hypothesis, Bramel (1997) suggests that a careful reading of “prejudice” in Allport (1954) shows it as encouraging the tendency to minimize antagonisms based not just on group difference but also on “clashes of interests and values.”

Such action requires four key conditions: equal group status within the situation; common goals; intergroup cooperation; and the support of authorities, laws and customs. For example, applications of Allport’s theory have been used to legitimize the racial integration of schools (Pettigrew, 1986). In addition, applications of the theory conceived that social contact, as a means to reduce discrimination, would also facilitate social networks between the two groups.

Pettigrew and Tropp’s meta-analysis of 515 studies testing intergroup contact theory observed that the literature regarding the likely effects of the theory is conflicting. As significant weaknesses, Allport’s theory not only focuses on the micro-level relations at the expense of a structural analysis of inequality, but also does not clearly define what is equal group status or common goals. Thus, as Pettigrew (1986) contends, the process of establishing intergroup contact is not adequately conceptualized.

In this sense, how you promote interaction between groups who that already prejudiced toward one another is not addressed by Allport’s work. However, at the level of policy, government supported initiatives that enhance cross-cultural contact may have a positive impact in overcoming some of the shortcomings associated with the contact hypothesis.

Public policy can utilize opportunities provided by publicly induced social space through schools, libraries, recreational centres, etc. to enhance bridging capital formation.

Another potential strategy would involve local business associations that draw from diverse ethnic communities and include some ethnic businesses linking with mainstream business associations, leading to the expansion of social networks in a context that includes some components of familiar ethnic ties.

The success of bridging and linking networks depends on the capacity of ethnic and newcomer communities to participate in coalition building efforts, rather than being simply passive participants. For instance, members of Peel business associations would need to be educated about the benefits of forming ties with ethnic communities.

Canadian public libraries are also providing innovative strategies to create more inclusive communities by acknowledging the service needs of newcomers and ethnic communities, along with more established ethnic communities (Caidi & Allard, 2005; Quirke, 2007).

Public libraries are shared public spaces that reduce social distance between different groups and provide avenues to expand the social networks of newcomers (Omidvar & Richmond, 2003; Caidi & Allard, 2005). Libraries also promote social interaction while also allowing newcomers to gather valuable information to support their search for employment. Quirke's analysis (2007) of the settlement services of the Toronto and Windsor public libraries found that the multicultural policies, multilingual collections and settlement services in public libraries foster a sense of belonging for both newcomers and members of the host society.

Libraries are important in the everyday lives of newcomers since they are easy to access in most neighbourhoods and have an increasing number of settlement programs, including adult literacy and career workshops (Quirke, 2007). Partnerships between public libraries in Ontario, different levels of government and community agencies are reflected in a wide range of services.

3.6 Faith-Based Networks and Neighbourhoods

Immigrant social networks have consequences for immigrants' residential settlement patterns. In Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver, in particular, immigrants are more likely than non-immigrants to settle in neighbourhoods with high levels of poverty (Kazemipur and Halli, 2000; Preston & Giles, 1995). However, it is important to acknowledge that the residential patterns of ethnic groups may exist for a variety of reasons, including immigrants' income relative to the cost of the housing market, exclusionary practices by the dominant group and specific cultural and linguistic needs (Qadeer, 2003).

From the perspective of Peel Region, Kumar & Qadeer (2006) argue that, in general, high concentrations of South Asians in some areas of Peel Region are due, in part, to religious networks and the need for linguistic and cultural accessibility. As already indicated above, ethnic enclaves are not necessarily "ghettos" and many ethnic enclaves, as is the case in Peel, are relatively affluent (Kumar & Qadeer, 2006).

Agrawal & Qadeer (2008, p.1) also studied faith-based ethnic neighbourhoods, which they define as "a type residential community that develops around places of worship and are inhabited by a concentration of one identifiable ethnic group." Agrawal & Qadeer (2008) argue that some stakeholders' concerns about religion as the basis for the formation of the communities are also raising questions about the role of the neighbourhoods in integrating and segregating their members.

As a component of their study, Agrawal & Qadeer (2008) explored the nature of social capital, defined as social network, trust and neighbourliness in these communities. Two of the case studies they examined were located in Peel: the Gore Road Community near the Hindu temple in Brampton and The Morningstar Community near the Sikh Gurdwara in Malton. They found that faith-based communities are the basis for ethnic social networking, and that places of worship often play multiple roles, including serving as a place to meet. However, faith does not become a basis of exclusion.

Instead, institutions, such as schools and voluntary organizations, are sites for social networking and not the neighbourhoods (Qadeer and Kumar, 2006). Religion plays a weak role in bonding people together and it does contribute to small levels of concentration, depending on the religion and individuals' practices (Agrawal & Qadeer, 2008, p.29).

Cheong, et al. (2007), in the context of Britain, argue that the political context of post-September 11, 2001 has had consequences for perceptions of what constitutes "good" social capital. They highlight that in today's context, bonding and group segregation, particularly among Asian Muslim groups, are seen negatively (i.e., as "bad" social capital) in contrast to past conceptions of the same cultural and familial bonds as enabling social cohesion. In Britain, young Asian Muslims, in particular, experience political scrutiny.

As Cheong et al. (2007) contend that when Britishness is equated with a Christian identity, discrimination and suspicion about ethnic and religions networks become a threat to social cohesion/social inclusion. In this scenario, the dominant groups in the host society may not acknowledge that bond relations may be a response to the discrimination experienced by immigrant groups.

3.7 Summary

This discussion of social networks has highlighted that if Peel is committed to social inclusion, newcomers and ethnic groups require supports to establish a variety of social networks within the context of immigrant and ethnic groups so they are able to maximize and draw from all forms of capital. The following arguments have also been raised:

- As a necessary precondition, there is the need to develop strategies across all Peel stakeholders that are committed to removing barriers of exclusion. Without a framework to address racism and discrimination, the paradox of the mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion operating concurrently will continue to be a reality in Peel Region (Henry & Tator, 2000; Galabuzi, 2001; Omidvar & Richmond, 2003).
- Communities with poor relations between receiving communities and recent immigrants can encourage intra-ethnic networks as a survival strategy.
- Schools, neighbourhood sports and voluntary organizations are inclusive public institutions in Peel Region that bring together diverse stakeholders who already share a vested interest in improving the quality of life of Peel Region. These institutions that are not ethnically affiliated, at present, are good starting points for establishing inclusive networks and sites for addressing social exclusion, since contact and interaction tends to be sustained.

In the next section, we consider some promising practices from other jurisdictions that shed light on appropriate policy and program strategies in Peel Region.

4. Promising Practices from Other Jurisdictions

In a number of jurisdictions, governments have sought to connect state action to social cohesion by undertaking initiatives aimed at strengthening key social relationships in communities, thus encouraging bonding for economic activities and social cohesion (Kemenade et al. 2003; Saucier & Thivierge, 2002).

In the context of international and local development, for instance, research shows that higher levels of social capital tend to guarantee success (Kemenade et al. 2003). State support recognizes new and emerging forms of social organization of social interests by funding activities, passing legislation or empowering social networks to assume responsibilities for service delivery.

For instance, according to Kemenade et al. (2003), the Quebec government has focused its efforts on initiatives that improve social relationships in the social sector. The rationale is that it benefits members of communities and particularly vulnerable groups. Secondly, it strengthens social networks at the local and provincial level as relationships are developed between and among parents and schools, community members and service providers (e.g., health care, child care, social service,) as well as relationships between levels of government. Sometimes new initiatives bring about new relationships.

While social capital is a resource identified with civil society, there is a potential role for the state in creating conditions that accentuate the development of social relations that benefit both the community and individuals. Below are some promising practices involving a number of social capital-related initiatives and research projects that may show the way to operationalizing social capital as a social policy instrument. Most of these promising practices exist at the intersection of community life and government intervention. They demonstrate the potential of social capital as a public policy tool applied to social problems and opportunities for social cohesion.

4.1 Anti-racism action

Anti-racism action is an approach that is based on identifying particular impediments to successful integration and social inclusion and developing a plan of action to confront them. It involves addressing social exclusion by creating anti-racism policies that clarify the community's commitment to an inclusive society. Such an approach would require a commitment to an anti-racism strategy by a local government.

Key elements of the strategy would include: a review of institutional policies and practices to eliminate discriminatory impacts; developing an anti-racism policy; empowering racialized group members; monitoring anti-racism initiatives for progress; and positioning the organization as a leader on anti-racism within the community.

Successful Anti-racism Strategies

- Create race consciousness _ race is addressed as a social relation
- Review of institutional policies and practices for racial bias and resistance
- Develop an anti-racism, anti-oppression vision and programs
- Hold management accountable for addressing allegations of racism in the organization
- Empower racialized groups and individuals – by providing them organizational resources, legitimacy, expertise, leadership, political representation and representation in decision-making
- Monitor anti-racism initiatives
- Emphasize the role of the institution in combating racism in the community

Source: Galabuzi, 2006

4.2 Promising Practices

Community Development Foundation

Community Development Foundation’s “Connecting Communities Plus, Community Grants” and “Faiths in Action”

The Community Development Foundation (U.K.) funds projects from small, locally run and managed voluntary and community organizations, many volunteer-run, whose focus is to improve relations between people of different ethnic and/or faith backgrounds. Connecting Communities Plus, Community Grants program had four key priorities:

- Improving the experiences of people from Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) backgrounds in relation to access and outcomes from public services_education, employment, health, housing and the criminal justice system
- Increasing the confidence of people from BME backgrounds that public services are delivered in a fair and equitable way
- Tackling racism and extremism
- Bringing together communities from different races and faiths, and promoting a shared sense of belonging (community cohesion)

Faiths in Action

Faith in Action is another funding program that seeks to support community inter-faith activities. In 2007, the program was funded to the tune of £4 million in grants and was open to faith, interfaith, voluntary and community sector organizations at national, regional and local levels in England. The program is sponsored by Communities and Local Government (CLG) and administered by the Community Development Foundation (CDF).

Faiths in Action supports the Government's aspiration to help faith communities and others promote understanding, dialogue and develop strong and sustainable partnerships.

The Resilient Communities Project, British Columbia (Matthews, 2003)

The Resilience Communities Project is an action research project from British Columbia examining whether community capital can serve as a buffer against economic downturn and as a basis for economic renewal. Undertaken by a team of researchers (Ralph Matthews, Brian Elliot, Terre Satterfield, Gary Veenstra – from UBC), this three-phase project considers the relationship between social capital and economic development, health and well-being in the coastal region of British Columbia. It demonstrates both the steps as well as the value of mapping social capital and evaluating its effectiveness in social and economic development as well as inter-community cohesion.

The project is a multi-year initiative aimed at:

- Documenting and studying the social and economic changes that take place in coastal British Columbia;
- Examining how changing resource development strategies and practices are affecting coastal community life;
- Determining the extent of social capital among communities in the coastal areas;
- Assessing the potential relationship between social capital and community economic development ; and
- Investigating the extent to which a social capital perspective can usefully explain the existing situation and provide a framework for future development policy.

The project involved 131 separate Coastal communities. In Phase I, data was collected on social and economic indicators. Phase II dealt with social capital – including a survey of 4,800 households in 22 communities – inquiring into such measures of social capital as social networks, trust and community satisfaction. It also inquired into physical and mental health, health service utilization and various income variables.

Here the team was interested in establishing the structure of social capital formation and prevalence as well as the dynamics of utilization. As well, they sought to understand whether the communities have strong or weak bonding and or bridging capital. Phase III focused on the social, economic, cultural and political leaders in six of the communities as key informants in the hope that it would deepen the learning from the first two phases and provide a firmer basis for analysis.

Community Employment Innovation Project (Nova Scotia)

The Community Employment and Innovation Project (CEIP) was a demonstration project focusing on long-term unemployed individuals in a community in distress. It was part of an initiative in local economic development supported by the Nova Scotia Department of Community Services and Human Resources, Social Development Canada (HRSDC) and the Cape Breton Regional Municipality (CBRM), and was managed by a not-for profit research organization. The project ran between 1999 and 2008.

The rationale behind the project was the development of local economic initiatives supported by government, but building on the range of community assets in the local community. The Cape Breton Regional Municipality (CBRM) joined as a partner with the senior levels of government for the project because of the depressed conditions in the aftermath of the closure of key coal and steel industries in the region. It built on a history of grassroots involvement in economic development projects. Gyamati & Kyte (quoting Glaser (2001) note that individuals employed in social projects tend to invest more in social relationships than do those in industrial production (2003, p.22). So the mere undertaking of such a socially productive initiative is itself a benefit for its participants in terms of social capital formation.

The initiative focused on community members who were Employment Insurance (EI) eligible who could convert their EI benefits into “community wages” to work on CEIP projects. Because of the imperative to diversify the local economy, local communities are central to the process of decision-making, priority setting, opportunity identification and mobilization of community resources in support of the projects.

In turn, the process of engagement and the availability of project-based jobs was said to enhance the development of social capital within the community. Gyarmati & Kyte (2003) have indicated that the research component of the CEIP sought to evaluate the effects of the project on social network formation through which capital is generated (2003,p.20). Using an experimental impact study – assigning participants to either a control or program group, with the program group receiving CEIP treatment and the control group not- they were able to measure the outcomes of the CEIP intervention in terms of social capital formation.

These experiences were then subject to a follow-up survey conducted periodically at 18, 40 and 54 months looking for impact on key data in labour market outcomes and quality of life (Gyamati & Kyte, 2003, p.21). The surveys also test for social network involvement and utilization through specialized advice, emotional support, help finding employment and household activities (Gyamati & Kyte, 2003, p.21).

The density of social networks was also tested to determine the nature and interconnectedness of the relationships. Data was collected for both groups – project and control groups.

The project identified mechanisms by which the CEIP influenced social capital formation. Included here were:

- Bringing people together who might not otherwise have interacted with each other. These included members of volunteer community boards, sponsoring community agencies, unemployed, government officials, researchers and members of the general community. Social networks evolved through community mobilizing and participation in priority setting exercises, electing community board members and problem solving.
- Participants improve their social capital by participating in the project. The better paid they are, the more likely they are to be stable members of the community and accept the cost of relationship maintenance, since precariousness tends to lead to mobility and so undermines the sustainability of local relationships. They also saw a potential for enhancing both bonding capital (staying close to home) and bridging capital (access to external assets, skills and information) but also linking capital (cross-class interaction) through the project.
- Because local communities are required to demonstrate capacity to leverage CEIP projects, local mobilization of resources involving influential members of the community becomes a pre-requisite for successful application for projects, thereby demonstrating both a capacity to mobilize resources as well as build new social networks that tend to endure after the project is completed. Participants expand their networks and the cumulative effect is greater social capital available for community action and individual use.

Gyamati and Kyte (2003, p.23) report that the effect of diversification was apparent early in the project, with no more than 15% of all projects in any single category, and with a range of community sectors involved including various community services for youth, seniors and the disabled, churches and non-profit organizations, and environmental projects.

A wide range of occupations were also generated through the project, from service sector occupations, financial administration and natural and applied sciences, to management positions. Final evaluations remain to be done to establish definitively the actual impact on the process of social capital formation, but other objectives such as income generation and economic diversification show real progress.

4.3 Summary

This section provided some of the promising practices from various jurisdictions that demonstrate the value of social capital for addressing social problems. From anti-racism action planning that provides strategies to the U.K. Connecting Communities Plus and Faith in Action, to the Resilient Communities Project in British Columbia and the Community

Employment Innovation Project, these practices demonstrate the capacity of mobilizing social capital for building social cohesion, promoting social inclusion and empowering local and ethnic communities. They demonstrate how a commitment to social inclusion can be operationalized through participation in local community, neighbourhood connections, family and friends connections, work connections, tolerance of diversity, feelings of trust and safety, proactivity in a social context, and valuing of life and dignity - the eight factors we identified as key to accumulating, enhancing and maintaining social capital.

5. Promising Strategies and Solutions

Social Inclusion, Social Cohesion and Public Policy

A systematic and systematic approach to social inclusion and social cohesion is essential to addressing social exclusion and effectively utilizing social capital as a resource for social, economic and community development. Some ideas as to where to start include:

- Establish a taskforce on Diversity and Equity in Peel Region with the mandate to study the threats to social cohesion arising from experiences of social exclusion among particular groups, communities and neighbourhoods, as well as to identify the opportunities for utilizing diversity for social innovation and better service delivery. Such a taskforce would evaluate the intensity and extent of social exclusion, and facilitate the process of mapping social capital to identify strong and weak as well as functional and dysfunctional social networks.
- Develop explicit policy on employment equity in the Regional and city public services as a demonstration of a commitment to social inclusion. Undertake anti-racism and diversity management programs with clearly defined goals, time lines and measurable outcomes.
- Leverage existing social capital in ethnically defined local neighbourhoods through the establishment of ethno-specific delivery of social services that are community supported and can provide best practices in culturally competent delivery of social services. These service delivery vehicles also double as social infrastructure for leadership and engagement for ethno-specific communities and so strengthen or sustain immigrant and ethnic group social networks.
- Focus on key vulnerable groups such as youth, seniors and low-income segments of the immigrant populations: Include community-based initiatives that help youth in low-income communities to achieve meaningfully access to education by staying in school and attaining credentials or getting training.
- Community programs involving schools as key institutional vehicles for building community, and cross-cultural bonds show real potential for addressing social exclusion. Schools present a particular opportunity for interaction among communities because of the common interest in student success shared by members of diverse communities, government, businesses and youth.
- Fund initiatives that foster relationships across various ethnic, religious and racialized communities in a manner that builds organizations of mutual assistance_business organizations, school-based organizations, socio-cultural organizations – as a means of generating bridging capital.

- Use key institutions with social mandates, such as schools, hospitals and recreational centres, to build alliances of common purpose involving local government, voluntary organizations and business associations as starting points for establishing cross-cultural, inclusive networks and sites for addressing social exclusion.
- Integrate diversity in planning function. Planning and other local government action should facilitate mixed-income housing developments since research shows that concerns about community safety that tend to relate to social class stratification can be addressed through strong social networks. A commitment to mixed-income housing also acknowledges the importance of governments supporting affordable housing and inclusive planning structures.
- Settlement services programs should facilitate civic participation by community and faith-based groups in Peel Region in the planning and decision-making processes.

5.2 Future Research on Social Capital and Peel Region

The literature review clearly suggests the value of utilizing social capital as a policy tool. At the same time, there is limited knowledge of the situation of social capital in Peel Region. Further research is therefore needed to explore the prevalence and possible utilization of social capital and cultural capital for immigrant integration in Peel. Among others, it should focus on the following areas:

- The need to understand the complexities associated with different immigrant groups, suggesting the need to employ a range of research methods, including qualitative research. For example, primary research on social capital and immigrant women in Windsor, conducted by Anucha et al. (2006), used a community dialogue approach developed by the researchers. It involves a multi-stage research process to integrate participation from various stakeholders and community members through interviews, a construction of both organizational and community profiles, and a larger-scale survey of immigrants. Similarly, the Resilient Communities Project in the British Columbia coastal areas sought to establish the availability of social capital and its effectiveness in addressing economic distress among communities (Matthews, 2003).
- A focus on the relationship between social capital and youth-related challenges, such as school success and youth violence, is necessary, as both first- and second-generation youth continue to struggle with the process of integration (Herbert et al. 2004)
- The need to explore the link between challenges to social inclusion specific to particular ethnic communities and local neighbourhoods, such as problems of community safety, crime and racial profiling, and the potential of social networks and social relationships in addressing those challenges.

- The need to expand and track the success or failure of specific social networking policies, such as strategies tied to the Peel Newcomer Strategy Group and Canadian Immigration and Settlements' Host Program, at the federal level.
- The need to investigate the extent to which processes of suburbanization impact immigrant social networks and social relationships, this would investigate which patterns obtain with regard to bonding capital in ethnic enclaves and bridging capital in more mixed-income or racially mixed neighbourhoods and which appropriate public policy interventions can be developed in this regard.

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