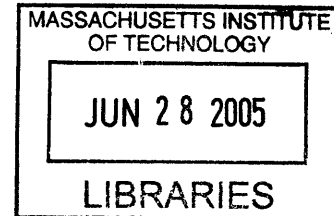# Multiculturalism and Planning:
Lessons from Vancouver

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Submitted to the Department of Urban Studies and Planning
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

MASTER IN CITY PLANNING
at the
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
June 2005

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ABSTRACT

Today, the city planning and development professions face a changing landscape. The politics of difference, and the corresponding socio-cultural processes from which it emerged (migration, post-colonialism, and the rise of civil society), are urban manifestations that bear important implications for the city and urban life. Planners today, in policy and practice, must learn new ways to accommodate difference in the city. The purpose of this master's thesis is to pose the question of how increased racial and ethnic diversity in Canadian cities has impacted the role of social planners in Vancouver, British Columbia. Canada, the first country in the world to officially legislate a national multicultural policy, to facilitate the integration of Canada's ever-growing immigrant population, serves as an ideal socio-political environment in which to examine issues of citizenship and social inclusion. Using Vancouver as a case study, this work aims to tease out the role of city planners in identifying existing barriers and innovative approaches to communication and collaboration with diverse citizens, to better understand and meet their needs. It explores how planners, and the planning profession, can respond to, or generate, dialogue on cultural diversity, social inclusion and civic participation.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

BACKGROUND

Today, cities and nations around the world struggle in the face of increased cultural and ethnic diversity. Inter- and intra-national migration and market globalization, at the speed and volume at which it currently takes place, result in changing dynamics of the social, political, and economic structures in urban societies. Increasing diversity in cities challenges hierarchies of power, disrupting the status quo, and as well poses questions to ideological constructions of identity and citizenship. It forces the redefinition of conceptions of belonging, inclusion and ownership. Planners today, as well as politicians, government officials, and everyday citizens, must find ways to accommodate changing demographics and corresponding social, political and economic conditions in cities, both spatially and systemically, in order to create practices and policies that work toward justice and equality in society.

In 1971, Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau introduced "Multiculturalism within a Bilingual Framework," attempting to: increase participation of Canada's indigenous and ethnic immigrant minorities in civic life; expand the notion of citizenship to be inclusive of Canada's racial and ethnic diversity; and redefine the meaning of Canadian identity. The Multicultural Policy of 1971 recognized and politicized, at the national level, what has come to be termed the "politics of difference"; demands made by historically disadvantaged peoples for respect, recognition and representation in the public sphere. The policy also forced public discourse to address social processes of oppression, assimilation, marginalization and isolation of minority cultures in mainstream society.

"Official multiculturalism" in Canada was enacted as the federal government response to three major obstacles: 1) the threat of secession from Quebec; 2) rising awareness and tension surrounding the treatment and representation of indigenous peoples; and 3) growing discontent among immigrant ethnic minorities ("visible minorities") about recognition and representation in Canadian society (Esses & Gardner 1996). The federal government, with the aim of constructing a unifying national identity, presented Canada as a multicultural "mosaic," in the hopes that tolerance, inclusion, and multiculturalism would come to characterize Canadian citizenship. These would serve as broad values from which Canadians could attribute a sense of pride and

belonging. The lack of a unifying national identity and recognition of Canada's diverse cultural heritage was seen as the base of social divisions and discontent, and official multiculturalism spoke directly to this concern. Since the Multicultural Policy of 1971, successive legislation (such as the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, 1982, and the Act for the Preservation and Enhancement of Multiculturalism in Canada, 1988) has aimed to create an inclusive Canadian identity, foster a sense of belonging among all citizens, and diminish institutional barriers such as racism and discrimination faced by Canada's newcomers.

The direct appointment of the federal Department of Heritage and the Department of Citizenship and Immigration as the primary entities responsible for development and promotion of multicultural programming, helps to institutionalize multiculturalism as an official public policy of government in Canada. This is also what makes multiculturalism in Canada unique. The implementation of these policies at different levels of government serves to further the nation building project, solidifying Canadian identity and the notion of democratic citizenship; facilitating the participation of citizens in decision-making processes and governance; and shaping public perception to create a social environment amenable to public critique and analysis of social problems in Canada. The adoption of multicultural policies by provinces of the federation and the assignment of the implementation of said policies within a particular ministry of provincial government facilitates the dissemination of multicultural policy to other levels of government. As cities are considered creations of the province, some municipalities have begun to integrate elements of multiculturalism into local policy and practice.

Comparison of Canada and the United States sheds light on the uniqueness of multiculturalism as well as its impact as a public philosophy and policy initiated at the national level. The two countries share histories as former British colonies, and as confederations of sub-national government bodies that originally prohibited sovereignty of First Nations and indigenous peoples. Both the United States and Canada trace their roots to social structures and institutional systems that served to disadvantage groups who existed outside the Anglo-Saxon cultural norm, as demonstrated by exclusive immigration policies. Both countries have at times struggled with national ideologies that depict the nation as racially and culturally homogenous and posit racial and ethnic minorities as inferior, marginal, and threatening, to white, western European society and heritage. The ethnic composition of these societies have mirrored each other over time, receiving immigrants from similar regions at the same moments in history, with both nations experiencing economic booms and increased immigration after WWII.

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Despite such similarity, the U.S. has no similar commitment at the national level to multiculturalism. This is all the more surprising since the United States' legacy of slavery further demonstrates the role of the state, and policy, in the oppression and exclusion of racial and ethnic minorities. This history has led race and equality in the United States to remain highly contested and controversial subjects. However, many gains have been made in public acknowledgement of the damage and continuing repercussions institutional racism has reaped in U.S. society. These advancements are reflected in the 1952 Immigration and Naturalization Act, and the achievements of Civil Rights, Chicano, feminist and Black Power movements and claims for indigenous peoples rights reflected in Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka of 1965, the 1964 Civil Rights Act, and the 1975 Voting Rights Act.

It may be that the absence of a legacy of slavery in Canada is one factor that led to the federal government's acknowledgement of cultural oppression and exclusion, and that Canada's social trajectory apart from the historic path of the United States. Furthermore, Canadian history depicts the nation as formed by two founding races and cultures, the British and the French. The declaration to integrate visible minorities, immigrants and aboriginals into Canadian society has brought to public attention the existing systemic and structural barriers that result in continued racism and discrimination in Canadian society. Although, official multiculturalism in Canada continues to be critiqued by some for its inability to achieve the structural and systemic changes necessary to bring about justice and equity in Canadian society, the federal government's ownership of the initiative illustrates acknowledgement of the role of the state in cultural oppression and subjugation of minority groups.

In the United States, multicultural and pluralist philosophies and practices have emerged mostly as grassroots initiatives, for the most part leaving the role of the state out of national discussions on racism and oppression in the country. Today, U.S. political leaders at both the national and state government level can rally support without specifically addressing the systemic and structural barriers that continue to plague racial and ethnic minorities. Particularly since the events of September 11, 2001, immigration is posited in terms of national security and as a burden to the welfare state, and cultural assimilation is assumed through the nation's continued promotion of English-only programs and antagonistic legislation towards language learning and social service provision to immigrant communities. For this reason, integration and participation of immigrant ethnic minorities are rendered marginal in U.S. public debate at the national level.

Canada, in contrast, was the first country in the world to introduce legislation pertaining to the concept of multiculturalism. Other countries, such as Australia and Singapore, have since enacted policies of official multiculturalism. However, these are examples of only a fraction of countries around the world where racial and ethnic diversity is changing the form and function of cities, and claims from minority groups for their rights to visibility in society are being made. Little attention has been paid to the local level response to national policies and population shifts, or whether the demands made by a politics of difference are being met.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Inherent to this thesis is the question of why Canada has committed itself to multiculturalism, and more importantly, to understand the effect to which this national commitment makes a difference in local city planning. While the main focus of the research is on municipal planning in Canada, the U.S. serves as an implicit comparison through which to understand the nature of official multiculturalism in Canada as a government initiated policy. A larger question arises as to whether the national level commitment to multiculturalism informs the relationship between national and local governance (making city planning in Canada unique); or alternatively, whether official multiculturalism exists merely as a chimera which obscures the fact that social policy and local planning are determined more by practical logistics of city planners than by a larger multicultural discourse or federal mandate.

A second question of the thesis is threefold and asks: how increasing cultural and ethnic diversity in cities impacts the role of city planners; whether the role of city planners mirrors those depicted in existing literature and theory on multicultural planning; and whether "multicultural planning" as a distinct planning practice, should be advocated for within the planning profession.

METHODOLOGY

The city of Vancouver, British Columbia, the future home of the 2010 Olympics, has claimed an international reputation as a multicultural mosaic in North America and is repeatedly ranked among the top three "most livable cities." With more than half of the resident metro area population comprised of members of "visible minority" groups and roughly the same number of individuals possessing a native language other than English, Vancouver is a true example of urban diversity. Taking a closer look at how city planners and municipal governments have responded to the continual demographic shifts among their constituents, sheds light on the individual and

institutional adjustments made by city staff and bureaucracy to recognize, respect, and integrate cultural difference in the city.

Through review of existing literature and theory on multiculturalism, documentary research on planning processes and related legislation, and in-depth interviews with key informants in Vancouver metropolitan area municipal government, this thesis aims to uncover the necessary changes to planning practice and policy that have occurred as a result of increased cultural diversity in the city of Vancouver. A more in-depth discussion on the methodology is available in the thesis appendices.

THESIS STRUCTURE

In the next chapter, I provide a brief overview of ethnocultural relations in Canada and examine how the Canadian national narrative, since its founding years, has contributed to the rise of multiculturalism as a nation-building project. Colonial conquest, federation of the Canadian nation, threat of American imperialism and secession of Quebec, all contributed to the Canadian notion of plurality, first presented as bicultural, the *"dualité canadienne,"* and later as a multicultural mosaic. The final piece of this chapter examines the impact of Canada's post-war economic boom and changes to Canadian immigration policy, which resulted in the aggressive recruitment of immigrants from non-traditional sources. The majority of these immigrants settled in Canada's largest cities, challenging government's ability to "manage" its rapidly diversifying urban population. This chapter is meant to draw out the importance of the national narrative in forming official multiculturalism in Canada and illustrates how historical events led to the demographic shifts the country experiences today.

In Chapter 3, I argue that multiculturalism as a public philosophy was born out of the politics of difference, attempting to situate it in writings and representations of the city, particularly Lefebvre's notions of the "right to the city." This chapter aims to demonstrate that "multiculturalism," although presented as a new conception of urban-ness is based in traditional representations of the city and embodies much of what has, over time, come to characterize urban life; the convergence of cultures in urban space, the constant struggle for recognition and representation in that space, and the right to the expression of difference.

Chapter 4 provides an overview of official multiculturalism in Canada with particular focus on "Multiculturalism Within a Bilingual Framework," introduced by Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau

in 1971. Furthermore, this chapter provides a timeline and description of previous and successive legislation pertaining to multiculturalism, citizenship and equity in Canada.

Chapter 5, "Multiculturalism in Cities," entails a brief discussion on the importance of focusing on the city as a means through which to study multiculturalism. I also provide an overview of current literature regarding the impacts of multiculturalism on cities and the planning profession. Later, I take a closer look at population change in the city of Vancouver, BC and the municipal government's response to the changing landscape of the city.

Chapter 6 serves as a detailed description of the research methodology and the process through which I came to focus on planning in Vancouver, BC. In Chapter 7, I then summarize interviews with five key-informants in Vancouver area municipal government. Individuals' statements have been categorized into themes, to allow better analysis and understanding of the challenges faced by planners and immigrant ethnic communities in Vancouver.

Chapter 8 "Responding to a Landscape of Difference," fleshes out key learning points and recommendations to planners, planning departments and planning education institutions, following the discussions with interviewees. In conclusion, Chapter 9 summarizes the work and reflects on the important points of the thesis. This chapter answers the primary research questions as stated above, and provides directions for future research.

Chapter 2. Ethnocultural Relations in Canada

In order to examine official multiculturalism in Canada, I have found it imperative to ask the following questions: From which local, regional, or national discourse did the rhetoric of multiculturalism emerge? Did it emerge out of conflict? National crisis? What were the conditions in cities, provinces, and the nation that prompted the federal government to employ recognition and respect of difference, the celebration of diversity and social inclusion, as central tenets of multicultural legislation in Canada? How did multiculturalism become, and why has it remained, the most heralded characteristic of Canadian society?

In order to answer these questions, I begin this chapter with a brief overview of ethnocultural relations in Canada, focusing primarily on relations between the British and French.[1] Next, I address the Quiet Revolution in Quebec, and the circumstances of the 1960's that set the stage for the emergence of bilingualism, biculturalism and finally, multiculturalism, in Canada. I then address the sudden increase of Canada's ethnic diversity forged by an aggressive immigration policy that responded to the growth of Canada's national economy.

This chapter illustrates how official multiculturalism in Canada emerged in an era of national crisis. The threat of secession from Quebec delivered a significant blow to the notion of Canadian identity (characterized entirely by the "peaceful" coexistence of two distinct cultures, British and French), and a foundation of biculturalism, which the nation relied upon to distinguish itself from its British roots and defend itself from American cultural imperialism. This crisis was compounded by rising tensions among Canada's indigenous and ethnic minorities who, rapidly increasing in number in Canada's largest cities began to make claims for the recognition and representation of their cultural heritage in Canadian life. Multiculturalism, a national ideology that called for the respect and recognition, as well as the preservation and enhancement, of difference, symbolized a new Canadian identity. Fearing political and social cleavages along ethnic lines that could result in the destabilization of existing Canadian social and political structures, a new, inclusive nationalism was required. This new nationalism, characterized by "multiculturalism," adhered to the emerging "politics of difference" and served as the means through which the

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[1] While I do not mean to gloss over, or minimize the importance of, the historical political and socio-cultural events and processes that took place prior to British settlement in Canada, in the interest of time and space allotted for this thesis, to begin my historical overview with British conquest over the French.

federal government could incite a new unifying ideology that not only respected, but required, difference.

THE BRITISH AND THE COLONIAL PROJECT

There has been a persistent trend throughout Canadian history, as in other post-colonial societies, to portray relations with indigenous populations in a more positive light than is warranted. Much of this is seated in a national ideology bent on constant comparison with the United States. Canadian historical accounts present colonial conquest as employing less violence and relying on more cooperative measures than were used in the U.S., consistent with the constant reification of a national narrative that merges true historical conditions with false perceptions of the past.[2]

In her book *The House of Difference,* Eva Mackey identifies elements of this national narrative in what she terms the "benevolent Mountie myth," enshrined in the idea of "benevolent gentleness" that characterized relations between the colonizer, the British, and the colonized, the indigenous populations of North America. Mackey reports that "the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, representatives of British North American justice, are said to have managed the inevitable and glorious expansion of the nation (and the subjugation of native peoples) with much less bloodshed and more benevolence and tolerance than the violent U.S. expansion to the South" (Mackey 2002). She identifies this myth as an important element of national identity in Canada, purporting that historians like to portray colonization in Canada as more "generous" than that of the U.S. (Mackey 2002).

The circumstances under which British colonization occurred required indigenous labor, knowledge of the land for resource extraction, and alliances in battles against the French.[3] Respect for and cooperation with indigenous peoples was thus required for the success of the British colonial project (Mackey 2002). Additionally, the Royal Proclamation of 1763 emerged less

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[2] Here, I am using the term "national narrative" to portray a concept similar to "ideology." I use a personal definition of ideology to mean "the way in which a given society thinks and speaks of itself." The terminology of "national narrative" also signifies the "cultural construction of nationness" as described by Homi Bhaba in *DissemiNation: time, narrative, and the margins of the modern nation* (1990:292). Bhaba proposes the nation as a "narrative strategy – and an apparatus of power," equating the writing of the nation with "the insurmountable extremes of storytelling" (1990: 311).

[3] French settlement in "New France" (what is now Canada) began in the early 17th century. It is estimated that at this time, indigenous peoples numbered around 200,000 and within 150 years of French settlement (1867), decreased by about half this number (Anderson et al 1981). The French population had grown rapidly, due to high birth rates and continued immigration of French nationals.

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out of the recognition of indigenous peoples land rights and more out of fear of American colonial invasion of the west and French resistance to British hegemony in Quebec (Mackey 2002). Later, the Quebec Act of 1774 was enacted by the British in order to "secure loyalty" from the French and the Roman Catholic Church (Mackey 2002). Accordingly, the granting of indigenous peoples' land rights and support of the French language and Catholicism in Quebec can be considered strategies "to manage the colonial project" (Mackey 2002). These strategies diminished resistance to assimilation and blocked invasion from the south, leveraging the indigenous populations against the French, and both the indigenous populations and the French against Americans in the U.S.

The French now found their role in the colonial project reversed, since they, who had previously been the "colonizer," were newly "colonized" along with the indigenous populations of North America. British hegemony required the suppression of resistance, of indigenous and French populations alike, assimilation of both these groups to the British cultural norm, and the territorial exclusion of American settlers who pushed against Canada's southern border. Nevertheless, illusions of respect, benevolence and inclusion dominated social ideology during British colonialism and came to serve as primary ingredients for a distinct Canadian identity.

INDEPENDENCE AND ACKNOWLEDGING THE FRENCH

Canada became an independent nation in 1867, merging the three territories of British North America, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia. It was at this time that the Canadian national narrative's reliance on comparison with the U.S. became even more apparent. French immigration had halted, British nationals dominated immigration to Canada, and more than 90% of the total Canadian population was either French or English (Anderson et al 1981). Immediately following independence, national narrative depicted Canada as Northern (with the U.S. considered "Southern"), culturally British, and homogenous. This perception was heavily based on racial ideologies and constructions of whiteness. Eva Mackey illuminates this concept in her analysis of the Canada First Movement, which was based on the conception of Canada as housing 'one people' who shared cultural traditions and racial characteristics (Mackey 2002).[4] Canadians, due to the climate and the effects of immigration on the racial composition of the U.S. population,

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[4] Eva Mackey sites the emergence of the Canada First Movement as simultaneous to Canada's agreements to free trade with the United States in the 1880s. For many, this meant not only the entrance of economic goods from Canada to the U.S., but the "assimilation of Canada into the Untied States" (2002:29). She posits the Canada First Movement as nationalism grounded in the belief that Canada was the "British Kingdom of the North," and distinct for its northern location, composition of northern races, and cold, northern winters (2002:30).

did not consider its southern neighbor as socially advanced but rather "degenerate" and "decaying" in comparison to their Anglo-Saxon norm (Mackey 2002). The Canada First Movement denied the French a distinct identity, since it required, in order to disassociate the nation from the U.S., a unified identity based on cultural homogeneity. Posing Canada's homogeneity against the United States' heterogeneity was one way to establish a distinct Canadian identity.

However, complications with this view arose with the persistence of French nationalism in Canada. Perceptions of the nation later reversed to situate Canada as the heterogeneous north, respectful of differences (between the British and the French) and as embracing tolerance of that difference. The increased characterization of the United States as assimilationist and intolerant required of Canada to then pose itself as the opposite, both anti-assimilationist and tolerant. This resulted in the forced distinction between British and French cultures (Canada's heterogeneity) and emphasis on their ability to coexist peacefully as the two "founding races" of the nation (evidence of Canada's tolerance).

This latter perspective of Canada is one that persists today, depicting Canada as a "multicultural mosaic," in which multiple cultures exist within one country, retaining their cultural particularity and uniqueness, and the U.S. as a monocultural "melting pot," in which different cultures amalgamate, or assimilate, into one. Here, we see that Canadian national identity has consistently been shaped by an ideology that purports notions of tolerance and inclusion. Heterogeneity is added to the mix out of necessity, requiring ethnic heritage to become the most salient characteristic of individual and group identity, in order to maintain Canada's distinctness and resistance to amalgamation with U.S.

THE QUESTION OF QUEBEC

Throughout Canadian history, the geographic concentration of the French in Quebec has been a constant threat to Canadian unity and the very idea of Canadian identity. This threat was most severe in the 1960's when renewed French nationalism in Quebec brought to the public eye, and to the public ear, the drastically different conceptions of Canada held by the British and the French.[5] Previously, "French Canada" was perceived as comprised of Canadians who identified

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[5] Kenneth McRoberts, in his book *Misconceiving Canada*, asserts that "the older, French-Canadian, nationalism had been largely focused on private, Church-related institutions. Thus, the nation could be advanced in ways that did not impinge at all on the Canadian political order. With the new nationalism, focused on the Quebec state, a questioning of that order was inevitable" (McRoberts 1997: 38).

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with French language and culture across all provinces of the country. However, the emerging nationalism among intellectual and political leaders began to equate the French nation with 'Quebec,' the province, publicly binding "French-Canada" to a single territorial entity (McRoberts 1997).

Part of the problem for "English Canada," was the lack of a perception of themselves as a unified nation, for "their nationalism remained an essentially political nationalism, centered on the Canadian state" (McRoberts 1997). The new nationalism in Quebec challenged the existing social and political structures of the state, and was, for this reason, considered a threat. French Canadians in Quebec questioned how they were expected to entrust a true representation of their population in Ottawa (the seat of Canadian government) where they were an underrepresented minority. The answer to this question was to push for heightened status and the granting of certain privileges to the province of Quebec, in order to place what they perceived as "French Canada," on equal footing with the opposing entity they considered "English Canada" (McRoberts 1997). With this emerging nationalist sentiment, French ethnic identity, previously nurtured by the British to enable a distinct Canadian nation, became the brunt of a national crisis—the separatist movement in Quebec.

The strongest argument for sovereignty of Quebec has been the need to preserve the French language and culture. Jonathan Lemco identifies five demographic changes that led to the heightened support of separatism and the belief among Quebecois that not only would secession be possible, but that Quebec would, in fact, be better off socially and economically as an independent nation. Lemco situates the bureaucratic elite's increased confidence in guiding Quebec's future, emergence of an independent and politicized trade union, the serious contemplation of nationalism among intellectuals, provision of new leadership from the Liberal party with regard to Quebec's human and natural resources, and recognition and support from France that legitimized Quebec's quest for sovereignty as catalysts for Quebecois separatism (Lemco 1994).

The Quiet Revolution of the 1960s facilitated Quebec's move from a poor, agrarian society to a modern, industrialized one (Lemco 1994). Coupled with industrialization and modernization of Quebecois society came "liberalization." This intellectual and political liberalism espoused by the Quebecois elite in the 1960's is afforded "many of the greatest achievements of the Quiet Revolution" (McRoberts 1997). The 1960's election affirmed liberalism's secure grip on Canadian political discourse, and served to reinstate liberal efforts that had previously emerged in the 1880s

in rebellions against the British, which were, at that time, defeated by the dominance of the Catholic church in Quebec (McRoberts 1997).

However, the 1960's transition led increasing numbers of women out of the home and into the workplace, slowing birth rates and postponing childrearing, which greatly contributed to Quebec's population slump. Furthermore, French-speaking Quebecois feared the rise of English-language assimilation among immigrants to North America. The majority of Quebec's immigrants settled in Montreal, the area of Quebec where English language and culture is most pervasive (Lemco 1994). Additionally, the province had trouble attracting and keeping French-speaking immigrants. Many new arrivals to Quebec follow trends of inter-provincial migration that favor Ontario and British Columbia and disadvantage Quebec (Reitz 2002). These patterns of settlement, coupled with an extremely low birth rate, diminished the demographic and political clout of the French language in Quebec and greater Canada.

The federal government's recognition of French-Canadian fears and discontent is apparent in its legislation. Created by Liberal Prime Minister Lester Pearson in 1963, the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism was intended to "inquire into and report on the existing state of bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada and to recommend what steps should be taken to develop the Canadian Confederation on the basis of an equal partnership between the two founding races, taking into account the contribution made by other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada and the measure that should be taken to safeguard that contribution."[6] The first volume of the Commission's report found that perceptions of Canada's duality were strong in French Canada. Furthermore, although English was spoken by over half of all Canadians, French was the mother tongue of roughly one-third of the total population and, as the majority of Francophones were located in Quebec, this contributed to the notion of "two 'national' solitudes" (Driedger 1996).

The findings of the Commission further contributed to the notion of the Canadian nation as not only bilingual, but bicultural as well. In order to appease the claims from Quebec arguing for equal footing with English speakers in Canada, the federal government passed the Official Languages Act of 1967. The Languages Act was meant to quiet Quebecois threats of secession and formally recognized both English and French as official languages of Canada. One further example of the federal government's accommodations to French-Canadian nationalism lies in the

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[6] Cited by McRoberts (1997:40) from Pat Armstrong et al., 'Three Nations in a Delicate Balance,' *Toronto Star*, 4 Feb. 1992.

passing of the 1977 Charter of the French Language, which established French as the "language of government and the law, as well as the normal and everyday language of work, instruction, communication, commerce and business" in Quebec.[7]

However, official bilingualism and a public national discourse of biculturalism only served to isolate the "third force" in Canadian society; indigenous peoples and immigrant ethnic minorities who began to express their discontent with the direction the federal government was taking ethnocultural relations in Canadian society. With the formation of the Commission, "Canadians of neither British nor French descent began to argue that the bicultural vision of Canada excluded them" (McRoberts 1997). The second volume of the commission responded to the outcries of one-fourth of the Canadian population whose voices did not fall on either side of the English and French divide. This volume, entitled "The Cultural Contributions of the Other Ethnic Groups," was what opened the door to exploring the possibility of pluralism beyond the bilingual/bicultural context (Driedger 1996). It was these findings that would later lead to the declaration of Canada as a multicultural, bilingual nation.

NEW IMMIGRANTS & OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS

The fluidity and transformative nature of identity and citizenship in Canada were shaped by the country's recruitment and restriction policies of immigration. Patterns of immigration, characterized by three waves, represent the growth of Canada's national economy and the emergence of "other ethnic groups" in Canada. The first wave, occurring from colonization in the 1700s until the First World War, consisted primarily of immigrants of northern European stock. In colonial Canada, talk of assimilability to the existing bicultural social structure and ability to withstand the northern climate justified restrictions admitting only those immigrants from countries of similar racial and ethnic composition as Canada's two "founding races," the British and the French. Such policy reflected government aims to maintain the existing ethno-cultural composition of the nation, and to preserve British cultural hegemony, through assimilation. Prior to WWI, the majority of settlers in western Canada were British, French, Scandinavian or German-speaking groups of Europe. At this time Canada's labor needs were primarily agricultural. Though the government actively pursued its preferred stock of immigrants from Holland, Scandinavia and the UK, recruitment expanded to include Polish, Ukrainians and other Eastern Europeans (Mackey 2002).

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[7] Charter of the French Language (1977) R.S.Q. c C-11.

The second wave, spanning both world wars and post-war years until the 1960's, saw the addition of Southern Europeans, primarily Italians, but included Spanish, Portuguese, Greeks, the re-admittance of the Chinese, and the emergence of South Asians, Yugoslavs, and West Indians among Canada's immigrants (Anderson et al 1981). Canada's immigration policy and booming economy, combined with poor economic conditions in countries of origin, resulted in "one of the largest migrations ever recorded in history" (Anderson et al 1981). The majority of immigrants had poor knowledge of English or French, and due to agricultural skills, had a tendency to settle in specific geographic concentrations. Such concentrations of immigrant groups allowed for the "continuance and maintenance of traditional linguistic and cultural patterns" that despite the federal government's attempts to break these "block patterns" of immigration persist even today (Anderson et al 1981).

The heavy recruitment of Italians by the Canadian government demonstrates the ways in which immigration policies were designed to specifically meet the needs of a growing labor pool. Laborers were recruited to fill employment needs, such as the Italians who occupied positions in the construction industry, and other immigrants not of preferred stock but who possessed the necessary agricultural skills to aid in western settlement. Another example is the active pursuit of Chinese immigration until the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railroad in 1885, at which time anti-Asian immigration legislation burgeoned in British Columbia. A repeal on the Chinese Immigration Act of 1923, closing Canadian borders to the Chinese, did not occur until 1947, at which time policies loosened restrictions for other Asian immigration. Additionally, global trends of humanitarianism relaxed barriers to war refugees and other "displaced persons" following WWII (Kalbach et al 1999).

The third wave, beginning in the late 1960s, gathered its momentum in the 1970s and continues as the present demographic trend today. Canada's immigration policy, which underwent significant changes in the 60s and 70s, has since continued on its path to attract skilled, educated immigrants to match the momentum of its growing economy, and Canada has been ranked as the country that accepts the most immigrants per capita of any nation (Institute on Governance 2001). Immigration policy focuses less on race and ethno-cultural origin and more on education, training and skill level. Thus, this third wave corresponds with Canada's transition to a "knowledge economy" (Reitz 2002).

Canada's third wave of immigrants are distinct because more than half of them, particularly since the 1970s, and more than 75% of those arrived in the 1990s, are considered

"visible minorities."[8] They constitute the most ethnically and culturally diverse groups to ever enter the country and have contributed significantly to the presence of visible minorities in Canadian cities. In 1996, the top ten sending countries of immigrants to Canada were: Hong Kong, Sri Lanka, Peoples Republic of China, Philippines, India, Poland, Jamaica, Guyana, Viet Nam, Trinidad and Tobago (Ley & Germain 2000).

Unlike the pre-WWII wave, these individuals settle primarily in urban areas and are unlikely to form urban ethnic enclaves (Anderson et al 1981). Thus, not only are Canada's newcomers more diverse than ever in the nation's history, but today, settlement patterns of these immigrant groups is more integrated, resulting in multicultural, pluri-ethnic neighborhoods, rather than traditional ethnic enclaves. Many immigrants share residential space with individuals of different national origins, due to typically moderate levels of segregation in Canadian cities, creating many multicultural neighborhoods (Ley & Germain, 2000). Given these circumstances, co-habitation in common spaces is a dominant feature of urban multiculturalism in Canada (Ley & Germain 2000). The following facts on Canadian immigration enable us to see the degree to which immigration has and continues to impact the ethnocultural composition of Canada's largest cities.

- About 225,000 individuals immigrate to Canada each year. 76% of them settle in Canada's three largest cities, Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver (MTV) (Andrew 2004).

- Between 1991 and 1996, the top five sending countries of immigrants to the city of Montreal were: Haiti, Lebanon, France, People's Republic of China, and Romania (Ley & Germain 2000).

- In this same period, the top five sending countries of immigrants to the city of Toronto were: Hong Kong, Sri Lanka, People's Republic of China, Philippines, and India (Ley & Germain 2000).

- Also, in this same period, the top five sending countries of immigrants to the city of Vancouver were Hong Kong, People's Republic of China, Taiwan, India and Philippines (Ley & Germain 2000).

- In 2001, roughly 18% of Canada's population was foreign-born, the highest proportion of foreign-born individuals the country has seen in 70 years. 44% of Toronto residents were foreign born, 38% of Vancouver residents, and 18% of Montreal residents (Andrew 2004).

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[8] Canada's Employment Equity Act of 1995 identifies visible minorities as "persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour" and specifies the following groups: Chinese, South Asians, blacks, Arabs and West Indians, Southeast Asians, Latin Americans, Japanese, Koreans and Pacific Islanders (GVRD Strategic Planning Dept. 1998).

- Today, Canada is home to more than 200 ethnic groups and visible minorities constitute 13% of the total population. Immigration contributes 53% of the nation's growth rate, outpacing the natural birth rate (Andrew 2004).

Thus, the impact of immigration, increasing diversity and multiculturalism, are urban phenomena in Canada, and is most felt in its largest cities. The nation's future "will likely depend on the ability of Montreal, Toronto, Vancouver, Ottawa, and several other cities to attract and keep resources and people – especially people"; and management of diversity in these cities will most likely determine Canada's "success as a nation" (Burstein 2000). Furthermore, the increase in Canada's ethno-cultural diversity and the convergence of these groups in its major urban centers over the last few decades has pushed even further the challenge to the Canadian federal government to maintain national unity. The "other ethnic groups" of Canada began to voice their opinion on the concept of a bicultural nation, arguing that such a vision of Canada contributed to their social and political exclusion. The federal government, pressured by "non-British, non-French" Canadians, changed its direction away from biculturalism toward multiculturalism (McRoberts 1997).

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Chapter 3. Defining Multiculturalism

Over the last few decades, there has been a rising popularity to speak of multiculturalism in all its forms. "Multicultural curricula" in education, "multicultural communities" in cities, multicultural congregations in churches, "multicultural families," and "multicultural workplaces," are only some of many new terms entering our daily life. Coupled with this rhetoric has been that of "diversity awareness" and "diversity education," forms of encouraging and facilitating self-examination to unveil preconceived biases and prejudices, and acknowledge each individual's cultural embeddedness. All this is done in the name of "valuing diversity," or "managing diversity," in our schools, places of worship, workplaces and communities. Proponents of cross-cultural understanding, communication and collaboration, organize groups and initiatives claiming "multiculturalism" as a founding pillar and central tenet of group goals and objectives. The emergence of a new vocabulary to describe every day life is evidence of the changing social landscape of our communities.

Despite the abundance of literature, art, theory, and entire professions based on multiculturalism, one can't help but wonder what exactly is meant by it all? What is *multiculturalism*? Is there one shared definition across disciplines? Do students, educators, laborers, employers, entrepreneurs, legislators, and politicians view multiculturalism the same way? How does multiculturalism manifest itself in urban space? Where, and how, is it situated in cities? What does this mean for city planning and urban development?

In this chapter, I examine multiculturalism as a public philosophy born out of the *politics of difference*, a convergence of social phenomena that emerged directly after World War II resulting in the mobilization of historically oppressed peoples demanding justice and equality and the mass migrations of people across physical and political boundaries. I aim to demonstrate that "multiculturalism," although presented as a new conception of urban-ness, is based in traditional representations of the city as a space of "difference," "struggle," and "contestation." Understanding the history of ethnocultural relations in Canada, it is possible to see the effects of each of these phenomena on Canadian society and their role in shaping the Canadian nation and conceptions of citizenship within a policy of multiculturalism.

I do not intend to critique multiculturalism or to determine whether it should be viewed as "good" or "bad." Rather, this section of the thesis aims simply to contradict the conception of

multiculturalism as it is often constructed – as a contemporary phenomena – to instead demonstrate how the concept embodies much of what has characterized urban life; the convergence of cultures in urban space, the constant struggle for recognition and representation in that space, and the right to the expression of difference. Multicultural cities themselves are not new to urban societies.[9] However, the ways in which the convergence of culture, language, and religion in cities impacts existing social structures and political systems is new and always changing. It is these changing dynamics of power and politics to which the city building and management professions must learn to adapt.

THE POLITICS OF DIFFERENCE

Three phenomena have contributed to the development of this new politics: the age of migration, the age of post-colonialism, and the rise of civil society and urban social movements (Sandercock 2000). The politics of difference has resulted in the "socio-cultural reshaping of cities and regions" and is characterized by the reclaiming of ideological and physical space, of urban and regional space, by indigenous and other formerly colonized, marginalized, or oppressed peoples (Sandercock 2002). These politics fight for a "triumvirate of citizen rights": the right to voice, to difference, and to human flourishing (Sandercock 2000).

The Age of Migration

It is difficult to characterize International migration and population change as elements only of modern society; nevertheless, it is possible that the volume and significance of international migration today, is what distinguishes it from demographic change in the past (Sandercock 2000). Many factors contribute to the movement of individuals, families, and groups across political and physical borders. The increasing gap between the rich and the poor leads entire families to migrate in hopes of finding work and the social and financial capital necessary to improve their prospects for advancement in society. Meanwhile, natural disasters wipe out entire urban developments and survivors must migrate to start a new life. Political forces, such as civil wars, ethnic conflict, "cleansing," and genocide create mass migrations of refugees, as do international wars and military coups and occupations. Increased competition between

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[9] For example, in his work "Civilization in Color: The Multicultural City in Three Millennia," Xavier de Sousa Briggs states that "for much of recorded history, cities have been regarded as cradles of diversity, or, to put it more modestly, as being *more* hospitable to differences in identity, belief, and behavior than the surrounding countryside" (Briggs 2002). He examines medieval Cordoba and ancient Rome as cities that possessed arrangements that enabled governance of everyday life amidst ethnic and religious diversity.

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multinational firms fuels a constant need for cheap labor, drawing immigrants from lesser-developed nations who are willing to take jobs shunned by citizens of developed nations. The results of these push and pull factors are large cities around the world that are becoming increasingly culturally and ethnically diverse.

The Age of Post-Colonialism

Throughout history, colonizers have conquered and compartmentalized territory, occupying space at the expense of the colonized and colonial expansion and urban development processes have served to exclude and dispossess indigenous and other subjugated peoples of their space (Sandercock 2000). Today, post-colonial urban areas feel the impact of formerly colonized populations exercising "their right to migrate to the heartland of the empire" (Sandercock 2000). Examples of this migration are evident in the influx of Algerians to Paris, France, and Indians and Pakistanis to London, England. This migration from margin to mainstream is also mirrored in the movement of indigenous populations from rural reservations to central cities, as seen in North and South America and Australia, where indigenous populations have, over time, been making their way into the city.

This inter- and intra- national movement of people creates urban settlement patterns that result in spatially concentrated populations, forming whole ethnic neighborhoods and communities that enable the preservation of cultural, religious and linguistic practices of different groups. With increased ease in transportation and communication, many of these urban newcomers maintain ties with families and friends in their homelands. Today, many scholars and practitioners have begun to understand that ties to home countries are not just social, but also economic, and current research on immigrant entrepreneurship aims to understand the impact of immigrants' remittances on economic development and revitalization in their countries of origin. Thus, urban citizens today are increasingly transnational and multicultural, not belonging to one nation or another, but spanning multiple homelands and identities.

The Age of Social Movements & Civil Society

Sandercock situates the rise of civil society and social movements in the 1970s (although one can argue that it began in the 50s and '60s, such as with the U.S. Civil Rights Movement) and the rise of social justice and equity movements around the world. These social movements mark the urban uprising of historically marginalized and oppressed people. The feminist movement in the 1970's, and the backlash of women of color arguing for their own definitions of feminism in

the '80's, the Chicano Movement, the Black Power movement, and many others demonstrate efforts made by minority group members to make claims to space, to rights and representation in their communities and in society. Similarly, gay rights, environmentalism, anti-racism and equity for the disabled also represent "a re-awakening and an expansion of the notion of citizen rights" (Sandercock 2000).

Cities are continuing in their role as the site of social struggle and contestation over space. With international migration bringing together large numbers of diverse populations, and technology and transportation facilitating ease of information sharing and travel, citizenship is plural and crosscutting of national political borders. Poverty and socioeconomic barriers faced by third world citizens enters first world political discourse through migrant family and community members, international students, transnational business partnerships, and the relocation of political asylees and refugees. Political and economic concerns of urban citizens are no longer contained within spatial or geographic boundaries, and social and political discourse in cities reflects this diversity.

THE RIGHT TO DIFFERENCE

The "right to difference," according to Sandercock, "is an ongoing struggle for public policies that acknowledge and value socially constructed group differences in the increasingly diverse cities of our world" (Sandercock 2000). The mobilization of civil society makes evident the need for policies that address social injustice. These claims for justice address redistribution of resources and recognition of gender difference and the distinct perspectives of ethnic, racial, and sexual minorities (Fraser 2003). A politics of difference embodies these claims and demands representation in space and society, placing particular emphasis on respect and recognition, and the valorization, celebration and expression, of *difference*. When this need is not met, individuals and groups are rendered invisible and marginal to the societies in which they live and their civic worth and contribution to public life is lessened.

A politics of difference counteracts oppression, gives political representation to minority groups and celebrates diverse cultures and communities, within the constructs of democratic citizenship (Merrifield & Swyngedouw 1996). Ethnic minorities, at times finding themselves excluded from such citizenship, require a politics that treats difference as variation rather than opposition; oppressed and disadvantaged groups must have specific, differentiated representation

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in the public sphere (Young 1993). A politics of difference aims social equality among explicitly differentiated groups who live together without exclusions (Young 1993).

In addressing the role of recognition in identity formation, Charles Taylor writes that misrecognition can cripple its victims with self-hatred; that "identity is partly shaped by recognition or its absence, often by the *mis*recognition of others, and so a person or group of people can suffer real damage, real distortion, if the people or society around them mirror back to them a confining or demeaning or contemptible picture of themselves" (Taylor 1994). The politics of difference asks for the recognition of the unique identity and distinctness of individuals or groups and requires that such distinctions be made the basis of differential treatment (Taylor 1994). He argues that "the further demand... is that we all *recognize* the equal value of different cultures; that we not only let them survive, but acknowledge their *worth*" (Taylor 1994). Recognition is a matter of justice and *mis*recognition is externally manifest, publicly impeding individuals' ability to act as full members of society (Fraser 2003). Advocating difference has less to do with defending distinct ways of life or social practices and more to do with valorizing markers that signify of difference (Mehta 2000).

Scholars' work regarding a politics of difference acknowledges the importance of the respect and recognition of difference, and asserts that individuals and groups must maintain a *right to difference* in order to obtain full citizenship and sustain their rightful place in the public and in society.

THE RIGHT TO THE CITY

The "right to difference" explicit in a *politics* of difference places particular emphasis on the rights of an individual in the public sphere. This right aims to ensure an individual's place of belonging in the public, to being an active participant in that public, and having the freedom to assert their individuality in that public. Much like the "right to difference," Henri Lefebvre's "right to the city" recognizes the importance of participation and representation in the urban public.

Lefebvre's "right to the city" is well situated in liberal democratic notions of freedom of choice, the pursuit of one's definition of "good," and to participation in public life and the decision-making processes that govern society.[10] He purports that the right to the city is situated

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[10]In "Minority Cultures and the Cosmopolitan Alternative," Jeremy Waldron summarizes the liberal perspective as one which stresses the importance of "each individual's adoption of a particular conception of the good, a view about what makes life worth living, and again a person's rights are the protections he needs in order to be able to choose and follow such values on equal terms with others..." (Waldron 1995).

"as a superior form of rights: right to freedom, to individualization in socialization, to habitat and to inhabit." It entails the right to the *oeuvre*, to participation and appropriation.[11] Inherent in the right to the city is the legitimacy of the right to refuse the removal of oneself from the "urban reality by a discriminatory and segregative organization" (Lefebvre 1996). The rights of citizens and city dwellers, and of the groups constitute, appear on all the networks and circuits of communication, information and exchange, based on the notion of "centrality," the essential quality of urban space (Lefebvre 1996). Lefebvre argued for the right of individual citizens to inhabit the public sphere, to be present in public space, and to participate in civic life.

Individuals all possess a "right to the city"; to urban life, characterized by spontaneity and heterogeneity, and the experience of the city as a place of encounter. For Lefebvre, urban life entailed "meetings, the confrontation of *differences* [emphasis mine], reciprocal knowledge and acknowledgment (including ideological and political confrontation), ways of living, 'patterns', which coexist in the city," (Lefebvre 1996). Exclusion of individuals, groups, and classes from the "urban" led to exclusion from civilization and from society; and as difference is inherently urban; the city is home to difference. It is through life in the city that an individual is exposed to difference, both ideological and political, and the right to the city is a right possessed by all. It is a "right to presence, to occupy public space, and to participate as an equal in public affairs" (Sandercock 2003).

DEFINITIONS OF MULTICULTURALISM

Multiculturalism encompasses a politics of difference in several ways. Leonie Sandercock differentiates between multiculturalism as policy and multiculturalism as public philosophy. Sandercock defines a multicultural policy as a "decision to embrace and accommodate difference," however, she declares that multiculturalism as a public philosophy "acknowledges racial and cultural differences in a society and encourages their sustenance and expression as constituent elements of a national social order (Sandercock 2000). Multiculturalism entails a movement to bring about recognition and appreciation of diverse cultures (James 2000). It is a philosophy that is fueled by identity movements that articulate distinctions of race and ethnicity, gender and sexual orientation as well as other differences (Beauregard 2000). Mohammad Qadeer

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[11] The *oeuvre* is defined as "participation," and is "unique, though it may be copied; it is a totality assembling difference, characterized by formal simultaneity where all parts refer to the whole and vice versa. The city itself is the supreme *oeuvre*, which enters into conflictual, ambiguous and dialectical relationships with its institutional form (1967a, 161)." [As stated in the introduction of *Writings on Cities*.]

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echoes this sentiment, stating that a multicultural philosophy "envisages society as a mosaic of beliefs, practices and customs, not as a melting pot assimilating different racial and cultural groups" (Qadeer 1997). He also posits multiculturalism as more than the simple tolerance of people with different beliefs, behaviours, and lifestyles, but as a vision of state and society where different cultural groups and communities co-exist as equals (Qadeer 2000). Individuals are entitled to their respective ways of life in the private sphere but are nonetheless tied to common institutions encountered in the public sphere; institutions that require reconstruction in order to incorporate the values and ideals of all citizens (Qadeer 2000).

While it is difficult to offer a concrete and finite definition of multiculturalism, it is possible to identify strains of thought that are consistent among scholars who write on the subject. To paraphrase the above-mentioned definitions, multiculturalism encompasses equal respect and recognition of difference, and the active, deliberate support of expressions of difference and sustenance of that difference. *Difference* itself, represents *diversity*, in language, culture, religion, nationality, gender, ability, and all other factors that contribute to differentiated experiences in human societies.

The binding elements of multiculturalism and the politics of difference lie in the recognition, embracing, accommodation and expression of difference. Therefore, multiculturalism entails encouraging difference, sustaining difference, and allowing its actual expression. Too, advocates of multiculturalism promote the peaceful coexistence of individuals and groups in a pluralist or multiethnic society, celebrating and sustaining language diversity, religious diversity, and continually striving toward social equity. Still, the binary nature of multiculturalism, as philosophy and policy, further complicates the delineation of a finite definition. This contributes to the tendency for the term to be used to refer to any issue pertaining to diversity and equity. So, how can such a broad and transformative ideological concept inform legislation or manifest itself in urban policy? What would be the implications of such policy on the planning profession? A closer look at official multiculturalism in Canada provides an example of one country's transformation of multiculturalism as a public philosophy into policy.

Chapter 4. Multiculturalism in Canada

MULTICULTURALISM WITHIN A BILINGUAL FRAMEWORK

Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau introduced "Multiculturalism Within a Bilingual Framework" in 1971, making Canada the first country in the world to establish legislation pertaining to the concept of "multiculturalism."[12] Addressing the House of Commons on October 8, Prime Minister Trudeau stated that:

> A policy of Multiculturalism within a bilingual framework commends itself to the government as the most suitable means of assuring the cultural freedom of Canadians. Such a policy should help break down discriminatory attitudes and cultural jealousies. National unity if it is to mean anything in the deeply personal sense, must be founded on confidence in one's own individual identity; out of this can grow respect for that of others and a willingness to share ideas, attitudes and assumptions. A vigorous policy of multiculturalism will help create this initial confidence. It can form the base of a society which is based on fair play for all.[13]

The federal response, on the same date, states:

> The government is concerned with preserving human rights, developing Canadian identity, strengthening citizenship participation, reinforcing Canadian unity and encouraging cultural diversification within a bilingual framework. These objectives can best be served through a policy of multiculturalism composed of four main elements.
>
> 1. The government of Canada will support all of Canada's cultures and will seek to assist, resources permitting, the development of those cultural groups which have demonstrated a desire and effort to continue to develop, a capacity to grow and contribute to Canada, as well as a clear need for assistance.
>
> 2. The Government will assist members of all cultural groups to overcome cultural barriers to full participation in Canadian society.
>
> 3. The Government will promote creative encounters and interchange among all Canadian cultural groups in the interest of national unity.

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[12] Trudeau's multicultural policy was deeply entrenched in his personal ideological pursuits, which adhered to the support of individual human rights, the right to freedom and the social and political means to exercise that freedom. Trudeau advocated for the ability of individual human rights to secure French culture and language throughout Canadian society, diffusing the concentrated opposition in Quebec (McRoberts 1997).

[13] "Multiculturalism." (1971, October 8). Pierre Elliot Trudeau & Government Response to Volume 4 of the Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism.

4. The Government will continue to assist immigrants to acquire at least one of Canada's official languages in order to become full participants in Canadian society. [14]

THE EVOLUTION OF A MULTICULTURAL POLICY

The development of official multiculturalism in Canada, existing at the federal, provincial and municipal levels of government, has been characterized into three stages: an incipient phase, formative phase and institutionalization. The years before the introduction of Trudeau's policy in 1971 constitute the first phase and encompass the gradual acceptance of ethnic diversity as a legitimate and integrated component of Canadian society (Leman 1999). Prior to the introduction of Trudeau's multicultural policy, legislative changes were paving the way to open Canada's borders and shift public thinking on issues of immigration, diversity and equity. By the 1950s, the Canadian federal government had come to consider ethno-cultural diversity an "essential ingredient in a distinct Canadian identity" (Heritage Canada 2004). Although Canada's 1956 Immigration Act had established British, American, and white Commonwealth immigrants as those whose origins comprised Canada's "favored nations," this overtly racist policy was reconfigured by the Immigration Act of 1962 which removed such "preferential treatment" and instead focused on economic qualifications such as education, training and skills (Wallace 1999).

The formative phase, the decade between 1971 and 1981, reflects the Canadian government's recognition of the role and contributions of other ethnic groups in Canadian society. In 1972, that a multicultural directorate was approved and $200 million of the federal budget was allocated toward the implementation of multicultural programs and sponsorship of activities targeted at ethnic minorities (Leman 1999). In 1973, the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism, which later became the Canadian Ethnocultural Council, was formed to forge connections between ethnic organizations and government (Leman 1999). That same year, the Ministry of Multiculturalism was also formed to monitor the implementation of multicultural policies in government. Another important occurrence in this phase was the introduction of the Immigration Act of 1976, which brought about important changes for how immigration policy would function in Canada. It required the federal government to determine policy objectives and to set target goals for annual immigration (Citizenship & Immigration Canada 2000). The Act

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[14] Ibid.

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called for consultation with provinces on the planning and management of immigration; and allowed refugees to be considered a distinct group to be selected and admitted apart from immigrants (Citizenship & Immigration Canada, 2000). In 1977, the same year that the Charter of the French Language recognized French as the official language of provincial government, business and education in Quebec, the federal government also introduced the Citizenship Act, publicly redefining notions of citizenship and Canadian identity.[15] The 1977 Citizenship Act dismantled the preexisting preference for British persons and declared improved access and equal treatment as guiding principles to granting Canadian citizenship to all applicants (Citizenship & Immigration Canada, 2000).[16] The Act states that naturalized and native-born citizens possess equal power, privileges, and rights as well as obligations, duties and liabilities inherent in that citizenship (Citizenship & Immigration Canada, 2000).

The final phase, beginning in the 1980s, encompasses institutionalization of multicultural policies in Canadian government. Government focus mirrors shifting race relations in Canada (the changing ethnic composition of cities as a result of immigration and backlash from some individuals and groups promoting racism) by first aiding institutions to adapt to the presence of other ethnic groups and then introducing anti-racism programming (Leman 1999). In 1982, the federal government introduced the Charter of Rights and Freedoms which secured universal fundamental freedoms and equality rights to every individual; and granted to Canadian citizens democratic, legal, and mobility rights, as well as language and minority language educational rights. In 1984, the Special Parliamentary Committee on Visible Minorities released the report *Equality Now!*, bringing further attention to the struggle of racial and ethnic minorities for equal rights in Canadian society. In 1985 the House of Commons Standing Committee on Multiculturalism was established and an Act for the Preservation and Enhancement of Multiculturalism in Canada, also known as the "Canadian Multiculturalism Act," was introduced. The Act declared the policy of the Government of Canada to "recognize and promote the

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[15] Thus, the focus on French nationalism in Quebec is evident in discourse and legislation put forth by the federal government. First, with the passing of the Established Programs (Interim Arrangements) Act of 1965, which allowed Quebec full responsibility of certain programs that were jointly run by federal and provincial governments throughout the rest of the country; then the Official Languages Act of 1967; next, Multiculturalism Within a Bilingual Framework in 1971, which further emphasized bilingualism in the federal government and the government's attempt to put the English and French languages on equal footing; and the 1977 Charter of the French Language. These events illustrate political and intellectual leaders' struggle to "accommodate Quebec's new aspirations, however troubling and frustrating they may have been" (McRoberts 1997: 38).

[16] Canada's 1947 Immigration Act had required all non-Canadians to undertake a five-year waiting period before applying for naturalization, but allowed only British subjects to qualify for Canadian citizenship without a hearing before a judge or taking an oath of allegiance (Citizenship & immigration Canada 2000).

understanding that multiculturalism reflects the cultural and racial diversity of Canadian society" and "is a fundamental characteristic of the Canadian heritage and identity." The Act also called for the promotion of the freedom of individuals to "preserve, enhance, and share" their cultural heritage and the "full and equitable participation of individuals and communities" in Canadian society.[17]

In 1988, amendments to the Multiculturalism Act entitled "Implementation of the Multiculturalism Policy of Canada" a specific mandate of the Minister made evident the primary objectives of official multiculturalism to be recognition and respect of Canada's ethnocultural diversity, recognizing the contributions of those ethnocultural groups to Canadian society, encouraging civic participation among all citizens of Canada, and decreasing barriers to participation where they exist (Heritage Canada 2004). This renewed policy aimed to:

> ...encourage and assist the business community, labour organizations, voluntary and other private organizations, as well as public institutions, in ensuring full participation in Canadian society, including social and economic aspects, of individuals of all origins and their communities, and in promoting respect and appreciation for the multicultural reality of Canada (Heritage 2004)

The Department of Multiculturalism and Citizenship was formed in 1989 but was dismantled four years later, in 1993, and was integrated into two separate entities of Canadian government, the Canadian Heritage Department, under which a Secretary of State of Multiculturalism was appointed, and the Department of Citizenship and Immigration (Leman 1999).[18] Canada also introduced an Employment Equity Act in 1995, which aimed to ensure equality in the workplace and "to correct the conditions of disadvantage in employment experienced by women, aboriginal peoples, persons with disabilities and members of visible minorities by giving effect to the principle that employment equity means more than treating persons in the same way but also requires special measures and the accommodation of differences."[19] This same year, Citizenship and Immigration announced the comprehensive review of multicultural programming within the department in response to criticisms of the policy voiced by members of the public. In 1996, the Canadian Race Relations Foundation was established, created by the federal government as an entity charged with undertaking research, disseminating

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[17] Canadian Multiculturalism Act. R.S., 1985, c. 24 (4th Supp.)
[18] The Canadian Heritage Department is also referred to as "Heritage Canada" and the Department of Citizenship and Immigration as "Citizenship & Immigration Canada."
[19] Employment Equity Act 1995, c. 44

information, and collaborating with other businesses, organizations, and institutions to promote programs and projects working toward the elimination of racism and racial discrimination in Canada.[20] More recently, in 2002, the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act recognizes immigrants' and refugees' contributions to the nation; encourages immigration of workers with flexible skills to Canada; and speeds family reunification.[21]

UNDERSTANDING MULTICULTURALISM IN CANADA

Accepting Sandercock's portrayal of multiculturalism as policy and public philosophy, it is possible to examine the ways in which official multiculturalism in Canada attempts to function as both. Elements of a multicultural, pluri-ethnic public philosophy are evident in Canada's national narrative and the telling of this story over time. Furthermore, legislative additions and amendments since 1971, demonstrate the federal government's desire to implement multiculturalism into federal equity law.

What the Policy Achieves

Building the Nation

"Multiculturalism" is perceived as embedded in Canadian history. A brief analysis of government statements on multiculturalism is a useful example of this.[22] "Diversity" is considered a "fundamental characteristic of Canada since its beginnings," and bilingualism exists "at the very core" of the Canadian approach to diversity. The statement declares that Canada's advantage lies in "having been a multicultural society from our earliest days." As immigrants become naturalized and obtain Canadian citizenship, they learn to "share the basic values of democracy with all other Canadians who came before them." The active participation in civic life of all members of Canadian society ensures an "integrated and inclusive citizenship will be every Canadian's inheritance." Similarly, in the federal response to Trudeau's address in 1971, the government states that "it believes the time is overdue for the people of Canada to become more aware of the rich tradition of the many cultures we have in Canada," a tradition it regards as "a heritage to treasure."

The perception of heterogeneity and difference as always and forever present in the Canadian nation (as evident in the government's language that presents multiculturalism as

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[20] Canadian Race Relations Foundation Act 1991, c. 8
[21] Immigration and Refugee Protection Act 2001, c. 27
[22] The quotes included from this statement are excerpts taken from "Canadian Diversity: Respecting Our Differences," posted on the Canadian Department of Heritage website.

"fundamental," "traditional," and "inherited") cements a sense of continuity and antiquity in what is actually the modern condition of ethnic plurality in Canada. The shifts in Canadian national identity throughout the processes of colonialism, confederation and independence, industrialization and now globalization, demonstrate the nature of that identity as informed by changing social conditions in Canada, supporting the notion of the Canadian nation as constructed and reconstructed over time. Thus, multiculturalism in Canada demonstrates theory of nation building as encompassing narratives that present the nation as ancient, continuous, and inherited; the process of "reading the nation genealogically – as the expression of an historical tradition" (Anderson 1983). Multiculturalism in Canada is an example of the constant redefinition of a national ideology, one that constructs multiculturalism as both new and old, as an element of Canadian society long embedded in its national history, reawakening in modern time.

Increasing ethnic diversity in cities, a new French nationalism in Quebec, and claims for justice from indigenous and ethnic minority populations brought a "politics of difference" to the forefront of Canadian national discourse. This new politics created an opportunity for the Canadian federal government to rely once more on the salient nature of ethnic identity in Canada to resolve a potentially destructive political situation between "English" and "French" Canada. By enforcing, publicizing, and politicizing the ethnic identity of all the diverse cultural groups in Canada, the state could diffuse one powerful threat—French ethnic identity and nationalism in Quebec. Bilingualism, biculturalism, and now multiculturalism are products of a national ideology that has historically placed emphasis on cultural plurality and difference.

Promoting Democratic Citizenship

Official multiculturalism in Canada can also be understood as "democratic pluralism," defined as a society in which diverse ethnic, racial, religious, and social groups have autonomy to participate in their traditional culture within a single state (Doran 2001). Democratic pluralism serves as a "legal guarantee" that assimilation is not required of ethnic groups and allows and encourages "individual communal groups to develop their own culture and value preference inside the larger democratic polity" (Doran 2001). Canada's multiculturalism fits nicely into the conceptual framework of democratic pluralism where emphasis is placed on the democratic process (Doran 2001).

The Canadian federal government's position affirms that confidence and security in one's individual identity, through the preservation and practice of one's ethnic culture, leads to

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increased participation in national society. This allows for groups to protect their core values while "accommodating the larger polity through the means of the democratic process" (Doran 2001). The Canadian government's statements regarding the importance of identity as linked to citizenship speaks directly to notions of the value of cultural group membership.[23] Pierre Trudeau asserted that, "adherence to one's ethnic group is influenced... by one's sense of belonging to the group."[24] In the same address, he later stresses that the multicultural policy supports "individual freedom of choice" and equates this freedom with the freedom to be oneself. In the federal response to Trudeau's address, the government acknowledges that "one of man's basic needs is a sense of belonging" and that "the more secure we feel in one particular social context, the more we are free to explore our identity beyond it"; "ethnic groups often provide people with a sense of belonging which can make them better able to cope with the rest of society than they would as isolated individuals."[25]

Doran purports that the myth of multiculturalism encourages Canadian citizens to believe that they need not give up their cultural heritage in order to become Canadian. In this manner, cultural diversity is established and encouraged in Canadian society within a democratic framework. Although Doran cautions that democratic pluralism should not be used to achieve rights and obligations for single communities, he does state that such a framework is desirable as far as its ability to: facilitate the interaction of cultural-linguistic groups with one another and with the state; enable the government to function despite divisions among various communities and interest groups; and support the "identification, self-expression, and prosperity" of cultural-linguistic communities (Doran 2001).[26] Conceptions of "good," and definitions of rights and duties required by citizens, within democratic pluralism, are broad enough that all groups are able to find agreement within the provided framework. Furthermore, democratic pluralism unites liberal

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[23] The value of cultural group membership lies in its ability to provide an individual with "meaningful options, in the sense that 'familiarity with a culture determines the boundaries of the imaginable'" (Kymlicka 1995). Cultural membership also provides an individual with a sense of self, a notion of self identity. It is this identity that affords a sense of belonging to a cultural community. Similarly, Charles Doran asserts, "because the culture and the identity of the community are secure, the community is able to participate in the activities of the larger polity" (Doran 2001).

[24] "Multiculturalism." (1971, October). Pierre Elliott Trudeau, & Government Response to Volume 4 of the Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Doran's assertion that democratic pluralism should not be used to advance "rights for single communities" may be related to Kymlicka's notions of "minority group rights" or "group differentiated rights." Group differentiated rights are understood as encompassing; self government rights, rights to sovereignty; polyethnic rights, those that provide special rights or exemptions for ethnic groups consistent with their cultural or religious practices; and special representation rights, those that delineate a form of proportional representation in legislative bodies to members of a disadvantaged minority group (Kymlicka 1995).

democratic principles of universal civic participation and the protection of individual rights (Doran 2001).

While the Canadian government recognizes the value inherent in each individual's identity, and recognizes that identity as formed from and situated within particular ethno-cultural contexts, the end goal aims to strengthen individual association with Canadian citizenship and participation within Canadian society. In this manner, individuals are granted the freedom of choice to form their identities within specific cultural contexts and promote and preserve those cultures in which their identities are embedded, without compromising their Canadian identity and citizenship.

Official multiculturalism in Canada is based within liberal conceptions of individual freedom, autonomy, equal respect and equal opportunity to live one's life according to one's definition of "good." From a liberal democratic standpoint, the Canadian government, by encouraging the acquisition of one of the official languages of Canada, encouraging participation in civic life, and supporting the recognition (by all Canadian citizens and government institutions) of the value of identity and cultural heritage, attempts to place its citizens on equal footing from which to seize opportunities for social, political, and economic advancement.

Shaping Public Perception & Discourse

As illustrated by the review of intergroup relations in Canada over time, the Canadian national narrative, deeply impacts how citizens think of Canada today. The case of official multiculturalism in Canada serves as a means through which to understand how national government policies determine, influence, and impact public perception in society. Multicultural policies lend a "sense of legitimacy, given the values that they symbolize, and therefore represent an indirect governmental endorsement for the objectives and activities of ethnic organizations" (Institute on Governance 2001). It also legitimizes space for making claims of citizenship rights with regard to racism, policing, education, housing and social services (Sandercock 2005). These policies define Canadian identity and delineate the terms of citizenship. Public acknowledgement of a history of colonialism, racism and cultural oppression, and an understanding of how these processes affect modern society, is a step that few countries in the world have taken. The truth and reconciliation hearings in post-apartheid South Africa are one other example of a national acknowledgement of government's role in social oppression of certain groups in society. The federal government of Canada, by instigating an official policy of multiculturalism, publicly

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acknowledges its ethnic diversity, the continued marginalization of certain groups of the population, and contributions made by minorities, aboriginals, and immigrants to Canadian society. Although it is difficult to measure the impact of such policies on Canadian society, there is no doubt that the policy plays a critical role in creating an environment amenable for public discourse to confront these issues in society.

Directing Other Levels of Government

As previously discussed, the Canadian Prime Minister introduced official multiculturalism into legislation in 1971.[27] Presently, the Department of Canadian Heritage and the Department of Citizenship and Immigration are the two entities charged with the development and promotion of multicultural programs within government.[28] These departments are housed under the Ministry, or the Cabinet of government.[29] The Multiculturalism Act of 1988 called on all federal institutions to ensure equal opportunity to employment for all Canadians, and promote policies, programs and practices that enhance individuals and communities' ability to contribute to the evolution of Canada and to enhance understanding and respect of diversity in Canadian society.[30] The 1988 Act also called on ministers, members of cabinet, to support and assist individuals, organizations and institutions in preserving, enhancing and expressing the multicultural heritage of Canada, including the acquisition and retention of languages that contribute to that heritage and conducting activities to overcome discrimination based on race and ethnic origin. Ministers are granted permission to enter into agreement with any province, to assist in implementing the multicultural policy in Canada, and any foreign state, to assist in fostering the multicultural character of Canada.[31] Finally Ministers were granted the ability to form multicultural advisory councils or committees to assist in implementing the Act. These committees are charged with the task of submitting to the minister an annual report depicting efforts and advancements made with respect to implementing multicultural policies in Canadian government.

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[27] The leader of the political party that wins more than half the votes in an election is called upon by the Governor General to act as Prime Minister. In 1971, Pierre Elliot Trudeau was leader of the Liberal party, the political majority at that time.

[28] The Department of Canadian Heritage is responsible for official languages, arts and cultures, national parks and historic sites, voluntary action, human rights, broadcasting, amateur sports, and the State Ceremonial and National Capital Commission (Leman 1999). The Department of Canadian Heritage, housing both the Minister of Canadian Heritage and Minister of State of Multiculturalism, is responsible for overseeing multicultural programming in government that fosters equity, civic participation and an inclusive identity in Canadian Society (Leman 1999).

[29] Cabinet members are also referred to as "ministers" and are all appointed by the Prime Minister (See Appendix). Cabinet members are all members of the Queens Privy Council and the House of Commons.

[30] Canadian Multiculturalism Act, R.S., 1985, c. 24 (4th Supp.)

[31] Ibid.

All provinces in Canada have adopted a form of multiculturalism policy.[32] Provinces may have actual multicultural legislation and/or have charged an advisory council with the task of implementing multicultural policy and reporting to the minister responsible for promoting multiculturalism in the province (Leman 1999). Several municipal governments in Canada have also adopted multicultural policies (Leman 1999).[33]

British Columbia is one of ten provinces in the country. In 2002 British Columbia's Ministry of Community, Aboriginal and Women's Services sponsored a steering committee charged with devising future directions for multiculturalism and anti-racism in the province. The Committee presented a vision and strategic plan for multiculturalism and anti-racism policies and programming. This vision aimed "to enhance the effectiveness of all multiculturalism and anti-racism efforts occurring throughout the province, and to offer the best path towards achieving safe, harmonious and vibrant communities" (BC Multicultural Advisory Council 2005). The Multicultural Advisory Council of BC identified six key concepts to guide the province:

1) promoting understanding and celebration of Canadian multiculturalism;
2) building capability of leaders and systems to prevent bias, hate, prejudice and discrimination;
3) providing incentives for the public and private sectors to create opportunities for disadvantaged individuals and groups;
4) ensure availability and accessibility of resources toward multiculturalism and anti-racism;
5) support research and community forums on bias and hate and the effectiveness of trainings and interventions; and
6) monitor and support other ministries in promoting and modeling multiculturalism and anti-racism.

In 2003, provincial government appointed eighteen individuals representing a diversity of regional and ethnocultural backgrounds to the Multicultural Advisory Council for British Columbia. The Council is responsible for advising the Minister of Community, Aboriginal and Women's Services on issues of multiculturalism and the elimination of racism in society.

The case of British Columbia demonstrates how official multiculturalism in Canada has led other levels of government to adopt multicultural policies. The national policy requires that

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[32] Canada is comprised of ten provinces and three territories. Provincial government in Canada is responsible for civil and property rights of individuals, administration of justice, natural resources and the environment, education, health and welfare (Marlatt 2005).

[33] Municipalities in Canada are considered creations of the province, since they are created through a constitutional clause that allows provincial governments to delegate some responsibilities to another governing body through a clause in the Canadian constitution (Marlatt 2005). In this manner, provincial government determines the breadth of municipal jurisdiction and governance.

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cabinet members work with provincial governments to facilitate the implementation of multicultural and anti-racism programs. Thus, a national policy on multiculturalism attempts to set precedence and serves as a framework within which other levels of government may facilitate the full integration of immigrants and other ethnic minorities into the Canadian public and into Canadian civic life.

What the Policy Does Not Achieve

As stated in the introduction, an overarching objective of this thesis was to trace legislation from the national official multicultural policy to the local level. Throughout my research on Canadian history and multiculturalism, I was unable to find documentation that outlined a specific federal mandate directed to provincial and municipal level governments. In other words, it was difficult to find what exactly the other levels of government are expected to *do*. While this is not meant to assume that such a link between national and local government does not exist, it does reiterate the question stated earlier, in Chapter 1, as to what extent the national multicultural policy is implemented at the municipal government level and to whether the policy in fact *matters* to city planners and their daily practice.

Official multiculturalism in Canada at the federal level espouses vague terms that do not imply direct action, other than legislation that calls for the formation of departments, councils and committees in government. Policies consist of language that states the government's desire to "support," "encourage," "assist," "foster" and "promote" multicultural and integrative programming for racial and ethnic minorities, immigrants and aboriginals in Canadian society. Scholars' critiques on official multiculturalism in Canada reveal this discrepancy. The federal multicultural policy does not speak directly to the need for systemic and structural adjustments in Canadian society (Henry 2002). Furthermore, the policy is criticized for being symbolic in nature with no political repercussions (Mackey 2002).[34]

Official multiculturalism in Canada appears not to make any specific demands of government institutions, apart from the intent to develop and maintain multicultural programs and dedication to treating all citizens with equal respect. The policy makes no specific reference to

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[34] Eva Mackey exposes the ways in which the recognition of diversity can also limit diversity. Through her analysis of a *Legislative Briefing Book* passed out to members of parliament before the passing of the Multiculturalism Act of 1988, she concludes that the multicultural policy and legislation are highly "symbolic" in nature and possess "no political teeth," describing the Act as nonadversarial and non-coercive. The Act, Mackey purports, is "primarily concerned with mobilizing diversity for the project of nation building, as well as limiting that diversity to symbolic rather than political forms" (Mackey 2002).

the desired budget and resource allocations to be put toward the implementation of multicultural programs. Apart from the formation of advisory councils and committees to ministers, no attention is paid to delineating what government entity or individual position in government should be held accountable and made responsible for the oversight of implemented programs. Provincial and municipal governments determine these arrangements on their own. The policy also fails to provide clear models, or examples, of the types of programs it is meant to promote. While, the Multiculturalism Act does mention that ministers should work with provinces to develop programs that foster cultural interchange among citizens and expand knowledge of the diverse cultures that comprise Canadian society, nowhere is there provided a model of what such programs might look like or how they might function. While contributing to the establishment of official holidays, commemorations, and celebrations (such as an official Canadian Multiculturalism Day, heritage and history months, and even an official Multiculturalism Week in British Columbia) multicultural policies make no reference to the types of activities individuals, groups and organizations at the local level may undertake to gain support from provincial government, aside from those general guidelines mentioned above.

As stated earlier, Canada's multicultural policy lends itself to public acknowledgement and expression of difference. The federal government demonstrates its commitment to the full integration and participation of immigrants and ethnic minorities in Canadian public life. The policy does not, however, achieve any form of group-differentiated rights for ethnic minority groups in Canadian society.[35] Furthermore, multicultural policies treat immigrants, ethnic minorities, and aboriginals as monolithic groups and make no distinctions to differences that exist *within* those groups. For example, no distinctions are made between English and French speaking immigrant groups, such as citizens of the Commonwealth, Filipinos and some African immigrants, from those for whom acquiring one of Canada's official languages is a significant barrier to participation. The policy also overlooks differences such as religious beliefs and relative socioeconomic status of immigrant groups. Furthermore, no specific mention is made of Canada's First Nations, minority groups whose experience in Canadian society does not entail transition to a new host country.

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[35] Group differentiated rights are understood as encompassing; self government rights, the right to sovereignty; polyethnic rights, those that provide special rights or exemptions for ethnic groups consistent with their cultural or religious practices; and special representation rights, those that delineate a form of proportional representation in legislative bodies to members of a disadvantaged minority group (Kymlicka 1995).

Despite these critiques, multiculturalism in Canada can be described as transformative, a work in progress that reflects the continued shifts in the composition of Canadian society due to recent decades of increasingly diverse immigration (Sandercock 2005). In this manner, multiculturalism is viewed as continually evolving. Recognizing that institutional change takes time, multicultural policies in Canada, too, require time to fully manifest themselves in government and society.

Chapter 5. Multiculturalism in Cities

In order to understand how national official multiculturalism in Canada translates to the local level, it is important to first understand what defines the city and its role in society. Chapter 3, "Defining Multiculturalism," focused on the traditional role of the city as a place of encounter and difference. Furthermore, with the rise of international migration and the emerging politics of difference, the city continues to be a site of struggle and contestation. The right to difference and to the *oeuvre*, to participation, is inherent to life in the city. The city today is the site at which the multiple expressions of difference and the facilitation of participation of diverse citizens must take place.

UNDERSTANDING THE CITY AS A UNIT OF ANALYSIS

In western, democratic nations, government institutions are expected to preside over all citizens, to make decisions in their best interest, to recognize and represent them, equally and with respect. It is government that is entrusted with the responsibility of distributing funding and resources, of setting and prioritizing the national agenda, and constructing the physical and social environment in which public discourse, debate, and action on societal problems may take place. But what happens when that government, national, regional, and/or local, is entrenched in one particular cultural ideology? Is born out of a history that is perhaps culturally embedded and ethnocentric, a history that highlights only some stories and leaves out others? What happens when that government is structured in a way that systemically disadvantages some citizens and privileges others? When the individuals who constitute those governing bodies, who represent citizens on those bodies, and whose individual actions shape public rhetoric and understanding of society, carry personal biases and beliefs? It results in injustice and inequality, racial discrimination, cultural oppression, political marginalization and social isolation. It is these barriers that a politics of difference confronts, that multicultural cities bring to the forefront. It is these very questions and critiques some scholars have begun to make of urban policy, the planning process, and of individual planners. And rightly so, for if the city is a site of contestation, the backdrop of urban struggle, ethnic strife, and nationalism, then the city planning and management professions represent those entities and individuals that are best positioned to address the challenges posed by multiculturalism in cities.

Leonie Sandercock believes that "cities are where we need to look to see the workings and failings of multiculturalism, the successes or otherwise of a multicultural society" (Sandercock 2004). Sandercock contends that as cities become multicultural, presupposed categories of social life and urban space are challenged, resulting in the struggle by both long-time residents, and newcomers and immigrants, to "redefine the conditions of belonging to 'their' new society.' Contestations of urban space are characteristic of cities where diverse peoples and cultures come together, as notions of space and belonging are constantly being negotiated. The "pluri-ethnic, multicultural city is continually creating new sites of struggle which are part of the *landscape of postmodernity* – a landscape of difference" (Sandercock 2000).

This construction of the city as a landscape of difference is echoed by Scott Bollens who writes extensively on the city as a site of contestation:

> Cities are vulnerable organisms subject to economic stagnation, demographic disintegration, cultural suppression, and ideological and political excesses violent in nature. Cities are focal points of urban and regional economies dependent on multi-ethnic contacts, social and cultural centers and platforms for political expression, and potential centers of grievance and mobilization. They are suppliers of important religious and cultural symbols, zones of intergroup proximity and intimacy, and arenas where the size and concentration of a subordinate population can present the most direct threat to the state. The proximity of urban living means that contested cities can be located on the faultline between cultures—between modernizing societies and traditional cultures; between individual-based and community-based economies and society ethics; between democracy and more authoritarian regimes; and/or between old colonial governments and native populations (Bollens 2002).

The city is the site in which nationalistic ethnic conflict may play out and is comprised of structures that are challenged by ethnic groups who seek equity in power (Bollens 2002). The city serves as "buffer," "flashpoint," and "prism," modifying the relationship between political disempowerment and cultural deprivation and the forms and level of ethnic strife (Bollens 2002). Multicultural cities challenge governments to promote civic engagement, by adapting the rules and structures of its institutions to provide better access to all communities, extending a sense of ownership of public infrastructure to disenfranchised groups (Burstein 2000).

National government shapes the political and social environment, can foster appreciation of cultural difference and provide opportunities for newcomers and native residents (Burstein 2000). However, it is local government that shapes interactions with bureaucracies, local labor markets, law enforcement, educational institutions and other civic groups.

UNDERSTANDING THE PLANNER'S ROLE

City planners, other municipal staff, and policy makers play intermediary roles in shaping the political environment, molding the public's understanding of stakes in a dispute, distributions of power, and other subjects that warrant public concern (Schön & Rein 1994). Too, their roles and the ways in which tasks are carried out within those roles are important for informing policy decisions.

Examining the roles of street level bureaucrats in government sheds further light on the relationships among planners, the communities in which they work and departments of municipal government. Street-level bureaucrats form the means through which citizens experience government, and their actions directly define government policy and determine policy implementation; "decisions of street-level bureaucrats, the routines they establish, and the devices they invent to cope with uncertainties and work pressures, effectively *become* the public policies they carry out" (Lipsky 1983). The situations these individuals face in their daily duties are far too complicated to be handled through protocol. They are placed in positions that enable them to see first hand, up close and personally, dimensions of inequity in society, and are expected to be *advocates* for using their knowledge, skill, and position to secure for clients the "best treatment or position consistent with the constraints of the service" (Lipsky 1983). Street level bureaucrats also bear witness to the impacts of social injustice on constituents, and "are constantly confronted with the apparent unfairness of treating people alike (just as they recognize the obvious inequities of unequal treatment)" (Lipsky 1983).[36] Furthermore, these bureaucrats serve as mediators between citizens and the state; they enable citizen participation in democratic government and the decisions they make impact the life chances of those individuals they encounter (Lipsky 1983).

Reform of government and the bureaucrat's role would require bureaucrats' learning to communicate with the public in plain language and the public demanding explanations in a language they can understand (Lipsky 1983). The procedures employed by street-level bureaucracies must be simplified so as not to require expert intervention and greater transparency must be evident of the roles of street level bureaucrats in these institutions. Furthermore, the public must gain autonomy, increase their involvement in the governance of service agencies and extend their control over systems and facilities (Lipsky 1983).

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[36] Lipsky asserts that street level bureaucrats are also charged with the responsibility of recognizing that constituents are "more than their bureaucratically relevant characteristics," such as age, sex, place of resident, and income level, and they must confront the apparent unfairness and recognize the injustice in treating people as if they were all alike. (Lipsky 1983).

MULTICULTURALISM IN CITY PLANNING

Demands for bureaucratic reform mirror those claims made by a multicultural perspective in planning. Extensive review of the literature on multiculturalism and planning reveals a multitude of perspectives and proposals for reform of the profession. In order to synthesize this information, I have drawn from the research three principal challenges posed to the planning profession by cultural diversity in cities: 1) expanding the scope of planning practice and policy to reflect the multicultural nature of today's cities, 2) building competence and capacity to meet the needs of diverse citizens, and 3) recognizing, respecting and lending legitimacy to individuals' experiences in multicultural communities.

Scholars and practitioners writing on multiculturalism and planning identify several ways through which the planning profession can overcome these challenges, which I have categorized into the following strategies:

1. Rethinking planning history and underlying principles
2. Expanding notions of participation and citizenship
3. Increasing diversity and representation of historically disadvantaged citizens on decision-making bodies
4. Being open to other ways of knowing that may lie beyond the dominant cultural norm
5. Broadening language and vocabulary in planning and exploring new modes of communication
6. Understanding the impact of race and ethnicity on the experiences of diverse citizens and the historical contexts in which these factors converge with public policy
7. Engaging in personal reflection and examination of cultural embeddedness

Expanding the Scope of City Planning

Examining the history of planning, and the ways in which it served to disadvantage and exclude certain populations in the past can assist planners in understanding how to *include* those perspectives in the present. Planners must also expand their conceptions of what has traditionally fallen under planning practice to develop comprehensive approaches that address the various needs of citizens, integrating social, physical and economic interventions in planning projects. Planners must also expand the definition of citizenship participation, understanding the value of community input in the planning process. Furthermore, planners must increase the representation of the communities they serve within planning institutions and decision-making bodies.

Rethinking Planning History and Principles

Multiculturalism in cities permeates even the small details of urban life and requires a broadened scope of pluralism in planning, one that holds policies and standards of planning up to the light of social values and public goals (Qadeer 1997). Rethinking the history of planning to include those perspectives and voices that may have been excluded over time enables planners to understand the biases and assumptions embedded in planning models and criteria. This would include restructuring common institutions to form comprehensive planning and policy development, not merely the sympathetic response to differences on a "case-by-case basis," but actually rethinking planning history and the fundamental principles underlying the discipline, realigning planning models, assumptions, and criteria (Qadeer, 2000). Rethinking planning history and principles would also mean redefining planning itself and the role of planners, rethinking the story of planning's role in modern society (Sandercock 2003).

Expanding Participation and Citizenship

Citizenship in democratic states is determined by individual's willingness and ability to actively participate in decision-making and governance. Planners must find ways to increase citizenship involvement in the planning process, expanding notions of participation, citizenship and the nation (Qadeer 1997; Sandercock 2000; 2003). Planning, meant to serve public ends, must identify both the commonalities and differences among group interests, and must balance these interests while espousing equal respect and value to all individuals and groups (Beauregard 2000). They must abandon the assumption that decision-making criteria and objectives are held in common by different groups and expand the planning process to account for varying realities of multicultural communities as well as the possibility of divergent or conflicting values and needs (Meyer & Reaves 2000).

Increasing Representation in Decision-making

Planning processes and urban policy cannot reflect the interests of diverse groups if governing entities are comprised solely of individuals of a single, or dominant, culture. The representation of ethnic groups on decision-making and governing entities is another step toward "pluralistic practices of planning" (Qadeer 1997). The fairness of the democratic political process rests on balanced representation of group interests and openness of the body to diverse opinions (Burayidi 2000; Alvin 2000). Planning boards, commissions, and councils should be comprised of professionals that represent the range of racial, ethnic and cultural diversity in communities as well

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as socioeconomic status, gender, and sexual orientation. These bodies must also reflect a mix of professionals and community members.

Building Competency and Capacity

Expanding the scope of planning practice and policy includes broadening planners' skills base. Skill building to work with diverse communities does not always entail the acquisition of technical or scientific skills, but rather building competence and capacity. This means not only broadening a planners' knowledge on certain issues, but also the ways in which they gain that knowledge. Planning practitioners must open themselves to new ways of acquiring and applying knowledge, recognizing non-traditional sources of information, and developing new methods of communicating with constituents.

Embracing Other Ways of Knowing

As communities become increasingly culturally diverse, the planning profession must respond by adopting other, non-traditional forms of knowing that may exist outside the dominant cultural norm. Planners need to take stock of the other ways of knowing that exist in different cultures; through dialogue and experience, contemplation, non-verbal evidence and action-planning as well as through the deliberate seeking of local knowledge (Sandercock 2003). Planners are charged with the task of tapping into people's "tacit knowing," soliciting individuals' cares, hopes, and fears (Sandercock 2003). Similarly, planners must employ combinations of different methods of knowledge acquisition; affective methods such as touching, seeing, feeling, as opposed to cognitive methods, such as counting and measuring, which have traditionally dominated in the profession (Burayidi 2000).

Broadening Language and Communication in Planning

Planners need not only to develop an understanding of different cultural contexts but must cultivate an ability to talk to people in their own language (Au 2000). Here, multilingual communication involving ethnic media, as a crucial component of positive dialogue with ethnic communities, is stressed as a means to supersede the simple literal translation of materials (Au 2000). Furthermore, recognition of diversity in planning would address the need for a more inclusive vocabulary in the profession (Smith 2000). Burayidi identifies communication style as one of six ways in which cultural misunderstandings may take place between planners and

community members, along with attitude toward disclosure; attitude toward conflict; approaches to accomplishing tasks; styles of decision-making; and approaches to knowing (Burayidi 2000).

Recognizing, Respecting and Lending Legitimacy

In order to work effectively in multicultural communities, planners must identify and understand the way race and ethnicity shape the experiences of different cultural groups and respect the values and worldviews of diverse individuals. They must acknowledge the context and history of institutional racism and discrimination in society and its impact on different communities. Furthermore, planners must develop an understanding of the role of culture in influencing their own values and behaviors and engage in continual, critical self-reflection with regard to these concepts.

Understanding Race and Ethnicity

As communities become increasingly diverse and multicultural, race and ethnicity become ever more important determinants of how life in the city is experienced by different individuals. Many planners, although recognizing the diversity of their communities, may not fully understand how race, ethnicity and culture relate to planning processes (Wallace 2000). However, as multiculturalism in planning entails planners and public officials possessing an awareness of race, so too must these individuals begin to utilize race and culture as tools for analyzing and assessing public needs and social conditions (Qadeer 1997). Planners must understand difference, recognize the specific needs of minority or marginalized cultural groups, and demonstrate sensitivity to and willingness to accommodate differing worldviews (Sandercock 2003; Burayidi 2000; Qadeer 1997).

Planning practitioners and policy makers must not only correctly assess the cultural and ethnic composition of constituents, but also understand the historical factors influencing those communities, including how public policy has impacted these groups over time and has served to reduce perpetuating inequalities (Alvin 2000; Bollens 2000). Furthermore, urban planning must respond in a way that facilitates the many functions of the city while equitably accommodating the divergent social and cultural needs of individuals and groups in cities (Qadeer 1997; Bollens 2000). The adaptability of the built environment is one crucial element of meeting those needs (Sandercock 2004). Planning policies and programs must "make specific provisions for the religious and cultural facilities of significant ethnic groups," and "formulate performance-based

criteria for the provision of common facilities and services" (Qadeer 1997).[37] Multicultural planning entails challenging traditional beliefs, focusing on citizen-centered outcomes, and balancing the needs of newcomers and long-term residents to ensure equity in planning processes and outcomes (Au 2000; Nicholson 2000).

Self Reflection and Examination

Finally, planners must understand culture and how individual values, attitudes and customs affect their opinions and preconceived notions (Alvin 2000). This would entail cultivating an understanding and appreciation of the different value systems of different cultural groups (Burayidi 2000). Acknowledging one's cultural embeddedness enables an individual to critically reflect upon that embeddedness and the ways in which it informs their interpersonal interactions and worldview. It is this self reflection and examination that constitute a "multicultural sensibility" in planning, an attitude or mentality that must be instilled within planning students and professionals in the field (Baum 2000).

Toward a Multicultural Planning Perspective

The challenges posed to city planners by increased cultural and ethnic diversity in cities echo those challenges that have long been endemic to the planning profession. Since the 1960s, emerging demands for social and political equity (as echoed in Sandercock's recounting of the rise of civil society and social movements) called for new, more inclusive forms of planning. Inclusive planning would aid in structuring urban democracy, where citizens are encouraged to participate in decision making and planning processes. This participation would take the form of pluralistic planning, where it is the planners role to act as a representative of both government interests and interests of individuals and organizations concerned with future development of their communities and where opponents to agency plans (those plans put forth by the city) may prepare an alternate plan (Davidoff 1965). The advocate/planner would be responsible for assisting their client in expressing their views, would be a proponent of those views, and would inform the client of their rights within planning law and the operations of city government (Davidoff 1965). A model of plural planning, one in which planners worked with groups representing low-income families, special interest groups, and other groups comprised of citizens protesting particular planning

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[37] Qadeer asserts that a good starting point would involve the entrenchment of the Human Rights Code in planning policy and programming, "to make cultural and racial discrimination a legitimate basis for planning appeals," employment equity and minority representation on public bodies (Qadeer 1997).

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proposals, required that planners expand the breadth of their knowledge to include an understanding of the social and economic implications of urban political structure and physical development (Davidoff 1965). What Davidoff called the "comprehensive" city planner would be the product of an enlarged scope of planning; planning that links a broader knowledge of those forces that affect urban development and understanding of multiple elements of urban communities with knowledge and understanding to physical planning.[38]

City planners continue to face the dilemma of balancing public interest (that of citizens) with agency interests (that of the city). City planners must still perform the traditional tasks of drawing up plans for future development, weighing those plans against alternate and opposing proposals, and understanding the biases and benefits which they must articulate to clients (Davidoff 1965). Furthermore, in development and analysis of those plans, they must integrate into the physical development and management of cities, the social, political and economic components of urban life.

Thus multicultural planning, or a multicultural perspective in planning, promoted by scholars and practitioners today, is a continuation of the critiques made by scholars and practitioners in the profession since the 1960s, advocating for more pluralistic approaches to planning in cities. A multicultural perspective calls for the specific recognition of differences among citizens and responses from the planning profession that speaks directly to those differences. Planners must acknowledge the different barriers faced by marginalized and minority groups in society, and understand how to address those barriers in ways that incorporate the different cultural norms and social needs. Furthermore, planners must begin to review and reconstruct those principles in which the discipline is based, understanding that planning history, vocabulary, systems and processes, as well as concepts inherent to the city planning professions, citizenship and belonging, must be expanded to be more inclusive and representative of the diverse realities of citizens.

Recommendations for the integration of multiculturalism in planning offer many ideas on what should change within the planning profession and the city planner's role in government and the community. However, these recommendations lack specific directives regarding the types of projects and activities planners and educators of planning may undertake to achieve these

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[38] Davidoff asserts that it is planners' ignorance of social and economic methods of analysis that have led to their proposing solutions absent sufficient knowledge of the impacts of such proposals on different sectors of the population (Davidoff 1965). He argues that, "A city is its people, their practices, and their political, social, cultural and economic institutions as well as other things. The city planner must comprehend and deal with all those factors" (Davidoff 1965).

changes. Questions remain with regard to who primarily is responsible for developing and implementing initiatives – policy makers, planners or educators? Should directives come as government mandate, solidified in policy? Or should such reform to planning evolve from grassroots movements and demands made from local community members of government institutions? Who in the community do planners approach to form collaborative bodies and partnerships? Where do planners go to gain additional knowledge? How do they cultivate an understanding of those cultures different from their own? How do they engage in personal reflection and with whom do they share that experience and learning?

Few scholars have undertaken the task of delineating such directives to individuals in the planning profession. One example would be Sandercock's "Multicultural Manifesto for the 21st Century," comprised of six policy recommendations: 1) increased spending on multicultural programs; 2) multi-tiered political and policy support systems; 3) anti-racism and diversity training for municipal workers; 4) reform and innovation of social policies, such as language assistance; 5) better understanding of how urban policies (design, location, process) address cultural difference, requiring cross-cultural skills for planners and architects; 6) elaboration of notions of citizenship; and 7) "understanding and preparedness" to work with emotions linked to fear, attachment, belonging and exclusion, which drive conflicts over integration (Sandercock 2004).

To summarize the literature, the multicultural nature of large cities today requires that planners understand the ways in which race and ethnicity impact the experiences of individuals in the city. Planners must not only understand the nature of urban communities, the ethnic composition, cultural norms and political preferences of their constituents, but they must also learn to identify those barriers that prevent numerous individuals from civic participation and full citizenship. The planning profession is charged with the responsibility of creating cohesive urban environments that provide a sense of community among citizens. Significant challenges lay ahead for planners to acknowledge the "fact that significant segments of the population do not experience this sense of belonging and community" (Nicholson 2000).

A CLOSER LOOK AT MULTICULTURALISM IN VANCOUVER, BC

The city of Vancouver, British Columbia, future host for the 2010 Olympics and Paralympic Winter Games, has claimed an international reputation as a truly multicultural mosaic in North America and is repeatedly ranked among the world's top three "most livable cities" (City of Vancouver). With more than half of the resident metro area population comprised of members

of "visible minority" groups and roughly the same number of individuals possessing a native language other than English, Vancouver is a true example of urban multiculturalism. Taking a closer look at how city planners and municipal governments have responded to the continual demographic shifts among their constituents, sheds light on the individual and institutional adjustments made by city staff and bureaucracy to recognize, respect, and integrate cultural difference in the city.

Demographic Change

- In the year 2001, Vancouver's population was 545,671, 14% of the total population of British Columbi. (City of Vancouver 2003).

- Nine out of every ten immigrants to British Columbia settled in the city of Vancouver (Andrew 2004).

- Immigrants comprised 46% of the total population of Vancouver in 2001, numbering at 247,640 individuals[39] (City of Vancouver).

- In 2001, the top five sending countries of immigrants to Vancouver were: People's Republic of China, Hong Kong, Philippines, United Kingdom and the Viet Nam (City of Vancouver).

- In 2001, 51% of the total Vancouver population spoke a language other than English as a mother tongue, compared to 26% of the total population of the province (City of Vancouver).

- That same year, the top five most spoken languages in Vancouver were: English, Chinese, Punjabi, Tagalog, and Vietnamese (City of Vancouver).

- 49% of the total population of Vancouver in 2001 was comprised of visible minorities, compared to 22% of the total population of British Columbia (City of Vancouver).

- 1.9% of the total population of Vancouver residents is identified as belonging to Canada's First Nations, numbering 10,445 individuals in the year 2001 (City of Vancouver).

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[39] The City of Vancouver defines "immigrants" as "people who are, or have been landed immigrants in Canada. A landed immigrant is a person who has been granted the right to live in Canada permanently by immigration authorities. Some immigrants have resided in Canada for a number of years, while others have arrived recently. Most immigrants are born outside Canada, but a small number were born in Canada. Children born in Canada to immigrant parents are considered to be non-immigrants in the census." Therefore, an "immigrant" is not necessarily counted by the census as "foreign born."

Institutional and Policy Change

The Vancouver Charter, established in 1953, is an Act of the provincial government of British Columbia, which lays out the city's powers and responsibilities. Under the Vancouver Charter, the city is able to borrow or grant funds and determine spending priorities; collect certain taxes; provide certain infrastructure and services; and direct physical development pertaining to the location of housing, business, industry facilities and services (City of Vancouver 2003).

In response to the dramatic demographic shifts illustrated above, the City of Vancouver, particularly since the 1980s, has introduced a number of policies and programs that account for the growing racial and ethnic diversity of city residents. One of the largest steps the city has taken to address barriers faced by marginalized communities in the metropolitan area was through the adoption of an Equal Employment Opportunity Program in 1986, specifically targeting women, visible minorities, First Nations, and the disabled (Lee 2002). The city also undertook, in 1988, a Civic Policy on Multicultural Relations, publicly stating its commitment to recognizing the diversity of its citizens and encouraging equity in civic services to all residents (Lee 2002). The following year, the city introduced the Hastings Institute, established to provide diversity training to city, other municipal, and provincial government ministries' staff. In 1993, the city was host for a Community Conference: "From Barriers to Bridges," which allowed for City Council to further demonstrate its commitment to the recognition and representation of Vancouver's cultural diversity in "all aspects of civic involvement and participation" (Lee 2002).

Another way in which the city has taken steps to better understand citizens' needs is through the formation, in 1994, of the Council Advisory Committee on Cultural Communities. The Committee, consisting of a diversity of Vancouver residents appointed by the City Council, is charged with the task of implementing multicultural outreach programs to gain a better understanding of the challenges faced by Vancouver's ethnic communities and determine strategies to overcome existing barriers (Au 2000). The following year, in 1995, the development of a Diversity Communications Strategy aimed to delineate frameworks for diversity-related communication initiatives (Lee 2002). The city also makes special efforts to perform outreach to diverse cultural communities in its civic elections (Lee 2002).

The City of Vancouver is not required by the Vancouver Charter to have a city-wide Official Community Plan and although the city had various neighborhood plans, by the 1980s and 1990s, the lack of an overarching city plan was seen as contributing to citizen opposition to new development and incoherence between city policies (Lee 2002). Between 1993 and 1995,

Vancouver's CityPlan process led to the largest public consultation to date in Vancouver (Lee 2002). City Council had approached planning staff to develop a public process that would result in the development of a 30-year vision for the city, shared among the citizens of Vancouver; a comprehensive plan that took into account arts, culture, community services, transportation and housing (Lee 2002). Planning staff used a number of innovative approaches to ensure participation, such as communication through local ethnic media, small group "city circles," information tool kits and print materials translated into seven different languages (Lee 2002). In 1996, Vancouver City Council approved a Community Visions Program as a strategy to bring CityPlan processes to the neighborhood level and create neighborhood plans for all Vancouver's communities within the next ten years (Lee 2002).

The Vancouver Agreement was passed in 1999, ensuring the cooperation and coordination among three levels of government, the City of Vancouver, the BC provincial government, and the Government of Canada, in order to promote and support sustainable economic, social, and community development in Vancouver.[40] One directive of the Agreement was the formation of a policy committee, comprised of the Federal Minister, Provincial Minister and the Mayor of Vancouver, charged with implementing the Agreement. Among the guiding principles of the Agreement are the articulation and support of the diverse interests of Vancouver's many communities; respect for the differences associated with gender and cultural diversity; improved communications and information-sharing with the community; and the inclusivity and accessibility of community processes to ensure participation (Vancouver Agreement 1999). The Agreement designated Vancouver's Downtown Eastside as the initial area of focus for Agreement activities. The Downtown Eastside Strategy is comprised of three components; Community Health and Safety, Economic and Social Development, and Community Capacity Building. The strategy cites specific guiding principles, in addition to those governing the overall Agreement, which include a "multicultural" component meant to "support the character of the Downtown Eastside as home to many cultural and linguistic groups" (Vancouver Agreement 1999). In a section dedicated to Community Capacity-Building, the Agreement states the multicultural and multilinguistic nature of the Downtown Eastside community and the "array of values, some of which conflict and compete with one another" as elements to be addressed with community participation and engagement (Vancouver Agreement 1999).

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[40] The Vancouver Agreement was made among the Secretary of State for Western Economic Diversification and the Secretary of State for Multiculturalism and the Status of Women, the Minister of Community Development, Cooperatives and Volunteers of the Province of British Columbia, and the Mayor of Vancouver.

In 2003, the City of Vancouver became one of the focus areas of *Inclusive Cities Canada: A Cross-Canada Civic Initiative (ICC)*, funded by the federal Department of Social Development. ICC is a collaborative effort among five social planning organizations: the Social Planning and Research Council BC; the Edmonton Social Planning Council; the Community Development Halton; the Community Social Planning of Toronto; and the Human Development Council of Saint John. Participating cities eave have Civic Councils responsible for implementing the Initiative. ICC's goals include promoting social inclusion, supporting civic capacity, securing a stronger voice for civic communities in national social policy, and ensuring the recognition of diverse community voices (Vancouver/North Vancouver Civic Panel 2005). ICC identified recognition and reflection of diversity, human development, civic engagement, minimized disparities in living conditions, and a coordinated system of community services, as five dimensions of inclusion (Vancouver/North Vancouver Civic Panel 2005). The Vancouver/North Vancouver Civic Council is comprised of individuals representing local government, health and education institutions, and community organizations. Recently, the Council held a series of "local soundings," contacting 34 organizations representing First Nations youth, street-involved youth, the Chinese community, the Iranian/Persian Community and visible minorities, to address issues of exclusion and sense of belonging in their communities (Vancouver/North Vancouver Civic Panel 2005).

Currently, Vancouver is in the process of developing a citywide policy to provide guidelines to deal with translation and interpretation. The need for such guidelines is apparent in city actions regarding language barriers and communication among city residents. In 1996, the city developed a Multilingual Information Referral Phone Service in order to provide information on civic issues in Cantonese, Mandarin, French, Spanish, Punjabi and Vietnamese (Lee 2002). In 1997, the creation of an Ethnic Media News Monitoring Service, allowed City Council and staff to follow reports in ethnic media by providing an overview of important issues raised in ethnic press in the metro area (Lee 2002; Au 2000). Furthermore, the city has established a Cultural Harmony Award, which is granted annually to individuals or organizations that demonstrate remarkable efforts to enhance cultural understanding in the community (Au 2000). City Council also has a grant program administered to Vancouver residents who initiate "neighborhood-building" programs that bring residents together to work for community change and development (Au 2000).

Although the above-mentioned programs and policies does not automatically ensure equity in service provision, access to resources, and the full participation of all Vancouver's residents, they do reflect the municipal government's attempts, by adapting local government

institutions and increasing communication with the public, to acknowledge the diversity of its constituents and engage their voices in the city planning and community development processes. By understanding and publicly stating the importance of recognizing and representing that diversity in city government, the city of Vancouver has taken steps in the direction of ensuring inclusive citizenship and participation among its residents.

Chapter 6. Interviews with City Planners

Due to the nature of the interview guide and the subject matter approached in each of the interviews, the majority of interviews tended to focus on particular areas of discussion: planners' relationships to the community and to the planning department, particular challenges faced by planners' in doing their work, planners' perceptions of challenges faced by their constituents, opportunities for sharing new learning with colleagues and throughout the department, and policy changes that have been, or that planners would like to have, introduced that would impact the way they currently do their work. Given these areas of focus, interviewees' comments have been arranged into the following themes:

- Defining Multiculturalism
    - o In Society
    - o In Planning
- Communication
    - o Information Gathering
    - o Information Dissemination
- Policy & Systemic Change
    - o Implemented Changes
    - o Recommended Changes
- Shared Learning
    - o Individual Learning
    - o Institutional Learning
- The Planner's Role

DEFINING MULTICULTURALISM

Interviewees were asked to provide their personal definitions of "multiculturalism" and "multicultural planning." I felt it important to define these two concepts early in the interview since they would set the stage for the remaining discussion with interviewees. I felt certain that interviewees could provide definitions of these concepts since they had identified themselves, or had been identified by others, as "multicultural planners" or city staff whose work fell into the realm of "multicultural planning."

Defining Multiculturalism in Society

Across all interviewees, multiculturalism was defined as the coming together of people from different cultures and backgrounds. Interviewees placed emphasis on living "peacefully" and

without, or at least with diminished, conflict among groups and individuals. In some cases, this definition was clearly influenced by the context of the national official policy on multiculturalism. Interviewees used the national multicultural policy to differentiate official multiculturalism from their living reality, or to demonstrate how multiculturalism has evolved. When described in this manner, the official policy was depicted as a less accurate portrayal of what takes place in Canada's diverse communities. For example, one interviewee stated that multiculturalism is more "fluid and evolving than the official policy." Four of the five interviewees used the word "community" in their definitions of multiculturalism; three used "diverse" or "diversity," three out of five employed the term "difference." Additionally, interviewees described multiculturalism as "embracing" and "acknowledging" cultural backgrounds and other differences in cities.

One interviewee defined multiculturalism as "people from diverse backgrounds, from different lifestyles, trying to get along together, embrace each other and support the mosaic that has been cultivated in Canada." "A large part of it is awareness, education, acknowledgement that there are differences in cities," offered another, "that they're a good thing and contribute to the character of the city, to the aliveness of the face of communities." Another interviewee declared that, "...Its not enough to say we recognize these groups and individuals. But we must look at, are they being treated equally, as others? Do they have the same place in society, the same access to all the privileges and decision-making that everyone takes for granted as a member of society? It's ultimately about access and equality, about freedom of choice for people."

Interviewees share a view of multiculturalism as the presence or representation of individuals of diverse cultures in a given community or city and encompass ideas of multiculturalism as both public philosophy (acknowledgement of difference) and policy (accommodation of difference) as discussed in Chapter 3. The mention of "embracing" one another's cultures brings out the importance of going beyond the simple recognition of difference, but actually learning about one another's differences, and negotiating those differences for a peaceful coexistence. Furthermore, the emphasis on diffusing and/or eliminating conflict, the importance placed on "getting along," suggests that these individual's perceptions of multiculturalism go beyond the existence, acknowledgement of difference, but include the active effort made to minimize conflict across these differences.

Defining Multiculturalism in Planning

Contrary to my initial expectations, defining "multicultural planning" was not so clear-cut for interviewees. Interviewees did not provide concrete definitions of this concept and were reluctant to identify multicultural planning as distinct, or separate from, social planning or what some interviewees referred to as "traditional" planning. I speculate that this may have had something to do with each individual's official title being, or having been for a significant part of their career, "social planner." Much of their work then, is currently described within city government as "social planning" and not "multicultural planning." Multicultural planning remained a rather vague concept among interviewees and their colleagues, left to the individual's discretion. Thus their ideas of multicultural planning were privately held, not necessarily acknowledged throughout their departments or city government. One interviewee described it as having something to do with "planning communities that are ethnically diverse" and questioning "what kinds of strategies do you employ to acknowledge these differences... how might these differences in the community result or reflect in policy?" Similarly, another interviewee described it as accounting for "all the groups, people, communities, that are really building the nation." Simply put by one interviewee, multicultural planning entailed just knowing that "different neighborhoods have different compositions."

Most interviewees, when asked how they felt colleagues within the department might perceive their work, used the phrases "extra efforts" or "special efforts." In contrast, their own perceptions articulate the idea that multicultural planning was not, nor should it be, distinct from planning, but rather *was* planning; in that it defined the way they saw the planning profession in present day. These responses imply that, for at least these interviewees, the diverse nature of cities inherently changes the nature of planning in those cities. One interviewee stated "everyone should be multicultural planners by now." Similarly, another declared, "You don't really need to explain much, you're simply doing it. You're practicing it."

These answers highlight the concept that these individuals see the work they do as inherent to planning, or simply "all people," meant to represent "everybody's interests." It became clear to me that "multicultural planning," while meaningful once written on paper, on a business card, or in a journal article, is not, at least for these five interviewees, a concept that could be clearly defined in actual practice. Rather, multicultural planning is simply planning for all citizens.

COMMUNICATING WITH CONSTITUENTS

All interviewees stressed the importance of garnering community input for any projects or plans in, near, or in any way affecting, local communities. The means through which this process occurred varied, from workshops, open houses, public forums and meetings, and focus groups, to one on one inquiries in person or by telephone.

Information Gathering

The four strongest points that came through from conversations with interviewees on gathering community input were: (1) the ability to listen, (2) speaking the language (3) overcoming the professional's ego, and (4) creating an environment in which community members felt comfortable giving input to city staff. For the most part, all interviewees stressed the importance of an individual's willingness to listen and portray an openness that resonated with the community and made apparent the city official's intent to solicit, but also display, trust from the community. "Listening is the most important skill," recounted one interviewee, "listening and communication." Another interviewee described listening as willingness to give people a means through which to voice their concerns and have their voice heard.

Along with the ability to really *listen* was the importance of communicating. Language barriers posed significant challenges to working with non-English speaking immigrants and ethnic minorities. Interviewee's placed significant importance on the issue of being able to speak and understand the native language of constituents and being comfortable with community members switching back and forth between their native tongue and English. Some emphasized that speaking the same language as their constituents often affected residents' level of comfort and willingness to trust.

Overcoming the professional ego was described as the common assumption among city staff that the professional always knows best and that consulting the community simply slows down or further complicates planning processes. One interviewee stated that you have to "drop down your ego sometimes," in regard to the tendency of planners and other city officials to use professional jargon. This interviewee spoke of the importance of learning to "translate complex issues and ideas into an easy understandable language that is accessible and makes you a very accessible person to the community." "Planners need to get over the idea that they know best," shared another interviewee, "[they] are always so stuck on process, on getting things done quickly, they're afraid to consult the community too much."

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Multiple interviewees mentioned that the "large public meeting" or forum was not always conducive to working with community members. One interviewee stated that "creating a safe environment for discourse to take place" was important in the process. It is important for planners to "design the community process to understand their [communities'] dynamics and where they're coming from, [to] design community process to be responsive to the community needs." Based on such comments, smaller, more frequent public meetings, held at sites that are familiar to community members have provided strong alternatives to the large public forum. One interviewee shared that the more successful meetings carried out with the local Chinese community was when Chinese community members were the majority of individuals involved and the meetings were conducted in Cantonese or Mandarin. This enabled individuals to feel welcome, comfortable and that that their voices would be heard.

Interviewees placed much emphasis on the importance of taking time, having the patience necessary, to communicate with ethnic community members, particularly immigrant populations. For example, one interviewee, reflecting upon the community visioning process that took place in Vancouver's Chinatown district over the last few years, felt that the Chinatown community entered the process believing that the city didn't really care about their neighborhood, that they were just a "dumping ground" of sorts for undesirable facilities and activity. However, this interviewee felt that the city's decision to dedicate two staff to facilitating the Chinatown visioning process enabled the community to then feel as if they were finally being paid attention to, making that action what enabled the city to really work with the community thereafter.

The above comments reflect scholars' recommendations on future directions for planning education and practice, as discussed in Chapter 5. Current writing on planning diverse communities advocates for the identification and incorporation of other means of knowing (Sandercock 2003; Burayidi 2000). This assertion implies acknowledging professional as well as what is sometimes referred to as "indigenous" knowledge. Rather than indigenous, there is an issue of simply acknowledging "local" or "insider's" knowledge, the know-how, navigation savvy, and background understanding and context that individuals living and working in communities, or as members of particular cultural groups, possess. As professionals, planners and other city officials possess valuable technical, analytical and problem-solving skills. Regardless, in many cases, particularly when working with immigrant groups and individuals of a different cultural background, cultural norms, historical contexts, and social behaviors are those things that can remain hidden to the professional who is entering the situation as an outsider. In cases where the

professional has no knowledge of these contexts and norms, soliciting assistance from those who do, members of the community or cultural group, can prove a worthwhile and rewarding action.

Information Dissemination

Interviewees' concerns regarding information sharing focused primarily on two areas: (1) translation and interpretation in different languages (of print materials, and at meetings or public hearings/forums), and (2) collaboration and partnerships with ethnic media outlets (newsletters, newspapers, radio, and television stations). Regardless of the language or medium through which information was dispersed to local communities, the overall matters of utmost importance were that information be correct, easy to understand, and promptly delivered. Interviewee's strongly advocated for preemptive information dissemination. "Planners need to be proactive about information dissemination," said one interviewee, who described how local government had taken the "ostrich approach" (burying its head in the sand and waiting for the storm to blow over) to a past conflict in the community.

This same interviewee shared a story of the proposed relocation of a group home for rehabilitated substance abusers into a predominantly Chinese community who strongly opposed the proposal. Much opposition was expressed by residents in the area sited as the future location for the home. After much deliberation, almost 12 full months of discussion, public forums that were heavily publicized and televised within the community, city officials and community members came to an agreement about what was to be done. In reflection, this interviewee shared that it was simply lack of information and misunderstanding of the health system in Canada that was the source of the conflict. The frame of reference of the ethnic community, in this case, predominantly Chinese, was well situated in how substance abuse and mental illness were dealt with in their home country, which harbored negative perceptions on rehabilitation. Through educating the community not only about zoning in the district, but as well on the health system in Canada and processes of dealing with mental illness, drug and alcohol addiction, rehabilitation and re-entry into society, what had once been characterized by a 2,000 person demonstration at city hall became a collaborative agreement between community and city government to monitor and evaluate rehabilitation and re-entry programs in the area. This enabled the community to gain some control over what was happening in their neighborhoods and as well to gain a better grasp of what fell under health care service provision in their new host country.

The lesson to be learned, as characterized by the interviewee, lay in the level of "transparency, openness, and communication" planners and others involved in the controversy put into the community process. The publicized, open meetings were held in Mandarin, Cantonese, and English. Information was channeled through ethnic media newspapers and television stations. "That level of time and effort put into fully communicating the issue to the community," the interviewee recalled, was what relieved the conflict of where to locate the group home.

Another interviewee contemplated planner's abilities to act as advocates through information sharing with the community as a means of public education. "Planners can be advocates just by providing the community with the right information," the interviewee asserted, "so that they can take matters into their own hands and can stand up to speak. Make sure everyone has the right information, so they're aware of what's happening." Involving educating the community on obtaining permits for special needs housing, this same interviewee shared that, "We don't give out information properly. In a lot of neighborhoods, where there are very diverse population[s], especially population[s] that come from countries where their understanding of mental health is really quite different – here mental health is very much part of health, Canadians or Americans, but mental health in some other countries, mental health is like crazy people who need to be locked up. So when they hear about [a] development permit for a house... units of people with mental illness, they all go crazy [and] say, we don't want it here, the whole NIMBYism."

Along these lines, two interviewees shared their experiences working cross-departmentally, or with other municipal service providers such as the health board and police department. Having representatives of these two municipal services at meetings with community members enabled them to promptly address the community's questions and concerns regarding how particular systems or programs function with regard to health, safety and law enforcement. Eliciting support from and collaborating with other social service providers in the municipality aided planners in performing their duties in information dissemination and served to further legitimate their methods of community process.

Information dissemination, for all interviewees, meant understanding the role and function of ethnic media in local communities. "Ethnic media is very important," said one interviewee, "ethnic communities rely on media even more so than the mainstream population." Another interviewee acknowledged the need for the city to "cultivate relationships" with the ethnic media,

stating that city staff "need to take the extra time [for] their press releases, can't send what you send to mainstream, larger operations. [You] need to make sure they report accurately, clearly articulate what are the issues so they present it well to their [communities]. [You] need to take the extra time, patience and explanation."

All interviewees were well aware of the various ethnic media outlets in the city and could identify ways in which they must be willing to make the extra effort in order to forge relationships with ethnic media. One interviewee speculated that many of the ethnic newspapers operate on a level much smaller than that of mainstream papers, sometimes one person fulfilling the role of reporter, layout designer, editor and printer. Assuming that ethnic newspapers have the same time and skills to filter press releases from the city was where city staff run into trouble. This interviewee shared that it was important to be "proactive about briefing" and making sure these newspapers received the right information. Another interviewee emphasized that not only forming those relationships and networks but also letting those individuals know who they could contact at city hall to follow up on any information they might need, letting them know who might speak their language, and who they could contact directly. Interviewees characterized these recommendations as "proactive" responses to community needs.

Some interviewees shared stories of how problems arose in communities when planning issues were presented in ethnic media newspapers, radio or television stations that incorrectly depicted a particular issue in the community. Realizing the extent to which immigrant communities, particularly those non-English speaking members of those communities, rely upon ethnic media, forming extensive partnerships and learning to navigate the media networks in ethnic communities proved a valuable skill for all interviewees.

Most of the interviewees' successes in communication with local residents and constituents' involved functioning in more than one language. Interviewees shared stories of successful community meetings that were often conducted in three languages, with on site translators there to assist city staff. As well, translating materials into the languages spoken by the area's largest ethnic groups, whether they are informational pamphlets, reports, booklets or printings in local ethnic media, was considered crucial to communicating with immigrant ethnic communities.

Interviewees acknowledged that these practices, however successful, often required additional financing and resources, and as well were difficult to plan ahead for. Budgeting for translation of city informational materials was an issue that arose, and one interviewee suggested

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that the city think about designating a portion of the annual budget for the translation of print materials. Furthermore, though the hiring of on site translators and interpreters was sometimes viewed as costly, it proved necessary in many cases. Finally, with regard to public forums and community meetings, interviewees acknowledged that preparation for translation at meetings requires forethought in determining what languages, how many translators, or whether or not to use translators at all. "Planners, and government in general, need to look at who is their audience, when they are sending out information, so that translation and interpretation are done in the appropriate languages for the audience," stated one interviewee. Having staff that speak the language of ethnic communities was also stressed as an important asset for the city. This last issue, of having staff who speak the language, was also posited as crucial to establishing trust with community members and creating an environment in which community members felt comfortable enough to speak and voice their opinions.

While these comments reflect the challenges identified by scholars as those that planners must overcome, I wish to bring particular emphasis to the issue of language. Multicultural planning literature appropriately identifies the need for innovative means of communicating with constituents. Some specifically mention the need to collaborate with ethnic media and learn subtleties of non-verbal communication across cultures. However, language proficiency of individual planners is an issue that is rarely addressed. Discussions with interviewees highlight the need for language learning among planners of languages other than English, particularly those predominantly spoken by immigrants in the area.

POLICY AND SYSTEMIC CHANGE

Implemented Policy

The formation of Vancouver's social planning department and the formation of a "multicultural social planner" position within the social planning department, were institutional adjustments referred to by interviewees' as examples of positive actions the city has taken to respond to increasing ethnic diversity in the city.[41] As portrayed by interviewees, these were instances in which city council adhered to planners' concerns of the need to address particular

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[41] Vancouver's Social Planning Department was formed in 1968, specializing in social and cultural planning and programming. The idea of instilling a social planning department within local government came from Ernie Hill, then Director of United Community Services, and was supported by City Commissioner at the time, Gerald Sutton-Brown (City of Vancouver 2004).

challenges faced by some of Vancouver's ethnic groups as well as the need to perform targeted outreach to those groups.

When asked about policy changes that have positively affected their work, interviewees did not cite many examples. However, one issue that resonated among them was the formation of advisory committees to city council (as discussed in Chapter 5) as one institutional adjustment that has resulted in changes for the better. These advisory committees are charged with the task of communicating with local residents about various concerns for their community, whether it be on crime and substance abuse, zoning regulations, or use of a community center. The committee then relays community concerns back to city council and makes recommendations on how to address those particular concerns or needs. Some interviewees specifically mentioned the success of advisory committees who work solely on communicating with ethnic minority groups in the area.

Some changes made at the municipal level, as shared by one interviewee, reflect programmatic changes the city has made in order to respond to the needs of diverse citizens. This interviewee shared an instance in which members of the community had expressed concern over the use of City Hall property to display holiday lights at Christmas. As members of the sizable South Asian population in Vancouver, they requested an opportunity to display lights during Diwali, a cultural festival celebrated by many in the South Asian community. City council had asked an advisory committee how the city might address this particular concern. The inquiry resulted in the creation of a city lights program, through which, during any significant cultural festival or celebration, the community could come forward and request that the trees outside city hall be lit up. During this time, the city will offer news releases, information in city hall for visitors, and sometimes a ceremony or proclamation, announcing the particular holiday or event. This was one way through which the city was "recognizing the diversity of celebrations in the community." This interviewee shared that "at the federal government, that would never happen because it'd have to be a national scale of things that everyone has to agree to, which could not happen easily. Even at the provincial level. In this case, the city level can really address and reflect the needs of the population in a very immediate way." Although the city lights program was two years in the making, this interviewee felt that in the end the community felt "quite good" about it.

This same interviewee shared another instance through which city programming reflected community concerns on diversity and racism. Again, as a suggestion from the advisory board to city council, the city entered into a graffiti removal program. The city built into its graffiti removal

process, the cataloguing of any discriminatory graffiti, of which they kept track and documented, to report back to city staff what exactly it entailed and in what neighborhood it was found. This way, city staff watch for trends to determine whether any neighborhoods have an increase in graffiti considered racially discriminatory in nature. In those cases, where it exists, city staff will work with police and other local agencies on how they can address the incidents. This interviewee described the city's response as "front line, right when things happen, responding right away" and declared that it was those "small steps that make a difference."

Recommended Policy

Policy recommendations or references to institutional change emerging from interviews were in regard to translation of informational materials, diversity training and education, and provincial grant administration to cultural groups.

Guidelines for Translation

Two interviewees shared that they would like to see formal budget allocations specifically for translation and interpretation to ensure adequate money to cover the costs of translating informational materials and hiring translators when interacting with the public. One interviewee mentioned working with other colleagues to advocate for the introduction of a policy that would mandate what materials should be translated, into what languages, and under what circumstances. Here, leadership from senior staff was mentioned as important support. Senior staff, according to this interviewee, should show support and encouragement for the translation and interpretation of materials and for the conduction of public meetings and workshops in multiple languages. This could help those presently advocating it to garner more support from their colleagues and other staff.

This interviewee voiced frustration with colleagues who continually view translation and interpretation as an "extra" and do not account for it in budgeting and expenses. The interviewee shared that since the city population is roughly 50% English speaking and 50% of the population speaks a language other than English as a mother tongue, then budgeting for translation materials should reflect this: "It's a mindset of how you've got to look at it differently because they will talk to me about, well, we have to look for different ways to raise more funds or ask for more money. Unless we can get more money, we can't do it. I say, well, you have the money, you have the budget – according to the population out there, you could have used it very differently." The interviewee identified the obstacle as those individuals who continue to view the English speaking

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population as the majority and norm, when this is not, in fact, the reality. "Everyone still sees the whole issue of language and different ability as [something that] calls for extra money," the interviewee stated, "so you will only do it when there is extra money. When there's no extra money, you won't do it."

Diversity Training & Education

The issue of diversity training and education arose when interviewees were asked to reflect upon their opportunities for learning and growth from their experiences on the job. They each shared that these opportunities existed, in the form of diversity dialogues, forums, seminars and conferences, but that often, those who participate are the "already converted," who attend due to personal interest, and are simply "preaching to the choir." According to interviewees, city staff who see diversity education as important take it upon themselves to seek professional growth and skills development in those areas. However, those who do not see the relevance or importance of such education can easily continue in their work without ever being required to address those particular areas of concern.

One interviewee felt that demands for diversity and multicultural workshops could be integrated into professional growth and development, as part of staff training, or worked into an aspect of performance reviews, declaring "leadership from up top needs to demand this sort of development of working professionals." This same interviewee shared her concern of the city's tendency to hire consultants and contract out some areas of community work. In some cases, the consultants would then come back to the city asking for assistance in understanding the cultural background and frame of reference of local constituents. In those cases, social planners who do have that background and understanding of a particular cultural community would be brought in as "a consultant to the consultants." Concerning the efficient distribution and use of city finances and resources, this interviewee felt that it would make sense for the city to include in its requests for proposals, in those cases where it would be necessary that consultants have knowledge and experience working in diverse neighborhoods.

Grants & Funding

One interviewee described the current grant administering and funding allocation process as "controversial" and "problematic" since the province will not fund specific ethnic groups. The interviewee felt that funding from the province should not be restricted only to those entities serving all or any cultural community. This creates difficulties for those ethnic groups who are

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aiming to make grassroots change in their communities, if they are unable to reach out to all other ethnic groups. This is especially difficult when the problem being addressed is endogenous to one particular ethnic group. Although this interviewee also stated that "groups are learning to navigate" this issue, it still presented difficulties not only to the communities, but to city staff assisting these groups in securing funds for their endeavors. This same interviewee also felt that the grant application process relied too heavily on grant writing skills and paid too little attention to the capacity of the soliciting organization to carry out the activities delineated in their proposals. The process was phrased as being "all about writing a good proposal or having a good application, not about capacity."

Paralleling the concern of addressing the needs of specific ethnic groups, another interviewee felt that planners "shouldn't be afraid to spell out issues, to use more cultural language," when there are "certain barriers faced by a particular ethnic group, then we need to acknowledge that, say that." The interviewee referred to social problems among First Nations communities, such as drug and alcohol abuse, which have a higher occurrence in these communities than in others. This interviewee felt that to truly address such a need, more specific language must be included in policy addressing ethnic communities, rather than passing legislation that speaks to difference and multiculturalism in vague, ambiguous terms.

LEARNING & INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE

Individual Learning

When asked about opportunities for personal learning and the sharing of those experiences with colleagues, interviewees first mentioned diversity conferences and dialogues as opportunities that are most available to them. They cited these events as times that have been set aside to reflect on their personal and professional experiences and to share those experiences and lessons learned with colleagues in the field. Staff meetings were also discussed as opportunities to share with colleagues. Two interviewees cited staff meetings as times they use to catch each other up on their current projects and reflect on new learning from those experiences.

The staff meeting is an important tool for planners, as it allows individuals to share within their departments, personal learning experiences and ideas on what works. These meetings tend to be regularly scheduled and bring together individuals in the department who may not often interact. This addresses one interviewee's concern of opportunities to share experiences occurring

long after the issue or event at hand has passed. This interviewee shared that planners "must be able to debrief after every situation or controversy [and] try to learn to do it better next time. Often things just continue in the same way."

Institutional Learning

Institutional learning, however, was viewed an entirely different issue from individual learning and for the most part, interviewees did not see this as linked to their individual efforts but rather something that could only be determined by those at the top, through senior staff and council leadership. As one interviewee put it, "You struggle internally to change, unless that change is made in the right place." Another interviewee shared that "council has a direct influence on what kinds of leadership you have... If they become focused on issues, on interests, they haven't been focused on, then senior staff shift too. There needs to be a focus on council." These statements demonstrate interviewees' sentiments about needing support from senior staff and city council, not only for encouragement, but for legitimacy as well. Securing leadership buy-in would help to garner support from their colleagues not only within their departments but also among others who work in municipal services. One interviewee referred to the creation of the Hastings Institute in 1989, as one step the city has taken towards institutional change. The Hastings Institute provides cultural awareness and diversity training to city employees, and this interviewee cited that senior staff has been actively participating in these trainings over the years.

Another manner in which interviewees spoke of the opportunities for institutional learning or systemic change dealt with their reflections on the interchange between academia and practice. Some felt there wasn't enough exchange between working practitioners and academic students of planning. One interviewee suggested that having visiting speakers, both from the field of planning and community members who participate in the planning process, to reflect on their experiences would be one way to share learning with the next generation of planners and inform education of future planners. This interviewee felt that community input on participatory processes in planning was important for students, faculty, and planners in the field. This would help to increase understanding of when community members have felt their voice was heard, or when they have felt marginalized in the process. Additionally, internship programs were mentioned by one interviewee as another way through which current students in planning could gain exposure to challenges they would face once in the field.

Another interviewee also mentioned successes in sharing learning across departments, such as with city staff in parks and recreation, engineering and public works. This raises an interesting and important issue of institutional learning and systemic change, and the importance of disseminating lessons of "what works" to all areas of city government, for often, those lessons can be applied across disciplines and departments.

Only one interviewee brought up the importance of *how* to present new learning, stating, "when you learn something that you think has implications for the planning profession, you need to learn to articulate it in a way that demonstrates the connection of how this approach will benefit the city as a whole, not as a special project. Otherwise, the overall system doesn't really learn much from it." Although the only one to speak of this topic, the interviewee's comment resonates with those of others with regard to the challenges faced by planners working with ethnically diverse communities. Interviewees felt that the programs and activities employed in working with these groups across language and cultural differences should not be considered "extra" or "special," but should instead be integrated into the overall planning approach to community participation. They stressed the importance of colleagues viewing their work as integral to the work the planning department does, and not the responsibility of one or a few individuals.

THE PLANNER'S ROLE

Interviewees were asked how they perceived their role within the communities in which they work, in their departments, and as municipal employees. From interviewees' responses, I have teased out three principle roles: cultural broker, advocate, and negotiator. Analysis takes into account their responses to this particular question as well as comments offered throughout the interview.

Cultural Broker

I define the "cultural broker" as an individual who knows the intricacies of cultural norms and facilitates cultural interchange among parties. I differentiate the cultural broker from the negotiator because the broker is not employed for dispute resolution or to obtain benefits for one party or another, rather, to assist individuals in communicating with members of a different culture through subtleties of cross cultural communication. A cultural broker might know when eye contact is important, or if looking someone in the eye is offensive, if youth are expected to speak only after spoken to by elders, whether women are typically included in decision making, when

elders are consulted, how and in what order to eat particular dishes and with whom, or whether refusing refreshments or wearing shoes in the house would be offensive. A cultural broker would understand rituals of a community, such as those around important events such as a birth or death in a family, and would be aware of spiritual beliefs, regarding what happens after death, as well as medicinal and healing practices. Cultural brokers also know the subtleties of verbal communication, the proper salutations and greetings, as well as popular idioms and manner of speaking in different languages and contexts, whether metaphor is important, or if a direct manner of speaking is more common.

Interviewees often discussed the importance of understanding the cultures of the communities with which they worked and possessing the ability to speak the language(s) spoken in those communities. For example, one interviewee shared, with regard to community visioning in Vancouver's Chinatown, that it had been important that city staff speak either Mandarin or Cantonese, and possess knowledge and understanding of sensitive issues, despite how "fluffy" it sounds. This same interviewee offered a story in which gender and age served as a particular advantage for a colleague who also worked on the project, due to the cultural norms of the Chinese community. Another interviewee shared that although it might not be necessary for a planner to be of the same ethnic or cultural background, a planner still needs to have "internal knowledge and cultural understanding" of the groups with which they work, and felt that such understanding, to some degree, affected a planner's ability to establish credibility in a community. Three out of five interviewees specifically addressed this issue of the impact of a planner's cultural background and all three felt it is unnecessary for a planner to be of the same racial or ethnic background as the community they might be working with, but that having knowledge of the community's cultural background was crucial to working with community members. Interviewees, for the most part, acknowledged that this knowledge is something one develops over time, that much of it comes from experience, but that nevertheless, was knowledge crucial to their positions as social planners.

Advocate

Almost all interviewees in reference to a number of topics mentioned the term "advocate." One interviewee speculated about the ability of a municipal employee to be an advocate, for their position as a bureaucrat and felt that advocacy within bureaucracy was different than being an advocate "outside" of city bureaucracy. However, providing community residents access to

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information was one manner in which this interviewee felt a bureaucrat could be an advocate "quite comfortably."

Along these lines interviewees also mentioned the planner's role functioning as an advocate for public education. Interviewees' saw it as their responsibility, as planners, to provide residents with the understanding and know-how they would need to navigate city bureaucracy. Interviewees felt that they, as planners, had access to information before community members would and that it was their responsibility to deliver that information clearly and fairly to their constituents. This information dissemination served as a means to equip the community to then make the demands necessary on city government to meet their needs. Without information, however, the community is left at a disadvantage. One interviewee shared that "the community needs to be more demanding. More public education to alert people to their rights and the ways through which they may make demands of municipal government. Depending on where people are coming from, they tend not to make demands of government but rather be grateful for whatever they get. [There] needs to be a public education component to alerting citizens as to what they are entitled." Along these lines, another interviewee stated that "some immigrant communities view bringing up internal problems or issues as 'airing their dirty laundry' and are afraid to share that with anyone, with government. It is our job to break through those barriers and get to the bottom of what's going on." This interviewee likened this process to trust building and felt that it is important that community members perceive government as "open and trustworthy," in order to be considered accessible to their communities.

One interviewee shared a story concerning members of the Filipino community, who requested assistance in acquiring integration services, typically directed toward immigrant communities. Although the Philippines represents one of the top five sending countries of immigrants to Vancouver, their status as English-speaking newcomers allow many to enter the country without direct involvement with integration programs offered by the provincial and municipal governments. In the case of the Philippines, out-migration is highly gendered, as Filipina women migrate at rates much higher than men. This leads to an abundance of single parent female headed households in the host country and the many difficulties that come with it: "They don't get the normal new immigrant service, [they're] employed right away. There are issues of family separation, kids and mothers, have a hard time getting back into their professions, 'deskilling,' domestic violence, other issues, intergenerational, children not relating anymore, long term family issues." Community members had made repeated efforts to solicit assistance from

provincial government all to no avail. Women in these communities were spending their own time, money and other resources to assist each other with much needed family services regarding childcare and employment. This interviewee shared that although city government was unable to fund programs for settlement services, city staff were able to assist them "to begin documenting the sort of work they do to make a case strong enough to lobby for their needs at other levels of government." City staff assisted in procuring funds and developing and administering a community survey, which was used to garner more support and funding down the line. Eventually, the women managed to build a "Multicultural Helping House" facility to provide needed services to Filipina women and other ethnic groups. Over a period of six years, the city was able "to work with this community to say this is how the process will work, this is how the system will listen, we give a little leverage here and there, to support." In this case, the role of the planner as advocate and co-collaborator was key to assisting the community in achieving their goals and having their concerns voiced at other levels of government.

Interviewees also mentioned the importance of representing the interests of ethnic and immigrant communities in city government and other levels of government. Ways in which planners could achieve this was by obtaining seats on advisory committees and councils, to ensure that concerns of marginalized community groups are always brought to the table and heard by higher ups in decision-making and policy development forums. The same interviewee who suggested these mechanisms specifically stated that it is also important for planners' to engage in supplying policy recommendations with regard to immigration and ethnic communities.

Negotiator (Mediator)

"Negotiation" was another term that surfaced again and again when interviewees were asked to describe relationships with constituents and city government. Interviewees felt they acted as negotiator among community groups and between community groups and the city. Often times, this negotiation entailed assisting residents to approach problems and challenges they faced in their communities. One interviewee specifically described work with community members as a process of "negotiation" with the community. Another posited the planner's role as "the bridge between the community and government," an individual who is perceived to be "accessible." This interviewee felt that social planners are seen as facilitators, using the city's "weight and background to talk about issues and problems, and address them in a more collaborative way." In this manner, the social planner is a "potential resource, a resource person," who could provide

access to information, other levels of government, other systems in city hall, someone who functions as "a kind of conduit."

Negotiation was also referred to as the means through which planners balance the needs of long time community residents with those of newcomers; and the method through which planners maintain a framework for community process while taking into consideration the particularities of different ethnic groups. One interviewee described this circumstance as "constantly negotiating with the community," saying that "you might have a given framework in mind on how to do things, community process, but you need to be flexible. Everyone gives you different ideas and you need to listen and see how you can fit all those different things into a framework. It's important to have this constant renegotiation with the community."

The Planners' Dilemma

Interviewees shared the dilemmas they face in wanting to be open to the community and wanting, at the same time, to advance the city's objectives for community development. This was often described as a willingness to be open and flexible in process, in the ways in which they worked with community members, but still fitting that process into some sort of framework. One interviewee articulated this dilemma, "It's good that the community see us as their ally" but also stated that "you don't go there and just promise people yes we're going to deliver this for you; you're not there to be their best friend." Illustrating this, this interviewee described the planner's role as that of someone who "brings issues, projects, policy in front of them [community members]," who can "lay out, honestly, options and possibilities and the limits." This interviewee contrasted being the community's best friend, or advocate, with being a city official. Reflecting on how a planner's personal cultural background could impact work with the community, particularly when of the same ethnicity, the interviewee later stated that, "that's how community works. They see you as "our" planner, but you shouldn't get that mixed with personal...[trailed off]. Its separate." These statements illustrate the planners' acknowledgement of the dilemma in wanting to remain close, open, and accessible to community members and capable of advancing community interests, while at the same time maintaining professional distance that enables them to work as representatives of city government.

The dilemma articulated by interviewees echoes those sentiments expressed in literature on participatory planning processes in diverse communities. Planners must understand the cultures of the individuals and groups with whom they work. They must be able to get close enough to

community members so that they are able to identify the assumptions those community members may express, while at the same time maintaining a distance that allows them to continuously question those assumptions (Baum 2000). Students of planning are to acquire specific substantive knowledge, to understand local culture, what influences it, how it is maintained, while still possessing an attitude that allows them to understand the embeddedness of that culture. This knowledge constitutes a "multicultural sensibility" to planning (Baum 2000).

The planner's dilemma resonates not only at the level of individual attitude and mentality, the planner's ability to recognize cultural assumptions and question those assumptions, but too, it speaks to the planner's professional role as embedded within city bureaucracy, and bureaucracy as embedded within democratic government. Justice in political process is determined by equal representation of group interests in decision-making bodies (Burayidi 2000). The planner's role as advocate implies representing the community's interests within city government; serving "public" ends which concern *both* public institutions and citizens (Beauregard 2000) [emphasis mine]. Planners must take into consideration differences as well as the similarities that exist among groups in order to balance distinct groups' interests with those interests that are shared among groups (Beauregard 2000). Planners as negotiators, and mediators, must then understand that the reality of multiple cultures, cultures that often conflict in values and beliefs, entails irreconcilable conflicts, those issues that cannot be mediated (Meyer & Reaves 2000).

Chapter 7. Recommendations

As discussed in the previous chapter, interviews with city planners in the Vancouver area reveal a multitude of lessons. For the most part, interviewees have a shared conception of multiculturalism that has been informed by national rhetoric on multiculturalism in Canada as an official policy. Institutionalization of policies that recognize the diversity and contributions of local communities has enabled city planners to build trust with the community and support from other municipal staff. These planners view communication with constituents as crucial to increasing participation of citizens in civic life and to gaining legitimacy and support for municipal government projects and programs. At the same time, multiculturalism in cities has posed specific challenges to interviewees. Among those mentioned were the need to have knowledge of the different cultural backgrounds and languages of community members, the need to be flexible and open in the planning process, to have patience in building trust and working with ethnic groups, and the need to expand modes of communication concerning ethnic media and translation. Based on the research conducted for this thesis and interviews with social planners in Vancouver, I have developed the following recommendations for planners working in diverse cities. These recommendations are meant to serve as just those – recommendations – suggestions on next steps to aiding planners and the planning profession in acknowledging and accommodating difference in the city.

POLICY

City government must develop policies and guidelines for planners working with diverse groups. These guidelines may include; hiring and recruitment of racially and ethnically diverse individuals; the formation of advisory councils or committees; or the formation of distinct municipal positions dedicated to generating understanding and furthering communication with immigrant and ethnic minority groups. Furthermore, the city may develop a policy on consultation with community that clearly delineates when community consultation is required and in what forums these consultations may take place. Furthermore, a policy that demonstrates the city's commitment to cross-cultural communication may include guidelines on translation and interpretation of live communication and print materials. City government can also develop policies regarding funding and grant administration to ethnic groups, immigrant integration and

diversity programming, outlining those criteria that the city can financially support and those that must be accommodated elsewhere in government. Policies should consist of clear and explicit language and evade broad, ambiguous terms that cause confusion at the point of implementation.

Such policies initiated at the municipal level enable the city to respond quickly to community needs. Preset guidelines allow planners and other city staff to be proactive in working with communities and legitimize certain responses to community requests. Furthermore, guidelines that speak specifically to the needs of immigrants and minority ethnic groups is one way of demonstrating local government's commitment to the full integration and participation of those individuals in local governance, and one step towards trust building with community members.

LEADERSHIP SUPPORT

Planners and other city staff need support from senior staff and other leadership in municipal government. Endorsement and support from leadership serves to legitimize the work of support staff, not only within city government, but among the public. Leadership's public commitment to inclusion of immigrants and ethnic minority groups demonstrates to others the importance of recognizing and accommodating difference in communities. Leadership can show this commitment by including it in municipal governments mission statements; endorsing, hosting, and participating in public forums, conferences, and symposiums on diversity and multiculturalism; and setting a precedent through attendance at cultural awareness and diversity training sessions, and cross cultural communication and language learning workshops.

HIRING & RECRUITMENT

Local government should make an active effort to recruit a diversity of working professionals into their city planning departments. It is important that planners in diverse cities understand the cultural backgrounds of community members as well as the range of experiences they represent. One way to ensure this understanding is for the department itself to be comprised of individuals representing diverse cultural backgrounds and life experiences. This means not only gender balances and racial and ethnic diversity, but also geographic origin, nationality, socioeconomic status, religion and political view.

Undoubtedly, for there to be a significant pool of diverse individuals in a professional network of planners, such diversity needs to be represented in colleges and universities that recruit

students into their city planning and development programs. Educational institutions, too, need to make active efforts to recruit students from diverse backgrounds. Expanding recruitment programs beyond major cities and internationally, is one way to increase the pool of potential students. Additionally, once students are in school, establishing partnerships with city government and private firms to offer internship programs provides unique opportunities for students to gain exposure to the professional world, develop familiarity with planning practice, and build relationships with future employers. Perhaps, efforts should be made to specifically target those students representing immigrant and ethnic minority groups. Additionally, a mentorship program pairing planning students of color with professionals who are also of color is one way to assist those students in understanding the barriers and challenges they may face working as ethnic minorities in the planning profession. The discipline has, historically, been white dominated, and individuals from other cultural backgrounds experience the work differently. This, too, must be acknowledged in planning departments, both by colleagues and senior staff.

CULTURAL AWARENESS & DIVERSITY TRAINING

Cultural awareness and diversity training has become a flourishing industry. Non-profit organizations, private firms, and individual consultants abound, forming national and international groups and coalitions in the steadily growing field. Diversity training works not only with individuals in acknowledging personal cultural assumptions and bias, and overcoming barriers to cross-cultural communication and collaboration, but also assists organizations in strategic development plans to integrate recognition, respect and expression of cultural, religious and language diversity in the workplace. Diversity training is offered to individuals attending conferences or workshops in their area, or consultants can be hired by a particular organization to customize training for management and staff.

While cultural sensitivity and diversity training has boomed in the last twenty or so years, it remains a controversial issue that is devalued by some. It is true that such training and education cannot eliminate racism, among individuals or in society, but it can raise awareness of how race, ethnicity, nationality, culture, language, religion, socioeconomic status, ability, gender, sexual orientation, and other factors impact individual and cultural group norms, beliefs and behaviors. Such awareness goes a long way when working with diverse groups and communicating across cultural differences. Furthermore, a program of rewards and incentives for city staff, recognizing

individuals for their commitments and efforts toward these issues, is another way to promote professional development among staff regarding diversity education.

LANGUAGE SKILLS

City planning departments should include language skills as a requirement for staff hiring. In communities where a large number of ethnic groups speak a language other than English as the mother tongue, the city government should require that at least a portion of its employees maintain proficiency in English as well as one or more of the most commonly spoken languages of the population served. Language skills are useful not only for city planners, but for other municipal staff working in all sectors of government. For this reason, it may be useful for the city to assess the demand for municipal staff that speak languages other than English and encourage and reward such skills among its employees.

Planners can develop language skills as part of staff training or language education classes for adults. In cases where individual planners take it upon themselves to further develop their language skills an agreement could be worked out with their employers, whether it is city government or a private firm, so that the individual covers only a portion of the cost of language courses. This may mean arranging annual budgeting to account for language education programs for staff.

Another way through which planners may develop language skills is through imposing language requirements in planning education and related disciplines. Planning departments must begin to recognize that their graduates will enter the field to face increasingly diverse cities, and will encounter constituents who speak more than one language, languages different from their own. As ethnic communities grow in cities, so do ethnic enclaves, and it is likely that planners may work in neighborhoods where some constituents may speak little to no English. Developing planning curricula that is complemented by language study is one way to ensure planners' language preparation.

Students may undertake language study, area studies of a particular region of the world (which often include a language acquisition component), or study abroad in a non-English speaking country. Studying abroad provides an excellent opportunity for students to master a foreign language as well as generate understanding of a culture and country different from their own. Language and culture immersion programs are more successful than classroom language study as students are often removed from situations where it is easy to revert back to English or

surround themselves with individuals who share their own cultural norms and backgrounds. This encourages students to not only adopt another language but often times another worldview. This would be a significant step towards encouraging cross-cultural understanding as a prominent component of planning education. The next generation of planners must come to see language diversity as part of the urban reality. Entering the professional world, they must be prepared to confront language barriers and posses the skills necessary to overcome those barriers. A smaller, more immediate step would be simply awarding credits toward planning and related degrees to those students who embark upon language study in other departments.

TRANSLATION & INTERPRETATION

The city should establish policy guidelines regarding translation and interpretation of print materials and live communication with members of the public. Such guidelines would set forth what types of materials are to be translated and into what languages and would clearly demarcate those situations, such as public meetings, where translators should always be present. While personal discretion is often what makes planners, and other street-level bureaucrats, able to better meet the needs of the public, constantly having to make such decisions on the spot, or attempting to determine before each and every meeting whether to hire translators, can become a burden. By providing guidelines and standards on translation, the city can guarantee its staff the appropriate resources for a need that has already been demonstrated through significant demand for such assistance.

It may be worthwhile for the city to invest in permanent positions for translators who are fluent in the most frequently spoken languages of the local community. For example, in Vancouver, this would include Cantonese, Mandarin, Punjabi, Tagalog and Vietnamese. Having hired personnel responsible for translation and interpretation at public meetings and focus groups would relieve those individuals, such as social planners, from the burden of fulfilling multiple roles of translator and facilitator. Furthermore, budgeting to cover the costs of the necessary equipment (speakers, headsets, microphones) would be an inexpensive (as the equipment can be used repeatedly) and efficient means of translating at community meetings.

The constant contracting or hiring of translators, whether professionals or members from local ethnic communities, cannot resolve the problem. To truly remove the existing language barriers between planners and their constituents would be to remove the "middle man," the translator, from the process, as much is lost in translation. Furthermore, municipal governments

stand to benefit financially from simply hiring planners who possess the desired language skills that enable them to communicate directly with non-English speakers, to write press releases and reports in other languages, and conduct public meetings and focus groups. This is a more desirable approach to resolving language barriers between city staff and the public as opposed to continuous contracting of consultants and translators.

ETHNIC MEDIA

Ethnic media outlets play a significant role in information dissemination to non-English speaking immigrant and ethnic minority groups. Understanding that these groups rely heavily upon their community newsletters, newspapers, websites, radio and television stations are crucial to planners working in diverse communities. Planners should extend working relationships with ethnic media, identifying the more prominent outlets and establish a sort of protocol to follow for information dissemination. This might include exchanging contact information among city staff who speak the necessary language and who can serve as the direct liaison between the community and the city. Additional time should be set aside for preparing ethnic media press releases. Here, too, having planning staff who speak the language is crucial in assuring that issues are translated correctly as information is passed from the planning department to other municipal departments and the community.

SHARED LEARNING

City planning departments should set time aside for staff to share learning from their professional experiences. This can happen through a number of ways. Departments may wish to use staff meetings as a time for colleagues to reflect and share lessons. Either a portion of each staff meeting, or an entire staff meeting at pre-determined intervals throughout the year, may be set aside for staff to present learning to one another and solicit feedback from their peers. Incorporating a lecture series into staff development trainings or developing a brown-bag lunch program may also be an appropriate way to share information. Regular updates through memos or reports that can be administered throughout city government, extending beyond the planning department, will ensure that best practices are disseminated widely. Furthermore, written reports and executive summaries on recently completed projects allow for timely reflection on community events and can be posted online, granting easy access to a larger number of people.

City planning departments may wish to pair with other community development organizations and/or colleges and universities to arrange a visiting lecture series. This information sharing can go both ways. Students can share their current research and new developments in academia with professionals, and practitioners in planning and community development can report back on successful tools and programs they've encountered or developed in the field. This sort of relationship ensures continuous exchange between educational institutions and working professionals.

SELF EXAMINATION AND PERSONAL REFLECTION

Increased diversity in cities poses many challenges to planners working in those communities. Planners can prepare for some of these challenges by expanding the breadth of their education before entering the field and continuing that education once they are practicing professionals. Furthermore, sharing learning and experiences with colleagues, receiving support from leadership and government, and policies dedicated to inclusion and equity in cities, all relieve the municipal planner of the many roles they must play as street-level bureaucrats.

However, some challenges planners will encounter in the field can only be overcome with openness, time and patience. Individuals in the planning profession must understand how their personal beliefs and behavior impact the work they do and their interactions with people of a different background. They must understand that working with diverse groups requires time and patience, a willingness to learn, and flexibility and openness to doing things differently, to abandoning the "process," scheduling, and rigid frameworks for engaging the community. They must be aware that they must both extend trust to community members and build trust among them by learning, and respecting, how things are done in their communities, working within those norms and systems to achieve a good balance between community needs and city objectives for service provision.

Planners must be aware of the changing demographics in cities, and understand not only those difficulties that newcomers face in their new host countries, but as well the difficulties they left behind that shape perceptions and expectations in their new home. As with any duty, planners learn by doing and learn from their mistakes. Taking the time to personally reflect on interactions and events with community members is one way planners can ensure that their professional work, and the work of their colleagues, continues to evolve with the changing nature of cities.

Chapter 8. Conclusion

Current writing and theory on multiculturalism illustrates its embodiment of a politics of difference. International migration market globalization, natural disasters, inter-ethnic conflict and international war have changed social, economic and political conditions in countries around the world. Additionally, post-colonial societies now face the arrival of formerly colonized peoples, making their claim to space and territory. Social movements demanding rights and representation for oppressed peoples have brought justice and equity to the forefront of urban politics. These phenomena form a politics of difference, leading communities and entire nations to embrace multiculturalism – the recognition, embracing, accommodation and expression of difference – as philosophy and public policy.

Colonial conquest, resistance to British and American imperialism, Quebecois nationalism and separatism and increased immigration all contribute to the evolution of Canada into a racially and culturally diverse nation. Notions of citizenship and identity are social constructions that are fluid and reconstructed over time and inform Canada's national narrative as first, the *dualité canadienne,* and later the *multicultural mosaic.* Official multiculturalism in Canada demonstrates one country's attempt to confront the changing social landscape and manage increased cultural and ethnic diversity in cities. Canada's official policy of multiculturalism promotes difference in society and the full inclusion and participation of all individuals, celebrating racial, ethnic, and cultural diversity.

Multiculturalism has found its home in the city and it is the city building and management professions that are best equipped to address the needs of diverse communities. While rates of immigration continue to rise and patterns of settlement change over time, immigration is primarily an urban phenomenon and its impact is most felt by municipal level governments. The planning profession must acknowledge and understand the exclusionary and culturally embedded assumptions inherent to its history and fundamental principles. Planners must acknowledge and accommodate difference in the city, understanding that this includes redefinition and expansion of belonging, participation, ownership and citizenship. They must adapt their community building processes and programs to be respectful of differences among individuals and understand how their own personal bias and assumptions impact the work they do. Reconstructing planning

education and practice should include developing an understanding of how race and culture shape individuals' experience in the city and integrating this understanding into new approaches to communication with constituents. Mutual learning between professionals and the community, and reflecting that learning in institutional and systemic change, can lead to more just and equitable results in planning diverse communities.

ADDRESSING THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Multiculturalism as public philosophy and policy, such as official multiculturalism in Canada, has played a significant role in impacting planning and development in some of the nation's cities. The social and political climate created by a national scale discourse on multiculturalism, immigration and citizenship sets an interesting precedent for city planning and development. Though lacking specific directives, or actual systemic change, the policy still serves to raise awareness among Canadian citizens regarding diversity and immigration and engages the public in questioning the roles of different levels of government in facilitating the integration and inclusion of historically disadvantaged groups, minorities and newcomers in Canadian society. The policy incites exchange of ideas, and fosters creativity and innovation among government staff and the public, and encourages interactive practices that promote community ownership of planning projects and programs. Planning in Vancouver, as one example, is evolving to further include the voices of all its citizens and increase representation of its diversity on decision-making bodies, as demonstrated by the Vancouver Agreement and the city's participation in the Inclusive Cities initiative. In this manner, multiculturalism at the national level continues to inform decisions made by city staff at the local level, enabling them to compare and contrast the national condition with the neighborhood reality. This leads to innovative *multicultural* projects at the level of the city, the level at which cultural diversity most impacts civic life.

Impact of Diversity on Planners

Increased diversity in cities, as it transpires today, has significantly changed the urban landscape. Planners today are faced with a multitude of barriers to engaging citizens in participatory planning processes and collaboratively working towards building better communities. Planners roles – as cultural brokers; community advocates; and as negotiators and mediators of community and government interests – are multiple and shifting, and require that planners continually examine their personal assumptions and embeddedness, acknowledge the

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contextual frames of reference and experiences of those they work with, and reflect and share new learning with colleagues. Planners must also develop openness and flexibility in their approaches to working with community members, abandoning protocol, existing frameworks, and schedules for community participatory processes. They must be prepared to dedicate time and patience to building trust and to nurturing relationships with community members, understanding those moments when they cease to be the omnipotent professional and become students. Planners need to incorporate new ways of knowing, of soliciting information and assistance from others, in different departments, organizations and throughout the community, to develop more inclusive and collaborative approaches to planning.

Recommendations to planners and the profession include the development of specific policy guidelines that address racial and ethnic diversity in cities and public declaration of leadership support, at all levels of government as well as within municipal departments, to legitimize the work of planners and create an environment amenable to change. Planning departments must pursue diversity of staff through proactive hiring and recruitment strategies and internship and mentorship programs with colleges and universities. Cities should also encourage cultural awareness, diversity training and language education of city staff and aim to integrate such training as a part of professional development. Efforts should be made to increase communication with immigrant and ethnic communities through collaboration with ethnic media and proactive translation and interpretation of materials and live communication with the public. Finally, planners must engage in personal examination and reflection on their experiences in the field and share that learning with colleagues in their departments and throughout city government.

Multiculturalism and Planning

Research and discussions with planners in Vancouver demonstrate the reality of multicultural cities and municipal staff who work in them. Much of the discussions with interviewees echo the voices of scholars who theorize new directions for planners and the field. Current planning literature addressing multicultural communities has appropriately captured the challenges posed by a politics and landscape of difference to today's planners; the need to revise the role of planning in history and the redefinition of planning principles; the expansion of notions of citizenship and participation in planning processes; and the recognition and respect of racial and ethnic diversity in cities and the varied values, perspectives and approaches this diversity brings to the planning process. Nevertheless, although planning theory is much better able to offer

perspectives on "multicultural planning," the concept remains ambiguously defined in practice. Furthermore, the language surrounding notions of inclusion and equity in planning processes is convoluted and nuanced. Existing literature promotes "equity planning," "advocacy planning," "appreciative planning" as well as "multicultural planning" to inform reform and restructuring of planning policy and practice. It may be that planners in the field make no such distinctions between these approaches and simply realize what they do as just "planning"; good quality planning that integrates recognition, respect and accommodation of difference. Planners in practice and academia may better communicate by establishing a common language with which to discuss and engage one another in dialogue regarding the continued evolution of planning to reflect multicultural urban realities and integrate multiculturalism into planning principles. Continued exchange between academics and planners, at conferences, symposiums, and through active information sharing in journals and online communities, enables the profession to establish a shared language through which to address the evolution of the discipline.

A "Multicultural Planning" Future?

Cultural diversity in cities must be acknowledged. The inability of the planning profession to address the changing social landscape of cities leads to increased social stratification, ethnic conflict, isolation of marginalized peoples, and a widening gap between government and civil society. Multicultural cities are a reality, and they will continue to form and grow regardless of racism, discrimination and political dissension. However, that formation and growth can be a constructive force in society and is strength to be harnessed to bring justice and equality to civil society and government. Just as cities require city planners, multicultural cities require multicultural city planners. This is not to say that there needs to be *multicultural planning,* as a distinct set of practices and policies that are considered a branch extending from, or even a sub-discipline within, traditional planning. Rather, it is to say that planners *themselves* must be multicultural. Multicultural practices and policies must be integrated into planning education and professional development of planners in the field. Planners must learn to acknowledge, embrace, accommodate and express difference in their personal education and actions, and in the policies and practices they employ to engage communities in collaborative planning processes that address their needs and represent the voices of all citizens.

LIMITATIONS

Like any research endeavor, this thesis does have its limitations due to the time, funding and resources set aside for this study. First and foremost is the case selection and the contextual environment in which the case, the city of Vancouver, is embedded. Official multiculturalism in Canada is unique and has yet to be replicated elsewhere in the world. Second, this thesis included in-depth interviews with five key informants working as municipal staff in the Vancouver metropolitan area. A larger number of interviews would, of course, provide an even more in-depth look to the subjects touched upon in the interviews. Third, interviews were conducted with only those individuals who identified "social planner" as their current or recent position within city government. Interview discussions with other planning professionals who fulfill different roles within the city planning department would shed some light on how planning in diverse cities has impacted their duties as municipal staff. Additional interviews might include other planners in the department, senior staff, members of city councils and advisory committees, and government employees from other levels of the bureaucracy.

Community voices are largely absent from this study. Again, interviews were conducted only with city staff, whose positions as municipal employees impact the ways in which they view their work. Consultation with community leaders and local residents would provide a better balance to discussions on the impact of increased diversity on planning processes. Furthermore, this thesis tended to focus discussion on immigrant and ethnic minority communities in Vancouver and in Canada. First Nations in Canada do not share the immigrant experience, nor are they recognized as "visible minorities." Aboriginal communities face particular challenges, posed by their position in society and their roles throughout Canadian history, which this thesis does not address.

Finally, I must acknowledge the ways in which my own cultural embeddedness and personal experiences influence the work that I do and the way I perceive that work. As a woman of color who has spent the majority of her life in the United States, my interests in social exclusion, injustice and marginality are central to that experience. I acknowledge that my perceptions of Canadian national culture, discourse, and governance are those of an individual living outside of that reality. However, my own personal confrontations with racism and discrimination largely contribute to my interest in finding ways to eliminate inequalities and disadvantage in society. The plight of immigrant families in a new host country, transnationality, generational differences,

shifting family member roles, the processes of assimilation and acculturation, are all elements I have experienced firsthand and influenced the undertaking of this particular subject of study.

LOOKING AHEAD

Upon completing this master's thesis, I couldn't help but feel that many questions had been left unanswered -- and they had been. This thesis, in some respects, provided a broad overview of subjects that require in-depth analysis, and as well provided only a small snapshot of what is a much bigger picture. Multiculturalism in Canada is still new and continues to evolve. Some scholars have embarked upon the task of evaluating the impact of the policy on Canadian civic life, its ability to improve race relations among citizens and increase social and economic opportunity and political representation for marginalized groups in Canadian society. Such findings would have significant implications for the study of planning in diverse cities.

Additionally, comparative studies would enhance the nature of such a study. National rhetoric in Canada and efforts made by the federal government to address issues of inclusive citizenship and accommodations of difference are largely responsible for the emergence of the planning practices evident in Canadian cities. Comparing Canada with a country, such as the United States, where national rhetoric on immigration and diversity is painted in quite a different light, would provide important illuminations to the study of the impact of the role of federal government in facilitating full integration and participation of marginalized communities. As well, the city of Vancouver is only one of many metropolitan areas that have undergone significant demographic change over the last few decades. A comparative study of cities and planning responses to change in those cities is yet another way to understand implications for the planning profession. Furthermore, planners interviewed for this thesis all expressed the desire for community input on the visioning, capacity building, and community development processes employed by the city. The community voice is absent in this thesis but remains a necessary element to understanding multiculturalism in cities and its implications for the planning profession. Project and program evaluation that would solicit information from local residents in the city of Vancouver would provide a necessary balance for the discussion of multiculturalism in cities and allow planners to gain a better idea of "what works."

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Appendix A – Context Map

(Adapted from an online image courtesy of: www.ac-orleans-tours.fr.)

Appendix B – Canada Timeline

Institutional and Policy Change in Canada	
1763	Royal Proclamation
1774	Quebec Act
1867	Confederation of Canada
1947	Canadian Citizenship Act
1960	Canadian Bill of Rights
1956	Immigration Act of 1956
1962	Immigration Act of 1962
1963	Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism
1967	Immigration Act of 1967
1969	Official Languages Act
1971	Multiculturalism Within a Bilingual Framework
1973	Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism (Ethnocultural Council)
1973	Ministry of Multiculturalism
1976	Immigration Act of 1976
1977	Canadian Human Rights Act
1977	Charter of the French Language
1977	Citizenship Act of 1977
1982	Charter of Rights and Freedoms
1984	*Equality Now!* Released by Special Parliamentary Committee on Visible Minorities
1985	House of Commons Standing Committee on Multiculturalism
1985	Act for the Preservation and Enhancement of Multiculturalism (Canadian Multiculturalism Act)
1988	Amendments to Multiculturalism Act
1989	Department of Multiculturalism and Citizenship
1993	Department of Heritage Canada
1993	Department of Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC)
1995	Employment Equity Act
1996	Canadian Race Relations Foundation
1997	Renewed Multiculturalism Program announced by CIC
2002	Immigration and Refugee Protection Act

(Note: This table is not meant to be a comprehensive listing of legislation in Canada, but represents those items selected for discussion in Chapter 4 "Multiculturalism in Canada." Please see this chapter and References for complete citations.)

Appendix C – Vancouver Timeline

Institutional and Policy Change in Vancouver	
1953	Vancouver Charter passed by BC provincial government
1986	Equal Employment Opportunity Program
1988	Civic Policy on Multicultural Relations
1989	Hastings Institute is established
1993	Vancouver hosts "From Barriers to Bridges" community conference
1994	City Council Advisory Committee on Cultural Communities
1995	Diversity Communications Strategy
1993 – '95	CityPlan
1996	Community Visions Program
1996	Multilingual Information Referral Phone Service
1997	Ethnic Media News Monitoring Service
1999	The Vancouver Agreement
2003	Inclusive Cities Canada selects Vancouver/North Vancouver as area focus

(Note: This table is not meant to be a comprehensive listing of legislation in Vancouver, but represents those items selected for discussion in Chapter 5 "Multiculturalism in Cities." Please see this chapter and References for complete citations.)

Appendix D – Discussion of Research Methodology

Restatement of Research Questions

Using Vancouver, BC as a case study, this thesis aims to: examine how increasing cultural and ethnic diversity in cities impacts the role of city planners; compare the role of city planners to those depicted in existing literature and theory on multicultural planning; and answer the question of whether "multicultural planning" as distinct planning practice should be advocated for within the planning profession.

Case Selection

While official multiculturalism in Canada is a unique phenomenon that has yet to be truly replicated elsewhere in the world, it is particularly that uniqueness that allows the country to serve as an appropriate background in which to study cultural diversity and multiculturalism in cities. Canada's official multicultural policy and successive legislation has heightened public awareness of immigration and diversity in Canada, and brings discussion of these issues to the forefront of public discourse. The federal government's active role as endorser and supporter of diversity initiatives and immigrant integration programs allows for greater transparency of policies, practices, and processes pertaining to these issues. Additionally, official government (national, provincial and municipal) documents and reports are extensively publicized and made available to the general public, through free publications and postings on the internet, due to the high profile nature of multicultural policies among the Canadian public. Canada's growing reputation as a country taking the lead in "managing diversity" has also led to a significant number of academic studies, articles, and books written on the subject.

Canada's largest cities are internationally recognized as multicultural, cosmopolitan cities, and information on planning policy and practice in these cities is highly accessible. My preliminary research demonstrated that a wide range of documents pertaining to planning in Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver, were available through books, journals, periodicals, and online resources. The city serves as an appropriate unit of analysis through which to examine the impact of increased cultural diversity on the role of individual planners because the majority of international migrants settle in the more urbanized areas of their receiving countries. Immigration patterns in Canada reflect this phenomenon. In 1971, the year the Multicultural Policy was introduced, Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver together were home to roughly 30% of all Canadians and received approximately 60% of all domestic and foreign migrants. Immigrants today continue to settle primarily in these same areas. As of the Canadian 2001 Census, the City of Vancouver had the highest proportion of foreign born individuals and individuals for whom English is a second language. For this reason, I have chosen the city of Vancouver as my site of focus.

Research

I reviewed current academic literature and performed documentary research on planning practice and official multiculturalism in Canada. Such research relied heavily on books and academic journals dedicated to planning and ethnic studies. Furthermore, documentary research included

reports and working papers issued by municipal and federal government offices, most of which are available online. Briefings of conference panel discussions and university symposiums provided yet another resource for background information on the subjects of study. I also conducted a set of five key informant interviews, which allowed for in depth discussions on planning practice in Vancouver area municipal government.

Interviews

Selection of Interviewees

I used snowball sampling to select interviewees. My search for interviewees occurred through three modes: internet searches with keywords "multicultural planning" or "multicultural planner"; emails to and discussions with classmates and faculty in the Department of Urban Studies and Planning at MIT, inquiring after individuals who worked as "multicultural planners" or did multicultural planning in Canada; referrals from planners – contacts obtained from the prior two methods – to their colleagues whose work they felt also would fall within the realm of multicultural planning. I allowed, for the most part, those with whom I made contact to supply their own definitions of "multicultural planning," since to provide a definition would be to undermine one objective of this study (to define multicultural planning as it happens in the field and not as it is constructed in theory). However, in some cases, as in email correspondence, I inquired after individuals who would identify their work as primarily involving "immigrants" "ethnocultural groups" and/or "visible minorities." Through these three approaches, I was able to gain direct contact, by email and/or telephone with interviewees and obtain their consent to meet with me.

All of the five interviewees self identified as "social planners" or "multicultural planners" and identified their work as falling within the realm of "social planning" or "multicultural planning."[42] Four interviewees are directly employed by the City of Vancouver. The fifth interviewee works for the City of Richmond, a suburban community located just south of Vancouver. For this reason, I have categorized interviewees as social planners of the Vancouver metropolitan area. Although my original intent had been to speak with municipal level planners, meaning planners working directly for city government, I did not explicitly state this in my inquiries to contacts. Interviewees direct employment by municipalities merely reflects those individuals who I was able to successfully contact (and who agreed to interview) through snowball sampling.

Interviewees were contacted directly by telephone or email and were provided a detailed description of the study and method through which their name and contact information were obtained. Interviewees were asked to select a date and time of the week I visited Vancouver during which they would be available to interview. Interviews were scheduled to last no more than one hour, although some ran over the allotted time. All interviews were conducted in person in the city of Vancouver, British Columbia. Each interviewee chose the site at which the interview was conducted. In all circumstances, interviews were conducted at the interviewee's place of work, in a private room or office. In all cases, except one, the interview took place between interviewer (myself) and interviewee. With regard to the single exception, the selected interviewee had invited

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[42] Although I do not intend to minimize the impact of an individual's race, ethnicity, gender or nationality on their experience as a municipal planner, I have chosen, for reasons of confidentiality, not to reveal interviewees' demographic characteristics.

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another graduate student to sit in on the interview. I agreed since it was at the interviewee's request.

Consent Form

Each interviewee was given the opportunity to review and sign an Interview Consent Form before proceeding with the interview. Each interviewee had the option to refuse tape-recording the interview, use of direct quotes, or use of names and/or titles, in the final research product. Additionally, if interviewees agreed to tape recording the interview session, tapes were not used, nor did they remain for any amount of time in the possession of any individual other than the researcher (myself). In the end, all of the interviews were tape-recorded.

Interview Guide

An interview guide was used to facilitate discussions with interviewees. The guide served as a reference and questions were not always asked in a uniform or systematic manner, as far as wording and subject order, across all interviews. However, interviewees were always asked to begin the interview describing how they came to occupy their present position and what drew them to that line of work. Interviewees were also asked to define "multiculturalism" and "multicultural planning" early on in the interview, since these definitions would provide a frame of reference for much of the following discussion.

Appendix E – Consent Form

AUTHORIZATION OF CONSENT FOR PARTICIPATION IN THE STUDY:

You have been asked to participate in a research study conducted by **Elsie Achugbue** from the **Department of Urban Studies and Planning** at the **Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT).** The purpose of the study is to learn more about the role of individual planners in "multicultural planning" in the city of Vancouver, BC and the surrounding metropolitan area. The results of this study will be included in Elsie Achugbue's Masters Thesis. You were selected as a possible participant in this study because of *your role as a city planner in the Vancouver metropolitan area.* You should read the information below, and ask questions about anything you do not understand, before deciding whether or not to participate.

• This interview is voluntary. You have the right not to answer any question, and to stop the interview at any time. I expect that the interview will take about one hour

• You will not be compensated for this interview.

• Unless you give me permission to use your name, title, and/or quote you in any publications that may result from this research, the information you tell me will be confidential.

• I would like to record this interview on audio cassette so that I can use it for reference while proceeding with this study. I will not record this interview without your permission. If you do grant permission for this conversation to be recorded on cassette, you have the right to revoke recording permission and/or end the interview at any time.

This project will be completed by *May 15, 2005.* All interview recordings will be stored in a secure work space until one year after that date. The tapes will then be destroyed.

I understand the procedures described above. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I agree to participate in this study. I have been given a copy of this form.

(Please check all that apply)

[ ] I give permission for this interview to be recorded on audio cassette.

[ ] I give permission for the following information to be included in publications resulting from this study:

[ ] my name   [ ] my title   [ ] direct quotes from this interview

Name of Subject _____

Signature of Subject _____ Date _____

Appendix F – Interview Guide

Personal Info:

Name:

Job/Position Title:

Employer:

Background Info:

How long have you held your current position?

What did you do before assuming this position?

How long have you lived in the Vancouver metro area?

How would you describe your cultural background?

How would you define multiculturalism? What does this mean to you?

Why do you feel what you have just described is important?

Does the term "multicultural planning" mean anything to you? If so, what?

What does it mean for you as a planner? For the city of Vancouver/Richmond?

What sorts of policy changes (whether at the local, provincial, or national level) would assist you in achieving the work you do?

What sort of assistance do you need? (Resources/Staff, etc.?)

General Work Info:

What attracted you to your current position?

What did you think the position would entail? the role you would play?

How do you feel your work differs from that of your colleagues? In your field?

What do you like most about the work that you do?

Can you tell me a little bit of what your job entails? Describe an average day for me. (What duties/activities do you perform?)

How would you describe the clients that you work with? (Demographic info: race/ ethnicity/ gender/ age/ nationality/ religion/sexual orientation)

How do you feel the larger community views your role?

What signs/signals indicate these expectations? (Patterns in communication, behaviors, actions?)

How would you describe your colleagues? (Is it a fairly diverse workplace in terms of race/ethnicity, gender, etc.)

How do you think your colleagues view the work that you do?

What do you think your colleagues expect of you? What makes you think so?

Skills/Competencies:

With respect to working with ethno-cultural groups, can you give me an example of a success you have had on the job? What was the key to the success?

Similarly, can you give me an example of a difficult time you've had on the job? What made it difficult?

What would you identify as sources of tension and/or conflict in the communities in which you work? Can you give me an example of how this plays out?

How has that conflict been dealt with thus far?

Do you feel this was a good approach? What would you have done differently?

Do you feel you are adequately prepared to perform the tasks expected of your position? Why or why not?

Of the skills you possess, which do you see as most crucial to the duties that you perform?

What skills would you still like to acquire or improve upon? Why? (computer skills/ language/ communication/ finance/ budgeting/ mapping technologies, etc.)

What sorts of skills development would you recommend to individuals (graduate students like myself, for example) who are considering entering your field of work? What are the three most important skills for this work?

Policy/Process:

What opportunities exist for you to reflect upon, or share, learning experiences with colleagues?

With regard to your work, who is often involved in decision-making processes?

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How do you think your position relates to the neighborhood/community in which you work? To the planning department? The City? The province?

What would you say are the biggest challenges facing city planners in Vancouver?

How do you feel the city of Vancouver has responded to legislation regarding multiculturalism? To increasing diversity in the city?

Do you feel you have adequate resources (technical methodologies, financial assistance) to perform the tasks required of your position?

Final Comments:

Is there anything you feel is important to mention that we haven't touched on during this interview?

Do you have any questions for me?

Appendix G – "Multiculturalism"

1971
Pierre Elliott Trudeau
Multiculturalism

[with Government Response to Volume 4 of the report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Commissioners André Laurendeau and Davidson Dunton]

to the House of Commons
October 8, 1971

Right Hon. P.E. Trudeau (Prime Minister):

Mr. Speaker, I am happy this morning to be able to reveal to the House that the government has accepted all those recommendations of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism which are contained in Volume IV of its reports directed to federal departments and agencies. Hon. members will recall that the subject of this volume is "the contribution by other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada and the measures that should be taken to safeguard that contribution."

Volume IV examined the whole question of cultural and ethnic pluralism in this country and the status of our various cultures and languages, an area of study given all too little attention in the past by scholars.

It was the view of the royal commission, shared by the government and, I am sure, by all Canadians, that there cannot be one cultural policy for Canadians of British and French origin, another for the original peoples and yet a third for all others. For although there are two official languages, there is no official culture, nor does any ethnic group take precedence over any other. No citizen or group of citizens is other than Canadian, and all should be treated fairly.

The royal commission was guided by the belief that adherence to one's ethnic group is influenced not so much by one's origin or mother tongue as by one's sense of belonging to the group, and by what the commission calls the group's "collective will to exist." The government shares this belief.

The individual's freedom would be hampered if he were locked for life within a particular cultural compartment by the accident of birth or language. It is vital, therefore, that every Canadian, whatever his ethnic origin, be given a chance to learn at least one of the two languages in which his country conducts Its official business and its politics.

A policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework commends itself to the government as the most suitable means of assuring the cultural freedom of Canadians. Such a policy should help break down discriminatory attitudes and cultural jealousies. National unity if it is to mean anything

in the deeply personal sense, must be founded on confidence in one's own individual identity; out of this can grow respect for that of others and a willingness to share ideas, attitudes and assumptions. A vigorous policy of multiculturalism will help create this initial confidence. It can form the base of a society which is based on fair play for all.

The government will support and encourage the various cultures and ethnic groups that give structure and vitality to our society. They will be encouraged to share their cultural expression and values with other Canadians and so contribute to a richer life for us all.

In the past, substantial public support has been given largely to the arts and cultural institutions of English-speaking Canada. More recently and largely with the help of the royal commission's earlier recommendations in Volumes I to III, there has been a conscious effort on the governments part to correct any bias against the French language and culture. In the last few months the government has taken steps to provide funds to support cultural educational centres for native people. The policy I am announcing today accepts the contention of the other cultural communities that they, too, are essential elements in Canada and deserve government assistance in order to contribute to regional and national life in ways that derive from their heritage yet are distinctively Canadian.

In implementing a policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework, the government will provide support in four ways.

First, resources permitting, the government will seek to assist all Canadian cultural groups that have demonstrated a desire and effort to continue to develop a capacity to grow and contribute to Canada, and a clear need for assistance, the small and weak groups no less than the strong and highly organized.

Second, the government will assist members of all cultural groups to overcome cultural barriers to full participation in Canadian society.

Third, the government will promote creative encounters and interchange among all Canadian cultural groups in the interest of national unity.

Fourth, the government will continue to assist immigrants to acquire at least one of Canada's official languages in order to become full participants in Canadian society.

Mr. Speaker, I stated at the outset that the government has accepted in principle all recommendations addressed to federal departments and agencies. We are also ready and willing to work cooperatively with the provincial governments towards implementing those recommendations that concern matters under provincial or shared responsibility.

Some of the programmes endorsed or recommended by the Commission have been administered for some time by various federal agencies. I might mention the Citizenship Branch, the CRTC and its predecessor the BBG, the National Film Board and the National Museum of Man. These programmes will be revised, broadened and reactivated and they will receive the additional funds that may be required.

Some of the recommendations that concern matters under provincial jurisdiction call for coordinated federal and provincial action. As a first step, I have written to the First Ministers of the provinces informing them of the response of the federal government and seeking their cooperation. Officials will be asked to carry this consultation further.

I wish to table details of the government's response to each of the several recommendations.

It should be noted that some of the programmes require pilot projects or further short-term research before more extensive action can be taken. As soon as these preliminary studies are available, further programmes will be announced and initiated. Additional financial and personnel resources will be provided.

Responsibility for implementing these recommendations has been assigned to the Citizenship Branch of the Department of the Secretary of State, the agency now responsible for matters affecting the social integration of immigrants and the cultural activities of all ethnic groups. An Inter-Agency Committee of all those agencies involved will be established to co-ordinate the federal effort.

In conclusion, I wish to emphasize the view of the government that a policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework is basically the conscious support of individual freedom of choice. We are free to be ourselves. But this cannot be left to chance. It must be fostered and pursued actively. If freedom of choice is in danger for some ethnic groups, it is in danger for all. It is the policy of this government to eliminate any such danger and to "safeguard" this freedom.

I am tabling this document, Mr. Speaker, but it might be the desire of the House to have it appended to Hansard in view of its importance and long-lasting effect.

Mr. Speaker: Is that agreed?

Some hon. Members. Agreed.

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The Federal Response
Appendix to Hansard, October 8, 1971

The government accepts and endorses the recommendations and spirit of Book IV of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. It believes the time is overdue for the people of Canada to become more aware of the rich tradition of the many cultures we have in Canada. Canada's citizens come from almost every country in the world, and bring with them every major world religion and language. This cultural diversity endows all Canadians with a great variety of human experience. The government regards this as a heritage to treasure and believes that Canada would be the poorer if we adopted assimilation programs forcing our citizens to forsake and forget the cultures they have brought to us.

The federal government hopes that the provinces will also respond positively to those recommendations which the commissioners addressed to them. The Prime Minister has written #o each of the provincial premiers outlining the policies and programs which the Federal

Government is initiating and asking for their co-operation. Some provinces have already taken the initiative and are responding to the recommendations directed to them.

The government while responding positively to the commission's recommendations, wishes to go beyond them to the spirit of the Book IV to ensure that Canada's cultural diversity continues.

Cultural diversity throughout the world is being eroded by the impact of industrial technology', mass communications and urbanization. Many writers have discussed this as the creation of a mass society -- in which mass produced culture and entertainment and large impersonal institutions threaten to denature and depersonalize man. One of man's basic needs is a sense of belonging, and a good deal of contemporary social unrest - in all age groups - exists because this need has not been met. Ethnic groups are certainly not the only way in which this need for belonging can be met, but they have been an important one in Canadian society. Ethnic pluralism can help us overcome or prevent the homogenization and depersonalization of mass society. Vibrant ethnic groups can give Canadians of the second, third, and subsequent generations a feeling that they are connected with tradition and with human experience in various parts of the world and different periods of time.

Two misconceptions often arise when cultural diversity is discussed.

(a) Cultural Identity and National Allegiance.

The sense of identity developed by each citizen as a unique individual is distinct from his national allegiance. There is no reason to suppose that a citizen who identifies himself with pride as a Chinese-Canadian, who is deeply involved in the cultural activities of the Chinese community in Canada, will be less loyal or concerned with Canadian matters than a citizen of Scottish origin who takes part in a bagpipe band or highland dancing group. Cultural identity is not the same thing as allegiance to a country. Each of us is born into a particular family with a distinct heritage: that is, everyone -- French, English, Italian and Slav included -- has an "ethnic" background. The more secure we feel in one particular social context, the more we are free to explore our identity beyond it. Ethnic groups often provide people with a sense of belonging which can make them better able to cope with the rest of society than they would as isolated individuals. Ethnic loyalties need not, and usually do not, detract from wider loyalties to community and country.

Canadian identity will not be undermined by multiculturalism. Indeed, we believe that cultural pluralism is the very essence of Canadian identity. Every ethnic group has the right to preserve and develop its own culture and values within the Canadian context. To say we have two official languages is not to say we have two official cultures, and no particular culture is more "official" than another. A policy of multiculturalism must be a policy for all Canadians.

(b) Language and Culture.

The distinction between language and culture has never been clearly defined. The very name of the royal commission whose recommendations we now seek to implement tends to indicate that bilingualism and biculturalism are indivisible. But, biculturalism does not properly describe our society; multiculturalism is more accurate. The Official Languages Act designated two languages, English and French, as the official languages of Canada for the purposes of all the institutions of the Parliament and government of Canada; no reference was made to cultures, and this act does not impinge urn the role of all languages as instruments of the various Canadian cultures. Nor, on the other hand, should the recognition of the cultural value of many languages weaken the

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position of Canada's two official languages. Their use by all of the citizens of Canada will continue to be promoted and encouraged.

The government is concerned with preserving human rights, developing Canadian identity, strengthening citizenship participation, reinforcing Canadian unity and encouraging cultural diversification within a bilingual framework. These objectives can best be served through a policy of multiculturalism composed of four main elements.

1.The government of Canada will support all of Canada's cultures and will seek to assist, resources permitting, the development of those cultural groups which have demonstrated a desire and effort to continue to develop, a capacity to grow and contribute to Canada, as well as a clear need for assistance.

The special role of the government will be to support and encourage those cultures and cultural groups which Canadians wish to preserve.

The stronger and more populous cultural groups generally have the resources to be self-supporting and general cultural activities tend to be supportive of them. The two largest cultures, in areas where they exist in a minority situation, are already supported under the aegis of the government's official languages programs. New programs are proposed to give support to minority cultural groups in keeping with their needs and particular situations.

However, the government cannot and should not take upon itself the responsibility for the continued viability of all ethnic groups. The objective of our policy is the cultural survival and development of ethnic groups to the degree that a given group exhibits a desire for this. Government aid to cultural groups must proceed on the basis of aid to self-effort. And in our concern for the preservation of ethnic group identity, we should not forget that individuals in a democracy may choose not to be concerned about maintaining a strong sense of their ethnic identity.

2. The Government will assist members of all cultural groups to overcome cultural barriers to full participation in Canadian society.

The law can and will protect individuals from overt discrimination but there are more subtle barriers to entry into our society. A sense of not belonging, or a feeling of inferiority, whatever its cause, cannot be legislated out of existence. Programs outlined in this document have been designed to foster confidence in one's individual cultural identity and in one's rightful place in Canadian life. Histories, films and museum exhibits showing the great contributions of Canada's various cultural groups will help achieve this objective. But, we must emphasize that every Canadian must help eliminate discrimination. Every Canadian must help contribute to the sense of national acceptance and belonging.

3.The Government will promote creative encounters and interchange among all Canadian cultural groups in the interest of national unity. As Canadians become more sensitive to their own ethnic identity and to the richness of our country, we will become more involved with one another and develop a greater acceptance of differences and a greater pride in our heritage. Cultural and intellectual creativity in almost all societies has been fostered by the interaction and creative relationship of different ethnic groups within that society. Government aid to multicultural centres, to specific projects of ethnic groups, and to displays of the performing and visual arts as well as the programs already mentioned, will promote cultural exchange. The Government has made it very

clear that it does not plan on aiding individual groups to cut themselves off from the rest of society. The programs are designed to encourage cultural groups to share their heritage with all other Canadians and with other countries, and to make us all aware of our cultural diversity.

4.The Government will continue to assist immigrants to acquire at least one of Canada's official languages in order to become full participants in Canadian society. The federal government, through the Manpower and Immigration Department and the Citizenship Branch of the Department of the Secretary of State, already assists the provinces in language training for adults, but new arrivals in Canada require additional help to adjust to Canadian life, and to participate fully in the economic and social life of Canada.

Appendix H – Multiculturalism Act

Canadian Multiculturalism Act
R.S., 1985, c. 24 (4th Supp.)

An Act for the preservation and enhancement of multiculturalism in Canada

[*1988, c. 31, assented to*
21st July, 1988]

Preamble

WHEREAS the Constitution of Canada provides that every individual is equal before and under the law and has the right to the equal protection and benefit of the law without discrimination and that everyone has the freedom of conscience, religion, thought, belief, opinion, expression, peaceful assembly and association and guarantees those rights and freedoms equally to male and female persons;

AND WHEREAS the Constitution of Canada recognizes the importance of preserving and enhancing the multicultural heritage of Canadians;

AND WHEREAS the Constitution of Canada recognizes rights of the aboriginal peoples of Canada;

AND WHEREAS the Constitution of Canada and the *Official Languages Act* provide that English and French are the official languages of Canada and neither abrogates nor derogates from any rights or privileges acquired or enjoyed with respect to any other language;

AND WHEREAS the *Citizenship Act* provides that all Canadians, whether by birth or by choice, enjoy equal status, are entitled to the same rights, powers and privileges and are subject to the same obligations, duties and liabilities;

AND WHEREAS the *Canadian Human Rights Act* provides that every individual should have an equal opportunity with other individuals to make the life that the individual is able and wishes to have, consistent with the duties and obligations of that individual as a member of society, and, in order to secure that opportunity, establishes the Canadian Human Rights Commission to redress any proscribed discrimination, including discrimination on the basis of race, national or ethnic origin or colour;

AND WHEREAS Canada is a party to the *International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination* , which Convention recognizes that all human beings are equal before the law and are entitled to equal protection of the law against any discrimination and against any incitement to discrimination, and to the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* , which Covenant provides that persons belonging to ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities shall

not be denied the right to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practise their own religion or to use their own language;

AND WHEREAS the Government of Canada recognizes the diversity of Canadians as regards race, national or ethnic origin, colour and religion as a fundamental characteristic of Canadian society and is committed to a policy of multiculturalism designed to preserve and enhance the multicultural heritage of Canadians while working to achieve the equality of all Canadians in the economic, social, cultural and political life of Canada;

NOW, THEREFORE, Her Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and House of Commons of Canada, enacts as follows:

SHORT TITLE

Short title

1. This Act may be cited as the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act* .

INTERPRETATION

Definitions

2. In this Act,

"federal institution" « *institutions fédérales* »

"federal institution" means any of the following institutions of the Government of Canada:

(*a*) a department, board, commission or council, or other body or office, established to perform a governmental function by or pursuant to an Act of Parliament or by or under the authority of the Governor in Council, and

(*b*) a departmental corporation or Crown corporation as defined in section 2 of the *Financial Administration Act* ,

but does not include

(*c*) any institution of the Council or government of the Northwest Territories or of the Legislative Assembly or government of Yukon or Nunavut, or

(*d*) any Indian band, band council or other body established to perform a governmental function in relation to an Indian band or other group of aboriginal people;

"Minister" « *ministre* »

"Minister" means such member of the Queen's Privy Council for Canada as is designated by the Governor in Council as the Minister for the purposes of this Act.

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R.S., 1985, c. 24 (4th Supp.), s. 2; 1993, c. 28, s. 78; 2002, c. 7, s. 129.

MULTICULTURALISM POLICY OF CANADA

Multiculturalism policy

3. (1) It is hereby declared to be the policy of the Government of Canada to

(a) recognize and promote the understanding that multiculturalism reflects the cultural and racial diversity of Canadian society and acknowledges the freedom of all members of Canadian society to preserve, enhance and share their cultural heritage;

(b) recognize and promote the understanding that multiculturalism is a fundamental characteristic of the Canadian heritage and identity and that it provides an invaluable resource in the shaping of Canada's future;

(c) promote the full and equitable participation of individuals and communities of all origins in the continuing evolution and shaping of all aspects of Canadian society and assist them in the elimination of any barrier to that participation;

(d) recognize the existence of communities whose members share a common origin and their historic contribution to Canadian society, and enhance their development;

(e) ensure that all individuals receive equal treatment and equal protection under the law, while respecting and valuing their diversity;

(f) encourage and assist the social, cultural, economic and political institutions of Canada to be both respectful and inclusive of Canada's multicultural character;

(g) promote the understanding and creativity that arise from the interaction between individuals and communities of different origins;

(h) foster the recognition and appreciation of the diverse cultures of Canadian society and promote the reflection and the evolving expressions of those cultures;

(i) preserve and enhance the use of languages other than English and French, while strengthening the status and use of the official languages of Canada; and

(j) advance multiculturalism throughout Canada in harmony with the national commitment to the official languages of Canada.

Federal institutions

(2) It is further declared to be the policy of the Government of Canada that all federal institutions shall

(a) ensure that Canadians of all origins have an equal opportunity to obtain employment and advancement in those institutions;

(*b*) promote policies, programs and practices that enhance the ability of individuals and communities of all origins to contribute to the continuing evolution of Canada;

(*c*) promote policies, programs and practices that enhance the understanding of and respect for the diversity of the members of Canadian society;

(*d*) collect statistical data in order to enable the development of policies, programs and practices that are sensitive and responsive to the multicultural reality of Canada;

(*e*) make use, as appropriate, of the language skills and cultural understanding of individuals of all origins; and

(*f*) generally, carry on their activities in a manner that is sensitive and responsive to the multicultural reality of Canada.

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE MULTICULTURALISM POLICY OF CANADA

General responsibility for coordination

4. The Minister, in consultation with other ministers of the Crown, shall encourage and promote a coordinated approach to the implementation of the multiculturalism policy of Canada and may provide advice and assistance in the development and implementation of programs and practices in support of the policy.

Specific mandate

5. (1) The Minister shall take such measures as the Minister considers appropriate to implement the multiculturalism policy of Canada and, without limiting the generality of the foregoing, may

(*a*) encourage and assist individuals, organizations and institutions to project the multicultural reality of Canada in their activities in Canada and abroad;

(*b*) undertake and assist research relating to Canadian multiculturalism and foster scholarship in the field;

(*c*) encourage and promote exchanges and cooperation among the diverse communities of Canada;

(*d*) encourage and assist the business community, labour organizations, voluntary and other private organizations, as well as public institutions, in ensuring full participation in Canadian society, including the social and economic aspects, of individuals of all origins and their communities, and in promoting respect and appreciation for the multicultural reality of Canada;

(*e*) encourage the preservation, enhancement, sharing and evolving expression of the multicultural heritage of Canada;

(*f*) facilitate the acquisition, retention and use of all languages that contribute to the multicultural heritage of Canada;

(*g*) assist ethno-cultural minority communities to conduct activities with a view to overcoming any discriminatory barrier and, in particular, discrimination based on race or national or ethnic origin;

(*h*) provide support to individuals, groups or organizations for the purpose of preserving, enhancing and promoting multiculturalism in Canada; and

(*i*) undertake such other projects or programs in respect of multiculturalism, not by law assigned to any other federal institution, as are designed to promote the multiculturalism policy of Canada.

Provincial agreements

(2) The Minister may enter into an agreement or arrangement with any province respecting the implementation of the multiculturalism policy of Canada.

International agreements

(3) The Minister may, with the approval of the Governor in Council, enter into an agreement or arrangement with the government of any foreign state in order to foster the multicultural character of Canada.

Responsibilities of other Ministers

6. (1) The ministers of the Crown, other than the Minister, shall, in the execution of their respective mandates, take such measures as they consider appropriate to implement the multiculturalism policy of Canada.

Provincial agreements

(2) A minister of the Crown, other than the Minister, may enter into an agreement or arrangement with any province respecting the implementation of the multiculturalism policy of Canada.

Canadian multiculturalism advisory committee

7. (1) The Minister may establish an advisory committee to advise and assist the Minister on the implementation of this Act and any other matter relating to multiculturalism and, in consultation with such organizations representing multicultural interests as the Minister deems appropriate, may appoint the members and designate the chairman and other officers of the committee.

Remuneration and expenses

(2) Each member of the advisory committee shall be paid such remuneration for the member's services as may be fixed by the Minister and is entitled to be paid the reasonable travel and living expenses incurred by the member while absent from the member's ordinary place of residence in connection with the work of the committee.

Annual report

(3) The chairman of the advisory committee shall, within four months after the end of each fiscal year, submit to the Minister a report on the activities of the committee for that year and on any other matter relating to the implementation of the multiculturalism policy of Canada that the chairman considers appropriate.

GENERAL

Annual report

8. The Minister shall cause to be laid before each House of Parliament, not later than the fifth sitting day of that House after January 31 next following the end of each fiscal year, a report on the operation of this Act for that fiscal year.

Permanent review by a Parliamentary committee

9. The operation of this Act and any report made pursuant to section 8 shall be reviewed on a permanent basis by such committee of the House, of the Senate or of both Houses of Parliament as may be designated or established for the purpose.