

**An Examination of the Evolution of The Vertical Mosaic Through the Lens of Whiteness
Theory: Ethnic Socioeconomic Disparities Among White European Immigrants in Canada**

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Dedications

This work is dedicated to my grandparents, Anna Maria and Luciano Palumbo, whose hard work and sacrifices laid the foundation for my family's successes in Canada. My educational aspirations and achievements owe much to them. Without their guidance, I would not be the person I am today. I will forever see them within my work, as my passion for ethnoracial studies, particularly in relation to immigration, stems directly from their lived experiences.

I love you, Nonna and Tattone.

[translated in Italian below]

Questo lavoro è dedicato ai miei nonni, Anna Maria e Luciano Palumbo, il cui duro lavoro e sacrifici hanno gettato le basi per il successo della mia famiglia in Canada. Le mie aspirazioni e i miei risultati educativi devono molto a loro. Senza la loro guida non sarei la persona che sono oggi. Li vedrò per sempre nel mio lavoro, poiché la mia passione per gli studi etnorazziali, in particolare in relazione all'immigrazione, deriva direttamente dalle loro esperienze vissute.

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Introduction

One of the most persistent images that Canadians have of their society is that it has no classes. This image becomes translated into the assertion that Canadians are all relatively equal in their possessions, in the amount of money they earn, and in the opportunities which they and their children have to get on in the world. An important element in this image of classlessness is that, with the absence of formal aristocracy and aristocratic institutions, Canada is a society in which equalitarian values have asserted themselves over authoritarian values. Canada, it is thought, shares not only a continent with the United States, but also a democratic ideology which rejects the historical class and power structures of Europe.

John Porter (1965, p. 3)

The idealized notion of Canadian society as classless fails to recognize the diverse experiences and inequalities faced by various groups, an image that sociologist John Porter, in fact, challenged through his ground breaking study. This Major Research Paper (MRP) focuses on the vertical mosaic¹ debate in Canada and situates this debate within the context of Whiteness theory. *The Vertical Mosaic*, the 1965 book authored by Porter from which the passage quoted above was taken, analyzed how class and power dynamics produced and sustained ethnic inequality in Canada during the middle third of the twentieth century. Since the publication of John Porter's seminal book, generations of scholarship have been published on the persistence of ethnic inequality in Canada.

In this project, I examine the experiences of European immigrants amid the evolution of whiteness and racialization in Canada. I aim to critically analyze how the evolution of whiteness in Canada has influenced changes in the vertical mosaic and the socioeconomic plight of European immigrants and BIPOC groups. I am interested in chronicling how European immigrants who were once 'othered' came to be seen as 'white' and how this shift in identity facilitated their ability to assimilate while simultaneously displacing them. Notably, European

¹ The term 'Vertical Mosaic' is utilized in two distinct contexts throughout this paper. When the term is italicized, I am referring to the book; when the term is not italicized, I am using it to refer to a socioeconomic pattern.

immigrants outside the English and French groups faced greater barriers to integration, which contributed to their displacement. By situating the empirically oriented vertical mosaic debate within whiteness and racialization theories, I aim to provide insight into the construction of whiteness in Canada and how this, in turn, has influenced ethnoracial inequalities over the course of the last century.

Purpose of Analysis

This research project seeks to provide insight into the evolution of ethnoracial inequality in Canada. I consider how class and power dynamics shaped the opportunities of various ethnic groups throughout Canadian history. I explore the historical perception of white ethnic groups as the racialized 'other', chronicling their gradual acceptance as 'white' and how this process has been influenced by the increasing presence of BIPOC populations. As European ethnic groups solidified their white identity, they largely achieved educational and socioeconomic equality with Canadians of British and the French origin, the groups Porter used as reference points in his examination of socioeconomic inequality. Many BIPOC groups, on the other hand, find themselves at the bottom of Canada's new vertical mosaic. Juxtaposed against BIPOC Canadians, European immigrants gradually acquired a 'white' identity that enables their ability to assimilate while also experiencing displacement. Assimilation is facilitated by the white identity associated with European attachment. However, displacement occurs for some European immigrants who do not align with the cultural norms in Canada, which tend to reflect English and French European traditions. Consequently, many European immigrants experience displacement as they fit into the broader white identity while still facing barriers to integration due to their distinct cultural attachments. My analysis offers insight into the process of racialization, along with the implications for the inclusion of racialized populations. Informed by

theories of race, racialization, whiteness and class, I seek to contribute to the literature on social inequality in Canada by critically analyzing the diverse and complex socioeconomic trajectory of minoritized ethnoracial groups in Canada.

Positionality vis-à-vis Study Topic

This research project is inspired by my family's immigration journey. In 1962, my grandparents, Anna-Maria and Luciano Palumbo, immigrated from Southern Italy to Luxembourg. After working in Luxembourg for a few years, my grandparents along with three of their children, immigrated to Canada in 1965, notably the year Porter published *The Vertical Mosaic*. This immigration process was driven by the search for 'a better life', as work opportunities were more precarious in the Italian economy. After deciding to reside in Canada, they became naturalized in 1972 and eventually acquired the title and many of the 'privileges' of being Canadian citizens. However, this citizenship did not grant them the same privileges and mobility that I, as a Canadian citizen enjoy. During my undergraduate degree, this realization led me to question how citizenship functions as a promise of inclusion while simultaneously marginalizing their ethnic attachments and disparities.

Throughout my undergraduate degree in Critical Criminology, I carried this desire to examine European immigration in some capacity. I became intrigued with the language used in texts, which often conceptualized European immigration as a singular category. This conceptualization of European immigrant as a single essentialized identity did not adequately account for disparities and inequalities my grandparents from Southern Europe experienced. The literature I encountered throughout my undergraduate degree often outlined European experiences and privileges through the lens of the so-called charter groups, the British and the French. However, it also became clear to me that there is a need to separate this singular identity

within the literature to recognize that ethnic disparities have persisted among various European groups. For instance, English language proficiency is a factor that grants privilege to European immigrants in Canada. This privilege is evident in the comparative experiences of English-speaking immigrants (such as those of British origin) and those who come to Canada without knowledge of the English language, like my grandparents. These ethnic attachments among European immigrants are diverse and cannot be analyzed in the same context. Canada has adopted many customs and structures from the British and certain Western European regions. Consequently, individuals from these areas are granted a level of mobility and privilege that is not extended to other European immigrants or racialized immigrants.

Beyond language, I began to acknowledge the influence of assimilation in Canada, particularly concerning Europeans. My father, born in Canada in 1973, is a second-generation immigrant. I observed the obstacles that he once faced gradually crumble, in sharp contrast to my grandparents' experiences. This realization spurred after the completion of my undergraduate degree and a thorough exploration of the sociology and criminology of race and ethnicity. This led me to trace this chain of assimilation, recognizing that I, as the next generation, experienced even greater privileges than even my father. I began to question why ethnic disparities persist among European immigrants and how the process of generational assimilation allots for 'white' European groups while excluding racialized groups.

Through my graduate degree, I have continued to question the conceptualization of European immigrant's experience as a monolithic identity. The ethnic disparities endured by European immigrants like my grandparents need to be examined separately from the experiences of those from dominant groups in Canada such as the British and French. Additionally, I

acknowledge and challenge the privilege of generational assimilation afforded to individuals of European decent, which stands in sharp contrast to the experiences of racialized immigrants.

During my graduate degree, I encountered John Porter's work on *The Vertical Mosaic* and became inspired by it. Nuanced analysis of ethnic disparities among European immigrants was often an overlooked perspective in the literature. His examination of socioeconomic stratification in Canada inspired me to study the historical causes and evolution of ethnoracial inequality in this country.

This research project is dedicated to the immigration experiences of my family and others who have migrated to North America. I am grateful for the opportunity to pursue education at the master's level, as my sister and I are the first generation in our family to pursue education beyond a secondary level. I dedicate this project and my degree to Anna Maria and Luciano Palumbo, who did not have the resources or privileges to pursue education beyond one or two primary years. As I analyze European immigration, I recognize the complexities and difficulties my family faced in their immigration process. I proudly acknowledge their stories and experiences, which have contributed to my decision to pursue a master's degree.

As a white researcher in an academic institution, I acknowledge the privilege I hold and remain conscious of it throughout the duration of my project. As I approach this project, I remain conscious of my ethnic attachments as I explore this study as someone committed to analyzing the historically shifting disparities among ethnic and racial groups. My positionality drives me to strive to understand the complexity behind the European immigrant experience and how it relates to the plight of BIPOC Canadians.

Guiding Questions

This MRP is informed by two main guiding questions aimed at understanding the socio-economic disparities among white European immigrants and BIPOC Canadians, specifically within the context of the vertical mosaic debate and whiteness theory. The first question I pose is how does the ‘white’ identity accrued by European immigrants facilitate their ability to assimilate into Canada? Moreover, how can this same identity also produce a sense of displacement due to the diverse identities and experiences of European immigrants? Since the category of European immigrant is not monolithic, experiences of assimilation within this umbrella grouping are diverse and uneven, hence complicating the general trend of a racialized vertical mosaic. To investigate my proposed question, my project will provide an overview of vertical mosaic-inspired research to conceptually analyze how European ethnic disparities have largely diminished over time. With reference to the empirical literature and whiteness theory (reviewed below), I will conceptually analyze how minority European groups have, for the most part, assimilated into mainstream Canadian whiteness and hence, today, enjoy the privileges associated with that status.

Secondly and relatedly, I plan to examine the relationship between the evolution of Canada’s ‘vertical mosaic’ and the construction of Whiteness in this country. To investigate this question, my project will provide a historical context of race and ethnicity in Canada through the vertical mosaic debate. By situating my research within the vertical mosaic debate, I aim to address the historically shifting disparities among European immigrants amid whiteness and racialization in Canada. Here, I will analyze literature surrounding a “recast” (Agocs & Boyd, 1993) vertical mosaic to understand how the mosaic has been resituated along racialized lines. By exploring these two research questions, I hope to provide insight into how European and

BIPOC immigrants fit into the vertical mosaic and how the evolution of the vertical mosaic is situated within, and influenced by, whiteness and racialization in Canada.

Analytical Approach

In this Major Research Paper, I employ textual analysis and a critical literature review of empirical and theoretical literature to examine the experiences of European immigrants in Canada. This is achieved through a critical review of vertical mosaic-inspired research and by contextualizing the analysis within whiteness theory. I will begin with an overview of *The Vertical Mosaic*, a concept coined by John Porter (1965), to provide backdrop for the subsequent empirical literature I will examine. I will then discuss the critiques of Porter's work to set the stage for my next section on a vertical mosaic that has been recast along racialized lines. The final section of this literature review analyzes contemporary accounts of the vertical mosaic.

By situating my research within the vertical mosaic debate, I aim to analyze the historically shifting ethnoracial disparities in the decades since Porter wrote about a vertical mosaic in Canada. The remainder of this paper is divided into five parts, each divided into various sections. In Part 1, 'Conceptual and Theoretical Framework,' I outline and discuss the two main conceptual frameworks that inform this analysis: racialization and whiteness theory. Part 2, 'Overview of the Literature,' is divided into four sections. In the first section, I provide an overview of Porter's seminal *Vertical Mosaic* thesis. In the second section, I present a summary of Darroch's reinterpretation of Porter's data. In the third section, I review literature that argues for a "recast" (Agocs & Boyd, 1993) vertical mosaic along racialized lines. In the fourth section, I examine contemporary accounts of Canada's vertical mosaic. Critically, in this Part, I consider the instrumental role that neoliberalism has played in propagating and sustaining racialized inequalities in Canada.

Part 3, 'Applying Whiteness to the Evolution of The Vertical Mosaic,' I apply two main conceptual frameworks, racialization and whiteness theory, to gain insight into how Canada's vertical mosaic has shifted and evolved since the publication of Porter's book. I explain how whiteness theory aids our understanding of Canada's vertical mosaic specifically, and social inequality more generally. Part 4, 'Complicating the Notion of a Racialized Vertical Mosaic,' is divided into five sections. In section one, I discuss social and cultural capital theories and how they relate to social inequality. In section two, I consider how bonding and bridging social capital influence the socioeconomic success of various ethnic and racial groups. In sections three and four I examine Portuguese Canadians and Chinese Canadians as exceptions to the general pattern of a 'recast' vertical mosaic, and elucidate how social and cultural capital perspectives can help us understand the divergent socioeconomic outcomes experienced by these two groups. In section five, I explore ethnic enclave economies, particularly within Asian communities. In all, in this part, I utilize social and cultural capital theories to understand how Portuguese and Chinese communities remain exceptions to an otherwise pronounced socioeconomic trend where race has largely supplemented ethnicity as a basis for socioeconomic stratification. Finally, I conclude the MRP by reiterating the significance of my project, highlighting the limitations and broader implications of this work, and summarizing my main arguments.

Conceptual and Theoretical Framework

Theoretical perspectives pertaining to racialization and whiteness theory inform the analysis presented in this paper. This section offers an overview of these theoretical frameworks. First, I discuss the conceptual understanding of racialization from authors Himani Bannerji (1996), Grace-Edward Galabuzi (2006), Paul Gilroy (1987), Michael Omi and Howard Winant (2014), Gordon Pon (2009), and Wendy Roth et al. (2023). These authors understand

racialization as a social construct whereby people are categorized and ascribed particular social characteristics based on the categorization (Bannerji, 1996; Galabuzi, 2006; Omi & Winant, 2014).

Second, I draw on the work of Quinn Hafen (2024), Noel Ignatiev (1995), and David Roediger (2007) for theoretical insight into the construction and historical evolution of whiteness in North America. The analyses presented by these authors align with my analysis of the evolution of ethnic disparities as chronicled by the vertical mosaic-inspired literature. Through the lens of whiteness theory, my study investigates the historical shift in patterns of inequality among ethnoracial groups in Canada.

Race and Racialization Theories

Given that I examine the role of ethnicity and race in the historical unfolding of social inequality in Canada, it is important to distinguish between these two terms. According to Roth et al. (2023), race is associated with physical or biological features used within systems of power to “distinguish different types of human bodies to dominate or exploit” (p. 41). They conceptualize ethnicity as “a social and cognitive structure that leads people to recognize themselves...as having real or putative common ancestry, shared culture, and/or a shared historical past” (Roth et al., 2023, p. 41). These authors distinguish between race and ethnicity, noting that race is more often subject to being essentialized than ethnicity.

Galabuzi (2006) contends that race is a social construct more than a biological concept but notes that “...biological features become the basis for designating distinct groupings” (p. 34). Galabuzi (2006) acknowledges the socio-political purpose of racial ideologies, which subject certain groups to various forms of oppression for the benefit of those in positions of power. These racial ideologies, which create distinct categories, benefit those in positions of power by

exploiting racialized groups. He states that “the growing inequality between racialized groups in Canada and other Canadians has its systemic origins in the racial inequalities that racialization produces and perpetuates” (Galabuzi, 2006, p. 34). He analyzes racialization in Canada to understand how race operates as a fixed category, that relegates racialized groups to the state of “other” in Canadian society (Galabuzi, 2006, p. 31). I employ Galabuzi’s (2006) perspective to demonstrate how the process of racialization and racial categories have influenced the evolution of the vertical mosaic in Canada. He provides an examination within the Canadian context, highlighting the representations and stereotypes assigned to racial categories. By drawing on Galabuzi’s perspective, I aim to better understand social stratification in Canada, particularly the escalating racialization of inequality.

As innate biological differences between racialized groups have, at least in dominant discourse, fallen out of fashion as an explanation for persisting racial inequalities, scholars spotlight the “new racism” as undergirding the contemporary process of racialization and serving as an explanation for resultant inequalities. Pon (2009) defines new racism as a form of racial discrimination based on cultural differences rather than biological features. This shift from emphasizing racialized biological differences to accentuating cultural differences among racialized groups has resulted in the widespread perception that cultural deficiencies within particular racialized communities are the primary cause of persisting racial inequalities (Pon, 2009). This emphasis on cultural causes of inequality deflects attention from structural racial discrimination (see Henry & Ginsberg, 1985; Liam & Matthew’s, 1998; Pager et al. 2006). These contemporary accounts of racism are, according to Gilroy (1987), “...primarily concerned with mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion” (p. 45). This analysis of new racism “...specifies who may legitimately belong to the national community and simultaneously advances reasons for the

segregation or banishment of those whose ‘origin, sentiment or citizenship’ assigns them elsewhere” (Gilroy, 1987, p. 45). Gilroy’s analysis of new racism recognizes the distinct relationship between race and nation. By highlighting the ideological operation of inequalities and new racism, Gilroy argues that the words ‘immigrant’ and ‘Black’ are largely seen as, synonymous. As such, Blackness is often imagined as an invasive entity vis-à-vis American society.

Omi and Winant’s (2014) analysis of racial formation contributes to my understanding of the historical process of racialization. According to these scholars, race is perceived as “...a way of making people up” (p. 105). This “race-making can also be understood as a process of othering” (Omi & Winant, 2014, p. 105). Omi and Winant’s (2014) notion of racial projects refers to “...attempts both to shape the ways in which social structures are racially signified and the ways that racial meanings are embedded in social structures” (p. 125). The concept of racial projects can be understood through societal processes of racial formation, serving as a means to shape societal understandings of race in terms of ‘common sense’ (Omi & Winant, 2014). This theorization of racialization contributes to my project by providing a foundational basis for the construct of race and its significance in creating social categories that ‘other’ certain bodies and generate inequality. I employ Omi and Winant’s view of racial formation as historically situated to understand the, changing racial complexion of inequality in Canada over time. Their analysis of racial formation contributes to the existing literature on race by understanding race as a process of ‘othering’ that is culturally generated and provides a basis of social inequality (Omi & Winant, 2014).

Banerji (1996) offers additional insight into the process of racialization, specifically in reference to the state. The author positions race in relation to the formation of Canada by the

settler nations, England and France (Bannerji, 1996). Bannerji provides critical historical context for my project through Canada's colonial history. Through Bannerji's (1996) understanding of nationhood in Canada and its perception of "native others", a foundation is established for examining the historical process of 'othering' in Canada and how that, in turn, serves as a basis for social inequality (p. 107). Bannerji (1996) examines how colonial markers of French or English "...simplifies into two primary and confrontational possessions, cultural typologies and dominant ideologies" which have been imposed on within the places they colonized (p. 108), Bannerji analyzes racialization within the historical context of the Canadian state. This supports my project in outlining the historically shifting disparities between race and ethnicity within Canada. I draw upon Bannerji's work as a foundational framework in which to situate my project, specifically within the historical context of Canada as a colonial state rooted in an oppressive capitalist system. By incorporating Bannerji's insights into my project, I account for the role of the Canadian state in objectifying and "othering" visible minority groups, and how this process helped to shape a recast vertical mosaic.

Whiteness Theories

The second related theory that informs my work is whiteness theory. Notably, I draw on critical whiteness theory by Hafen (2024), which aims to reveal the "invisible structures that produce and reproduce white supremacy and privilege" (p. 992). In this sense, "whiteness is not just a theoretical conceptualization, it is a socially constructed racialization that determines lived material experiences," positioning "Blacks as the problem in U.S society" (Hafen, 2024, p. 993). Notably, Hafen (2024) states that whiteness constructs privilege in society while emphasizing the process of "white domination that makes white privilege possible," in this sense, privilege operates within structures and institutions through white supremacy, perpetuating racist practices

(p. 993). Components of critical whiteness theory “maintains and reproduces racial structures while going largely unexamined and unacknowledged,” allowing racial inequalities to persist, as whiteness is frequently overlooked, thereby sustaining these inequalities (Hafen, 2024, p. 993). Starting with Hafen’s theoretical understanding of critical whiteness theory, I lay the groundwork to explore Roediger and Ignatiev, who underscore the formation of whiteness and the accumulation of white identity.

Roediger (2007) examines the formation of a white identity among European-American workers in the US and defines “how white workers not only look at Blacks but at themselves; the pervasiveness of race...the relationship between race and ethnicity” (p. 5). This sense of whiteness described by Roediger (2007) explains how the “...white workers responded to a fear of dependency on wage labor and to the necessities of capitalist work discipline” (p. 13). Here, class and race are intertwined in their identity by recognizing how European-American workers construct their white identities. Roediger (2007) acknowledges that “...race has at all times been a critical factor in the history of the US class formation” (p. 11). This analysis of whiteness contributes to my project by providing a historical context for understanding the intersection of class and race within the white working class. This illustrates how whiteness served as a response to the challenges of wage labour and adherence to capitalist work norms (Roediger, 2007).

Roediger examines race and whiteness through the European-American worker, and how they became to identify as “white”. He analyzes this construction of whiteness through the comparison between African-Americans and the Irish. He recognizes their relationship as a “shared oppression need not generate solidarity but neither must it necessarily breed contempt of one oppressed group for the other” (Roediger, 2007, p. 134). The Irish workers made a case for

their whiteness by denigrating and defining themselves against Black slaves. Roediger argues that Irish workers' entrance into a 'white' identity was a two-sided process; first, was their acceptance into the 'white' identity by the American population, second, was their acceptance of their own whiteness. This white identity was ultimately constructed by "...the political power of Irish and other immigrant voters" with voting serving as a source of leverage that Black Americans at the time could not exercise (Roediger, 2007, p. 137). In all, Roediger's examination of whiteness, racialization, and social class provides me with a framework for analyzing the historical plight of white and BIPOC immigrants in the Canadian context.

Providing insights that parallel many of those offered by Roediger, Ignatiev (1995) conceptualizes whiteness as a social construct that includes "...those who partake in the privileges of white skin in this society" (p. 2). Here, whiteness is formulated based on the historically shifting disparities among the Irish as they acquired a white identity that the juxtaposition of an increasing BIPOC population helped solidify. Ignatiev depicts whiteness as a flexible category wherein white individuals have the power to admit others previously considered unworthy, as seen in the case of Irish immigrants who were eventually allowed a white identity and gained the associated privileges. Ignatiev outlines the historically complex relationship between the Irish and African Americans, indicating how social differences and racial representations facilitated Irish immigrants', gradual acquisition of privileges of whiteness. This analysis of whiteness supports my project by offering a historical perspective of whiteness, tracing the evolution of European ethnic groups from racialized 'other' to 'white,' and demonstrating how this transformation was facilitated by shifting racial constructs as influenced by changing ethnoracial demographics, most notably the increasing presence of BIPOC populations.

In short, drawing on scholars cited in this section as well as others, I position my analysis of ethnoracial inequality in Canada within the context of racialization and whiteness theories.

Overview of Literature on Social Inequality in Canada

In *The Vertical Mosaic*, Porter (1965) analyzed census data from 1931 to 1961 to highlight the enduring hierarchical ordering of ethnic groups in Canada in terms of socioeconomic standing, with the two ‘charter groups’ - the British and the French - at the top. His analysis was informed by several theories, including modernization theory, elite theory, and functionalism. He applied these theories to examine the structure of class and power dynamics in Canada. Porter’s *Vertical Mosaic* illuminated the overrepresentation of individuals of British and French descent at the top of Canada’s socioeconomic hierarchy. His central argument was that “immigration and ethnic affiliation (or membership in a cultural group) have been important factors in the formation of social classes in Canada” (Porter, 1965, p. 73). Porter highlighted the reality that social mobility opportunities were not equally accessible to individuals from diverse ethnic and racial backgrounds, a fact that generated and sustained ethnoracial inequalities. In *The Vertical Mosaic*, many of the statistics that Porter included referenced Indigenous populations. However, he often failed to move beyond the data to address the inequalities and unique injustices faced by Indigenous peoples (reviewed below). (The statistics in Porter’s work referred to Indigenous populations using terms such as “Aboriginal” or “Indian and Eskimo”).

Porter’s longitudinal analysis revealed an enduring vertical arrangement of Canadian ethnic groups. Those of British and French origin occupied the top rungs of the socioeconomic ladder. Below them were Northern and Western Europeans, followed by Eastern and Southern Europeans. Racialized minorities were at the bottom of the mosaic. By way of longitudinal quantitative analyses and the mosaic analogy, he highlighted the disparities that persist between

British immigrants and Southern and Eastern European immigrants, emphasizing the unequal status and power among various ethnic groups. Porter examined structural and cultural dynamics that generated and upheld ethnic inequalities, illustrating how many non-charter groups became relegated to a working-class niche that hindered vertical mobility. Porter examined the correlation between ethnic segregation and occupation patterns, particularly focusing on the overrepresentation of certain ethnic groups in particular occupational fields. Porter (1965) highlighted these ethnic affiliations when he noted that “over 50% of the urban Eastern European group and over 40% of the Central Europeans and Italians were labourers in secondary industries” (p. 79). This trend was also evident in high-skilled occupations, where the British dominated a “larger portion of the skilled and professional immigrants” (Porter, 1965, p. 79). Porter (1965) acknowledges that “when ethnic groups are closely knit their cultural milieu will encourage certain kinds of occupational choice and discourage others” (p. 74).

Modern social scientists use the concepts of bonding and bridging social capital to explain how ethnic minorities become ensconced in such limiting communal enclaves. Bonding social capital is seen to produce “in-group loyalty,” reinforcing Porter’s claim that minority ethnic groups maintain strong attachments within their ethnocultural milieu (Putnam, 2000, p. 23). Porter noted that ethnic ties are linked to certain occupational choices, producing occupational similarities across various ethnic groups. The concept of bonding social capital can help understand the historical correlation between ethnic group affiliation and occupational status. Bonding social capital encompasses strong in-group reciprocity that fosters robust ethnic ties while limiting opportunities outside of those ethnic attachments (Putnam, 2000). Thus, the notion of bonding social capital can be applied to Porter’s analysis to help understand why ethnic affiliation tends to influence people’s occupational choices. In contrast to the limiting and

homogenizing nature of bonding social capital, bridging social capital focuses on generating broader identities, which are conducive to building inter-group ties and effective social networking. Bridging social capital enhances an individual's ability to nurture connections beyond their own ethnic group, something that, according to Porter, was not happening, or happening to a limited degree, in many minority ethnic communities in Canada. His data demonstrated significant bonding social capital, characterized by strong ethnic attachments that limited labour market opportunities. Applying bonding and bridging social capital to Porter's analysis supports his claim that ethnic groups in Canada tended to become entrenched in limiting communal enclaves. (The constructs of bridging and bonding social capital are further explored in the section that follows).

Porter's *Vertical Mosaic* has served as the foundation for the study of ethnoracial inequality in Canada. I selectively review the empirical literature spawned by *The Vertical Mosaic*. This literature helps me conceptually address my guiding questions. As European ethnic groups solidified their white identity, they largely achieved educational and socioeconomic equality with Canadians of British and French origin, the groups that Porter used as reference points in his analysis of socioeconomic inequality. Expanding upon Porter's analysis, I acknowledge how many BIPOC groups find themselves at the bottom of Canada's new vertical mosaic. In contrast to BIPOC Canadians, European immigrants gradually acquired a 'white' identity that facilitated their assimilation while also experiencing displacement, influenced by the complex range of identities within the European immigrant demographic.

Debating the 'Vertical Mosaic' Thesis

Darroch's (1979) seminal article, titled "Another look at Ethnicity, Stratification and Social Mobility and Canada," was one of the first major critiques of Porter's thesis. This paper

challenges the notion of a rigid vertical mosaic in Canadian society. Darroch reinterpreted Porter's data and found that disparities among European ethnic groups in Canada were closing during the timeframe that Porter examined in ways that he failed to fully acknowledge. This paper suggests that ethnic affiliation had gradually become a weaker predictor of educational and occupational outcomes among European ethnic groups. Darroch (1979) recognizes that Porter's argument regarding ethnic affiliation is premised on the assumption of "...a lack of cultural assimilation which perpetuates initial 'entrance status' differentials in the economic positions of immigrant groups" (p. 3). Here, Darroch challenges the enduring strength of the association between ethnicity and socio-economic status in Canada. This literature presents a re-analysis of the "...gross effects of ethnicity and immigrant status in stratification and mobility as they have been measured and interpreted in the past" (Darroch, 1979, p. 4). By demonstrating that ethnicity had gradually weakened as a determinant of class and status, Darroch challenges the dissimilarity index that Porter had utilized when analyzing census data. According to Darroch, European ethnic groups experienced greater equality over time because of their ability to assimilate into Canadian society. Darroch argues that European immigrants assimilate into Canadian society, resulting in reduced ethnic ties and greater mobility opportunities over time.

I draw on a diverse range of literature on ethnic and racial inequality in Canada that conveys multiple perspectives on Porter's thesis, spotlights different strengths and weaknesses in his work, and chronicles the ways in which the vertical mosaic has evolved. By incorporating Darroch's reinterpretation as one of the first major critiques of Porter's thesis, my aim is to critically assess the literature on this subject. This includes examining the relevance of Porter's thesis in present-day Canada, which identifies immigration and ethnic affiliation as key factors in the formation of social class in Canada.

A 'Recast' Vertical Mosaic Along Racialized Lines

In this section, I review literature that argues for a “recast” racialized vertical mosaic (Agocs & Boyd, 1993). Lian and Matthews (1998) highlight the ‘collapsing’ of the vertical mosaic. These authors recognize that “...Canada’s mosaic has been reduced to a division based principally on skin colour” (Lian & Matthews, 1998, p. 463). Drawing on census data, these researchers confirm trends uncovered by Darroch in that “...by 1991 for the majority of ethnic groups in Canada, there was no evidence that the traditionally accepted image of a Vertical Mosaic still remains” (Lian & Matthews, 1998, p. 475). Lian and Matthews conducted a multivariate analysis exploring the correlation between race and income. In doing so, they control numerous variables, such as age, gender, marital status, occupational level, proficiency in official languages, area of residence, and full-time versus part-time weeks worked, all of which can impact income. Even after controlling all of these extraneous variables, the researchers found statistically significant differences in earnings among various racialized groups. Insofar as they found evidence of racialized income disparities after holding constant a litany of key variables, Lian and Matthews (1998) conclude that the traditional vertical mosaic has “been replaced by a strong colour-coded mosaic of racial differences in terms of income rewards and income benefits” (p. 476). Lian and Matthews highlight race as the basis for income inequality in Canada, noting that individuals of European ethnic descent show no significant differences in income after controlling for variables such as educational attainment. They suggest that, where opportunities in the labour market are concerned, visible minorities do not benefit from the acquisition of educational qualifications to the same degree as non-racialized Canadians.

Broadly echoing the findings of Lian and Matthews, Agocs and Boyd (1993) suggest that ethnic inequalities have been redrafted along racialized and gendered lines. This study analyzes

census data from 1986, which shows greater occupational dissimilarities between the British and Indigenous and visible minority groups than between the former and non-British European ethnic groups (Agocs & Boyd, 1993). These authors suggest the need for a “...recasting from ethnic to racial stratification in Canada...the issue requires further investigation in light of gender stratification” (Agocs & Boyd, 1993, p. 338). They recognize that gender has a greater impact on occupational status compared to ethnic and racial stratification. By accounting for Canada’s colonial history, this study examines the class structure in Canada to highlight how British and French colonization has produced the unique inequalities experienced by Indigenous populations (Agocs & Boyd, 1993). The work of Agocs and Boyd (1993) contributes to my analysis of ethnic stratification in Canada not only by incorporating race as a key constitutive variable in Canadian stratification, but also by highlighting the unique inequalities that Indigenous populations have experienced due to colonization and oppression. This study examines Indigenous inequalities within Canadian history, allowing my project to gain a comprehensive understanding of ethnoracial inequality in Canada. By shifting the focus of the mosaic away from ethnicity toward race, scholars (e.g., Agocs & Boyd, 1993; Gosine, 2000; Lian & Matthews, 1998) offer a crucial analysis of the power of racialization and colonization as determinants of inequality in this country.

Echoing findings that point to a recast vertical mosaic, Gosine (2000) analyzed data from the 1996 Canadian Census to examine patterns of racialized labour market inequality among Canadians who hold a postsecondary educational qualification. He controls variables such as educational attainment, field of study, age, gender, occupation, province of residence and country of birth to highlight ‘net’ racialized income disparities in the Canadian labour market. He found that racialized groups generally earn less than their white counterparts when extraneous variables

are controlled. In light of his findings, Gosine (2000) concludes that a small proportion of the income gap experienced by racialized groups is “attributable to a relative lack of educational attainment” and the “acquisition of human capital results in a lesser payoff for members of racialized groups than for white Canadians” (p. 99). The results of Gosine’s study bolster the argument that an ethnic mosaic has been reduced in Canadian society, with the mosaic shifting towards a racialized one.

The Rise of Neoliberalism in Canada and the Racialized Vertical Mosaic

The recasting of Canada’s vertical mosaic cannot be fully understood without a discussion of neoliberalism. Raddon and Harrison (2015) define neo-liberalism as “a complex process of regulatory and governance changes on a global scale,” recognizing that while “neoliberalism may mean less government, it does not follow that there is less governance” (p. 138). This acknowledges how “governance works at a distance by appealing to the desires, ideals and identities of individuals who are self-defined and socially defined as free, active and responsible,” and hence largely, if not solely, responsible for their own socioeconomic outcomes (Raddon & Harrison, 2015, p. 138). They chronicle the history of neoliberalism, drawing on the earliest neoliberal construct from the 1980s through the lens of policy, particularly focused on the “state’s retreat from direct provision of social goods” (Raddon & Harrison, 2015, p. 137). They chronicle the historical and contemporary understanding of neoliberalism through the ideology of “neo-liberalism 1.0” and “neo-liberalism 2.0” (Raddon & Harrison, 2015, p. 139). The historical shaping of neoliberalism is understood through neo-liberalism 1.0, which is seen as an ideology “focused on market and family, and delegitimized government,” deeply rooted in the dictum that “there is no such thing as society” (Raddon & Harrison, 2015, p 139). Notably, they conceptualize neoliberalism 2.0 as a “rediscovered society and places a high value on

cultivating relationships and nurturing community, conceived as a sphere of belonging, whether it be membership in civil society, in a neighbourhood, in a culture, or in a common home” (Raddon & Harrison, 2015, p. 139). This conceptual understanding of neoliberalism 2.0 is seen as a contemporary account, recognizing that “the responsibilities of the state for public services are transferred onto individuals” (Raddon & Harrison, 2015, p. 139). Within this ideology, neoliberalism operates to legitimize the “increase in concentrations of income and wealth” and deepened social inequality (Raddon & Harrison, 2015, p. 137).

Raddon and Harrison (2015) acknowledge that “neo-liberal governance operates through discourses, institutions, and practices that construct “truth” such that citizens conduct themselves in a manner that serves the needs and interests of the state” (Raddon & Harrison, 2015, p. 138). Through this understanding, we shift towards a racialized lens on neoliberalism to analyze the state-sanctioned rules that disproportionately marginalize and scrutinize racialized bodies.

Many scholars (e.g., Roberts & Mahani, 2010; Thomas, 2010) see the rise of neoliberalism in Canada as exacerbating racialized inequalities. Neoliberalism “deepens class divisions and facilitates labour exploitation through the production of a low-wage labour force” (Thomas, 2009, p. 69). This dominant ideology is “imbued with race” and works to “modify” how race functions, as it is “fundamentally raced and actively produces racialized bodies” (Roberts & Mahtani, 2010, p. 1). Race, in this sense, is “mutually constitutive with neoliberalizing policies,” as it tends to reproduce “racist inequalities” (Roberts & Mahtani, 2010, p. 3). This conceptual understanding of neoliberalism becomes entwined with race and the construction and reproduction of systemic inequalities. The debate on racial capitalism can further support this discussion of racial neoliberalism by highlighting systems that reproduce inequalities.

Standing Against Racial Capitalism

Racial capitalism is a social construct that underscores how “capitalism is never not racial,” recognizing the systemic production and reproduction of racism and inequality that lie embedded within our capitalist structures and institutions (Gaztambide et al., 2024, p. 647). Gaztambide et al. (2024) examine the connection between decolonial thought and critical race theory. They recognize that “decolonial tradition understands racism not primarily in terms of individual feelings, thoughts, and behaviors-conscious or unconscious-but as the effect of racial capitalism” (Gaztambide et al., 2024, p. 647). The historical perception of racial capitalism is “rooted in settler colonial conquest of Indigenous land, genocide, African enslaved labor, and its present forms of anti-Blackness and xenophobia” (Gaztambide et al., 2024, p. 647). This conceptual understanding recognizes the role racism and neoliberalism play in shaping capitalism and producing inequalities. According to these authors, “undoing apartheid without overthrowing capitalism leaves systems in place that reproduce racism and inequality” (Gaztambide et al., 2024, p. 647). Racial capitalism, then, is imbued within systems and is especially pronounced in the neoliberal era, expelling those who fall short of the hegemonic Western meritocratic ideals (such as racialized and Indigenous populations).

Neoliberalism, Racialization, and the Regulation of Employment Standards

Roberts and Mahtani (2010) discuss how the vertical mosaic has become ‘recast’ and how this recast mosaic is sustained through neoliberalism, most pointedly via racial neoliberalism. Roberts and Mahtani (2010) examine the conceptualization of immigrants and immigration in Canadian newspapers. Although they find evidence that these news sources generally emphasize the importance of “recruiting immigrants” due to their added “value to the Canadian economy,” the discourse also “persistently racializes immigrants as not-quite-Canadian” (Roberts &

Mahtani, 2010, p. 6). Constituting immigrants as “not-quite Canadian allows for the disconnect between their ability to play the neoliberal game and the rewards that they receive for successful play” (Roberts & Mahtani, 2010, p. 7). Consequently, neoliberalism “masks racism” through “camouflaging practices,” creating a false vision that society and its structures are inherently “non-racialized” (Roberts & Mahtani, 2010, p. 7). Systemic discrimination within the labour market spotlights this inherent interconnectedness between race and systems, as racism operates “to divide the workforce, facilitate unsafe and racist workplaces” while justifying “low wages, especially for workers of colour” (Gaztambide et al., 2024, p. 649). Roberts and Mahtani (2010) argue that we must address the “racist foundations” saturated within neoliberalism. Their work highlights the racial foundations of the current recast vertical mosaic (p. 9). By establishing a connection between race and neoliberalism, these authors pave the way for my analysis, highlighting the inherent role race plays (both in contemporary times and during the period when Porter carried out his foundational work) in social stratification in Canada.

Thomas (2009) discusses neoliberalism “through the lens of racialization” and explores “racialization in relation to class and gender dynamics” (p. 69). Thomas (2009) claims that the effects of neoliberalism inherently “exacerbate patterns of racialized labour market inequality” (p. 69). He stresses the need to view racialized labour market disparities as a function of “power imbalances” created by the “process of racialization” (Thomas, 2009, p. 83). Thomas (2009) illustrates how neoliberalism “deepens class divisions” while simultaneously aiding “labour exploitation through the production of a low-wage racialized labour force” (p. 69).

Thomas (2009) examines patterns of labour market inequality in Canada, focusing on the participation of racialized individuals. The labour market, according to Thomas (2009), is divided by “racist practices and assumptions,” which ultimately assign social labels such as

“undesired” to racialized labour (p. 72). His observations support the recast vertical mosaic argument, acknowledging that while ethnic inequalities have diminished to a significant degree, a redrafted mosaic has emerged largely due to systemic racial discrimination. Notably, data on employment patterns strongly suggests racialized “segmentation” within the labour market among recent immigrants, spotlighting a disproportionate percentage of racialized immigrants occupying low-income occupations.

Through neoliberal policies, labour exploitation is displayed through “class divisions” that disproportionately target the “low-wage racialized labour force” (Thomas, 2009, p. 86). The presence of labour market discrimination is reinforced through racial bias, as antibias diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) training have had little impact on advancing anti-racism practices for racialized populations (Gaztambide et al., 2024). Efforts to effectively challenge and mitigate bias associated with race are better served by “addressing structural contexts that breed racism” (Gaztambide et al., 2024, p. 649). Moreover, data shows that “racialized groups have a significantly lower rate of union representation than other workers (22 percent as compared to 32 percent),” which contributes to racialized income inequalities, lack of employment security, and heightened exposure to “workplace harassment and discrimination” (Thomas, 2009, p. 73). Labour market divisions have also emerged through the “gendered character of employment,” which socially organizes people into “undesirable forms of work in racialized ways” (Thomas, 2009, p. 72). Through this form of “gendered racism,” racialized occupations operate in conjunction with “notions of femininity and masculinity” to delegate “Black women and men to menial and backbreaking jobs” (Thomas, 2009, p. 72). Thus, ideologies of gender and race operate within the labour market to continue this perpetual cycle of racialized and gendered

discrimination. Thomas's work supports arguments for a recast mosaic, underscoring race as a critical component of social stratification in Canadian society.

Race plays a significant role in the generation of socioeconomic inequalities in Canadian society. By analyzing the literature on a recast vertical mosaic, we begin to recognize the shifting disparities among European immigrants and BIPOC populations amid a neoliberal backdrop and the evolution of whiteness and racialization in Canada.

Contemporary Accounts of The Vertical Mosaic

In this section, I review literature that focuses on contemporary accounts of Canada's vertical mosaic. Research by Helmes-Hayes and Curtis (1998) resituates Porter's research on class, ethnicity, race, and inequality in modern times. These authors recognize how "...the immigrant society...as a Vertical Mosaic is in many ways even more colourful and volatile today" (Helmes-Hayes & Curtis, 1998, p. 37). In recent literature, *The Vertical Mosaic* serves as a foundation to map current studies that expand and update Porter's original analysis. The authors recognize the importance of Porter's work in Canada and aim to reassess its theoretical foundations and consider its contemporary relevance. Helmes-Hayes and Curtis acknowledge the structure of Canadian society as a vertical mosaic characterized by inequalities. At the same time, they address the complex class dynamics that have shifted since the 1960s. This literature includes the voices of various contributors who provide an assessment of Porter's original analysis and findings to analyze changes within Canadian society since the 1960s (Helmes-Hayes & Curtis, 1998). Each section within this edited collection draws on Porter's thesis while striving to revise, update, and extend his work. For instance, Wallace Clement (1998) addresses the changing economic, social, and political circumstances since the time of Porter's thesis. He acknowledges Porter's work as an "assessment of standards and directions against which social

progress in Canada could be measured” (Clement, 1998, p. 52). Clement presents an “overview of the theoretical underpinnings” of the forms of social inequality in Canada to analyze the shifting inequalities pertaining to various factors such as “class and power, gender and ethnicity” since the time of Porter’s work.

The Vertical Mosaic Revisited

Julia O’Connor contributes to Helmes-Hayes and Curtis’s edited collection, considering the theoretical underpinnings of Porter’s work. O’Connor’s (1998) analysis is rooted in a “gender-sensitive critique of theories of citizenship...” (p. 27). *The Vertical Mosaic* was a comparative study analyzing the United States, Canada and Britain, O’Connor (1998) highlights how these comparisons “can be made for certain concrete measures of inequality and citizenship” (p. 27). Comparing Canada and other Westernized countries (noted above) to examine class and power inequalities provides substantial evidence of the persisting inequalities that were not fully noted at the time of Porter’s work. This scholar incorporates a “gender-sensitive analysis of welfare states” and the “gendered nature of citizenship,” notable aspects missing from Porter’s analysis of class and power dynamics in Canadian society (O’Connor, 1998, p. 187). The inclusion of a gender-sensitive analysis considers the “profoundly gendered nature of citizenship and the addition of a dimension relating to services facilitating access to the labour market” (O’Connor, 1998, p. 187). Within this framework, “gender and class are produced within the same ongoing practices,” making them interconnected in the inequalities they face (O’Connor, 1998, p. 187). When placed within the welfare state analysis, the “interaction of gender and class is linked to a more general critique of the dominant conception of a citizenship which underpins welfare state research” (O’Connor, 1998, p. 187). This concept of a gendered analysis emphasizes the critical intersection of gender and class and in doing so,

adequately accounts for the perspectives of both class and gender when examining social inequality. Indeed, this gendered perspective is crucial for analyzing inequalities within Canadian society at large, an aspect that Porter failed to consider in his analysis.

The authors who contributed to Helmes-Hayes and Curtis' edited collection critically appraise the theoretical frameworks of class and ethnic inequalities that Porter employed, highlighting in particular Porter's failure to consider gender in the analysis. By incorporating the voices of various contributors, Helmes-Hayes and Curtis aim to offer a contemporary account of Canada as a vertical mosaic decades after the publication of Porter's work. They also aim to integrate variables and considerations that were absent from Porter's original analysis of Canada's inequality-laden mosaic, such as gender inequalities in jobs and income, as well as ethnic and racial disparities in political participation, which are diminishing due to the increased participation of racialized groups in political areas.

Measuring the Vertical Mosaic

In his work *Measuring the Mosaic*, Helmes-Hayes (2010) provides a bibliography of Porter in which he examines the social, economic and political circumstances in Canada that shaped and informed Porter's work. Helmes-Hayes examines various perspectives and critiques to highlight the gaps and shortcomings of *The Vertical Mosaic* in 1965. This piece highlights the importance of *The Vertical Mosaic* not only for the development of Canadian sociology but also for disrupting the image of Canada as a classless society where equality of opportunity flourishes.

Porter's *Vertical Mosaic* received favourable reviews and attention in the media, highlighting his work as "masterly and incisive" (Helmes-Hayes, 2010, p. 163). However significant his work was deemed, it also generated a great deal of criticism in terms of empirical

and substantive problems, theoretical and conceptual concerns, and assorted methodological issues. Critics argued that there was a lack of evidence to support some of Porter's claims, particularly his claim that “most Canadians saw their society as classless” (Helmes-Hayes, 2010, p. 176). Helmes-Hayes cites Edwin Black, a political scientist at Queen’s University, who asserted that no evidence was provided at the time to back Porter’s central contention that Canada viewed itself as a classless society. Porter oftentimes ignored his own theoretical understanding of classes “as purely objective, statistical entities” (Helmes-Hayes, 2010, p. 180). Notably, he focused on criteria for his theoretical discussion of “what the real middle class was like and what a ruling class would be like,” often referencing this criterion by suggesting that “classes were real rather than nominal categories” (Helmes-Hayes, 2010, p. 178). Here, Porter views social classes as significant groupings rather than abstract social categories, failing to define classes as “purely objective, statistical entities” (Helmes-Hayes, 2010, p. 178). Porter failed to provide evidence surrounding his claim that “most Canadians saw their society as classless” (Helmes-Hayes, 2010, p. 176). This contributes to an inadequate consideration of race and gender within his mosaic, particularly highlighting Canadian society’s inability to acknowledge the structure of classes, which reflects a lack of concern for racial and gendered inequalities.

Porter’s understanding of classes inherently contributes to the lack of significant inclusion of race within the mosaic, and this form of exclusion from empirical research of the era worked to conceal racial and gendered inequalities. As race functions as a fixed social category intertwined within our systems and institutions, this idea of race as ‘fixed’ suggests that society ascribes specific labels to racialized individuals within society’s defining structures (Galabuzi, 2006). Therefore, the failure to study, in a comprehensive and pointed way, how race helps to

shape class structures in Canadian society serves to mask how race and gender operate within class structures to produce and reproduce inequalities (Galabuzi, 2006).

Critiques reveal that Porter's conception of the mosaic is fraught with many gaps which require further research, particularly concerning race and gender-related inequalities. Although criticisms failed to include gender inequality until the late 1970s, Helmes-Hayes presumably believes this is due to the lack of feminist concerns among male sociologists in general at the time. Modern discussion of the mosaic should include gender and racial inequality to adequately address the vertical mosaic in today's Canada.

In addition to the empirical issues that Helmes-Hayes addresses, many criticisms were formed on Porter's conceptual framework, particularly his "post-capitalist theoretical definition of class, though some commentators expressed related concerns about his concept of power" (Helmes-Hayes, 2010, p. 178). According to Porter, classes "were no more than nominal groups: arbitrary statistical aggregates" (Helmes-Hayes, 2010, p. 178). In particular, Marxists critiqued this conceptualization of class, claiming Porter overlooked the advantages of "societal-level analysis by divorcing class from its historical context and positioning it in a statistical, as opposed to the real world" framework (Helmes-Hayes, 2010, p. 178). In doing so, he separated class from its historical context, placing it into a statistical framework that fails to recognize the reality of classes in Canadian society and places them in "static and ahistorical terms (i.e., changing patterns of income distribution or shifts in occupational structure)" (Helmes-Hayes, 2010, p. 178). At the time of Porter's work, little was said about his conceptualization of ethnicity. However, Helmes-Hayes interviews Jean Burnet (as cited in Helmes-Hayes, 1995), who, three decades after the mosaic, critiqued three significant flaws in Porter's work. First, Porter failed to make a clear distinction between ethnicity and culture. Second, "ethnicity was

and then and is still a socially constructed category, not objective, ascribed social characteristic” (Helmets-Hayes, 2010, p. 179). In other words, ethnicity is categorized by societal norms and cultural values assigned to individuals rather than biological or physical traits. Lastly, Porter failed to point out the limitations of the statistics, which relied on “racial or ethnic origins,” and did not acknowledge the shortcomings inherent in the way such data are categorized. His inability to acknowledge these shortcomings suggests that he didn’t recognize how underlying assumptions of racial and ethnic categories might influence data interpretation (Helmets-Hayes, 2010, p. 179). The contemporary mosaic needs to adequately address the relationship between race and ethnicity in Canadian society (and within the mosaic that Porter coined) to provide a complete and valid understanding of social stratification in Canada.

These arguments highlighted by Helmets-Hayes (2010) indicate that, in 1965, Porter had examined ethnicity, class, and power,” recognizing that “the mosaic, if not the vertical mosaic, remains an iconic metaphor to which current Canadian social scientists turn in their attempts to understand changes in the character and quality of their national life” (p. 190). Helmets-Hayes addresses the gaps that were present at the time *The Vertical Mosaic* was published. Nonetheless, this literature remains foundational in Canadian society as “the inequalities of class, ethnicity, and power” that Porter addressed in *The Vertical Mosaic* remain a “central and contentious” piece within academia and Canadian society at large (Helmets-Hayes, 2010, p. 190).

The contemporary accounts of *The Vertical Mosaic* must adequately account for the role of race and gender as it pertains to social stratification in Canadian society. Broadly echoing the voices of Agoos and Boyd (1993) above, they suggest a refocusing of the vertical mosaic that centres “racism and sexism in the structure of occupational inequality” (p. 346). They not only address the gaps that plagued Porter’s 1965 work, but they also underscore the need for new

conceptual frameworks to broaden research on Canadian stratification. They highlight the shifting inequalities in Canada's vertical mosaic, examining a "new ethnic mosaic" which has been "redrafted along racialized lines" (Agocs & Boyd, 1993, p. 333; see also Gosine, 2000; Lian & Matthews, 1998). Census data on social stratification in Canada reveal gender and racial minority disparities in the labour market and educational sectors. Notably, Indigenous and visible minority populations hold a lower percentage of "managerial or administrative occupations" (Agocs & Boyd, 1993, p. 337). At the same time, Indigenous and visible minority populations tend to be overrepresented in "service occupations" compared to the British, French and "other European ethnic-origin groups" (Agocs & Boyd, 1993, p. 337). These data ultimately display an uneven distribution of occupational participation between British, French and other European groups compared to Indigenous and visible minority populations. Agocs & Boyd contribute to this analysis by examining contemporary accounts of the vertical mosaic by highlighting gender and racial stratification in Canadian society. Through their observation of "occupational inequality," these authors find notable results in the "centrality of racism and sexism" in social structures due to an increase in immigration and an increased awareness of gender, race, and Indigenous inequalities in general (Agocs & Boyd, 1993, p. 346).

Gendering the Vertical Mosaic

Hamilton supports the discussion of a gendered mosaic through her work in *Gendering the Vertical Mosaic: Feminist Perspectives on Canadian Society*. Gazso (2005) reviews Hamilton's work, recognizing Canadian society as a "vertical mosaic that is not just class-stratified but racialized and gendered too" (p. 377). Hamilton's book traces the "gradual rise of the women's movement, noting the increasing participation of women in the labour force and its affinity with other social movements in the 1960s" (Gazso, 2005, p. 378). She advocates for a

gendered perspective to deepen our understanding of social processes, particularly shaping how we view Canadian society through a gendered lens. By examining Canadian society from a feminist perspective, Hamilton aims to situate the vertical mosaic in contemporary Canada by adequately accounting for gender when considering social stratification in Canadian society.

Canada's Economic Apartheid

Deepening our understanding of race as a determinant of social stratification in contemporary Canada, Galabuzi (2006), in his work *Canada's Economic Apartheid*, analyzes "...the emergence of race as a key constitutive feature of socio-stratification in Canada, which has prompted the debate on the existence of a colour-coded mosaic" (Galabuzi, 2006, p. 32). Galabuzi discusses the evolution of a vertical mosaic stratified along racialized lines, which emerges through the understanding of ethnicity as a category of attributes that are not fixed, such as language and culture. According to Galabuzi, "...while the ethnic dividing line has become blurred, a racial basis for socio-economic stratification is increasingly discernable" (Galabuzi, 2006, p. 32). This contemporary account acknowledges the social construction of race and ethnicity in maintaining hierarchical categories of power for the dominant group (Galabuzi, 2006). Building on the work of earlier scholars such as Lian and Matthews (1998), Gosine (2000) and Agocs and Boyd (1993), all of whom made the case for a racialized vertical mosaic, Galabuzi (2006) outlines how the creation of minority status is "...central to the race-based stratification of the Canadian political economic order..." (p. 30). Here, race is accounted for within the vertical mosaic by recognizing how the construction of race and ethnicity operates in Canadian society.

Challenges to Multiculturalism in the Canadian Experience

Galabuzi (2013) raises critical questions regarding Canada's emergence as a 'multicultural nation,' particularly highlighting historical and contemporary concerns about multiculturalism as a "model for dealing with diversity in Canada" (p. 115). He draws on Porter's 'cultural mosaic' in recognizing how the "political status of racialized groups has concluded that they are subject to structural racism that confines them to the bottom of the vertical mosaic" (Galabuzi, 2013, p. 127). Galabuzi places this mosaic in the contemporary context by "redefining and expanding the concept of 'whiteness,'" granting many of the non-charter European groups that Porter referenced 'white status.' As the Canadian state "asserted the fixed nature of racial difference by designating racialized groups as 'visible minorities,' the hyper-visibility implied masked not just the experience of racism but the fact that the 'mosaic' is becoming more racialized" (Galabuzi, 2013, p. 121). This reinforces the fact that race is growing increasingly prevalent as "an organizing principle of life" due to its "displacement by multiculturalism" (Galabuzi, 2013, p. 36). Galabuzi (2013) examines labour market participation to address the racial discrimination experienced by racialized groups and recent immigrants, ultimately leading to "high levels of low income" and "greater contact with the criminal justice system" (p. 142). These systemic forms of discrimination tend to disadvantage racialized populations while undermining the "legitimacy of the promise of multiculturalism as a regime of diversity" that 'guarantees' equal opportunities for all Canadians (Galabuzi, 2013, p. 142). Galabuzi (2013) argues that this division and inequality reasserts the notion of a vertical mosaic and, moreover, solidifies a "colour-coded" mosaic based on racialized lines (p. 142; see also Galabuzi, 2006)

In summary, recent literature on ethnoracial inequality in Canada chronicles the evolution of a vertical mosaic where race has gradually supplanted ethnicity as, along with class, the primary basis of inequality in Canada. The 1965 publication of Porter's seminal work spurred waves of critique and debate among Canadian social scientists. The recognition of race as a key constitutive feature of stratification in Canada increasingly marked by neoliberal ethos represents a re-envisioning of Porter's vertical mosaic concept in contemporary times.

Applying Whiteness Theory to the Evolution of The Vertical Mosaic

In this project, I draw on whiteness theory as elucidated in the work of scholars such as Roediger (2007) and Ignatiev (1994), both of whom chronicle how a white population in the U.S., once viewed in racialized terms, gradually acquired a 'white' identity when juxtaposed against a growing BIPOC population. In Canada, the evolution of the vertical mosaic can be connected to whiteness theory via the recognition of this country as a colonial state that perpetuates British and (to a lesser extent) French sociocultural normativity. Bannerji (1996) outlines the formation of the Canadian state, rooted in the English crown and the charter groups identified by Porter. This colonial inscription of French or English provides privileges to certain European groups in Canadian society while 'othering' visible minorities. This conceptualization of the construction of Canada helps analyze the role of whiteness in the formation of ethnic inequalities and racial differences. In the words of Bannerji (1996), Canada's "sociopolitical space is saturated by elements of surplus domination due to its Eurocentric/racist/colonial context" (p. 110). Colonization by English and French European groups created a space for European assimilation and adoption of a 'white' identity, which 'others' non-European and non-white groups. This analysis of whiteness explains the evolution of the vertical mosaic through

the gradual acceptance of European immigrants as 'white'. The increasing presence of BIPOC groups facilitated this shift from ethnic disparities to racial differences.

I employ whiteness theory to understand the evolution of Whiteness in Canada and how this phenomenon has shaped the vertical mosaic alongside structural changes in the economy since Porter's work, notably deindustrialization and the expansion of the service industry. By applying whiteness theory to understand the evolution of Canada's vertical mosaic, I aim to spotlight how the mosaic has come to be recast along racialized lines. The influx of BIPOC people during the 1960s led to Eastern and Southern Europeans acquiring a 'white' identity and thus experiencing less discrimination. The evolution of the vertical mosaic has shifted from ethnic inequalities to racial discrimination, warranting a need for deeper investigation to account for the changing inequalities in Canadian society. As whiteness has evolved, Southern and Eastern Europeans, two immigrant minority groups highlighted by Porter, have increasingly experienced the privileges associated with white identity, leading to a reduction in the inequalities that they face. Racialized groups have continued to occupy the bottom rung of Porter's Mosaic, with race supplanting ethnicity as a determinant of socioeconomic status for inclusion.

Research in sociology and social psychology demonstrates how racialized othering can result in labour market discrimination (e.g., Henry & Ginzberg, 1985; Pager et al., 2009). Pager et al. (2009), for example, noted the presence of a racial hierarchy within labour market job selection processes (Pager et al., 2009). Here, whiteness theory can be applied within the context of the vertical mosaic to highlight racial hierarchies within the labour market decades after Porter's work. As racial discrimination continues to serve as a socioeconomic basis for job selectivity, it is evident that the inequalities highlighted by Porter in *The Vertical Mosaic* have

shifted based principally on skin colour. Pager et al. (2009) provide evidence that "...blackness confers the same disadvantage as a felony conviction helps calibrate the deeply skeptical view of young black men..." (p. 780). While based in the USA, this study nonetheless highlights how racial discrimination operates within the labour market by presenting field experiment evidence that demonstrates that Black applicants with no criminal record have similar success rates to white applicants *with* a criminal record (Pager et al., 2009).

The findings of Pager et al. are echoed in a Canadian study by Henry and Ginzberg (1985), which supports the argument that visible minorities became the new racialized other in Canada and hence subjected to discrimination most European ethnic groups no longer faced. This study highlights the persistence of racial discrimination within the Toronto labour market, impacting both educated and lesser-educated individuals. Henry and Ginzberg's study objective was to assess the extent of racial bias and discrimination in the early stages of job contact. They found that "...non-whites must work harder and longer to gain access to potential employment opportunities even though they have equal education and employment experience with whites" (Henry & Ginzberg, 1985, p. 50). These authors demonstrate how BIPOC individuals are prone to labour market discrimination, highlighting the presence of racial discrimination in the Canadian labour market after the 1960s, which contributed to the generation of a recast vertical mosaic. Field experiment research findings that document racial discrimination in labour markets are bolstered by multivariate analyses such as that of Lian and Matthews (1998) and Gosine (2000; both cited above), which show racial disparities in earnings after holding other relevant variables, such as age, type of job, educational qualifications and gender, constant. Multivariate analyses of census data or random samples that reveal racial differences in income and/or

occupational status after controlling for numerous relevant predictors can be taken as evidence of labour market discrimination.

The social construction of whiteness explains the recasting of the vertical mosaic along racialized lines by highlighting race, more so than ethnicity, as the primary basis of discrimination and social stratification. As European ethnic groups acquired a 'white' identity they seemingly acquired the associated privileges of whiteness. This shift then requires a recast vertical mosaic as a result of racialized discrimination which has grown more salient than ethnicity-based exclusion. Due to the increasing BIPOC population, and the shift of European groups as the racialized 'other,' the vertical mosaic based on socioeconomic stratification in Canada is centred along racialized lines.

Complicating the Notion of a Racialized Vertical Mosaic

As discussed above, recent scholars of social inequality in Canada have argued that race has largely supplanted ethnicity as a basis of socioeconomic stratification in this country. As ethnic inequalities have gradually diminished in the time since Porter's seminal book was published in the mid-1960s, researchers, many cited above, have observed that a race-based mosaic has taken shape in Canada. This shifting mosaic illustrates that most European groups have gradually acquired the privileges associated with whiteness. However, while inequality vis-à-vis the so-called charter groups has diminished for many European ethnic groups, exceptions remain. European immigrants do not exist as a monolithic category. Hence, the privileges of whiteness do not apply to all European ethnic groups in equal measure.

A lingering example is that of Portuguese Canadians, who continue to face significant socioeconomic obstacles within the Canadian context. Likewise, there are non-white communities in Canada that eschew the general ethnoracial trends of the recast vertical mosaic.

Some racialized groups, despite facing disadvantages, achieve levels of socioeconomic success on par, if not higher, than that of white Canadians. This is prevalent among Asian² Canadian communities that often rival, if not outperform, white Canadians on various measures of socioeconomic success such as educational attainment, income, and occupational status.

These exceptions to the recast vertical mosaic can be examined and understood via social and cultural capital theory. Social capital refers to the relationships among individuals immersed in a given social group along with the benefits they derive from these affiliations (Bourdieu, 1986; Putnam, 2000). Cultural capital refers to the forms of knowledge and ways of being that enable individuals to function within society (Bourdieu, 1986). In addition to structural sources of social stratification such as systemic discrimination, ethnoracial inequality can be generated or exacerbated by communal socialization along with bridging and bonding forms of social capital. Bonding social capital refers to in-group connections, whereas bridging social capital pertains to social ties between people who identify with different social groups (Putnam, 2000). Social and cultural capital can help explain why certain ethnoracial groups continue to stand as exceptions to the general patterns associated with Canada's recast and evolving vertical mosaic.

Social and Cultural Capital and Socioeconomic Inequality

Social capital refers to individuals' membership in a particular group. It is the "aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 21). Bourdieu suggests that social capital is accumulated through social groupings formed by industrialized delegation methods, concentrating the totality of social capital in the hands of "a

² The term Asian refers to a very wide and heterogeneous group, which I wish to acknowledge. However, many of the studies cited in this paper examine Asian communities collectively. Therefore, when this paper references 'Asian' Canadians without specifying particular groups, it is used as an umbrella term reflecting the scope of the included studies.

single agent or small group of agents” (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 23). The concept of social capital can illuminate social and formal economic relations that affect and delegate between reward and development bias (Loury, 2019). Development bias refers to the “impediments that block access for...people to those resources necessary to develop and refine their talents but that are conveyed via informal relations” (Loury, 2019, p. 3). This mechanism, which affects reward and development bias, may explain the ongoing racial inequality in economic and social relations within North America. Loury (2019) examines stigmatized social capital relationships, which outline “resources that foster human development” available to a person as the “by-product of informal, race-influenced social interactions” (p. 4). This discrimination is reflected in reward bias, disproportionately marginalizing certain racialized groups.

According to Bourdieu (1986), cultural capital exists in three forms: “the embodied state, in the objectified state, and the institutionalized state” (p. 17). Cultural capital in the embodied state implies “a labour of inculcation and assimilation, costs time, time which must be invested personally by the investor” (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 18). In its embodied form, cultural capital develops over time within individuals by way of socialization. The objectified state of cultural capital refers to material objects. Cultural goods can be “appropriated both materially-which presupposes economic capital-and symbolically-which presupposes cultural capital” (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 20). The institutionalized state of cultural capital encompasses academic qualifications and certification granted by designated recognized authorities. Cultural capital “in the form of academic qualifications is one way of neutralizing some of the properties from the fact that, being embodied” shares the same “biological limits as it’s bearer” (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 20). In turn, this acknowledges how cultural capital in the form of something measurable, notably academic degrees, is inherently tied to the limitations of individual abilities. These three forms of

cultural capital identified by Bourdieu are employed strategically in social action. He sees this capital as informing ‘habitus,’ the forms of agency exercised by people where they behave and act in a particular way within a given social milieu (Bourdieu, 1986). Bourdieu acknowledges that educational success, facilitated by cultural capital, reproduces class inequalities. Cultural capital enables academic success through intergenerational transmission within the family. Mainstream educational institutions tend to reward and value certain types of cultural capital, such as individualistic disposition, a belief in meritocracy and competition, and delayed gratification. Consequently, educational qualifications tend to legitimize access to positions, particularly dominant ones, as the educational system increasingly transmits the role of “power and privileges” (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 26).

Taken together, social and cultural capital concepts help explain how Portuguese Canadians face obstacles to vertical mobility, whereas Asian Canadians find opportunities to advance. Asian Canadians possess bonding and bridging social capital conducive to academic and socioeconomic achievement, while Portuguese Canadians lack certain types of social capital.

Bonding and Bridging Capital

The link between social capital and socioeconomic success is firmly established in the literature (e.g., Loury, 2019; Putnam, 2000). Bonding social capital is critical to people’s well-being and sense of belonging, but too much of it can conceivably limit opportunities. Scholars agree that the right mix of bonding and bridging social capital is critical to educational and socioeconomic success. Bonding social capital “is good for undergirding specific reciprocity and mobilizing solidarity” (Putnam, 2000, p. 22). Putnam (2000) refers to bonding social capital as a “sociological superglue,” which solidifies “in-group loyalty” while often fostering “out-group antagonism” (p. 23). Bridging social capital generates “broader identities and reciprocity” and

enables people to “get ahead” rather than merely “get by,” the latter generally the primary benefit of bonding capital (Putnam, 2000, p. 23).

Both bonding and bridging social capital are seen as holding the potential to produce positive social outcomes. However, the effects of too much bonding social capital can create an inward-looking perception whereby individuals “reinforce exclusive identities and homogeneous groups,” a state of being that can limit experiential and mobility opportunities (Putnam, 2000, p. 22; see also Gosine, 2021; Loury, 2019). Gosine (2021) examines the effects of excessive bonding social capital in his examination of the experiences of marginalized youth. He describes substantial bonding social capital within multiple marginalized communities as “a double-edged sword for youth” within such settings (p. 86). Communities characterized by “salient, defensively situated forms of bonding social capital are often not cultivating much in the way of bridging social capital,” which limits their lived experience and opportunities within the broader society (Gosine, 2021, p. 86). Gosine (2021) highlights the critical role education systems can play in fostering channels by which “marginalized youth can build bridging social capital” (p. 86).

When considering the relationship between social capital and inequality, it is evident that the bonding social capital that exists within Portuguese Canadian communities, by and large, might not be entirely advantageous where the acquisition of educational attainment and upward mobility are concerned. The inward focus created by bonding social capital and a relative dearth of bridging social capital limits opportunities for socioeconomic advancement (see Gosine, 2021; Putnam, 2000). This analysis can be applied to the experiences of Portuguese Canadians, as strong ethnic social ties create a “sense of belonging” that further impedes their opportunities (Gosine, 2021, p. 86). Asian Canadian communities, however, benefit from both bonding and

bridging social capital, which enables them to get ahead. Within this section, I will examine these Portuguese and Asian Canadian communities as exceptions to the recast vertical mosaic through the lens of social and cultural capital theory.

The Experiences of Portuguese Canadians

Portuguese Canadians are exceptions to the recast vertical mosaic, as they do not experience the benefits of whiteness to the same extent as many other European groups. Many European groups analyzed by Porter have become largely indistinguishable from the historically dominant groups (the British and French). As time passed and the visible minority populations grew, inequalities have diminished for more recently arrived European ethnic groups, most of which are now privy to many privileges associated with whiteness. This general trend, however, does not encompass all European groups, as is evident with Portuguese Canadians. The experiences of Portuguese Canadians have shown that European ethnic attachment is not a monolithic category. Porter's original mosaic, based on ethnic inequalities, has been replaced by a mosaic centred on racial differences. Portuguese Canadians, however, constitute an exception to this hierarchy based primarily on racial differences.

Ari (2020) examines the experiences of Portuguese Canadians and asserts that "not all ethnic whites experience whiteness similarly" (p. 191). For Portuguese Canadians, their whiteness is not solely tied to their European culture or skin colour. Ari (2020) examines the complex category of whiteness and challenges the notion that all European groups derive equal benefit from whiteness. Overlooking this complexity disregards the unique experiences of various European groups and applies a 'monolithic' label to European identity. Historically, the Portuguese were associated with blackness and occupied jobs in the labour market typically associated with "non-European laborers" and "black slaves" (Ari, 2020, p. 198). Their

socioeconomic status was based on their skin colour rather than their European ethnic origin, as they were not widely recognized or acknowledged as white. According to Ari, speaking Portuguese rather than English contributed to the marginalization of Portuguese communities, as English is often linked to Anglo-Saxon English-speaking groups. Hence, “whiteness,” Ari (2020) contends, “is not simply defined as an aggregate of people who have light skin color, but is best understood as a set of social relations defined by differing access to power, resources, rewards, and status” (p. 201). This study challenges the default conceptualization of Portuguese individuals as “white” while acknowledging that whiteness encompasses more than just skin colour. It is also “related to power relations and unearned systemic advantages” (Ari, 2020, p. 206). This scholar recognizes the racialization of some “white” ethnic groups while also acknowledging that “people of colour experience the harshest forms of racism in a colour-coded society” (Ari, 2020, p. 215).

The academic underachievement among Portuguese Canadian communities is further supported by Ari (2020) and Presley and Brown (2011), who contend that Portuguese Canadians have a lower educational attainment average than their European and Canadian-born counterparts. Presley and Brown (2011) underscore educational achievement as distinctly lower for the Southern European communities, particularly Portuguese Canadians, as 70% of Portuguese immigrants either did not attend or receive a high school diploma (p. 3; see also Ornstein, 2000). Additionally, only 3.6% of Portuguese individuals were university graduates (Presley & Brown, 2011; see also Statistics Canada, 2002). Educational attainment was further measured through generational academic trends among Portuguese Canadian parents. Among the Portuguese community, parental levels in education are significantly lower, as 0% of fathers and only 1.6% of mothers attained a post-secondary education (Presley & Brown, 2011; see also

Statistics Canada, 2002). These authors emphasize parental levels in academia, as they present a contributing variable to the lower university completion rates among youth in the Portuguese community.

Presley and Brown (2011) extend this analysis, particularly examining the impact of language on the underachievement of Portuguese Canadians. Portuguese-speaking Canadian students tend to display a “lack of confidence,” ultimately contributing to their inability to succeed within English (Anglo-Saxon) education systems (Presley & Brown, 2011, p. 4; see also Ari, 2020). Through examining the academic underachievement of Portuguese Canadian youth, it becomes evident that bonding social capital is exhibited in this community as Portuguese children are not progressing “beyond their parent’s socio-economic roles” (Presley & Brown, 2011, p. 4). This study exhibits the role of bonding social capital within the Portuguese Canadian community, as their experience is echoed by their “intercultural coexistence predominated by a sociocultural relationship between family unit/community” (Presley & Brown, 2011, p. 5).

Declining inequality among European ethnic groups in the last five decades has resulted in a significantly altered vertical mosaic. However, as noted, Portuguese Canadians have not fully attained all the socioeconomic privileges associated with European whiteness in contemporary Canada. As far as educational attainment is concerned, Southern Europeans have generally been disadvantaged (Lian & Matthews, 1998). Portuguese Canadians are less likely to receive post-secondary education than British Canadians. Regarding earnings among ethnic groups based on academic level, Southern Europeans, such as Portuguese Canadians, make up 35% of the national average for those with no degree, certificate or diploma (Lian & Matthews, 1998). Compared to British groups, who make up 3% of the national average for individuals with no degree, certificate or diploma (Lian & Matthews, 1998, p. 469). These data support the

argument that Portuguese Canadians, to a significant extent, do not enjoy the privileges of other European groups. Lian and Matthews display the proportion of Portuguese and British Canadians without educational degrees, certificates, or diplomas. These data show that a higher percentage of British Canadians attain an educational level or higher than Portuguese Canadians, as Portuguese Canadians have a higher rate of no educational attainment compared to their British counterparts. Notably, these data by Lian and Matthews show that Portuguese Canadians still lag behind on key SES metrics (as shown by Presley & Brown above).

Nunes (2014) provides a more recent analysis of Portuguese Canadians' underachievement to spotlight systemic educational barriers. The schooling system reproduces discriminatory practices, as a large portion of Portuguese Canadian students is assessed and labelled as “learning disabled” (Nunes, 2014, p. 6). This contributes to the lack of programs and support for Portuguese students in education systems, which constantly keeps them in a perpetual cycle of disadvantage. This pattern is also observed through parental education levels in Portuguese communities, as the youth tend to occupy the same positions as the previous generations. Finding that most Portuguese parents find greater “value entering the workforce over education,” ultimately positioning the “Portuguese Canadian community and its youth as working-class” (Nunes, 2014, p. 6).

One reason Portuguese Canadians constitute an exception to the recast vertical mosaic trend is that their strong ethnic attachment creates formidable barriers to integration into the ‘white’ identity often associated with the European label. The excessive bonding social capital that exists in Portuguese Canadian communities is generally not conducive to socioeconomic advancement. Excessive bonding social capital is displayed within Portuguese Canadians through a study by Teixeira and Murdie (1997), which examines the relationship between

ethnicity and homebuyers. This study analyzes the behaviours of Portuguese and Canadian-born homebuyers in Toronto and found that they rely almost solely on information available within their ethnic community, particularly Portuguese real estate agents (Teixeira & Murdie, 1997). This sense of belonging within their ethnic circle limits Portuguese individuals' opportunities within the broader society. This reliance of Portuguese Canadians on local ethnic attachments when buying homes can be seen as illustrating a shortage of bridging social capital. Portuguese Canadians are heavily influenced by agents who share their background, creating an "ethnic-cultural dimension" and "cultural biases" in the area where Portuguese homebuyers reside (Teixeira & Murdie, 1997, p. 517). This form of ethnic communal dependence illustrates strong bonding social capital and a corresponding disassociation from the wider society. As a result, they experience a sense of marginalization in contrast to European Canadians who fit into the ideal 'white' category, a category rigidly shaped in Canada by English and French colonizers.

Moreover, the cultural capital that characterizes working-class Portuguese communities is not conducive to academic success within mainstream schools. This form of capital recognizes the transmission from parent to child "by which each generation fulfills their ingested social, educational, and economical traditions, leaving the group essentially unchanged" (Kwiczala & Kutsyuruba, 2012, p. 81). The cultural capital Portuguese Canadians possess is not conducive to educational achievement, as their cultural model creates "conflicts" concerning their adjustment "to the local social and cultural systems," and ultimately fails to equip them with the "knowledge necessary to navigate school and cultural institutions" (Kwiczala & Kutsyuruba, 2012, p. 82). Cultural models are relative to the degree of success or failure in the community. Portuguese Canadians lack of cultural capital strongly correlates to their perception as "working-class" as they face "class-based" discrimination within schools (Kwiczala & Kutsyuruba, 2012, p. 82).

Education systems tend to reproduce “the dominant social order” and “dominant cultural capital,” which actively “silenced the working-class immigrant students” (Kwiczala & Kutsyuruba, 2012, p. 83). This lack of inclusion within academic spaces creates a disconnect between the classroom and Portuguese Canadian students. This results in lower levels of educational attainment relative to other immigrant groups. This is in part due to a lack of Portuguese Canadian community members who hold postsecondary degrees serving as role models, as the presence of such individuals can facilitate the academic success of young people in a given community by offering help with academic work, providing educational information, and connecting youth to opportunities and resources within the wider society. In all, a dearth of cultural capital that is valued within the dominant society keeps Portuguese Canadians in a “perpetual cycle of disadvantage” (Kwiczala & Kutsyuruba, 2012, p. 99).

The Success of Asian Canadians

The success of Asian Canadians is significant when analyzing the exceptions to a ‘recast’ vertical mosaic, as it highlights how certain racialized groups can outperform others in educational and socioeconomic areas. The effects of bonding social capital and “in-group loyalty” can be beneficial to the Asian community, as close cultural ties, combined with requisite bridging social capital, have proven to be critical to their upward mobility and success (see Loury, 2019; Putnam, 2000, p. 23). Asian Canadians have been framed as ‘model minorities,’ which spotlights their success in economic and educational spheres. The model minority myth assumes that Asian Americans are a “monolithic group who are highly successful in all their endeavours (including education, work, and in political and social pursuits)” (Ho, 2014, p. 80). This myth has served politically and socially to place Asian Americans against other minority groups in society. This monolithic view of Asian communities creates a “homogenizing effect,”

implying that Asians “lack diversity” and placing pressure on this community to continually strive for academic success (Ho, 2014, p. 90). The model minority discourse also serves to bolster the illusion that Canada is a truly meritocratic society where anyone can achieve upward social mobility given that they exhibit the right work ethic, drive, and intelligence. As such, the discourse works to stigmatize non-Asian racialized groups by portraying them as mostly responsible for their socioeconomic marginalization, hence reinforcing the ‘new racism’ as an explanation for persisting inequalities (Ho, 2014).

The success of Asian Canadians serves as an exception to the recast vertical mosaic, as they benefit significantly from both bridging and bonding social capital despite being constructed as a racialized ‘other’ within the context of Canadian society. Bonding social capital is displayed within Asian communities through “in-group loyalty, ” which strengthens their communal social ties (Putnam, 2000, p. 23). Through bonding social capital, Asian communities (notably, East, Southeast and South Asia in this specific study) achieve higher socioeconomic success levels facilitated by their in-group access to university-educated family members and friends (Birani & Lehmann, 2013). “Strong social support at home and in their communities” increases academic success, enabled by beneficial communal social ties (Birani & Lehmann, 2013, p. 283). As a result, they achieve higher educational attainment than many other ethnic and racial groups (see Birani & Lehmann). Asian Canadians demonstrate high academic achievement, as 41% (ages 25-34) hold university degrees, compared to visible minorities at 34% and ‘white’ Canadians at 24% (Birani & Lehmann, 2013, p. 282). These data display higher post-secondary engagement among Asian Canadian communities than their racial and ethnic counterparts. Asian Canadians possess substantial bonding social capital, attributed to their strong ethnic attachments, which aid in their attainment of institutionalized cultural capital in the form of educational qualifications.

This success may be accredited to the fact that “Asian-born immigrants accounted for more than half (57%) of the immigrants who arrived since 1991” (Galabuzi, 2005, p. 54). This influx in immigration patterns contributes to Asian Canadians being seen as “exceptions” in terms of their educational and professional success compared to their ethnic and racial counterparts. The strong bonding social capital they possess can be examined in terms of their increased immigration patterns during the late 90s and early 2000s. Additionally, they demonstrate strong bridging social capital through networking beyond their ethnic groups within academia (Birani & Lehmann, 2013). By forming friendships with middle-class students, they develop “middle-class cultural practices or involvement with university clubs outside their ethnic affiliations” (Birani & Lehmann, 2013, p. 294). The bonding and bridging social capital that Asian Canadians actively cultivate enables their pursuit of professional careers and avenues of middle-class success beyond university.

Enclave Economies and Socioeconomic Opportunity

The importance of bonding and bridging social capital to the socioeconomic success of some Asian Canadian communities is evidenced by the ethnic enclave economies within such communities. The enclave economy refers to “situations in which immigrants are employed in businesses within their ethnic group that are owned and operated by that ethnic group” (Galabuzi & Teelucksingh, 2010, p. 22). Successful ethnic enclaves benefit from ethnic transnationalism, which refers to immigrants’ ability to network socially and professionally within their home and host countries (Galabuzi & Teelucksingh, 2010). Galabuzi and Teelucksingh (2010) examined the Asian Canadian community in Toronto, demonstrating how they achieve successful enclave economies through strong “internal solidarity” and “ethnic ties” (p. 22). Successful enclave economies that encompass business ties beyond the boundaries of the given community, evident

within parts of the Chinese community in Toronto, enable some Asian Canadian communities to achieve socioeconomic success and eschew the general trends associated with the recast vertical mosaic. This success is evident as Chinese Canadians benefit from enclave economics through strong “internal solidarity,” utilizing ethnic ties to form networks that “pool final resources” (Galabuzi & Teelucksingh, 2010, p. 22). These ethnic enclave economies contribute to the successes of Chinese Canadians.

The concept of bonding social capital can be applied to the Asian Canadian community when discussing enclave economies, as a successful enclave economy enables individuals to develop internal social ties through the “utilization of ethnic social networks to acquire employment” (Galabuzi & Teelucksingh, 2010, p. 22). Li (2004) argued that ethnic enclave economies, via strong in-group connectedness, have the potential to create exclusionary practices by limiting “interaction with those outside of the ethnic group” (Galabuzi & Teelucksingh, 2010, p. 23). However, reciprocity is fostered through social capital and ethnic economies by their link to forms of capital. Thus, as Galabuzi & Teelucksingh (2010) spotlight, “social class is an important determinant of social capital even within ethnic enclaves” (p. 23). This connection between forms of capital and ethnic enclaves relates to bridging social capital, as the quality of capital available to individuals is “limited by the strength of their social networks” (Galabuzi & Teelucksingh, 2010, p. 23). Asian Canadians have successfully achieved bridging and bonding social capital, as enclave economies have provided them with sufficient “in-group loyalty” and out-group reciprocity, fostering their ability to get ahead (Putnam, 2000, p. 23). Asian businesses contribute to successful bridging social capital by creating and forming productive and beneficial ties beyond their communities. More specifically, worthwhile bridging social capital is actively cultivated by Asian businesses via “ethnic transnationalism,” which demonstrates immigrants’

ability to “draw from social networks and business communities both in their home country and in their new host country” (Galabuzi & Teelucksingh, 2010, p. 22). Asian communities utilize bridging ties as inroads “into the middle class, while still retaining the bonding social capital of their ethnic” communities (Birani & Lehmann, 2013, p. 291).

Cultural capital is exhibited within Asian Canadian communities through educational attainment, particularly in fields such as STEM and business. Drawing on Bourdieu, cultural capital is strongly correlated with class location and social mobility, as a critical dimension of cultural capital is communal perceptions of education. This form of capital is apparent within Asian Canadian communities as cultural capital operates to reproduce its “social status” across middle-class generations (Waters, 2006, p. 180). Waters (2006) examines how Asian communities value Western education systems, particularly MBA programs, as they are “conducive to professional success” (p. 181). Waters (2006) conducted interviews with Asian students in Canada, ultimately finding that “social success was inextricably linked to academic success” (p. 184). This value placed on Western education systems produces substantial cultural capital for Asian Canadians in academia, mainly due to the impending threat of “academic failure,” which affects “the social reproduction of the family” (Waters, 2006, p. 184). Education is presented through cultural capital as a “parental choice” interconnected to “an emergent educational market” (Waters, 2006, p. 179). Thus, cultural capital is critical to Asian Canadian academic success as they rely on their “strong community and familial bonds,” which ultimately support their success in education (Birani & Lehmann, 2013, p. 284). The pro-education attitudes exhibited in Asian Canadian communities stand in contrast with the anti-school attitudes that exist in some non-Asian racialized milieus, where young people who find mainstream schooling discriminatory and alienating have been shown to resist school (see Gosine, 2021).

The recast vertical mosaic acknowledges the inequalities faced by racialized immigrants, who encounter “diverse forms of exclusion” and face a “difficult time using their networks to gain higher-earning jobs and higher socioeconomic status” (Galabuzi & Teelucksingh, 2010, p. 24). Thus, based on this new “colour-coded mosaic” that highlights racial differences, the success rates of Asian Canadians provide evidence of exceptions to this race-based mosaic (Galabuzi, 2006). This success may be accredited to the fact that “Asian-born immigrants accounted for more than half (57%) of the immigrants who arrived since 1991” (Galabuzi, 2005, p. 54).

In summary, Portuguese and Asian Canadians serve as exceptions to the recast vertical mosaic perspective. In the case of the Portuguese, strong, inward-oriented bonding social capital limits networking opportunities outside their ethnic community, ultimately curtailing their opportunities for socioeconomic advancement. At the other end of Canada’s socioeconomic ladder, Asian Canadians are exceptions to the recast vertical mosaic due to their strong bridging and bonding social capital, contributing to their heightened socioeconomic success.

Overall, this section highlights the effects of excessive bonding social capital and insufficient bridging social capital on Portuguese Canadians, which are detrimental to educational attainment and upward mobility. In contrast, Asian Canadians benefit from both substantial bonding social capital and bridging social capital, which helps them advance. Therefore, Portuguese Canadians and Asian Canadians represent exceptions to the recast mosaic, as both groups differ from their respective racial and European ethnic counterparts in terms of socioeconomic success.

Conclusion

There is a dearth of scholarly literature that employs whiteness theory to understand the evolution of Canada's vertical mosaic. Relatively recent literature has discussed a racialized mosaic with a focus on the role of race in shaping the vertical mosaic debate. However, existing literature seemingly excludes a pointed consideration of whiteness as a key explanatory phenomenon where socioeconomic stratification in Canadian society is concerned, at least when discussing Porter's work and its legacy. I have presented an exploratory examination of the vertical mosaic through the lens of whiteness theory as a way of conceptualizing the shifting inequalities among European immigrants and racialized groups in this country.

I have drawn on whiteness theories from various scholars (e.g., Hafen, 2024; Ignatiev, 1994; Roediger, 2007) to illustrate the role whiteness plays in shaping ethnoracial inequalities in Canada. I attempted to illustrate how whiteness theories contextualize and help to understand the shifting social category that is whiteness in the Canadian context. I have briefly examined the historical evolution of whiteness and how that, in turn, shaped the evolution of the vertical mosaic. The expanding construction of whiteness contributes to the notion of a 'recast' mosaic as it examines the historical plight of BIPOC and white immigrants. As the construction of whiteness evolved, the 'white' identity was ascribed to many European immigrants, leading to a decrease in the socioeconomic inequalities they once faced. Hence, the whiteness theories I have examined outline the historical evolution of whiteness, largely contributing to the socioeconomic inequalities among ethnoracial groups. More specifically, the socioeconomic inequalities disproportionately experienced by BIPOC populations point to a 'recast' mosaic that has shifted towards racialized inequalities.

Additionally and more specifically, I attempted to illuminate how whiteness might relate to the evolution of the vertical mosaic, particularly as it pertains to European immigrants. Given that such populations fit under the ‘white’ identity due to their European background, I addressed how some Southern and Eastern Europeans, notably Portuguese Canadians, still experience socioeconomic disparities (Ari, 2020). The literature (e.g., Ari, 2020; Lian & Matthews, 1998; Nunes, 2014; Presley & Brown, 2011) spotlights characteristics such as being English-speaking, ‘white’, middle-class, and Anglo-Saxon as traits that have historically been used to place European immigrants in a hierarchy. Much of this literature associates the privileges of whiteness with the characteristics of those of the charter groups, the British and French. Hence, while there is evidence that Canada’s vertical mosaic has become increasingly racialized, the plight of groups such as the Portuguese illustrates that ethnoracial inequality is a complex phenomenon that cannot be neatly reduced to a simple binary of ‘white’ versus BIPOC.

Moreover, the success of certain Asian Canadian ethnic groups can bring significant value to the discussion about socioeconomic success in Canada. Agocs and Boyd highlight the shifting occupational concentration of Asian Canadians from personal service positions to professional occupations. The occupational shift among Asian Canadians has extended into the educational sector, leading to heightened academic attainment. This shift disrupts the analysis of socioeconomic success among specific ethnic groups, as Asian Canadians are now surpassing European Canadians on a number of socioeconomic metrics. Since Porter’s work, there has been a shift in immigration patterns from predominantly Europeans to include other ethnic groups, notably Asians. With the influx of upwardly mobile Asian Canadians, it is imperative to consider their success when discussing racial and ethnic inequalities.

The discussion of Portuguese Canadians and Asian Canadians as exceptions to a 'recast' mosaic was elucidated by social and cultural capital theories. Through these theories, I attempted to illustrate how excessive bonding and bridging of social and cultural capital contribute to the understanding of why certain ethnoracial groups stand as exceptions to the general patterns of Canada's 'recast' vertical mosaic (Bourdieu, 1986; Loury, 2019; Putnam, 2000). I applied these concepts to particular racial and ethnic groups (Asian and Portuguese Canadians) to examine the extent to which they exceed or fall short of the general pattern expected for various racial and ethnic groups.

Additionally, I introduce the discussion of neoliberalism in my project as it contributes to the racialization of the vertical mosaic, as the conceptual understanding of neoliberalism is intrinsically entwined with racial inequalities. Many scholars (e.g., Gaztambide et al., 2024; Raddon & Harrison, 2015; Roberts & Mahani; Thomas, 2009) frame neoliberalism in Canada as a political and economic ethos that exacerbates racial inequalities. Notably, these scholars shed light on how neoliberalism has contributed to the racialization of Canada's vertical mosaic. I argue that, in Canada, neoliberalism has converged with whiteness to exert a profound influence on the production and reproduction of systemic inequalities.

Neoliberalism upholds 'new racism' insofar as it undergirds the contemporary process of racialization. Notably, 'new racism' and neoliberalism are linked by their inherent connection to race and racial inequalities insofar as they highlight individual and cultural explanations for inequality. These ideologies both draw attention away from structural oppression and the systemic inequalities within our institutions, focusing extensively on an individualistic understanding of inequality. As such, 'new racism' emphasizes cultural differences, highlighting racialized inequalities based on cultural differences rather than biological features (Gilroy, 1987;

Pon, 2009). Thus, neoliberalism and ‘new racism’ are inherently connected through their understanding of racialized inequalities ascribed to the individual rather than focusing on the systemic forms of oppression and discrimination that underpin our societal institutions. In all, neoliberalism highlights the construction of race in this country, contributing to my discussion of a racialized vertical mosaic concerning socioeconomic inequalities in Canada.

By applying whiteness theories to *The Vertical Mosaic* to account for ethnic disparities along with racial discrimination I have attempted to better understand the shifting disparities of the vertical mosaic by analyzing the role of racialization and whiteness within the mosaic. At the same time, I acknowledge the diverse experiences and socioeconomic outcomes of ‘White’ (non-‘charter’) Europeans and particular BIPOC groups.

My argument is that while European ethnic groups experience less discrimination, specific groups are hindered by cultural factors associated with social and cultural capital. By situating my analysis within the vertical mosaic debates, racialization theories, and whiteness theories I examine how minority European ethnic groups have gradually come to be seen as ‘white’ and how this has been influenced by the hegemonic construction and othering of BIPOC populations. I examined the historically shifting disparities among white European ethnic groups amid the evolution of whiteness and racialization in Canada. While my main focus has been on general trends as far as the evolution of the vertical mosaic is concerned, I have illustrated how social and cultural capital theory (Bourdieu, 1986; Putnam, 2000) can be used to understand the continuing marginalization of the Portuguese along with the socioeconomic success of Asian Canadians – the seeming exceptions to the evolution of a racialized vertical mosaic in Canada.

Informed by theories of whiteness and racialization, I have attempted to contribute insight to how *The Vertical Mosaic* has evolved in the decades since Porter coined the term. I

sought to add to the literature on social inequalities in Canada by critically analyzing the dynamics and outcomes of racial discrimination in Canada along with the diverse and complex experiences of European immigrants.

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