

**Atlantic Metropolis Centre ~ Working Paper Series  
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**IMMIGRANTS AND CULTURAL CITIZENSHIP:  
RIGHTS, RESPONSIBILITIES AND INDICATORS**

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**2007**

**Working Paper No. 06-2007  
Série de documents de recherche 06-2007**



**Centre Métropolis Atlantique  
Atlantic Metropolis Centre**

**The Atlantic Metropolis Centre's Working Papers Series**  
**Série de documents de recherche du Centre Métropolis Atlantique**

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# Immigrants and Cultural Citizenship: Responsibilities, Rights and Indicators

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**Abstract/R esum e:**

Cultural citizenship is a concept increasingly mobilized both in Canada and in other countries. Within the cultural policy circles of particular countries, it is often defined in terms of the nation-state, but outside of these it increasingly signifies complex, cosmopolitan forms of cultural identity shaped by diasporic and global networks. This paper explores how differing concepts of cultural citizenship play out in the policy contexts that govern the integration of newcomers to Canada. What role does cultural capital play in the creation of citizens? And how can we measure whether Canadian society is indeed encouraging cultural citizenship in its fullest sense?

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**Keywords/Mots-clefs:** cultural citizenship; cultural capital; cultural indicators; cultural rights; cosmopolitanism

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**Prefatory Note: This working paper is a draft chapter written for a collection on Immigration, Integration, and Citizenship, edited by John Biles and James Fridere. We welcome comments and feedback. Collaboratively authored, the paper includes some sections in French as well as in English.**

One of the “most striking developments in recent political discourse,” according to Gerard Delanty, is “the increasing confluence of culture and citizenship” (2002, 1).<sup>1</sup> While traditional citizenship theories founded on civil, political and social rights often omit the sphere of culture entirely (Shafir, 14; Delanty, 2002, 1), the contemporary emergence of the “politics of recognition” (Taylor) and of “cultural citizenship” as a dynamic concept underscore the need to analyse culture as a primary rather than secondary sphere of citizenship.<sup>2</sup> Seyla Benhabib observes, “*Culture* has become a ubiquitous synonym for *identity*, an identity marker and differentiator,” and “diverse groups engaged in the name of this or that aspect of their cultural identity have become contestants in the public sphere of capitalist democracies . . . in characteristic struggles for redistribution and recognition” (1). Many such contestations are associated with immigration as this affects citizenship rights and responsibilities, whether the debates concern reparation claims of Japanese- and Chinese-Canadians for historical injustice, response to the Air India tragedy, the Danish cartoon controversy, or the murder of the Dutch filmmaker Theo Van Gogh by Mohammed Bouyeri, a self-described Muslim ideologue.

Understanding the causes and ramifications of the “confluence” Delanty describes is bedeviled by the fact that “culture” is “one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language,” as Raymond Williams observed.<sup>3</sup> Section one of this chapter therefore specifies our operative definitions of “culture” and surveys related concepts of “cultural citizenship,” “cultural capital,” and “cultural rights” within both English- and French-speaking contexts. We also wish to emphasize at the start the special problems this volume’s emphasis on integration poses from the perspective of culture, given the deep relations of cultural “memories, events, and narratives” to identity (Lowe 2). While an “integration” model has compelling claims,<sup>4</sup> cultural integration can easily be interpreted as a euphemism for assimilation, or as a term that implicitly denies immigrants agency in the performative enactments that constitute their own citizenship.

Section two treats responsibilities relating to immigration, integration, and citizenship, on the part of both host cultures and immigrants, addressing the need to balance immigrant responsibilities with cultural rights and recognition (or in the French, “droits et devoirs”). Here we call for integration of a different kind—institutional

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<sup>1</sup> The confluence is more widespread than Delanty suggests, extending beyond political discourse to fields such as literature, cultural studies, and philosophy, as well as to policy circles.

<sup>2</sup> Little explicit attention was given to culture at a 2005 Policy Forum organized by the Multiculturalism and Human Rights Branch of Canadian Heritage or at a Public Policy Forum on “Integrating Immigrants” held in Toronto in March 2006 (*Canada 2017--Serving Canada’s Multicultural Population for the Future and Integrating Immigrants*).

<sup>3</sup> A 2001 report on Canadian cultural policies identifies “the lack of conceptual and definitional clarity” as a “major barrier to advancing a coherent policy agenda related to culture (Baeker *et al.* 6).

<sup>4</sup> Gershon Shafir argues that the model of “*differentiated citizenship* awarded to immigrant groups” advocated by Will Kymlicka and others might lead to “*dual citizenship*,” or “demands” by “national minorities for “ever-increasing autonomy, sovereignty, and, eventually, secession” (20).

integration--in the form of bridging policies and programs to overcome silos within and among levels of government, as well as gaps between government and community organizations, and between immigrant settlement agencies and the arts and culture sector.

Section three, on the degree to which responsibilities are currently being met in Canada by host societies and immigrants draws on emerging work on “cultural indicators” or evidence-based measures for the social effects of culture and their impacts on citizenship and identity (Foote & Smith, 2006). We present indicators for measuring cultural diversity, cultural participation, and intercultural communication, noting the need for research and policy development in this area that can capture subjective, dispersed, yet far-reaching impacts in the cultural sphere. How, for example, does one measure the impact of a novel such as Joy Kogawa’s *Obasan* on public attitudes towards immigrants, their histories, and host society responsibilities in Canada? Together with Ken Adachi’s community history and “the gently overwhelming advocacy of Art Miki and other members of the National Association of Japanese Canadians,” it “turned around an entire country’s understanding of itself and its history,” Austin Cooke observes (45).

## **I. Defining Culture, Cultural Citizenship, Cultural Capital, and Cultural Rights**

### *Culture: A Definitional Jungle*

There are at least 164 definitions of culture (Kroeber and Kluckhohn, 47), ranging from Matthew Arnold’s “the best which has been said and thought in the world” (Arnold, 6) to UNESCO’s “the whole complex of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features that characterize a society or group” (UNESCO, 12). Raymond Williams’ discrimination among three principal senses of the word offers one useful map of this definitional jungle. Culture denotes “(i) a general process of intellectual, spiritual and aesthetic development”; “(ii) a particular way of life, whether of a people, a period or a group” (a usage derived from the German Romantic, Johann Gottlieb Herder’s influential theories on *Kultur* as the shared values, meaning, linguistic signs, and symbols of a people); and “(iii) the works and practices of intellectual and especially artistic activity” (80).

The three senses of “culture” that Williams describes overlap, to a degree, with Dick Stanley’s “three faces of culture”: “Culture H” (the repository of past meanings and symbols, traditions), “Culture C,” the making of new meanings and symbols through discovery and creative activity in the arts, and “Culture S,” the set of symbolic tools from which individuals construct their “ways of living” (Stanley, 22-3). If the “making of a society is the finding of common meanings and directions,” as Williams contends (cited in Stanley, 23), then the integration of any member of a society would involve a process that works something like this:

- We use “Culture S” as a tool kit of meanings to understand our daily lives.
- We obtain this tool kit through education and socialization, which draws on “Culture H”, our traditions and heritage.
- We introduce new meanings into this mix through the creative arts and industries (“Culture C”) where they are tested to see whether they will be useful in adapting to new “ways of living”. (Stanley, 25)

In terms of immigrant cultural adjustments and contributions to a new country, key questions to ask include, first, how do newcomers make use of “Culture H” and “Culture

C” to adapt their “Culture S” to a new environment and a new country? Second, how does the host society use “Culture H” and “Culture C” to help immigrants develop new symbolic landscapes (“Culture S”) that will ease their entry into their new environment? Finally, how might immigrants, through the agency of “Culture C”, contribute to the “Culture H” and “Culture S” of the host society, thereby adding new elements to and altering the tool kit that the host society uses to define itself?<sup>5</sup> Typically migration produces complex forms of “double consciousness,” cross-cultural consciousness, and diasporic identity (Siemerling 1996, 2005). The Culture “S,” “H,” and even “C” of Stanley’s theory thus exist in doubled forms and in hybridized formations. These complex formations are captured in theories of “polysystems” and in some emergent concepts of cultural citizenship.

Au-delà des conceptions de Herder («Volksgeist»), de Franz Boas («configurations culturelles») et de Lévi-Strauss («systèmes symboliques») où chaque culture paraît ainsi opérée par une logique propre, Itamar Eben Zoar a développé une conception de la culture où cette dernière n’apparaît non pas comme une substance mais plutôt comme un tissu de relations, de systèmes hétérogènes et ouverts, se développant selon leurs lois propres et qui, par cette autonomie même, peuvent être combinés en ensemble variés. Cette théorie renvoie de fait à une approche sémiotique définissant en quelque sorte la culture comme un «répertoire de possibilités» régissant le quotidien. Comme le mentionne Ruth Amossy dans son étude sur la culture et les polysystèmes: «Elles le font soit en produisant des modèles d’interprétation du réel, soit en fournissant un ensemble d’instructions susceptibles d’orienter le comportement. Le répertoire culturel offre (du coup) une cohésion qui permet aux différents groupes sociaux de fonder leur identité, voire d’émerger ou de survivre comme entité collective. Ce répertoire ou ces éléments peuvent être élaborés soit par des individus ou par des groupes de façon tantôt spontanée, tantôt délibérée» (130).

Terry Eagleton et Pierre Bourdieu ont développé une logique des pratiques culturelles basée sur les rapports de force entre les classes ou les groupes sociaux, où la lutte pour le contrôle des espaces culturels et symboliques domine, pour ne pas dire détermine les relations entre les agents des pôles dominants et dominés. Il est certain que dans ces conditions et suivant cet angle de recherche, la constitution du savoir et la transmission même du savoir, voire celle de la représentation du Soi et de l’Autre demeure l’apanage des classes dominantes, laissant de la sorte peu de place à un véritable dialogue entre les différents groupes sociaux ou culturels. Le dialogue interculturel

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<sup>5</sup> While Stanley offers a relatively neutral approach to the principal forms of “culture,” Roy Miki distinguishes the “cultural as a matrix for the social imagination of embodied subjects” from “‘culture’ as an achieved state to be possessed, commodified, or otherwise treated as a privileged container that subordinates individual agency to pre-emptive frames of already constituted identities.” Miki thus sees culture as more likely to “be found in complicity with political and economic regimes in power,” while the cultural is a dynamic process permitting some agency by embodied subjects (Miki, 1). Benhabib notes that “much contemporary cultural politics today” relies on “an odd mixture of the democratic equality of all cultural forms of expression,” drawn from social anthropology and a “Herderian emphasis on each form’s irreducible uniqueness” (3-4). “Whether conservative or progressive,” she maintains, such conceptions rely on “faulty epistemic premises” that cultures are “clearly delineable whole” which are “congruent with population groups.” As a result, the “internal homogeneity of cultures” is privileged in ways that “potentially legitimize repressive demands for communal conformity” and “fetishize” cultures in ways that “put them beyond the reach of critical analysis.”

s'accomode plutôt mal d'une situation d'hégémonie culturelle excessive. Power relations are crucial factors to consider in regard to immigrants' relationships to their host societies, as well as in the formation of new concepts of cultural citizenship. As Diana Brydon comments, "citizenship cannot be disaggregated from the institutions that exercise regulative power, most especially the state" (Brydon, 2006).

*Cultural Citizenship: Locations, Definitions, Divergences*

One obvious manifestation of the confluence of "culture" with "citizenship" is the emergence of the term "cultural citizenship" as a strategic, though variable, concept within a wide range of discursive sites. In his chapter on "Cultural Citizenship" in *A Handbook of Citizenship Studies* (2002), Toby Miller identifies immigration as "the key crisis that has underpinned the clamor for cultural citizenship" and identifies "three key sites for theorizing" it: the works of Renato Rosaldo and colleagues in US Latino contexts; Tony Bennett and colleagues in Australian contexts; and Will Kymlicka and "fellow liberal political theorists" in the Canadian context (232-33). Miller's formulation itself reflects the marginalization of key aspects of culture that we have described—in particular, Culture "C," as well as the pressure from disenfranchised cultural minorities aside from US Latinos. Significantly, one early instance of the term's emergence appears in a UNESCO report based on a 1997 global forum on indigenous peoples, where it records a shift from "a policy of assimilation to a concept of *cultural citizenship*"

(UNESCO, 6). Précisons par ailleurs qu'au niveau des études et des rapports produits par l'UNESCO depuis ce premier rapport, le concept de citoyenneté culturelle a d'ailleurs été uniquement employé dans le contexte de la formation aux adultes et plus spécifiquement de la promotion de la culture autochtone; la citoyenneté culturelle est alors envisagée comme une façon de contrecarrer la marginalisation et sert d'argument pour défendre une pleine reconnaissance citoyenne qui ne peut que passer par une pleine reconnaissance culturelle et la création d'un espace social et politique favorable en l'occurrence à la reconnaissance de l'héritage autochtone.

In policy circles in Canada and Australia, cultural citizenship has been mobilized as a strategic concept, evident in Colin Mercer's *Towards Cultural Citizenship* (2002) and *Accounting for Culture: Thinking Through Cultural Citizenship* (Andrew, Gattinger, Jeannotte & Straw, 2005). "Cultural citizenship" is also integral to the "Cultural Indicators" initiative of Canadian Heritage, and to research on "creative cities" by Nancy Duxbury and others. In addition, at least three recent conferences, in Europe, the US and Canada, have focused on cultural citizenship.<sup>6</sup> The authors of a January, 2006, CFP for an issue on "Citizenship" of *Essays in Canadian Writing* rightly observe that, "Recently, the term *citizenship* has migrated from its traditional home in political and legal discourses, and emerged as a highly conspicuous and powerful concept-metaphor in global debates on cultural belonging. We suggest that citizenship is supplementing or even replacing nationality or the nation as the dominant critical keyword in Canada's latest era of social change and security concerns."

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<sup>6</sup>These include "Cultural Citizenship" at the John F. Kennedy Institute for North American Studies in Berlin, in 2003; a symposium at Radcliffe Institute in 2004—where the leading postcolonial scholar Homi Bhabha has been working on "global" or "cultural" citizenship (Mohanty); and the 2005 TransCanadas conference, organized by Smaro Kamboureli and Roy Miki ([www.transcanadas.ca](http://www.transcanadas.ca)).

Since cultural citizenship encapsulates the complex roles that Culture “S,” “H,” and “C” plays in the politics of identity, it is not surprising that definitions of the concept vary according to the location they emerge from. UNESCO documents addressing indigenous rights, like anthropologists, literary critics, or activists who write to validate the cultural claims of minorities such as U.S. Latinos, emphasize the transnational dimensions of cultural citizenship (Rosaldo, Inda & Aguirre). In such contexts, the term is closely associated with new forms of citizenship produced by globalization, migration, and the internet, variously articulated as “cosmopolitan citizenship” (Delanty, 2000, 2002), “flexible citizenship” (Ong), “nomadic citizenship” (Joseph), “diasporic citizenship” (Cho), and “global citizenship” (Bhabha in Mohanty). In contrast, policy makers within nation states tend to stress the pivotal role of cultural citizenship in social integration not across national borders but within them. For example, John Foote and Marilyn Smith of the Department of Canadian Heritage define “cultural citizenship” as “an emerging concept that examines the formative role of culture in constructing and understanding citizenship practices such as identity formation and the altruistic behaviours that contribute to a collective’s ability to ‘live together’”.<sup>7</sup>

These differences underscore the need for a cross-cultural, comparativist approach to cultural citizenship and its policy implications. In French-speaking contexts, for example, different patterns of usage emerge that speak both to the politics of language and of location. Alors que le concept de «citoyenneté culturelle» jouit ainsi d’une popularité certaine au Canada, ce terme commence à peine à faire surface dans les études européennes et francophones qui ne sont pas rattachées à des projets de recherche associés de près ou de loin au gouvernement canadien ou à la tradition anglophone nord-américaine. Dans les rapports ou les documents scientifiques et même politiques européens, il est plutôt fait mention de politique culturelle, de citoyenneté civique ou politique et de diversité culturelle.<sup>8</sup>

Là où le terme revient, ce n’est pas dans les documents politiques, ceux de l’Union ou de ses diverses commissions, mais dans les pétitions et les lettres de regroupement artistiques qui se sont prononcés en faveur d’une nouvelle politique culturelle, et donc d’une nouvelle «citoyenneté culturelle» qui permettrait un traitement plus sensible des valeurs, des biens et des services culturels dans les négociations commerciales internationales. Il s’agit là d’un emploi où la crainte d’une uniformisation et / d’un oubli des composantes culturelles dans le tissu politique se font clairement sentir.

Au Brésil, véritable foyer de migration et de diversité culturelle, l’emploi de « citoyenneté culturelle» renvoie aussi à une mise en garde devant une politique néo-

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<sup>7</sup> Delanty further distinguishes concepts of cultural citizenship drawn from “cultural sociology” from those drawn from political theory, noting that those drawn from the former tend to be more far-reaching in emphasizing the centrality of culture to understanding citizenship (Delanty, 2002, 61).

<sup>8</sup> Parmi les documents distribués par l’Union européenne, le passage qui suit fait plus figure d’exception que de règle : «*Quarante ans pour construire une identité culturelle, c’est peu pour des individus hier en conflit, qui n’ont pas d’identité collective. La citoyenneté européenne n’est pas seulement un casse-tête institutionnel ni « la dernière utopie ». C’est une problématique politique et philosophique pour une société post-nationale. La citoyenneté européenne est un compromis entre une conception libérale et une dimension volontariste de la citoyenneté, entre une citoyenneté politique et une citoyenneté culturelle*» (Withol de Wenden).



libérale qui ne répond qu'aux lois du marché. Il s'agit ici non seulement de reconnaître la diversité du tissu culturel et de la richesse du capital symbolique qu'il pourrait avoir, mais aussi de subventionner les pratiques culturelles qui émanent de la base et pas seulement dans une optique folklorisante. Dans ce pays émergeant, on ne peut donc ignorer cette volonté concertée entre certains économistes de gauche, intervenants municipaux et communautaires désireux non seulement de faire de la culture un facteur d'identité collective, mais aussi de mettre de l'avant le développement d'une nouvelle culture politique basée sur l'intégration et la reconnaissance du Soi et de l'Autre.

*Social Capital and Cultural Capital: Refining the Policy Discourse*

While many discussions of immigrants have explored the role of social capital in successful integration, they have not addressed how “social capital” relates to “cultural capital” or to the three “faces” of culture described by Stanley. Among various approaches, Robert Putnam’s definition of social capital as “social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them” (Putnam, 19) fits well within the context of this chapter. His conceptual approach, while not universally accepted, is useful because it divides social capital into two types. *Bonding social capital* refers to social networks that reinforce exclusive identities and homogeneous groups. *Bridging social capital* refers to horizontal networks that are outward looking and encompass people across diverse social cleavages.

Although there is much less consensus around definitions of cultural capital, the most widely-quoted derives from Pierre Bourdieu, who characterizes it as the “disposal of taste,” meaning types of cultural consumption that mark people as members of a specific class. Essentially, under this definition, cultural capital is seen as something that reinforces personal prestige and credentials. Cultural capital, in Bourdieu’s sense, consists of three elements: *habitus or embodied capital*, the system of lasting dispositions that form an individual’s character and guide his or her actions and tastes; *objectified capital*, the means of cultural expression, such as painting, writing or dance, that are symbolically transmissible to others; and *institutionalized capital*, the academic qualifications that establish the social and economic value of the person (Bourdieu, 243).

Only recently have scholars begun to examine the possible collective (as opposed to personal) impacts of investments in cultural capital. In environmental studies, researchers found that social capital in itself did not ensure a positive approach to sustainability and that cultural capital appeared to determine the *quality* of social capital. In other words, how people viewed the world around them, their philosophy and ethics, their traditional knowledge and their symbolic relationship with each other and their environment were critical factors in the sustainability of their communities (Berkes, 27). Acquisition of such sensibilities is clearly a function of *habitus* in the Bourdieuan sense, but in this case, the *habitus* of individuals was beneficial not only to themselves, but also to the environment around them. In the field of development Helen Gould, similarly observes “when a community comes together to share cultural life, through celebration, rites and intercultural dialogue, it is enhancing its relationships, partnerships and networks – in other words, developing social capital” (71).

Karim points out that “[t]he citizen role involves a range of tacit knowledge, competence and taken-for-granted assumptions” and that this “... has implications for a variety of state policies, including economic policy, since those citizens who do not have

certain forms of *cultural* competencies are denied access to society's resources." (147). Jeannotte's review of the research literature to map both the personal and collective benefits being attributed to cultural capital identified four overall themes:

*Theme 1 - Personal empowerment*

*Theme 2 – Cultural participation*

*Theme 3 – Cultural development and quality of life*

*Theme 4 – Cultural sustainability* (127)

If full cultural citizenship is to be a goal of immigrant integration, policy makers will need to develop answers to a number of key questions linked to these four themes. In the case of (Theme 1), they need to understand the role that cultural capital plays in helping individual immigrants get their credentials recognized, get better jobs and strengthen their personal and professional networks. In the context of Theme 2, they need to know whether immigrant cultural participation contributes to intercultural partnerships and understanding. Does it help build community connections (or "bridging" social capital?) or is it primarily intended as a mechanism to reinforce solidarity (or "bonding" social capital) within ethnic enclaves? Despite the growing literature on "creative cities" and the "creative class" (for example, the work of Richard Florida, linking vibrant city economies to the presence of diversity), research on Theme 3 seldom examines whether cultural interventions attract investment or improve the quality of life in immigrant neighbourhoods. Perhaps the most challenging area of research relates to Theme 4, cultural sustainability. Does cultural capital promote identity, well-being and social cohesion within immigrant communities? The answers to these questions will require an understanding of the degree to which cultural capital in immigrant communities is linked to both social and economic capital. In the final section of this chapter we will return to the problem of developing more accurate indicators to measure the host society's success in linking immigrant cultural capital to full cultural citizenship.

### *Cultural Rights*

A third concept integral to the confluence of culture and citizenship is "cultural rights," an underdeveloped area of both academic and policy study in Canada and elsewhere (Baeker *et al.*, 31), even though language rights have been central to Canada's official bilingualism policy, and the emergent discourse of "cultural rights" has been most compellingly deployed in relation to indigenous peoples. Robert Albro and Joann Bauer point out in a special issue of *Human Rights Dialogue* on "Cultural Rights" (Spring 2005), "scholars and practitioners have paid surprisingly little attention to cultural rights, despite the fact that they have been enshrined in international law since 1966 when the United Nations adopted the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (Article 27) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (Article 15)." Cultural rights provide an important means for measuring participation in cultural life (Laaksonen.2005). In relation to immigrants and ethnic minorities, citizenship debates have focused most often on minority rights and multiculturalism, as in Kymlicka's argument for "group-differentiated rights or 'special status' for minority cultures" (1995: 5). Kymlicka's theory has been criticized, however, for faltering "on his definition of culture": that is, for relying on "essentialist" assumptions of ethnic groups as homogenous, when "culture is clearly fluid and ever

changing” (Faulks, 96-98).<sup>9</sup> Such homogenous notions of culture do not accommodate the complex overlapping identities and discourses of rights produced by new forms of diasporic and cosmopolitan cultural citizenship now emerging. Additional policy issues include the extent to which cultural rights include provision of resources for maximizing cultural capital, as well as the tension between cultural rights that maximize transnational identities and those that preserve national identities, a point we flesh out below in relation to the meanings of “cultural diversity.”

## **II. Rights and Responsibilities: Governments, Host Societies and Immigrants**

### *Citoyenneté, droits et devoirs*

Comme nous le mentionnions précédemment, la citoyenneté est la reconnaissance formelle du statut de citoyen et constitue en soi un privilège octroyé par l’État aux individus. Cette condition de citoyen garantit théoriquement à ce dernier la jouissance de tous ses droits politiques. Au Canada, plusieurs de ces droits sont définis dans la Charte canadienne des droits et libertés qui fait partie de la Constitution canadienne. Comme mentionné dans les documents du gouvernement, celle-ci : «garantit à toutes les personnes au Canada des libertés et des droits fondamentaux, comme les droits à l’équité en matière juridique, la liberté de religion et de réunion pacifique» pour ne donner que ces exemples. La Charte, renforcée par la Loi sur les langues officielles, garantit aussi l’égalité du français et de l’anglais dans les institutions fédérales canadiennes.

Il est certain que les droits qu’un état confère par le biais du statut de citoyen à ce dernier constituent autant d’obligations de l’état envers sa population, qui est en droit de les exiger. De chaque droit découle ainsi une série de devoirs et de responsabilités assurant d’une part la garantie de ses droits et d’autre part, la mise en application de ces derniers. Cette correspondance, voire cette adéquation entre droits et devoirs, devrait servir de point d’ancrage à toute étude portant sur les responsabilités des immigrants et des communautés culturelles au Canada. En égard à la culture et à la langue, nous ne pouvons ignorer le fait que pour favoriser une meilleure intégration des immigrants et des communautés culturelles dans le grand tissu démographique canadien, l’état se doit d’abord de remplir ses obligations en regard de la Charte des droits et des libertés, ainsi que des lois concernant les immigrants.

Successful immigration policies require not only a dynamic interchange of rights and responsibilities, but also nuanced definitions of “cultural citizenship,” “cultural capital,” and “cultural rights” rooted in the particularities of locations and in citizen participation. “Questions about the content of citizenship and the balance between rights and duties are always contingent upon the decisions of community,” which cannot be codified in a static contract because these change over time. “Political participation is therefore central to uniting rights and responsibilities” (Faulks 81), much as responsive, well-functioning government institutions are.

### **Government Responsibilities**

Most citizens would agree that governments have the responsibility to set in place the infrastructure for immigrant cultural citizenship. Equally important, however, are the

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<sup>9</sup> On “cultural rights,” see also Bryan Turner, reviewed in Delanty (2002), and C. Lurry, *Cultural Rights*. London: Routledge, 1993.

mechanisms to ensure that this infrastructure works. Federally, both the Charter of Rights and Freedoms (1982) and the Multiculturalism Act (1988) have been instrumental in converting earlier “soft” rights compliance regimes into measures with some constitutional and legislative “clout” behind them. The Multiculturalism Act is, indeed, explicit about working to achieve the equality of all Canadians in the economic, social, political and cultural life of the nation.

While contemporary cultural policies generally include an obligation to support cultural diversity, the term is used in two different ways in policy discourse: first, as plurality of cultural expression within Canada and, second, as maintaining a national cultural “voice” within a global environment. At times, there is a tension between the two dimensions of diversity, as the “national voice” has become less “univocal” in the years since many cultural policies were established. Whereas *multicultural* policy makers in Canada tend to focus on the former definition of “cultural diversity” and link it to the notion of cultural citizenship that is concerned with integration *within* national borders, arts and culture policy makers, when they consider immigrants at all, tend to see them as part of a globalized threat to indigenous cultural citizenship – that is, as avid consumers of foreign content via the internet and satellite television. In both cases, there appears to be a tendency to view cultural citizenship as an “either/or” proposition, instead of one that is now increasingly porous, negotiated and subject to global cultural flows.<sup>10</sup>

Government thus needs to address these newer and more fluid forms of cultural citizenship and identity. At the federal level, responsibilities might be better met by working more effectively across the silos arising out of the historical genesis of the Department of Canadian Heritage (see Baeker ), in order to ensure that cultural and citizenship policies are complementary and consistent, as well as to maximize the benefits of innovative initiatives across divisions.

While it has “unquestionably been the federal government that has set the tone and direction of Canadian cultural policy” (Baeker *et al*, 9), many key dimensions of immigrant cultural citizenship fall under provincial jurisdictions – through, for example, provincial responsibility for education, provincial arts councils, subsidies for cultural industries, and cultural diversity initiatives. Cities and municipalities also play a critical role, in relation to host society responsibilities, because it is at the regional and municipal level that immigrant and cultural diversity and integration services are delivered, through immigrant settlement agencies, multicultural associations, public libraries, museums, and other municipal agencies or NGOs operating on a patchwork of federal, provincial, and municipal funding.

At the provincial level, immigration policy is often most closely linked to labour and economic policies. However, to foster full cultural citizenship for newcomers, all three levels of government need to take responsibility for maximizing the *institutional integration* of cultural policies and programs that relate to immigrants and cultural minorities across jurisdictional boundaries. Since the arts and cultural sector has already developed structures and organizations for bridging some of these boundaries, possibilities for building upon these in relation to immigrant cultural services should be investigated. A responsive federal government will also ensure that provision is made for

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<sup>10</sup> For an overview of the impact that global cultural flows are having on contemporary Canadian society, the reader is encouraged to go to the website of the Robarts Centre for Canadian Studies at York University at <http://www.robarts.yorku.ca/projects/global/> .

the increased burden being met by provinces and municipalities in creating the infrastructure for second language, education, and credentialing programs, cultural capital networks, and exercise of cultural rights by newcomers.

The provision of immigrant services and information in both of Canada's official languages is a primary area in which greater integration among levels of government is called for. Plus de 20 ans après la mise en place des premières politiques, il serait, entre autres, primordial de redonner aux minorités francophones du Canada un statut social et politique qui leur est officiellement reconnu par la Charte des droits et des libertés, ainsi que par la Loi sur les langues officielles du Canada. Tous les immigrants qui arrivent au pays ne possèdent pas comme langue de contact l'anglais et plusieurs auraient besoin d'être accueillis en français à l'extérieur du Québec. Dans le reste du Canada, les services offerts aux réfugiés sont presque tous, pour ne pas dire totalement en anglais; personne pour les conseiller en français, les intégrer à la communauté francophone environnante, pour les aider à trouver des écoles françaises et surtout, à leur donner l'impression que ça vaut la peine de s'intégrer au Canada français.

Une approche juste et responsable dans le domaine de l'immigration devrait garantir l'égalité des droits et des services dans les deux langues pour les nouveaux arrivants et les membres des communautés ethniques qui le désirent. Une telle politique favoriserait non seulement l'intégration des immigrants francophones, mais enverrait aux Canadiens français un message politique sans équivoque, qu'ils présentent un atout pour le pays et qu'ils sont des citoyens à part entière, qui n'auront plus à se battre au quotidien pour la reconnaissance de droits pourtant inscrits dans les lois et la constitution canadienne.

### ***Host society responsibilities***

Host society responsibilities shared by these three levels of government, the private sector and communities are multiple. They include, first of all, informing newcomers on their arrival of their rights as guaranteed by the Charter, including the right to freedom of expression and peaceful protest, and educating them in the Canadian values described above. Education in Charter rights is particularly vital for newcomers from countries without traditions of civil rights and free speech—or where there are gaps between official rhetoric and state practices: as is often the case, for example, for the persecuted writers (principally journalists) whom PEN Canada ([www.pencanada.ca](http://www.pencanada.ca)) is assisting to integrate into various communities across Canada.<sup>11</sup>

Governments and host societies need to attend as well to the ways in which barriers for newcomers have differential impacts based on race and country of origin, gender, class, age, and disability. Numerous studies have shown how the problems experienced by immigrant women, for example, can be compounded by systemic prejudices arising out of these factors operating in conjunction (see Dossa, also Tastoglou & Dubrowlosky).

Equally important is fostering awareness that *both* majority host societies and immigrant groups have distinctive cultures (in the sense of Stanley's Culture "S"), a point often overlooked. (Analogously, in the North American discourse on race, whiteness is assumed to be a neutral ground that is unmarked as a racial category, and "race" is

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<sup>11</sup> Since writers are often intellectual leaders, this PEN initiative offers potential for programs promoting develop intercultural awareness and cross-cultural competency through the activities of writers-in-exile.

instead associated with marked “visible minorities.”) The negotiation of complex sets and subsets of rights and responsibilities grow further complicated when the “host” society itself takes the form of a minority that may not be “visible,” as in the case of Acadian communities in Atlantic Canada.

Progress beyond “cultural competency” models aimed at integrating newcomers into the host society’s values and practices to models of *intercultural competence* is thus crucial. Researchers in second language acquisition now increasingly employ such models (van Esch & St. John, 2004). They also underlie the innovative Clinician Assessment for Practice Program ([www.caprogram.ca](http://www.caprogram.ca)) of the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Nova Scotia, which teams up international medical graduates (IMGs) with Canadian practicing physicians to promote the transfer of skills and medical culture. Designers of the CAPP program define intercultural competence as including “ (1) knowledge of the effects of culture on the beliefs and behaviours of others; (2) awareness of one’s own cultural attributes and biases and their impact on others” (Saunders and Fotheringham).

Professionals in the host society with this type of intercultural competence are more likely to recognize how they benefit from their own forms of cultural capital, and thus more likely to recognize how systemic cultural bias may enter into the credentialing assessments of newcomers. To address the cultural dimensions of credentialing, host societies have to integrate Culture “S”, “H” and “C” into settlement and newcomer services, working both through federal programs, and immigrant service delivery by provincial and municipal governments and NGOs. While settlement agencies and organizations often work closely with private sector businesses and economic organizations on such issues, as well as with multicultural associations, there are far fewer partnerships between these agencies and the arts and culture sector, even though this makes up approximately 5% of the labor force in Canada, and is an important source of economic growth (Baeker *et al.*, 19-20).

“Creative cities” research by Richard Florida and others has shown how important the arts can be to cities that attract clusters of innovation. Government and private sector initiatives can also use the arts and culture to attract immigrants to rural regions facing depopulation and to build sustainable communities. For instance, the arts are central to an initiative to attract immigrants to the small francophone town of Saint Leonard in New Brunswick. Dans les deux premières années où le modèle a été développé, le Carrefour d’immigration rurale a en effet mis sur pied une collection de livres portant sur la diversité culturelle, disponible pour tous à la bibliothèque municipale qui est ainsi devenu le foyer d’une action de sensibilisation à l’Autre dans la région. Des activités de lecture pour les enfants accompagnent cette nouvelle acquisition, ainsi que des pièces de théâtre et des groupes de discussion intégrés au programme scolaire tant au niveau primaire que secondaire. Ces actions dirigés principalement vers la clientèle d’âge scolaire permettent parallèlement de susciter le questionnement et l’ouverture au niveau familial, ce qui n’est pas à négliger en milieu rural. Ces activités font partie d’une stratégie plus globale d’intégration économique et sociale des immigrants francophones dans la région.

The success of such ventures depends upon host society creation of forums, both for newcomers’ expressions of their culture, and for the sharing of Culture “S”, “H,” and “C” between newcomers and the communities they are entering. Libraries and other

cultural institutions such as museums and art galleries, or cultural events such as film, literature, or music festivals provide vital means for this inter-cultural sharing that goes beyond the folkloric displays of different ethnic cultures at many annual multicultural festivals. As critics of certain forms of state-sponsored multiculturalism point out, often the “essentialized search for the authentic ethnic” in such contexts breeds nostalgia, cultivates purist doctrines of the motherland, and marks difference through “religion, food, dress,” rather than building “cross-ethnic alliances” and coalitions (Sucheta Mazumdar, cited in Mishra, 201).

Nevertheless, multicultural associations or councils that bridge cultural gaps between not only the host society members and newcomers, but also among different immigrant groups and ethnic minorities undeniably perform a critical role. Such multicultural councils can provide important venues for intercultural transfer among ethnic groups, the sharing of cultural capital, the identification of civic responsibilities, and the fashioning of new models of “multi-layered” forms of citizenship that connect the “local to the global” (Faulks 149).<sup>12</sup>

Among the domains that could strongly benefit from an integrated approach, media, education and cultural production play an especially critical role. Il est essentiel en fait de favoriser un sentiment d'appartenance et de développer une conscience civique, corollaire d'une conscience collective au sein des minorités et des immigrants nouvellement arrivés, afin que ces derniers se reconnaissent vraiment dans les discours médiatiques, sociaux et gouvernementaux.<sup>13</sup> Il leur est par ailleurs tout aussi nécessaire de recevoir des couvertures de presse écrite et électronique justes et approfondies, afin de s'informer le plus objectivement possible et de pouvoir découvrir de façon critique les valeurs prévalant dans la société canadienne. Si les journalistes doivent être mieux formés, le public mieux informé et les nouveaux arrivants et les membres des minorités mieux intégrés au monde des médias, il en va de même dans le domaine de l'éducation primaire et secondaire.

Les institutions scolaire constituent un outil d'intégration incomparable permettant de travailler à la fois au niveau des communautés d'accueil et des nouveaux arrivants ou des minorités ethniques in creating opportunities for intercultural communication and exchange. La classe et les médias devraient entre autres favoriser l'intégration des discours et des productions culturelles et artistiques issus de nouveaux

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<sup>12</sup> Alexandra MacCallum, Executive Director of the Multicultural Association of Nova Scotia, previously ran a Multicultural Council of this kind on Prince Edward Island, bringing together immigrant groups, until its small annual federal funding was cut. Interview with MANS by Marjorie Stone, March, 2005.

<sup>13</sup> Or, d'après de nombreuses études et l'impressionnant dossier diffusé par *Réseau Education-Médias*, la représentation des minorités à la télévision, que ce soit dans les émissions de divertissement ou dans la couverture des nouvelles, est loin de refléter la diversité culturelle canadienne. Dans les séries dramatiques par exemple, les femmes appartenant à ces minorités sont sérieusement sous-représentées ( femmes : 4,55% et les hommes 12,73%) et lorsqu'elles le sont, elles demeurent cantonnées dans des rôles moins importants ou bien stéréotypés et de façon générale, moins bien rémunérés. Il en va de même dans les bulletins de nouvelles et les émissions d'information, où moins de 8% des sources et 7% des journalistes sont des membres des communautés ethniques. «Selon plusieurs analystes les médias présentent encore trop souvent les membres des minorités visibles comme des étrangers, et le biais racial dans la couverture des actes criminels est fréquent. [...] les médias d'information et l'industrie du divertissement contribuent à créer ou à renforcer les préjugés sur les minorités ethniques» (*Stéréotypes et médias*, p. 1, [www.education-medias.ca](http://www.education-medias.ca)).

arrivants et de membres des minorités ethniques aux infrastructures médiatiques, culturelles et scolaires de la majorité canadienne.

Cultural production can also be both a powerful source of discriminatory constructions negatively impacting on newcomers, and of artistic expressions that counteract these forms of oppression. The writers from different cultural backgrounds in the “new” canon of Canadian literature—Wayson Choy, Hiromi Goto, Dionne Brand, Rohinton Mistry, and Michael Ondaatje among many others—indicate the transformative effect that literature, for example, can have on Canadian attitudes towards immigrants and their contribution to the fabric of national identity (see Cooke, Kambourelli [1996][2000], Siemerling [1996], [2002], Verduyn).

### *Immigrant Responsibilities*

While we have thus far emphasized the responsibilities of the host society, there are also complementary responsibilities for immigrants themselves. If the *Charter* is the foundation of Canadian law, immigrants should be willing to respect the rights it articulates: such as the right to life, liberty and security of the person, and the right to equal protection and equal benefit of the law without discrimination. The word “values” is often loaded with all kinds of cultural “freight,” but in the context of cultural citizenship, the Charter also articulates a basic set of Canadian values -- for example, freedom of conscience, expression and association – that immigrants should be expected to recognize and adhere to.

Certainly, the right to vote is matched by a responsibility to vote, but immigrants (as well as those born in Canada) should also understand that this responsibility goes beyond such a basic civic duty. Just as governments are responsible for promoting diverse cultural expression and fostering participation, newcomers should have a reciprocal responsibility to participate in Canadian cultural and civic life. One of the new forms of “flexible” citizenship that global migrations have produced, especially among economic elites, is a citizenship practice that seeks as many rights as possible and as few responsibilities as possible, mirroring the corporate trends of globalization (Ong 112-13). Clearly, this approach to citizenship poses perils for the creation of cohesive cultures and societies.<sup>14</sup>

Breton, Hartmann, Lennards and Reed have concisely articulated how the interplay of rights and obligations contributes to the social covenant through four types of expectations that citizens, both native and foreign-born, have of their society: fairness, recognition of their contribution to the society, trust that others will not take advantage of them and a sense of belonging in the community. In return, individuals invest time, energy and resources in a community if they feel that these expectations are being met. “[C]ontributing represents a commitment to a community since it is social reality that one is helping to maintain,” generating a sense of “social ownership” (Breton *et al.*, 15-16)

There has been little empirical research on levels of social obligation among various groups within the Canadian population, but findings by Breton *et al.* from a survey of over 2000 Canadians carried out in 1997 suggest that “... immigrants generally and immigrants from non-European countries, in particular, are much more likely to express a strong sense of indebtedness than Canadian-born respondents: 48 per cent of

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<sup>14</sup> “Citizenship is always a reciprocal and, therefore, social idea. It can never be purely a set of rights that free the individual from obligations to others” (Faulks 4).



those from non-European countries, 40 per cent of those from Europe, the United States and the United Kingdom, and only 29 per cent of those born in Canada.” (Breton *et.al.*, 128)

While the findings of Breton *et.al.* on immigrants’ sense of social indebtedness are intriguing, there has been less research on the ways in which a functioning social covenant depends in turn upon a shared cultural reality, based on the recognition of cultural rights and the shared cultural capital that underlie emerging forms of cultural citizenship. To what extent can cultural policies that promote intercultural communication, inter-generational involvement, and collaborative artistic, social and economic synergies stimulate the exercise of citizenship responsibilities by newcomers? In what measurable ways are immigrants in Canada now able to contribute to and participate in the civic and cultural life of their communities? To what extent are governments and host societies meeting their respective responsibilities regarding the cultural adjustment and expression of immigrants? The cultural citizenship indicators outlined in the final section of this chapter indicate a possible approach to developing the knowledge base needed to guide future policy and program development in this area.

### III. Cultural Citizenship Indicators

While there are multiple quantitative and statistical indicators<sup>15</sup> for measuring economic and social immigrant integration, accurate and suitably nuanced means of evaluating the extent to which governments, host societies and immigrants are meeting the responsibilities we have outlined above are less well developed in relation to the cultural sphere. There are numerous reasons for this, arising from the definitional challenges “culture” poses, the complexity of the new forms of diasporic cultural citizenship now emerging, the tendency for existing surveys and data sets such as the 1992 data contained in the *Ethnic Diversity Survey* (2003) to marginalize or overlook the cultural sphere (especially Culture “C” or creative expression), and the importance of the qualitative and subjective dimensions of culture that are difficult to capture at the macro level.

The search for cultural citizenship indicators entails developing practicable measures of overlapping concepts that apply both to culture and to citizenship. Linking socio-demographic variables, including most notably, age, gender, education, ethno-cultural ancestry, and language(s), facilitates the development of cultural citizenship measures. We have identified three basic categories of indicators for tracking the intersections of culture and citizenship—both the effects of citizenship on culture, and of culture on citizenship—in relation to immigrants in Canada. These include measures of cultural diversity, cultural participation and intercultural dialogue. In this final section, we suggest how these indicators can be used to measure and verify the implementation of rights and responsibilities associated with immigrant integration in Canada. We also identify policy issues and gaps in the available data.

While there is an expanding range of domestic information and data regarding the separate diversities in culture and citizenship, identifying trend lines in the amalgam of cultural citizenship has been difficult, given the lack of adequate overlap in key variables

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<sup>15</sup> Indicators are forms of information that summarize the characteristics of systems or highlight what is happening in one or more systems. To be reliable, indicators require clear conceptual grounding, theoretical modeling and access to relevant sources of longitudinal data and information.

and comparable questions in many citizenship and culture surveys. Critical citizenship data can be found in sources such as Statistics Canada's *Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada (2003)*, *Ethnic Diversity Survey (2003)* and *General Social Surveys, Cycles 17 and 19*.<sup>16</sup> On the cultural side, Statistics Canada's annual cultural surveys focus predominantly on economic variables and less on social factors. The *Census of Population (2001 and 2006)* contains information on cultural variables such as occupations, income and education, and citizenship variables such as self-declared ethno-cultural ancestry. While going beyond domestic indicators to develop international comparative indicators is problematic in regard to the measurement of cultural citizenship, valuable work has been done in Europe, through the Council of Europe and the European Union, in regard to cultural participation, social cohesion and intercultural dialogue.<sup>17</sup>

### **Cultural Diversity Indicators**

UNESCO (2002) broadly defines cultural diversity in the *Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity* as "the set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of society or a social group...that encompasses in addition to the arts and literature, lifestyles, ways of living together, value systems, traditions and beliefs."<sup>18</sup> However, as we note above, differing national and international contexts and agenda often produce conflicting definitions of cultural diversity. Other definitions of diversity refer somewhat more narrowly to ethno-cultural composition of populations, cultural sector attributes, or citizenship and cultural rights.

Our conception of cultural diversity encompasses people and system diversity, as the following potential indicators suggest:

**Linguistic diversity:** Proficiency in official and non-official languages is the major indicator for the integration of immigrants in Canada utilized to date in surveys and longitudinal studies.<sup>19</sup> While the great preponderance of the supply of cultural programming in Canada is either English- or French-language, increased shares of non-official language content are also being reported, especially within the broadcasting and print media. In the context of integration, indicators of immigrants' use and retention of both official and non-official languages are key variables in measuring social integration and cultural development. Indicators that document the effects of immigrant opportunities and incentives to use and retain non-official languages over time and across generations are especially important in view of the risk of decline and ultimately the

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<sup>16</sup> Cultural factors are occasionally addressed, albeit indirectly, through such variables as social networks, official language skills, education and employment.

<sup>17</sup> For example, the EU's *Eurobarometer (2002)* measures cultural participation. The Council of Europe published *Concerted Development of Social Cohesion Indicators - Methodological Guide (2005)* and began work in 2006 on the development of a "White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue and Conflict Prevention".

<sup>18</sup> In the UNESCO *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (2005)*, which Canada was the first country to ratify, cultural diversity is referred to as "the common heritage of humanity" and "the manifold ways in which the cultures of social groups and societies find expression." (UNESCO 2005)

<sup>19</sup> Data and indicators concerning both official language majorities and minorities in Canada are derived from the Canadian *Census of Population* and the Department of Canadian Heritage's Official Languages Program.

extinction of certain minority languages. Comparable indicators of use and retention of Aboriginal languages in Canada, especially those deemed to be at risk, are also available.

***Diversity in cultural content supply and accessibility:*** The frequency and content share of immigrant issues in mainstream media and cultural production, along with time use and other measures of participation, are promising areas to look for cultural indicators affecting immigrant settlement. More precise and comprehensive measures for the diversity of cultural content in Canada need to be developed, including broadcasting and other audio-visual media (radio, television, film and video, sound recording, the visual arts), the print media (books, newspapers, periodicals, libraries) and new multi-media platforms (internet, mobile phones).<sup>20</sup> Examples of areas for investigation include the analysis of:

- ethno-cultural content in traditional and digitized media and the degree to which this content reflects and/or generates new diasporic and cosmopolitan forms of cultural citizenship
- ethno-cultural participation and representation in academic curricula and public sector literature, including cultural materials and resources available for use by immigrants and settlement agencies.

***Creative Cities and Sustainable Communities:*** Many recent studies have emphasized the growing concentration of new immigrants in major urban centres (the “MTV” phenomenon of Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver) and the integration and settlement problems this has produced in relation to children, youth and seniors at risk, economic and educational disparities, racism and discrimination especially felt by visible and other minorities, substandard housing, homelessness, crime, and un- or under-employment.<sup>21</sup> Immigrants are part of the nexus of urban factors attracting a creative population and a vital cultural infrastructure. Cultural citizenship in the cities is thus a crucible for change if managed effectively. Ray (2005) notes that cities are “ideally suited to address many issues associated with the inclusion of newcomers.”<sup>22</sup> There is little doubt that urban indicators of cultural diversity, participation and dialogue are or should be essential ingredients in city planning and urban development as well as the urban settlement and integration of immigrants. Culture is also increasingly recognized as a pillar of sustainable communities in rural settings as the example of Saint Leonard in New Brunswick above suggests. It transforms place into community and helps mold identity and belonging through cultural events and activities such as festivals, exhibitions and street culture thereby bridging ethno-cultural and ethno-racial boundaries and removing barriers to inclusion.

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<sup>20</sup> The cultural sector is measured in accordance with Statistics Canada’s *Cultural Statistics Framework* (2005) based on existing data sources and internationally recognized data categories. Not included but arguably part of the cultural sector are crafts and new media.

<sup>21</sup> For example, 20% of first generation immigrant youth, ages 15 to 24, were unemployed compared to an 8% average for all ages. Immigrants in cities had a poverty rate of 30% in 2001, well above the national average of all residents. Canadian Council of Social Development (~~2005~~, 2006).

<sup>22</sup> Brian Ray in “The Role of Cities in Immigrant Integration” notes that cities can encourage “two-way integration between immigrants and receiving communities {and} opportunities for positive encounters between groups in public spaces...” 7 *Metropolis World Bulletin*, September 2005.

***The ethno-cultural labor force:*** In order to determine the extent of immigrant work in the cultural sector, studies are needed that identify professional artists and other members of the cultural labour force with diverse ethno-cultural backgrounds. Using 1996 Census data, Jack Jedwab measured the number of ethnic groups represented in the fine and applied arts, recreation and sports. (Jedwab 2003) He concluded, “While immigrants have a higher degree of post-secondary arts qualifications than the percentage they represent within the total population, they are under-represented in the arts and arts-related occupations in Canada relative to the share of employees that they constitute within that sector.” (op cit. 14). This indicator could be developed further and updated by investigating more recent editions of the *Census of Population*, the monthly labour force, the relative distribution of immigrant groups in differing cultural occupations, and certain economic impact studies of culture.

### ***Cultural Participation Indicators***

Researchers have posited critical linkages between civic and cultural participation and the building of cultural and social capital, personal empowerment, and growth of collective belonging and identity or identities. Possible indicators include: audience tastes and preferences (arts and film), visitor tastes and preferences (heritage, libraries), cultural donations and volunteerism, and cultural consumption behaviour (household spending).

Donations and volunteerism are traditionally considered as participation activities although, like other cultural indicators, they also have a profound impact on social cohesion and intercultural dialogue. Indeed, cultural donations and volunteerism act as a medium by which citizenship is developed across ethno-cultural lines. Charitable donations and volunteerism are therefore key indicators that give substance and weight to the rights and responsibilities of immigrants.

The Canadian Council of Social Development (CCSD) recently completed a report on the social and civic engagement among Canadian immigrants based on data and indicators derived from the *National Survey of Giving, Volunteering and Participation* (2000) and the *General Social Survey on Social Engagement* (2003). Like many Canadians, immigrants are involved not only in bettering their economic inclusion through such means as the recognition of educational and professional credentials but also in ensuring their social inclusion through activities discussed herein. The study found that volunteering rates of immigrants increased above the benchmark figure for Canadian-born respondents the longer the former have lived in Canada. In addition, the higher the education and income of immigrants, the greater their participation rate in volunteering.<sup>23</sup> Greater proportions of immigrants (23%) than Canadian-born (7%) belong to community organizations in which members belong to a different ethnic group than their own.

While other cultural participation indicators are available, their applicability to immigrants is not always possible; nor are motivations and barriers to such participation fully documented. To the extent that traditional surveys of cultural participation looked at immigrants at all, they tended to focus largely on live arts attendance. Environics (2001) found that immigrants may be somewhat more interested in attending cultural events based on their own cultural background than non-immigrants and would like more

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<sup>23</sup> Immigrants, ages 55 to 64 were the most likely to volunteer whereas for the Canadian-born population, the highest volunteer rates were among those 35 to 54.

exhibits or performances that connect with their cultural or ethnic background. Nine out of ten immigrants expressed an interest in seeing artwork and attending live performances based on different cultures, compared to 81% for respondents born in Canada (Jedwab, op cit.).

In August 2005, Solutions Research Group surveyed 3,000 members of the six largest ethno-cultural target groups in Toronto Montreal and Vancouver: Chinese, South Asian, Italian, Black, West Asian/Arab and Hispanic. All groups, with the exception of Italian-Canadians, are strongly attracted to performances featuring their own cultural traditions at the possible expense of mainstream cultural events. General interest in other cultures is commonly felt across all target groups.

Trend lines can now be drawn on a variety of aspects of cultural participation using data collected in the *General Social Surveys on Time Use* in 1992, 1998 and 2005. With the exception of the arts, however, most cultural participation data do not normally extend to the differentiation of audiences and other participants according to ethnic origin or immigrant status. Moreover, most cultural participation studies have not yet incorporated new media or new digital technology activities.

One important practicable area for research is library participation of immigrants, which fosters inclusion and participation in a highly cost-effective way. Library use by immigrants for education, information, enlightenment or networking purposes is a significant indicator regarding immigrant settlement and integration. For immigrants making use of the internet in public libraries for information searches and communications, libraries serve as a conduit for becoming and staying informed, as well as interacting across cultural lines. Correlating reading, literacy rates and official language capacity with library visits by immigrants might be another researchable proposition.

### ***Intercultural Dialogue Indicators***

Intercultural dialogue is the strategic linchpin between growing diversity and desired outcomes such as cultural and social capital, or cultural and civic participation, on the one hand, and social cohesion and quality of life, on the other. The concept, according to a recent Council of Europe study, encompasses dialogue between people of different cultures often but not always enclosed within national boundaries, dialogue based on attitudes of non-violence, openness to others and a willingness to see solutions, and cooperation facilitated or occasioned by the dialogue (Bourquin). Another report for the COE in 2003 referred to “inter-culturality” as the set of processes through which intercultural dialogue and relations between and among different cultures are constructed and maintained (Leclerq).

Examples of possible indicators of intercultural dialogue include events or activities bringing cultures together. Other indicators include the degree of intercultural structures within government, intercultural education, as well as hybrid artistic forms and venues that mirror emerging forms of cultural citizenship. The diverse urban concentration of immigration in Canada opens up new vistas for cultural expression and belonging. Spoonley et al (2005) describe settlement outcomes in New Zealand in the context of social cohesion. They propose a set of indicators that measure the impact of settlement policies on social cohesion in New Zealand including socially cohesive behaviour (belonging and participation) for each of the migrant/refugee community and

host communities, and three conditions for a socially cohesive society -- inclusion, recognition and legitimacy -- for each community (Spoonley et al). Clearly, the internalization of the above cultural values through intercultural dialogue should also enhance social cohesion.

The Solutions Research Group surveyed ethnic groups in Canada's three largest cities and included questions on attachment to their respective ethnic groups and to Canada. Chinese and South Asian respondents in Vancouver and Toronto reported a stronger sense of attachment to their racial, ethnic or religious group than the general populations of those cities. In Montreal and Toronto, West Asian/Arab, Black, Hispanic and Italian respondents in Toronto and Montreal indicated a stronger sense of attachment to their own groups than do those cities' general populations. While generational differences and strong bonding among certain ethno-cultural groups may account for some of these findings, in all cases, attachment to Canada appears to grow with age. Discrimination may also contribute to reduced attachment. Solutions Research Group found South-Asian, West Asian/Arab, Black and Hispanic respondents were significantly more likely to state that the media present negative stereotypes (over 50%) in contrast to the general populations of Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal (38%). Such findings underscore the reality of multiple attachments and identities and the expectation that one level of identity or belonging does not necessarily supersede or replace other(s).

### **Conclusions and Recommended Next Steps**

This chapter has called attention to the importance of recognizing culture as a tool in immigration and citizenship. Some of these indicators bearing on knowledge of prevailing cultural customs, values and activities in Canada are already deployed at the federal level in certain citizenship and cultural policies and programs. However, there appears to be a need to reflect more closely on the detail of potential indicators of cultural citizenship. This is not surprising given the rapid pace of demographic change in Canada occasioned by continuing high levels of immigration. There is clearly a shortfall in data on immigrant cultural participation, as well as a need for the harmonization of different questionnaires designed to elicit such information. There is also a serious gap in the nature of public and private sector partnerships and structures intended to further intercultural dialogue in Canada among the diverse civic and cultural stakeholders in both the immigrant and host communities. Research on the differential between cultural policy goals and program implementation, with attention to inequities in power between many immigrants and their country hosts, is also lacking.

It is recommended that:

1. Work should continue on mining existing data sources and specifying practicable and evocative indicators of cultural citizenship with a view to their application in policies and programs in support of the settlement and integration of immigrants in Canada.
2. Case studies of cultural and civic diversity, participation and dialogue should be conducted to demonstrate how and with what effect culture and citizenship interact and the kind of linkages required to foster a productive amalgam of cultural citizenship in Canada.

3. In order to develop a comprehensive cultural citizenship research agenda, the conceptual underpinnings and potential indicators or measures of cultural citizenship described in this article should be extended to other topics in future research.
4. Further to the development of a cultural citizenship research agenda, the coordination, interaction and integration of existing policies and programs affecting immigrant integration within, between and among governments should be encouraged. This would include enhanced communications and joint projects between the cultural and citizenship sectors of the Department of Canadian Heritage, between departments and agencies at all relevant domestic and international levels, and among governments, immigrant settlement and related service agencies, and groups, individuals and organizations in the arts and culture sector.
5. Plus précisément, il serait impératif d'encourager les initiatives visant à reconnaître les auteurs et les artistes issus des minorités et les œuvres qui témoignent des échanges interculturels au Canada. Plus d'espace pour les uns donc, plus d'écoute et de tolérance de la part des autres pour les immigrants et les minorités visibles, devrait-on ajouter pour l'ensemble des nations fondatrices du Canada, qui englobent les nations autochtones, mais aussi le Canada français.

Much of the research and analysis contained in this article focuses on the social impact of cultural citizenship, or perhaps more accurately, the impact of culture on citizenship. However, it can also be posited that actively involved citizens are more likely to participate in and support a flourishing and diverse cultural sector. Indeed, the synergies between culture and citizenship may lead to enhanced cultural and social capital formation conducive to a high quality of life and a broader understanding and appreciation of the role of cultural and civic rights in the lives of both current and future citizens of Canada. Indicators designed to illuminate these synergies should also be incorporated in future reports on policy and program performance and public opinion monitoring of cultural citizenship.

**Acknowledgements:** We would like to thank Nancy Duxbury, James S. Frideres, Catherine Murray, and Winfried Siemerling for helpful comments on draft versions of this chapter, and Diana Brydon for her earlier input.

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