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Citizenship and Multiculturalism in the 21st Century:

*The changing face of social, cultural, and civic
inclusion*

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Oliver Schmidtke

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INTRODUCTION

Canada's multicultural mode of integrating newcomers is in constant flux. With its dual normative principle of publicly endorsing cultural diversity and committing to the equitable inclusion of immigrants, Canada's multicultural notion of citizenship has faced a new set of challenges and opportunities at the beginning of the 21st Century. Research carried out in the citizenship domain with support from Metropolis BC over the past 15 years reflects the dynamic nature of how integration is pursued socially, culturally, and politically under the auspices of Canadian multiculturalism. Some of the key developments changing the context and dynamics of integrating newcomers into Canada's fabric of society are the following:

Demographic and social change: toward transnationalism and 'super-diversity'

The demographic and social realities associated with the influx of immigrants into Canada have altered in vital ways. Not only has the magnitude and composition (in terms of sending countries, cultural, linguistic, educational background, etc.) changed over the past decades, but similarly significant are the long-term effects of sustained immigration on Canada's society and the transformed international environment in which migration flows materialize. On the first point: Arguably, the degree to which Canada has welcomed newcomers and in particular 'visible minorities' has transformed Canadian society in a way that it calls into question how we think about and politically address integration. According to Statistics Canada projections, by 2030 visible minorities will be in the majority in cities like Toronto. The notion of a majority and a minority culture – whose relationship constitute the very conceptual

framework of thinking about processes of immigration and acculturation in the tradition of Robert Park and the Chicago School – will be redefined by this development. Steven Vertovec (06-14) interprets this demographic change as an emerging form of ‘super-diversity’. In his working paper the term does not only denote the growing diversification of the immigrant population, but rather alludes to the dynamic interplay of a variety of variables (such as country of origin with its host of different ethno-cultural, religious, linguistic traditions, migration channels and legal status) that is said to have a transformative effect on traditional notions of citizenship.

Second, immigrant integration becomes increasingly shaped by an international environment and ‘transnational’ social practices. The notion of immigration as a one-way and irreversible step of moving residence from one national context to another that will then become the primary if not exclusive context for social, economic, and cultural integration is fundamentally challenged by an increasingly transnational social reality. In many incidents, the social existence of an immigrant becomes shaped by practices and cultural identities that supersede or co-exist with national ones. From a variety of perspectives, the following report alludes to how the working papers of this domain have determined the impact of transnationalism. This relates to the social reality of immigrants, the empirical effects of integration and settlement policies and, from a more theoretical perspective, the methodological implications for studying immigration and integration.

Conceptualizing the complexity of multicultural policies and their social, cultural and economic effects

One of the central themes of this domain is to investigate what practical, effective, and normatively desirable policy solutions are for the challenges associated with managing diversity and integrating immigrants. How does the commitment to welcoming migrants and to publicly recognizing cultural diversity translate into policies and programs that produce the intended results? It is an indication of the degree to which the debate on this issue has matured (partly as a result of the research produced by the Metropolis project) that we can now rely on an increasing number of empirically well-founded analyses in this regard. It is one of the central achievements of the past 15 years of research in the citizenship domain to have drawn our attention to the complexity of the integration process and programs targeting this policy field. The practice of managing diversity often proves to be more challenging and surprising (in its actual effects) than anticipated in abstract theoretical debates or simplistic policy parameters.

The issue of complexity in understanding the effects of policies in this field is multi-faceted: Lauren Hunter Eberle's (07-10) survey of multiculturalism research provides a comprehensive overview of the wide-ranging set of issues and policy arenas involved in promoting immigrant integration and managing diversity. For instance, this complexity raises the issue of policy coherence and coordination: Turning the attention to the policy dimension of how to deal with an increasingly culturally diverse student population in schools, Marvin Wideen and Kathleen A. Barnard (99-02) conducted a two-year qualitative study designed to examine the implementation of educational policies in BC. What they found is a lack of coherence in constructing and implementing policies. Broadly defined political commitments formulated at the federal level

often do not succeed in triggering down in a way to inform local cultural and institutional practices.

The research funded by Metropolis BC also sheds light on the unintended consequences of some programs and policies designed to integrate immigrants. In this respect, interpreting these initiatives in terms of space and the contingency of the local context in which they unfold proved to be of critical importance. One of the central themes is to show how cities or individual neighborhoods provide particular spatial contexts that shape outcomes. For instance, Leonie Sandercock (**03-20**) conceptualizes the urban spaces as a particular zone of interaction in which the social and political effects of integrating newcomers are shaped. For her (and for many other Metropolis-associated researchers) the city is a place of forging new hybrid cultures and identities, modes of integration, and policy initiatives. With a comparable view of the urban context, Dan Hiebert's (**00-12**) review of work on the social geography of immigration (focusing on housing, the labour market, and neighborhood life) underlines the importance of local contingency in determining integration processes. Much of the work in the citizenship domain is committed to studying this dimension of the practice of immigrant integration that are local in character but simultaneously integrated into a global context of social interactions ('globalized localities').

Another element of the complexity of managing diversity and finding effective ways of implementing multicultural principles is the multi-dimensional character of the integration process. We can study this process in specific institutional contexts (for instance, the labour market or educational system); yet the inclusion of immigrants into these contexts is also affected by factors such as the family or community life. For example, the educational or health care systems constitute particular institutional contexts guided by distinct op-

erative rules and norms. However, the way in which immigrants take advantage of health care services, educational, or labour market opportunities is also shaped by aspects pertaining to other aspects of their social environment. In this respect, considerable attention of Metropolis research has also been devoted to understanding the complex and dynamic aspects of the family and its relation to other institutions and organizations in society. Family and community life prove to be an important determinant of how successful settlement and government services are. In this respect, social integration and the management of diversity need to be related to the *lifeworld* experience of citizens, their family, and community ties.

Management of diversity as an open-ended negotiation process: community engagement and political inclusion

One of the recurrent themes in the citizenship domain is the conceptualization of immigrant integration as a process that cannot be simply orchestrated as a state-run, top-down program. Rather, perceiving immigrants and minorities as engaged citizens in this process who take an active part in the deliberation, implementation, and administration of such programs is widely seen as essential. In this respect, integration is commonly perceived as an open-ended, two-way process whose effectiveness and political acceptance is dependent on the continuous involvement of those who are targeted by settlement and integration programs. In theoretical terms, integration is a means of managing relationships between majority and minority groups that is different from the assimilationist model. It is an essential feature of Canadian multiculturalism to assign these groups recognition and encourage participation in social and political life. Participation and engagement are not only facilitating factors but constitutive of the circumstances under which the integration pro-

cess unfolds. Key terms from the research produced from Metropolis scholars such as 'urban (local) citizenship' or a shared 'civic culture' reflect this key point.

In the same vein, Leonie Sandercock suggests we should rethink multiculturalism as a form of democratic politics (**03-14**). If it is indeed a constitutive feature of contemporary Canadian multiculturalism to expect immigrants and minorities to integrate into a society through exercising various civic, political, and social rights, the perspective on processes of immigrant integration change: Sites for executing these citizenship rights are not exclusively defined by the state but are also defined by a multiplicity of actors in civil society, including community organizations, media, and religious communities, all of which act as representatives of migrant and minority groups. In this respect Sandercock speaks of the practice of intercultural dialogue building on Richard Sennett's idea that it is a normative imperative of contemporary multiculturalism to engage in 'meaningful intercultural interaction'. Many of the working papers in the Metropolis series study exactly this dynamic encounter between different cultural groups through which integration processes are shaped, identities negotiated, and access to educational or labour market opportunities determined.

An adverse political climate: challenging multiculturalism

Over the past 15 years the overall political climate for welcoming immigrants and managing diversity has changed. In particular in Europe there has been a 'backlash against multiculturalism' that portrays (Muslim) immigrants increasingly as a genuine threat to society. Similarly, in the wake of the 9/11 events, there has been an outspoken tendency to see immigrants as a poten-

tial security threat. Both the political elite and the media have repeatedly engaged in depicting immigration as a phenomenon against which the integrity of indigenous society needs to be protected. In this context, multiculturalism is widely associated with phenomena such as the ghettoization of Western societies, polarized ethnic relations, disloyalty to the destination society, and the cultivation of hostile differences, Islamic political fundamentalism and illiberal cultural practices that are deemed incompatible with Western liberal societies. In this influential narrative in Europe, the retreat from multiculturalism is regularly justified with reference to illiberal and harmful social effects causally linked to a state-sanctioned cultural diversity.

While Canadian multiculturalism is widely immune to the populist rhetoric against immigrants, the scholarly debate of Metropolis-affiliated researchers is at least to some degree shaped by responding to the profound skepticism and anxieties toward multicultural modes of immigrant integration as it is strongly articulated in the European context. David Ley's (05-18, 07-04) discussion of contemporary (post-) multiculturalism in light of the changing nature of the international environment is an indication of how the for instance the political debate on the status of immigrants and minorities in Europe has also shaped perceptions in Canada. He speaks of a politically 'troubled context' for immigrant integration and a multiculturalism 'on the defensive' (05-18). With a view to media coverage, Kevin Dunn and Minelle Mahtani (01-06) demonstrate how the social production of media images of cultural difference is constantly changing the politically critical perception of migration-related issues.

The debate initiated by the Metropolis BC working paper series in the citizenship domain is in major parts a contribution to a critical re-evaluation of Canadian multiculturalism in the 21st century. How have its core principles – the endorsement of diversity, the commitment to equitable inclusion of immi-

grants and minorities – changed Canadian society and politics? Have multicultural policies been effective; have they produced the intended outcome? What is noteworthy regarding the Metropolis working paper series is that, compared to the highly politicized European debate, the contributions are primarily focused on the efficacy and further elaboration of multicultural approaches to diversity and integration in an urban context.

THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM: THE CHALLENGE OF PROVIDING SCHOOL CHILDREN WITH EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES

Equal opportunity is a fundamental promise of liberal democracies in general and of multiculturalism in particular. So it is not surprising that immigrants' achievements in the educational system and the labour market are considered to be a fundamental yardstick for successful integration. From an intergenerational perspective Dicks' and Sweetman's study (98-07) points to persistent differences in the return on education in the labour market. The focus on 'human capital investment' and the analysis on census data lead them to conclude that variations between labour market outcomes of ethnic groups are changing only very slowly (low intergenerational social mobility) and that particular groups (men from particular ethno-cultural groups in particular) receive a positive return on education while others have made comparatively little gains in converting their schooling into lucrative labour market positions. Similarly, from a qualitative research tradition Marvin Wideen and Kathleen A. Barnard (99-02) lament how the implementation of multicultural policies on the ground (with a view to the day-to-day operation of norms, policies, and practices in the public educational system) often fails to address the structural forces perpetuating immigrants' underachievement.

Language: human capital and marker of collective identity

The role of language acquisition and linguistic skills in promoting the inclusion into the labour market and society at large is one of the key areas that have received a high degree of attention. One reason for this interest is straightforwardly directed at the alleged benefits resulting from linguistic skills for labour market accomplishments. Presenting data from a comprehensive study on Norway, John E. Hayfron (97-01) demonstrates that there is a direct link between language proficiency of immigrants and earning in the labour market. From a human capital perspective Krishna and Ravi Pendakur address the 'economic value of language' (97-10) measuring the return of proficiency in one of Canada's official languages in terms of earnings and employment probabilities. Based on census data from the 1990s they conclude that there is a positive return on language proficiency. Yet, their findings show some surprising qualifications of this general claim: First, the market for languages is shaped by local contexts; for instance, linguistic skills in one of Canada's official languages have labour results that vary from one metropolitan area to the other. Second, with respect to income levels and access to full-time employment their study points to a low return on speaking one of the non-official languages. The paper concludes that the effects of language skills need to be assessed with a view to a broader cultural context: languages or accents can be used as a symbolic marker in defining the 'other', justifying patterns of social exclusion from equitable access to labour market opportunities.

From a distinctly different methodological perspective Gillian Greese's and Edith Ngene Kambere's paper (02-20) investigates how language, beyond its functional role as a mode of communication, can become a critical reference point in constructing identities, creating symbolic boundaries, and shaping

the career opportunities of immigrants. Conducting a series of focus groups with recent female immigrants from Africa they show how an 'African English' accent is regularly experienced as a symbolic marker as an immigrant and, associated with this less privileged status, as a projected sign of incompetence and poor education. In this perspective language and the mode of communication reflects a far broader – racialized – cultural context in which immigrants seek inclusion and recognition. In more theoretical terms, language or its use is interpreted as having a critical power component: it can take on the role of a gatekeeper for professional opportunities and the reproduction of discrimination.

At the same time, the command of multiple languages can be an empowering tool that immigrants use in a variety of social contexts. In their study on multilingual youth in Montreal and Vancouver, Diane Dagenais and Patricia Lamarre (05-02) suggest that the command of languages as a resource in the labour market is only part of the meaning that language has with respect to promoting the societal inclusion of newcomers. In interviews conducted with multi-lingual youth, students also refer to languages as context-specific markers of social status and symbolic resources for identity construction. In contrast to the studies focusing on the economic value of linguistic skills, Dagenais and Lamarre show that language is a resource that has a far broader meaning for community building and identity formation. Their suggestion for building incentives for language acquisition from a policy perspective are thus not exclusively driven by the expected return on the labour market.

Acquiring one of Canada's official languages (ESL): multilingualism as a migrant experience

English as a second language' (ESL) is considered a widely used, albeit controversial tool of promoting integration in the school system. For instance, Bruce Garnett and Charles Ungerleider (**08-02**) disaggregate the data on the achievements of immigrants and their children in ESL programs by analyzing the educational trajectories of different ethno-cultural communities in Canadian society. Investigating data provided by the BC Ministry of Education, they compare non-English home language groups and high school graduation rates. This working paper shows how, behind the overall satisfactory performance of ESL students, there are substantial differences in how individual ethno-cultural groups perform and at what level students start their language training. In order to avoid diminished educational opportunities Garnett and Ungerleider argue in favor of a differentiated policy approach that target vulnerable groups and is sensitive to their specific needs. They claim that more tailor-made educational assistance is indispensable.

A complimentary take on the outcomes of ESL students from secondary schools is provided by Kelleen Toohey and Tracey M. Derwing (**06-11**). They focus on the correlation of ESL students' educational trajectories and their socio-economic family background. While their study finds similar differences between ethno-cultural groups, it also points to the significant variance in high school completion according to the parents' immigration status (with the best results for independent and business immigrants; with a different focus McLaren and Black (**05-26**) argue that the very way in which Canada selects its immigrants according to different categories reproduces social exclusion and inequalities). Here again the argument is made that the overall positive rates with which ESL students graduate from high school and pursue their

career aspirations hides that there are some vulnerable groups among them (most notably children of refugees and family class immigrants). This leads them to argue in favor of a more appropriate and group-specific learning environment as a goal for policy development.

Apart from family and ethno-cultural background, Jane Friesen and Brian Krauth (**08-08**) draw our attention to another critical factor contributing to the academic record of immigrants and their children, namely the effect that life in neighborhood enclaves and peer exposure have. Reflecting some of the insight on the role of language in integration processes their interpretation of longitudinal data set provided by the BC Ministry highlights the following: While the language spoken at home is substantially associated with academic accomplishments (varying considerably between ethno-cultural groups), Friesen and Krauth claim that linguistic or ethno-cultural proximity to peers does not in itself constitute a significant feature shaping the success of immigrants in the educational system. Rather, they consider language as a proxy for other factors shaping learning outcomes. Most notably this working paper identifies human capital and cultural norms as the decisive factors associated with peer exposure.

One way of approaching the role of language acquisition is to address the incentive structure for learning one of Canada's official languages. From an economics perspective Don DeVoretz and Christiane Werner provide an inquiry into the relatively low rate of second language acquisition among immigrants (**99-25**): Their paper points to a selective incentive structure according to the educational and skill level: engaging in an international comparison of policy regimes and their respective incentive structure to learn languages (from financial assistance and educational loans to mandatory provisions), they claim that setting very high expectations might have unintended consequences:

From a labour market perspective most unskilled or professional immigrants do not need advanced language proficiency; policies (citizenship requirements) forcing them into acquiring a higher level of proficiency might actually trigger a return to their home country. Their paper reflects the situation in the 1990s and considering the developments in the 2000s it is manifest how politics and the policy community have addressed this issue with more determination and comprehensive programs.

While the paper by DeVoretz and Werner suggests that it is not by accident that immigrants show low degrees of secondary language acquisition, Diane Coulombe and William R. Roberts (01-12) argue that those without English or French as their mother tongue (allophones) do as well as Anglophones learning French. Studying university students at various levels of their French language program, they found surprisingly small differences between both groups with a view to grades and completion rates. This complex link between the acquisition of linguistic skills, immigrant status, and performance in the labour market has been one of the key debates in the citizenship domain.

Language acquisition: the role of families, educators and public institutions

Next to studying the outcome of educational programs, the attention of Metropolis BC scholars has focused on the sites and institutional settings in which linguistic skills are taught. What social contexts and educational practices allow for an effective process of acquiring and mastering one of Canada's two official languages in particular? The research produced by the citizenship domain points to language learning as a social process that unfolds in multi-generational family constellations and a variety of intersecting public arenas (most prominently the educational institutions).

Again, one key variable in this respect proves to be the family: In their study of multilingualism and educational choices in immigrant families (**99-20**), Diane Dagenais and Catherine Berron focus on immigrants' children exposure to French immersion programs. Their ethnographic research leads them to conclude that multilingual literacy practices in the family are critical not only for their language skills, but also for the positive attitude towards multilingualism. In this respect their study of families' linguistic practices demonstrates how learning multiple languages also entails internalizing the appreciation for multilingualism and the commitment to maintaining heritage languages.

Another group that received the attention of Metropolis-sponsored research is the administrators in ethnically diverse schools. In a qualitative research tradition, Linda LaRocque (**99-11**) studied eight elementary school administrators. Again, for the school principals the cultural and linguistic incorporation into the curriculum proved to be an issue of primary concern. In the experience of these administrators fast-changing demographics challenge schools in their attempt to create an inclusive learning environment not at least because of limited resources. One of the key elements in promoting such an environment is to involve parents and to engage in a dialogue with them and their respective communities.

A group of researchers from Simon Fraser University (Marianne Jacquet, Danièle Moore, Cécile Sabatier and Mambo Masinda; **08-13**) highlight the complexity of the educational challenges with regard to including young francophone African immigrants in BC's French schools. This working paper argues that the performance of these students and possible support structures can only be adequately assessed if the students' family and community environment is taken into consideration. When it comes to immigrants, this is particu-

larly pertinent: their status as visible minority, their often precarious immigration history (refugee experiences, family separation, trauma, etc.) and socio-economic status (poverty, discrimination) are described by the interviewed stakeholders at the French schools as major determinants of African students' successful inclusion. This situation is said to warrant intercultural competence and an awareness of the multi-layered minoritization that these students are exposed to.

In her paper on African youth in Metro Vancouver, Jenny Francis (**10-07**) spells out what these challenges mean in terms of adequate social services and programming for this group of immigrants. Based on interviews held with stakeholders working with immigrant service providers or community-based organizations, she investigates the level and nature of participation of African youth in diverse areas such as employment, education, social life, family concerns, and personal well-being. Francis diagnoses a string of missing links between the needs of newcomers from Africa, community, and family groups on the one hand and service providers on the other; this leads to a low and ineffective use of available programs reproducing the exclusion of substantial parts of African youth from mainstream society.

Teachers in the classroom – zone of interaction and negotiating identities

When it comes to the effectiveness of public institutions such as the educational system to promote equal opportunities to immigrants and minorities, the classroom and the interaction that unfolds between pupils, teachers and parents is a significant field of Metropolis-funded research. In her paper, Kelleen Toohey (**05-04**) develops a rich theoretical framework for capturing the effects that evolve in this setting of dealing with diversity and negotiating

identities. She looks at school experiences of immigrant children through a multi-year ethnographic study and presents some insight challenging an oversimplified view of ESL training. The four-year case study leads her to conclude that specialized ESL instruction can also result in forms of marginalization based on negatively sanctioned identities. While meant to help children with English as a second language, this program faces the risk of perpetuating practices of degradation and exclusion in the classroom setting.

From a different angle, Kelleen Toohey, Bonnie Waterstone, and Allyson Julé (99-05) also draw their attention to the dynamic in the classroom as the environment with a decisive impact on learning outcomes and the provision of equitable opportunities to immigrants. Examining the learning environment in an independent Punjabi Sikh school, this group of researchers highlights the critical role of the teacher in creating effective opportunities for the appropriation of language (using a model developed by Bakhtin in which the teacher is an enabling force for the creative appropriation of languages). This line of research on second language acquisition is further developed in Kelleen Toohey's and Natalia Gajdamaschko's paper (05-03) in which they evaluate the classroom experiences with and without the encouragement and support of a Punjabi Sikh teacher. Here again, teachers are interpreted as decisive facilitators in addressing obstacles to language acquisition in the classroom and, by enabling a more open learning environment, encouraging immigrant children's participation in community activities more broadly.

Ethnographic research on Canadian teachers of Chinese and Punjabi ancestry underlines similar patterns: A group of researchers from Simon Fraser first investigated teachers with a Chinese background in a classroom setting (01-22). June Beynon, Roumiana Ilieva, Marela Dichupa argue that this group of teachers is instrumental in providing a productive environment for

negotiating identities and corresponding norms in the educational system. According to their post-structuralist interpretative lens, these teachers become role models for minority youth and facilitators of communication addressing anti-racism and stereotyping as key elements of the multicultural agenda. In a second paper, June Beynon, Roumiana Ilieva, Marela Dichupa and Shemina Hirji **(03-04)** underline the role of teachers in passing on linguistic identities and abilities. Focusing on teachers of Chinese and Punjabi ancestries, they demonstrate how, through the representation of linguistic identities, teachers play a critical role in addressing institutional barriers in particular for visible minorities and allowing for the transfer of linguistic and skills to cohorts of students who traditionally have had to face disadvantages in their professional careers. The findings of these papers underlines the importance of recruiting under-represented minorities as teachers who act as agents of change for both institutional reforms in the educational sector and processes of providing for more equitable opportunities for minorities in Canadian society.

In their study of teachers of Punjabi ancestry, Shemina Hirji and June Beynon **(01-21)** point to the critical intermediary or, more metaphorically, bridging role that these educators play in a school environment. This group acts a meaningful mediator between mainstream society in Canada and the traditional immigrant cultural environment. Teachers of immigrant background are in a privileged position to mediate between an important public institution such as the school and – in this case – Punjabi Sikh cultures, act as role models for children of different backgrounds and be instrumental in addressing institutionalized forms of racism and exclusion.

An additional element in promoting the equitable inclusion of immigrants into the educational system is parental involvement with schooling. Arlene Tigar McLaren and Isabel Dyck **(02-12)** add to the rich tradition of ethnographic

research conducted as part of the Metropolis working paper series. Their focus on the role of mothers indicates how important a meaningful teacher-family relationship is, in particular for immigrant youth. While often lacking in 'cultural competence,' mothers proved to be instrumental in facilitating the transition of their children into the school system as their engagement constituted an empowering forms of active citizenship for themselves and their families.

CIVIC AND POLITICAL INTEGRATION: CITIZENSHIP AS AN URBAN PRACTICE

One recurrent feature in the working papers that frames the current discussion of integrating immigrants into the fabric of Canadian society is that immigrants and minorities cannot simply be conceptualized or politically addressed as passive recipients of programs and services. Terms such as exchange, communication, engagement, or participation are important markers in many of the working papers' conceptual approaches and recommendations. These terms reflect the recognition that those addressed in multicultural policies need to be included in negotiating the meaning of diversity, identities, and modes of social-cultural integration. In this respect, the notion of citizenship is regularly meant to include a participatory element contributing to active, engaged immigrant citizens rather than simply as a group of passport holders and recipients of state programs.

Key agents in this regard are, among others, local council, their commitment to multicultural principles and to engaging immigrant communities in implementing them. David W. Edgington and Thomas A. Hutton (02-06) look into the role of such municipal councils in the Greater Vancouver Regional District: In their study of 22 municipalities they detect considerable variation in the provision of (immigrant and multicultural) services and the way

in which these programs are developed and implemented, with far more sophisticated services and programs offered in close proximity to the downtown area. Edgington and Hutton attribute the range and effectiveness of these programs also to the degree to which local government build partnership with community groups and engage NGOs.

One of the key agents in civil society promoting the integration of immigrants into Canadian society is religiously affiliated settlement agencies that are the subject of a comprehensive bibliography on the topic by Paul Bramadat and Susie Fisher (**10-01**). Their paper underlines both the historical significance and enduring salience of this type of an NGO. Pointing to the significant role that religious communities play in service provision and identity formation for immigrants, Laura Beattie and David Ley (**01-19**) portray the German immigrant church in Vancouver. They show how essential the church proved to be for the acculturation and integration of the first generation of German immigrants and how, reflecting the demographic realities of their neighborhoods, the congregations now face the challenge to move toward a more multicultural orientation to involve new generations of immigrants. From a broader societal perspective, Harold Coward (**99-04**) describes how for Hindus in Canada the complex ritual life of India has gradually been replaced and no longer occupies the powerful, identity-forming role in this community. Religious practices are changing in response to the realities in Canadian society, and they need to adapt in order to stay relevant for second-generation immigrants.

From a comparative perspective, an international research group (David W. Edgington, Bronwyn Hanna, Thomas Hutton, and Susan Thompson; **01-05**) investigates urban governance practices with a view to the policy community. They situate local approaches in Canada's and Australia's system of multi-level governance with shared jurisdiction in the field of multiculturalism

and citizenship policies. Sidney and Vancouver have faced similar challenges in managing immigration and diversity. However, beyond a general inadequacy of the overall local policy response in both cities, the authors of this working paper find superior initiatives from municipal authorities in Sidney. They attribute this finding primarily to the legal framework and policy coordination in Australia which puts the local level into a better legal and fiscal position to develop initiatives to integrate immigrants more effectively.

Shibao Guo's working paper (**06-04**) investigates the effectiveness of service provision in local communities from a bottom-up perspective. His study focuses on the role that a voluntary community organization (SUCCESS – The United Chinese Community Enrichment Services Society) plays in this respect. Such civil society organizations take on important tasks in the day-to-day process of assisting newcomers. They provide professional services, advocate on behalf of immigrants, and facilitate community education and development. In Guo's reading, these organizations offer significant linkages between immigrants and mainstream society by offering newcomers a sense of agency and empowerment.

POLITICAL ADVOCACY AND PARTICIPATION: URBAN CITIZENSHIP

Political inclusion is one of the pivotal modes of promoting the successful integration of newcomers and minorities into Canadian society. Cities provide such spaces of democratic and participatory practice based on which the intercultural co-existence of groups is negotiated and diversity accommodated. Conceptualizing immigrant integration as a process in which newcomers are not simply passive recipients of settlement services but agents articulating their needs also led Metropolis researchers to investigate the more formal form of political participation, namely advocacy at an organizational scale.

Shibao Guo (05-25) raises some general points of discussion regarding the role of community-based voluntary associations in this respect. In his study of the Vancouver-based organization SUCCESS, he describes how immigrant associations could become decisive actors promoting a meaningful form of inclusive and democratic citizenship. Guo ties his historic account of this organization with a more theoretically driven discussion about the role of group rights as a necessary supplement of individual rights and freedoms in liberal democracies. SUCCESS is described as an essential mediator between individual immigrants and the state that helped to promote the integration of Chinese immigrants, to give them access to services, and to bestow the Chinese community in Vancouver with a political voice in public affairs.

Indeed, Gillian Creese (98-12) perceives advocacy on behalf of immigrants and refugees as an integral part of settlement work. Her paper, reflecting on the experiences of the 1990s with its push for privatization and severe spending cuts, explores some of the contradictions facing the immigration-related non-profit sector in Vancouver. On the one hand, settlement service organizations operate under increasingly tight and short-term budgetary rules and, as a result, are driven toward mainstreaming their services and a growing dependency on state funding schemes (with the risk of losing their autonomy). On the other hand, however, these civil societies give voice to the concerns of immigrants (equality, social justice) and act as advocates in particular of the most vulnerable among their clientele who are exposed most severely to cut backs in public services.

Political participation and advocacy can also be measured in terms of an inclusion into the more formal political and electoral process. Pieter Bevelander and Ravi Pendakur (08-12) analyze the participation rate of immigrants in elections as a measure of broader social integration. On the basis of comprehen-

sive census data they correlate the electoral participation of non-citizen residents with socio-demographic information on Swedish residents. Bevelander and Pendakur point to the acquisition of citizenship as a critical determinant of voting behavior next to identifying a set of statistically relevant individual and contextual factors (such as age, time of residence in Sweden, education).. Although Sweden granted non-citizens the right to vote in municipal and provincial elections, it is the act of becoming a citizen that impacts immigrants' decision to cast a ballot.

In the tradition of social capital research, Doug Baer (**08-03**) addresses broader patterns of civic engagement measuring how they differ among various immigrant groups in Canada. A large Statistics Canada data set allows him to highlight differences in levels of associational involvement by different immigrant groups (defined by their country of origin), and to identify the factors contributing to this outcome. Prior experience in the sending country, the degree to which one of Canada's official languages is mastered, and the density of ethno-cultural groups in individual communities are highlighted as determinants for immigrants' civic engagement. Similarly, another working paper (**5-22**, co-authored by Amanda Aizlewood, Pieter Bevelander, and Ravi Pendakur) in the social capital tradition is careful about the role that the immigrant or minority status has in shaping community engagement (here with a view to recreational activities). In their comparative study of Canada and the Netherlands, they find that the socioeconomic and demographic status is a more significant predictor of participation.

Oliver Schmidtke's and Steffen Neumann's (**10-13**) paper looks at the process of immigrant engagement and political advocacy from a place-based approach. They argue that meaningful community engagement process relies on a political-discursive and institutional context that is locally specific.

Smaller urban centres such as Victoria pose specific challenges and opportunities in this respect: the relative small size of ethno-cultural groups, the severe financial constraints that settlement agencies have to face, and the legacy of relative indifference in particular by municipal authorities regarding issues of migration and integration all create a challenging environment for the implementation of a politically significant community engagement process.

From an urban planning perspective Leonie Sandercock (03-20) takes a different approach on the link between public engagement and immigrant integration: she asks how cities can become places that accommodate difference in an open, democratic, and non-exclusionary manner and, thus, sites of successful integration. She develops a set of policy recommendations – based on an international comparison of urban approaches to managing diversity – committing local political and policy actors to foster an urban citizenship. Of critical importance in this context are public spaces that allow overcoming isolation and marginalization.

TRANSNATIONAL NETWORKS AND THE CHANGING NATURE OF IMMIGRANT INTEGRATION

Issues of migration have traditionally been framed from a state-based perspective. It is the nation-state with its clearly defined borders and citizenship regime that provides the reference for defining belonging, entitlements and, in more general terms, what integration entails. Yet, as the discussion in the Metropolis BC working paper series also demonstrates, the social reality under which processes of migration and integration evolve has changed substantially. Migration-related phenomena have become more complex and spatially extend over several nation-states. As a result, the conceptual framework

of integration as a sequential process of adaptation to and assimilation into a nationally defined community is called into question.

A good illustration of this critical point is Jennifer Hyndman's and Margaret Walton-Roberts' (99-07) study of Burmese refugees in Vancouver. Instead of describing their social existence in terms of a gradual acculturation into Canadian society, they demonstrate the significance of roles and identities that are constituted across and beyond national borders or, as the authors call it, in a field of 'translocalities'.

The implications of transnational social spaces for issues related to migration are far-reaching: Katharyne Mitchell and Walter Parker (05-23) argue that if the nation-state can no longer be perceived as the exclusive territorial container for defining collective identities and communal belonging, traditional forms of citizenship are called into question. In their paper they put forward a notion of cosmopolitan civic education that reflects and at the same time nurtures this emerging reality beyond national borders. While for Mitchell and Parker transnationalism and cosmopolitanism as a social practice and as a value orientation work hand in hand, Dan Hiebert's multi-year analysis (00-15) of immigrant settlement in Vancouver casts some doubt on whether both are necessarily complementary: His study of neighborhood life points to the potential of fragmentation along ethno-cultural groups and limitations on cosmopolitan engagement due to the strength of extensive transnational networks of individual ethno-cultural communities.

The changing nature of national citizenship regimes and the opportunities of greater mobility and communication across national borders also shape what kind of action strategies immigrants themselves adopt. David Ley and Audrey Kobayashi (05-09) focus on the nature of return or cyclical migra-

tion patterns. Investigating middle-class migrants who return to Hong Kong from Canada, they demonstrate how the transnational context is increasingly allowing for 'strategic switching' between residences in different countries. For the socio-economically more privileged groups, the migration process is described to have become multi-optional (and open-ended) in terms of pursuing interests - education, labour market, quality of life, etc. - in a variety of national contexts. Along the same lines, Min-Jung Kwak (**04-14**) addresses a substantial change in the patterns of socio-economic integration that is experienced by the Korean-Canadian Community in Vancouver. As the latest cohort of skilled immigrants from Korea has experienced considerable problems accessing the labour market, they often resort to the professional opportunities provided by transnational networks and start their own businesses.

The increasingly important transnational social space also changes immigrants' political aspirations and claims. In her ethnographic study on elderly Afghan women in metropolitan Vancouver, Parin Dossa (**06-02**) shows how this normally marginalized group is becoming socially visible and politically empowered by being able to rely on transnational social networks, resources and communities.

NEGOTIATING IDENTITIES IN A TRANS-NATIONALIZING WORLD

It is one of the central features of Canadian multiculturalism that, while being endorsed in public policy, cultural identities of immigrant groups are in a state of constant transformation. What immigrants bring to Canada in terms of ethno-cultural or religious identities is changed through interaction with Canada's majority and the other minority cultures. This transformation is the central point of discussion in Steven Vertovec's working paper (**02-07**): With

a view to religious diaspora communities, he analyzes how such groups adapt to their environment without losing their traditional collective identity altogether. Vertovec shows how public debate and engagement have a decisive impact on this transformation and how diaspora communities follow distinct trajectories of identity alterations in the interaction with their new national and transnational environments.

Margaret Walton-Roberts provides an intriguing illustration of this dynamic and ongoing 'negotiation' of collective identities. In a first paper (**99-17**), she interprets the exclusion of turbaned Sikhs from the Royal Canadian Legion and the ensuing public debate in the 1990s as a discursive fight over the coding of this group's status and identity. Ironically, in her reading, Greater Vancouver becomes the (post)colonial space in which some of the traditional forms of exclusionary rhetoric prevalent in the colonial mindset is reproduced (upholding long-established power structures) and challenged. In a second paper (**03-13**), co-authored with Geraldine Pratt, Walton-Roberts investigates how South Asian families negotiate gender roles and sexuality in a transnationalizing environment that links narratives and expectations from the country of origin with those prevalent in Canadian society. A different form of social exclusion based on depreciating representation of immigrant groups is the subject of a study by Harald Bauder (**04-16**). Interpreting a large set of interviews with labour market managers in Vancouver, he shows prevailing stereotypes toward particular ethno-cultural groups that negatively affect their labour market opportunities.

A comparable dynamic can be observed at the individual level: Randal Tonks' and Anand Paranjpe's paper (**99-16**) develops a conceptual framework for coming to terms with the dynamics of identity formation among young second-generation immigrant youth where Canadian multiculturalism pro-

vides a distinct environment for this acculturation process. Their study demonstrates how this group is torn between preference for their own immigrant group's ancestral culture and mainstream Canadian culture, the same complex process of identity negotiation Isabel Dyck and Arlene Tigar McLaren (**02-08**) detect in girls from immigrant families. The process of forming feminine identities is portrayed as being shaped by competing (publicly and privately communicated) images of women and the delicate task to balance values from the family's home country and the ones dominant in Canadian society. From a comparable discourse analysis perspective Arlene Tigar McLaren (06-08) examines the public images around parental sponsorship. Her qualitative study underlines how the framing in immigration policy – the elderly as a burden – can promote patterns of dependency and marginalization for particular groups of immigrants in their community.

In his study on the Iranian community in Vancouver, Dan Swanton (**05-21**) also picks up on the public imagination as a significant factor shaping collective identities of immigrants. An analysis of Canadian print media allows him to shed light on the discursive production of 'otherness' that Swanton contrasts with the stories told by immigrants from Iran themselves. Swanton's qualitative research underlines that – media reproduced – popular imaginations can become an important factor in affecting integration and producing modes of exclusion. Sin Yih Teo (**03-16**) also picks up on the cultural logic of migration embedded in discursive practices. According to his study of immigrants from China, popular imaginations about life in Canada communicated in China can follow a narrative script that only very selectively represents actual living conditions. Nonetheless these images decisively shape (potential) immigrants' perceptions and action strategies. Teo suggest developing an

approach to immigrants' decision making that conceptualizes the country of origin and the destination country as highly interdependent.

FINAL REFLECTIONS

The 15 years of working papers in the citizenship domain have produced a comprehensive and multi-faceted view of integration processes on the ground. The focus on social, cultural, and political integration in the urban context provides a most productive context for exploring the effects and efficiency of multicultural policies in practice. What is apparent in these papers is the critical role of spatial contexts and processes of interaction that take place in them. It is one of the major achievements of this series to provide a better understanding of what is unfolding in particular neighborhoods or institutional settings. It is in those spatial contexts that the meaning of diversity is negotiated, modes of inclusion and exclusion are reproduced, and new programs are developed. The importance of the spatial dimension becomes apparent in a dual sense. First, the local context appears as the essential reference in determining the trajectories of integration processes and the efficacy of policies. Second, throughout the working papers the transnational context proved to be of considerable importance for understanding (and planning for) immigrant integration.

With a view to wealth of empirical research data produced by the Metropolis working paper series, it is remarkable that in spite of the array of methodological approaches – ranging from the interpretation of large data sets to small-n qualitative case studies – the working paper series has produced research results that are largely complementary in tackling similar research questions related to integration processes. It is also noteworthy how the working pa-

pers in this domain are, to a considerable degree, devised in a way to include community organizations or policy partners in designing and conducting the research projects. In many incidents the research is driven by questions and issues that were articulated by immigrants or stakeholders in the community.

What many of the working papers in this domain were able to reveal is the complexity of integration processes as well as the often unintended consequences of institutional practices and policy programs. This insight into the intricacy of these processes, the variation in outcomes according to the conditions on the ground, and the particular situations of the affected immigrant or minority communities, provide momentous knowledge for better policies in the field. Selecting projects for funding based also on their policy relevance proved to be highly instrumental in this respect. With these empirically grounded and policy oriented studies, the Metropolis BC working paper series has also produced a major contribution to the public debate on the state and future of Canadian multiculturalism.

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