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## Residential concentration and political engagement among racialized Canadians

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#### **Abstract**

Does living in communities with others from the same racialized minority background help or hinder political engagement? What role does social interaction with members of the same racialized minority group (intragroup contact) play? This paper addresses these questions with a systematic empirical investigation of political engagement in a large sample of racialized Canadians. Prior research assumes greater residential concentration of racialized group members leads to intragroup contact, but there is disagreement about whether the consequence is higher or lower levels of political engagement among members of racialized minority groups. We find no evidence that the residential concentration of Canadians from racialized groups has any independent effect on the political attitudes of racialized Canadians from the same groups. However, there is strong evidence of a more complex, conditional dynamic: if racialized minorities exhibit substantial intragroup social ties, then higher local concentrations of people from the same racial background leads to greater levels of political engagement among racialized minorities; however, if racialized minorities exhibit weak intragroup social ties, then higher local concentrations of people from the same racial background results in lower levels of political engagement among racialized minorities. Moreover, we find that, in part, this dynamic may be an indirect consequence of the ways in which non-racialized populations respond to local racial diversity. The findings may help to account for the incongruent results of previous studies of the effects of residential concentration on the political engagement of members of racialized minority groups.

Keywords: political engagement; diversity; race; spatial concentration

#### **INTRODUCTION**

There have been profound demographic shifts in many long-established liberal democracies over the last several decades. For example, the number of migrants from Asia and Africa residing in Europe and North America more than doubled between 1990 and 2020 (McAuliffe & Triandafyllidou, 2021: 61, 74). More numerous than ever, racialized populations in these liberal democracies nevertheless face distinctive challenges because of their minority status. Hence, whether to protect hard-won gains, or to combat marginalization, systemic discrimination, and unequal social and economic outcomes, political engagement is an essential means by which people from racialized minority backgrounds can defend and promote their political interests. Political engagement includes not only participation in political activities, but also the psychological motivations that lead people to pay attention to and want to take part in politics (Verba, Schlozman, and Brady, 1995: 272; Nie, Junn, and Stehlik-Barry, 1996: 17).

Among the factors critical to the political engagement of racialized minority populations, the spatial distribution of such populations has received considerable scholarly attention. In many liberal democracies, notably in "traditional countries of immigrant settlement" (Freeman, 2006) like Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and the United States, people from racialized minority backgrounds are more likely to live relatively closely together in large urban areas (Johnston, Poulsen, & Forrest, 2007). The accumulated evidence suggests that place matters when it comes to political engagement. Many studies in different national settings find greater residential concentration of ethnic and racial minority groups has a positive effect on their political participation (Schlichting, Tuckel & Maisel, 1998; Leighley, 2001; Barreto, Segura & Woods, 2004; Ramakrishnan, 2005; Bilodeau, 2009; Fieldhouse & Cutts, 2008a, 2008b; Bhatti and Hansen, 2016). Other researchers, however, have observed that racialized minorities are less involved in politics when they live in areas with a higher concentration of people from the same racialized group (Massey and Denton 1993; Cho, Gimpel, & Dyck, 2006; Gidengil and Roy 2016). The reasons why residential concentration is associated with

greater political engagement in some places, but weaker engagement in others, have yet to be identified.

In this study, we examine the role of intragroup social ties in moderating the relationship between residential concentration and the political engagement of members of racialized groups, focusing on psychological engagement with politics. Some studies suggest intragroup social ties are more likely to emerge in places where racialized populations reside in larger numbers (see Fieldhouse & Cutts, 2008a, 2008b). However, it is possible that residential concentration might not increase intragroup social ties in all contexts or for all groups, and although a number of studies examine the effects of residential concentration on the political engagement of ethnic and racial minorities (see, for example, Leighley, 2001; Barreto, Segura & Woods, 2004; Ramakrishnan, 2005; Bilodeau, 2009; Fieldhouse & Cutts, 2008a, 2008b; Bhatti and Hansen, 2016), and others assess the effects of intragroup social ties on levels of political engagement among ethnic and racial minorities (Berger et al. 2004; Togeby, 2004; Klandermanns, van der Toorn, & van Stekelenburg, 2008; Sanders et al. 2014), there is scant evidence of the relationship(s) between all three factors at the individual level.

This study addresses the relationships between residential concentration, intragroup social ties and psychological engagement with politics in a large sample of racialized minorities living in the four Canadian provinces with the largest racialized minority populations, namely Ontario, Quebec, British Columbia and Alberta. Canada has transformed into one of the most diverse places in the world in the last several decades, and Canadians of colour now make up more than one fifth of the country's population (Statistics Canada, 2017). Together with the growing number of racialized Canadians is the emergence of a clear residential pattern. In 2016, 94 percent of racialized Canadians resided in Quebec, Ontario, Alberta, or BC, and two thirds lived in the "gateway cities" of Montreal, Toronto, or Vancouver (Statistics Canada, 2018). Moreover, within those three cities, residential concentration has also increased: the proportion of racialized Torontonians and Vancouverites living in "enclaves" (areas where a single ethno-racial minority group comprises the largest share of the population) — 14 and 19 per cent in Toronto and Vancouver, respectively, in 1996 — reached 32 per cent in both cities by 2011 (Hiebert, 2015). Canada thus would seem to be an ideal setting

to examine the relationship between residential concentration, intragroup social ties and political engagement among members of racialized minority groups.

Contrary to many studies in other national contexts, we find no evidence that residential concentration of Canadians from particular racialized groups has any independent effect, positive or negative, on the political engagement of racialized Canadians from the same groups. However, there is strong evidence of a more complex dynamic, where intragroup social ties moderate the relationship between residential concentration and political engagement. On the one hand, if racialized minorities exhibit substantial intragroup social ties, then higher local concentrations of people from the same racial background leads them to greater political engagement. On the other hand, if racialized minorities exhibit weak intragroup social ties, then higher local concentrations of people from the same racial background leads them to lower levels of political engagement. The findings may help explain the disparate results in previous studies of the effects of residential concentration on the political engagement of members of racialized minority groups.

#### RESIDENTIAL CONCENTRATION AND POLITICAL ENGAGEMENT

Many studies examine the relationship between residential concentration and political engagement, but they propose different explanations and generate conflicting results. Some researchers have suggested people from racialized backgrounds might be less involved in politics when they live in areas with a higher concentration of people from the same racialized group. Indeed, the limited evidence from Canada suggests residential concentration may well hinder political engagement. Examining data from the Canadian Election Studies 2000-2008, Gidengil and Roy (2016: 261) find that higher percentages of "visible minorities" in federal electoral constituencies are linked to lower levels of political party membership among all residents, less political discussion and political knowledge among immigrants, and less frequent political protest among racialized immigrants. Their study is consistent with a body of research linking the negative effect of residential concentration on political engagement to the consequences of isolation. Indeed, Massey and Denton (1993) argue "hyper-segregation" leads to a more general social, economic, and political isolation of minority groups. Cho, Gimpel and Dyck

(2006), speculate that members of ethnic and racial minority groups might not develop participatory attitudes and behaviours for a number of reasons, including "retreat from the larger social environment" (Cho, Gimpel, & Dyck, 2006: 159). Indeed, Putnam's (2007) "hunkering down" thesis goes even further, suggesting greater ethnic and racial diversity leads to withdrawal and isolation, and lower interpersonal trust, among *all* members of the community. We refer to this as the *demobilization hypothesis*. If political mobilization "is the process by which candidates, parties, activists, and groups induce other people to participate" (Rosenstone and Hansen, 2003: 26), then the demobilization hypothesis suggests greater residential concentration of racialized minority groups decreases the likelihood of political engagement.

However, a number of studies across different national settings find the opposite, with greater residential concentration of ethnic and racial minority groups associated with a positive effect on their political participation (Schlicting, Tuckel & Maisel, 1998; Leighley, 2001; Barreto, Segura & Woods, 2004; Ramakrishnan, 2005; Bilodeau, 2009; Fieldhouse & Cutts, 2008a, 2008b; Bhatti and Hansen, 2016). In a study of two U.S. cities, Schlichting, Tuckel, & Maisel (1998) demonstrate that Black voter participation is higher in places where the surrounding area is more heavily populated by Black residents. Leighley (2001) and Barreto, Segura, and Woods (2004) show Latinx participation is more likely in areas with people from the same background, and Ramakrishnan (2005) shows the same with respect to both Latinx and Asian immigrants in the U.S. In Britain, Fieldhouse and Cutts find that electoral registration is higher among Muslims in areas where Muslims are concentrated (2008a), and that turnout among Muslim, Hindu, and Sikh religious minorities is higher in areas where those communities are concentrated (2008b). In a study of Australia, Bilodeau (2009) finds that immigrants from southeast Asia and southern and eastern Europe are more likely to discuss their vote intention, work for a candidate, or attend a political meeting when they live in federal electoral constituencies with larger concentrations of immigrants from the same country of origin.

This latter body of research generally emphasizes the role of social networks and organizations to account for positive effects of residential concentration. First, it suggests that residential concentration is associated with larger, denser social networks among people from racialized and marginalized ethnic communities. Living in areas with people

from the same racial and/or ethnic background strengthens interpersonal trust and group consciousness (Laurence & Heath, 2008; Wu et al., 2018), both of which, in turn, boost civic engagement (Leighley 2001, Fieldhouse and Cutts, 2008a, 2008b, Bhatti and Hansen 2016). Leighley (2001), employing a concept from Uhlaner (1989), uses the term "relational goods" to describe these products of social interaction: they are benefits that arise from relationships between people who share specific characteristics, and "can only be 'possessed' by mutual agreement" (Uhlaner, 1989: 254). These relational goods provide the motivation for political engagement, but also information that reduces the costs of political activity. Social interaction may also be a way that minority group members enforce pro-engagement political norms among their fellow members, a phenomenon White and Laird (2020) refer to as *racialized social constraint* in their explanation for strong Democratic Party support among Black Americans.

Second, higher concentrations of members of racialized groups and their larger and denser social networks also create opportunities for political mobilization through greater numbers of civic associations (Bilodeau, 2009). Organizations with significant resources can emerge and grow within larger racialized communities, and there is some evidence that involvement in these organizations encourage political engagement among group members by direct and indirect means (Berger et al. 2004; Togeby, 2004; Klandermans, van der Toorn, & van Stekelenburg, 2008; Sanders et al. 2014). Such organizations are sites where "relational goods" flourish, and members of racialized communities who participate in these organizations should therefore be more likely to develop intragroup trust and group consciousness. Ethno-racial minority group organizations also directly provide community members with political information and opportunities to engage in politics (Leighley, 2001). Political parties may also provide a pathway to political mobilization via ethno-racial minority community leaders. Uhlaner (1989) argues that leaders within ethno-racial minority communities mobilize their members to support candidates for particular parties; in exchange, the candidates support policies benefitting those communities (see also Bilodeau, 2009). As Cho, Gimpel, and Dyck (2006: 158) observe, parties focus their outreach and mobilization efforts on identifiable social groups, and that kind of strategy is more feasible when groups are geographically concentrated.

Fieldhouse and Cutts (2008a, 2008b) refer to this perspective, which emphasizes relational goods and mobilizing organizations, as the mobilization hypothesis. The crucial factor linking relational goods and mobilizing organizations is intragroup social ties, or those social interactions between members of the same ethno-racial group. In many respects, that assumption is consistent with research on social networks showing that social connections are more likely to form in closer spatial proximity (propiniquity), and among those who share characteristics (homophily) (Kadushin, 2012: 18). In fact, ethnoracial minorities show high degree of homophily (for a review, see McPherson, Smith-Lovin & Cook, 2003).

The existing research thus suggests an uncomplicated set of relationships between residential concentration, intragroup contact, and political engagement: greater residential concentration leads to more intragroup contact, which, in turn, either fosters political engagement (the mobilization hypothesis) or hinders political engagement (the demobilization hypothesis). Yet, these relationships might not always be so straightforward, as demonstrated by the divergent findings across different studies. Indeed, there is wide variation among individual members of ethno-racial minority groups with respect to the social ties they choose to foster, determined by individual agency and multiple contextual factors (Berry, 1997). Berry's model of acculturation contends that in plural societies, individuals from minority groups must work out strategies concerning whether and how to maintain their cultural identities, as well as the desirable amount of intragroup and intergroup contact (Berry, 1997: 9). Berry identifies four strategies: assimilation (a weak desire to maintain identity combined with a strong desire for intergroup contact rather than intragroup contact), separation (a strong desire to maintain identity combined with a strong desire for intragroup contact rather than intergroup contact), integration (a strong desire to maintain identity combined with a desire for both intergroup and intragroup contact), and marginalization (a weak desire to maintain identity combined with weak desire for any contact) (Ibid.). A significant body of subsequent research has confirmed that different individuals from racial and ethnic minority backgrounds adopt different strategies (Berry et al., 2006). In Canada, the evidence is that integration is the predominant strategy among racialized immigrants (Hou, Schellenberg, and Berry, 2018) and their children (Berry and Hou, 2017), but

assimilation is the preferred approach of a significant minority (Berry and Hou, 2016). Accordingly, perhaps it should not be assumed that spatial proximity necessarily leads to greater intragroup contact: members of minority groups take up varying approaches to intergroup and intragroup contact.

Relaxing the assumption that spatial proximity necessarily leads to greater intragroup contact opens other possibilities. In a study of the political participation of immigrants in Amsterdam, Tillie (2004) proposed an explanatory model that considers the interaction between the social ties and organizational memberships of individual immigrants, and the contexts in which those individuals are situated. Tillie's argument was that the social capital provided to immigrants by their social networks depends on both the extent to which the individual immigrant is integrated in a network in a local area, and the features of that network (Tillie, 2004: 539). In a neighborhood-level study of Detroit, Marschall and Stolle (2004) found that the degree of social contact and the racial composition of local neighbourhoods interacted to shape interpersonal trust among Black residents. Like Marschall and Stolle (2004), we believe the relational goods that emerge from social contact are determined by both context and individual characteristics.

We refer to this as the conditional mobilization hypothesis. Our core claim is that the effects of residential concentration on political engagement depend on an individual's level of intragroup contact. We propose two distinct mechanisms: one related to the positive effects of intragroup contact, and another related to the negative effects of residential concentration in the absence of intragroup contact.

Consistent with the mobilization hypothesis, we assume that intragroup contact is a key channel through which racialized individuals become politically engaged, and that the conditions for mobilization are better in settings with larger numbers of people from the same racialized background (where more robust networks and community organizations exist). However, we do not assume residential concentration and intragroup contact go hand-in-hand. To the extent that these two factors are independent of one another, one will not have a positive impact on political engagement without the other: a higher-concentration context provides the conditions that make intragroup mobilization possible, and frequent intragroup contact increases the probability of mobilization; they jointly foster greater political engagement. Accordingly, we expect that more frequent

intragroup contact is more likely to raise political engagement among racialized individuals in settings with high concentrations of people from the same racialized background than in settings with very few people from the same background.

Drawing on claims from the demobilization hypothesis, we propose that the effects of residential concentration are conditional on intragroup contact for another, very different reason. Specifically, the possibility of racialized individuals becoming mobilized politically through any channels *outside* of intragroup social networks diminishes as the concentration of people from their racialized background increases. That is, as the local size of a racialized group increases, the local environment beyond the networks linked to that racialized group become less and less hospitable to political engagement. We posit that infrequent intragroup contact is therefore more likely to hamper political engagement in settings with high concentrations of people from the same racialized background than in settings with very few people from the same background.

The observable implication should be a divergence in the effects of residential concentration: whereas racialized residents with frequent intragroup contact benefit from the growing abundance of intragroup relational goods that comes with greater residential concentration of their racialized group, racialized residents with little or no contact with members of their own racialized group are disadvantaged by the growing scarcity of *intergroup* relational goods that comes with greater residential concentration of their racialized group. Since relational goods are psychological in nature (Uhlaner, 1989: 255), we formalize this reasoning in two hypotheses focused on the attitudinal antecedents of political participation (psychological engagement with politics):

Hypothesis 1a: Psychological engagement with politics *increases* as the share of the local population from the same racialized group increases, on the condition that racialized individuals have *frequent* contact with members of the same racialized group.

Hypothesis 1b: Psychological engagement with politics *decreases* as the share of the local population from the same racialized group increases, on

the condition that racialized individuals have *infrequent* contact with members of the same racialized group.

As a next step, we explore why residential concentration might be associated with political disengagement when racialized individuals have infrequent intragroup contact. We contend the crucial factor is the response of the *non-racialized* population to greater diversity. Although Putnam (2007) suggested greater local diversity might lead to withdrawal and isolation among all community members ("hunkering down"), most research suggests a negative relationship between local diversity and social and political engagement is more likely to be observed in ethnic and racial *majority* populations: greater ethnic and racial diversity at the local level inhibits civic engagement among those in the majority. In the United States, for example, Leighley and Vedlitz (1999) find majority "Anglo" populations in areas with larger minority populations respond to greater diversity by withdrawing from, rather than engaging in, costly, conflictual politics (see also Oliver 1996, Leighley, 2001: 146). Similarly, Fieldhouse and Cutts (2010) demonstrate greater neighbourhood diversity is associated with lower social capital among white, but not racialized, populations in both the United States and Britain. In Canada, Wu et al. (2018) show interpersonal trust tends to increase among racialized Canadians when they live in areas with more people from the same racialized group, whereas interpersonal trust among white Canadians declines in areas largely populated by one racialized group.

How might this negative response to greater local diversity by white populations affect racialized individuals who have minimal contact with members of their own racialized group? We believe it restricts racialized individuals' pathways for political mobilization outside of their own co-ethnic networks. For an overwhelming number of racialized Canadians, the white local population is either the majority or the single-largest group outside that racialized individual's own group.<sup>2</sup> If white populations in areas with high concentrations of racialized residents are systematically disengaged from politics, then the social environment for racialized residents outside of their co-ethnic networks is unlikely to foster political engagement.

Hypothesis 2: White individuals' psychological engagement with politics decreases as the proportion of the local population that is racialized increases.

Although it is not possible with our data to demonstrate a direct link between levels of political engagement among white local populations and individuals from racialized groups, empirical support for hypothesis 2 would be consistent with the idea that the environment in more racially diverse areas is less likely to encourage political engagement outside of intragroup contact.

#### **DATA AND METHODS**

This investigation employs survey data from a study of mass opinions, attitudes, and behaviours of Canadians, focused on issues of identity and attachment, federalism, ethnocultural diversity and immigration.<sup>3</sup> The survey, conducted online in January and February 2014, includes a representative sample of the adult Canadian population (n=6400), as well as a special sample of 1600 respondents from racialized backgrounds in Canada's four most diverse provinces: Quebec, Ontario, Alberta and British Columbia (n = 400 in each province). We restrict our analysis to this latter sample of racialized Canadians to assess hypotheses 1a and 1b. We employ the main sample to assess the relationship between local diversity and the attitudes of white Canadians (hypothesis 2).

For the purposes of this study, our definition and measurement of racialized individuals is consistent with the Statistics Canada definition, following Canada's *Employment Equity Act* of "visible minority of person." This is defined as "persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour" and "consists mainly of the following groups: Chinese, South Asian, Black, Arab, West Asian, Filipino, Southeast Asian, Latin American, Japanese and Korean" (Statistics Canada, 2023). In this study, we restrict the analysis to self-identified members of only these groups. Indigenous peoples in Canada are also "racialized," but deserve separate consideration because of their unique history and constitutional position.

Data for local area characteristics are drawn from the 2011 National Household Survey (NHS). These data are aggregated at the Forward Sortation Area (FSA) level, geographic units containing an average of 8,000 households (range 0-60,000) (Census Canada, 2011). The NHS data are matched to 1407 racialized respondents in a total of 507 FSAs in the sample of racialized Canadians, and to 5192 white respondents in a total of 1216 FSAs in the main sample. The median and mean number of racialized respondents per FSA is 2.00 and 2.78, respectively (standard deviation = 2.69); there are 220 FSAs with only 1 racialized respondent, and the maximum number of racialized respondents in a single FSA is 22.

The dependent variables in the analysis represent three key attitudinal dimensions of psychological engagement with politics. The first is interest in politics, defined by Luskin (1990) as the internal motivation to "notice" and "think more seriously" about political information. The second, sense of civic duty, concerns a particular norm of citizenship, and captures individuals' beliefs about whether they have an obligation to participate in politics (Dalton, 2008). The third, external efficacy, is an individual's belief that those in power will be responsive to citizens (Lane, 1959). Each represents a different feature of the individual's subjective connection to the political sphere, and each has been empirically linked to political activity (see Clarke & Acock, 1989; Verba, Schlozman & Brady, 1995; Blais, 2000).

The dependent variables are summarized in Table 1. Three features of these variables should be noted. First, our measure of civic duty applies only to citizens, and who are therefore eligible to vote in Canadian elections.<sup>4</sup> Second, given that Canada is a federal system, each measure is a composite of two indicators: one for which federal politics is the attitude object, and another for which provincial politics is the attitude object. Third, our efficacy measure is, in effect, a measure of *inefficacy*, and will be interpreted accordingly.

#### - Table 1 About Here -

In testing hypotheses, our approach is to compare levels of political engagement of individuals from racialized backgrounds who reside in local areas with varying

concentrations of persons from the same background. This is accomplished by pairing each survey respondent with FSA-level NHS population data. Survey respondents were asked to select one or more "racial or ethnic groups" to which they belong, from a set of categories matching those of the NHS.<sup>5</sup> NHS population counts for the relevant FSA were then matched to respondents. Our measure of the residential concentration of racialized groups is group size: the population count of each respondent's group in each respondent's FSA, divided by the total population count in each respondent's FSA. To capture the non-linear effects of group size in our analyses, we also employ a quadratic term (group size squared).

The survey and NHS data related to racialized groups, and their residential concentration, is summarized in Table 2. The racialized sample data are weighted by sociodemographic characteristics (sex, age, education, language, and race/ethnicity) to be representative of populations within provinces. Accordingly, the distribution of racialized respondents in the weighted sample data largely corresponds to that of the population, and therefore sample bias is unlikely to significantly affect the results of our analysis. Table 2 shows a modest under-representation of Filipino, Arab, Latin American, Southeast Asian, and West Asian populations, and slight over-representation of Chinese, Black, Japanese, and Korean populations in the weighted data (Appendix table A3, which presents a detailed demographic comparison of the unweighted and weighted sample, and the population, shows that even the unweighted sample largely reflects the population<sup>6</sup>). The sizes of the groups vary considerably, with South Asian and Chinese respondents each constituting approximately one quarter of the sample. Residential concentrations also show marked variation within and across respondent groups. Mean group population as a percentage of the total local population exhibits a pattern similar to group size and is highest for South Asian and Chinese respondents.

#### - Table 2 About Here -

Intragroup contact is measured by the self-reported frequency with which racialized individuals' interact with members of the same group. Survey respondents were asked how often they engage in a number of different social activities, one of which

was "[s]pend time with people of the same ethnic background as you (aside from your family)." Responses were coded from zero to three, with "not at all" coded zero, "only a few times a year" coded one, "once or twice a month" coded two, and "every week" coded three. We note that one limitation of using this measure is that it leaves respondents to interpret for themselves the meaning of "same ethnic background as you." This measure is "noisy" to the extent that respondents' interpretations do not match their self-reported racial identities.

The data reveal that residential concentration and intragroup contact are weakly related. Table 3 reports respondents' frequency of intragroup contact by the size of their group (as proportion of the population) living in the local area (divided approximately into quintiles). Contact does increase as the proportion of the population from the same racialized group increases. The percentage of respondents with weekly intragroup contact nearly doubles, from 13.7 to 24.4 per cent, as the proportion of the population from respondents' group increases from two to five percent to five to ten per cent. However, a significant number of respondents have no contact at all with others from the same background regardless of the level of residential concentration in their local area, and many have weekly contact irrespective of where they live. Thus, the link between residential concentration and intragroup contact appears to be modest (Spearman's  $\rho = 0.13$ ), underscoring the need to examine whether and how intragroup contact moderates, rather than mediates, the relationship between residential concentration and political engagement.

#### - Table 3 About Here -

We employ a multivariate approach. At the individual level, we control for standard sociodemographic influences on political engagement: education, income, age, and gender. We also hold constant individual-level factors that are particularly relevant to racialized populations. First, because many racialized residents of Canada are foreignborn, we control for citizenship status and length of residence in Canada. Second, because Canada's South Asian and Chinese origin populations are by far the most concentrated groups, we include controls for differences between these and other

racialized individuals. We also control for frequency general interpersonal contact, as we want to isolate the effects of contact with one's own racial group from social contact in general. At the local level, we control for the share of the population with post-secondary education, median income and the share of the population with low incomes, and province.<sup>7</sup>

We use a similar, but simplified, approach to test whether the political engagement of white individuals decreases as the share of the local population who are racialized increases (hypothesis 2). The hypothesis is motivated by the idea that members of racialized groups in different local contexts face different social environments outside of their same-group networks. Specifically, racialized individuals encounter white populations with systematically different political attitudes, depending on the local context: in areas with smaller racialized populations, white residents will be relatively engaged politically, but in areas with large racialized populations, white residents will be relatively disengaged. Accordingly, the relationship of interest is the zero-order relationship between white individuals' engagement and the size of the local racialized population; controls are unnecessary. Our measure is the proportion of the local population from the single largest racialized group. To capture the non-linear effects of the size of the racialized population in our analyses, we also employ a quadratic term.<sup>8</sup>

#### **RESULTS**

Our analysis starts by examining the mobilization hypothesis: the idea that greater group residential concentration leads to more intragroup contact, and in turn greater political engagement. We employ linear regression, with standard errors clustered within FSAs, to estimate the effects of: 1) the share of the population in each local area from the same background as the respondent; 2) frequency of intragroup contact; and 3) both. Separate regression models are estimated for each of the three dependent variables. For each model 1 in Table 4, the group share parameter is positively signed, and the quadratic parameter, group share<sup>2</sup>, is negatively signed, indicating a non-linear relationship. However, the joint p-values of these parameters, ranging from 0.13 (civic duty) to 0.96 (inefficacy), show that these effects are not statistically different from zero. Contrary to the findings of many studies in other national settings, there is no evidence that the

political engagement of racialized Canadians increases with residential concentration of racialized persons from the same background. Moreover, although greater intragroup contact is positively associated with political engagement, the evidence is modest at best. As seen in model 2, intragroup contact has no statistically significant effects on interest in politics, sense of civic duty, or inefficacy (although as table A1 shows, it does have a modest positive effect on civic duty when only residential concentration is held constant: b = 0.17, p < 0.001). The combined effects of these (model 3), tell essentially the same story.

#### - Table 4 About Here -

At first blush, a reasonable interpretation of these results is that residential concentration has no discernible effect because the crucial mechanism in the mobilization hypothesis, intragroup contact, turns out to be of little consequence. In sum, there is no evidence of independent effects of residential concentration or intragroup contact on the political engagement of racialized individuals, and further, there is no evidence residential concentration and intragroup contact are connected.

Our expectation, the conditional mobilization hypothesis, is that the effects of residential concentration on political engagement are moderated by intragroup contact: if an ethno-racial minority group comprises a significant proportion of the local population, then the political engagement of individuals from that group should depend on the frequency with which they interact with members of that group. An empirical test of this expectation requires introducing multiplicative interaction terms to the regression model (intragroup contact\*group share, and intragroup contact\*group share<sup>2</sup>). These allow us to estimate if, and how much, the relationship between residential concentration and political engagement changes as levels of intragroup contact change. The most important evidence from the model estimates, presented in Table 5, is the joint p-values of the pairs of interaction terms. These indicate whether the difference in differences – the difference in the effect of intragroup contact at different values of group share – is statistically significant. The results show that the interaction effects for political interest and sense of civic duty have joint p-values below 0.01.

#### - Table 5 About Here -

The two interaction parameters capture the non-linear interaction between group share and intragroup contact, but they defy straightforward interpretation. Recall that our hypotheses suggest there are two possible mechanisms at work: residential concentration might be more likely to foster political engagement when intragroup contact is high (hypothesis 1a), or residential concentration might be more likely to produce disengagement when intragroup contact is low (hypothesis 1b). One, or both, of these mechanisms could be at work. To interpret the interaction effects, we use the estimates in table 5 to derive the marginal effects of group size on political interest and sense of civic duty, at different levels of intragroup contact. Moreover, the evidence in table 5 also indicates these relationships are non-linear, such that the magnitude of the effects of group size change as group size increases. Accordingly, we also derive the marginal effects of group size at varying group sizes. We express group size in percentage terms, rather than proportions, in order to illustrate the marginal effect of a one percent increase in residential concentration.

The estimates presented in figures 1 and 2 show that for two of three outcomes of interest, the effects of residential concentration are powerfully conditioned by intragroup contact. These figures report the marginal effects of residential concentration at varying levels of residential concentration under two conditions: no intragroup contact and weekly intragroup contact. The data in both figures tell essentially the same story: among racialized minorities who have no intragroup contact, the effect of residential concentration on racialized group members' interest in politics and sense of civic duty becomes increasingly *negative* as the concentration of racialized minority groups increases (panel A of figures 1 and 2, respectively); conversely, among racialized minorities who have frequent intragroup contact, the effect of the residential concentration on interest in politics and sense of civic duty becomes increasingly *positive* as the concentration of racialized minority groups increases (panel B of figures 1 and 2, respectively).

#### - Figure 1 About Here -

### - Figure 2 About Here -

Residential concentration has statistically significant (positive and negative) effects, but only when residential concentration is relatively high. Among racialized minorities who have weekly intragroup contact, residential concentration has a discernible positive impact on an individual's interest in politics when the same-group proportion of the local population reaches about 35 percent (approximately one tenth of the sample resided in areas with a concentration of people from the same racialized background that is at least this high). Likewise, residential concentration has a positive impact on an individual's sense of civic that is statistically different from zero only when the same-group proportion of the local population reaches about 30 percent (approximately 12.5 percent of the sample resided in areas with a concentration at least this high). Among racialized minorities who have no intragroup contact, residential concentration has no statistically significant negative impact on an individual's interest in politics until the same-group proportion of the local population is about 30 percent, and no discernible negative impact on an individual's sense of civic duty until the share of the population from the same racialized group is 24 percent (about one fifth of the sample resided in areas with a concentration at least this high).

Most importantly for the purposes of this study, the estimates reported in figures 1 and 2 show that residential concentration is more likely to foster political engagement when frequent intragroup contact is high (hypothesis 1a), whereas residential concentration is more likely to produce disengagement when there is lack of intragroup contact (hypothesis 1b). Put differently, there is strong evidence that higher concentrations of racialized groups promote political engagement, but only among racialized individuals who have social contact within their racialized communities. Among racialized individuals without those intragroup ties, higher residential concentration appears to discourage political engagement. One potential weakness of these results is the possibility the interactions between intragroup contact and

concentration are confounded by some other interaction, involving intragroup contact and a third variable, or residential concentration and a third variable. However, we hope to provide further empirical support for the conditional mobilization hypothesis with our second empirical test.

Our second empirical test focuses on the white population, which is a numerical majority in most local areas in Canada. Our final expectation, hypothesis 2, relates to how higher residential concentration of racialized groups reduces political engagement of members of those groups who have no ties to their racialized communities. We argue the social environment outside of co-ethnic networks is unlikely to foster political engagement in local areas with high concentrations of racialized residents because of the way white populations respond to local diversity. The results of the analysis reported in table 6 and illustrated in figure 3 are consistent with hypothesis 2: the larger that the single largest racialized group is as a proportion of the local population, the weaker white residents' political interest (panel A in figure 3) and sense of civic duty (panel B), and the greater their political inefficacy (panel C). Wherever specific racialized communities are strongest in number, white populations are more likely to be disengaged politically. In fact, the slopes of the relationships in figure 3 are strikingly similar to those of racialized individuals with low intragroup contact in figures 1 and 2. This is consistent with the idea that racialized individuals living in local areas with large numbers of members of the same racialized group are less likely to encounter alternative channels to political mobilization outside of their racialized communities. The concentration of racialized groups has a statistically significant negative impact on white individuals' political attitudes when the residential concentration of at least one racialized group reaches about 30 percent. Only 2.5 percent of the white sample, but 22 percent of the racialized sample, resided in areas with a concentration at least this high. It turns out that white residents and some racialized residents in highly diverse areas exhibit attitudes consistent with "hunkering down" (Putnam, 2007). The clear exception is racialized residents with frequent intragroup contact, for whom a high residential concentration of members of their own group encourages political engagement.

- Table 6 About Here -

#### - Figure 3 About Here -

#### **CONCLUSIONS**

A number of studies show people from racialized backgrounds are more involved in politics whenever they live in areas with a higher concentration of people from the same racialized group. Most of these studies suggest intragroup contact is an important mechanism by which residential concentration works to boost political engagement: residential concentration leads to more opportunities for intragroup contact, which in turn increases the likelihood of political engagement. None have empirically assessed the relationships between intragroup contact, residential concentration, and political engagement using individual-level data. The first contribution of this study has been to engage in an empirical examination of these relationships using a combination of individual-level and contextual data that has allowed us to match racialized respondents from various backgrounds (for example, Black, Filipino, Korean) to the proportion of people from the same group in the place those respondents reside.

Our second contribution has been to advance, with empirical support, the conditional mobilization hypothesis: an argument that intragroup contact and levels of residential concentration interact to influence political engagement among racialized populations. The assumption of most research is that residential concentration and intragroup contact are related. However, members of racialized groups adopt a variety of approaches to living together, which are not necessarily linked to how many co-residents share their racial background. Consequently, we explore the implications of assuming residential concentration and intragroup contact are independent. In so doing, we heed Tillie's (2004) more general call for researchers to examine the interaction between individual members of minority groups and the local context. Our results show that whether residential concentration matters or not really depends on individuals' intragroup contacts, and vice versa. Far from being a problematic source of political marginalization for racialized Canadians, so-called "enclaves" have the potential to empower members of ethno-racial minority groups who have frequent contact with members of their racialized communities. For these individuals, living in settings with larger numbers of people from

the same racialized background fosters political engagement. Racialized Canadians without any contact with others from the same racialized background are more likely to become marginalized when they live in "enclaves." In the absence of intragroup contact, political engagement among members of racialized groups would be much weaker in the very places where racialized populations are most concentrated. The findings also suggest residential concentration affects the political engagement of a relatively small fraction of racialized Canadians, namely those living in areas with particularly dense concentrations of co-residents from the same racialized background (that is, areas in which perhaps one quarter or more of residents share the same background). Nevertheless, the potential impact of residential concentration in the future is considerably larger, as both the size and spatial concentration of racialized populations continue to grow.

The third contribution of this study has been to highlight the potential significance, with respect to the political mobilization of racialized individuals, of the response of non-racialized populations to local diversity. The ways in which nonracialized, national majority populations react to local demographic change may have important, indirect contextual effects on the attitudes and behaviours of racialized individuals. We explored one possible effect, demonstrating that white populations in areas where a large proportion of the local population are members of a racialized group exhibit relatively low political engagement. This may partially explain why racialized individuals without strong intragroup ties are less engaged politically, especially when they live in areas with high concentrations of people from the same racialized background: outside their racialized community, there are fewer avenues for political mobilization. Moreover, it suggests a partial explanation for some of the contradictory findings across different studies of the effects of residential concentration: the extent to which the residential concentration of racialized and ethnic minority groups has positive or negative effects on the political engagement of those groups may depend on the strength of the relationship between residential concentration and intragroup contact. In contexts where the latter relationship is strong, we might expect to find a positive relationship between the residential concentration and political engagement of racialized and ethnic minority groups. In contexts where residential concentration and intragroup contact are weakly related, like Canada, we might expect to find a weak or negative

relationship between the residential concentration and political engagement of racialized and ethnic minority groups. This complex relationship between majority and minority populations and the local context merits further study.

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Table 1. Dependent Variables

Variable	Item wording	Construction and coding
Interest in politics	"On a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means no interest at all and 10 means a great deal of	Mean value of responses to both questions <sup>a</sup>
	interest, what is your level of interest in [federal politics/the politics of your province]?"	0 = no interest at all at both levels 10 = a great deal of interest at both levels
Sense of civic duty	"I would feel very guilty if I didn't vote in a [federal/provincial] election."	Mean value of responses to both questions <sup>a</sup>
	(0=strongly disagree, 1 = somewhat disagree, 2= somewhat agree, 3 = strongly agree)	0 = low sense of duty 3 = high sense of duty
Political Inefficacy	People like me don't have much say in what the [federal/provincial] government does.	Mean value of responses to both questions <sup>a</sup>
	(0=strongly disagree, 1 = somewhat disagree, 2= somewhat agree, 3 = strongly agree)	0 = low sense of inefficacy 3 = high sense of inefficacy

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup>Where a response to one question is missing (unable or refused to answer), the score on the other is assigned to the respondent.

Table 2. Distribution of Racialized Canadians and Group Residential Concentration (Survey and NHS Data)

			Group Population as a % of Local (FSA) Population		
	% of sample (Weighted <sup>a</sup> )	% NHS	Sample mean (Weighted <sup>a</sup> )	Maximum	
South Asian	26.7	26.7	19.1	60.3	
Chinese	25.4	22.5	20.3	74.5	
Black	16.5	15.6	9.7	29.6	
Filipino	6.7	9.5	6.7	20.6	
Arab	5.4	6.4	4.7	32.3	
Latin American	5.0	6.4	3.2	16.7	
Southeast Asian	4.7	5.2	2.3	10.9	
Japanese	3.8	1.5	0.5	3.1	
Korean	3.1	2.7	2.1	7.9	
West Asian	2.7	3.5	4.2	19.2	

 $<sup>^{</sup>a}$  unweighted N=1588

Table 3. Intragroup Contact by Residential Concentration (Racialized Respondents)

		Group Popula	tion as a % of l	Local Population	:
Contact with others from same ethnic background:	0-2%	2-5%	5-10%	10-25%	25%+
Never	19.6	15.0	16.3	14.5	13.9
Only a few times a year	40.0	40.5	31.6	30.0	28.5
Once or twice a month	29.9	30.8	27.6	31.2	34.3
Every week	10.5	13.7	24.4	24.3	23.3
(Unweighted N)	(299)	(270)	(250)	(294)	(222)

Table 4. Political Engagement by Residential Concentration and Intragroup Contact, Racialized Respondents (Linear Regression Coefficients with Clustered Robust Standard Errors)

	Interest		Civic Duty		Inefficacy				
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Group share	1.37		1.28	-1.26		-1.29	0.19		0.23
_	(2.25)		(2.23)	(0.86)		(0.86)	(0.67)		(0.67)
Group share <sup>2</sup>	-3.16		-3.03	1.42		1.45	-0.30		-0.36
-	(3.66)		(3.64)	(1.52)		(1.52)	(1.26)		(1.27)
Joint p-value									
[Grp. share & Grp. share <sup>2</sup> ]	0.57		0.57	0.13		0.12	0.96		0.94
Intragroup contact		0.07	0.07		0.03	0.03		-0.02	-0.02
		(0.13)	(0.13)		(0.05)	(0.05)		(0.04)	(0.04)
Intercept	2.59**	2.55**	2.57**	0.23	0.04	0.23	1.94***	1.96***	1.84***
	(0.86)	(0.84)	(0.87)	(0.34)	(0.33)	(0.34)	(0.27)	(0.27)	(0.07)
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.17	0.16	0.17	0.02	0.02	0.02
Unweighted N	1157	1157	1157	943	943	943	1127	1127	1127

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Geographic unit-level controls: pct. low income, median income, pct. post-secondary education, province; Individual-level controls: other interpersonal contact, income (high, middle, low), education (less than post-secondary, some post-secondary, bachelor's degree, graduate degree), gender, age, citizenship (Canadian vs. other), birthplace (recent immigrant, settled immigrant, Canadian-born), language spoken at home (Any other language vs. French or English), racialized group (South Asian, Chinese, or another group).

Table 5. Political Engagement by Residential Concentration and Intragroup Contact, Racialized Respondents (Linear Regression Coefficients with Clustered Robust Standard Errors)

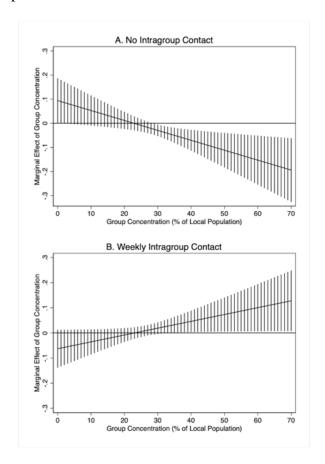
	Interest	Civic Duty	Inefficacy
Group share	9.41*	1.44	-0.02
•	(4.64)	(1.54)	(1.08)
Group share <sup>2</sup>	-20.6**	-5.03	-0.54
•	(7.91)	(2.72)	(1.88)
Joint p-value			
[Group share & Group share <sup>2</sup> ]	0.005	0.006	0.69
Intragroup contact	0.31	0.10	-0.05
	(0.20)	(0.08)	(0.06)
Intragroup contact*Group share	-5.23*	-1.83*	0.14
• •	(2.39)	(0.81)	(0.58)
Intragroup contact*Group share <sup>2</sup>	11.4**	4.38**	0.17
	(4.31)	(1.43)	(0.97)
Joint p-value			
[contact*share & contact*share <sup>2</sup> ]	0.007	0.0003	0.31
Intercept	2.11	0.09	1.99***
•	(0.92)	(0.37)	(0.28)
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.09	0.18	0.02
Unweighted N	1157	943	1127

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Geographic unit-level controls: pct. low income, median income, pct. post-secondary education, province; Individual-level controls: other interpersonal contact, income (high, middle, low), education (less than post-secondary, some post-secondary, bachelor's degree, graduate degree), gender, age, citizenship (Canadian vs. other), birthplace (recent immigrant, settled immigrant, Canadian-born), language spoken at home (Any other language vs. French or English), racialized group (South Asian, Chinese, or another group).

Table 6. Political Engagement by Residential Concentration, White Population (Linear Regression Coefficients with Clustered Robust Standard Errors)

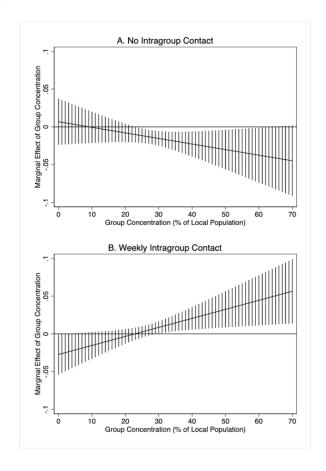
	Interest	Civic Duty	Inefficacy
Largest Racialized Group share	3.24*	1.17*	-1.60**
Eargest Racianized Group share	(1.44)	(0.52)	(0.52)
Largest Racialized Group share <sup>2</sup>	-18.94**	-2.76**	3.35**
	(3.46)	(1.04)	(1.23)
Joint p-value			
[Group share & Group share <sup>2</sup> ]	0.035	0.028	0.009
Intercept	6.57***	1.98***	1.99***
•	(0.07)	(0.03)	(0.02)
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.002	0.001	0.005
Unweighted N	5129	5023	5067

Figure 1. The Effect of Group Concentration on Racialized Canadians' Interest in Politics, by Intragroup Contact $^{\dagger}$ 



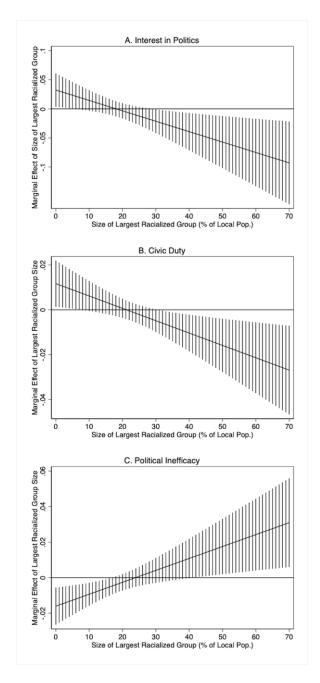
 $<sup>^{\</sup>dagger}$  Calculated from estimates in Table 5. The data points represent marginal effects. The vertical bars represent the 95% confidence intervals for these estimates.

Figure 2. The Effect of Group Concentration on Racialized Canadians' Sense of Civic Duty, by Intragroup Contact  $^{\dagger}$ 



 $<sup>^{\</sup>dagger}$  Calculated from estimates in Table 5. The data points represent marginal effects. The vertical bars represent the 95% confidence intervals for these estimates.

Figure 3. White Canadians' Political Engagement by Local Concentration of Largest Racialized Group  $^{\dagger}$ 



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>†</sup> Calculated from estimates in Table 6. The data points represent predicted values. The vertical bars represent the 95% confidence intervals for these estimates.

# Appendix Table A2. Political Engagement by Residential Concentration and Intragroup Contact, without Individual-level and Geographic Unit-level Controls (Linear Regression Coefficients with Clustered Robust Standard Errors)

	Interest	Civic Duty	Inefficacy
Group share	7.24	1.18	0.05
1	(4.76)	(1.55)	(1.06)
Group share <sup>2</sup>	-16.5*	-3.86	-0.47
1	(8.27)	(2.71)	(1.88)
Joint p-value			
[Group share & Group share <sup>2</sup> ]	0.026	0.021	0.831
Intragroup contact	0.35	0.18*	-0.03
	(0.21)	(0.08)	(0.06)
Intragroup contact*Group share	-4.03	-0.86	0.25
•	(2.64)	(0.89)	(0.61)
Intragroup contact*Group share <sup>2</sup>	9.09	2.61	0.06
	(4.65)	(1.59)	(1.02)
Joint p-value			
[contact*share & contact*share <sup>2</sup> ]	0.029	0.012	0.206
Intercept	5.54***	1.55***	1.89***
	(0.38)	(0.13)	(0.10)
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.01	0.03	0.00
Unweighted N	1157	943	1127

Table A3. Sample Characteristics vs. National Household Survey (NHS)

		Quebec			Ontario	
Characteristic	NHS	Weighted Sample	Unweighted Sample	NHS	Weighted Sample	Unweighted Sample
Female	50.8	50.9	49.2	51.7	51.5	54.1
Immigrant	69.7	70.0	73.2	69.2	66.5	67.2
Age 25-34 <sup>†</sup>	28.9	36.4	32.3	23.8	39.2	38.8
Age 35-44 <sup>†</sup>	29.2	37.5	38.6	25.5	29.6	30.7
Age 45-54 <sup>†</sup>	20.1	18.4	20.1	23.3	17.8	17.4
Age 55-64 <sup>†</sup>	12.1	5.3	6.6	14.7	7.3	8.1
Age 65+ <sup>†</sup>	9.7	2.4	2.4	12.6	6.2	4.9
South Asian	9.8	11.1	4.6	29.5	28.9	30.1
Chinese	9.7	12.2	9.4	19.2	21.2	30.8
Black	28.7	28.8	26.4	16.4	17.2	17.5
Filipino	3.7	3.7	2.2	8.4	7.4	4.1
Latin American	13.7	13.7	15.3	5.3	5.4	3.9
Arab	19.6	16.7	28.3	4.6	4.0	3.6
Southeast Asian	7.7	7.8	6.5	4.2	4.0	4.1
West Asian	2.8	2.4	1.2	3.7	3.5	1.9
Korean	0.8	0.5	0.5	2.4	2.8	1.2
Japanese	0.5	0.8	0.5	0.9	4.1	1.9

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>†</sup> NHS age categories include individuals under 15 years of age, and those 15-25 years of age, whereas the sample includes individuals 18 years of age and older. To facilitate age comparisons in this table, we have excluded respondents under 25 years of age from the calculation of percentages.

Table A3. (continued)

		Alberta			British Columbi	ia
Characteristic	NHS	Weighted Sample	Unweighted Sample	NHS	Weighted Sample	Unweighted Sample
Female	50.3	50.6	54.6	52.1	52.0	52.9
Immigrant	69.2	62.6	63.8	69.8	66.1	63.8
Age 25-34 <sup>†</sup>	28.6	28.2	22.6	23.1	24.4	22.6
Age 35-44 <sup>†</sup>	28.4	26.5	29.4	23.5	29.3	29.4
Age 45-54 <sup>†</sup>	20.8	20.0	26.3	23.1	25.8	26.3
Age 55-64 <sup>†</sup>	12.5	11.9	13.1	15.8	12.7	13.1
Age 65+ <sup>†</sup>	9.6	13.6	8.7	14.6	7.8	8.7
South Asian	23.9	22.9	17.1	26.5	26.0	12.4
Chinese	20.3	26.5	46.6	37.1	40.4	56.8
Black	11.3	10.4	8.1	2.8	2.8	2.2
Filipino	16.2	9.2	6.3	10.7	8.3	6.8
Latin American	6.3	3.0	1.5	3.0	2.8	3.4
Arab	5.3	5.4	2.4	1.2	0.8	0.7
Southeast Asian	6.3	6.3	4.9	4.4	4.1	2.9
West Asian	2.4	1.7	1.5	3.3	2.9	1.5
Korean	2.3	2.6	2.4	4.6	5.0	3.4
Japanese	1.9	2.4	3.9	3.2	3.5	6.8

<sup>†</sup>NHS age categories include individuals under 15 years of age, and those 15-25 years of age, whereas the sample includes individuals 18 years of age and older. To facilitate age comparisons in this table, we have excluded respondents under 25 years of age from the calculation of percentages.

Table A4. Independent Variable Coding

Group share	For each respondent, the group share is the proportion (from 0 to 1) of the local population (the FSA) from the same racial background as the respondent.  This variable was constructed by first identifying each respondent's racial group using the following survey item:  You may belong to one or more racial or ethnic groups on the following list. You may select more than one. Are you  Responses:  White South Asian (e.g., East Indian, Pakistani, Sri Lankan) Chinese Black Filipino Latin American Arab Southeast Asian (e.g., Vietnamese, Cambodian, Malaysian, Laotian) West Asian (e.g., Iranian, Afghan) Korean Japanese First nations or aboriginal Other (specify) I don't know I prefer not to answer  Then, that group's proportion of the local population at the Forward Sortation Area (FSA) level was matched to the respondent, using NHS data. The NHS asks a "population group" question with precisely the same categories, but also classifies some "write-in" responses in these categories (for example, the write-in response "Pakistani" is classified as South Asian).
Intragroup contact	For each of the following activities, would you say you do them every week (3), once or twice a month (2), only a few times a year (1) or not at all (0)? Spend time with people of the same ethnic background as you (aside from your family)
Other interpersonal contact	For each respondent, the mean score of the following five items (0 to 3 scale):  For each of the following activities, would you say you do them every week (3), once or twice a month (2), only a few times a year (1) or not at all (0)?  Spend time with parents or other relatives Spend time with friends Spend time socially with colleagues from work Spend time with people at your church, mosque or synagogue Spend time with your neighbours
Gender	Female =1; male =0

Citizenship	1= Canadian citizen (including dual citizenship); 0 = non-citizen
Recent Immigrant	In Canada for up to 10 years
Settled Immigrant	In Canada for more than 10 years
Language	Language most often spoken at home English or French = 0; "Other language" = 1
High Income	Household income of \$100,000 or more = 1; less than \$100,000 = 0
Low Income	Household income of Less than \$30,000= 1; \$30,000 or more = 0
University education	"Some university" and "Bachelor's degree" = 1; all others = 0
Postgraduate degree	"Master's degree" and "Professional degree or doctorate" = 1, all others = 0
Proportion low income (NHS data)	Proportion of the population in the FSA who fall below the after-tax low-income measure, which is set at half the median of adjusted household after-tax income in the country.
Median income (NHS data)	The median income for individuals in the FSA
Proportion with postsecondary certificate, diploma, or degree (NHS data)	The proportion of the population in the FSA with a Registered Apprenticeship certificate; Other trades certificate or diploma; College, CEGEP or other non-university certificate or diploma from a program of 3 months to less than 1 year; College, CEGEP or other non-university certificate or diploma from a program of 1 year to 2 years; College, CEGEP or other non-university certificate or diploma from a program of more than 2 years; University certificate or diploma below bachelor level; Bachelor's degree; University certificate or diploma above bachelor level; Degree in medicine, dentistry, veterinary medicine or optometry; Master's degree; Earned doctorate.
Largest racialized group share	For each respondent, this is the proportion (from 0 to 1) of the local population from the largest racialized group in the FSA.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Percentages calculated by the authors from Statistics Canada Census tables.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> In 2011, even in Toronto and Vancouver – the two cities with the largest concentrations of racialized Canadians – most racialized residents (56 and 63 percent in Toronto and Vancouver, respectively) lived in neighborhoods where the white population was the majority or the single-largest group (Hiebert, 2015). In our survey sample of racialized individuals, 55.8% lived in majority white areas, and a further 24% lived in areas with no majority, but where the white population was the largest racial group.

<sup>3</sup> Respondents received an e-mail invitation to participate in the 25-minute online survey. Each invitation e-mail contained a unique link (URL) that could only be used once. Respondents were all members of an internet panel of more than 400,000 people living in Canada at the time who were recruited randomly over the phone (61 percent) or through various other means. The annual recruitment rate for the panel is approximately 15,000 new members a year, while about 10,000 to 12,000 panelists are removed from the panel or opt out each year. Panelists are rewarded for their participation over time with a series of financial incentives. No specific response rate can be calculated for an online survey because, unlike telephone surveys, it is not possible to evaluate whether people refused to participate or did not read or receive the invitation. For the sample of racialized Canadians, 13,549 invitations were sent and 1,647 respondents (12 percent) completed the survey. The data are weighted using a post-stratification technique to be representative of the sociodemographic characteristics (sex, age, education, mother tongue and ethnicity) of each province, using the 2011 National Household Survey as the point of reference. The data are also weighted to ensure the proportional representation of each provincial sample according to its demographic weight within Canada. The survey was offered in English and in French.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Many members of racialized groups in Canada are foreign-born, and although naturalization rates are high in Canada, some do not hold Canadian citizenship. In our sample, 4% of the sample indicated they were not eligible to vote.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> In both the NHS and the survey, respondents were given the option of choosing multiple categories. Our analysis relies on only the first category mentioned. Only 2.6% of respondents in the sample of racialized individuals selected multiple categories. Those who selected "other" (3.58% of the sample) cannot be classified and are excluded from the analysis. A significant difference is that the NHS allows write-in responses, some of which are later classified (for example, the write-in response "Pakistani" is classified as "South Asian").

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> In the unweighted data there is overrepresentation of individuals from Chinese origin (the largest group racialized group) and underrepresentation of all other racialized groups in British Columbia, Alberta, and Ontario; there is also underrepresentation of older (55-64 and 65+) in Quebec and Ontario, and to a lesser extent BC and Alberta. Foreign-born respondents are slightly underrepresented in the unweighted data in Alberta and British Columbia.

<sup>7</sup> The results without these controls (presented in table A2 in the appendix), are virtually the same.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Data presented in Fieldhouse and Cutts' examination of Muslim electoral registration in Britain (2008a: 341), as well as their study of voter turnout among ethno-religious minorities in Britain (2008b: 539), suggests a non-linear relationship between local religious and ethnic group concentration and political engagement.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> We also considered an alternative specification of these models, using the proportion of people from any racialized group in the respondents' local area as our measure of residential concentration. The results showed a weak and statistically insignificant interaction between contact and concentration, which suggests it is the concentration of persons *from an individual's own racialized group*, and not merely *diversity*, that matters.