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**CANADIAN IMMIGRATION AND MULTICULTURALISM POLITICS:
FEW GENERALISATIONS ABOUT PECULIARITIES IN 1960-s – 2010-s**

The challenges of immigration processes caused the crisis of a multiculturalist and tolerant society. Thousands of refugees and immigrants with different backgrounds are looking for their new home. Studying successful experience could give us an opportunity to understand the way of reaching tolerance in this multicultural world. One of the regions with successful experience is the Canadian Federation. Owing to the development of its own immigration policy in the 1960s, Canada gave a new life to immigrants and refugees from different regions. The general scientific theory and such empirical methods as critical analysis, synthesis of sources and method of qualitative analysis of text messages are used. As a result, the main stages of the changes of Canadian immigration policy are depicted: from the evolution changes of immigration policy and the development of multicultural policy in Canada from 1960s to the Bill C-31 of 2012.

Keywords: Canada, Immigration Policy, Multiculturalism, Refugees, Immigrants.

Immigration is very important in modern society. Different countries and their governments are faced with challenges caused by waves of immigration. Thousands of refugees and immigrants with different backgrounds are looking for their new home. As a result, a number of European states are going through a crisis of multiculturalism and tolerance.

Therefore processes of the mass relocation need to be studied. Both practices of successful and unsuccessful immigration policy are important for researchers. The same is true of studying the policy of diversity and multiculturalism. Thus, there were failures of the politics of «Melting pot» in the former socialistic states. For instance, there was the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia with the idea of «Yugoslavian people». Similarly, there was the idea of creating «Soviet people» in the USSR.

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In contrast, there was also successful immigration and multicultural policy. Besides, researchers should explore the regions where thousands and millions of immigrants and refugees have created a multi-ethnic society with different cultural, religious, linguistic traditions etc. But the diversity in these countries did not lead to conflicts within the society.

Studying successful experience could give us an opportunity to understand the way of reaching tolerance in this multicultural world. One of the regions with successful experience is the Canadian Federation. Owing to the development of its own immigration policy in the 1960s, the Canada gave a new life to immigrants and refugees from different regions.

As a result, providing a number of legislative steps regarding immigrants influenced the new vision of multicultural society and the idea of forming a «Cultural Mosaic». And important factors in this process include increasing the funding, language teaching for immigrants, social and psychological assistance to help them adapt to the new environment etc.

A number of studies have investigated different aspects of Canadian immigration policy and the idea of a multicultural society. As for Ukrainian research, on the one hand, the Canadian immigration policy has been investigated by Taras Lupul [17; 18]. He has studied the ethnical aspects of immigration policy of Canada. On the other hand, other aspects of Canadian multicultural policy have not been well investigated by Ukrainian researchers.

Furthermore, there are different approaches used for the studies. For instance, Olha Sloniovska [22] used pedagogical methods and studied the humanity teacher trainings in Canada. In addition, Volodymyr Pohrebniak [20] used similar methods and studied the process of implementing multicultural policy at secondary schools. Unlike them, Olena Kuchmii [13] used methods of cultural studies and investigated intercultural cooperation in Canada and its impact on the changes in the idea of Cultural Mosaic. And Valentyna Bohatyrets [3] used methods of both cultural studies and political science.

These groups of researchers studied different aspects of Canadian immigration policy and Canadian multiculturalism. And either they studied governmental impact on the development of multiculturalism or international one. Given the information above, both the Canadian multicultural and immigration policies have been insufficiently investigated in Ukraine and this area needs to be researched.

In contrast, European, American and Canadian researchers have investigated different immigration and multiculturalism issues. For example, one of the best-known researchers of multicultural politics is Canadian philosopher Will Kymlicka. He is the author of a number of fundamental publications about diverse aspects of Canadian history and policy [14; 15].

Another researcher, J. W. Berry studies process of immigration from the psychological point of view [2]. There are also young researchers like Jeffery G. Reitz from Canada, who are interested in both immigration and multicultural issues [21]. Christian Joppke investigates the experience of providing multiculturalism in different states [11]. In addition, there is quite an unusual study of the researchers Alana Lentin and Gavan Titley who are interested in different radical conceptions that grow in the multicultural societies [16].

Newcomers with different backgrounds immigrated to Canada for many years. As a result of the immigration waves, Canada had a diversity society. It would be unfair not to mention that fact that at the time of liberalization the immigration policy, Canadian government also developed the multiculturalism policy to form the tolerant society. This policy was adopted in 1970s–1980s. Besides, the immigration and multiculturalism policies were consequently developed by Canadian government.

In this study we will make an attempt to present some general issues of the Canadian immigration policy and multiculturalism. The main purpose of this research is overview of correlation between immigration and multiculturalism policies in 1960s – 2010s. According to the aim of present study, the first issue guiding this research is analyzing the main stages of the changes of both policies at the so called New Era of Shared Jurisdiction. And the second issue is to examine some statistical

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information. It could help to investigate the citizens' acceptance of the principles of Canadian immigration policy and the idea of cultural diversity.

The research is based on general scientific theory and such empirical methods as critical analysis, synthesis of sources and the method of qualitative analysis of text messages.

We want to start by analyzing the main stages of the changes of Canadian immigration policy and the development of the multicultural idea. The important role of building up the new strategy of Canadian immigration had the prerequisites of the Immigration Act of 1976 and the reforms of 1970s. Moreover, the liberalization changes in 1960s were those prerequisites.

Tobi McIntyre in his research [19] began the Era of changes in Canadian immigration policy from the 1962. Valerie Knowles in her research accent that year too [12, p. 187]. Because on 1962 Ellen Fairclough, the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, eliminated racial discrimination through the introduction of a new regulations of the Immigration Service. According to the new document, any immigrant that had the required education skill or another quality was able to enter Canada if suitable, irrespective of his or her color, race, or national origin. As a result, new regulations of the Immigration Service had a great significance: it virtually abolished the White Canada immigration policy [12, p. 187].

The other important year was 1966, when Canadian prime-minister Lester B. Pearson introduced the White Paper on immigration policies. According to this document, Canada and Canadians agreed to accept and encourage as many immigrants into Canada as possible [24]. The next stage of this policy was the Green Paper on immigration policies, which was proclaimed on 1975.

We can figure out that 1976 was the turning point in the Canadian immigration history because Canadian prime-minister Pierre Trudeau and his government introduced the Immigration Act of 1976, which was a significant shift in Canadian legislation. The Act formed the laws that even nowadays intend to promote demographic, economic, cultural and social goals of Canada [10]. Thus, the

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Immigration Act of 1976 began the new pro-immigration policy and it also started the process of the radical liberalization in different areas of activities in Canada.

According to the Act of immigration 1976 [10], there were four basic categories of immigrants. The first one is a family. The next are humanitarian immigrants including refugees and/or displaced persons. The third group includes independent people who immigrated to Canada on their own initiative. And the last category is assisted relatives.

Moreover, the Immigration Act 1976 gave a great push to developing both immigration and multicultural policy of the Canadian state. Thus, a number of laws were adopted between mid-1970s and 2012, the period called The New Era of Shared Jurisdiction. For instance, we can name the Canadian Human Rights Act (1977) [4]; the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (1982) [7]; the Employment Equity Act (1986) [8]; The Canadian Multiculturalism Act (1988) [5] and renewed Multiculturalism Program (1996) [23].

However, special attention should be paid to both the 1988 Canadian Multiculturalism Act and the 1996 one because these Acts provided a legislative framework for the current policy of multiculturalism in Canada. Furthermore, Canada was the first country that passed a national multiculturalism law. In accordance with these documents, all Canadian citizens are equal and have freedom to preserve and share their different culture. Also multiculturalism promoted equitable participation of every individual and diversity community in all aspects of the life of Canadian society.

In addition, the Acts on Multiculturalism protected multicultural heritage, freedom to use any language and recognized equal rights for everyone, irrespective of his or her religion, color of the skin, language, ethnic, gender etc. These ideas are called «Cultural Mosaic». In 2002 the Immigration Act (1976) was replaced by a similarly liberal «Immigration and Refugee Protection Act». This direction of immigration policy and multiculturalism developed throughout more than thirty years.

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However, a quite radical change took place in 2012 when the conservative government headed by Stephen Harper changed the principles of the previous Canadian immigration policy. «The Immigration and Refugee Protection Act» was replaced by the Bill C-31, or «Protecting Canada's Immigration System Act». According to Bill C-31, the procedure of immigration to Canada got more complicated. For example, the Immigration Minister has a power to decide which country is safe or not; rejected refugee claimants from safe countries could not appeal against the decision of the Immigration and Refugee Board; claimants from safe countries needed to wait a year before applying for permanent residency, and meanwhile they could be deported from Canada etc. So we can say that there was started a new stage of Canadian immigration policy, which had finished the previous steps of its development and caused few changes in multicultural policy in Canada from 1960s to 2012.

The New Era of Shared Jurisdiction of immigration policy implemented a number of Canadian state services for each immigrant or refugee. According to the immigration process to Canada before 2012, at the beginning, an application form had to be filled out by a prospective immigrant. The filled application was sent either to the Department of Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada or to one of the 10 Canadian Provinces and 3 Territories. The first variant gave permission for immigration all over Canada. But the second one gave permission only for immigration to the Province or Territory chosen by an applicant. After all, the result of immigrant selection was given by the Department of Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada. When the application was approved, a Canadian visa could be given to a person. Then the pre-arrival services could be used by an applicant. For instance, pre-arrival employment focal point and online supports were available. During the process of getting a visa a person had to be interviewed twice by an officer from the Canadian Immigrant Integration Program. After the visa was obtained, the arrival services had to be used. An immigrant had to go through centralized registration and referral. In addition, there confirmation of permanent

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residence could be provided to arrival relatives. After this stage the arrival services could be used. For example, an entry program, a language assessment, a settlement service and employments supports should be useful for a newcomer. After completing this immigration process, a person became a Canadian citizen. As a result, every prospective immigrant could use Pre-Arrival Services, Arrival Services and Post-arrival services, which helped with each stage of the immigration and adaptation to the new society.

The next issue, which can help us to understand the close ties between immigration and multiculturalism in Canada, is connected with citizens' acceptance of the principles of Canadian immigration policy and the idea of cultural diversity. We can search these issues due to statistical documents, which has an exceptional value for such investigation. This group of source is presented by empirical sociological studies that highlight various aspects of Canadian political and social life. Among them we can pay our main attention to the group of polls about Immigration and Multiculturalism, and about stereotypes about Canada and Canadians etc.

These types of sources are widely represented on some web-resources. Thus, the electronic archives of the Government of Canada contain the results of official statistical studies that concerned the issues of state immigration policy and summarized the changes in this area. Moreover, these studies held annually from 1966 to 1996. Another basis of statistical documents is a webpage of the Canadian Environics Institute for Survey Research. It consists of the results of social studies from the 2006. The Institute promotes social research on public policy and social change. It deals with issues of better understanding Canada nowadays and how it has been changing.

As an example, in this study we analyze the results of several social researches that were done by the Environics Institute in 2006 and 2012. Following data could show acceptance of Canadian immigration policy and multiculturalism with the principles of the diversity and tolerance in society.

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Let us start by considering study «Canadians on Citizenship: the first national survey on what it means to be a citizen in Canada». It was conducted mainly by the Environics Institute in partnership with the Institute for Canadian Citizenship. It was based on telephone interviews conducted between November 18 and December 17, 2011 with a representative sample of 2,376 Canadian residents (aged 18 and over) living in 10 provinces. This research was conducted to reveal attitudes and expectations with respect to membership in Canadian society, and explore public opinion in three broad areas. Firstly, what it means to be a good citizen – What actions define good citizenship in the broadest sense, what makes people feel like good Canadian citizens and who can be good citizens in this country. Secondly, the state of citizenship in Canada today – How the public feels about the current policies and rules about legal citizenship, and what is expected of both newcomers and established society. And finally, the native- and foreign-born perspectives – How country of birth shapes opinions and expectations around citizenship and being good citizens in Canada [6, p. 1].

Let us consider the poll of this study that examines the issue of «Immigrants as good citizens». It presents comparison possibility of being a good Canadian citizen for foreign-born and Canadian-born people. According to the results, answering this question, nine in ten Canadians (89%) say they believe someone born outside Canada is just as likely to be a good citizen as someone born in Canada. This data shows tolerance attitude to other citizens irrespective of their place of birth [6, p. 9].

But at the same time, the results of another poll that investigate the question «How immigrants become good citizens», showed that Canadians believe that becoming a good citizen means integrating into the mainstream society. The respondents told their opinion about the most important ways to become a good Canadian citizen.

According to it, citizens expect that newcomers to Canada need to adapt to become good citizens. The answers of respondents show that although providing

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ideas of tolerant diverse society and respect for other traditions, religions, and languages etc., citizens wish to unify different people by common standard.

So Canadians identify several important ways in which newcomers need to adapt, in terms of learning about Canada's culture and ways of life (36%), learning the English or French language (32%), and also learn Canadian values (27%) and Canadian laws (26%). Other points of the top ten mentions about ways in which newcomers need to adapt is getting to learn community (17%), finding employment or self-supporting (12%), giving up own culture and being tolerant of others (both of answers take 8%). Finally, the top ten mentions close in terms of learning about Canadian history (7%) and respecting others' religion (5%) [6, p. 10].

The next study presented here is «AmericasBarometer: the public speaks on democracy and governance across the Americas». The AmericasBarometer is a multi-country public opinion survey on democracy and governance in the Americas. It was conducted mainly by the Environics Institute in partnership with the Vanderbilt University's Latin American Public Opinion Project (Costa Rica). It was conducted with a representative sample of voting-age adults. Surveys were conducted face-to-face with respondents in their households, except in the USA and Canada, where surveys are conducted online using established Internet panels in 2012. The research provides a definitive view of how the Canadian public views its democratic institutions and governance today, how such opinions have changed over the past six years, and how they compare with the public perspective in other countries across the hemisphere [1, pp. 1-2].

Let us demonstrate the poll that presents the issue of «Satisfaction with how democracy works in Canada». This poll answer the question «How well do citizens believe their democracy is currently working?» describes Canadian satisfaction with democracy in Canada. The data show that Canadians are more positive than negative in their assessment, with few expressing strong feelings either way. Seven in ten are very satisfied (7%) or satisfied (63%), compared with three in ten (30%) who are dissatisfied (24%) or very dissatisfied (6%) [1, p. 28].

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Another study to investigate is «Focus Canada: the pulse of Canadian public opinion», that was conducted by the Environics Institute. It was based on a national survey conducted by telephone with a representative sample of 2,045 adult Canadians, between December 8 and 30, 2006. The research provides several issues. Firstly, it researches the public assessment of Stephen Harper's performance as prime minister. Secondly, it demonstrates the trends on the public outlook on economic conditions and the national agenda. Thirdly, it examines public perceptions of Muslims and Multiculturalism in Canada. And finally, it studies public views on government across the country [9, p. 9].

The data presented in the poll «Contact with and impressions of minority groups. Contact with ethnic groups » describe the intercourses of Canadian citizens with different ethnic groups. According to it, Canadians have more contacts with a more diverse set of fellow citizens than at any other time in the history of this state. The results show which kinds of groups the Canadians encounter in their daily lives, and how contacts between different groups change.

Analyzing data indicate that the minority groups that Canadians are most likely to report encountering either «occasionally» or «often» are black Canadians (69%) and Chinese-Canadians (65%), followed by South Asian-Canadians (54%) and Aboriginal Peoples (54%). Jewish-Canadians (50%) and Muslim-Canadians (46%), Aboriginal peoples (26%), Francophones outside Quebec (31%) and Anglophones inside Quebec, who compose smaller proportions of the total population, tend to be less frequently encountered. As a result, there is a quite high level of interethnic communication. Canadians are increasingly likely to have frequent contact with members of numerous minority groups, particularly in cities. Aboriginal Peoples are the only group Canadians are more likely to encounter outside the city [9, p. 62].

Following poll studies the issue of «Economic impact of immigration». It presents level of supporting economic impact of immigration. Results show that the majority of Canadians believe that the immigration process has a positive effect on the economy of Canada. In 1993 about 56% of Canadian population-at-large agreed

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that economic impact of immigration was positive. At the same year there was 39% of Canadian population-at-large who disagreed with this statement. At 2005 81% of Canadians believed that the immigration process has a positive effect on the economy. And only 17% of Canadians believed in negative effect of immigration process. Finally, in 2006 78% of Canadian population-at-large agreed that economic impact of immigration was positive. At the same year there was 18% of Canadian population-at-large who disagreed with this statement. Actually, a large majority of Canadians continue to believe that immigration has a positive effect on the economy, but this view has softened over the past year [9, p. 68].

Another poll investigates the question of «Immigrants take away jobs from other Canadians». It presents immigrants' impact on Canadian jobs. The statistics show that in 2006 on the one hand, eight in ten Canadians (73%) believed that immigration had a positive impact on the Canadian economy. On the other hand, it shows that almost a quarter of Canadian citizens (24%) believed that immigrants take away jobs from other Canadians. It is interesting to know that in 1985 54% of Canadians believed that immigration had a positive impact on the Canadian economy. In 1998 this number was 50% and in 2005 it was 76%. In 1985 36% Canadian citizens believed that immigrants take away jobs from other Canadians. In 1998 this number was 50% and in 2005 it was 22%. Thus, most Canadians believe that immigrants help stimulate economic growth, rather than simply competing against Canadians in zero-sum contests for employment. Still, the proportion of Canadians believing immigrants have a positive effect on the economy is down three points for only one year [9, p. 68].

To draw a conclusion, we can say that both Canadian immigration policy and multiculturalism policy demonstrated the similarity, correlation and sequence of reforms in both areas of Canadian policy in 1960-s – 2010-s. The evolution changes in 1960s mainly consist of the new regulations of the Immigration Service (1962) and the White Paper on immigration policies (1966). A number of laws were adopted between 1970s and 2012, such as the Green Paper on immigration policies (1975),

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the Immigration Act (1976), the Canadian Human Rights Act (1977), the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (1982), the Employment Equity Act (1986), the Canadian Multiculturalism Act (1988), the renewed Multiculturalism Program (1996), Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (2002) etc. These documents developed the immigration policy and protected multicultural heritage and diversity community in Canada. But in 2012 the new Protecting Canada's Immigration System Act was adopted by conservative government, and procedure of immigration to Canada got more complicated. As a result of immigration and multicultural policy since 1960-s until 2012 mostly positive attitudes towards newcomers dominated in Canadian public opinion: large proportions of Canadian citizens have mostly tolerant and respectful attitude to any person in a diverse society, irrespective of his or her ethnicity, color of skin, religion, gender, language, culture etc.

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Виклики сучасних імміграційних процесів стали причиною кризи мультикультурного і толерантного суспільства. Тисячі біженців та іммігрантів різного походження перебувають у пошуку нового дому. Дослідження успішного досвіду допоможе зрозуміти шлях досягнення толерантності у сучасному мультикультурному світі. Одним із регіонів з успішним досвідом є Канадська федерація. Завдяки розробці власної імміграційної політики у 1960-х рр., Канада надала нове життя іммігрантам та біженцям із різних регіонів світу. Авторка послуговується загальнонауковими і такими емпіричними методами, як критичний аналіз, синтез джерел та якісний аналіз текстових повідомлень. Стаття містить огляд основних етапів канадської імміграційної політики: від еволюційних змін політики стосовно переселенців та розвитку політики мультикультуралізму в 1960-ті рр., до прийняття законопроекту С-31 у 2012 р.

Ключові слова: Канада, імміграційна політика, мультикультуралізм, біженці, іммігранти.

Вызовы современных иммиграционных процессов стали причиной кризиса мультикультурного и толерантного общества. Тысячи иммигрантов и беженцев разнообразного происхождения находятся в поиске нового дома. Изучение удачного опыта сможет помочь понять путь достижения толерантности в современном мультикультурном мире. Одним из регионов с успешным опытом является Канадская федерация. Благодаря разработке собственной иммиграционной политики в 1960-е гг., Канада дала новую жизнь иммигрантам и беженцам из разных регионов мира. Автор использует общенаучные и такие эмпирические методы, как критический анализ, синтез источников и качественный анализ текстовых сообщений. Статья содержит обзор основных этапов канадской иммиграционной политики: от

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эволюционных перемен в сфере политики по отношению к переселенцам и развития политики мультикультурализма в 1960-е гг., до принятия законопроекта С-31 в 2012 г.

Ключевые слова: Канада, иммиграционная политика, мультикультурализм, беженцы, иммигранты.