

Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada
Le Journal de la Société pour l'étude de l'architecture au Canada



**World Religions and the Built Environment in the Publications
of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada**

Jamie S. Scott

Volume 46, numéro 2, 2021

World religions in Canada
Religions mondiales au Canada

URI : <https://id.erudit.org/iderudit/1088486ar>

DOI : <https://doi.org/10.7202/1088486ar>

[Aller au sommaire du numéro](#)

Éditeur(s)

SSAC-SEAC

ISSN

1486-0872 (imprimé)

2563-8696 (numérique)

[Découvrir la revue](#)

Citer ce document

Scott, J. S. (2021). World Religions and the Built Environment in the Publications of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada. *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada / Le Journal de la Société pour l'étude de l'architecture au Canada*, 46(2), 2–10.
<https://doi.org/10.7202/1088486ar>

© SSAC-SEAC, 2022

Ce document est protégé par la loi sur le droit d'auteur. L'utilisation des services d'Érudit (y compris la reproduction) est assujettie à sa politique d'utilisation que vous pouvez consulter en ligne.

<https://apropos.erudit.org/fr/usagers/politique-dutilisation/>

érudit

Cet article est diffusé et préservé par Érudit.

Érudit est un consortium interuniversitaire sans but lucratif composé de l'Université de Montréal, l'Université Laval et l'Université du Québec à Montréal. Il a pour mission la promotion et la valorisation de la recherche.

<https://www.erudit.org/fr/>

WORLD RELIGIONS AND THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT IN THE PUBLICATIONS OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF ARCHITECTURE IN CANADA

> JAMIE S. SCOTT

JAMIE S. SCOTT is professor in the Department of Humanities and the graduate programs in English, geography, humanities, and interdisciplinary studies, York University, Toronto. His most recent publications include "Mosques in Canada: From the Qur'anic Masjid to Sharif Senbel's 'Canadian Islamic Regionalism[s],'" in Jessica Mace (ed.), *A Medieval Legacy: The Ongoing Life of Forms in the Built: Essays in Honour of Malcolm Thurlby* (Montréal, Patrimonium, p. 373-401). His current research interests include the role of literary tourism in the sustainable repurposing of industrial heritage in Manchester, England; Newcastle, New South Wales, Australia; and Hamilton, Ontario, Canada.

Why, some regular readers of the *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada (JSSAC)* might ask, has an issue been devoted exclusively to world religions and the built environment in Canada? Though certainly not a definitive answer, a rationale may be found in the pages of the *JSSAC* and its precursors, the *News* (1975-1980) and the *Bulletin* (1980-1997) of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada (SSAC). Appearing in winter 1975, the first issue of the first volume of the *News* of the SSAC, founded the previous year, includes the program for the Society's "First Annual Meeting." Held in Edmonton June 2-8, 1975, the meeting's theme, "Ethnic Architecture in the Prairies," echoes in a wholly appropriate way the contemporaneous strengthening of political and legislative commitment to a multiculturalist agenda at both the federal and provincial levels of government in Canada.² In that respect, several papers at the SSAC meeting address issues arising at the intersection of the architectural, the ethnic, and the religious fields.

Perhaps not surprisingly, however, talk of "religion" at the Edmonton gathering seems only to have meant talk of Christianity. After all, in the early 1970s, the vast majority of Canadians self-identifying with a religious tradition named one form or another of Christianity.³ Papers presented at Edmonton's SSAC conference thus include "Ukrainian Greek Orthodox and Ukrainian Greek Catholic Churches," "Design Parameters in Ukrainian Church Architecture on the Prairies," "Doukhorbor Ethnic Architecture," "Architecture and Settlement Patterns of Hutterites and Mennonites," and "The Great Church at Stanley Mission."⁴ The architectural presence of other communities of faith upon Canada's Prairie landscapes fails to feature. None, for example, speaks about the Carpenter Gothic style of Beth Israel Synagogue (1906), built by settlers of the Edenbridge Hebrew Colony, near Melfort, Saskatchewan, or the way Edmonton's Al-Rashid Mosque (1938), funded mainly by Lebanese and Syrian Muslims, mimics the vernacular architecture of churches on the Prairies, let alone the adaptation of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Raymond, Alberta, for use as a Japanese Jōdo Shinshū Buddhist temple (1929). This pattern persists for the life of the *News*. Reports appear on numerous presentations at SSAC annual meetings discussing the look, layout, location, and architectural languages of Christian churches across urban,

suburban, exurban, and rural Canada, but there is no record of talks exploring aspects of the built environment associated with other religious traditions.

In 1980, the *News* evolved into the *Bulletin* of the SSAC. As well as information about Society members and various kinds of announcements, this fresh format regularly includes short scholarly essays, many of which originate as presentations at annual conferences. Papers given at the SSAC's annual meetings between 1980 and 1985 range widely across matters involving the religious and the built environment, where the former continues to signify Christianity exclusively. Topics include modernist churches in Québec (St. John's 1983); Anglican architecture in Newfoundland (Guelph 1984); the Québec churches of Victor Bourgeois [1809-1888] (Guelph 1984); the Ontario churches of English immigrant architects Arthur W. Holmes [1863-1944] and John Turner [1807-1887] (Guelph 1984); and churches in Québec's Eastern Townships (Lennoxville 1985). Archived copies of the *Bulletin* do not provide details for SSAC conferences in Winnipeg (1986), Toronto (1987), Montréal (1989), Kingston (1993), Québec (1994), and Calgary (1997), but the SSAC's sixteenth meeting in Edmonton (1990) offers a panel exploring Christian mission architecture on the Prairies.⁵

Similarly, while about twenty of two hundred and fifty or so items published in the *Bulletin* over seventeen years focus on architecture and the religious, the vast majority of these contributions have to do with Christianity. Some essays discuss the *oeuvres* of particular figures, like Manitoba's missionary priest Philip Ruh [1883-1962] (Romaniuk 1986); Alberta artist Peter Lipinski [1888-1975] (Bilash 1988); New Brunswick's Shepherd Johnson Frost [1788-1853] (Douglas 1990); Québec modernist Pierre Dionne [1925-2015] (Rose 1990); and Toronto's William Hay [1818-1888], Edmund Burke [1851-1919], and Henry Langley [1836-1907].⁶ Other studies focus on specific buildings, regions, styles, or denominations. Topics include the Abbey of Our Lady of the Prairies, near Saint Norbert, Manitoba⁷; Toronto's Mount Pleasant Cemetery⁸; Montréal's churches of St. Patrick⁹ and St. Andrew and St. Paul¹⁰; churches in Québec's Eastern Townships and Saguenay-Lac-Saint-Jean region¹¹; Ukrainian-Canadian churches in Alberta¹²; Guelph's Church of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception¹³; St. Charles Church, Dunvegan, Alberta¹⁴; the Hay River missions in the Northwest Territories¹⁵; Hamilton's St. Paul's Presbyterian Church¹⁶; Roman Catholic schools in Québec¹⁷; Anglican architecture in colonial Canada¹⁸; British architectural influence upon the churches of Old Québec¹⁹; and the construction contract for the Basilica of Sainte-Anne-de-Beaupré.²⁰ There is only one exception to this preoccupation with the Christian: a study of Ottawa's first synagogues.²¹

In 1998, the *Bulletin* metamorphosed into the *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*. Focusing more intently on scholarly articles, the new journal does not publish accounts of the Society's annual meetings, though once again, a number of these articles begin as papers delivered at SSAC conferences.²² The percentage of contributions on the religious and the built environment rises quite dramatically in the *JSSAC*; of two hundred and eighty-four items published between 1998 and 2020, sixty-six discuss places with a religious character or connection. But still the architecture of various kinds of Christianity commands almost total attention. Too many to describe in detail, essays discuss Christian sites in relation to individual architects, architectural styles, heritage issues, denominational inclinations, and regional trends. Not unexpectedly, perhaps, topics set in the more heavily populated provinces of Québec and Ontario preponderate.

Wholly or partly involving Christianity, twenty-seven essays in the *JSSAC* explore Québec subjects: the Mother House of the Grey Nuns (1871), Montréal²³; the modernist Church of Saint-Marc-l'Évangéliste (1956), Bagotville, by Paul-Marie Côté [1921-1969]²⁴; the "Cyclorama of Jerusalem" (1895) at Sainte-Anne-de-Beaupré²⁵; Montréal's Mont-Royal and Notre-Dame-des-Neiges cemeteries²⁶; the Church of Saint-Joachim de Chateauguay (1797)²⁷; the province's early Roman Catholic infirmaries²⁸; Montréal's Sulpician heritage²⁹; the churches of Rosemont-La Petite-Patrie, Montréal³⁰; Saint Joseph's Oratory of Mount Royal (1904)³¹; Roman Catholic church design, 1965-2005³²; Ukrainian churches in the province³³; conservation and Roman Catholic heritage, notably Carmel de Montréal (1896)³⁴; light and the modernist design of Montréal's Church of Saint-Rémi (1961)³⁵; the architecture of Hilaire Bernard de La Rivière [1640-1729]³⁶; the architectural sketches of Jesuit priest Félix Martin [1804-1886]³⁷; preservation of Christ Memorial Lutheran Church (1965), Montréal³⁸; Patrick C. Keely [1816-1896] and the Church of the Gesù (1865), Montréal³⁹; Charles Baillaigé [1826-1906] and Gothic Revival in Beauport⁴⁰; and the heritage status of Saint-Jacques Cathedral (1825) and the Université du Québec à Montréal.⁴¹

Moving west, we find twenty essays wholly or in part involving Christianity that examine Ontario subjects: American architect William Russell Souter [1894-1971] and Hamilton's Roman Catholic Cathedral of Christ the King (1933)⁴²; the Presbyterian churches of Thomas J. Rutley [1847-1910]⁴³; Joseph J. Connolly's ecclesiastical buildings in the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Kingston⁴⁴; Toronto's St. Anne's Anglican Church (1925)⁴⁵; St. Thomas Anglican Church (1877), St. Catharines⁴⁶; Gothic

Revival and St. Peter's, Barton (1852), and St. Paul's (1851), Glanford⁴⁷; Gothic Revival, St. James's Anglican Church (1839) and Sacred Heart Roman Catholic Church (1857), Paris⁴⁸; Gothic Revival and St. Mark's Anglican Church (1845), Barriefield⁴⁹; Gothic Revival in the Roman Catholic churches of Henry Langley [1836-1907]⁵⁰; the Queen Street Methodist churches (1864, 1886), Kingston⁵¹; Gothic Revival and St. John's Anglican Church (1851), Portsmouth⁵²; MPP Edward John Barker Pense [1848-1910] and the churches of St. James, Kingston, and St. Mark, Barriefield⁵³; Gothic Revival, Gordon W. Lloyd (1832-1905), Trinity Anglican Church (1877), St. Thomas, and New St. Paul's Anglican Church (1879), Woodstock⁵⁴; the James Bay Mission (1850-1890)⁵⁵; the churches of John G. Howard (1803-1890)⁵⁶; heritage churches in the Niagara Region⁵⁷; St. George's Anglican Church (1827), Kingston⁵⁸; and ultramontane architecture and Our Lady of Lourdes Parish Church (1886), Toronto.⁵⁹

Although the *JSSAC* seems to have published no research on Christianity and the built environment in Manitoba or the Northwest Territories, a variety of essays reflect the range of interest in Christian sites beyond Québec and Ontario: in Newfoundland, the Anglican Cathedral of St. John the Baptist (1905), St. Patrick's Roman Catholic Church (1881), the rural churches of William Grey [1819-1872], and Elliston Salvation Army Citadel (1902)⁶⁰; in Nova Scotia, the churches of Stephen C. Earle [1839-1913] and Arthur Regnault [1839-1932]⁶¹; in New Brunswick, Maugerville's Christ Church (1856), and Fredericton's Christ Church Cathedral and St. Anne's Chapel of Ease⁶²; in Prince Edward Island, Gothic Revival churches and Desable's Free Church of Scotland (1855)⁶³; in Saskatchewan, Gothic Revival churches and Holy Trinity Anglican Church at Stanley Mission (1856-1860), and the Kaposvar Roman Catholic Church (1907) and Bekevar Presbyterian Church (1912)⁶⁴; in Alberta, the Temple of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (1923), Cardston, and various Mormon cemeteries⁶⁵; in British Columbia, "amateur" church architecture, 1875-1900⁶⁶; and in the Yukon, St. Paul's Anglican Church, Dawson.⁶⁷

At the same time, not every essay in the *JSSAC* intertwining the architectural and the Christian is susceptible to straightforward geographical or even religious classification. When it comes to geography, a few studies straddle provincial borders. Such is the case with essays on Joseph J. Connolly [1840-1904], Arthur W. Holmes [1863-1944] and "Roman Renaissance" churches in Ontario and Québec⁶⁸; open timber roofs in nineteenth-century churches in Alberta and British Columbia⁶⁹; and the churches of Breton architect Arthur Regnault [1839-1932] in Nova Scotia and Québec.⁷⁰ In another vein, some contributions directly address

issues of heritage and the way in which ecclesiastical buildings have been adapted for other than Christian liturgical purposes.⁷¹ On occasion, *JSSAC* readers have been treated to singular associations between the religious and the built environment, like a re-evaluation of Canada's professional ice-hockey arenas as "secular shrines," or a treatise on watermills by the Jesuit Abbé Thomas-Laurent Bédard [1747-1795], or a study arguing for the sacred status of Canada's memorials to the dead of World War I.⁷² More to present purposes, though, essays in the *JSSAC* devoted explicitly to research focused on architects or architecture in Canada, and world religions other than Christianity still remain elusive. Appearing almost two decades apart, Sharon Graham's account of Toronto's synagogue architecture, 1897-1937, and Saadman Ahmed's essay on mosques and Islamic identity in Canada constitute notably rare exceptions.⁷³

It is especially surprising that issues of the *JSSAC* from the 1990s and 2000s lack studies of architects and architecture associated with religious traditions other than the Christian. Notably, in a parliamentary research paper on Canada's immigration program, Penny Becklumb maintains that the country's attempt to balance the imperatives of family reunification, humanitarian exigency, and economic development "has made Canadians generally more accepting of immigrants and refugees, and of the multicultural society that results."⁷⁴ While many Eastern European Jews came to Canada between the 1880s and the 1920s, for instance, migration from Nazi Europe after World War II, and more recently from Israel and the Soviet Union, significantly increased their numbers.⁷⁵ Likewise, in the 1970s and 1980s, historic changes in Canada's immigration policies facilitated the rapid growth of Middle Eastern, South Asian, East Asian, and Southeast Asian communities.⁷⁶ Locating predominantly, though not exclusively, in the larger metropolitan centres of Toronto, Montréal, and Vancouver and their surrounding suburbs and exurban regions, the majority of these newcomers practice one form or another of Muslim, Hindu, Sikh, or Buddhist religion.⁷⁷ As Amir Hussein and Jamie S. Scott have written, most of Canada's Muslims trace their roots to South Asia and the Middle East, their numbers supplemented by "immigrants from Africa, China, Europe, Southeast Asia, Australasia, and the South Pacific."⁷⁸ Hindus have come to Canada either directly from India or from the United Kingdom and elsewhere in the South Asian diaspora, including, in Paul Younger's words, "Guyana, Trinidad, Mauritius, Fiji, South Africa and East Africa."⁷⁹ Somewhat mirroring Hindu migration, Sikhs have moved to Canada primarily from the Punjab region of India and Pakistan, but also from East Africa, South Africa, Southeast Asia, and the United Kingdom.⁸⁰ Fourthly, as Jamie S. Scott and Henry C.H. Shiu have observed,

the majority of Buddhists in Canada have roots in China and Japan, though more recent arrivals may hail from Sri Lanka, Korea, Tibet, and the Southeast Asian countries of Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, and Vietnam.⁸¹ In addition, to varying degrees, converts have further increased the number of adherents to these religious traditions.

Typically, devotees to the varieties of Jewish, Muslim, Hindu, Sikh, and Buddhist traditions tended at first to meet for worship in small groups in family homes. But strengthening economic, social, and political security enabled growing congregations to acquire and adapt residential, commercial, industrial, and even Christian ecclesiastical buildings to their respective religious needs, and then to raise funds in Canada and through international networks for the purchase of land and the design and construction of purpose-built places of worship. As Ira Robinson writes, for instance, Jewish communities now host “a plethora of synagogues, charities, schools, and other organizations.”⁸² Likewise, Muslim mosques, Hindu and Buddhist temples, and Sikh *Gurdwaras* are today scarcely less likely sights than Jewish synagogues along Canada’s urban, suburban, and exurban streetscapes. Their architecture ranges widely, as do the styles of Jewish synagogues, from the imitative reworking of vernacular and historical forms favoured in a country of origin to innovative interpretations of the modernist and postmodernist designs we see dispersed among the residential, commercial, industrial, and institutional zones of North American cities, suburbs, and surrounding regions. Nor need scholarly interest be limited to the look, layout, location, and architectural languages of places of worship; other built forms invested with religious significance include cemeteries, schools, museums, memorials, pilgrimage, and festival sites, and even particular features of residential and commercial properties. The annual meetings of the SSAC this century have occasionally included presentations on these diverse and increasingly numerous phenomena, notably the Taoist Fung Loy Kok Three Religions Temple (1984), Orangeville, Ontario (Yellowknife 2008); various synagogues in the Maritime provinces (Fredericton 2014); a century of mosques in Canada (Niagara-on-the-Lake 2017); the effects of bigotry upon the design of synagogues and mosques (St. John’s 2018); the architectural history of the Sikh *Gurdwara* in Canada (St. John’s 2018); and the role of Canadian architects in the design of Bahá’í houses of worship (Halifax 2019). Indeed, the SSAC’s conference in St. John’s, Newfoundland (2018), featured panels explicitly dedicated to built forms associated with religious traditions other than the Christian. Still, studies of synagogues, mosques, temples, and *Gurdwaras* and kindred subjects and structures remain all but completely absent from the pages of the *JSSAC* in the first decades of the present century.

That said, finally, research on architects, architecture, and world religions in Canada that was first shared at SSAC conferences has started to appear in print. For example, a *festschrift* honouring SSAC stalwart Malcolm Thurlby contains an expanded version of a paper on Sharif Senbel’s British Columbia mosques which I personally delivered at the SSAC gathering in Niagara-on-the-Lake in 2017.⁸³ More to present purposes, three of the essays in this special issue of the *JSSAC* began life, at least in part, as presentations at SSAC meetings: “Vernacular, Modernist, Historic: Sikh *Gurdwara* Architecture on Canada’s West Coast,” by Prabhjit Brar, Joginder Dhanjal, and Jamie S. Scott, locates and discusses the architecture of Sikh *Gurdwaras* in Canada within the broader contexts of Sikh religious tradition and Sikh migration to Canada; Henry C.H. Shiu and Jamie S. Scott’s “Building Buddhism in Canada: From the Ishikawa Hotel to the Four Great Sacred Buddhist Mountains Project” focuses upon the Buddhist Association of Canada’s Wutai Chan Buddhist Garden near Bethany, Ontario, in particular the main Dharma Hall, which replicates the Great East Hall of the Foguang Temple (857 CE), near Doucun, in Shanxi Province, People’s Republic of China; and Krupali Uplekar Krusche’s “Decoding a Hindu Temple: Toronto’s Bochasanwasi Akshar Purushottam Swaminarayan Sanstha (BAPS) Shri Swaminarayan Mandir and the *Mandala* as a Principle of Design,” reflects upon the way in which the ancient figure of the *mandala* works as a governing architectural principle in the planning and construction of the eponymous Hindu house of worship in the Toronto suburb of Etobicoke.⁸⁴ At the same time, scholars who were not able to attend SSAC conferences kindly accepted invitations to prepare studies especially for this issue: Amin Alsaden’s “Aga Khan Museum: Lingering Orientalism in Global Architectural Practice” recognizes the social and cultural significance of Toronto’s landmark Islamic institution, but identifies paradoxes in its design, most notably Orientalist tropes that seem to persist unquestioned in a good deal of contemporary architecture; Barry Stiefel’s “Synagogue Architecture in Canada: A Summary History” offers an account of synagogue architecture in Canada from a social and cultural perspective, rather than a taxonomical appraisal of architectural styles; Sharon Graham’s “Congregation Etz Chayim and its Ghosts: The Memorial Rooms of a Living House of Worship” focuses upon the way in which memorial boards at a Winnipeg synagogue not only commemorate the dead, but also bear witness to larger historical transformations in the life of the city’s Jewish community; and Libbie Mills and Jamie S. Scott’s “A Drop Falls from the Sky: *Nāgara* Architectural Metre and Two Ontario Hindu Temples” exposes the influence of the ancient Sanskrit text, the *Aparājitaṛcchā* [*Aparājita’s Questions*], upon the design of the Hindu Temple of Ottawa-Carleton (1989) and Brampton’s Hindu Sabha Temple (2001).

As guest editor, I began by ventriloquizing a question that some regular readers of the *JSSAC* might pose: why has an issue of the journal been dedicated exclusively to world religions and the built environment in Canada? As we have seen, the history of the *SSAC's News, Bulletin*, and *JSSAC* offers a rationale. Taken together, I suggest, the seven essays comprising this special issue offer something different to *JSSAC* subscribers. That is not to say that the thinking behind this collection is entirely new. In 1999, for example, the *JSSAC* published a piece by James Vilorio titled, "The Politics of the 'We' in the Construction of Collective Identities in Histories of Architecture in Canada." In it, Vilorio notes that Jean-Claude Marsan's book *Montreal in Evolution: Historical Analysis of the Development of Montreal's Architecture and Urban Environment* might more accurately be called *Christian Montreal in Evolution* because "in the section on Victorian religious architecture . . . Marsan describes European and American stylistic influences on Montreal Christian churches, yet . . . omits Jewish religious architecture."⁸⁵ For Marsan, Vilorio concludes, "the presence of Jews in Montreal is incidental rather than seminal."⁸⁶ As the diverse array of topics discussed in this special issue indicates, matters are still more complicated today. In that respect, considered in the broader context of things religious and things architectural in Canada, these studies are far from the last word. That is to say, I hope that their appearance here prompts the sharing of further research at the intersections of world religions and the built environment in Canada in the pages of the *JSSAC*.

NOTES

- For scholars of the religious, the phrase "world religions" generally refers to the teachings, practices, and material expressions of the globalized and globalizing traditions of Jewish, Christian, Muslim, Hindu, Buddhist, and, more recently, Parsee, Sikh, and Bahá'í communities of faith. It should be added, though, that for all its usefulness as a denominator of religious traditions, the notion of "world religions" is by no means without controversy. Identifying its origins in the modern western academy, for example, Smith long ago lamented that "other traditions can be classified as 'religions' [only] if they conform to the criteria set by the West, which basically follows the Christian model of religion." Smith, Jonathan Z., 1978, *Map Is Not Territory: Studies in the History of Religion*, Leiden, Brill, p. 295. For critical discussions of the "world religions paradigm," see Owen, Suzanne, 2011, "The World Religions Paradigm: Time for a Change," *Arts and Humanities in Higher Education*, vol. 10, no. 3, p. 253-268; and Cotter, Christopher R. and David G. Robertson (eds.), 2016, *After World Religions: Reconstructing Religious Studies*, New York, Routledge, Taylor & Francis, p. 1-21.
- As Ottawa Mandarins Laurence Brosseau and Michael Dewing report, for example, 1973 saw the creation of a "Ministry of Multiculturalism . . . to monitor the implementation of multicultural initiatives within government departments." At the same time, they continue, organizations like the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism were established as "formal linkages between the government and ethnic organizations . . . to provide ongoing input into the decision-making process." Brosseau, Laurence and Michael Dewing, 2018 [2009], "Canadian Multiculturalism," Ottawa: Library of Parliament Background Papers, [https://lop.parl.ca/sites/PublicWebsite/default/en_CA/ResearchPublications/200920E#a2-2-2], p. 3, accessed June 5, 2021.
- The *Canadian Multiculturalism Act, 1988* clarified and expanded the legislative framework for these policies. In 1974, Saskatchewan "became the first province to adopt legislation regarding multiculturalism" (*id.*, p. 12). Other provinces followed Saskatchewan's lead in subsequent decades, though Québec preferred the term "interculturalism," tolerating and encouraging "diversity . . . only within a framework that establishes the unquestioned supremacy of French in the language and culture of Quebec" (*id.*, p. 15-16). Newfoundland and Labrador brought up the rear in 2008.
- For critical studies of Canada's multiculturalism policy, see Fleras, Augie and Jean Leonard Elliott, 1992, *Multiculturalism in Canada: The Challenge of Diversity*, Scarborough, ON, Nelson Canada; and Reitz, Jeffrey G., Raymond Breton, Karen Kisiel Dion, and Kenneth L. Dion, 2009, *Multiculturalism and Social Cohesion: Potentials and Challenges of Diversity*, London, Springer.
- Drawing upon census data published by the Government of Canada, the Pew Research Center calculates that 88% of Canadians identified with Christian denominations in 1971. Pew Research Center, 2013, "Canada's Changing Religious Landscape," [https://www.pewforum.org/2013/06/27/canadas-changing-religious-landscape/#_ftnref1], accessed July 13, 2021.
- Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada, 1975, *News – Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada (1975-1980)*, vol. 1, no. 1, p. 4, [https://dalspace.library.dal.ca/bitstream/handle/10222/72029/vol1_1_complete.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y], accessed June 5, 2021.
- Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada, 1990, "SSAC Annual Meeting," *Bulletin – Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada (1980-1997)*, vol. 15, no. 1, p. 25, [https://dalspace.library.dal.ca/bitstream/handle/10222/71474/vol15_1_1_2.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y], accessed June 10, 2021.
- Carr, Angela K., 1990, "From William Hay to Burke, Horwood & White: A Case History in Canadian Architectural Draughting Style," *Bulletin – Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 15, no. 2, p. 41-51; and Carr, Angela K., 1996, "Indices of Identity: A Canadian Architectural Practice in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century," *Bulletin – Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 21, no. 1, p. 11-17.
- Hosgood, Christopher, 1986, "The Abbey of Our Lady of the Prairies," *Bulletin – Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 11, no. 1, p. 9-10.
- Coutts, Sally, 1986, "Easeful Death in Toronto: A History of Mount Pleasant Cemetery," *Bulletin – Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 11, no. 3, p. 8-10.
- McGee, Donna, 1987, "St. Patrick's Church, Montréal: Sorting out the Beginnings," *Bulletin – Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 12, no. 1, p. 7-9.
- Coley, Sandra, 1991, "The Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul: Architecture and Patronage," *Bulletin – Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 16, no. 1, p. 4-12.
- Bergeron, Claude, 1987, "L'architecture religieuse contemporaine des Cantons de l'Est : caractères et rayonnement," *Bulletin – Society for the*

- Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 12, no. 2, p. 3-8; and Bergeron, Claude, 1988, "Le modernisme venu du Nord : les églises du Saguenay-Lac-Saint-Jean," *Bulletin – Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 13, no. 3, p. 9-21.
12. Thomas Kordan, Diana, 1988, "Tradition in a New World: Ukrainian-Canadian Churches in Alberta," *Bulletin – Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 13, no. 1, p. 3-7.
 13. Thurlby, Malcolm, 1990, "The Church of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception, at Guelph: Puginian Principles in the Gothic Revival Architecture of Joseph Connolly," *Bulletin – Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 15, no. 2, p. 32-40.
 14. Larmour, Judy, 1992, "Emile Grouard, Artist Bishop of the North: The Altar Paintings and Decoration of the Sanctuary in St. Charles Church, Dunvegan," *Bulletin – Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 17, no. 4, p. 105-109.
 15. Mattie, Joan, 1992, "The Hay River Missions: St. Peter's and St. Anne's," *Bulletin – Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 17, no. 4, p. 97-104.
 16. Seymour, Alan, 1991, "A Flawed Masterpiece, or the Price of Pressure," *Bulletin – Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 16, no. 2, p. 32-34; and Peace, Walter and Alan Seymour, 1993, "St. Paul's Presbyterian Church, Hamilton, Ontario," *Bulletin – Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 18, no. 2, p. 43-49.
 17. Morisset, Lucie K., 1993, "La genèse de l'école de quartier au Québec : histoire typologique d'une architecture scolaire," *Bulletin – Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 18, nos. 3-4, p. 88-95.
 18. Russell-Corbett, Jane, 1996, "'The Ecclesiologist' and Anglican Church Architecture in the Canadian Colonies," *Bulletin – Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 21, no. 4, p. 89-94.
 19. Noppen, Luc, 1996, "The British Contribution to the Architectural Identity of Old Québec," *Bulletin – Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 21, no. 1, p. 4-10.
 20. Grignon, Marc, 1997, "The Builder, the Architect, and the Bishop: A Microhistorical Study of the Contract for the Construction of the Church of Sainte-Anne-de-Beaupré," *Bulletin – Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 22, no. 3, p. 60-65.
 21. Hadaya, Hagit, 1994, "The First Synagogues in Ottawa," *Bulletin – Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 19, no. 3, p. 76-82. There is another exception to the *Bulletin's* singular attention to things Christian: a study of the vernacular design of a contemporary Dene hunting camp makes passing reference to the way the site accommodates traditional icons and ceremonies: Janes, Robert R., 1988, "Vernacular Architecture at a Contemporary Dene Hunting Camp," *Bulletin – Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 13, no. 2, p. 7, 9.
- Traditions of Indigenous spirituality, however, tend primarily to be local or regional in character, so that scholars rarely discuss them in the context of world religions, which are the focus of this special issue of the *JSSAC*. Nonetheless, like world religions, the built forms of Canada's Indigenous cultures and societies have received little attention at SSAC conferences or in SSAC publications.
22. Programs for SSAC conferences 2007 to 2021 are available on the society's website: [<https://canada-architecture.org/this-years-conference/>], accessed July 13, 2021.
 23. Martin, Tania, 1999, "The Mother House of the Grey Nuns: A Building History of the General Hospital," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 24, no. 2, p. 40-49; Drouin, Martin, 2001, "Les campagnes de sauvegarde de la maison Van Horne et du couvent des Sœurs grises ou les questionnements d'une identité urbaine (Montréal, 1973-1976)," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 26, nos. 3-4, p. 25-36; Noppen, Luc, 2009, "La maison-mère des Sœurs grises de Montréal. Genèse d'un haut lieu du paysage construit montréalais," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 34, no. 2, p. 3-43.
 24. Morisset, Lucie K. and Luc Noppen, 1999, "L'église Saint-Marc de Bagotville ou l'éveil moderniste du Québec de Duplessis," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 24, no. 3, p. 3-17.
 25. Caron, Isabelle, 2001, "Le Cyclorama de Jérusalem à Sainte-Anne-de-Beaupré : une architecture sous influence artistique," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 25, nos. 2-4, p. 37-50.
 26. Clerk, Nathalie, 2001, "Les cimetières Mont-Royal et Notre-Dame-des-Neiges," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 26, nos. 1-2, p. 51-68.
 27. Noppen, Luc and Lucie K. Morisset, 2001, "L'église Saint-Joachim de Chateauguay, Québec," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 26, nos. 3-4, p. 45-63.
 28. Denis, Nicole, 2002, "Un plan Martellange pour l'Hôpital Général de Québec en 1700 ?" *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 27, nos. 3-4, p. 35-40.
 29. Drouin, Martin, 2004, "Le domaine des Messieurs de Saint-Sulpice, trente ans de luttes pour la sauvegarde du patrimoine à Montréal," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 29, nos. 1-2, p. 3-14.
 30. Rioux-Hébert, Sophie, 2005, "Un patrimoine religieux en devenir les églises de l'arrondissement Rosemont-La Petite-Patrie à Montréal," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 30, no. 1, p. 3-14.
 31. Clerk, Nathalie, 2005, "L'oratoire Saint-Joseph du Mont-Royal," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 30, no. 2, p. 61-78.
 32. Gauthier, Richard, 2005, "De l'évolution de l'art d'église dans les paroisses catholiques au Québec, 1965-2005," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 30, no. 2, p. 15-24.
 33. Miquelon, Nicholas, 2005, "L'évolution de l'architecture religieuse des Ukrainiens au Canada : l'exemple du Québec," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 30, no. 2, p. 3-13.
 34. Dufaux, François, 2009, "Le devenir du patrimoine religieux : Pour la sauvegarde d'un domaine immobilier à vocation communautaire," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 34, no. 2, p. 75-86; and Drouin, Martin, 2009, "Un lieu de calme et de paix au cœur de la tourmente : Le débat patrimonial autour de la sauvegarde du Carmel de Montréal (2003-2007)," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 34, no. 2, p. 45-60.
 35. Salvione, Marie-Dina, 2010, "La lumière dans les églises modernes : sauvegarder l'intangible," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 35, no. 2, p. 35-40.
 36. Grignon, Marc, 2011, "Hilaire Bernard de La Rivière and the Role of the Architect in New France," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 36, no. 2, p. 45-52.

37. Sauv , Jean-S bastien, 2014, "Les carnets de croquis du p re j suite F lix Martin (1804-1886)," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 39, no. 1, p. 35-56.
38. Salvione, Marie-Dina, 2015, "R cit critique d'une sauvegarde r ussie. L' glise Christ Memorial Lutheran: Roger D'Astous et Jean-Paul Pothier (1964-1965)," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 40, no. 1, p. 75-82.
39. Sauv , Jean-S bastien, 2016, "Il y a d j  assez et trop de gothique   Montr al': Patrick C. Keely et la construction de l' glise du Ges  de Montr al," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 41, no. 2, p. 35-50.
40. Grignon, Marc, 2018, "Charles Baillaireg s Interpretation of the Gothic Revival and the 'Cathedral' of Beauport, Qu bec," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 43, no. 1, p. 33-45.
41. Drouin, Martin, 2018, "L'UQAM et l'int gration de l' glise Saint-Jacques (1971-1979) : une approche audacieuse pour un projet novateur," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 43, no. 2, p. 43-66.
42. Wubbenhorst, Paula, 2004, "America's Influence on the Cathedral of Christ the King in Hamilton," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 29, nos. 3-4, p. 41-50.
43. Iron, Candace, 2005. "Thomas John Rutley: A Presbyterian Church Designer," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 30, no. 2, p. 39-46.
44. Thurlby, Malcolm, 2005, "Joseph Connolly in the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Kingston, Ontario," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 30, no. 2, p. 25-38.
45. Coffman, Peter, 2005, "St. Anne's Anglican Church and its Patron," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 30, no. 1, p. 15-24.
46. Iron, Candace, 2006, "Why Such an Odd Plan? Milton Earl Beebe's St. Thomas Anglican Church, St. Catharines, Ontario," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 31, no. 2, p. 11-22.
47. Thurlby, Malcolm, 2007, "Two Churches by Frank Wills: St. Peter's, Barton, and St. Paul's, Glanford, and the Ecclesiological Gothic Revival in Ontario," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 32, no. 1, p. 49-60.
48. Thurlby, Malcolm, 2009, "'Parisian Gothic': Interpretations of Gothic in Three Victorian Buildings in Paris, Ontario," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 34, no. 1, p. 19-32.
49. Christianson, Paul, 2010, "St. Mark's Anglican Church, Barriefield, and the Gothic Revival in Canada West," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 35, no. 1, p. 17-30.
50. Iron, Candace, 2013, "Henry Langley's Catholic Church Commissions: Adapting Charles Borromeo's *Instrukiones* to the Gothic Revival in Canada," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 38, no. 1, p. 47-58.
51. McKendry, Jennifer, 2013, "The Queen Street Methodist Churches of 1864 and 1886, Kingston, Ontario," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 38, no. 1, p. 37-46.
52. Christianson, Paul, 2013, "St. John's Anglican Church, Portsmouth, and the Gothic Revival in Canada West," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 38, no. 1, p. 5-20.
53. Christianson, Paul, 2014, "Edward John Barker Pense and the Additions Made to St. James' Anglican Church, Kingston, and St. Mark's Anglican Church, Barriefield, 1886-1897," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 39, no. 2, p. 3-20.
54. Quattrociocchi, Loryssa, 2015, "Two Churches by Gordon W. Lloyd (1832-1905): Trinity Anglican Church, St. Thomas, and New St. Paul's Anglican Church, Woodstock, and the Ecclesiological Gothic Revival in Southwestern Ontario," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 40, no. 1, p. 15-30.
55. Turner, Emily, 2015, "Timber and Tin: Church Design and Construction in the James Bay Mission, 1850-1890," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 40, no. 1, p. 5-14.
56. Duggan, Alana, 2018, "The Churches of John G. Howard: The State of Research and Open Questions," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 43, no. 1, p. 17-31.
57. Thurlby, Malcolm, 2018, "Heritage Churches in the Niagara Region: An Essay on the Interpretation of Style," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 43, no. 2, p. 67-95.
58. Christianson, Paul, 2020, "The Second St. George's Anglican Church, Kingston, Upper Canada, 1822-1828," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 45, no. 1, p. 42-62.
59. McMurtry, Evan, 2020, "For Love of God and Love of Architecture: A Brief History of Architectural Ultramontanism at Our Lady of Lourdes Parish Church," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 45, no. 2, p. 38-47.
60. Brown, Shirley Ann, 2003, "The 'Late Gothic' Stained Glass Windows in the Cathedral of St. John the Baptist in St. John's, Newfoundland," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 28, nos. 3-4, p. 21-30; Coffman, Peter, 2006, "St. John's Anglican Cathedral and the Beginnings of Ecclesiological Gothic in Newfoundland," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 31, no. 1, p. 3-22; Thurlby, Malcolm, 2003. "St. Patrick's Roman Catholic Church, School and Convent in St. John's: J.J. McCarthy and Irish Gothic Revival in Newfoundland," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 28, nos. 3-4, p. 13-20; Philpott, Michael and Terra Barrett, 2016, "A Hundred-year War: The Architecture and History of Elliston Salvation Army Citadel," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 41, no. 2, p. 11-21.
61. Coffman, Peter, 2013, "The Canadian Churches of Stephen C. Earle," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 38, no. 1, p. 67-74; Noppen, Luc, 2015, "French Architects in Early Twentieth-century French-Canadian Church Architecture: The Contribution of Breton Architect Arthur Regnault in Nova Scotia (Acadia) and Qu bec City," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 40, no. 1, p. 59-73.
62. Thurlby, Malcolm, 2013, "Christ Church, Maugerville, New Brunswick: Bishop John Medley, William Butterfield, Frank Wills, and the Transmission of Ecclesiological Principles in Anglican Churches in New Brunswick," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 38, no. 1, p. 21-28; Thurlby, Malcolm, 2015, "Bishop John Medley (1804-1892), Frank Wills (1822-1857), and the Designs of Christ Church Cathedral and St. Anne's Chapel of Ease, Fredericton, New Brunswick, with Some Elementary Remarks on the Impact of Bishop John Medley and Frank Wills on the Arrangements of Anglican Churches in New Brunswick," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 40, no. 1, p. 31-57.

63. Thurlby, Malcolm, 2006, "Nineteenth-century Churches in Prince Edward Island and their Place in the Gothic Revival," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 31, no. 2, p. 65-85; Whytock, Jack C., 2014, "Scottish Liturgics and Church Architecture: A Study of a Transplanted Kirk on Prince Edward Island," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 39, no. 2, p. 53-64.
64. Drouin, "L'UQAM et l'intégration de l'église Saint-Jacques (1971-1979)," *op. cit.*, p. 43-66; Dubé, Kristie, 2013, "Optimism and Competition in Saskatchewan's Rural Gothic Revival Churches in the Early Twentieth Century," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 38, no. 1, p. 75-83; Dubé, Kristie, 2014, "Holy Trinity Anglican Church at Stanley Mission (1856-1860), Saskatchewan," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 39, no. 1, p. 57-69; Dubé, Kristie, 2018, "Minority Immigrant Narratives in Saskatchewan: Kaposvar Roman Catholic Church and Bekevar Presbyterian/Reformed Church," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 43, no. 1, p. 57-63.
65. Hucker, Jacqueline, 1998, "The Cardston Temple, Alberta, and Nonconformist Form," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 23, no. 2, p. 55-61; Brassard, Brooke Kathleen, 2018, "Vines, Gates, and Temples: Using Cemeteries to Understand Mormonism in Canada," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 43, no. 1, p. 65-73.
66. Magrill, Barry, 2006, "Challenging 'Amateur Architecture' in the Diocese of British Columbia, 1875-1900," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 31, no. 1, p. 35-42.
67. Turner, Emily, 2016, "An Architecture of Sophistication in the Klondike Gold Rush: St. Paul's Anglican Church, Dawson, Yukon," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 41, no. 1, p. 41-56.
68. Thurlby, Malcolm, 2004, "The 'Roman Renaissance' Churches of Joseph Connolly and Arthur Holmes and their Place in Roman Catholic Church Architecture," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 29, nos. 3-4, p. 27-40.
69. Magrill, Barry, 2013, "Open Timber Roofs: New Thoughts on Nineteenth-century Architectural Literature," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 38, no. 1, p. 59-66.
70. Noppen, "French Architects in Early Twentieth-century French-Canadian Church Architecture," *op. cit.*
71. Lynch, Nicholas, 2011, "'Converting' Space in Toronto: The Adaptive Reuse of the Former Centennial Japanese United Church to the 'Church Lofts,'" *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 36, no. 1, p. 65-75; Bernier, Lyne, 2011, "La conversion des églises à Montréal : État de la question," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 36, no. 1, p. 41-64; Laplace, Josée, 2011, "Rêve muséal : Étude de la patrimonialisation de l'église Erskine and American United à Montréal," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 36, no. 2, p. 27-43; Rathwell, Natalie Anderson, 2018, "Heritage Value in Ottawa's Dominion-Chalmers United Church: History, Community, Sight, and Sound," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 43, no. 1, p. 47-56.
72. Shubert, Irwin, 1998, "Hockey Arenas: Canada's Secular Shrines," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 23, no. 2, p. 49-53; Shubert, Howard, 2011, "The Montreal Forum: The Hockey Arena at the Nexus of Sport, Religion, and Cultural Politics," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 36, no. 1, p. 107-119; Latouche, Pierre-Édouard, 1998, "Le moulin de Saint-François-de-Sales et le traité d'hydraulique appliquée de l'abbé Thomas-Laurent Bédard," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 23, no. 2, p. 43-48; Hucker, Jacqueline, 1998, "Lest We Forget: National Memorials to Canada's First World War Dead," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 23, no. 3, p. 88-95.
73. Graham, Sharon, 2001, "An Examination of Toronto Synagogue Architecture, 1897-1937," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 26, nos. 3-4, p. 15-24; Saadman, Ahmed, 2020, "Contemporary Challenges of Islamic Identity in Canada," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 45, no. 2, p. 4-14. Saadman's essay received the SSAC's Martin Eli Weil Prize, which is "awarded annually to the best student essay on an aspect of the built environment in Canada." Grignon, Marc and Jessica Mace, 2020, "Introduction: Emerging Scholars," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 45, no. 2, p. 3.
74. Becklumb, Penny, 2008, "Canada's Immigration Program," Ottawa: Library of Parliament, p. 8, [https://publications.gc.ca/collections/collection_2009/bdp-lop/bp/bp190-1e.pdf], accessed July 10, 2021.
75. Robinson, Ira, 2012, "Jews," in Jamie S. Scott (ed.) *The Religions of Canadians*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, p. 131-166, at p. 146-153.
76. The work of the federal Liberal government of Pierre Elliot Trudeau (1919-2000), the *Immigration Act, 1976*, enshrines these changes. Less biased on racial or ethnic grounds than Canada's earlier policies, the act details criteria for determining different kinds of immigration eligibility according to a points system. Accommodating developments in international law, it also defines refugee status as a distinct category of immigration. In the wake of the terrorist attacks on the United States of America on September 11, 2001, Ottawa's *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act, 2001* implements new regulations regarding security and immigration, but otherwise retains the overall vision of the *Immigration Act, 1976*. In the words of Le Goff, the new act "emphasizes the contribution of immigrants and refugees to Canadian society and the Canadian economy" and "invites workers with various skill sets to choose Canada and advocates speedy family reunification." Le Goff, Philippe. 2004, "Immigration to Canada: What Policy for What Purposes?" Ottawa, Library of Parliament, note 2, [<https://publications.gc.ca/collections/Collection-R/LoPBdP/PRB-e/PRB0350-e.pdf>], accessed July 10, 2021. For details on the history, import, and impact of Canada's immigration legislation, see Liew, Jamie Chai Yun and Donald Galloway, 2015 (2nd ed.), *Immigration Law*, Toronto, Irwin Law.
77. Writing in 2002, parliamentary researchers Benjamin Dolin and Margaret Young maintain that "Canadian immigration in the 20th century, and continuing today, has been primarily an urban phenomenon." Dolin, Benjamin and Margaret Young, Law and Government Division, 2002 [1989], "Canada's Immigration Policy," note 23, [<https://publications.gc.ca/Collection-R/LoPBdP/BP/bp190-e.htm>], accessed July 10, 2021.
- More specifically, their successor Penny Becklumb reports that "half of all immigrants settle in Ontario, almost 40% in Toronto . . . [c]lose to 30% . . . in Montréal and Vancouver." Becklumb, "Canada's Immigration Program," *op. cit.*, p. 31.
- As for the religious affiliation of immigrants since the SSAC was founded, census data published by the Government of Canada leads the Pew Research Center (PRC) to some revealing insights into "Canada's changing religious landscape." See Pew Research Center, "Canada's Changing Religious Landscape," *op. cit.* "A majority of immigrants (56%) who arrived during the 1970s were either Catholic or Protestant," the PRC

calculates, “while about a quarter were affiliated with other religious traditions, including Eastern Orthodox Christianity, Islam, Buddhism, Sikhism, Hinduism, and Judaism.” “Since 2001,” the PRC continues, “about four-in-ten [sic] (39%) new Canadian immigrants have belonged to these religious minorities, the same as the share of new immigrants (also 39%) who identify as either Catholic or Protestant.” The PRC concludes that “the rising share of immigrants who belong to religious minorities has had a substantial impact on the religious composition of the overall population.”

78. Hussein, Amir and Jamie S. Scott, 2012, “Muslims,” in Jamie S. Scott (ed.), *The Religions of Canadians*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, p. 167-218, at p. 167.
79. Younger, Paul, 2012, “Hindus,” in Scott, *id.*, p. 219-260, at p. 231.
80. Singh, Pashaura, 2012, “Sikhs,” in Scott, *id.*, p. 307-350, at p. 326.
81. Scott, Jamie S. and Henry C.H. Shiu. 2012, “Buddhists,” in Scott, *id.*, p. 261-306, at p. 261, 279-280.
82. Robinson, “Jews,” *op. cit.*, p. 152-153.
83. Scott, Jamie S., 2020, “Mosques in Canada: From the Qur’anic Masjid to Sharif Senbel’s ‘Canadian Islamic Regionalism(s),’” in Jessica Mace (ed.), *A Medieval Legacy: The Ongoing Life of Forms in the Built Environment: Essays in Honour of Professor Malcolm Thurlby*, Montréal, Patrimonium, p. 373-401.
84. Joginder Dhanjal delivered a paper titled “Sikh Architecture: Becoming a Part of the Canadian Landscape” at the SSAC conference in Toronto in 2009. Henry C.H. Shiu talked about “The Construction of the Four Sacred Buddhist Pilgrimage Sites in Canada” at the SSAC conference in St. John’s in 2018. Krupali Uplekar Krusche presented research on “The Mandala and its Principles for Design: Decoding a Hindu Temple” at the SSAC conference in St. John’s in 2018.
85. Vilorio, James, 1999, “The Politics of the ‘We’ in the Construction of Collective Identities in Histories of Architecture in Canada,” *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 24, no. 4, p. 13-14; citing Marsan, Jean-Claude, 1981, *Montreal in Evolution: Historical Analysis of the Development of Montreal’s Architecture and Urban Environment*, Montréal, McGill-Queen’s University Press, p. 193-227.
86. Vilorio, *id.*, p. 14.