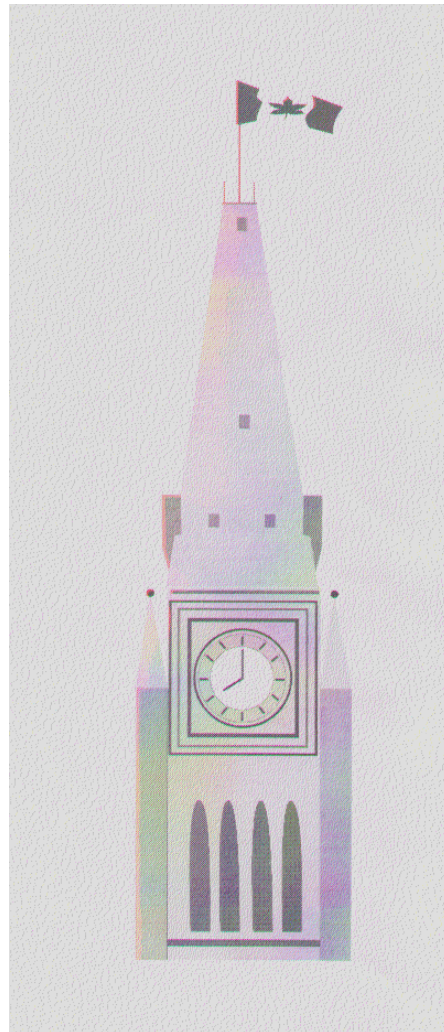


Sustaining Canada's Multicultural Cities: Learning from the Local

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February 24th, 2004



Breakfast on the Hill Seminar Series
Sponsored by
Canadian Federation for the Humanities and Social
Sciences 415-151 Slater Street
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5H3 (613)238-6112 www.fedcan.ca

The Federation thanks the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada for its support.

Synopsis

The end of the 20th and beginning of the 21st century has been called The Age Of Migration. One consequence is that our cities and neighborhoods are being transformed by the social, cultural, and economic diversity of newcomers. How can we be ‘at home’ – all of us, in all of our differences – in these increasingly multicultural cities? And what is the role of public policy in sustaining such cities?

This talk links *cities and multiculturalism* and argues that we need to rethink multicultural philosophy and policies for the 21st century. Philosophically, I argue for a shift from a 20th century multiculturalism based on ethno-cultural identities to a 21st century multiculturalism based on intercultural exchange and a shared political community. Practically, I argue for shifting attention from citizenship at the level of the nation state, to focus on our cities and neighborhoods where a new multicultural society is in the making. I will describe some of the challenges that a multicultural society poses to urban planning and policy, urban governance, and citizenship, and provide examples of some successful responses. Finally I suggest that national government has much to learn from local practices in various Canadian cities that are leading us in innovative directions, and could lead the world.

Introduction: The Challenge¹

Arriving and departing travelers at Vancouver International Airport are greeted by a huge bronze sculpture of a boatload of strange, mythical creatures. This 20 feet long, eleven feet wide and 12 feet high masterpiece, *The Spirit of Haida Gwaii*, is by the late Bill Reid, a member of the Haida Gwaii First Nations band from the Pacific Northwest. The canoe has thirteen passengers, spirits or myth creatures from Haida mythology. The bear mother, who is part human, and the bear father sit facing each other at the bow with their two cubs between them. The beaver is paddling menacingly amidships, and behind him is the mysterious intercultural dogfish woman. Shy mouse woman is tucked in the stern. A ferociously playful wolf sinks his fangs into the eagle’s wing, and the eagle is attacking the bear’s paw. A frog (who symbolizes the ability to cross boundaries between worlds) is partially in, partially out of the canoe. An ancient reluctant conscript paddles stoically. In the center, holding a speaker’s staff in his right hand, stands the chief, whose identity (according to the sculptor) is deliberately uncertain. The legendary raven (master of tricks, transformations, and multiple identities), steers the motley crew. *The Spirit of*

¹ My thanks to UBC colleagues Dan Hiebert and Tony Dorsey for invaluable feedback on a first draft of this paper.

Haida Gwaii is a symbol of the ‘strange multiplicity’, the astonishing cultural diversity that characterizes twenty-first century cities and regions.

For me, this sculpture is a powerful metaphor of the contemporary urban condition, in which people hitherto unused to living side by side are thrust together in (what I call) the ‘mongrel cities’ of the 21st century (Sandercock 2003). Most western nations today are demographically multicultural – none more so than Canada - and more are likely to become so in the foreseeable future. But how does a demographically multicultural nation become a richly multicultural society? Four years ago, the federal Privy Council and the Office of Intergovernmental Affairs hosted a special workshop which concluded that the challenge of integrating immigrant populations was **the leading policy challenge for Canada’s largest cities**. With the recent announcement by the Martin government of a new urban agenda, and electoral and legislative reform being actively considered at all levels of government, it seems incredibly timely to do a stock-taking of **the state of the multicultural nation**.

I speak to you as a recent immigrant myself, arriving here from Australia two years ago, but also having lived for many years in California. I’m now the proud holder of a Landed Immigrant card, and intend to become a citizen as soon as the law permits me to apply. (And as a Landed Immigrant, I hope you will accept my use of the royal ‘we’ throughout). I’ve been studying this issue of integrating immigrants and learning to live with diversity for the past ten years, on various continents, but I mention my recent arrival to emphasise that I am only partially familiar with Canada, and thus far my research here has been restricted to the English-speaking² side of the country. I have far less knowledge of the French-speaking side, and I apologise in advance for this.

How do we manage our co-existence in the shared spaces of the multicultural cities of the 21st century? What happens when strangers become neighbors? What kind of a challenge is this: for national policy, for urban policy, for the urban planning profession, for

² This seems a strange description, too, living in the City of Vancouver, where 51% of the population are of non-English-speaking background.

citizens, and for urban governance? How has Canada performed as one of the first officially multicultural nations in the world? What challenges lie ahead? Are we harboring some secrets that should be shared with the rest of the world? There's both good news and bad.

Canada sees itself, and is seen by others, as one of the most open and accessible multicultural democracies in the world. A series of changes to immigration law in the past three decades have encouraged migration from hitherto 'non-traditional' countries and this, together with a generous refugee policy, has produced an increasingly heterogeneous cultural and social landscape. A federally sponsored multicultural philosophy and policy has evolved since 1971, encouraging recognition of and respect for the growing number of cultures making a home here, and acknowledging the rights of newcomers to retain their native languages and cultural practices, within an officially bilingual national framework. Specific policies have addressed 'visible minorities', and a practice has developed of categorizing immigrants in terms of their ethnicity and providing ethno-specific programs and services, and guarantees of rights under the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. For its time, this positioned Canada – and it still does - as the most progressive and inclusive of all immigrant countries.

But there are some problems in continuing with this philosophy, in the belief that we've got this multicultural thing all figured out. We haven't. Nobody has. So I want to make three arguments today, about how we can build on what we've achieved, how we can do better, how we can be a model to other demographically multicultural nations that haven't figured out as yet how to become a richly multicultural society. Each of these three arguments expresses good news as well as bad, weaknesses as well as strengths. I'll summarise these arguments in a few sentences, then talk about each in more detail.

1. Learning from Quebec.

To the extent that multiculturalism is a national policy, policy makers might learn something from Quebec's use of the term '**intercultural**'. And we might want to

supplement the idea of citizenship based on membership of the nation state with an idea of **urban citizenship**. Which leads to my second point.

2. Learning from the local: the paradox of the inconsequential.

Multiculturalism is mistakenly seen as a national policy, when it is also, and I would argue primarily, a local matter. Our **cities and neighborhoods** are a multicultural society in the making. There are some outstanding policy innovations at this level of government, which need nurturing and growing.

3. More than bricks and mortar.

The new national urban agenda is potentially good news for Canada's cities, but could be bad news if it only focuses on bricks and mortar, on the hard infrastructure of transport investment and other physical plant. People are the soft infrastructure of the nation, and making a rich multicultural society means **investing in human beings**.

1. Learning from Quebec

Is multiculturalism a national policy? Yes, in so far as the philosophy has been formulated at national level, and in so far as immigration is a national policy issue. But I see two emerging problems at the national level. The first is that, as noted above, multicultural philosophy has categorised newcomers according to their ethnicities, and developed ethno-specific programs and services. There are actually two dilemmas here. One is that many newcomers, not to mention second and third generation immigrants, are increasingly uncomfortable with a static, ethno-cultural definition of identity, of always being a member of the hyphen-nation. Another is that in some municipalities, so-called 'visible minorities' have actually become a numerical majority (eg City of Vancouver), making the use of that label increasingly problematic, if not offensive. Ethno-specific programs and services have been, and will continue to be, critical in the early stages of settlement and integration, but policy emphasis may need to shift to encouraging **intercultural programs and facilities**, in order to encourage more cross-cultural integration. I'll provide some examples of this in the next section. But this is what I mean by learning from Quebec, where the preferred term is intercultural rather than multicultural. I'm sure there are nuances here that I don't yet understand, but I will draw

on the example of the Intercultural Affairs Bureau in Montreal in the next section to illustrate this point further.

The second issue for national multicultural policy concerns the meaning of citizenship. It is one thing for a newcomer to be granted membership of the nation state, a passport, and the right to vote. These are fundamental to *being* a citizen. But I want to suggest, as have other Canadian researchers before me (Isin, 1999; Siemiatycki and Isin 1997), that given the lived complexities of migrant integration, we need to think about citizenship as something beyond the formal, legal notion, expanding to the lived, everyday experience of *becoming* a citizen. Let's call this an ideal of urban citizenship. This provides my segue into the next section, which argues that multiculturalism is fundamentally an urban issue. My main point in this section has concerned the national philosophy of multiculturalism. I'm arguing that it's time to move on: time for a 21st, as opposed to 20th century version of multiculturalism, time to move from an ethno-culturally-based philosophy to one based more on **intercultural exchange and collaboration**.

2. Learning from the local: the paradox of the inconsequential

The point I now want to make is to link *cities* and multiculturalism, for policy purposes. Cities are where we need to look to see the workings and failings of multiculturalism, the successes or otherwise of a multicultural society. Newcomers to Canada (and other nations) overwhelmingly choose to live in the biggest cities: in our case, Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver. When immigrants with different histories, cultures and needs arrive in global cities, their presence disrupts taken for granted categories of social life and urban space as they struggle to redefine the conditions for belonging in their new society. The need to construct communities seems to be a deep and universal feature of the human condition (Tully 1995), and newcomers have a particularly strong need for community, for practical as well as emotional support. A truly multicultural society not only encourages and supports community organizations *within* immigrant groups but also works to incorporate immigrants into wider, cross-cultural activities and organizations.

How is this second step achieved? How do societies establish civility, then conviviality, in spite of cultural differences? How do we (newcomers **and** host society) generate an everyday capacity to live and work with, and alongside, those who are perceived as different from ourselves? Becoming a multicultural city and society means more than ethnic restaurants or citizenship legislation. **It also requires the active construction of new ways of living together, new forms of spatial and social belonging. This is a long-term process of building new communities,** during which certain fears and anxieties rooted in the colonial past cannot be ignored or dismissed but need to be worked through. Fears, on the part of the *host society*, of loss of identity, of a familiar way of life: fear of outsiders as a threat to a cherished way of life and traditions. Anxieties and fears, on the part of *newcomers*, about acceptance, belonging, security, and loss of *their* traditions and familiar ways of living.

This is where the idea of urban citizenship comes in. And it involves attempts by newcomers to establish collective cultural expressions of their identity, such as places of worship, commercial environments, recreational facilities, community centers, as well as claims on and the use of public space in everyday life, the ability to transform the built environment in ways that reflect cultural diversity and a subjective sense of belonging. This clearly has political implications, presents challenges to urban planning, and has urban policy consequences.

Let me spell these out. The political implications include encouraging the political participation of immigrants and the openness of society to new notions of an emerging common identity. And that means expanding the spaces of democracy through political participation at the local level, which presupposes the empowering of newcomers to participate, by integrating them economically and socially. That integration begins with an analysis/understanding of the present barriers to integration (about which there are now a number of studies). Participation also means expanding the cultural repertoires of planners in designing participatory processes. It means recognizing and addressing the cultural biases built into planning systems, and the built environment itself. How we think about heritage, how we think about the uses and design of public space, what we

consider to be appropriate housing (including size, design, and ‘appropriate numbers of inhabitants per room), what we think of as appropriate behavior in public spaces, or in the use of backyards and frontyards, and what kinds of by-laws we make to regulate such behaviors. In short, it means a ‘multicultural readiness’ (Ley 1999) on the part of municipalities, a readiness which is not yet apparent, with a few impressive exceptions. A final aspect of this ideal of urban citizenship is the willingness of host society and immigrant groups and individuals to work together across cultural divides without the fear of losing their own identity, and the willingness of hosts as well as newcomers to make adaptations to their ways of life.

Successful Policy Responses

Let me give you some examples now of successful policy responses to these challenges and some exemplary institutions and practices that can help us think about a broader policy agenda. I’d like to draw from examples and approaches in Vancouver and Montreal to illustrate a key point, what I think of as a paradox in public policy in relation to multiculturalism, and I’ll call this *‘the paradox of the inconsequential’*, by which I mean the paradox of the importance of small things.³

Research in Vancouver and Toronto has shown that local urban policies have lagged behind the rapidly changing demographic realities. But, there are **beacons of innovation**. One of these is the City of Vancouver (population now 51% Non-English Speaking Background), which has developed a series of policy responses to its diverse population, including staff hired within the City Planning Dept as multicultural planners, and a multicultural outreach program. The City of Vancouver funds several remarkable local institutions: the Roundhouse Community Centre, the Collingwood Neighborhood House (CNH), and the Little Mountain Neighborhood House. If you drop in to any of these places, you will see an incredible diversity of people doing fairly ordinary things together, related to family and childcare services, sports and recreational programs, cultural and arts programs. The Collingwood Neighborhood House, established in the late

³ It was Annick Germain’s work that introduced me to this concept (Germain 2002).

1980s, set out to create and maintain ‘a place for everyone’⁴. Last year, their programs and services reached an estimated 25,000-35,000 residents, which is 60-80% of the local population. This is even more remarkable once you understand the demographic context. In 1986, 51% of the population were people of English background and 21% Chinese. By 1996, the area was 44% Chinese, 10% English, with growing numbers of Filipinos and South Asians, and smaller groups of Vietnamese, Portuguese, Italians, and First Nations.

Here is a neighborhood – and there are many others like it across Canada - undergoing rapid socio-cultural change. An old community is dissolving. A new one needs to be built. The funding agencies backing Collingwood Neighborhood House (City of Vancouver and United Way) mandated a culturally diverse organization, and this is reflected in the staff, in the design of the building, and in the mission statement. Their mission is to ‘build community’, and from the beginning their belief was that this could not happen by providing culturally specific services. The very idea of a neighborhood house implies a place with no subcultural affiliation, no shared interest other than creating a community based on common residency.

So, the approach to programming is *intercultural*; the services are seen as not merely meeting a need, but providing places where people come together and connect through jointly engaging in activities. Residents are engaged as researchers in the investigation of their own community, which further helps in establishing contacts across cultural divides, and building relationships, as well as empowering locals to become involved in decision-making and programming. The Collingwood Neighborhood House has also established its own community leadership training institute that targets recruitment in under-represented and at-risk communities within Collingwood. And it conducts regular anti-racism education programs, and teaches through its own example that community is built through inclusion. This is the daily negotiation of difference, in the activities of everyday life, activities that may seem inconsequential but through which people get to know folks different from themselves, and barriers begin to come down. Small decisions made each day by the staff, the volunteers, and user groups can matter a great deal to who is made to

⁴ The discussion of Collingwood Neighborhood House draws on research by Dang (2002).

feel at home: the art work on the walls, the language of a pamphlet, the faces behind the reception desk, the height of a water fountain, can all signify inclusion, or exclusion. In all of these ways, and at all of these levels of detail, the Collingwood Neighborhood House has succeeded in becoming an exemplary *intercultural institution*.

A little-known reason for the successful diversity mission of Collingwood Neighborhood House is that its founders were trained at the Hastings Institute, another innovation of the City of Vancouver in the late 1980s, designed to train civil servants in anti-racism and diversity work. Most people are not born with these abilities, precisely because we are each born into a particular culture, and have to learn to step outside our own culture, to see it critically – as Bill Reid’s sculpture helps us to do - if we hope to foster intercultural exchange, which is central to a *rich multicultural society*.

In Montreal, sociologist Annick Germain (2002) has been studying the increasingly multi-ethnic neighborhoods of that city for the past decade, asking how modes of inter-ethnic co-existence develop over time, in the particular spaces of the city: what factors contribute to peaceful interethnic co-existence, and to what extent ‘diversity management policies’ of the City have been successful. Since the mid-1980s, the City of Montreal has had an Intercultural Affairs Bureau, which comes directly under the Mayor. The Bureau’s focus of funding on sports and recreational programs reinforces my argument about the paradox of the inconsequential: that it is these everyday activities that are the most significant in encouraging dialogue across cultural divides and that make possible the everyday negotiations of difference and the developing of modes of co-existence.

3. More than bricks and mortar: a message to the federal government

As the previous section has hopefully illustrated, creating a functioning multicultural society requires an investment in human beings as well as bricks and mortar. The Collingwood Neighborhood House serves a population of 44,000, which is one fifteenth of the population of the City of Vancouver. Their operating budget is \$3 million, but they need \$3.5m to pay their staff equitable and fair wages. Of this \$3m., \$1,512,000 goes for childcare; \$643, 000 for community services (which includes some settlement services);

\$425,000 for community development; and \$426,000 for administration. Their funding sources include earned income of \$1,629,000, which is mostly fees; \$1,102,000 from governments, only \$66,000 of which is from federal level; and \$248,000 from fundraising. They draw on many volunteers to keep things running; and in the mid-1990s they needed a new building to house their expanding programs. Other municipalities in Vancouver have no such institution, partly through lack of funds, partly through lack of awareness.

Anti-racism and diversity training organizations like the Hastings Institute need regular infusions of funds for staffing and programs, funds that cash-strapped cities have been cutting for the past decade. Every large city in Canada has something like Vancouver's Immigrant Settlement Services (ISS) and SUCCESS (the United Chinese Community Enrichment Services Society). Staff members at ISS arrange for refugees to be met at the airport, by someone speaking their language, bring them to a central location where they are provided with shelter for a month. During that month, other staff explain how to open bank accounts, get a drivers license, find their way around the city, study English or French, find accommodation, and begin to look for work. These are indeed the small details of life, in themselves unspectacular and unglamorous, but absolutely basic to the early stages of integration, and to the integration experience. All of these first-stop agencies need more funding, as do the spin-off ethno-specific settlement services organizations. SUCCESS is particularly interesting because it started as an agency for dealing with a single ethnic community, but has now diversified and has an interpreting bank of more than a dozen languages.

Recent research by one of my Masters students in Vancouver with immigrant youths from the Horn of Africa shows that there are real problems in these communities since the de-funding of multicultural counselors in schools (Mugabo 2003). I could go on with all these small examples. But time is short. My point is that we need to systematize all these wonderful small innovative projects into a revised grand vision for multiculturalism in this country. The federal government has to learn from these local practices that are already leading in a positive direction. But the federal government *also has to lead*, and

not only in providing the funds, but also in mandating cities and municipalities to address the challenges of integrating immigrants, and in a renewed debate about the meaning of multiculturalism.

A Multicultural Manifesto for the 21st Century

The following policy recommendations draw not only from my own recent work in the Tamil communities in Toronto and Vancouver, but more broadly from the work of colleagues in the Metropolis project over the past half dozen years.

In the spirit of striving to realize the full potential of Canadian multicultural democracy, and of making Canada a global example of peaceful intercultural co-existence, I suggest at least seven requirements, which I'll then elaborate as responsibilities of different tiers of government. The achievement of a rich multiculturalism (as opposed to shallow – that is, a multiculturalism of food and festivals)⁵ depends **first** and foremost on increased spending over a wide range of multicultural programs, like the ones I've mentioned, and not alone on settlement services and English as a Second Language, although these are absolutely essential. Overall, this means more federal funding to cities. **Second**, a rich multiculturalism requires multi-tiered political and policy support systems, from federal through provincial to municipal levels, and extending to the work of Non-Governmental Organisations. **Third**, in addressing the challenges of integration in everyday life, the culture and practices of municipal workers (police, judges, teachers, planners, and service providers) has to be addressed, through anti-racism and diversity training such as that provided through the Hastings Institute. **Fourth**, a rich multiculturalism requires reform and innovation in the realm of social policy, from the most obvious – language assistance – to the creation of institutions like Collingwood Neighborhood House, support for immigrant organizations, provision of culturally sensitive social services, and so on. A **fifth** requirement is a better understanding of how urban policies can and should address cultural difference. This includes issues of design, location, and process. For example, if different cultures use public and recreational space differently, then new kinds of public

⁵ Hiebert (2003:47), reporting on the Vancouver Community Studies Survey (n=2000), which asked 'are immigrants welcome?', uses the term 'shallow multiculturalism' to summarise what this survey reveals about attitudes in Vancouver.

spaces may have to be designed, or old ones re-designed, to accommodate this difference. Space also needs to be made available for the different worshipping practices of immigrant cultures: the building of mosques and temples, for example, has become a source of conflict in many cities. And when cultural conflicts arise over different uses of land and buildings, of private as well as public spaces, planners need to find more communicative, less adversarial ways of resolving these conflicts, through participatory mechanisms which give a voice to all those with a stake in the outcome. This in turn requires new skills for planners and architects in cross-cultural practices, which is a challenge to our universities, and to educators like myself.

A **sixth** requirement is the elaboration of new notions of citizenship – multicultural and urban - that are more responsive to newcomers' claims of rights to the city and more encouraging of their political participation at the local level. This involves nothing less than openness on the part of host societies to being redefined in the process of migrant integration, and to new notions of a common identity emerging through an always contested notion of the common good and shared destiny of all residents. The **seventh** requirement is an understanding of and preparedness to work with the emotions that drive these conflicts over integration: emotions of fear, and attachment to history and memory, as well as the status quo, on the part of host societies; and the (possibly ambivalent) desire for belonging, and fear of exclusion on the part of migrants. When Vancouverites protested the building of so-called 'Monster Houses' by Chinese newcomers in the late 1980s in certain neighborhoods, this was what was happening. Urban planners, not trained in negotiation skills or cross-cultural conflict resolution, 'solved' the problem through by-laws that imposed one culture's version of 'appropriate' housing on another. This is not how we move towards an intercultural society. Refusing to acknowledge and deal with these emotions is a recipe for failure in the longer-term project of intercultural co-existence. If multicultural cities are to be socially sustainable, their citizens, city governments, and city-building professions need to work collaboratively on all of these fronts.

In the few minutes remaining, I'm going to summarise what this discussion implies, for federal, provincial, and municipal governments, universities, and NGOs working together in this major citizenship project. (These dot points are then expanded in an Appendix).

Federal Government

- Renewed national debate on multicultural philosophy and policy for 21st century
- New emphasis on local citizenship
- Nationwide education program about the contributions of immigrants
- Substantial new financial and human resources to fund local initiatives like Collingwood Neighborhood House

Provincial Government

- Participate in rethinking multiculturalism and formulating new policies
- Create and locate a Multicultural Affairs Bureau within Premier's Office
- Commitment of funds for local and province-wide initiatives
- Mandate municipalities to develop Multicultural Plans (as has NSW in Australia)
- Support universities and colleges in developing professional programs (medicine, social work, law, architecture and urban planning) that prepare people to work cross-culturally
- Require civil servants to undertake anti-racism/diversity training
- Prepare and implement new school curricula that addresses cultural diversity beyond food and festivals

Municipalities

- Develop a Multicultural Plan that covers all relevant Council activities
- Appoint migrant resource workers to help immigrant voluntary organizations to seek funding from various sources
- Fund Neighborhood Houses with an intercultural mandate
- Address diversity in own hiring practices
- Create/elevate Social Planning divisions within City Planning Departments

Non-Governmental Organisations

- Learn from successes of existing NGOs like SUCCESS (United Chinese Community Enrichment Services Society)
- Funding for those NGOs prepared to develop innovative intercultural agendas
- Funding for ethno-culturally based NGOs working to increase the participation of newcomers in Canadian life
- Engage community-based artists and arts-based organizations to celebrate diversity in public arenas and work with planners on conflict resolution

Universities

- Incorporate cross-cultural training and conflict resolution in professional programs such as urban planning, architecture, medicine, law, social work
- Develop courses on multicultural citizenship, linked to a wider concern with global citizenship, as an integral part of all their programs

The effort of transformation at the heart of the 21st century multicultural project is a necessarily combined effort on the part of host society and newcomers, politicians and policy analysts, multiple levels of government as well as civil society. In the spirit of Bill Reid⁶, we need to develop the ability to see our own ways as strange and unfamiliar, to stray from and take up a critical attitude toward them, and so open cultures to question, reinterpretation, negotiation, and transformation.

Canada can show the world how to do this.

Thankyou for your attention.

⁶ I recognize that my use of Bill Reid's sculpture to open this paper is very much my own interpretation of this magnificent work. What I have not touched on in this talk, and what needs another paper rather than a footnote, is the ongoing condition of exclusion and marginalisation of many First Nations people in Canada. But because I understand that this issue is fundamentally one of sovereignty rather than of integration, I have not attempted to discuss it in this paper.

Appendix: expanding on the dot points

Federal Government

The federal government needs to enter into discussions with all Canadians about the philosophy of multiculturalism and the goals of a multicultural policy. I've argued this in terms of a shift from a 20th to a 21st century multiculturalism: a shift from an ethno-culturally grounded political philosophy to one based less on ethnicity and more on shared notions of political community and local citizenship. I'm suggesting nothing less than a renewed national debate over the contested meanings of multiculturalism.

Dialogue should be carried out at community level, with a range of focus groups and other forums, some ethno-culturally specific, others a cultural mix of participants, to ensure maximum opportunities and comfort levels for different individuals.

A nation-wide public education program could be initiated, providing information about immigrants and refugees and their social, economic, and cultural contributions to Canada. This needs to be done creatively. Artists could be involved: all sorts of artists, from cartoonists to theater groups to musicians.

Significant financial and human resources have to be committed to support the new multicultural policy. In the absence of such resources, multicultural policy will be experienced by newcomers as rhetoric rather than reality. These resources should fund local initiatives and programs that encourage inter-cultural dialogues and help integrate both newcomers and members of the host society into today's realities. One possibility is a funding model similar to the Supporting Community Partnership Initiative (SCPI), which allows federal funding to be directed to community-identified priorities (National Homelessness Initiative, 2003).

Provincial Government

Provincial governments also need to participate in the rethinking of multiculturalism, and formulate new policies in response. This would mean commitment of funds for local and province-wide educational initiatives. It is also symbolically important to ensure that the

responsibility for multicultural affairs occupies an influential location within provincial government, such as the Premier's Office, as happened in the state of Victoria, Australia, in the early 1990s.

Several key policies could be mandated by provincial governments. One would be to require municipal governments to develop and implement programs consistent with the new multiculturalism. Another would be to support universities and colleges in offering programs to prepare people to work cross-culturally and to facilitate diversity training and intercultural communication. A third would be to require all civil servants to undergo diversity training. Finally, such a Multicultural Bureau would work with the Education Ministry to implement new school curricula that explicitly, but entertainingly, addresses multiculturalism (again, beyond food and festivals) and the roles that both the host culture and newcomers play.

Municipal Government

As a growing number of researchers have noted, there seems to be a disconnect between the existence of multicultural philosophy at the national level and the absence of policies at the local level that give substance to this philosophy. According to the *principle of subsidiarity*, now embraced in the European Union's approach to governance, responsibility for policy formulation and implementation should be devolved to the level of government where the issue has greatest impact. In the case of multicultural policy, that impact is most clearly felt at the level of city and neighborhood.

Because municipalities are the closest to the everyday life of the multicultural city, I recommend both the mandating of multicultural policy development at municipal level (as in NSW, Australia, since 1998), and the federal and provincial allocation of resources appropriate to that new role. I've outlined some of the urban and social policy issues that arise at municipal level as a result of the increasing cultural diversity of localities.

Municipalities can help their citizens to lobby for resources for community-based programs by appointing migrant resource workers/community development officers with the brief of assisting such organizations to find their way around various levels of

bureaucracy. Municipalities can partner with non-profits in engaging citizens in dialogues about intercultural co-existence. Municipalities can fund Neighborhood Houses to bring together under one roof people from different ethno-cultural communities in a range of practical programs. Municipalities could support a new civics curriculum (coupled with more teacher-training) that demonstrates new ways of living together.⁷

Municipalities need to reform their own hiring practices in all divisions to reflect the diversity of their populations, and to work harder at developing genuinely multicultural participation processes around the workings of local government. Social Planning divisions of City Planning Departments need to be elevated in status (in some instances, simply to be brought into existence, especially in outer-suburban municipalities) and given coordinating roles in municipal policy-making.

As indicated in a pioneering study of the Greater Vancouver metro-region by my UBC colleagues David Edgington and Tom Hutton (2001), there is at present a vast discrepancy *between* municipalities with regard to (what David Ley has called) ‘multicultural readiness’. Similar research in Toronto by Beth Milroy and Marcia Wallace (2001) came to the same conclusions.

Non-Governmental Organisations

From focus group participants in Toronto we heard the lament that *mainstream* non-profit organizations are not doing enough to create ‘an environment fostering multiculturalism’. NGOs and community-based organizations can have a profound impact on the well-being of specific groups in any community. Our larger study of the Tamil community in Toronto demonstrates the vitally important role of Tamil community-based organizations in assisting with the everyday (economic, social, legal) struggles of settlement, as well as with developing an interest in political participation in the wider society (Sandercock, Dickout and Winkler 2004). But what of mainstream NGOs? These, too, could have a key role in multicultural education for the host culture.

⁷ The City of Vancouver is currently (as of Jan. 2004) working with the School Board on such a project.

I recommend new funding for NGOs prepared to develop innovative intercultural agendas, as well as for those seeking to increase the participation of hitherto marginalized ethno-specific groups. There are excellent models in existence, such as S.U.C.C.E.S.S. (The United Chinese Community Enrichment Services Society) in Vancouver. These organizations need to learn from each other's successes. Programs and projects that encourage more spontaneous interaction in the community must be encouraged. This can be done through block grants, neighborhood grants, and small grants. The success of experimental programs depends on continuity of funding and is jeopardised by rigid annual performance criteria.

Community-based artists and arts-based organizations should also be seen as an invaluable resource for expanding the cultural horizons of local citizenry. In Vancouver, the Public Dreams Society brings together artists and the public (at the instigation either of local communities or the City of Vancouver, or both), incorporating art, music, theater, dance, puppetry, pyrotechnics, street and circus performance in the creation of interactive community events like the mid-summer Lantern Parade around Trout Lake in East Vancouver, and the cross-cultural celebrations associated with the Day of All Souls. The mandate of the Public Dreams Society is to 'revive and redefine community arts and the role of the artist in the community'. Their events encourage people of diverse backgrounds to celebrate difference in public arenas; ignored public spaces are re-born; creative impulses are released; fears are confronted and embraced. Communities reclaim the streets and public spaces through these events, and the skills and experiences of individuals are broadened. With a little bit of imagination on the part of municipalities, groups like the Public Dreams Society, and Headlines Theatre in Vancouver, can be even more proactively engaged in working in communities to create events, spaces, and projects that help to bridge cultural divides, encourage intercultural exchanges, and actively engage members of the host society in rethinking notions of national identity and citizenship.

Universities

Our universities have a special role to play in locating the multiculturalism of our cities in its global context. For example, the President of UBC, Martha Piper, is challenging our university to make global citizenship an integral component of all of our programs. In my own School of Community & Regional Planning (SCARP), colleagues have taken up this challenge by integrating their community-based capacity building and research in Vietnam and Brazil into their graduate courses, creating opportunities for students to experience and contribute to building citizenship not only in Canadian localities but in other locales around the world. Other SCARP courses on Multicultural Planning and Social Planning seek to prepare students for working cross-culturally. Ryerson Polytechnic University has just introduced a Masters degree in Immigration Studies that is sure to enhance our understanding of the challenges of integration, as are projects funded by the various research centers under the Metropolis umbrella.

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