MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY; MYTH OR REALITY?

An Analysis of Canadian Multiculturalism and its Success, Conducted in Vancouver

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Under Supervision of Dr. Lothar Smith
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Master of Science in Geography; Globalization, Migration and Development
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

APF: Asia Pacific Foundation

B&B Report: Bilingualism & Biculturalism Report

B.C.:   British Columbia

BCSAP: British Columbia Settlement and Adaptation Program

SFU: Simon Fraser University

StatCan: Statistics Canada

UBC: University of British Columbia

WICWP: Welcoming and Inclusive Communities and Workplaces Program

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Canada is widely regarded as a successful example of a multicultural society. In this thesis the questions are answered what Canadian multiculturalism really is and why Canada in times of multicultural turmoil succeeds in welcoming high numbers of immigrants and smoothly integrating them in society.

This topic is approached from a social constructivist angle, positioning the Canadian society as the constructor of Canadian multiculturalism. This asks for Canadian multiculturalism not only to explained through theory, but as well through the specific societal and political characteristics of Canada.

By way of introduction, but also for positioning the reader into Canadian context, the history of Canada's multiculturalism is discussed. It shows that the roots of its alleged success can be traced back to the earliest times of North-American colonization when both British and French were settling on the Atlantic shores. Although the colonies eventually became part of Britain, the French never surrendered their territory. The rivaling people were separated from each other by the vast wilderness of the colonies and therefore barely clashed during times of peace. It even provided the opportunity for the francophones, or Quebecois, to become part of the colony without assimilating into British, anglophone culture. Many years later, after the Second World War, this biculturalism evolved into multiculturalism when Prime Minister Trudeau constitutionalized multiculturalism. Canada officially became a multiculturalist state.

After this historical chapter, a theoretical framework is built on literature on multiculturalism in general and on Canadian multiculturalism. In the latter part, Will Kymlicka's articles serve as the guideline for tracking the reasons for the success of Canadian multiculturalism. Because Kymlicka explains the immediate causes of the success of Canadian multiculturalism, but not the underlying reasons, this thesis builds upon his work and expands the explanation of the success. A historical and a geographical argument prove to be fruitful in this explanation.

First, Canada's history lacks colonies or a colonial oppressor, withholding the country from the power relationship that in many countries led to a strong sense of ethnocentrism and consequently a discriminatory discourse. The difference can be illustrated by comparing postcolonialism and postmodernism. Whereas the postcolonial discourse is based upon 'otherness' and power relations, postmodernism, like in the case of Canada, denies the existence of the 'other', therefore ignoring power relations.

Second, Canada's geographically isolated position in the Northern Hemisphere, surrounded by an amicable, western neighbor and two oceans, has served as a natural barrier. It prevented the country

from external pressure from migrants as we see today in Europe's or the American case. This meant, one, that naturally only prosperous, often high skilled, people found their way to Canada and two, that Canada did not experience domestic or international political pressure as a result having to refuse access to many immigrants, again as we see in modern day Europe and USA.

These two factors have contributed significantly to the eventual constitutionalization of Canadian multiculturalism under the Trudeau administration. In this era, the Canadian identity officially became a blurred term. This makes it possible however, to use national identity to track the societal and political currents in the country. On a state level, ethnicity or cultures became irrelevant and not ethnocultural, but economic factors shaped immigration policy. On society level, paradoxically, the ethnical diversity of Canada is being emphasized by arguing that 'Canadian' does not represent a Canadian culture, but rather the gathering of cultures that can be found on Canadian soil. Despite this paradox, it shows the current state of the debate and the ease by which migrants are able to become Canadian. They can become officially Canadian, by obtaining Canadian citizenship without sacrificing much of their own ethnical identity, and they are able to become part of the mosaic of Canadian society easily because the threshold to accept outsiders is very low.

To understand the specific Canadian explanation of multiculturalism, a case study in Vancouver is conducted. Vancouver, the only major city on Canada's west coast, is a representative case for Canada because it portrays future trends in Canada. Vancouver has high numbers (almost half of the city) of people belonging to a visible minority, but the numbers of people belonging to visible minorities in other Canadian cities are gradually growing towards the Vancouver figures. Also, roughly half of Vancouver's immigrants descends from East-Asia. In the rest of Canada the share of east-Asian immigrants is not as big as Vancouver's but future trends uncover that East-Asian immigrants in east-Canadian cities will grow in numbers as well.

Through observation, intercultural contacts in public daily life of Vancouver have been uncovered and explained as much as possible. The main reason for choosing the methodology of observation is the desire for gaining knowledge about popular discourse in Canadian society, which can be primarily found on the surface in public. The observation was divided in three parts, conducted simultaneously.

First, a covert observation provided insight in intercultural contacts and provided information about the public daily life of both native Vancouverites and non-native Vancouverites. This covert observation is conducted in numerous public spots, like buses, parks, shopping streets and coffee shops.

Second, an overt observation helped to uncover basic thoughts on and attitudes towards multiculturalism in Vancouver. The encounters that this overt observation covers, range from informal chit-chats in the bus to lengthy discussions with government employees on policy papers.

Third, a bus survey provided a basic comparison between Anglo-Canadians and Asian-

Canadians. By traveling the same bus line every day and tallying people getting on and off the bus, the differences and similarities between anglo-Canadians and Asian-Canadians in their daily life spatial mobility was traced and tracked. The information from this survey added to the information frame, in which intercultural contacts in Vancouver will be explained.

Together, these three dimensions led to an analysis with three main conclusions: (1) Asian-Canadians seem to live a more structured daily life with less random derivations than anglo-Canadians do, (2) there seems to be not so much intercultural contact, which partially can be contributed to the foregoing conclusion and (3) Vancouverites tend to think of immigration and integration in economic terms, having economic benefits from the migrant as central demand.

The conclusion that has been drawn when findings from theory and observations were combined, is twofold. On the one hand, the multicultural society is a true success. The lack of intercultural clashes and the pride of Canadian people on their mosaic identity illustrates to this. Through these developments, national identity has gained an alternative connotation: it is not a certain culture that is demarcated ethnically and geographically, portrayed as a container, like most other countries. Rather, it is regarded as a multicultural, only spatially fixed network of ethnicities. Obtaining Canadian culture does not represent a part of the assimilation process into Canadian society, but is seen as an encouragement for becoming part of the Canadian mosaic in which each and everyone helps each other to improve the quality of life.

On the other hand, there are some serious remarks to be made. Most important decisions that encouraged multiculturalism, including the groundbreaking constitutionalization of multiculturalism in 1973, had political and practical backgrounds rather than ideological. Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's main aim in 1973 was to win the voice of the many minorities in the country to strengthen his political position. Also, when asking Canadians nowadays about their tolerance of immigration and integration of immigrants their main argument is a economic one. When the country of Canada can benefit from the economic efforts of migrants, Canadian society is glad to open its arms for them.

The 1990s shows a glimpse of what can happen when economic development starts to flatten out. Only because of the fact that Canada was doing worse economically than in foregoing years, the belief in multiculturalism experienced a mild setback. Apparently, when economic times are turbulent, even in Canada society points their finger at immigrants taking their jobs away.

To conclude, Canada is a true multiculturalist society, but its roots are more fragile than many think.

SAMENVATTING

Canada wordt door velen gezien als een voorbeeld van een succesvolle multiculturele samenleving. In deze scriptie worden de volgende vragen beantwoord: wat is Canadees multiculturalisme en waarom is Canada in staat om grote aantallen immigranten te verwelkomen en deze probleemloos in haar samenleving te laten integreren.

Dit onderwerp wordt bekeken vanuit een sociaalconstructivistisch perspectief, waarbij de Canadese samenleving gezien wordt als de actor die de specifiek Canadese vorm van multiculturalisme construeert. Om deze reden wordt Canadees multiculturalisme niet alleen geanalyseerd met behulp van wetenschappelijke theorieën, maar tevens aan de hand van de maatschappelijke en politieke kenmerken van Canada.

Ter introductie, maar ook om de lezer kennis te laten maken met de Canadese context, wordt de geschiedenis van Canada besproken. Dit hoofdstuk laat zien dat de wortels van de vermeend succesvolle multiculturele samenleving zijn terug te voeren op de kolonisatie van Noord-Amerika door zowel de Britten als de Fransen. Hoewel de koloniën uiteindelijk Brits grondgebied werden, zijn de Franstaligen nooit daadwerkelijk vertrokken uit Noord-Amerika. De twee volkeren leefden vervolgens geschieden van elkaar vanwege de uitgestrektheid van het continent, waardoor fysieke confrontaties in tijden van vrede achterwege bleven. Sterker nog, de uitgestrektheid maakte het voor de Franstaligen mogelijk om een onderdeel te worden van de Britse kolonie, zonder daadwerkelijk hun eigen identiteit op te geven en te assimileren in de Britse cultuur. Vele jaren later, na de Tweede Wereldoorlog, werd deze vorm van biculturalisme door Prime Minister van Canada Pierre Trudeau officieel omgezet in multiculturalisme, waardoor Canada officieel een multiculturele natiestaat werd.

Na deze terugblik op Canada's historie is er een theoretisch raamwerk uiteengezet dat gebaseerd is op literatuur over multiculturalisme in het algemeen en literatuur specifieke over Canadees multiculturalisme. In het specifieke deel zijn artikelen van Will Kymlicka de leidraad bij het achterhalen van de redenen voor het succes van Canadees multiculturalisme. Echter, omdat Kymlicka slechts de aanleidingen noemt, en niet de oorzaken, bouwt deze scriptie voort op zijn artikelen om het succes nader te verklaren. In deze verklaring bleken kenmerken uit (1) Canada's geschiedenis en op basis van (2) Canada's geografie relevant.

Ten eerste, Canada heeft in zijn historie nooit koloniën gehad en de traditionele rol van onderdrukte kolonie heeft Canada nooit gepast. Hierdoor zijn is het land nooit onderdeel geweest van sterke machtsrelaties die in vele (Europese) landen geleid hebben tot een gevoel van etnocentrisme en

als gevolg daarvan een discriminerende houding ten aanzien van niet-Westerlingen. Dit verschil kan duidelijk gemaakt worden aan de hand van een vergelijking tussen postkolonialisme en postmodernisme. Eerstgenoemde discours gaat uit van een machtsrelaties waarbij 'othering' een duidelijke rol speelt, terwijl de laatstgenoemde discours, dat dominant is in Canada, ervan uitgaat dat 'the other' niet bestaat, waardoor machtsrelaties irrelevant zijn.

Ten tweede, Canada's geografische isolement, begrens door een Westerse bondgenoot in het zuiden en twee grote oceanen aan weerszijden, is altijd een natuurlijk drempel voor migranten geweest. Het zorgde ervoor dat het land niet te maken kreeg met een migrantendruk van buiten, zoals in hedendaags Europa of in de V.S. te zien is. Dit betekent enerzijds dat alleen welvarende, meestal hoog opgeleide migranten naar Canada trokken en anderzijds dat Canada nooit onder nationale of internationale druk stond, vanwege het weigeren van massa's migranten, wederom zoals dit tegenwoordig in Europa en de V.S. gebeurt.

De constitutionalisering van multiculturalisme onder Trudeau is mede mogelijk gemaakt door deze twee factoren. Na deze constitutionalisering werd de Canadese identiteit inhoudelijk officieel ambigu. Dit maakt het echter mogelijk om aan de hand van de Canadese nationale identiteit maatschappelijke en politieke ontwikkelingen af te lezen. Op wettelijk gebied werden etniciteiten irrelevant en waren het economische factoren, en niet culturele, die het immigratiebeleid stuurden. Op maatschappelijk gebied, paradoxaal genoeg, werd etniciteit juist benadrukt door de term 'Canadees' niet te definiëren als een Canadese cultuur, wat dat ook mogen zijn , maar als een verzameling culturen die te vinden zijn in de natiestaat Canada. Ondanks de tegenstelling, kan uit deze vergelijking de huidige staat van Canadees multiculturalisme geabstraheerd worden. Migranten kunnen makkelijk officieel de Canadese identiteit aannemen, omdat ze weinig van hun bestaande identiteit hoeven op te offeren, en ze kunnen makkelijk een onderdeel van de Canadese culturele mozaïek worden, omdat de drempel ze zich slechts weinig hoeven aan te passen.

Om de specifiek Canadese definitie van multiculturalisme te begrijpen, is er een methodologische observatie uitgevoerd in Vancouver. Vancouver is de enige grote stad aan de westkust van Canada en is geschikt als onderzoeksgebied omdat de toekomstige trends van Canada reeds zichtbaar zijn in Vancouver. In de stad behoren bijna de helft van de mensen tot een eerste of meerdere migrantengeneratie en hoewel in andere Canadese steden deze getallen niet zo hoog liggen, blijven deze wel stijgen. Bovendien is in Vancouver de helft van de migranten Oost-Aziatisch. Ook binnen deze categorie zijn de getallen relatief niet zo hoog als in Vancouver, maar stijgen deze wel, waardoor het verwelkomen van Oost-Aziatische immigranten ook in deze steden de toekomstige trend zal zijn.

Door middel van observaties worden interculturele contacten in het publieke dagelijkse leven van Vancouverites blootgelegd en waar mogelijk verklaard. De belangrijkste reden waarom voor een observatie als methodologie gekozen is, is het feit dat het doel van het onderzoek het achterhalen van de publieke discours omtrent multiculturalisme is. Observaties kunnen dit discours, dat vooral aan het

oppervlak ligt en niet zozeer in de diepere motivaties van individuen, vaststellen. De observaties zijn opgedeeld in drie delen, die tegelijkertijd uitgevoerd zijn.

Ten eerste hielp een discrete observatie op publieke locaties interculturele contacten blootleggen en bood deze informatie om de contacten te verklaren. In deze discrete observatie zijn de publieke dagelijkse levens van zowel autochtone Vancouverites als allochtone Vancouverites geobserveerd.

Ten tweede hielp een open observatie om net iets dieper in te gaan op de gedachten en houdingen van de Vancouverites ten aanzien van multiculturalisme. Deze open observatie omhelst verschillende gesprekken, van informele praatjes in de bus tot uitgebreide besprekingen van beleidsartikelen met werknemers binnen de verschillende overheden.

Ten derde ondersteunde een bus survey de informatie over interculturele contacten, doordat er basale informatie over de verschillen in publiek dagelijks leven tussen anglo-Canadezen en Aziatisch Canadezen beschreven werden. Door extensief gebruik van één buslijn en daarbij het turven van in- en uitstappende mensen werd het verschil in ruimtelijke verplaatsingen tussen de twee groepen blootgelegd.

De drie besproken observatie-onderdelen leidden samen tot een analyse waarbij drie kernpunten naar voren kwamen: (1) Aziatisch-Canadezen lijken een meer gestructureerd dagelijks leven te leiden dan anglo-Canadezen, (2) er lijken toch weinig interculturele contacten plaats te vinden in multicultureel Vancouver, hetgeen deels door het voorgaande verklaard kan worden en (3) Vancouverites stellen vooral economische eisen aan migranten bij het immigreren en het integreren in de Canadese samenleving. Economische bijdragen van de migrant staan centraal.

Nadat de bevindingen uit de theorie en de praktijk gecombineerd werden, ontstond een tweeledige conclusie. Enerzijds kan gesteld worden dat de multiculturele samenleving in Canada oprecht een succes is. Het ontbreken van interculturele confrontaties and the trots van Canadezen op hun 'diversiteiten'-identiteit laat dit zien. Deze ontwikkelingen hebben ervoor gezorgd dat de nationale identiteit in Canada een bijzondere connotatie heeft gekregen. De nationale identiteit wordt niet zozeer gezien als één cultuur die ruimtelijk en cultureel afgebakend is, maar meer als een multi-cultureel netwerk van etniciteiten dat alleen ruimtelijk begrensd wordt. Wanneer een migrant de Canadese nationaliteit aanneemt, is dit niet zozeer onderdeel van een assimilatieproces, maar kan dit meer gezien worden als een aanmoediging om onderdeel te worden van het netwerk van culturen dat elkaar helpt om de levensstandaard te verhogen.

Anderzijds zijn er serieuze kanttekeningen te maken bij deze ontwikkeling. De belangrijkste officiële beslissingen die multiculturalisme gestimuleerd hebben, waaronder de baanbrekende besluit in 1973 om multiculturalisme in de grondwet op te nemen, waren praktisch van aard, en niet zozeer ideologisch. Prime Minister Trudeau's primaire doel in 1973 was het winnen van politiek draagvlak onder de vele etnische minderheden in Canada, om zijn eigen politieke positie te verstevigen.

Daarnaast, zoals eerder besproken, geven autochtone Canadezen aan dat economische bijdragen de leidraad zijn in het verwelkomen van migranten en het accepteren van multiculturalisme. Wanneer migranten economisch bijdragen aan de economie van Canada zullen haar inwoners de migranten graag ontvangen.

In de jaren '90 bleek echter al enigszins wat er kan gebeuren wanneer de Canadese economie hapert. Enkel omdat de Canadese economie minder snel groeide dan voorheen, bleek het geloof in multiculturalisme kort terug te lopen. Blijkbaar is het dus mogelijk dat tijdens economisch turbulente jaren zelfs in Canada naar migranten wordt gewezen die banen ban autochtonen inpikken.

Concluderend, Canada is inderdaad een succesvolle multiculturele samenleving, maar de beginselen daarvan zijn fragieler dan menigeen denkt.

PREFACE

The thesis is the conclusion of my Geography master programme at Radboud University Nijmegen. After all these years of writing about identities, social constructs, spatiality and every other geography term I have encountered, I am sad to realize that this final piece of work will mark my finish as a Geography student.

For this final test, I decided to prolong the qualitative trend from the papers I wrote in the preceding years. Identity always has been a focal point throughout my geography curriculum and this master thesis does not deviate from this course. This scientific preference, in combination with my fascination for the North-American society, sent me to Vancouver, Canada to research the multicultural society. Afterwards, the topic matched both personal and scientific expectations. The topics of Canada in general and multiculturalism have kept me endlessly curious and excited during the complete process.

During the recent years a couple of people helped me get and stay on track. First I thank Lothar Smith, who inspired me to approach Geography from a true critical perspective, the perspective I appeared to feel most comfortable with, and whose advice often helped me put the research in the better direction. Second, I thank Mr. Kenny Zhang from the Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada. Not only for the research base I found at APF, but also because of his helpfulness and politeness. Last, I want to thank every single coffee mate who accompanied me in the university library during the writing process.

A never-ending project nevertheless came to an end. Luckily however, this thesis only forms a crystallization of time and I, and many others with me, will be able to continue debating multiculturalism and Canada off the record. At least, of *this* record.

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

"There is no such thing as a model or ideal Canadian. What could be more absurd than the concept of an 'all Canadian' boy or girl? A society which emphasizes uniformity is one which creates intolerance and hate."

Prime Minister of Canada Pierre Elliott Trudeau, October 9th, 1971

A day after he concluded the work of the *Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism* by announcing the official recognition of Canada's multiculturalist nature[1], Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau defended his government's crusade for multiculturalism at a Ukrainian-Canadian Congress in Winnipeg, Manitoba. The decision to make Canada essentially multicultural raised momentum in Canadian society, that picked up Trudeau's words quickly and actively. Worldwide, this chapter of Canada's history is seen as revolutionary, portraying the country as the ultimate trophy of multiculturalist ideology.

As international migration grew and cultures got intermingled, the global discussion on immigration, integration and multiculturalism developed into a fierce political debate. As opposed to Canada's success, many European countries are regarded as less effective or even failed projects of multiculturalism. The words of Paul Scheffer, the Dutch publicist who spoke about the "multicultural tragedy"[2] in The Netherlands or the words of Alasdair Palmer, who portrayed multiculturalism as a "toxic legacy"[3] for Britain, are reasons for the "moral panic"[4] that many European countries are experiencing nowadays. European leaders stipulate to this. German Bundeskanzler Angela Merkel stirred op the integration debate when plainly stating that efforts for a multiculturalist society have "utterly failed"[5] and UK Prime Minister David Cameron[6] and French president Nicolas Sarkozy[7]

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[1] Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1967
[2] Scheffer, 2000
[3] Palmer, 12 February, 2011
[4] Vasta, 2007
[5] See The Associated Press, 17th October, 2010
[6] See Ahmed, February 6th, 2011; BBC, February 6th, 2011

followed up on her shortly in similar words. Add to this events like the murder on Theo Van Gogh in 2004 and the numerous repelling images from Lampedusa and many less known camps at the fringes of the European Union, and the multiculturalism and immigration policy is forced into the bulls-eye of the political stage.

Meanwhile, right wing Prime Minister of Canada, Stephen Harper, pleads for the opposite[8] and Canada continues welcoming record numbers of immigrants[9]. Canada lacks the political and societal pressure that European countries suffer from and its multiculturalist society seems to thrive. In fact, Canada is becoming more and more synonymous for multiculturalism and it appears to succeed in building a cultural mosaic. In a country where one sixth is part of a visible minority[10], 85% of Canadians recognizes multiculturalism as part of Canadian identity[11].

The question now arises, why does multiculturalism appear to work in Canada? How does this country in North-America keep multiculturalism on track, subsequently maintaining the highest rate of immigration of all countries in the world?

This question, which will serve as the main challenge throughout this thesis, has different dimensions. To start with, the most basic question to answer is what multiculturalism really is, or specifically what Canadian multiculturalism is. Second, a definition and proof of its apparent success is needed; what conditions make Canadian multiculturalism successful? And third, why became specifically Canada's multiculturalist society successful. These three questions sprout comprehensibly and logically from each other, but the succeeding paragraphs will show that their answers do not form a successive line of thought. Rather, their answers are intertwined and are all part of the same story and the same analysis.

A first glance onto the phenomenon of multiculturalism illustrates this. As said, answering the question requires an understanding of multiculturalism, or specifically, Canadian multiculturalism. But no-one, no politician, neither a scholar, is able to tell what multiculturalism really is. Partially, this can be accounted to the fact that eras in multiculturalism succeed each other in a high pace, leaving the academics that try to grasp it somewhat behind. The main reason, however, is the fact that when we are talking about multiculturalism, we have to recognize it as a social construct. As will be argued in this thesis, multiculturalism is an idea that is highly dependent from its context. Political awareness has framed multiculturalism on domestic levels, tying it closely with a country's political, economic and societal nature. In The Netherlands, multiculturalism is understood completely different than it is in Canada.

For a scholar, doing research on multiculturalism demands an extensive preparation. Understanding the success of multiculturalism means understanding what the success really is, which

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[7] See Reuters, February 12th, 2011
[8] Toronto Star, October 9th, 2011
[9] States News Service, July 19th 2011; see appendix H
[10] Statistics Canada, 2006b
[11] Citizenship and Integration Canada, 2010

in its turn predominantly needs an understanding of the particular definition of multiculturalism. Mere quantitative data like figures and graphs about immigrants entering the country, degrees of spatial segregation and so forth are insufficient. What is necessary then, is a narrative about multiculturalism, a discourse that people use as frame for their thoughts. In Canada, one should understand multiculturalism by listening to stories of both its citizens and its immigrants, observing the daily life of them and finding the sites of intercultural contact. Only through this methodology, the researcher can find out what Canadians understand as multiculturalism and why they believe in it.

This situation calls for a case study. A case study in which Vancouver, serving as a representative part of Canada, is viewed holistically. Since a clear definition of the research phenomenon, i.e. Canadian multiculturalism, is lacking, the complete Canadian societal system will serve as starting point. In order not to drown in the complexity and vastness of Canadian society, a theoretical fundament is needed to specify the angle of the research and filter important from less important mechanics within the society. Provided with this theoretical groundwork, an observation offers the best methodology to analyze Canadian multiculturalism holistically, but feasibly, in the end to form a narrative of Canadian multiculturalism from which answers to the main questions can be extracted.

In this thesis, this narrative begins with the historical background of Canadian multiculturalism (chapter 2), helping to frame its current state in its context. Its aim is to pull the non-Canadian reader out of his familiar mindset and show that there is no universal consensus on the contents and opinion of multiculturalism. The chapter shows how the idea of the country of Canada got intertwined with the multiculturalism in its very origin, when French and British competed for the North-American Atlantic shores in the 17th Century and how it, through various eras, became officially constitutionalized in 1971. Although, the first chapter will show that there are several historical causes for multiculturalism to catch on far into Canadian society, the questions why it caught on, is not yet sufficiently answered. It shows the immediate causes but not the underlying reasons. Theses underlying reasons, why Canadian society was able and willing to embrace multiculturalism, will be answered in the succeeding chapters, starting with a theoretical framework for conceptualizing these underlying reasons.

The theoretical chapter (chapter 3) serves as the groundwork for the case study in which try to grasp the meaning of multiculturalism in general. Sneja Gunew's[12] distinction between state multiculturalism and critical multiculturalism will help distinguish, but not disentangle, the country specific, more practical considerations from the theoretical, general theories, in order to emphasize and prove the social constructivist nature of the phenomenon. When looking at Canada and its country specific explanation of multiculturalism, an article written by Canadian multiculturalism expert Will

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[12] Gunew. 1995

Kymlicka[13], who wonders if Canada is truly unique, forms my starting point. Thinking along, I will find two specific dimensions of Canada that distinguish it from most other countries: first, its geographical isolation and second, its erratic colonial history. For the latter, I will offer a comparison between postcolonialism and poststructuralism as an insight for explaining Canada's apparent non-racist society. In the end, referring back to Kymlicka, I will discuss Canada's alleged uniqueness.

By arguing that Canada's specific explanation of multiculturalism is important to understand its success, it is vital to experience the country in real life. More than hundreds of books and internet movies, a visit to the country helps understanding the atmosphere and the paradigm of Canada's multiculturalism. Since I cannot send every reader to Canada, I will share my encounters in Vancouver through a chapter about my observations in Vancouver. The methodology chapter (chapter 4) that precedes this empirical chapter (chapter 5) explains that observation is a highlysuitable method for analyzing social constructs like multiculturalism, because it helps understanding an unclear phenomenon[14], or in this case an unclear operationalization of a phenomenon.

The observations took place between mid-March 2010 and late May 2010. To maintain a holistic view, the observations span the daily lives of people in Vancouver and tracks the intercultural contacts that take place. To cover the spatially fixed spots, a part of the observation is done on a fixed place in certain public spots like parks, offices and shops. To cover the travel of people in their daily life, another part of the observation will be set on a frequently used bus line. For explaining the frequency of intercultural contacts and the way they take place, not only these observations are a source of information, but also policy document analyses and random chit-chats with the people around me are insightful. The observations will be concluded by an analysis, which represents the most insightful conclusions from the observation, regarding this research.

To figure out why Canada specifically has been able to create a successful multiculturalist society, all preceding parts are brought together in the conclusion (chapter 6) of this thesis.

The conclusions of these thesis will both help understand (the complexity) of the scientific notion of multiculturalism and the mechanics of Canadian society. Scientifically, it provides valuable insights into the notion of multiculturalism. It shows that when multiculturalism is viewed from a social constructivist angle, the developments in multiculturalism in general in a postmodern world are better understood. In other words, linking multiculturalism not only to some general theory, but also to specific settings, helps to understand why multiculturalism has developed into different paradigms simultaneously and gained different political charges throughout the world.

Next to the understanding of multiculturalism, the thesis contributes to the debate on the success of multiculturalism. It is tricky to draw conclusions on multiculturalism in general however, because the research is focused on Canadian multiculturalism as a whole, both with general theory and

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[13] Kymlicka, 2003a
[14] Jorgensen, 1989

practical characteristics, which makes it hard, if not impossible, to show what 'parts' or 'episodes' of Canadian multiculturalism can be generalized or translated into other cases. It cannot serve as prove for either the success or failure of multiculturalism in general. Alternatively, it rather helps answer the question whether successful multiculturalism is essentially a feasible and desirable thing to aim for in a specific country.

For society, this thesis can offer insights in numerous ways. First, it can create consciousness, particularly in European countries, on how multiculturalism does not inevitably come with a negative connotation. This thesis aims to show that the understanding of multiculturalism, as any other social constructivist notion, depends on the time and location it takes place. It shows that the negative connotation that Dutch multiculturalism has is Dutch rather than multiculturalist. Second, when focusing solely on the case study here, it helps understand the societal multiculturalist currents in Canada. Not only explains it how it is and has been possible that the Canadian society broadly and thoroughly can believe in an ideology called multiculturalism, it also shows how this spills over into politics and over the time has become constitutionalized.

Furthermore, the success of multiculturalism is a matter of societal relevance as well. The angle of this thesis that multiculturalism can be better understood when taking the specific setting into consideration as well, implies that the success of Canadian multiculturalism is intertwined with societal developments. First, this thesis elaborates on what this link exactly is in the Canadian case and how Canadian society contributed to the success. Second it demonstrates to other countries that at least a part of a success lies in the country's society.

Chapter 2

A HISTORY OF CANADIAN MULTICULTURALISM

The concept of multiculturalism can be explained in numerous ways, receiving different connotations within society and causing different implications for e.g. politicians and scholars. The perspective on multiculturalism that is dominant in one country is not solely based on scientific consensus, but indisputably as well on the country's specific environment, rooted in its historical characteristics. Therefore, a historical overview is an excellent starting point for understanding the Canadian scope on multiculturalism.

Starting off with Canada's earliest history (chapter 2.1.), the roots of multiculturalism can be found in Quebec. Canada's biculturalism transforms into multiculturalism when coal mines open and the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railroad starts (chapter 2.2). Canada's multiculturalism is in these times not yet thorough and widely embedded in Canadian society, but the 20th Century, specifically World War II, marks the turning point (chapter 2.3). Under the surface, the ideology of multiculturalism gains support among the people, especially among the Quebecois (chapter 2.4) and in the end, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau officially constitutionally recognizes multiculturalism (Chapter 2.5). The chapter ends with Canada's multiculturalism's present state and alternative thoughts on the ideology (chapter 2.7).

2.1.1   Quebec: diversity's roots

Unarguably, the very first chapter of the country's modern history is of great importance for comprehending present Canada. Of several attempts[15], only the French and the British put successful claims on the Atlantic coast of the North American continents. No matter who reigned over the territories of current Canada in later times, history learns that these two major cultures always have been rivaling and even thwarting each other.

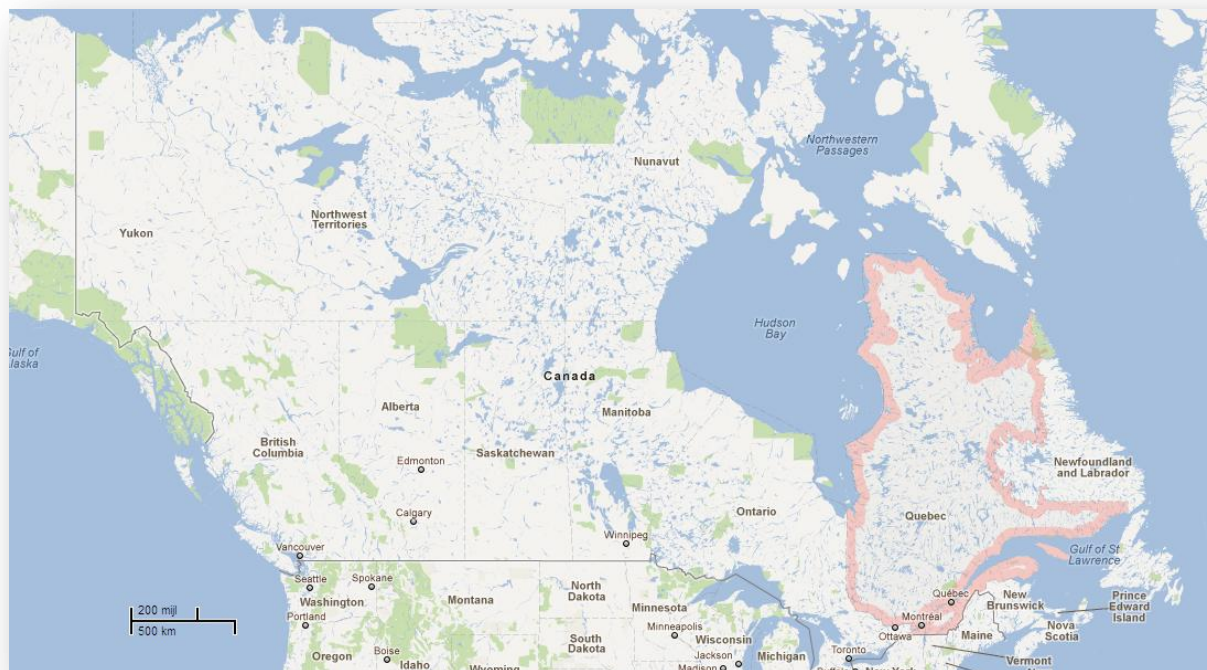[15] By among others, the Portuguese and the Scots.

FIGURE 1
Quebec, situated in the east of Canada (source: GoogleMaps)

On different occasions, the British Crown acquired French colonies and by 1763 it possessed roughly
its complete territory on the American continent [16]. However, by no means this meant that all colonies
became actually British. On the contrary, the assimilation process imposed by the British on the
francophones proved to be, if anything, counterproductive. Consequently, varying and intertwining
interests created a situation in which assimilation or deportation of the francophone population was not
possible[17] and a French-British heterogeneity was not desirable[18]. A situation arose in which the
British oppressors opted a fine tuned legislation aiming to, quite optimistically, let the Francophones
'benefit from the British law'. As Bumsted argues, contextually this was an empty gesture: "No
particular accommodations had been made for the newly acquired French territory or for its
francophone population. Indeed, the absence of distinctive treatment was the principal characteristic of
the policy" [19].The result was an administrative schizophrenia missing its intentional aim and even
turning out to be counterproductive: "the overall dynamic in Quebec was a simple one, moving

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[16] In 1717 Queen Anne's War was concluded with the Treaty of Utrecht, handing big chunks of Acadia and the
whole of Newfoundland over to the British. In 1763, as written down in the Treaty of Paris, the core province of
New France, Canada (i.e. the region enclosing the St. Lawrence River and its tributaries), became British
possession as well. Note that, although there were tensions, these acquisitions had little to do with the conflicts
on the American continent, but were framed in peace resolutions resulting from European wars.
[17] Expanding the empire territorially was the main reason to keep the province within the Empire, but the rising
tensions during the unsuccessful process of assimilation of the French, developed into a threat for the stability on
in Europe. Additionally, the French proved to be of significant value in building and maintaining trade networks
incorporating the aboriginal population (see Bumsted, 2003, p.59).
[18] A quick glance at the situation in Europe at the time shows the insanity of this idea.
[19] Bumsted, 2003, p. 59

gradually but inexorably from a province intended to become British to one accepted as being French"[20].

The iconic event underscoring this latter remark was the ratification of the Quebec Act of 1774, crystallizing the process of British governors getting to understand that a sustainably peaceful French-British colony could only be realized through looser and freer legislation concerning the francophone population. The Quebec Act gave them more breathing space and transcended the crucial notion of religion[21]. If the landing of the French and British on the Atlantic coasts formed the practical take-off for Canada's multiculturalism, the Quebec Act can be regarded as the first official irreversible step towards modern, diverse Canada. A.L. Burt[22] uses these words for this occasion: "[The Quebec Act] embodied a new sovereign principle of the British Empire: the liberty of non-English people to be themselves."

The role of geography should not be underestimated in this chapter of French-British rivalry. To that end, Bumsted[23] makes a point that is interesting. On the tensions between the British and French civilians during the 1763-1774 failed assimilation and deportation period, he writes: "The [unsuccessful] elimination of the French from North America contributed to the decline [of ethnic tension], although the major cause was the segregation of the various ethnic groups into separate settlement enclaves, a process made possible by the sheer amount of wilderness available in the northern colonies." In other words, due to the huge amount of space in the colony, the cultures gradually became naturally separated, rendering a debate on multiculturalism irrelevant.

2.1.2   British Columbia: exotic cultures arriving in Canada

The focus of Canadian migration in the 18th and 19th Century was predominantly on the European continent[24], but when the North-American frontier was moving westward mid-19th century, Asians as well found a way to the continent. The Chinese were fleeing from the demographic and political chaos in their own country[25] and arrived in Canada finding lots of dirty jobs during the mining rushes (particularly the 1858 Gold Rush) and the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railroad in the 1880s, connecting east and west.

A literature overview shows that the Chinese, as any other Asian immigrant group[26], were not

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[20] Ibid, p. 61
[21] Free practice of Catholicism in the predominantly Anglican colony was allowed through the Act.
[22] Burt, 1968, p. 181
[23] Bumsted, 2003, p. 120
[24] In the early 19th century, immigrants descended mainly from the British isles but not that much from France. Later on, German and Scandinavian families populated the colony and by the time Canada was founded in 1867 and the western lands were being explored, Canada attracted Eastern Europeans (Lebanese, Ukrainian) to help exploiting these new lands, simply because the flows of American and Western European immigrant coming in weren't sufficient anymore (Bumsted, 2003).
[25] Tracey (1999) picks out the population increase as the main reason for this unrest. Population doubled between 1750 and 1850, yet farm yields remained constant. Especially the rural south of China, with the Pearl River region as its demographic center, suffered, triggering a migration wave to Canada.
[26] Japanese and Sikh being the most important ones.

the most liked immigrant group of that time[27], not in Canada but neither in the United States. On the contrary, public attitude against Chinese was hostile and legislation was simply racist[28], presumably in part because of their non-European descent and visibly different outer appearances. They were regarded as "a separate and distinctive group of people" or "an alien race"[29], the 1907 riots[30] being its most infamous manifestation. Especially at the border this would bring precarious situations; because legislation was far from unambiguous and supervision at the border was minimal, it was often up to a single border official to interpret the law and make a decision on the individual migrants coming in. Consequently, illegal migration flourished.

The effect this condescending attitude had on the Chinese migrants was remarkable. Despite the fact that "they washed their laundry with tears"[31], they rarely had any intention to gather and unionize or to quit their harsh jobs[32]. Neither did they incorporate themselves into Canadian society, as other (European) immigrants generally did. The result was what Rose Mar[33] calls the first signs of a transnational people. Whereas Europeans settlers in Canada had a tendency to gradually lose the direct ties with their home country, the Chinese still felt quite closely related to and responsible for their native communities[34] and traveled back and forth across the Pacific, consequently being labeled sojourners. Besides this physical expression of transnational activity, two other aspects illustrate the transnational character of the Chinese people. First, Rose Mar describes a trans-Pacific community that naturally came into being, supporting and channeling illegal migration through the strict legislation at the Canadian border[35] and second, Tracey[36] and Chalykoff [37] point out that remittances were an important way of keeping close to China. For many non-Asian immigrants, the Canadian dream represented an opportunity to start building a new life in a new world, but for Asian (trans)migrants, it is a chance to generate some financial power to support their native community back home.

Chalykoff points out a discrepancy that developed between the government's assumptions and the actual sense of belonging Chinese migrants felt. According to Chalykoff, at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century no legislation took into account the possibility of such transnational

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[27] See for instance Lem Wong's narratives in Tracey (1999) and Rose Mar's (2007) findings on wage inequalities, the lack of political power.

[28] In 1885, every Chinese had to pay a $50 head tax, in 1903 Japanese had to pay $500 head tax (Bumsted, 2003, pp. 164-167). Not directly Chinese related, but also illustrating the hostile environment is the Komagata Maru incident, describing a ship with mainly Sikh passengers that was sent back by Canadian authorities upon arrival in Vancouver.

[29] Rose Mar, 2007, pp. 14-15

[30] Hundreds of white men gathered on the streets and marched into Chinese and Japanese neighborhoods to beat up Asians and demolish their properties.

[31] Tracey, 1999, p. 138

[32] Chalykoff, 1998

[33] Rose Mar, 2007, p. 16

[34] See Chalykoff, 1998

[35] See also Ng, 1999

[36] Tracey, 1999

[37] Chalykoff, 1998

migration flows and its consequences. The result was an underground network of organizations on which many Chinese relied in establishing some kind of life in Canada, trying to by-pass Canada's relentless legislation[38]. As can be concluded from preceding paragraphs, Canadian governments did not want Chinese to develop a Canadian identity and become politically and socially engaged, but neither did they take into account that the Chinese would keep their ties with their home front. Apparently, they thought of them as having no identity whatsoever[39].

2.1.3 Post war era: a Change in Discourse

In the first half of the 20th century lots of things happened that withdrew the focus on racial problems in Canada. Although immigration or integration was not a key political topic during the two World Wars and the Depression of the thirties, this era turned out to be the run-up towards a dramatic change in Canada's identity. It was not so much the crises itself that made Canada re-think its attitude towards its immigrants, but rather the integration that silently took place during the World Wars and Depression and the post war influx of people.

The major development regarding the non-western European immigrants already in Canada (like the Asian community in British Columbia) was without doubt the radical change of attitude of Canada's people. During the Wars and Depression, especially during World War II, the Canadian's thoughts on immigration changed from glorifying British or French descent only onto accepting cultural diversity, from unwelcoming to surprisingly tolerant, even towards the Asian community. Scholars still argue about the specific reasons that brought along this change that took place within a generation's time span, but a couple of them can be singled out as crucial.

First, as Rose Mar[40] elaborates on the attitude towards Asians specifically, Asians (not being allowed to fight for the country of Canada) showed their value to the Canada's economy and its stability, while Canada's men were fighting at the European front. Not only did they eagerly take up the jobs that Canadian men left behind, they also proved their transnationalist ties to be fruitful[41]. Gladly, they cashed in their credit by rising up to the occasion and engage in demonstrations and strikes, striving for better and fairer labor circumstances. Consequently, Rose Mar[42] argues that the Chinese being successful by having fulfilled their demands, gained them even more respect among the Canadians who came back from Europe enjoying the improved working conditions.

Second, more generally concerning Canada's (former) xenophobic feelings, World War II had some specific effects. The new world that came into being after WWII was one of social and cultural morality. The shattered people in Europe were given back their dignity (see e.g. the new borders of

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[38] At this point, it's important to keep in mind that Canada's southern neighbor, the USA, had implemented an even harsher legislation, explaining why Chinese sought their way to Canada at all.
[39] See also, Ng, 1999, pp. 6-9
[40] Rose Mar, 2007, pp. 25-29
[41] See Chalykoff, 1998
[42] Rose Mar, 2007, pp. 31-32

Poland) and the cultural horror of Hitler's Endlösung was a fresh memory of a bad example. Human rights came to the forefront and respect for exotic cultures was glorified.

Third, related to this newly felt responsibility, Canada's restrictive immigration system was under a lot of pressure after WWII, receiving high amounts of new migrants. Although integration within the nation's society was slowly taking off, Canadian immigration was still an utterance of intolerance. The displaced Jews were not very welcome because of their emotional scars, thus not fulfilling the strict legal demands for a migrant entering Canada, and highly educated displaced persons, forced to find a new home, had to fight an uneven battle with the favored native Canadians. There were, however, some flows of people that Canadian government did want to take in (especially war brides) that put the complete formalized immigration fear in question, eventually leading into a somewhat loosened policy in 1952.

Fourth and finally, modernization and urbanization forced people to work together, a development that is best illustrated by the evolution of Quebec in the WWII and post war period. The fact is, Quebec had long been relying on its traditional values, rendering interaction with non-Quebecois unnecessary. In the times after WWII, the Quebecois society started to rely on the industrial sector and the urban economic spheres as well, in order to boost their prosperity and avoid lagging behind the Anglo-Canadian society. On the one hand this meant that Quebec as a whole was slowly moving away from their Catholic authorities and starting to mingle among the British parts of the countries, forcing them to cooperate and to some extent close the cultural gap. On the other hand, two opposing wings of ideology grew within the Quebecois community, one nourishing a status quo (renewed nationalism) and the other aspiring a more active role of Quebec in the country of Canada (renewed liberalism).

It is important to put these developments into perspective. The points above describe a process that has built up mainly in a bottom-up way and not so much as a result of a specific political belief and consequent legislation. Policy on immigration was still simply racist and governments were reluctant to let people in that were not of Western-European descent and could not bring in high work ethics. As a result, it was predominantly integration, rather than immigration, that found another track, quite silently in a natural way.

2.1.4 *The Quiet Revolution and Pearson: towards a new Canadian narrative*

The informal changes that took place in the decades after WWII served as an excellent occasion for the Quebecois to raise their voice again. With the harsh immigration policy in jeopardy and the country losing sense of direction, the Quebecois felt a chance ride the waves and gain recognition for their francophone culture.

Maclure[43] explains the inevitability of a revolution, albeit a Quiet Revolution, in a historical

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[43] Maclure, 2003, pp. 22-25

context. The francophones in New France, a country according to Maclure on its way to prosperity, always had been dominated by the British. Even after the founding of Canada, the Quebecois were recognized but marginalized, leading to the development of a subtle yet persistent feeling of melancholic nationalism[44] among the Quebecois. It took until the early 1960s for this feeling to get uncovered. The above described changes Canada was undergoing and the election of the Liberal Jean Lesage as the Premier of Quebec paved the way for a process that eventually put the francophone culture in Ottawa on the same level as the British culture. Lesage wanted the Quebecois both to keep their distinctive Quebec identity and experience equal possibilities on the Canadian economic and political stage as the English speaking inhabitants[45]. Some in Quebec pleaded for independence, but given that the whole of Canada was rethinking its immigration and integration policy, a belief in a coherent Canada (i.e. both British and French), or at least in a solution on the national level, prevailed.

The country of Canada found itself at a crossroads at that time. It was still figuring out its own nature regarding immigrants and diversity, since government and the public opinion did not seem to align very well. The times of harassing immigrants and raising societal thresholds for newcomers, particularly the exotic ones, were gone, but the national trend in immigration policy still resembled the xenophobic characteristics of a gated community. It was exactly this blur that created an extraordinary chance for the country to manifest itself on the world stage and so it "faced the exciting challenge of creating its international voice according to its own character and interests." [46]

It was the Pearson administration that started creating a new narrative for the country. A narrative that finally would recognize and represent the heterogeneity of the country. Dupont and Lemarchand write: "In a conscious manner, Canada and Canadian citizens [...] moved from a British-minded Canada to a sense of Canadianness that still, however, [...] had to be constructed or defined along the way."[47] In 1963, a new anthem was chosen, a song that was sung originally in French in the 19th Century, but got an official English and French version; a new Canadian flag was adopted, losing the Union Jack on it and proudly showing a true Canadian emblem: the maple leaf. Additionally, the national government increased the power of the provincial government of Quebec, giving them the opportunity to adapt policy on their own ways, and bilingualism was to be formalized, making French the official second language of the country. Not only was Canada acknowledging both its founding nations, but as a whole it was creating its cultural independence from Britain.

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[44] As coined by Maclure, 2003, p. 22

[45] Besides this truly *quiet* part of the revolution through politics and rhetoric there were also a couple of radical organizations that organized small scale violent action.

[46] Dupont & Lemarchand, 2001, p. 315; Wayland, 1997, pp. 42-44; add to this the USA-Canada rivalry, with either country eagerly taking on any possibility to distinguish itself from the other.
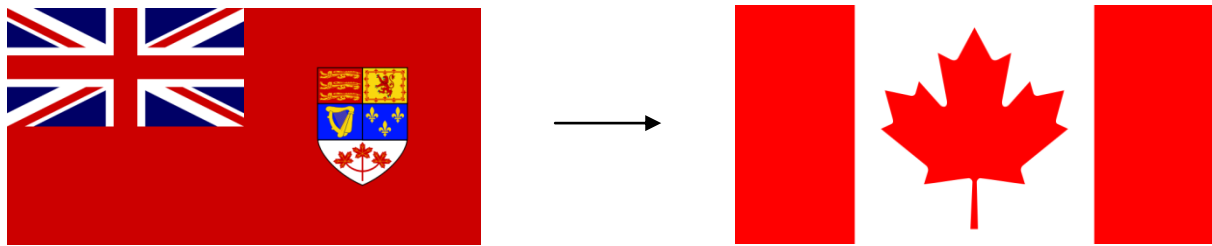
[47] Dupont & Lemarchand, 2001

FIGURE 2
The old Canadian flag, used up to 1965, and the new Canadian flag, with the Union Jack replaced
by the maple leaf.

Creating this narrative has been a pivotal episode of the development of the country of Canada. Although a complex and ambiguous project, it created a shared sense of belonging and even pride concerning the diversity in the country. Dupont & Lemarchand agree: "Never again would dominant political forces in French and English Canada look in the same direction with such unanimity and enthusiasm. [Bi]culturalism came out of this political context without creating unanimity, but creating a lot of enthusiasm in English-speaking Canada"[48]. In other words, there was no ideal solution, but at least the days of racist politics and xenophobic social norms seemed to be gone.

There is one important point of critique to this. On the political stage, the question is why authorities make their decisions, what reasoning backs their decisions. Several critics[49] argue that the reason for the Canadian governments of Pearson and Trudeau did not particularly choose for bi- or multiculturalism because of their desire for a diverse Canada with a working bicultural society, but for a great part as well because of simple pragmatic reasons in order to retain power. For one, the international relations and linked humanitarian pressure played an increasing role and pressure from the international community did have its effect in those days. But also, it was a simple matter of quantity; if a compromise would make more people happy, then it was a politically desirable decision.

No matter what the exact political background was, Canada can be seen as a forerunner in the international community. It got rid of its 'white only and white if possible' policy and truly embraced both the British and French cultures in its institutions. The cornerstone of the new policy was the *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism* (The B&B report)[50]*,* that served as a key consultant for the Pearson government.

2.1.5   Pierre Trudeau: institutionalizing multiculturalism

The obvious flaw in the B&B Report was its limited and paradoxical focus on two founding cultures only of Canada's government in order to treasure the nation's diversity: an imperfection that served as ammunition for the critics who argued that the government was acting too practical regarding this issues which were lacking theoretical fundament and would make policy more viable on the long term. Add to this the limited scientific embeddedness of the B&B Report and the rising voices of non-

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[48] Ibid, p. 317
[49] Like Fry & Forceville, 1988
[50] Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1967

acknowledged cultures (e.g. the Aboriginals[51]) and it is clear that the necessity for an alteration of the report grew.

In 1971, then Prime Minister of Canada, Pierre Trudeau, decided to extend the biculturalism into multiculturalism. The B&B Commission wrote an additional book to the existing report in order to argue that there is more to Canada than the two founding people. Now, every single culture was recognized as a contributor to the multicultural society that was called Canada. Canadian did not mean French Canadian or British Canadian anymore, it meant being part of a mosaic.

The Quebecois sensed an inflation in governmental cultural recognition. Not that they did not want their fellow cultures to be incorporated in a Canadian mosaic, on the contrary, but this expansion would mean that suddenly their founding culture of Canada was regarded as equal to the smallest minorities in Canada's most remote provinces and thus cut down in political power.

Yet besides this flaw in Trudeau's plan of multiculturalism, the societal effects were momentous. Although he himself was not too much concerned with cultural diversity[52], it was picked up gladly by the Canadian people. Dupont & Lemarchand show that Canadianness became something unique and emphasize the pride that came with the term: "Canada and multiculturalism became equivalent term. As a result, up to the 1990s, it was almost impossible to criticize multiculturalism in Canada; anyone who did so risked being accused by the official Canadian political correctness of being an un-Canadian Canadian, a racist, a rightist speaking like an American Republican, a separatist or all the above."[53] From that moment on, Canada was a mosaic of cultures glued together by multiculturalism.

2.2 'Canadian Multiculturalism': the present and critiques

By now, Canada's multiculturalism serves as an example around the world. Survey after survey, the Canadian population is shown to applaud the country's multiculturalism by e.g. regarding the different immigrant cultures as beneficial for Canada[54], rooting the success of Pearson and Trudeau's approach in 1971 far deeper than in Ottawa alone.

In 1991, Berry & Kalin[55] showed that support for the multiculturalist ideology in Canada is overwhelming and a national survey consequently illustrated that 64% of Canadian citizens primarily feels 'Canadian', rather than 'hyphenated-Canadian' (13%) or 'ethnic only' (4%; e.g. British, Greek and Chinese). Given the fact that only 18% of Canadians would call their ethnicity Canadian[56], these figures prove that citizens recognize that Canada is an umbrella term that covers all or even ignores ethnicities. Thus, Canada means diversity, and Canadians truly feel diversity is beneficial to Canadian

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[51] 'Aboriginals' is the term used widely in Canada for the indigenous people of the country.
[52] See for example Fry & Forceville, 1988
[53] Dupont & Lemarchand, 2001, p. 130
[54] See Abu-Laban & Gabriel, 2006
[55] Berry & Kalin, 1995
[56] Citizenship and Integration Canada, 2010

society[57] and economy[58]. Consequently, Canada's multiculturalist policy is widely seen as the good example of working multiculturalism, especially serving as a guide for fellow immigrant country Australia[59].

Two assumptions tend to rise now, which are, however, both false. First, many think of the concept of Canadian multiculturalism as undeniably just and correct. But even in Canada criticism is omnipresent. Second, without elaborating on Canada's policy, it is tempting to think that Canada is having an open door policy, gladly welcoming any immigrant. Indeed, Canada still retrieves immigrants deliberately, trusting that they strengthen the nation, but a critical look at its immigration policy shows that it is tighter than many European countries. Both points will be elaborated on now. The main critique on Canada's multiculturalism undoubtedly is the fact that there is a discrepancy between ideology and reality. Several critics argue correctly that the very origin of multiculturalism was not a societal current that got picked up by politics, but rather a tool used by politicians simply in order to gain power, only subsequently adopted by society. This would mean that multiculturalism did not rise naturally in Canada, but that it is rooted in arbitrary political decision making. Chanady writes that the inevitable result is that the ideal of multiculturalism is not as pure and dominant in decision making as often thought[60], allowing it to be overruled by other, mostly economic, interests frequently. According to Bumsted[61], this is what happened in the 1990s, when tolerance towards exotic cultures was overruled[62] by economic considerations. High unemployment in combination with the fact that the group of visible minorities grew (i.e. more Asian and African immigrants and less Europeans and North-Americans), multiculturalism led for the first time since its official inauguration in 1971 to alienation among the British-Canadian population. James[63] underscores this by stipulating that lack of economic effort is the one thing most Canadians are worried about when it comes to immigrants, implicitly creating the image that immigrants are taking jobs away from Canadians. On occasions like this, critics of multiculturalism point at the awkward similarities with European cases like The Netherlands, which is widely regarded as an example of failed multiculturalism. James[64] shows that non-English language and non-western practices like wearing turbans can be experienced as unsociable, tipping preference towards assimilation instead of the hailed integration. Survey statistics illustrate the multiculturalism backlash in the 1990s. In January 1994, 53% of Canadian citizens were rethinking Canadian immigration policy, up 22% since 1989 (31%). Two of every three Torontoists

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[57] See e.g. Kymlicka, 2011
[58] Citizenship and Integration Canada, 2010
[59] Chanady, 1995
[60] She gives the example of a Canadian-Jewish author who is listed under Jewish rather than Canadian. In other words, "although official multiculturalism was designed to combat exclusion in the name of cultural pluralism, [it] reconstruct[s] the old symbolic order of dominance and exclusion; multicultural thus frequently becomes a euphemism for non-White or for ethnic, which was already a euphemism for an undesirable foreigner." (1995, p. 428)
[61] Bumsted, 2003, p. 285-286
[62] Note that this strengthens Berry & Kalin's statistics in the preceding paragraph.
[63] James, 1999, pp. 168-172
[64] Ibid, pp. 172-178.

thought the city had too many immigrants, up 20% from 1992[65].

To recap, desperate needs lead to desperate deeds. During economic downturn, even Canada was tempted to point a finger at visible minorities. For the first time since multiculturalism's constitutionalization in 1971, immigration developed a glare of mistrust for some. As statistics and narratives[66] showed, the size and earnesty of this backlash was not immense, especially not compared to European standards. Nevertheless, the 1990s came with a lesson. Canadians as well have the words discrimination and racism in their vocabulary, but they barely find themselves in the opportunity to use them.

Foregoing authors bring some interesting and plausible issues to the table. Yet, statisticians will point to the numerous polls and surveys, a couple of them are discussed throughout this paper, that strengthen pro-multiculturalist viewpoints. After all, many of the critiques on Canadian multiculturalism are trail-blazing in Canada, but overall still quite progressive compared to other countries. Or, as Kymlicka concludes strikingly from his analyses on immigration policy:" [T]he spectrum of political opinion on immigration in Canada varies from those who think Canada should be tied with Australia for having the highest per capita rate of immigration in the world, and those who think Canada should be tied with the United States for having the second-highest per capita rate of immigration in the world."[67]

The second point to tackle in this paragraph is the assumption that Canada's borders are extremely porous, letting in everyone who reaches the border.

Since 1967, Canada uses a point system, which makes it possible to track the developments over time. This point system is based on a set of criteria an immigrant has to score points for. The test has changed since 1967, both contextually and in strictness, uncovering the different emphases through the years. In the beginning years of this policy, focus was on the skills of the individual and their value to Canadian society[68]. An immigrant needed 50 out of 100 points to be admitted into Canada. By the 1990s, this point system had become a major tool for the Canadian government to channel immigration, in order to retain and improve their grip on the flows. Because of several factors, economic ones being the most important, the threshold for immigrants grew. Still, economic contributions are the main criteria desired by Canada. So, despite the fact that Canada still incorporates a relatively high number of immigrants, its immigration policy is strict in a sense that only high skilled

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[65] Angus Reid Group, 1991
[66] See James, 1999
[67] Kymlicka, 2003b, p. 202
[68] Green & Green (1995, pp. 1013-1015) describe in detail how the census was used to determine the need for particular skills in different Canadian regions.

and English proficient immigrants get in easily[69]. Canada is indeed popular, but only among the higher educated.

2.3   Looking back: understanding Canada's multiculturalism
By looking at Canada's early history, the roots of its multiculturalist society can be tracked. Although the French-English, or Quebecois vs. Anglo-Canadian, rivalry nowadays is only one of many ethnic challenges in Canada, this struggle in the 18th Century proofs that multiculturalism was present even before Canada was founded. Its territorial and economic growth, and its spatial wideness, consequently led to the incorporation of many other ethnicities in the country.

For the success of this multiculturalist society, a review of Canada's more recent history provides more insights. During and after the Second World War, Canada had several incentives to constitutionalize multiculturalism in the country. On the political level, acknowledging minorities was desirable because of the high numbers of citizens that were part of one of these minorities. Biculturalism, and later multiculturalism, therefore became a political tool. The Canadian citizens picked up on this and the state-led policy became a societal phenomenon gladly. People started hailing society's heterogeneity and more and more, Canada became an equivalent of diversity and the country became worldwide an example of successful multiculturalism.

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[69] The proportion of immigrants arriving with a university degree was 55% in 2005 (Statistics Canada, 2005, pp.15-17) and 99% of the skilled workers spoke English upon arrival (Statistics Canada, 2005, p.29).

Chapter 3

MULTICULTURALISM

Canada's strong multiculturalist feeling, developed over the past 40 years, has created an interesting situation if it comes to the theoretical notion of multiculturalism, a topic on which scholars are debating fiercely. The highly political sensitivity of the issue resulted in a thorough embeddedness in society, closely bound to the particular local circumstances. Add to this the fact that the uprise of the multiculturalism phenomenon is relatively recent[70], thus still lacking a clear consensus on its definition, and the inevitable result is a high degree of variety among the scientific analyses of the topic. To understand Canadian multiculturalism, it is necessary to elaborate on multiculturalism in general beforehand. A definition is not wanted here. On the contrary, this thesis proofs that it is impossible to define a topic such as multiculturalism, due to its social constructivist nature and its case specific explanations. By distinguishing between critical and state multiculturalism, the appearance of varying operationalizations is explained. Subsequently, Kymlicka is cited to start thinking about Canada's multiculturalism in particular and hence build up to the very core of this thesis.

In his "struggle to define academic multiculturalism"[71], Powell tries to grasp the common factor in the wide array of perspectives on multiculturalism. He argues that in defining multiculturalism "the […] challenge is […]: how to recognize an enormous variety of distinct cultural perspectives without either collapsing the historical differences that define these cultures or sacrificing the ideological unity necessary to hold this diverse political coalition together", possible both from a theoretical and a practical lens. Analyzing multiculturalism through the first lens includes thinking about multiculturalism on a philosophical level, fundamentally wondering how it became relevant over the years and what it means for contemporary society. Two exemplary questions that are posed include (1) whether diversity should be emphasized (by embracing diversity, equality among humans is shown), or covered up (we are all equal, so we have to look through the differences among us), a paradox that Canadian philosopher Charles Taylor famously brings up in his *Politics of Recognition*[72]*,* and (2) what multiculturalism's consequences are for the (de/re)construction of demarcated spheres we call nation states, on which Cornwell & Stoddard's *Global Multiculturalism*[73] gives an introductory overview.

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[70] Considering the fact that Canada was a forerunner with its official multiculturalism policy in 1971 and politicians, scholars and Canadians had quite some trouble in defining it.
[71] Powell, 2003, pp. 152-155
[72] Taylor, 1994
[73] Cornwell & Stoddard, 2001, Part I, pp. 29-119

Some authors, like Gunew[74], call multiculturalism from this theoretical lens 'critical multiculturalism'. The other perspective, the more practical one, is labeled 'state multiculturalism'. When applying these ideas in practice, for instance in the case of designing immigration or integration policy, the frame of relevance zooms in to the particular situation, taking into consideration the unique political and societal environment. The demographics of a separate country, its latest political trends or the country's colonial history become important in understanding meso-level multiculturalism. In other words, a practical approach on multiculturalism, therefore, demands additional information that is not only tied to the scientific considerations that authors like Taylor brought us. Additionally, it calls for a view narrowed down to countries, coercing scholars like Canadian Will Kymlicka and d'Haenens et al[75] to use comparative analyses to demonstrate the importance of nation state level considerations.

Within this theoretical variety, there seems to be one thing on which authors agree more and more: for reasons that are given throughout this chapter, the rise of multiculturalism, in the most literal sense of the word, is inevitable. Or, as Fish[76] puts it: "the impulse either to affirm or reject [multiculturalism] begins to look rather silly; saying yes or no to multiculturalism seems to make about as much sense as saying yes or no to history, which will keep on rolling along irrespective of the judgment you pass on it."

3.1. Canadian multiculturalism

Generally, Canada is regarded as unique in its success in developing a multicultural society. As a forerunner of constitutionalized multiculturalism it saw its blueprint copied in other traditional immigrant receiving countries, like Australia, New Zealand and the USA. Kymlicka[77] makes an effort to grasp Canada's unique character in the postwar developments in the field of multiculturalism. He distinguishes three major trends that can be witnessed in the western world and that can be distilled clearly from the preceding historical chapter in this thesis. (1) Post-war rights-consciousness substituted discriminatory assimilation policy for race-neutral jurisdiction and stimuli for accommodating ethnocultural diversity, (2) the indigenous people are no longer thought of as an eroding segment of society that eventually will die out through inter-marriage and assimilation, but are regarded as sustainable and equal to e.g. British Canadians, and (3) sub-national, regional cultures, often endangering the country's stability are given more and more rights within the domestic frame, instead of forced to take on the country's mainstream culture. According to Kymlicka, Canada had to, unlike other traditional immigrant receiving countries, deal with all three of them. It is "distinctive in the breadth of the challenges [Canada has] faced, rather than in the depth with which [Canada has] successfully tackled any particular challenge." A correct observation by Kymlicka, but not answering the question why Canada's multiculturalism proved to be a well working policy. Only pleading that it

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[74] Gunew, 1997
[75] Kymlicka, 1998, 2001, 2003a; d'Haenens et al, 2006
[76] Fish, 1997, p. 385
[77] Kymlicka, 2003a

is the sheer amount of challenges it has faced provides insufficient proof to conclude the issue.

The next chapters will try to fill up this knowledge discrepancy. Different arguments are made proving that Kymlicka's research is too general and that certain case (i.e. Canada) specific characteristics are being overlooked. The arguments will build on Kymlicka's general findings on the one hand, but are infused by specific Canadian proof on the other hand in order to explain why Canada was able to incorporate Kymlicka's three trends simultaneously.

Two arguments are pivotal in answering the question why multiculturalism successfully grew towards a defining aspect of Canadian society. First, geographic factors of proximity have a pivotal function in defining the immigrant group demographics. Indirectly, these characteristics have played a role in preventing ethnocultural clashes and therefore have rendered a fierce immigration or integration debate irrelevant. Second, historic factors, the lack of a colonial past, contribute to the absence of a discriminatory or racist discourse towards other culture groups, again decreasing the chance of ethnocultural problems. A third aspect, the ambiguity of Canadian identity, acts as an umbrella phenomenon and can be regarded as the tangible result of the foregoing developments.

3.1.1.   Canada's history: postcolonialism versus postmodernism

One historical factor that contributes to the difference between Canada and Europe in contemporary xenophobia is framed in history. Although Canada colonized the Aboriginal people in the early days, it is predominantly the era of being colonized that shaped its identity.

A quick look at Europe learns that at least part of the reason that multiculturalism can be an immense struggle for countries like The Netherlands, France or Britain, is the fact that their colonial history has left a legacy of ethnocentrism. The European belief of the colonization era, the belief that the European people were the height of global civilization, implied that it should be dominant and free from dangers of erosion. In some countries, like France, assimilation of the colonized into the colonizing power was regarded the only true way forward for the non-European peoples[78]. However, the common denominator among all of them is the attitude of the European colonizers: every country was proud, convinced of its superiority and acted as a homogeneous and independent entity. This colonial, ethnocentrist discourse may have been deconstructing since the post war era, but it is not a coincidence that, nowadays, it is in particularly these countries were immigrants are confronted with some critical, politically challenging demands[79]. As Melotti[80] argues in the case of Italy, this legacy and the contemporary postmodernist developments, articulating human rights and equity, uncover a discrepancy in the public sphere, in the end leading to societal tensions that are present throughout the continent of Europe.

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[78] Melotti, 1997
[79] See Bail, 2008
[80] Melotti, 1997

Canada's history has its chapters of subordination as well. Among the immigrants, especially the Asians were discriminated and suffered from harsh racist and hostile environments[81]. Second, the Aboriginals were little by little rubbed out from the Canadian map[82] and third, the Quebecois and British never found a way to live together without constant friction. Yet, these racist discourses were not so thorough anymore in the twentieth century, as postwar developments show. For a variety of reasons given throughout this paper, it was possible to shrug off this hostile discourse after the Second World War. Considering the foundation for this watershed era, the most important remark in the context of colonial history is the presence of an unusual hierarchy.

Canada's colonial history is different from the traditional colonization of Africa and Asia. Although it were the same Europeans who settled present Canada, it were alternative power relations that gave the story a twist. What North American colonization distinguishes from many other cases is the fact that the success of the colonization led to a substantial population overseas and a hierarchical relation between the British reign far away and the North American colonies, aspiring a certain degree of independence. This situation describes an intracultural fault line (within British culture) instead of an intercultural (between British and e.g. Pakistani culture), rendering a British or North-American claim on ethnocentrism incredible.

Additionally, during this period of British colonization, the heterogeneity was boosted, not only by the presence of the French and the Aboriginal Canadians, but also by attracting laborers practically from all over the world, implicitly decreasing the power of the powerful. Add to this the vast amount of space available in the colonies, stripping away the European overpopulation issues, and it becomes clear that the discriminatory and racist attitudes that were taken on by Canadians were far less deeply rooted in Canadian society than for instance the attitudes that the British and French infused during the colonization of Africa that took place roughly at the same time in the late 19th Century.

Thus, the role of colonized nation suits Canada better than the role of colonizing nation. This belief came especially to the forefront in the hailed era of Pearson's and Trudeau's administrations. Considering Taylor's *Politics of Recognition*, the important decision was made to show equality by covering up diversity. During's[83] explanation of postmodern thought provides another way to illustrate this. According to During, the crucial difference between postcolonial and postmodernist thought is that the former is based upon 'otherness' while the latter denies the existence of an 'other'. The process of Canadian independence in the 1960s and 1970s is considered to be a form of true multiculturalism. By institutionalizing multiculturalism, not only diversity was articulated and the concept of ethnocultural equity was formalized, but also the hierarchical relation between the UK and Canada was revised, stripping down the power relation between the two. Or, as During would say it,

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[81] See chapter 2.2
[82] Neu, 2000
[83] During, 1987

the 'other' was eliminated in its existence and merged into the postmodernist mosaic of multicultural Canada. This British-Canadian relation itself was, as argued, not a source for racist and discriminatory discourse. However, eliminating 'the other' does weaken condescending views towards other exotic, non-western immigrant groups.

3.1.2. *Canada's geography: a natural threshold*

Migration is a spatial phenomenon. Ernst Georg Ravenstein was aware of this in the 19th Century[84], when migration was predominantly taking place on small geographical scales and distance was the key in making a migratory decision.

This classical perspective on migration, based merely on push and pull factors, has changed however. The importance of geographical distance has decreased. Globalizing flows created an interconnected world over time, decreasing transaction costs to start moving in the first place for many of us. Our ancestor's emigration to the New World on the other side of the Atlantic obviously asked for a whole lot more effort, time and money than our two-week vacation to New York City. Two things are important to note here. First, for an individual migrant, the spatial factor's relative importance in reference to the push and pull factors has decreased rapidly here. And second, consequently, the push and pull factors nowadays not only are applicable to Ravenstein's small local scale, but can be translated to the higher national or global scale.

By skimming classic migration theories, the illusion is created that spatial distance, and hence proximity, is not very relevant for studying contemporary global migration flows. The case of Canada proofs the contrary. The best way to illustrate this is by comparing Canada to the United States and Europe. Both the United States and Europe's borders are adjacent to major sending (transit-)countries. The United States share a highly securitized border with Mexico. The European Union's imagined outer border, for instance near the Canary Islands and the various Mediterranean islands like Lampedusa, show a similar image of a strict and harsh border. Canada, however, only shares a border with its amicable southern neighbor; a border that is barely patrolled and gradually has devolved into a myth. There is no horde of people standing at Canada's gates, waiting to enter the country of freedom, as is the case in Europe and the United States. Instead, the people that migrated to Canada descended from all over the globe, implying a completely different migratory process.

The notion of transit migration helps illustrating this. As Schapendonk and many others have showed, migration from Sub-Saharan Africa to Europe is not a one-step process, with migrants being on the move in a continuous manner. Instead, these migrants are often only able to make small steps towards the North[85] and have to consider factors like knowledge, time and money every time they make such a step. The same process takes place on the American continent. People from all over Latin

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[84] Ravenstein, 1885
[85] Often not even planning to reach Europe itself, as Schapendonk (2011) shows

America are migrating north, step-by-step moving towards Mexico and often further towards the Mexican-American border. The ultimate goal here is the United States, not Canada. A quick look at a map of Latin-American migrants in the United States shows that they mainly reach into the southern and western states only[86]. Instead, if people are migrating to Canada from, say, Ukraine or China, they have to cross a massive ocean and consider these same factors of time, effort and money, but obviously in a quantitatively higher and more drastic scale.

Demographics of Canada's early migrants are in some way similar to contemporary Latin-America-North America or Africa-Europe migration. Both groups of migrants were searching for the promised land, in order to find economic prosperity. The Canadian and Pacific Railway and the numerous mines in Canada shaped similar promises as Europe's and America's culture do nowadays. Yet, there is a huge difference: quantity. The number of Asian and European immigrants that boats carried to Canada was by far smaller, even relatively, than the number of people that is trying to find the hole in the American or European fence in the present day world.

If we move on in time, the flaws of considering the situation similar increases further still. After having received loads of unskilled laborers, the immigration policy that took shape after the Second World War in Canada was predominantly aiming for high skilled migrants, instead of the poor and uneducated workers that form the better part of contemporary South-North migrants. As the historical overview in chapter 2 showed, Canada was under pressure by migrants throughout that time, but this pressure was coming from abstract humanitarian global trends, rather than a tangible mass of unskilled people knocking at the country's door. Canada never has been forced to reject huge numbers of people. For the next decades, this meant that Canada was able to form an uncontested immigration policy that aligned with their aims for high-skilled immigrants. It could put up high economic demands for its prospect citizens without invoking an ethical debate.

Then, if the social network theory[87] on migration is taken into account, both the established links (e.g. remittances) between the particular sending and receiving country and the ethnic communities evolved in the receiving country are acting as catalysts. It paves a way for relatives and fellow countrymen to travel the same route, reinforcing the number of migrants from the particular sending country. For example, the Chinese community in Vancouver would never have been this extensive if there were no ships traveling back and forth across the Pacific in the late 19th Century.

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[86] See the New York Times Immigration Explorer on http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2009/03/10/us/20090310-immigration-explorer.html; Compare e.g. Italy with the United States and Norway with Canada here.

[87] Basically, the social network theory describes that the way social links among people exist or not exist contribute to an explanation of people's behavior. For an overview of the methodology called social network analysis (briefly SNA) see Freeman (2004).

To conclude, the vast geographical distance between Canada and the migrant sending countries has been an important natural threshold in Canadian immigration. Unlike during the late 19th Century, migrants at society's margins will not consider Canada quickly anymore in their search for economic welfare, because of its tight immigration laws and the changed global economic sphere. The myth of the New World is outdated by now, and the world's multipolar economic stage has developed more, other economic centers. The migrants that do come to Canada from far away have the required prerequisites for crossing this threshold, i.e. they are generally highly skilled, speak proficient English and are therefore able to mingle in Canadian society better[88].

3.1.3. *Canada's identity: identity as an umbrella*

One of the aspects most written about within the multiculturalism debate is the issue of nationality. Multiculturalism essentially means that multiple cultures are confronted with each other in a certain space; a nation state is essentially an idea based upon a culturally demarcated space. Even by only looking at these definitions, friction between the former and the latter can be sensed.

Reviewing Anderson's work[89], one can witness how nation states can be perceived merely as imagined communities and therefore can be regarded as social constructs, raising a sense of ambiguity in their essence of existence. Consequently, there is a certain degree of pragmatism in the functioning of the nation state. Actors are able to define a nation state the way it suits them. Politicians stipulate the institutional reconstruction of borders, by designing programs for the container which is the nation state. Alternatively, a CEO of a multinational company aspiring international free trade will do anything to decrease trade tariffs and hence weaken or deconstruct border institutions.

In this case, it is mainly the (immigration and integration) political pragmatics that play the key role. A country's politics proves in general applies to a clearly superficially demarcated space (i.e. the nation state, for which a certain people is the demarcator) which is often thought of as homogeneous. People throughout the country theoretically have an equally loud voice and are evenly affected by domestic politics, but the 'foreigner' living a couple of meters across the border is of no importance or relevance whatsoever. Furthermore, immigration tends to be thought of as a tap, not only desiring immigrant flows to be measurable and controllable, but also implying a sole focus on the sink, ignoring the source of the tap.

Obviously, in reality things are more complex than this. Leaving the obvious homogeneity flaw[90] aside, the trends in contemporary geography, and science in general, put this modernist thinking

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[88] For example, Lieberson (1961, p. 904-906) describes how migrants descending from a society with an equal or even higher level of technology cause considerably less trouble in the integration process than migrants who lack the technology standard of the receiving country. See Galarneau & Morissette, 2008

[89] Anderson, 1983; Glick-Schiller, Basch, Szanton Blanc, 1995, p. 51; Chanady, 1995, p. 421

[90] Not only is a country made up of different cultures, it is also rash to state these different cultures are bordered by a nation state's boundaries. Although two regions can be separated by a national boundary, they may be more like each other than that they are like other regions in their respective nation states. Take the Balkan or Belgium as an example here.

to the test. The uprise of multiculturalism shows that the degree of cultural mobility is improving, in the end leading to a cultural heterogeneity in a country and thus questioning the sovereignty of a nation state, which initially was based on a the shared culture of the people. A question now is: is multiculturalism jeopardizing the essence of a nation state, or is the nation state sabotaging multiculturalism. Whatever the answer, the two are clearly not aligned.

This critique on the meso-scale nation state is extended to the micro-scale individual. The increasing mobility of cultures, being part of the globalization flows, can blur people's identities. If the clear cut circumstances that shaped someone's identity fade away, it is plausible to suggest that an identity becomes less place bound. In the contemporary age of increasing mobility we are able to see more, experience more and know more, often rather resulting in a broader umbrella-like identity. The concept of migration offers a comprehensible practice to understand this phenomenon. Both in a migrant's movement from A to B and in his residing in place B, a lot has changed in the last couple of decades[91]. In classical migration, the migrant was understood to leave identity A behind and start building up an identity B. Not only did the technological innovation made it possible to make this move from A to B more quickly, the new possibilities in technology and communication also offer him possibilities to stay in touch with country A permanently and to sojourn between A and B more frequently. For the migrant, the result is a transnational identity. As Glick-Schiller, Basch and Szanton Blanc argue alongside the nation state framework: "Transmigrants are immigrants whose daily lives depend on multiple and constant interconnections across international borders and whose public identities are configured in relationship to more than one nation state."[92]

It is not essential for this thesis, or for geography in general for that matter, to have an answer for the ontological problem how multiculturalism and the nation state relate to each other. On the contrary, debating the tenability of geographical notions uncovers the dynamics of the field. Canada proves to be an excellent case here. It is a country in which neither religion nor language distinguishes it from its counterparts, keeping the definition of Canadian national identity loose and enabling it to ride the waves of the multiculturalism debate. It can be regarded as a product of, or at least as heavily influenced by, the main societal currents and, hence, it serves as an umbrella for the preceding chapters.

The question now is: what is 'Canadian' and how has the political and formal definition changed alongside informative, societal developments. Once again, there are two different approaches to define Canada, similar to defining multiculturalism. There is the practical approach, answering the question what Canadian nationality represents in the legal system and there is the broader theoretical approach, wondering what the idea of Canada stands for, according to its citizens.

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[91] Castles & Miller, 2003, pp. 21-46
[92] Glick-Schiller, Basch, Szanton Blanc, 1995, p. 48

In tracing the definition of Canadian nationality, Canadian philosopher and expert on multiculturalism Will Kymlicka will be host for a second time. In his comparative studies between Europe and North America, the one thing that summarizes the differences best according to Kymlicka is the lack of controversy on particularly Canada's immigration policy. The historical frame for this uncontroversial policy is given throughout preceding chapters, making Kymlicka's analysis a crystallization of these historical developments in time, enabling researchers to recap the historical developments in a practical example.

Kymlicka describes five aspects, contributing to this immigration consensus. (1) The tests for prospect immigrants are fairly unproblematic, (2) gaining Canadian nationality is not perceived by Canadian government as a step towards assimilation, (3) governments are dutifully offering programs and services that support the immigration and integration process, (4) illegality does not come with harsh problems in Canada and (5) history shows that Canada is pursuing openness constantly since the 1960s, leaving "no basis […] to feel nostalgia about past policies or to fear the general direction of citizenship policy"[93].

Although all of these can be mutually considered both cause and effect, the second point that Kymlicka mentions is a very important note on Canadian nationality. According to him, the fact that dual citizenship is accepted officially and, even more important, within society as well, gives Canada a jump start to successful multiculturalism. This is a two-way street. First, migrants feel they do not have to sacrifice their original identity, in order to attain Canadian citizenship and second, Canadians do not feel as their unique identity is being endangered by newcomers. Kymlicka explains this by touching upon Canada's alternative colonial history, by stating that "because Canada is not a former imperial power, and has not engaged in historic acts of overseas conquest or colonization, few immigrants see any inherent antagonism between loyalty to Canada and loyalty to their home country. Acknowledging loyalty to Canada is not seen as bowing to a former enemy or former master, and no immigrant group […] discourages its members from taking out Canadian citizenship."

The result, then, is a vicious circle that is unthinkable in European countries, or even the United States: low demands for immigrants to attain Canadian citizenship lead to a more sincere and greater sense of responsibility from immigrants towards Canadian society, which leads to more productivity and economy related contributions to society, which leads to a stronger belief in the mechanics of multiculturalism, which again leads to lower demands for newcomers[94].

The key point here is the absence of ethnicity in this circle. Kymlicka writes that in for example in Britain, the only thing that people worry about when it comes to immigration is the fear of non-European immigration. Partially this is caused by the fact that Britain never constitutionalized multiculturalism, but for the better part it can be ascribed to the lack of multiculturalist discourse

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[93] Kymlicka, 2003b, p. 198

[94] Bumsted writes about interest groups like the Canadian Labour Congress and the Mining Association of Canada that can be regarded as the spark plug for this virtuous circle in the late 1960s (2003, pp. 234-236). Also see James (1999; p. 185-187)

within society. Whatever the cause, the major difference is the backdrop against which the immigration policy has developed. In Britain, ethnicity led the way, but in Canada economic factors have been dominant, at least since the 1960s[95].

The meaning of citizenship, then, differs greatly between Britain and Canada. Unlike the British example, "Canada does not see citizenship as a reward for, or recognition of, complete integration. […] Rather, it is seen as recognition of a good-faith effort to start that process of integration, and as encouraging and enabling further integration."[96] British citizenship, and many other European nations' citizenship, is a migrant's confirmation of having arrived inside an ethnically bound container. Canadian citizenship merely is a migrant's permission to contribute to and benefit from the geographically bound Canadian economy.

In the end, the debate about legal citizenship is a comprehensible way to track political discourses and mainstream currents over time. For the individual migrant however, it is merely an administrative issue. Immigrants mainly pursue the host country's nationality in order to attain certain rights attached to it and to be secured of a future in the country, rather than to 'be' Canadian or British, whatever that means. So, to trace and track the Canadian identity, it is important to find out what people think about Canada and to find out what it represents.

Canada's multiculturalist turn in the 1970s not only assumed cultural diversity to be beneficial, it also acknowledged that it is impossible to pin down a set of cultural characteristics and beliefs that would constitute the Canadian national identity. In other words, 'Canadian' officially became a blurred term. During British reign and a large part of early Canadian independence, a 'Canadian' unofficially was defined as a Canadian born from British descent. In the bicultural era of the 1960s, it covered Canadians with either British or French roots, irrelevant to what generation they were. But after institutionalizing multiculturalism, 'Canadian' became a frame, rather than a singular definition. Nowadays, true to postmodernist tradition, it is close to impossible to define Canadian culture contextually. Instead, Canada is seen as an umbrella for cultures that have evolved on Canadian soil, whatever the specific ethnical backgrounds. Being Canadian is synonym to being part of a mosaic of ethnicities.

Initially, the reasons for Canadian Prime Ministers Pearson and Trudeau to constitutionally acknowledge diversity through bi- and multiculturalism were mainly political. Their primary motivation was gaining political support from the numerous minorities in the country. But although constitutionalized Canadian multiculturalism came into being as a political tool, it was not merely a program written down in the *Bilingualism and Biculturalism Report*[97]; on the contrary, as a discourse it actively engaged Canadian society, illustrating the discrepancy between policy and society (or

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[95] See Steenman-Marcusse & Van Herk, 2005; pp. 189-209
[96] Kymlicka, 2003b, pp. 199
[97] Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1967

bureaucratic-theoretical considerations and practical discourses; cf. critical multiculturalism and state multiculturalism) once again.

The broad societal support for multiculturalism had fundamental implications for the country of Canada and its identity. Unlike many European countries, but like immigrant countries like the U.S. and Australia, it does not have a language and religion that distinguishes it from its counterparts, withdrawing a major source for pride and nationalist feelings. In other words, when officially agreeing that Canada's national identity is not a demarcated one anymore, there is not a lot to sacrifice. Hence, Canadians were eager to fill in the identity gap with the apparently successful ideology of multiculturalism.

These days, Canadian national identity is drenched with multiculturalist feelings, often directly linked to a sense of pride. Newspapers often lead the way[98]. Polls[99] show that tolerance towards other cultures is the aspect of national identity that Canadians are second most proud of and StatCan statistics show that Canadians "view immigrants and demographic diversity as key parts of their own Canadian identity"[100]. Numerous authors take the fact that "Canadians take pride in their presumed tolerance of diversity and their absence of prejudice toward ethnic minorities"[101] as a premise. Books have been written about the assumption that the geographical idea of Canada is not ethnically fixed as a culture or at least is represented by a gathering or mosaic of ethnicities[102].

There is, however, one main critique. A critique that was touched upon earlier in this thesis when discussing the 1990s in Canada[103]. The pragmatic background of official multiculturalism was uncovered here when economic difficulties led to a backlash in multiculturalism's sacredness. This finding is a main conclusion of Wayland, namely that Canada's multiculturalist "core values do not provide many tools for forging a strong identity."[104] What she means here is that Canada will carry out multiculturalist values as long as the country as a whole is doing fine. The 1990s showed that once economic figures start flattening out, multiculturalism will be victimized as well. Consequently her carefulness when describing Canada's identity, which is assumed to be fragile rather than thorough due to its roots in multiculturalism, is an important but often forgotten footnote in Canada's multiculturalist narrative

To conclude this chapter, there is a paradox in the Canadian national identity. In its symbolic national identity, ethnicity is at the center of attention, albeit because it is emphatically ignoring it, and in its official, legal national identity, ethnicity is regarded irrelevant. Natural developments led ethnicity to

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[98] See the groundbreaking article in the Globe and Mail called "Giving Voice to the Canadian Idea"(November 4th, 1995) in appendix B
[99] Wilson-Smith, 1995
[100] 85% in 2003, compared to 74% in 1994 (Citizenship and Integration Canada, 2010)
[101] Esses, Gander, 1991, p. 149
[102] See e.g. Mackey, 2002; James,1999, pp. 184-190
[103] See James, 1999
[104] Wayland, 1997, p. 56

the forefront in the idea of Canada, but to the deep back in the definition of Canadian citizenship. Yet, in both ways it crystallizes the debate on multiculturalism in Canada. In the former, it shows the success of multiculturalism has led over time to a fundamental society broad belief in the ideology of glorifying diversity. In the latter, proof is found on the one hand that, today, immigrants need little to sacrifice regarding their ethnical identities and on the other that Canadians have no ethnocentric feelings which rise when outsiders try to get in.

Canada's national identity, thus, is not an explanation for successful multiculturalism. Rather it can be seen as a reflection or as a constitutive result. It is a reflection because it provides contemporary concrete translations of Canada's historical and geographical narrative. It is a constitutive result because it sprouts from these same historical and geographical characteristics, but simultaneously preserves the condition under which multiculturalism has risen up and stimulates the influx of immigrants and consequent diversity.

3.2. Conclusion: unique Canada

Kymlicka is right, when it comes to the consideration that Canada is a unique country regarding multiculturalism. But instead of only considering "the breadth of the challenges, [Canada has] faced"[105], this uniqueness can be traced back to more fundamental developments in history and geography, that are closely linked to the country's national identity. The preceding paragraphs showed that understanding this unique context contributes to comprehending of the general Canadian discourse on multiculturalism. Or, as Gunew[106] would put it, understanding state multiculturalism helps comprehending critical multiculturalism.

Canada's history showed that the Canada lacks an era of colonization, which in Europe led to a strong sense of ethnocentricity and consequently to racism and discriminatory practices against foreigners. Canada's quest of the West inevitably led to questionable events when pioneers stumbled upon Aboriginals and their 19th Century condescending views concerning Asian immigrants truly were inhumane. However, neither did qualify for a xenophobic breeding ground as history showed. Additionally, Canada's geography helps the government securing their goals. Whereas many European countries would have to deal with humanitarian questions when masses of immigrants are applying for citizenship, Canada has neither closely tied former colonies, nor adjacent immigrant sending countries. Virtually every immigrant that does come to Canada has to be able to cross an ocean, making him or her prosperous and often English proficient in the first place.

Canada's immigration policy is not the most tolerant in the world. Instead, many abominated European countries have policies that are more open than Canada's. The big difference is that no-one is bothered by Canada's standards and restrictions in its immigration process. Primarily due to its geography, it does not have to deny entry for millions of low educated, freedom seeking non-Western

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[105] Kymlicka, 2003a, p.1
[106] Gunew, 1997

immigrants. Partially due to its history but mainly as a result of all multiculturalist developments in the past decennia, the integration that takes places in the country is supported and streamlined by the majority of the country's citizens.

Canada's national identity uncovers that economy is key here. In prosperous times, the advocates of multiculturalism point to economic figures that are presented as the success of multiculturalism. In less prosperous times, these immigrants are presented as thieves of Canadians' jobs and lacking in work ethic. Critics argue that this is explained by multiculturalism's pragmatically political roots. Indifferent to the validity of this argument, apparently even the glorified ideal of diversity and multiculturalism is subordinated to economic conjugation.

Chapter 4

METHODOLOGY

To pull someone out of his familiar mindset is a difficult task. The connotations that multiculturalism has gained throughout the years are persistent, but fortunately, malleable. To exemplify, the majority of Dutch readers would read multiculturalism and immigration as a side-effect of globalization, mostly negatively undertoned, considering its political sensitivity. Canadians, however, regard multiculturalism as a gift and part of their country's identity. Deconstructing either of these discourses means putting a natural evolved belief in question.

The main methodological goal in this research is to let the reader experience the same surprising observations and revisionary thoughts regarding the multicultural society as one would experience if researching the topic on the site itself. The same reason brought an extensive historical introduction to this thesis. In order to explain and understand the differences, it is at first important to see the differences, or if possible to experience the differences. It is therefore important not only to be scientifically convincing, but also to be illustratively concrete. Hence, theoretical academical texts are as important as practical daily life events. For practical research, this means that the methodology should be qualitative, rather than quantitative as the result should be a narrative about people's experiences and attitudes, rather than a set of numbers and graphs.

In this chapter, first the methodology of participatory observation is set out (chapter 4.1). Then I will discuss the methodology design of the case study in Vancouver (chapter 4.2.). This design exists of a legitimization of Vancouver as a suitable location, and an elaboration on the different parts of the observation (covert observation, overt observation, bus survey, policy analysis). A methodological reflection is lacking in this chapter because the reflection sprouts naturally from the next chapter that covers the empirics.

4.1   *Participatory observation*

Jorgensen[107] puts an unclear or ambiguous phenomenon as being key when conducting participatory observation. He sums up four situations in which the form of methodology is appropriate: (1) "When little is known about a phenomenon […], (2) [when] there are important differences between views of insiders as opposed to outsiders […], (3) [when] the phenomenon is somehow obscured from the view of outsiders […], or (4) [when] the phenomenon is hidden from public view"[108]. The distinction between insiders and outsiders is crucial here, because it acknowledges the social constructivist nature

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[107] Jorgensen, 1989
[108] Ibid, pp. 12-13

of such particular phenomena. As Jorgensen puts it: "The methodology [of participant observation] seeks to uncover, make accessible, and reveal the meanings (realities) people use to make sense out of their daily lives. In placing the meaning of everyday life first, the methodology of participant observation differs from the perspective of its members."

The methodology of participant observation proves to be most suitable to uncover the particular Canadian perspective on multiculturalism as it concerns a notion without a clear consensus, thus demanding exploration (see point 1 in the preceding paragraph). Although there is not necessarily a distinction between insiders and outsiders, but rather between insiders A (e.g. The Netherlands) and insiders B (e.g. Canada), the views on multiculturalism are differing (see point 2) or even largely independent from and ignorant towards each other (see point 3).

The importance of the daily life is put forward by Jorgensen[109]. As he argues, focusing on daily lives on a certain place on a certain time implicitly disentangles the subject concept from its historical roots, and alternatively takes into account the environment of that certain place on that certain time. Whether this particular operationalization of the concept is linked to the concept's roots or it is infused by e.g. popular political discourse is irrelevant for the observation. Again, this emphasizes the ambiguity that can cover the phenomenon of multiculturalism.

4.2   Methodology design

The aim of the observation is to analyze the multicultural contacts in the daily life of people in Vancouver, Canada. Contacts can be defined broadly here, ranging from the interplay between anglophone Canadians and migrants in the public spheres to the underlying discourses and beliefs regarding multiculturalism. Altogether they will uncover the discourse among Vancouverites regarding ethnic multiculturalism in the city of Vancouver and the country of Canada.

4.2.1   The city of Vancouver[110]

The difference between the city of Vancouver and Canada in general are surmountable. The share of immigrants in Canada's population has grown analogous with the percentage of immigrants in Vancouver's population[111], maintaining a factor two difference between them. Further data on different Canadian cities show that this factor two is not geography related (i.e. west coast as opposed to eastern provinces). Rather, the size of the city is correlated to the relative size of the immigrant population. Toronto, the biggest city in population size (roughly 5.1 million) shows the highest percentage of immigrants in its city (41.9 percent). The next biggest cities of Montréal, Vancouver and Ottawa show shares of respectively 20.6 percent, 39.6 percent and 18.1 percent, ranking 8th, 2nd and 14th out of 33. At the other end of the spectrum, the four cities out of 33 with the lowest percentage of

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[109] Ibid, pp. 15-16
[110] See appendix A for overview maps.
[111] In 1996 respectively 17.4 percent and 34.9 percent and in 2006 respectively 19.8 percent and 39.6 percent (Statistics Canada, 2011, Charts 13.1 and 13.3)

immigrants (between 1.2 and 3.4)[112] are ranked 20th, 26th, 27th and 29th in population size. The only major exception to this trend is the city of Quebec, ranking 30th in immigrant percentage and 7th in population size[113].

Whereas the numbers of immigrants are not dependent from their absolute geographical location, the numbers per country of descent are correlated to their geography. Because Vancouver is the only major city on the Canadian west coast, it receives relatively the biggest number of east-Asian migrants[114]. Toronto and Montreal, located in the east of Canada, welcome east-Asians as well, but receive fair shares from west-Asian, European and African immigrants as well[115]. There are clear trends[116] that Asians are starting to dominate the immigration trends, both on the west coast and in the eastern cities. In Vancouver, the weight is shifting within the east-Asian immigrant group from Southeast Asia towards China and in the eastern cities the traditional migration from Europe is overtaken by migration from both East- and West-Asia[117].

Hence, in Vancouver the public resources for tracing multiculturalism are myriad, relevant and thus useful. In the past five years, British Columbia has received averagely 42,000 immigrants per year[118]. In British Columbia, Vancouver is the main host to these immigrants, making the foreign born population in Vancouver 4 out of 10[119]. The percentages between areas within the city of Vancouver range from 40 to 65 percent[120], showing a spread covering the complete city. Chinese account for roughly 20 percent of the city's migrant population, Philippine and Indian migrants both for roughly 15 percent, and a quarter of the migrant population is divided equally among the United Kingdom, South Korea, Taiwan, the United States, Iran, Mexico and Singapore[121]. To sum up, ethnic diversity in Vancouver's population is undeniable and the main sending countries are located in Asia.

To conclude, Vancouver is suitable to illustrate the multiculturalist country of Canada. The relatively high number of immigrants implicates the presence of the multiculturalist discourse and Vancouver's top spots in various livability rankings[122] implicates it is a successful one. The one main difference between Vancouver and east-Canadian cities is the fact that the former is predominantly inhabited by east-Asians, while the latter show a higher degree of diversity among east-Asians, west-Asians, north-

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[112] Saguenay, St. John's, Trois-Rivières and Moncton.
[113] Statistics Canada, 2011, charts 13.1 and 13,3; Statistics Canada, 2006a
[114] Roughly 50 percent of the total Vancouver immigrant population. 12 percent is West-Asian (Statistics Canada, 2006c)
[115] Roughly 22 percent of Toronto's immigrant population is east-Asian, almost is 20 percent west-Asian. Approximately 10 percent of Montreal's immigrant population is east-Asian, 10 percent is North-African, 30 percent is European (2006c).
[116] When comparing 1991 to 2006
[117] Statistics Canada, 2010
[118] WelcomeBC, 2010
[119] Hiebert & Sherrell, 2009, p. 11
[120] ibid, p. 12
[121] WelcomeBC, 2010
[122] See The Economist (2011, February 21st) or Mercer (2011, November 29th)

Africans and Europeans. Yet, as recent trends show[123], Vancouver can be seen as illustrative for future developments in Canadian migrant demographics.

4.2.2   Observation

Making multiculturalism measurable is a complex task. Matsumoto[124] describes how difficult it is not to be tempted to choose artificial entities like nation states as indicators in cross-cultural research. Defining culture as a country is practically desirable, but as the theory chapters underscored, it is questionable to consider cultural and national borders synonymous. Alternatively, it is theoretically impossible to define cultural borders unambiguously.

There is a reason, however, not to overestimate this theoretical topic. In this research, it is the contacts between cultures that matter, not the cultures themselves. The goal of the research is to describe and explain the process of multiculturalism, not to define and operationalize Anglo-Canadian or Chinese-Canadian culture. In other words, the contacts and confrontations between cultures serve as point of departure, not the cultures themselves. Hence, only the contextual cultural topics that sprout from these contacts are relevant. For example, if the observation shows that the numbers of bus travelers varies greatly between anglophone Canadians and Asian-Canadians, it is interesting to look at topics like car ownership, public transport reliance and overall mobility, but irrelevant (at least on first hand) to consider clothing styles, food preferences and education level.

Because an airtight definition of culture is not the aim here, it is not necessary to zoom in to the different countries immediately. As socio-psychological studies show[125], Vancouver's indigenous anglophone Canadian population differs that much from its main immigrant populations, which are East-Asian, that the common denominator among the cultures within the two populations can serve as an excellent primary source for explaining differences between the two. Region, country or city specific characteristics only become interesting when this common denominator provides insufficient knowledge.

In order to grasp the daily life of Vancouver's people, the differences between them and their role in Vancouver's smooth multicultural society, the observation consists of two parts. (1) A covert observation primarily aims to portray the daily lives of Vancouverites and filter out the differences between anglophone Canadians and foreign born Canadians. The people's daily life will be tracked by a covert observation on particular times and particular places on the one hand, and a bus and street survey on the other hand. Study of literature will help to further explain the daily life disparities. (2) An overt observation, primarily consisting of direct communication with people and an analysis and public discussion of particular policy papers, mainly serves to interpret the differences from the covert observation. It tries to explain why these contacts take place the way they do and why this contributes to a successful multicultural society in Vancouver.

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[123] Statistics Canada, 2008b, pp.31- 33
[124] Matsumoto, 2000, pp. 31-32
[125] See e.g. Matsumoto, 2000; Hofstede, 1980, 1997; Crittenden, 1991; Kashima & Triandis, 1986

Together, the two parts of the observation will answer the key questions *what are the differences in daily life behavior between anglophone Canadians and foreign born Canadians* and *how do they contribute to the success of Vancouver's multicultural society?*

4.2.3 *Covert observation*

The framework used in this covert observation is the daily life. This daily life has a static and a spatial factor. First, an observation of people on a certain time in a certain place (labeled 'situations' in this research) will cover the static part. Second, a bus survey will span the spatial parts of the daily life, i.e. the movement in space and time between these situations.

The situations for observation are obviously endless, not only theoretically, but even practically. In fact, every minute in every place in Vancouver can be important for the research. To narrow down the research, the following table is compiled a-posteriori, distinguishing the most important situations. Mind that this table merely is a guide for the comprehensiveness of the research, rather than serving as a strict research protocol.

Weekdays			Weekends	
Day	Afternoon	Night	Day/Afternoon	Night
-University of British Columbia campus -Downtown office blocks (W. Pender, W. Georgia, Seymour triangle) -Coffee shops: Tim Hortons (W. Georgia and Burrard), Starbucks (W. Georgia and Burrard)	- Grocery stores: Marketplace IGA (W 41st Ave and Collingwood), SafeWay (4th and McDonald)	-Kerrisdale (suburban) restaurants and pubs	-Kitsilano shopping streets and shops (4th Ave) -Downtown shopping streets and shops (Robson St, Davie St, Granville St, Seymour St) -Granville Island boutiques, open market, restaurants -Malls: Metropolis Mall in Metrotown, Pacific Centre in Downtown, Oakridge Mall in Oakridge, Parc Royal in North Vancouver -Parks and Beaches: Kitsilano Beach, Sunset beach, English Bay Beach, Canada Place, Robson Square, Harbourview Park, Balaclava Park, Musqueam Park, Stanley Park - Book stores: Chapters (Robson and Howe)	-Granville Street clubs and pubs -Yaletown restaurants and pubs
- Bus stops and buses (not only on line 22, but throughout the city.) - SkyTrains and SkyTrain stations				

TABLE 1
Observation situations. It only consists of the situations experienced on a regular basis and leaves
out occasional stuations, which were relevant and useful as well

The variables that uncover day-to-day differences are inexhaustible as well. Considering practical feasibility and relative importance to the subject a-priori, the following are expected to be relevant when grasping multiculturalism in the daily life of Vancouver. They are relevant for both the bus survey and the covert observation:

- *The time of the day*. Although the preceding scheme fixes situations in time, it does not mean that there can be variation within this scheme among different subjects. On the contrary, when the common chronological denominators among the people can be determined, it is possible to pick out the subjects that do not fit the general picture. A second way to differentiate within time is to distinguish rush hours and quiet hours, serving as a rough divider between commute travel and non-commute travel.

- *The clothes a person is wearing and the luggage he is carrying.* Particular clothes and luggage can reveal the different reasons to travel for people. In particular in the bus survey, when the traveler's destination and reason to travel is unknown, it can reveal valuable information. E.g., a person who is about to go swimming at the beach will generally be clothed differently from a commuter on his way to office.

- *The company people are traveling in.* Again, this indicator can hint at the role that people have to be on a certain place on a certain time. But there are more dimensions to this variable. A distinction can be made between a person traveling alone and people traveling in a group of two people or more. Commute traveling presumably is more often a solitary process than a Saturday shopping afternoon. Going out in the evening probably will be a group process and going out for groceries in the afternoon seems to be more a job for an individual.
Another dimension to this variable is the composition of a group. It is interesting to see whether anglophone Canadians will hang out with Asian-Canadians in daily life both in the particular situations and in the travel slots.

- *The spoken language.* Although the majority of Canada's immigrants is proficient in speaking the English language even before they arrive in the country[126], language still can play a major role in grasping multiculturalism. Important is the role of the native language. The question is whether this language has faded out of the migrant's daily life over time, or that it is only subordinated to the English language, but still practiced. Crucial here is to differentiate generations among migrants and to consider the notion of transnationalism. Assuming that migrants speak English, it is interesting to see to what extent they speak their native language still. If this native language persists through different generations, it is plausible to suggest a high degree of transnationalism. The differentiation by this indicator obviously is focused mainly on the immigrant groups and not so much on the anglophone Canadians.

Again, it is important to keep in mind that this scheme is not exhaustible. Anticipating possible difficulties in the research, it keeps room for improvement and enlargement. It functions as a hand grip, rather than a frame.

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[126] If this turns out not to be the case, Matsumoto gives guidelines to understand language in cross-cultural research by distinguishing the five aspects of lexicon, syntax, phonology, semantics and pragmatics. This scheme can help determine a migrant's proficiency in English (Matsumoto, 2000, pp. 314-315).

The next question is what to be looking out for exactly. Matsumoto[127] will serve as a guide here to erect some indicators that indicate and describe intercultural contacts. First there is communication, divided into verbal forms and non-verbal forms. If the spoken language is English, the verbal forms of communication are easy to understand for the researcher. If the language is unknown to the researcher, the best result is to acknowledge that the subjects are able to speak other languages[128]. Non-verbal communication and non-communicative behavior bring the same challenges as verbal communication, but on a more complex level. As in the English language, there are laws and rules that regulate its use. There is particular consensus about the word 'yes' in English, as there is about raising 'the finger' in western culture[129], implicitly meaning that they can have completely different meanings in non-Western, non-English cultures. So, besides language and its sub-domains[130], non-verbal behavior can uncover culture barriers as well. Matsumoto emphasizes the importance of various nonverbal behaviors:

- *Facial expressions*. Although basic emotions are processed the same by any person from any country[131], they are expressed differently. Especially the distinction that Matsumoto makes between American and Asian ways of expression is interesting. Reason to take a closer look at this in the observation. Additionally, facial expressions can play different supporting roles in verbal communication. They can serve as e.g. illustrators (raising one's eyebrows when communicating surprise) and regulators (raising one's pitch when desiring a reply).
- *Interpersonal space.* A very interesting expression of behavior is the way space plays a role in interpersonal contact, whether communicative or non-communicative. To illustrate, Matsumoto points at differences between American and Arab males. Studies show that Arab males tend to leave less space between them and others, speak in louder voices and keep longer eye-contact than American males do. Especially in the bus survey, this factor is of great importance. The way travelers chose their seats after entering a bus tells a lot about this interpersonal space
- *Gestures.* The role of gestures is similar to that of facial expressions. The main difference is that gestures are mostly deliberate and emblematic, rather than subtle and merely supporting other forms of communication and behavior.

Tracing differences between anglophone Canadians and immigrants can be done by looking at these expressions of behavior and the sending side of communication. But taking a next step in the observation takes into account the other end of communication; reception, or, as Matsumoto calls it,

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[127] Matsumoto, 2000, pp. 314-315
[128] See the topic of transnationalism in the preceding paragraphs.
[129] See Matsumoto's analysis of the 1968 *Pueblo* photograph of American marines captured by the North Korean army (Matsumoto, 2000, pp. 339-340)
[130] Matsumoto, 2000, p. 314
[131] Matsumoto, 2000, pp. 271-312

decoding. Just as language and nonverbal behavior is framed in a certain paradigm, the decoding process takes place along ethnically standardized ways. Familiar gestures and facial expressions are almost automatically framed by the receiver in the consensus of his own culture, easily tempting to forget that the gesture can mean something else in the sender's culture[132].

Obviously, the first question to ask is whether the sent messages by A are received by B, which can prove the alignment of different cultures. Different scenarios are possible when cultures collide and messages are sent but not received as they were intended[133]. The first option is ignorance, which means that the receiver is not aware or doesn't acknowledge his misunderstanding of the message. Depending on the circumstances, the issue then can die out, or evolve into a next stage.

The second option is uncertainty. The importance of uncertainty in intercultural communication cannot be underestimated, since it represents the first step of out-of-the-box thinking. Realizing that a message does not fit in one's own paradigm, forces to transcend this comfort zone and ultimately leads to the discovery of other, different paradigms. Novelist Thomas King, part-Canadian Aboriginal, part Anglo-Canadian, uses uncertainty and the inability to understand in his famous *Green Grass, Running Water*[134] when showing the reader the sociological essence of Aboriginal-anglophone multiculturalism in Canada. By writing his book in a highly incomprehensible structure and throwing away literature's rules, he forces the reader to realize that he is unable to understand every single aspect in the book. King thinks of this presupposition as essential, in order to deliver his message about things like the uselessness of borders and the importance of eagle feathers to Aboriginals. Looking at the Vancouver case, uncertainty and anxiety may not only lead to this renewed awareness, but consequently also to a successful multicultural society.

4.2.4 Bus survey

In a specific part of the covert observation, a spatial and dynamic factor is added. By observing travelers on a certain bus line, their daily life movement patterns can be uncovered and the time and space between their daily life situations can be filled in.

The main variable here is the number of people riding the bus, subsequently split up between Asian-Canadians and anglophone Canadians. An analysis of people hopping on and off the bus will filter out the most important bus stations, each one having its own reason to be a node in the transport network. The quantitative analysis will serve as a framework for qualitative considerations.

The bus route for this part[135] is chosen for two main reasons. First, it is practically convenient on the path of commute for the researcher. Second, it crosses a number of neighborhoods that

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[132] Matsumoto again has an illustrative case to make this point, by referring to the head nod, which means yes in American culture, but no in Greece and Turkey (2000, p. 352)

[133] See Matsumoto's (2000) framework on pp. 368-373

[134] King, 1993

[135] 22 McDonald, see appendix C

potentially span the complete daily life-path. It departs from Kerrisdale, a typical family neighborhood, runs through the yup-neighborhood of Kitsilano, including its major commercial suburban hub packed with little restaurants and shops, and then finds its way to the city center where offices and major commercial establishments dominate the street blocks.

There is a demographic distinction to be made between the residential neighborhoods at the early stops of the line. The number of Asian-Canadians living in Kerrisdale accounts for roughly 20-25 percent. The next municipality that line 22 passes through, Arbutus Ridge, is the area with the most Asian-Canadians in Vancouver's West Side, making up for approximately 50 percent of the neighborhood. The final residential municipality is Kitsilano, the least Asian neighborhood (less than 20 percent of its inhabitants) in the whole city of Vancouver. However, as in the city center, where the percentage runs op to 50 percent again, the bus survey not only takes into account the inhabitants of Kitsilano, like in Kerrisdale and Arbutus Ridge, but also the numerous visitors. In Kitsilano, these visitors include customers of shops and grocery stores and guests at restaurants, pubs and cafes and in the city center visitors include these same customers and guests, plus the many working people in Vancouver's business district. Finally, because Vancouver is a very green city, parks and other recreational sites can be found everywhere along the bus line[136].

These differentiations in neighborhoods provide the opportunity to span many, if not all spatial daily life movements and consequently can track and uncover differences between Asian-Canadians and anglophone Canadians.

4.2.5   *Overt observation and policy analysis*

Because of this diversity, public accessibility to the subject matter provides broad, but shallow resources. In other words, it is not the hardest part for the researcher to find access into the 'interior' world of multiculturalism. But to dig deeper into this socially constructed subject and transcend this broad surface, the research calls for an overt observer, who is able to make people translate their feelings into tangible words and actions, and who is able to determine the most important institutions and sites.

This overt nature makes direct interaction between the researcher and the people a major source for information in this observation for capturing the deeper roots of Canada's multiculturalism. In-depth interviews, casual dialogues and small talk support the observation and legitimize the findings on the broad, public level. Additionally, a number of policy papers that are directly relevant to the research are examined and discussed.

Immigration policy is predominantly taken care of on the domestic level, but the responsibility for the migrants' integration has been decentralized in the past decades[137]. Therefore, central to this

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[136] Examples include Musquam Park, Carnarvon Park, Point Grey Park and Beach, the Museum of Vancouver and Sunset Beach.
[137] Hiebert & Sherrell, 2009, pp. 13-15

policy analysis is WelcomeBC, a multilateral effort to develop a welcoming community for newcomers to the province, initiated by the Province of British Columbia. WelcomeBC was launched in 2007 by the Ministry of Jobs, Tourism and Innovation in order to develop a framework in different aspects (job opportunities, language issues and housing to mention a few) of the process of immigration and integration are brought together. The two main programs that support this framework are (1) the Welcoming and Inclusive Communities and Workplaces Program, which predominantly aims to foster a welcoming Canadian host society and (2) the British Columbia Settlement and Adaptation Program, which primarily focuses on the migrant as an individual and the issues he or she encounters. The following policy papers and additional articles will help to interpret these programs and hence uncover the underlying thoughts in British Columbia's integration policy. These papers will support the results and findings of the observation in Vancouver:

- Welcoming and Inclusive Communities and Workplaces Program (WICWP), by B.C. Government, Ministry of Advanced Education and Labour Market Development, Immigrant Integration Branch is a one of three
    o Province of British Columbia. Ministry of Advanced Education and Labour Market Development. (2008). *Welcoming and Inclusive Communities and Workplaces Program. Program Guidelines*. Vancouver: Province of British Columbia, Immigrant Integration Branch.
    o Annis/Wachtel Consulting. (2008). *Welcoming and Inclusive Communities and Workplaces Program. Research Framework.* Vancouver: Province of British Columbia, Immigrant Integration Branch.
    o Province of British Columbia. Ministry of Advanced Education and Labour Market Development. (2008). *Welcoming and Inclusive Communities and Workplaces Program. Logic Model*. Vancouver: Province of British Columbia, Immigrant Integration Branch.
- British Columbia Settlement and Adaptation Program (BCSAP), by B.C. Government, Ministry of Advanced Education and Labour Market Development, Immigrant Integration Branch
    o Province of British Columbia. Ministry of Advanced Education and Labour Market Development. (2008). *British Columbia Settlement and Adaptation Program. Information Sheet*. Vancouver: Province of British Columbia, Immigrant Integration Branch
    o Province of British Columbia. Ministry of Advanced Education and Labour Market Development. (2008). *BCSAP Success Stories.* Tracked on March 15th, 2010 at http://www.welcomebc.ca/wbc/service_providers/programs/settlement_program/index .page?WT.svl=LeftNav

- To help to understand and interpret these programs, two additional articles were analyzed. In the former, the historical framing of today's policy programs is key and in the latter, the position of the different programs in B.C.'s policy is elaborated more extensively:
    - o Green, A. & Green, G. (1995). *The Effectiveness of the Point System and Other Instruments*. In: The Canadian Journal of Economics, 28 (4b), 1006-1041.
    - o Hiebert, D. & Sherrell, K. (2009). *The Integration and Inclusion of Newcomers in British Columbia*. Vancouver: Metropolis British Columbia.

Chapter 5

EMPIRICS AND ANALYSIS

The many hours on the bus and in the streets and the numerous discussions and chit-chats with random Vancouverites have learned me to understand the Canadian approach on multiculturalism. Notes that I took were, whether they were in the end relevant or not, endless. Throughout the research, packing the little, black paperblank I used to write down my encounters and my thoughts, became as self-evident as wearing shoes, upon leaving my home.

All of these notes have been read and consequently combined, re-phrased and extended into a long, continuous story describing the observations. The first encounters are worked out extensively into stories. Later encounters, which were written down equally schematically during the research are worked out less extensively, but are translated into observation entries[138]. Working out every encounter and every observation would be an incredibly lengthy and inefficient task. The chronological first part of the observation, however, provides valuable insights for the methodological process, making them useful to work out.

This methodological process is interesting, because an important shift within analysis took place exactly in the last weeks in The Netherlands and the first weeks in Vancouver. In one of the first research proposals for this thesis, the topic was not the success of multiculturalism, but rather the contributions that social transnationalism can make to the success of multiculturalism. I expected to find out what multiculturalism really stands for in Canada first, just as a background, upon which a set of interviews would help me understand the transnational identity of the Asian-Canadians in Vancouver, consequently to relate the two and answer the central question. The story, however, will tell how this topic shifted from transnationalism towards multiculturalism.

The consequence is that the research proposals I have written before the actual research, became partially irrelevant. There were only few things I could copy or use after a modest re-write, because multiculturalism played a key role from the start. The majority of the theory and methodology chapters, however, were written during and after the observation in Vancouver.

As described in the methodology chapter above, the observation on the one hand has a coordinated and planned part and on the other hand a part based on coincidence which covers all of the time in Vancouver that was not planned and coordinated with respect to my research. The unplanned part started in the airplane heading for Vancouver and the planned part begun after roughly a week,

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[138] See appendix E

when I found the structure in my daily life and was able to decide on the many practical things within the research. In order to respect people's privacy, names are left out and sometimes information about exact locations is missing.

5.1   *Empirics*

5.5.1   *Part I: Preparations*

Sunday, March, 14th, 2010: One of the last things I pack on Sunday, the day before my flight, is a little black paperblank. I anticipate I could run into interesting observations on airports and planes, so I choose to keep the paperblank accompanied by a pen and a back-up pen, easily accessible in my hand luggage throughout my journey. I will use the paperblank for anything that it is useful for the observation, but the exact use will be determined once I have the fixed part of the observation planned out. Nevertheless, I will use it until then to write down any encounters, developments and observation that get me thinking about multiculturalism. Practically, I expect not to write every interesting anecdote down immediately during my observation, but to find some quiet moments to recap developments and narratives. I decide not to choose a fixed moment on a day to do this, simply because I cannot predict my daily life in Vancouver yet. I suspect, however, that I will find plenty of time during the day on my future office in Vancouver.

The fact that I cannot predict my daily life at this point mainly has to do with the fact that I haven't managed to find a room yet. I have searched the last couple of weeks on internet, contacted the two main universities of Vancouver and subscribed to a couple of housing organizations, but after a couple of unsuccessful e-mails, I decide that it was not worth the risk of disappointment to arrange something on forehand. Therefore, I rely on my abilities to find something suitable upon arrival in Vancouver. How hard could it be?

Also upon arrival, I will contact Mr. Kenny Zhang of the Asia Pacific Foundation, whom I contacted a couple of weeks ago requesting a local research base. I found this research base quite quickly to my surprise. My first mail was sent to David Ley of UBC, a name that was recommended by Martin Van der Velde of my own Dutch university. Because Mr. Ley indicated that he was too busy, I sent a second mail to Mr. Miu Chung Yan of Metropolis BC, a government funded "centre of excellence for research on immigration and diversity"[139], who advised me to send a third mail to Mr. Kenny Zhang of the Asia Pacific Foundation, a "not-for-profit think-tank on Canada's relations with Asia."[140] Mr. Kenny Zhang responded by showing interest in the research topic, especially the relevance for future Canadian policy on Asian relations. He offered me to contact him again when I'm set to move into the office and offers me workplace, a research window, an opportunity to present my research and gather information through discussion and possibly the opportunity to publish a research paper in APF's name. I am obviously glad to find a research base within a couple of days, but more than that I am surprised. As a geographer, I insist on finding the office on GoogleMaps Streetview and when finding it

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[139] Metropolis BC, n.d.
[140] Asia Pacific Foundation, n.d.

I am glad to see that it is located in the heart of downtown Vancouver.

Next to APF, the two main universities of Vancouver can become major sources for information. The University of British Columbia campus is situated on the West Side of Vancouver, which is the peninsula south of downtown Vancouver. Simon Fraser University's main campus is more to the northeast of the city. When I contacted the universities when searching a room in Vancouver, I asked as well what the possibilities for me as a Dutch student are to gain access into the universities' libraries. Their responses were similar: I could apply for temporary membership which would allow me to search their books and databases and which was free of charge to me as a student. At this point, since I'm not yet in Vancouver, they couldn't help me directly. Another task that has to be completed next week in Vancouver.

So, now I have a research base, which I will primarily use to read articles and write parts of my thesis, including translating these narratives from the paperblank into a digital document. The bus survey I will conduct will be a project suitable to be worked out in Microsoft Excel, a program I gladly work with. Next to these tasks, I hope to arrange some interviews at the office, because at APF I will have the best contacts gathered around me. Finally, the printer at the office will be important, simply because I suspect it will be the only free possibility to print articles and papers I want to read.

Contextually, there are still some uncertain things. My focus is on transnationalism, but I know this topic is still too general. From articles I have read, I know that transnationalism is not a scientifically agreed upon term. On the contrary, the modern, globalizing world is for geographers a dynamic and versatile world, making it hard to get a grip on certain phenomena. If, additionally, the topic is still on the rise, it is even more difficult to demarcate the subject, scientifically legitimized, practically feasible and without incentives to disperse from the focus of the research. I decide that I really have to understand multiculturalism first, before I can draw any conclusions on the contributions of transnationalism to a successful multiculturalism. The fact that multiculturalism is regarded as successful in Canada, and thereby differing greatly from my home country, The Netherlands, reinforces the assumption that a clear understanding of multiculturalism, in this case Canadian multiculturalism, is a condition for a successful thesis on transnationalism.

So, I anticipate that I need a pool of information about multiculturalism, before I can make the step towards transnationalism. My eye, thus, is primarily directed at multiculturalism.

5.1.2   *Part II: Landing in Vancouver*

Monday, March 15th, 2010: As often, the first encounters with a new culture stick to the mind the most. My first days in Vancouver formed the start of scrutinizing the Canadian or Vancouverite explanation of multiculturalism, but more importantly, they showed me that my 'Dutch' explanation became irrelevant and even obsolete.

My research takes off aboard a 747 departed from Frankfurt, bound for Montreal. I sit next to an old Montenegrin man with some unpronounceable name, who is heading for Vancouver as well. We never speak, until the flight attendant hands out immigration cards, on which passengers are asked to, explain their background and reason of travel. The Montenegrin man appears to be able to speak English only

basically and asks me to fill in the form for him. I do so, and afterwards I ask about his background. Expecting a story of an old Montenegrin man heading for the big world in Canada, to visit his son or something, I am surprised to hear that he lives in White Rock (a city directly south of Vancouver) for more than twenty years now. He worked in coal mines in the 1950s and 1960s, helped his family fly over to Canada and now enjoyed his pension in "nice" Canada. Today, he is coming back from a visit to his son, who moved backed to Montenegro ten years ago, and then to Italy, because he could not find a job.

My encounter with the Montenegrin man is my first step into a new sense of awareness. I fantasize about a Montenegrin man emigrating to The Netherlands and wonder how long he would hold out in the country, not speaking Dutch. I guess not very long. Two things seem to be important here. One, Canada's integration policy is different from the Dutch; apparently, one of the results is that an immigrant is able not only to keep his native language, but also to manage without speaking English too well. Second, The Netherlands is extremely small in size, compared to the vast wilderness of Canada. It is quite difficult to hide from the Dutch daily life in The Netherlands, something that is easier in a country like Canada. I imagine the Montenegrin man arriving in Canada in the 1950s with bunch of fellow countrymen. They stick together, help friends cross the ocean, and are able to build up a Montenegrin community somewhere on the distant outskirts of the city of Vancouver.

Landing in Montreal, my adventure through customs starts. Behind a group of ten Canadian teenagers, all of them wearing an 'I Love Paris' shirt, I make my way through the queues. When the Canadians are filtered out, only the foreigners applying for a visa are left. I end up in queue line that consists of approximately thirty persons. After hearing several horror stories of friends going to the United States, I prepared for this, by expecting this process to cost more than an hour of my time and a lot of unpleasant conversations with customs officers. The line is shrinking quite rapidly however and only one family, presumably of Eastern-European descent, cannot proceed into the arrival hall immediately, but is asked to wait inside the customs office. When it's my turn I find myself answering questions incorrectly, just to be allowed a tourist visa. The woman behind the counter, black and quite little I suspect, seems to be in a good mood however; she is not too friendly, but she does not ask me too many personal questions either. Within forty minutes I'm standing in the arrivals hall where two suitcases and one backpack are making their laps on an abandoned baggage belt. I pick up my backpack, enter the airport hall and start writing on the first page of my paperblank.

To say I am surprised by the way things go here in Montreal is exaggerated, but at least I am happy how smoothly I passed customs my first time in Canada. I try to explain the composition of the waiting queue at the customs office, but I am having a hard time. There were only a few Asians, I expected more of them, and after peeking into people's customs papers they were having at hand, I concluded there were not many people immigrating, except the Latin-American family. Most of the people were alone and seemed to have a Western nationality. They were applying for visa with all kinds of papers at hand, presumably business related, which explains why this line did not portray Vancouver's immigration influx very well.

The four hours during my stop-over in Montreal are my first in the daily life of Canada. I find a spot to eat some fries and a hamburger opposite of a sports merchandise store. I read a newspaper and watch people come and go. What strikes me is that people are happy and very polite. This is something I expected as well, and it is not that in The Netherlands no-one is polite, but it is interesting to see literally every-one in a public function with a smile on his or her face. The first time I get money out of an ATM, I am unaware that the money is ejected from these machines in a barely visible thief proof tray. I ask a passing security officer why I didn't get my money and he helpfully shows me the tray. He laughs and adds a little joke:"Let me know when you're getting cash the next time, so I can take it when you leave." Although I am feeling comfortable by all this politeness, I ask myself whether I am truly happy about it myself. I promise myself to find the advantages and disadvantages of these omnipresent smiles and decide on it later.

There are no surprises when it comes to the composition of the crowds I see on the airport. Only a small percentage (I would say ten percent) of the people walking around on the airport is non-western. This does not match the statistics of the city, but then again, Quebecois Montreal is not the most diverse city of Canada[141].

During my second flight, from Montreal to Vancouver, I meet a smileless young man. He is sitting next to me in the plane and frequently sighs and re-sits, constantly maintaining his neutral, slightly annoyed face during the first thirty minutes of flight. Then, he discovers the DVD screen (I doubt he has flown before) and ironically laughs out loud while watching *Two and a Half Men* with his earplugs in. After an episode has finished, just a couple of minutes before landing I ask him a question about the show, but he seems reluctant to start a conversation. He answers politely, but on a non-inviting tone. When I leave the airport at 1 am I see the Montenegrin man hugging a younger woman (his daughter presumably) and I board the SkyTrain. I try to overhear the discussion between two yups in front of me, both wearing security name tags. They are colleagues on the airport and are going home, discussing their nights out last weekend. They mention numerous names, leaving me suspecting that they have a bond broader than their work only. Once the train starts moving into Vancouver I'm distracted by the views and buildings around me and lose track of the conversation of the two airport employees. Arriving at my hostel I am just glad I finally arrived after a 25 hour journey. I forget about my paperblank and get into bed, only to discover I am going to be suffering a huge jet lag the upcoming days.

Canadian multiculturalism on the surface has not shown itself to me today. That's not a tragedy, but I start thinking what reason there is. Obviously, I have seen only a fraction of Canadian life today: a couple of hours on an airport, one nightly ride on the SkyTrain and a few non-Canadian travelers inside the hostel. I think back to the statistics I memorized and I conclude that most people that belong to a visible minority in Vancouver are Asian, making it plausible to think that they, immigrating or just sojourning, would enter Canada from the West, and not on a domestic flight from the East. Why

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[141] The most recent census data of 2006 describes that a little over 20.6 percent of Montreal's population belongs to a visible minority, compared to Vancouver's 39.6 percent or Toronto's 41.9 percent (Statistics Canada, 2011).

I just saw Anglo-Canadians[142] in the SkyTrain and on the streets at night remains a question unanswered for now.

5.1.3 Part III: Shifting paradigms

Tuesday, March 16th, 2010: The second day in Canada, I wake up jet lagged, but full of energy of being in a far away country. I meet my roommates, a Canadian couple (approximately 25 years of age) who came from Canada's East coast to spend a week skiing and snowboarding in (for Canadian standards) nearby Revelstoke. I tell them about the death of a skier a couple of days ago, which I read about in the newspaper in Montreal yesterday. They enthusiastically tell me I should not be held back by this article to visit "awesome" Revelstoke. Another couple is from Bellingham, US, also spending a week of vacation in Canada. When I head downstairs for breakfast I talk to a couple of Dutch and Australian guys. All of them are traveling from or to the East Coast of Canada and a couple in their thirties is making a world round trip, recently arriving from Tokyo. Quite naturally, because they ask me what I'm doing here, the conversation finds a way into the topics of multiculturalism and transnationalism. I ask them about multiculturalism in Canada, but few of them actually have something to say about it. Most of them did not meet any Asian people during their stay in Vancouver but consequently admit that they barely dug into Vancouver's daily life. Travelers skiing in Whistler and Revelstoke hardly see any Asians and the Asians in Vancouver city are regarded as a given fact, but are generally perceived as another up to now undiscovered dimension of the city.

I have to keep in mind that I am speaking to tourists here and not to native Vancouverites. But for some reason it does not surprise me that tourists, like the travelers from my hostel, barely speak to Asians in Vancouver. Anyhow, multiculturalism is not a natural discussion topic here, like skiing, hockey and going out. I'm still not worried though, because I am aware that it I still have not explored the daily life. The only, not unimportant conclusion I draw from my conversations this morning is the fact that it is possible to visit the city without noting multiculturalism and without directly speaking to one of the many immigrants.

After breakfast, I start the day by finding out what I exactly have to do myself. With fellow travelers and with the hostel staff, I discuss opening a bank account, I ask advice about a phone subscription and I investigate the best ways to find a room. At noon I finally find myself on the streets of Vancouver. As a European, the raster pattern of the city with its curveless streets feels truly North-American. Looking towards the South I see endless asphalt and turning my head to the North I see the snowy mountains between the highrise rising from the horizon. It is cold outside, so there are only few people walking in this commercial neighborhood this Tuesday afternoon. Another explanation why I don't find any signs of multiculturalism. My destination today is the Pacific Centre, a mall where I could get most of my practical things done. On my way to the mall, which is five blocks away from my hostel I take stock of the buildings; what kind of shops they are and if there is some kind of multiculturalism traceable in there. From movies and tv shows I watched back home in The Netherlands, I created an image of launderettes and dry cleaners, run by little Asian men. Walking on Granville Street however, I don't see

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[142] I.e., Canadians who presumably are ethnically Canadian and whose native language is English

any launderettes or dry cleaners. I see many pubs, bars, clubs and restaurants, none of them Asian, but with names like "The Lennox Pub", "Templeton", "Cellar Nightclub" and "Romano's Pizza". Finally, when arriving in the mall and stepping towards the Rogers telephone boutique, I see a Chinese woman (approximately 20 years old) helping customers. While looking around, her colleague offers to assists me in choosing a suitable phone subscription. While she is explaining all kinds of numbers and terms I find myself trying to overhear the conversation of the Chinese woman with her customer. For some reason, maybe because this happens in The Netherlands often, I subconsciously expect her to speak English with difficulty. Yet, I only need to hear a couple of words to decide that this assumption is ridiculous. After my visit to the Rogers boutique I just wander around through the peaceful mall. The number of Asian people I see today rises considerably when I decide to have a seat on a couch in the middle of the mall path. I see young Asian students, practically always girls in company of other Asian girls window shopping, eating some take away food while pointing at dresses and shoes. Also, I see some older Asian women (say, 50 to 60 years old), each on their own, walking through the mall much more goal-oriented than the younger girls. Continuing my wandering around I also take peeks inside the stores. All of them are incredibly tidy, as is the rest of the mall, and there is no sign whatsoever of decay. All ceilings, floors and walls look shiny and in most stores the racks and shelves are quite broadly separated from each other, giving the stores a classy impression. What attracts my eye even more, however, is the number of employees per store. Almost every store has five employees or more, whereas a Tuesday afternoon clearly is not the busiest time. The composition of employees differs per store. In an Apple Genius Store, where seven (!) people are working while two customers are inside, I see two Asian guys walking around and talking to their colleagues enthusiastically. In a shoe store (Aritzia), I see a stylish young Asian girl, who clearly did some effort on her make-up this morning, hastily walking around with shoe boxes. Up the escalator, I see an Indian man working in a small newspaper stand (Pacific Pen Shop), reading a newspaper himself. To sum up, a fruitful afternoon. Regarding the Asian Canadians I prepared for, now I have proof that there are at least a lot of Asians living in Vancouver, although they still don't represent 42%[143] of the people I encounter.

Why did I see specifically young Asian sets of people and older Asian women on their own? For the former I can imagine a day off from school, or at least a couple of hours off. I wouldn't say they were skipping classes, but it was a school day. On the other hand, I have also seen teenagers walk around in my hometown Nijmegen during schooldays. The more interesting questions here are; why did they always have company and why were they all Asian. My thoughts go back to many stories that high school class mates tell me about Tilburg University in The Netherlands, a university that traditionally attracts many Chinese students. Some of these former class mates, who studied in Tilburg, noticed that Chinese students always join fellow Chinese students instead of intermingling with Dutch students. One of the former class mates, doing a rather small-scale study, even complained when he was forced to cooperate with a Chinese student. I suspect that these Tilburg stories have much to do with education

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[143] Which is the percentage of Vancouver's inhabitants that is seen as part of a visible minority in the city (Statistics Canada, 2008a)

discipline[144] and it is hard to translate this to the daily life at the Pacific Centre in Vancouver. First, I could not say whether the youth in the mall was Chinese, or whether they were anything like Tilburg students at all. Second, we were not on a university and third, if this would be the case, I rather would expect them to be hold back, shy and presumably on their own, rather than speaking out loud, laughing and wearing flashy clothes. Maybe this latter observation explains the fact that Asian-Canadians and Anglo-Canadians do work together in some stores in the mall. The Asian-Canadians working the Apple Store and the Aritzia store were expressive and open young adults, rather than drawn back Tilburg students.

Turning now the fact that there were only groups of people that were either completely Asian-Canadian, or completely Anglo-Canadian. Honestly, I did not expect to see a perfect mosaic of people on the streets, or in the malls, of Vancouver. In spite of the fact that Canada is famous for its multiculturalism, I did not anticipate clusters of people on every corner of the street that consisted of equal shares of diverse Canada's cultures. Alternatively, I thought of a society where immigrants still preferred to go out with each other, especially in a city like Vancouver with such an amount of fellow countrymen, but that the difference between my Dutch experiences of 'failed'[145] multiculturalism and the Canadian definition was that the contacts between the cultures were friendly and not so much clashes as often is the case in The Netherlands. So, no surprise here. Probably, I have to wait for more intercultural contacts to find the crucial difference.

Finally, the older Chinese women who were walking through the mall imperturbably in straight lines. My first guess is that they have practical reasons to come here. Quite like my reason to be here. It seems as if they do not feel too comfortable around here, which explains the hour they are visiting the mall, and they are obviously not window shopping like the younger Asians do. Many questions rise: Do they live in the neighborhood? What are they exactly looking for here in this mall? What are their alternatives to find the same product or service? I follow one Asian lady who takes the escalators to the upper storey of the mall. She has a white plastic bag in her hand, without any label, more like a grocery bag or a fresh market bag. I cannot see what is inside. She buys a newspaper at the newspaper stand and leaves the mall. I make a quick decision, whether to follow her, or to continue my own, practical tasks here in this mall. Briefly, I feel the excitement of following my first research subject, but I decide to stay put, assuming I would encounter similar situations in the future.

Back 'home' at the hostel, I feel the pressure of time when looking for a room. I resolve some technical issues and ask around for the best ways to find a room. The magical word, I am told, is craigslist[146]. I stroll through the ads and I find a couple of interesting ones. I simply start calling people and the first call I make immediately sounds good. I check Google Maps Streetview for the room on Kingsway,

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[144] After my visit to Vancouver I started working at the Academic Writing Center at Radboud University in Nijmegen, where I, after some tutoring sessions with Chinese students, found out that Chinese students experience an education attitude very different from the Dutch students. The main difference here is authority; In learning, Chinese students often want to be told things which are true, which they then can save in their mind and use for future purposes. Dutch students, however, feel first of all the urge to debate and question things in order to learn.

[145] See Scheffer, 2000

[146] Craigslist is a very comprehensive and easy-to-use- website stacked with ads for everything thinkable. Cello lessons, road trip partners, boats and houses; everything seems to be listed.

which looks fine but not excellent, and take off on the SkyTrain that same afternoon. Throughout my journey to my destination station, I am distracted from my multiculturalist focus by all the views of Vancouver and its suburban neighborhoods. When I leave 29th Ave SkyTrain station, I am feeling the joy of walking around in my first North American suburb. I see the parks, the little white fences and the grass-path-grass sidewalks I recall from American tv shows. I am eager to see what people are living here, but it is still Tuesday afternoon and the streets are empty. A woman holding a filecase with crossed arms and wearing a bag over her right shoulder seems to arrive home from her day of work. She walks quite some distance in front of me, but I can definitely tell she is not Asian-Canadian. I am quite early this afternoon, so I decide to follow her for a bit. She continues down East 29th Ave (I should have turned left on Slocan Street if I wanted to continue the shortest way to my address), then turns left on Nanaimo Street and enters a house just before reaching Kingsway. When she is gone I look up and become aware of my surroundings. I notice that the streets look completely different from the streets a couple of blocks before. Of course, Kingsway and Nanaimo Street are busier and wider than the cozy little streets around 29th Ave SkyTrain Station, but what strikes me more is the fact that I predominantly see Asian-Canadians entering and leaving the stores and waiting at bus stops. The shops and restaurants have names with "crystal" in it, the acupuncture salons are numerous and signs reveal that the realtors all have Asian, presumably Chinese, names. I have to walk another hundred meters on Kingsway to arrive at the address I am heading for. The building looks nice; I phone my contact and she enters the street from another door. She is an Asian woman of around 40 years old and she speaks fast, enthusiastically, but chaotically. Opening the door and walking upstairs to the apartment she keeps telling how she traveled through Europe and exactly knows what I, as a traveler, am looking for. She is Vietnamese, as turns out, and she came with her father to Vancouver when she was little. The hall of the building is tidy and shiny, but the room we enter is quite a mess. She tells me that there are two people living in this apartment, a Korean and a Canadian student, each having their own room. None of them is in the apartment on a Tuesday. She shows me my room, looking down on Kingsway. Not very big, but I am not picky, especially with the pressure of time. I agree to move in later that day and I am proud to have found a room on such short notice.

Back in the SkyTrain I think about the neighborhood. To be fair, I was quite surprised by the Asian-ness of Kingsway. It's paradoxical, I knew Greater Vancouver should be packed with neighborhoods like these, but still I was surprised to actually enter one. I immediately think about the consequences this room could have for my research. It would be a thirty minute commute to APF's office on West Pender Street and I would use the main commute line (Expo Line) of Greater Vancouver that runs between Downtown Vancouver and one of the biggest suburbs called New Westminster in the southeast. It would be a busy route, from a busy street to busy Downtown. Using Vancouver's main transport arteries, I would get to see a lot of people and, as I take a look around in the SkyTrain, a lot of them would be Asian-Canadians. But there is doubt, do I want to live in an Asian neighborhood? The few Asian-Canadians I saw in downtown Vancouver were, contrary to what I expected, expressive and outgoing, but by visiting Kingsway I thought about the geographical spread of the Asian-Canadian Vancouverites throughout the city. For some reason, I predicted that the Asian-Canadians I would meet on Kingsway were not exactly like the mall visitors and employees I saw earlier that day. And although

Asian-Canadians form a key part to my research, my own personal experience of Vancouver is more important to me. I simply want to experience Vancouver and I am wondering whether an Asian suburban setting would be as suitable in this perspective as, say, a downtown apartment.

An hour later, after eating a sandwich in Pacific Centre's food court, I return to Kingsway with my backpack. I don't feel particularly at ease and when I arrive at my room. As the afternoon proceeds, the doubts I had earlier today appear to have been valid. All kinds of things are wrong; there are not two, but three people living here and not two, but only one of them is a student. The first Canadian tenant, who is home now, is about forty years old and seems to be very reluctant to speak to me. I ask him were to do groceries for today and he tells me that this would be complicated without a car. The only supermarket within walking distance is a couple of blocks up the road, but that is not a very big one. It's 5 already, so I leave immediately to find the supermarket. When I arrive at the street of destination I am quite disappointed when I only see a couple of Chinese stores with lots of Chinese characters on their windows and outer walls, plus the word 'super market'. I enter the super market and inside I really don't know what I'm looking at in all the shelves. The owner seems busy all the time with customers, so I go outside and walk towards the Dairy Queen I saw from a distance. I order a menu, walk back home and eat my fries and burger at my table.

When I'm finished, the Korean roommate has arrived as well. He is eating noodles and is watching an Asian television channel. He seems to be a true student, but when I ask him what he actually studies, he briefly mentions that he is doing business studies without lifting his eyes from the screen. The third roommate is another 40 year old Canadian who tells me he has Dutch blood. He was born in Chilliwack and all the things the other two roommates don't tell, he compensates for by telling me all kinds of spiritual things. My feeling that I am in the wrong place grows and grows. I get back to my laptop, start up an internet browser and am overwhelmed by pop-ups, politely telling me that "the security has breached". For me, it's the straw that breaks the camel's back. I phone my contact, she refers me to her dad next door, I ring the bell, explain the situation and within ten minutes I'm back in the SkyTrain, heading for the hostel once again.

So, only a day and a half in Vancouver, but a lot of lessons learned. I thought it was ironic to see my personal preferences intertwine with my research topic. In trying to figure out where I want to live, I drew some conclusions from the different Asian-Canadians I ran into today.

First, Dutch multiculturalism differs from Canadian multiculturalism. How it differs, I do not know yet, but is noteworthy that neither travelers, nor hostel staff, were able to tell me anything interesting about Vancouver's multiculturalism or Asian-Canadians specifically. Stories they tell about how awesome everything in Canada is barely, maybe never, include Asian-Canadians. A comparison with The Netherlands would not be fruitful here, because tourists in The Netherlands would label every foreigner as tourist as well when visiting tourist spots. So, I don't expect tourists in The Netherlands to build an opinion of Dutch multiculturalism when only visiting the country. Yet, I wonder what Canada's success in multiculturalism exactly is. Today, I haven't heard anyone hailing diversity or seeing Chinese-, Sikh- and Anglo-Canadians walk hand in hand.

Second, not every Asian-Canadian is or behaves the same. Different geographical locations

showed me different Asian-Canadian environments. The mall showed me enthusiastic outgoing types and Kingsway showed me more closed and reserved people. Assuming that downtown Vancouver is the cultural front stage of the city and the enthusiastic types are more comfortable in this environment, I strongly think that geography is the key factor in explaining the differences. I do not know the actual geographical demographics of Vancouver, so practically this means that I cannot argue that on place X Asian-Canadians behave like A and in place Y they behave like B, but the key here is to acknowledge that it is unreliable to draw conclusions from an observation on only one spot.

Third, and related to the preceding two points, a less surprising, but not less interesting point. There seems to be segregation in Vancouver as well. I hesitate to use the term 'segregate' here, because of its negative political connotation. But, when travelers don't speak to Asian-Canadians whatsoever and when I see that there are Vancouver neighborhoods that are almost completely Asian, I can only conclude that there is no intermingling of ethnicities throughout the city.

These points have major implications for my research. As I wrote before, I did not exactly know how what the success of Canadian multiculturalism would be visible in the streets. But that is why I planned a preliminary part for my research; the phase in which I get to understand multiculturalism in order to be able to shift onto the central notion of the research: transnationalism. Regarding the differences between Dutch multiculturalism and Canadian multiculturalism, I expected to find at least something of difference. But in my first days in Vancouver have not answered the question what Canadian multiculturalism stands for; on the contrary, it only brought up more questions.

This is not a disaster, I only just have arrived. But I only have two and a half months to spend here, which is forcing me to make a choice. There are some options. I withdraw the first option, speeding up the preparatory phase in order to get started with the transnationalist research as I designed quicker. This would be scientifically questionable and I would not be able to do transnationalism research at ease, without a proper introduction of multiculturalism.

The second option is to change the transnationalism thesis in such a way that a multiculturalist introduction is irrelevant, or at least less relevant. I could focus on Asian-Canadian ties explicitly, finding out how they have come into existence, or analyzing who (Asian or Canadian, migrants or institutions, Canada or Vancouver) benefits the most from these trans-Pacific links. The prospect of this topic doesn't appeal to me that much, because I expect to shift the analysis, and hence my methodology, towards other actors than individual migrants, namely institutions, companies, local authorities and so forth. Not only would this be impractical, because my research design would have to be altered significantly, but my personal preference lies with micro scale research on people and their identities as well. Another possibility of a transnationalism centered thesis, without too much attention for multiculturalism would be a policy research on the welcoming and integration of migrants by local authorities. In a research like this, I could try to find out how much freedom the migrants are given and what sacrifices they have to make, ultimately creating a transnationalist identity, to integrate in Canadian society. However, here as well the prospect of endlessly reading policy papers and speaking to the same people does not attract me, and additionally, the multiculturalist introduction seems to be a link of the chain here. After all, as I am used to in The Netherlands, the political impact of multiculturalism sets the agenda for policy programs in Vancouver. Understanding policy asks for an

understanding of the context first.

I stick with the third option. I retain my questions I gathered from the first couple of days, I put them at the center of the stage and use transnationalism merely as back-up, as a possible mode of explanation. This gives me the opportunity to continue the research I am doing, it even gives me more time, but I have to sacrifice my initial topic where everything started with a couple of months ago: transnationalism.

5.1.4 Part IV: Planning research

Wednesday, March 17th, 2010: After the Kingsway debacle, I am back in my hostel room in searching mode. I consult my fellow travelers on Vancouver's neighborhoods and drastically narrow my search down to downtown Vancouver, Kitsilano and the West Side near UBC Campus. Also, the pressure of time is decreasing because I get the feeling that in relative terms the hostel is not as expensive as I thought before and because the hostel provides an occasion for wiedening my social network, which can help me substantially in finding my way around the city.

Friday, March 26th, 2010: A week later, I find another room, and I actually move in this time. The room is in a six-room house in Kerrisdale on West 41st Avenue. I have five roommates, live a block away from a line 22 bus stop heading for downtown Vancouver and discover that the neighborhood is a true North-American suburb, with families in SUV's, again the numerous white fences and grass-path-grass-sidewalks and lots and lots of parks. I can see myself living here and I am happy to end up here. Again, I start figuring out my future daily life here. I take a map of Vancouver and see that the 22 bus line runs through all kinds of neighborhoods, offering me plenty of possibilities; Anglo-Canadian family neighborhoods like Kerrisdale, Asian-Canadian street blocks just North from there and a massive yup neighborhood called Kitsilano, completely with a suburban commercial center. Additionally, the proximity of the UBC campus, offers me an easy insight in student daily lives, next to commuter daily lives.

Moving in to this room coincides with getting established in the APF office on West Pender Street. I have e-mailed Mr. Kenny Zhang, and upon meeting we talked a about each other's intentions and he shows me an empty cubicle with desk and phone where I can put down my laptop. He sends an e-mail to all the employees, announcing my arrival and I'm feeling quite comfortable. It is late that afternoon, so I will leave quite soon again and make a short visit to the Chapters Bookstore at Robson Street and Howe Street, to find out if some author wrote interesting books on multiculturalism in Vancouver. I find a couple, decide to come back when I can sit and take my time to study them, and when leaving and riding the bus back to Kerrisdale, I begin designing the research. While enjoying the new environment in the bus, I try to focus on the mechanics of my surroundings, in order to filter the most interesting spots along the bus route 22. The next morning, heading back to the office, I do the same and create a design for the bus survey and a specified observation scheme.

In my aim to track intercultural contacts and uncovering their settings, I intend my observation to cover the daily life of people. Conveniently, the neighborhoods the bus brings me to differ quite a bit from each other. The Anglo-Canadian family neighborhood I live in ends approximately at West King

Edward Avenue. The diversity map of Greater Vancouver[147] shows me that from West King Edward Avenue to West 16th Avenue is a more Asian-Canadian, but still a residential neighborhood. After West 16th Avenue, Kitsilano begins. I've heard lots of stories about Kitsilano, both from Dutch friends who had been to Vancouver and from Vancouverites on the spot, about how nice and livable this residential and commercial yup neighborhood is. In fact, many of the travelers in the hostel who were searching for a room in Vancouver limited their search field to downtown Vancouver and Kitsilano only. Passing through Kitsilano, I can imagine what they felt. Broadway and especially 4th Avenue is filled with nice little shops, pubs and restaurants. Kitsilano is an Anglo-Canadian neighborhood, so my curiosity about the composition of the customers in this commercial center rises. This is a future goal however. What is more interesting for now is the fact that the amount of interesting public spots raises when going north and approaching downtown Vancouver. Starting in Kerrisdale and passing all the residential neighborhoods I expect to encounter merely commuters on their way from home to work or the other way around at 5 pm. But in Kitsilano, the buses are also used by shop and restaurant customers and I expect the composition of the bus crowd to be quite different. I am interested in the proportions of Asian-Canadians on these streets. Further North, towards English Bay, the number of coffee shops and restaurants, but also the number of parks and beaches increases considerably. In the daily life scheme these northern neighborhoods will be mostly visited in the afternoon after work or school, or in the evening when going out. The last twenty blocks of line 22, after crossing Burrard Bridge, run through Downtown Vancouver and its huge amount of offices occupy the daytime slots of many Vancouverites.

The most interesting spot along the route is without any doubt the McDonald Avenue and Broadway intersection. This intersection is surrounded by a big grocery store (SafeWay) and as said before, lots of cozy, little shops and restaurants. It is a crossing that can be the destination in an afternoon (doing groceries at SafeWay) or an evening (eating at a restaurant), but it also is a node on the commute line that passes through the residential areas down south. Additionally, the famous B-line of Vancouver, that links Kitsilano and Commercial Drive, another young neighborhood east of Kitsilano, with UBC campus. Since university provides, next to the offices downtown, the other major day time slot, this intersection brings together all of the people I want to research. To sum up, I see many opportunities in the locations between my office and my room. I decide that my commute is very suitable as the setting for my bus survey.

I am interested in the intercultural contacts primarily, rather than the cultures themselves. But, I reason, to explain the intercultural contacts I need some background information about the different ethnicities, especially the Asian-Canadians. The most basic thing I am going to do in the bus is tally mark the people getting in and out of the bus and make a distinction, if possible, between on the one hand Anglo-Canadians and on the other non-Anglo-Canadians, or, in other words, people that belong to one of Vancouver's visible minorities. The most basic statistics I am interested in describe whether the ratio between the two bus traveling groups aligns with the spread of visible minorities over the city. If twenty percent of the people entering a bus in a certain neighborhood are Asian-Canadian, I hypothesize that twenty percent of the neighborhood's population is Asian-Canadian as well. To explain the results,

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[147] See appendix D

I can use additional data.

This additional data can be used for other purposes as well and consist of bus traveler's characteristics. I try to pick up on as many characteristics as possible from the travelers, in the end describing and trying to explain the population of the 22 line. This should help me understand the way intercultural contacts take place. I intendedly do not work the other way around, by which I mean I'm not only looking for characteristics when I see intercultural contacts. Observing as much general data as possible offers me a bigger information pool which I can use in future observations. To give a simple example, if younger Asian-Canadians and Anglo-Canadians are speaking to each other extensively in a bus, I can hypothesize that they are friends because they are going to school together. The straightforward method to collect information would be overhearing their discussions, watching the things they carry and observing the time of the day and the stops they get on (in the morning possibly separately) and off (at a school), I can explain their behavior. But I can also use data from the day before of students that were going to this same school but were not talking to each other. For example, I can shape an image of the school regarding the ethnicity or religion of the students.

So, what am I going to do practically? I will leave my room in the morning, armed with the paperblank and a pencil. I will count the number of people that are already in the bus (this can't be too many, because my stop is the third stop on the route) and I will count the number of people that get on and off the bus on the 38 stops between my own (Carnarvon Street) and the West Pender at Burrard stop[148]. Until now, I have not sat in an overcrowded bus between Kitsilano and Carnarvon Street, so I expect to have no trouble overseeing the bus doors, at least until downtown (first Burrard St stop). In addition to tallying bus travelers, I will make notes of any intercultural contacts taking place in the bus and I will write down as many things possible in order to get an impression of the composition of the bus users. For example, when I can extract the traveler's reason for taking the bus, e.g. when he wears a suit at 8 in the morning or when he wears bike shorts and fixes a bike onto the bike holders in front of the bus, I will write down that I assume that the former is heading for the office, while the latter is a recreational cyclist, possibly to avoid the hills between MacDonald Avenue and Mackenzie Avenue. On the Kingsway and MacDonald intersection I will be especially attentive to these things and I may want to get out of the bus and wait for an hour or something to observe the intersection from the streets. My APF office is the excellent location to translate my paper blank writings into Excel and Word files.

The structuring of my daily life does not mean that the unplanned dimension of the research has come to an end. On the contrary, learning more about the multicultural society, both by planned and unplanned research, offers me more insights and specializes my focus. I presume that the weekdays will be limited to commute, lunch and getting groceries or the occasional eating out, but that weekends are still open. Since the weekends are mostly the times that all of my hostel friends are available as well, these are the times that I will be find myself in public spaces all over Vancouver. These could be shopping streets, parks, beaches, but also, since we are tourists, less straightforward places like Horsehoe Bay, Deep Cove and Park Royal Mall in North Vancouver. I will continue to write down interesting situations I encounter in my paperblank.

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[148] See bus route map

Thursday, April 15th - Monday, May 10th: After a couple of weeks of research I get the hang of it. Besides the many useful things the observation provided, there are some general worries as well.

At APF, I sense that sitting behind my desk is almost daily a moment to make choices what to do and what not to do. My paradigm shift since my first weeks in Vancouver asks for a certain degree of versatility on my side. At first, I felt confident about the practical research, but as time went by, I started to feel the pressure of time. The two and a halve months that I plan to stay here sounded like plenty of time in the first place, but now I've come to the conclusion that I cannot do everything I want to do.

Intercultural contacts become the focal point of the newly designed research. This is theoretically legitimated, since I am interested in how cultures deal with each other and not what they specifically are. Also, it is practically convenient, because I don't have to struggle with operationalizations of culture groups like Asian, South-East Asian, Chinese or even Canadian. So, the research I already have been doing will be continued throughout my stay and will serve as key instead of background.

The result is a completely revised research design. I forgot about the interview guides I had prepared for tracking and tracing transnationalism and instead try to figure how far along the observation brings me. Because multiculturalism is more at the surface than transnationalism, I feel quite confident, but it would be naive to think that I would be able to build a complete empirical framework on observations alone. After all, multiculturalism itself may be visible on the surface but the motivations behind people's actions and attitudes cannot be find on the streets, at least not entirely. Therefore, I decide to take on a more active role in the observation, by doing not only a covert observation, but also an overt one. I will talk to people in the bus, on the streets, at Tim Hortons coffe shops and anywhere else and on any time and I will try to find the common denominator. I expect this to be a more representative sample of the Canadian multiculturalist society than in-depth interviews with only few Vancouverites, that may uncover the true motives and ideologies of certain migrants but that only hardly can be translated into a general portrayal of Vancouverites. As opposed to my original research idea, I am interested in popular discourse, rather than the motives and opinions of only few Canadians.

The topic switch calls for other adjustments. The literature I gathered mainly elaborates on transnationalism, and only briefly touches upon multiculturalism. Authors like Steven Vertovec, Valentina Mazzucato, Nina Glick-Schiller, Thomas Faist, Ulf Hannerz and Alejandro Portes are less important than a couple of weeks ago. Instead, I have to focus on other authors like Will Kymlicka and Charles Taylor. To prepare well theoretically, I visit the UBC campus a lot. I decided to focus on UBC only and leave the books and articles from Simon Fraser University untouched. The obvious reason is the proximity of UBC (approximately ten minutes by bus, compared to more than an hour of travel if I want to visit SFU's library). Additionally, UBC has the bigger library and the bigger geography department, so it is only convenient that UBC is close by. At UBC, I can ask for a guest log-in, as promised, and I can reach their database and read their books for a day.

Two or three days a week I spent the morning at UBC and head for Downtown at noon. Usually, I will sit down and have a coffee and a bagel for lunch at Tim Hortons at Burrard and West

Georgia Streets and install my laptop afterwards at APF. At APF a lot of things come together. Colleagues hand me new and insightful papers expanding on the literature I found at UBC, I want to read both my own papers from the library and from my colleagues, I want to update my bus survey Excel sheet, I want to talk to others at the office, I am preparing a presentation I will give at the end of my stay and quite inconveniently, the afternoons at APF are often the only opportunities to keep in touch with friends and family back home in The Netherlands. A thing I could do but don't, is working on the observations in my paperblank. This is simply one of the choices I make. I decide to keep writing in it and work these out comprehensibly back home in The Netherlands. The disadvantage is that the paperblank quite quickly turns into a chaos of words and drawigns and that it is possible I have trouble recall the exact situation, but the advantages are time savings and a more extensive pool of information on the moment of analysis. Additionally, I suspect that I practically will have trouble working out and interpreting details of the observation and linking these to other observations in a Word file, whereas I am free to scribble in my paperblank with schemes, lines, drawings etcetera.

After all these adjustments, I gradually see my daily life change into a routine. My average week day looks like this: I get up at 9, leave for either UBC (2 to 3 times a week) or directly to APF. At noon I drink a cafe mocha and eat a blueberry bagel at Tim Hortons, lunch with someone at a bistro or a restaurant or hit the food court of Waterfront Mall. Usually around 3 I leave the office, often to walk by Chapters at Robson and Howe Streets to find some additional information or just to read a book. Around 5 I leave Downtown with the 22 line, I get out at 4th Ave in Kitsilano for groceries at SafeWay. At home, I get my running shoes and make my lap around Balaclava Park and after taking a shower, I make my meal or see if roommates are up for eating out.

Although this may seem as rather standardized, the contextuality differs per day. On any time during this daily life, I am aware of intercultural contacts around me and able to switch from this routine into a side story. For example, when I overhear an interesting conversation between an Asian-Canadian and an Anglo-Canadian man, I get curious what they are talking about and where they are going. On such an occasion, I choose to follow them for a bit, and so my commute takes an an hour and a half, rather than forty-five minutes. Multiple times I encountered interesting situations during lunch at Tim Hortons, which extended my lunch substantially. Encounters like these especially take place when other Vancouverites are out of their daily routine as well. Evenings and weekends are therefore anything but routines.

Additionally, along the way I learn recognize different spots that are interesting for the research. The Broadway and MacDonald Ave is an example, but there are many more. Sometimes, mostly during afternoons when coming back from the office early, I pick one of these spots and just hang out there for an hour or so, to see what is happening at this place in terms of intercultural contacts.

The bus survey is going quite well. When entering a bus, I usually pick a spot close to the back door, facing the front, in order to be able to overview both doors. If these convenient seats are taken or non-existent (some buses alternative seating plans) I take seats close to the driver, in order to be able to overhear communications between passengers and the driver. Because many passengers communicate with the driver upon entering and leaving the bus, I am curious whether there is a difference in frequency of these "hello's" and "thank you's" between expressive Canadians and aloof

Asian-Canadians. An additional funny thing of choosing seats in the middle is that I have to turn my head to the back door every time the bus stops, in order to count the people going on and off the bus. By doing so, plus by having a notebook and tally marking on every stop, I uncover my role, which various times led to questions of fellow travelers about my job or my paperblank. Every time, I answer their questions and start up a dialogue about multiculturalism, often knowing that I have to sacrifice my bus survey for that trip.

The actual observations develop into similar stories as the Pacific Centre visit on the first day in Vancouver. The only development in them is the fact that I used a handbook to channel and streamline the observations. Using Matsumoto's *Culture and Psychology: People Around the World,* I am able to observe more specifically and efficiently[149]. For example, the variable that Matsumoto calls *interpersonal space*[150] truly gives the observation more depth. When comparing the seating strategy of Anglo-Canadians and Asian-Canadians in a bus, I recognize that Anglo-Canadians leave much less interpersonal space between them and fellow travelers, than do Asian-Canadians. Anglo-Canadians feel more comfortable taking a seat next to some-one in the front of the bus, instead of traveling to empty seats in the back of the bus, than Asian-Canadians, who often prefer to walk to the back of the bus to sit alone. This corresponds with the amount of random talking by them (Anglo-Canadians always talk more to strangers than Asian-Canadians) and tells me something about the openness and expressiveness.

Furthermore, through practice I learn for example from people who speak Japanese in a bus, that this does not mean that I am presumably looking at a first generation Japanese-Canadian. By chit-chatting and observing, I have learned that many plus-generation Japanese-Canadians learn Japanese as well and use it in public spheres. This not only makes me think about how much of their identitiy is still Japanese and how much has become Canadian, it also enhances my observation techniques. I will illustrate this by an example, that simultaneously shows how an observation is recorded in the paperblank:

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[149] See the preceding methodology chapter for the actual groundwork I set up.
[150] Matsumoto, pp. 350-352

FIGURE 3
Paperblank entry example

Part of the notes taken during the interview with Francois Bertrand (see appendix G)

LITERAL WORDS

05 / 01 / 10   41 Joyce Stn: Kerrisdale
K'dale   -> Bus groceries busy ±40
                                            grey, 4

Date (May, 1st 2010), Bus route 41 on Joyce Station, heading for Kerrisdale. In the bus, coming back from doing groceries. Bus is busy, approximately 40 passengers, weather is grey and the time is 4 pm

EXPLANATION OF WORDS
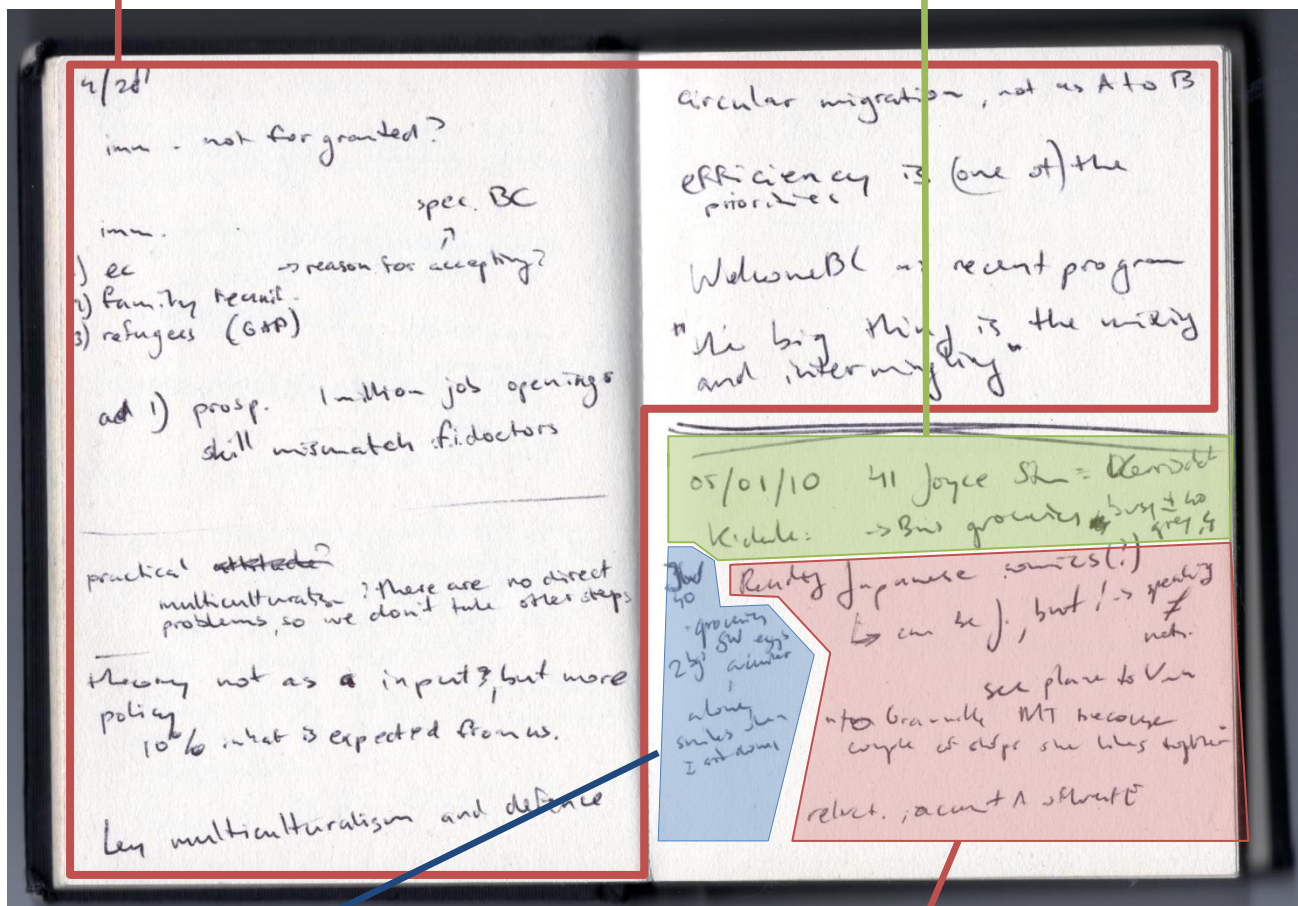
LITERAL WORDS

JW, 40, groceries, 2 bgs SW eggs cucumber

alone, smiles when I sit down

Japanese woman, age 40, carrying two bags from Safe Way. What I can see is in them eggs and a cucumber

She is alone and smiled when I sat down next to her

EXPLANATION OF WORDS

LITERAL WORDS
Reading Japanese comics (?)
         -> can be J. but ! -> speaking ≠ nat.
                    see plane to Van
"to Granville MT because couple of shops she likes together"
reluct., accent A -> fluent E

She is reading Japanese comics, but I'm not sure. Because she looks Japanese and is reading Japanese comics, this doesn't mean she has Japanese nationality, or that she cannot talk English. In the plane to Vancouver I met a Montenegrin man who illustrated this.
She is reluctant to talk to me, she has an Asian accent, but speaks fluent English.
EXPLANATION OF WORDS

Chronologically, the following happened here. I entered a crowded bus at Joyce Station after doing groceries at Metrotown Mall. Since seats were limited I forgot about the bus survey and sat down next to an Asian woman. After sitting down, I got my paperblank and started writing the general information like date, time and location. In the left column, I write characteristics of the encounter that are not directly relevant, but contribute to the pool of information. On the right hand side, I write the details of the encounter. First I wrote down that she reads "Japanese comics (?)". I was not sure they were comics at the time, because the book had alternating pages of text and images. To prevent me from assuming that the woman is a Japanese immigrant, only being able to read or speak in Japanese, I immediately road down "can be Japanese, but speaking or reading Japanese does not mean that the have recently arrived or that they as I write down have Japanese nationality. I wrote this because I recalled my conversation with the Montenegrin man on the airplane to Vancouver, who was living in Canada for half a Century, but barely spoke English. I could have written down other examples from the 22 line, like a Chinese student talking Asian on the phone but a minute later speaking flawless English to the Asian-Canadian in the seat next to him. On that afternoon however, I only thought of the Montenegrin man.

Prepared for this, I expect an English speaking woman heading back from doing groceries (see left column) and heading back home. I begin a conversation by saying that I am doing some research on Vancouver's multiculturalism, and that I wonder whether she is Canadian. She told me she is (otherwise I would have edited the upper notes) Japanese-Canadian and she came to Canada with her parents when she was going to high school. Because I do not want to ask too personal questions immediately and because she is reading, I do want to impose myself. Instead, I ask her a trivial question what she did and where she is going. She answers that she came from Metrotown Mall as well and that she's heading for her home in Granville. First, I understand by Granville she means Granville Street, which is unlikely considering the direction she is going, but afterwards she appears to be talking about the neighborhood Granville, which is inhabited by many people belonging to visible minorities, according to the diversity map[151]. Without me asking, she tells why she prefers Metrotown Mall, namely because a couple of shops she likes can be found in this mall together.

Considering the fact that she constantly looked back into her book, I suspect she is not eager to talk to me. In general, my experience is that this does not happen too much during my observation. Sometimes, mainly Asian-Canadians, are a bit shy to talk but not unwilling. This Japanese-Canadian woman seems rather to be unwilling, preferring to read her book. I respect this and stop asking questions. When it's her stop, she gets off the bus and I write down the conversation I just had in my notebook.

What sticks to mind the most from this encounter is that the Japanese woman was not very keen to talk to me. I am not offended or surprised or anything, but it just doesn't happen that often. On the other hand, I can imagine being tired after a day of work and an afternoon of errands at the mall.

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[151] See appendix D

5.1.6   Part VI: Reflecting

Saturday, June 12th, 2010: Notwithstanding the fact that I have altered my practical research quite largely, I feel comfortable with the results. After a couple of weeks of unease, Matsumoto[152] and a specified research approach helped me fine tune the observation. Then, day after day, little pieces of the puzzle started to connect to each other and the pool of information I was aiming for grows and grows.

There is one big disappointment however. My primary and most important goal was to capture intercultural contacts, but I only have been able to do so sporadically. A couple of factors have contributed to this. First, segregation means that anglo-Canadians live separate from Asian-Canadians. Because this conclusion is theoretically relevant, I will get back to this in the analysis of the observation. Second, on moments when there was actual intercultural contact, it often was practically hard to observe them. Apart from rough gestures and facial expressions, it is difficult to capture communication like language and detailed gestures and expressions when two ethnicities meet. A bit of eavesdropping helps, but joining the conversation would uncover my role as observer. Even more ridiculous would be to run towards two people that meet each other on the streets.

This disappointment, together with the fact that only little information on the spot helped explaining the situations (e.g. colors of clothes or white plastic bags not always reveal relevant information) made me decide that the main purpose for the observation was not to explain intercultural contacts on the spot, but to build up a database of information that can be used to explain these contacts afterwards, back in Nijmegen's.

The bus survey had some flaws as well. As said, I gladly picked up on conversations in the bus when doing the tally marking, often making me forget, deliberately or not, the bus survey. Often this led to scattered, unfinished report of the day. On hindsight, I should have concentrated more on this survey, gathering more information and making the conclusions from the data more solid. Additionally, I should have compensated for the lost chit-chats, by riding the bus a couple of times a day, or by taking some time off the bus at random stops just to talk to people.

5.2   Analysis

The preceding chapter told the narrative of the practical research. The overview of the participant observation is shown in appendix E. Since only the first observations are worked out extensively, the other, unmentioned observations are schematized as 'situation entries', some as singular encounters, but most of them translated into general findings. The bus survey is processed separately and is mainly used for supporting the analysis of the 'situation entries'. There are three main conclusions that can be drawn from the observation. The theses that sprout from this analysis are not posed scientifically, but describe the most notable experiences, regarding multiculturalism in Vancouver.

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[152] Matsumoto, 2000; see chapter 4

5.2.1   Asian-Canadians seem to have a more structured daily schedule

In various ways, Asian-Canadians seem to live a tighter schedule than Anglo-Canadians. In contrast to many Anglo-Canadians, the daily routine of Asian-Canadians is often quite easily observable, meaning that the reason for being on a certain place on a certain time often is more obvious. The chance that Asian-Canadians will deviate from their initial path is far smaller than that Anglo-Canadians will do so.

Young Asian-Canadians on line 22 heading for Downtown were either going for work in Downtown, or going to UBC, by transferring buses on Broadway[153]. Taking a look at the bus survey in table 2[154], the data of Anglo-Canadian bus travelers show a more rugged graph in the non-residential areas (after Broadway, which is Br.), meaning that they use more bus stops in on a frequent basis in this area than Asian-Canadians do. The fact that on stops before Broadway more Asian-Canadians are getting on and off the bus contributes to the argument. These stops are in residential areas, making the reason for getting out or in a bus self-evident.
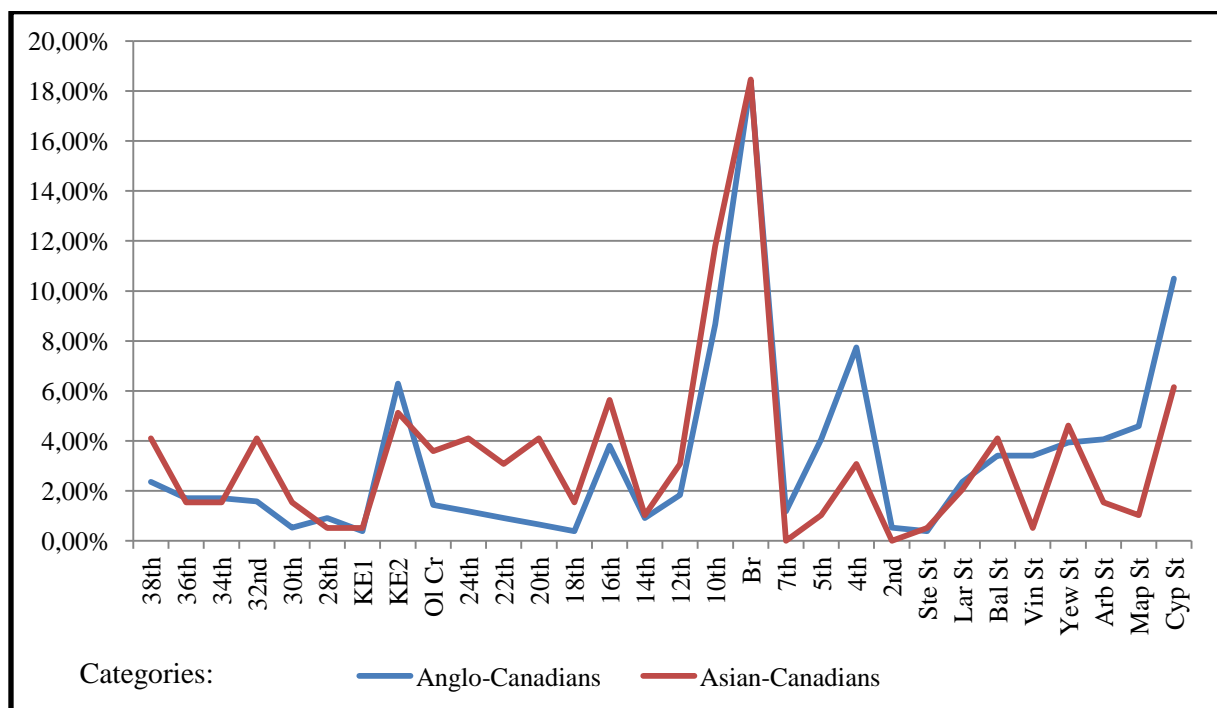

TABLE 2
Percentage getting on or off the bus of total people in category

The line of thought that an Asian-Canadian's day is structured more than an Anglo-Canadian's one can be supported by various observation entries. Going out for drinks can be seen as a random activity in a daily schedule, simply because most of the people do not have strict schedule for going out. The

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[153] Where buses travel the 99 'B' Line, famous by Vancouver students as the 'UBC line'
[154] Also see appendix F

fact that the observation shows that it is hard to find any Asian-Canadians when going out[155], hints at the fact that Asian-Canadians allow less of this random variable in their lives than Anglo-Canadians do. The counterargument here would be shopping on a Saturday afternoon, since the observation shows that the main shopping streets are crowded with Anglo-Canadians as well as Asian-Canadians. Perhaps, shopping on a Saturday afternoon can be regarded as more structured or standardized than going out, because the weekend practically is the only time available for shopping.

Two more practical variables underscore this line of argumentation. First, recreation would be another random variable. The lack of hikers and bikers[156] among the Asian-Canadian people seems to imply that neither recreational activities fit well in the schedule of Asian-Canadians. The second variable that came to the forefront in the observation is food patterns. Preference for Asian food[157] distinguishes Asian-Canadians from Anglo-Canadians. Taking into account that Asian food is provided only by specific vendors, this preference limits possibilities considerably[158]. The best example here is the hot dog. Apparently, Japanese-Canadians have adopted the idea of hot dog stands from Canadians, but nevertheless prefer standing in a huge queue line at one of the four[159] Japadog stands over the numerous 'classic' queueless hot dog stands throughout the city of Vancouver.
When explicitly taking a look at Matsumoto's indicators for non-verbal behavior, other things can be extracted. Especially the indicator of interpersonal space is an interesting one, since observation entries tell a story of the shy, closed Asian-Canadian who wants to sit alone on the bus and the open, spontaneous Anglo-Canadian, who starts talking with random strangers. For Asian-Canadians, a bus is simply a mode of transportation to get from A to B and only rarely the bus transcends its function of transportation into a public meeting spot[160].

5.2.2 *There is not so much intercultural contact after all*

A high degree of multiculturalism does not automatically mean that the amount of intercultural contacts is high as well. On the contrary, the observation shows that intercultural contact is quite rare, which is surprising when thinking about the statistics on Vancouver's multiculturalism. But, and this is not a surprise, in the case of intercultural contacts, the chances they evolve into serious confrontations are pretty slim, thereby keeping up the spirits of multiculturalism.

A result of the foregoing findings is that the environment of potential cultural confrontations is limited. The random time slots in one's daily scheme, that are mentioned throughout the preceding paragraph, are particularly suitable for these confrontations, because of the freedom that comes with them. Living in standardized time slots, always getting up at the same time, getting on the same bus every morning and working with the same people every day, means that the opportunities for irregular

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[155] WE.N.1.
[156] TR.5
[157] WD.D.4., WD.A.1., WE.D.1.
[158] See WD.A.1.
[159] See www.japadog.com
[160] TR.13

contacts are limited. Unless the daily work floor is made up of different ethnicities, only the time outside working hours can lead to intercultural contact. If the spaces outside of these fixed time slots are used in public spheres, the chance of intercultural contacts is the biggest. In concrete words: going out on a Friday night provides more and better opportunities to meet strangers than a regular day at the office.

In the case of Vancouver, Asian-Canadians seem to use this freedom less than Anglo-Canadians. Comparing UBC Campus[161] with restaurants and pubs[162] illustrates this. UBC is crowded with Asian-Canadian students, but when they are off in the evening very few of them can be found in Granville Street restaurants. Whether this is caused because they don't go out for dinner or they have other places to go to, does not matter in this argumentation. Outside UBC Campus, the students seem to choose their own way. Even if both Anglo-Canadians and Asian-Canadians would eat at home and would have to do groceries on forehand, they appear to have their own daily life channels to get their food[163]. Hot dog stands show similar patterns, as discussed above, as do coffee shops[164].

Additionally, the ethnicities in the city are quite segmented. The maps in appendix D show that there is a dividing diagonal running through Greater Vancouver. The northwestern Anglo-Canadian part has a visible minority population percentages mostly ranging from 0 to 40%, while the southeastern half of the city is dominated by visible minorities, ranging from 50 to 70% and more. To talk about segregation here would be exaggerated, but daily lives of Anglo-Canadians and e.g. Asian-Canadians do tend to follow geographically distant spatial paths. The paradoxical result is a growing Asian-Canadian community[165] in a certain Vancouver suburb (Richmond, New Westminster), which eventually is able to challenge and overtake Downtown's popularity among the Asian-Canadians. The division between Anglo-Canadians and immigrant groups is once more stimulated.

5.2.3   *Canadians think of multiculturalism through an economic lens*
The 1990s episode of economic downturn that affected Canada's idea of multiculturalism[166] seems not to be a surprising turn in the story. The primary demand that the run-of-the-mill Canadian asks from outsiders to enter the country is the ability to contribute economically.

Some people mention culturally fixed things that contribute to Canadian culture, like an Italian kitchen or Latin-American music, but in the end almost everyone concludes with an economic argument. A distinction can be made between two types of arguments. First, there is the presumed

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[161] WD.D.5.
[162] WE.N.1, WE.N.2.
[163] WD.A.1
[164] WD.D.4
[165] When considering Asian-Canadians here, thoughts of a massive Chinatown immediately arise. Although Vancouver's Chinatown is the second biggest in North America, the Asian population in Vancouver is way too big to fit into a Chinatown neighborhood.
[166] See chapter 2.6

correlation between stability and harmony on the one side and high levels of prosperity on the other[167]. The question relating to this assumption is the question why *successful* multiculturalism helps the country. This assumption can be abstracted from historical chapters. When building the railroads through Canada, the only way to find enough laborers to handle the job was by immigrating people from Europe and Asia. It therefore can be seen as a forced multicultural society, leaving Canadians behind hoping that it would be a harmonious and stable multicultural society.

The essence of Canadian multiculturalism has changed over time however, as will show the second presupposition that can be distilled from the observations; ethnic diversity improves productivity and hence economic standards. This ethnic diversity can be regarded as being inherenet to the different qualities that immigrants bring to the country, but also as international links that immigrants maintain, enabling Canadian society to benefit from faraway places. The power of this assumption is that it explains why a multicultural society would be a better alternative for a homogeneous society, consequently explaining why a multicultural society is desirable in the first place.

It is not a problem in itself that the multicultural society serves this rather practical goal. After all, the idea of a successful multicultural society is that peoples of different cultures are living next to each other without any major ethnical confrontations. However, when this thought is translated into policy, the ideology seems to be lost somewhere. Especially the interview with Mr. François Bertrand[168], director of Immigration Policy and Agreements at the British Columbia government, uncovers the pragmatic dimension that multiculturalism gets. First, the short term tends to be favored over the long term goals, the ideology of multiculturalism obviously being in the latter, and second, moral motives like the ideology of multiculturalism are subordinated to other, more practical and hence more tangible, goals.

Analyzing the two major integration programs (WICWP and BSCAP) confirms this idea. Both programs are filled with guidelines how the migrant can integrate into Canadian society successfully. All of them are aimed at the Canadian society however, answering the question: *what do I need as a migrant to integrate into Canadian society?* If it was a true ideological multiculturalist piece of policy, however, there would be at least a distinction be made between different migrant groups, acknowledging strengths and weaknesses that different migrants bring to the Canadian mosaic. A counterargument could be that it is essentially multiculturalist not to refer to ethnicities in an integration programme, but let us not forget that these immigrants are not integrated and are not yet part of this, ethnically defined or not, society.

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[167] WD-D.1
[168] See appendix G

5.3   Conclusions

This empirical chapter and its analysis show how the public daily life of Vancouverites stages intercultural contacts. As said, the empirics provided only few of these contact moments directly, but indirectly they contributed to three main overall conclusions, of which two of them are strongly linked.

Concerning the question why the two main components of Vancouver's demographics, anglo-Canadians and Asian-Canadians, live separate lives because of the difference in the structure of their daily lives (conclusion 1), the chance on intercultural contacts is considerably small for a city that is famous for its multiculturalism (conclusion 2).

The first conclusion shows that Matsumoto[169] was right when writing an extensive book on the cultural differences between ethnicities from around the world. It also shows that there are no signs of assimilation, but rather of transnationalism. The significant difference in the structure of daily lives withdraws the assumption of a homogeneous society and because nobody seems to criticize this, no-one is pressured to attain either culture. On the contrary, immigrants seem to be able to hold on to their native culture. This portrayal of multiculturalism aligns perfectly with the explanation of the Canadian identity in chapter 3.1.3.

The second conclusion concerns the question why there are true Asian-Canadian neighborhoods and true anglo-Canadian neighborhoods in Vancouver. It also clarifies why many Vancouver's tourists never became involved in multiculturalism, mainly because they did not communicate with or consciously notice the many visible minorities of Canada. Thoughts go back to the 18th Century when francophones lived in an anglophone country of Canada[170]. Quite unusually, two rivaling people lived together in one country, but geographical separation, although on a larger scale than in present Vancouver, avoided any major cultural clashes. The comparison is not flawless, Quebecois' appearances are not visibly different from anglo-Canadians as opposed to Asian-Canadians, but spatial segregation[171] underscores that geography does play a role here.

This conclusion uncovers a part of the definition of Canadian multiculturalism. It reveals that multiculturalism in Vancouver should not be understood as a mix of cultures where diversity is important to such an extent that ethnicities are randomly spread out over the city, but rather as a smoothly operating network of ethnicity blocks in which intercultural contacts are far from omnipresent. The difference with the often mentioned failed multicultural societies seems to be the amount of intercultural clashes instead of the intercultural contacts.

The third conclusion is recurring throughout this thesis. The economic angle on multiculturalism is undeniable. In the thesis, it is mentioned first in the practical example of the 1990s era in chapter 2.6., when prosperity became endangered, and is confirmed by both state level policy

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[169] Matsumoto, 2000; see chapter 4
[170] See chapter 2.1
[171] See appendix D

making[172] and by society level popular discourse[173]. Recapping this attitude's fragility, it is a luxury for Canada because it can demand high economic standards from its immigrants, enforcing multiculturalism, but it also can be multiculturalism's Achilles' heel, because of its pragmatism and subsequently the risk of devaluation of the multiculturalism ideology.

Concluding, the empirics align with Canada's history and its identity. As in Canada's multiculturalism history, geography plays a key role in present Vancouver's multiculturalism, helping to explain Canadian multiculturalism through daily lives in Vancouver. For understanding its success however, economic factors and the idea of Canada are the keys.

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[172] See the later parts of chapter 2.6 on immigration policy and the first parts of chapter 3.1.3. on Canadian nationality
[173] See the later parts of chapter 3.1.3. on the idea of Canada

Chapter 6

CONCLUSION

The narrative of this thesis explains why Canada's multiculturalist society evolved into its current state. Unlike many European countries it was able to "face a breadth of challenges" [174], primarily because of its history and geography. Due to the lack of an ethnocentrist discourse among Canadian society, an important breeding ground for racism and discrimination is largely absent in the country. On the contrary, Canada historically has grown together because it separates itself culturally from its former British oppressors. Additionally, Canada's geographical location turned out to be very convenient for designing a relatively tight immigration policy without much political challenge. The lack of migrant sending neighbors and two huge oceans that serve as buffers, naturally filter the mobile and hence wealthier migrants from the less mobile, poor migrants.

Integrating these migrants into Canadian society is not problematic either. First, Canada does not put up high demands for its newcomers. By institutionalizing multiculturalism, Canada officially declared that Canada is not a demarcated and verifiable concept. Hence, migrants need little to sacrifice and Canadians will not expect immense social transformations from their newly arrived fellow countrymen. Once the official standards for Canadian citizenship are met at the customs service, which are mainly economic ones, the Canadian society is glad to take over the welcoming process.

Additionally, multiculturalism does not automatically lead to cultural confrontations. Like the British and the French were living separate from each other in the colonial centuries, the demographics of Vancouver show clear dividing lines between ethnicities rather than racially different neighborhoods smoothly transcending into one another. This remark, including the fact that many of the immigrants in the city are living a quite withdrawn daily life, obviously limits the sites of intercultural contact. Vancouver truly represents a mosaic, rather than a melting pot.

The result is indeed what many people perceive as a successful multicultural society. Canada's citizens hail diversity and emphasize the values that a heterogeneous society brings to such an extent that the idea of Canada truly has been intertwined with the ideology of multiculturalism. It is a success, because intercultural contacts only rarely lead to confrontations and because the immigration policy that enables the biggest migration influx in the world is backed not only by Ottawa, but by Canada as a whole. The leading indicator in all this success is the economy. Both on state level,

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[174] Kymlicka, 2003a, p. 1

through the construction of a high educated migrants only policy, and on societal level, by emphasizing the economic value of heterogeneous insights and trans-national links, the roads of multiculturalism lead to the economic stage.

As a result Canada has sacrificed its Anglo-Canadian identity that descended from the British Crown, and replaced it with an intentionally ethnically ambiguous identity, or rather an identity irrelevant to ethnicity. Being Canadian does not mean being of Canadian culture, whatever that may be, but it means being part of a mosaic in which people help each other achieving economic success. Migrants who arrive in Canada do not enter a Canadian container of culturally homogenous Canadians, rather they enter a fenceless meadow, spatially demarcated but free from any harsh borders. Note however, that it is still an elite meadow, not accessible but also not in demand by unskilled, non-English proficient migrants.

However, there remains a sense of ambiguity when reading through the chapters. The lack of intercultural contacts and the multiculturalist backlash in the early 1990s puts forward an intriguing question: is Canada truly a multiculturalist society?

Yes, because no-one could make the argument that Canadians do not know how to handle huge numbers of foreign ethnicities in their country. There is no doubt that the idea of Canada has developed into a multi-ethnical frame, in which diversity is self-evident and hostility against foreigners is virtually non-existing.

No, because what should not be forgotten is the composition of the migrant influx. The fact that the vast majority of migrants is well-educated and is proficient in speaking English, questions the presence of multiculturalism. On multiculturalism's most tangible indicator, ethnicity, Canada is scoring great, yet based on the two intangible indicators education and language, Canada's immigrant population appears to be quite homogeneous. Also, the lack of intercultural confrontations, at least in Vancouver, is mainly caused by the fact that Asian-Canadian migrants dominate among non-Anglo-Canadian population groups. The question is whether the same would have happened when not Asians but, like in Europe, more temperament immigrants from North Africa or the Middle East would be the major group of newcomers.

Let us delve into this more thoroughly. The research gives some interesting insights in the fundaments of this success, which bring about some fundamental questions. The main reason that leads to doubt is the fact that there always seems to be a pragmatic next to or instead of an ideological groundwork for multiculturalism. For one, Trudeau's groundbreaking step towards official multiculturalism was a political one. Primarily he aimed for political power among Canada's numerous minorities, and only thereafter the laudable ideology of embracing diversity and stimulating multiculturalism was able to play a role. Similar pragmatic attitudes are visible in later times. Belief in multiculturalism is strongly linked to economic success. When immigrants contribute to the economy and the economy is thriving, no-one will bother about foreigners taking up jobs and pushing the

country forward. But when one of these factors collapses, things tend to turn around, as the 1990s showed.

In the end, there are two sides to Canadian multiculturalism. On the one hand, Canada truly is a successful multicultural society. The lack of cultural clashes and the openness prove that multiculturalism is not a mere myth. On the other hand, the preceding paragraphs temper multiculturalist enthusiasm quite a bit. It appears that even in Canada, multiculturalism is not the straightforward success that many of us want to see. Canadian multiculturalism is not an ideology that represents ethical justness and simultaneously helps the country's economy, it can rather be represented as a fashionable political tool that coincidentally spreads morally desirable norms and values.

Maybe the perfect illustration for this dichotomy is Pierre Trudeau. The Canadian Prime Minister who, in the first sentences of this thesis, pleaded for multiculturalism by refuting an all-Canadian uniform society, caused great momentum eventually to write the groundbreaking constitutionalized multiculturalism era in Canadian history. However, he was a politician, and he knew the role of pragmatics alongside his ideologies.

"Luck is the time when preparation and opportunity meet. Be ready when opportunity comes"

Pierre Trudeau

6.1   Reflection and recommendations

This conclusion, multiculturalism on the surface is successful in Canada, but its roots are not stable, is insightful in various ways. For both academics and politicians, it contributes to the multiculturalism debate, by investigating its roots extensively and by showing the ambiguity of the notion. By stripping down the layers from the Canadian discourse on multiculturalism, its social constructivist nature is uncovered. This may seem an obvious remark, but the short-sighted eyes of many, especially in Europe, may need an example like this to grasp the essence of the phenomenon and to prove that a successful multicultural society does exist.

This does not mean however that the Canadian success can be copied flawlessly to any other country in the world. Many countries have completely different histories and geographies and the countries that do have similar histories and geographies (Australia, New Zealand) have other complex societies. In Australia for example, multiculturalism is a hot topic as well, partially enacted through laws and the population is nearly as diverse as in Canada. However, a tradition of assimilation and persistent political and scientific critique has kept a national multiculturalism out of the constitution[175]. What exactly can be copied into Australia's case would be a fine topic for another research, but here it

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[175] Smolicz & Secombe, 2005; Ang & Stratton, 1998

is safe to say that the Canadian case proves that multiculturalism should be working at least on the political and societal level.

The other side of the Canadian medal serves as a warning. Although the ideology of multiculturalism is embraced widely in Canada, envying many others, there is no proof for guaranteed of success. On the contrary, if even Canada's groundwork is unstable, it should be interpreted that predominantly practical circumstances make it a success, not the ideology itself.

Lots of research can be conducted to follow-up on this thesis. First and most straightforward, a similar but more extensive analysis of multiculturalism in Vancouver could provide more detailed and better substantiated arguments. Especially a larger observation could help link the theoretical chapter to present day Vancouver better. Second, comparative case studies should help comprehend the findings of this thesis better. Similar research in Australia, New Zealand and the United States can hand insights on the alleged uniqueness of Canada. Studies in Europe can show the contrast between different paradigms of multiculturalism and uncover the dimensions of success in a multicultural society. Besides this latitudinal research, longitudinal studies in Canada can track the economic factor in multiculturalism. It can answer the question whether belief in multiculturalism decreases in times of true economic downturn.

6.1.1 Practical reflections

Although the thesis has produced valuable insights in the end, the research was still far from flawless. Besides the social constructivist angle of the research, that creates a risk for the researcher to drown in theory and data, there are some practical notes that have to be considered while reading these conclusions.

Obviously, a research in Vancouver is not translatable to the national scale without scrutiny. Although Vancouver's immigrant population does represent the future trends in Canada, it remains a huge country with unavoidable internal incongruities. The main difference to keep in mind here is the composition of the immigrant population. As the methodology described, the West Coast predominantly receives East-Asian immigrants, while the East Coast have more diverse influx of migrants. Combine this to Matsumoto's[176] methodology remarks that cultures truly differ and the conclusion is that research in other Canadian cities could close or break the circle.

Then there is a point of reflection on the practical dimension of the research. A solid scientific writing involves constant iteration and re-writing. During the development of this thesis, however, this was unfortunately and involuntary overdone. As can be read in the empirics chapter, the observation in Vancouver was conducted in an early phase, in which the topic of the research was transnationalism, rather than multiculturalism. Ironically, this change in course is a perfect example of how important context is when investigating social constructivist phenomena. Efforts for understanding transnationalism in Vancouver stranded, because its parent notion, multiculturalism was still too

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[176] Matsumoto, 2000

loosely defined, automatically moving the more fundamental topic of multiculturalism to the center of the research.

The consequences of this sudden insight were quite large for the research. Suddenly, two and a half months appeared to be very little time. First it took some time to make the choice of moving multiculturalism into the spotlights, but then finding alternate data, articles and background information cost a lot of time. Add to this practical obligations to APF and not much time is left. On hindsight, I would have benefited from a couple of in-depth interviews, predominantly because it could have saved me time interpreting observations. Eventually, it took a lot of effort to shift the research and continue progressing steadily in the research.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Overview maps of Vancouver (sources: Google Maps, Bing Maps)
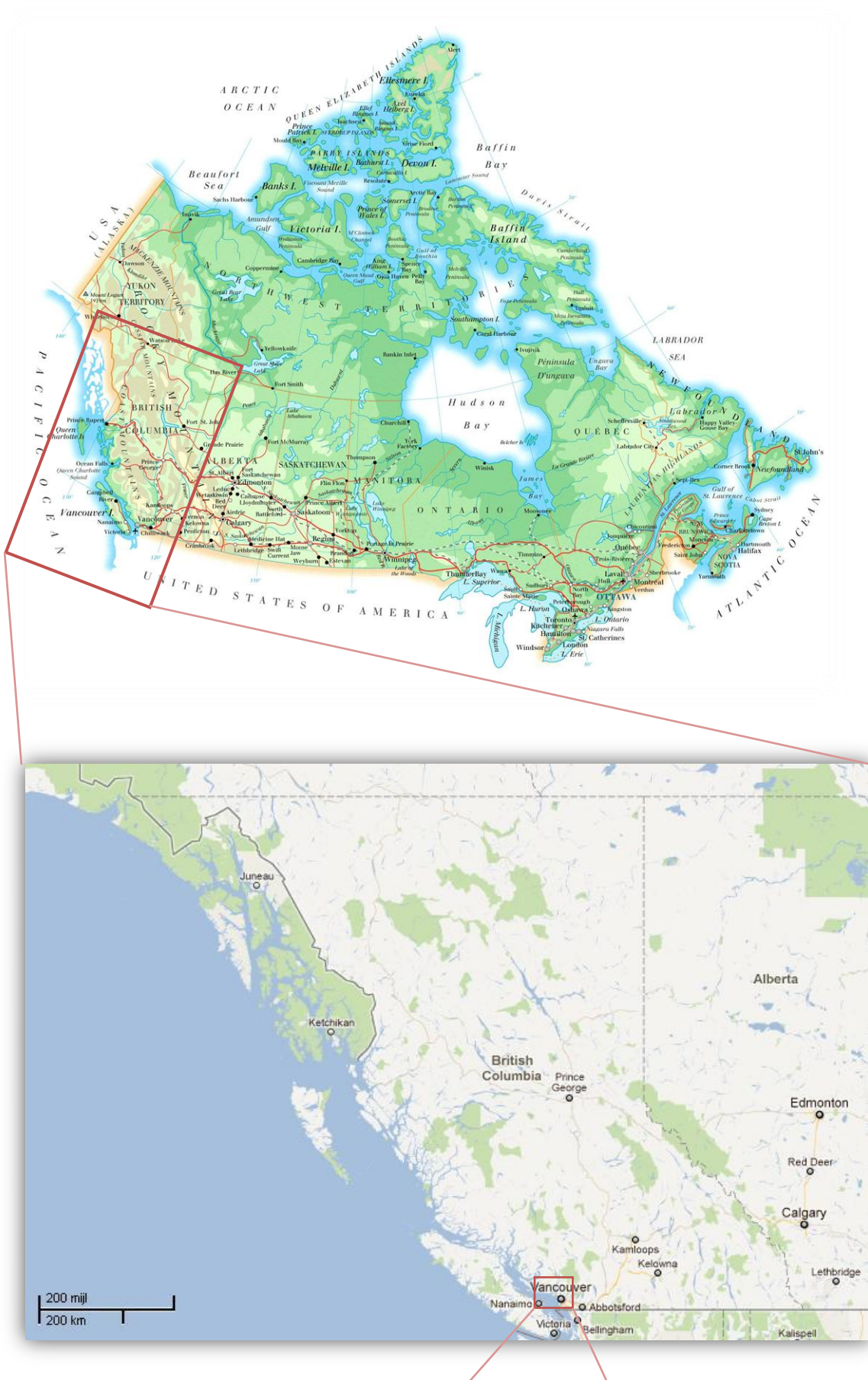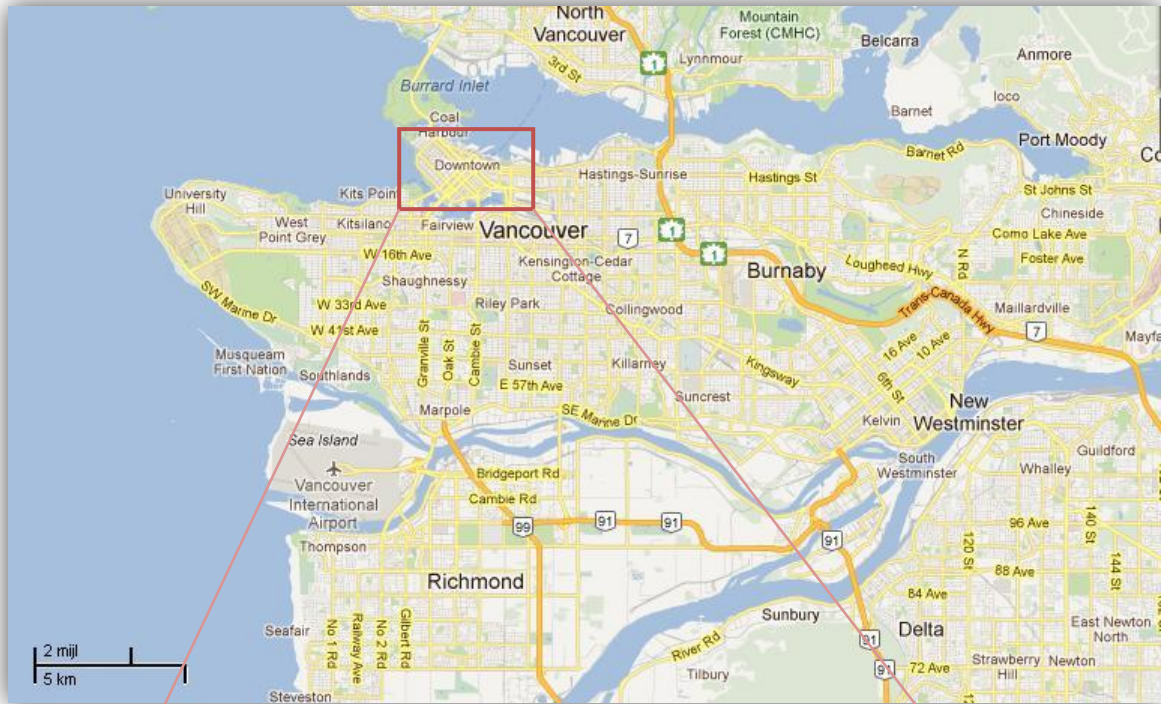
Giving Voice to the Canadian Idea

SEPARATISTS like to say that Canada has no real national identity, that we do not know who we are or what we stand for. But lately, in one of life's delicious ironies, separatists themselves have helped us discover just how wrong that is.

The help comes from the very highest level. Over the past couple of weeks, all three of separatism's principal leaders have made revealing remarks about their movement. First came Bloc Quebecois Leader Lucien Bouchard with his comment about the "white race" of Quebec and its low birth rate. Then came Premier Jacques Parizeau's despicable speech blaming "money" and "ethnic voters" for Monday's narrow win by the No side. Now, we hear, Quebec's Deputy Premier, Bernard Landry, has berated a Montreal hotel clerk over the role of immigrants in the referendum result. According to the clerk, Anita Martinez, Mr. Landry leaned over the hotel counter, stared at her nameplate and said, "Are you happy?" It was the fault of "you immigrants," he reportedly continued, that the No had won. This from a man who, until a cabinet shuffle yesterday, served as Quebec's minister of immigration.

It isn't particularly remarkable that separatists would say such things. At its core, Quebec separatism is a species of ethnic nationalism, by nature exclusionary, intolerant and, in its worst forms, racist. What is remarkable is the response. On radio phone-in shows, on newspaper letters pages, in every public forum they could find, Canadians both inside and outside Quebec have poured forth their outrage and disgust. We are deeply offended. And being offended is one way we learn about ourselves. By showing us what we are against, Mr. Parizeau, Mr. Bouchard and Mr. Landry have given us a rare opportunity to affirm what we are for. Is Canada just a comfortable place to live, a common living space with no common ideal, or is there something more to us? What do we stand for as a nation? What is Canada all about?

Most of us already know in our hearts. We are against the idea that people should be treated differently because of their skin colour,

language, religion or background. We are for the idea that all Canadians should be treated as full citizens. We are against the idea that any person is more purely Canadian than another, no matter how far back his or her Canadian ancestry goes. We are for the idea that everyone should have an equal chance to succeed on his or her merit. We are against ethnic nationalism, in which people of common ethnicity rule themselves - masters in their own house. We are for civic nationalism, in which people of different backgrounds come together under the umbrella of common citizenship to form a community of equals. Ours is a modern nationalism: liberal, decent, tolerant and colour-blind. That is what Canada represents to the millions of people who come here from other countries. That is the idea of Canada.

In the past, we have not been very good at articulating this. Strong ideals are often forged in adversity, of which we, in our charmed national life, have experienced little. Things are different now. With the very existence of the country at stake, we must give new voice to the idea of Canada. The necessary constitutional changes aside, we must show Quebeckers - many of whom have been as appalled as other Canadians at what separatist leaders have been saying - that Canada and Canada alone waves the banner of pluralism and common humanity.

Mr. Parizeau and friends have done us the favour of starting the job. It is up to all of us to finish it.

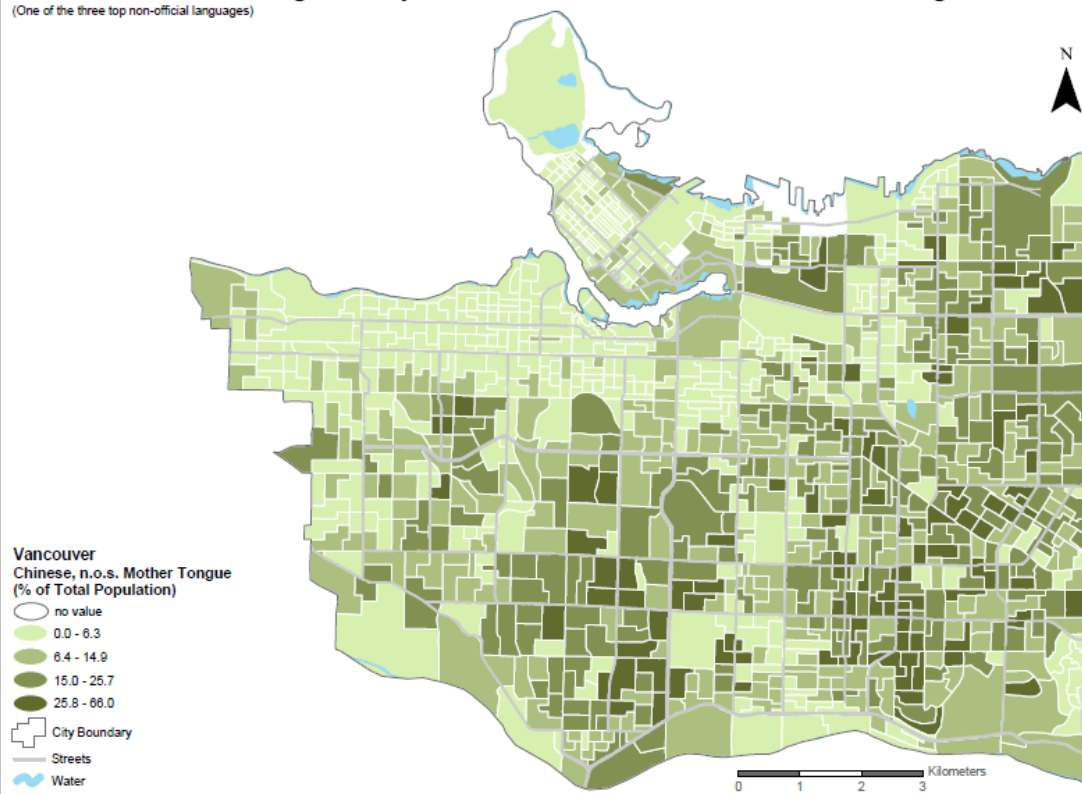*Appendix C: 22 Bus line route map* (source: www.translink.ca)

Appendix D: 2011 Vancouver's diversity and mother tongue maps (source: WelcomeBC,
http://www.welcomebc.ca/wbc/communities/facts_trends/maps/2001.page?WT.svl=LeftNav#vancouv
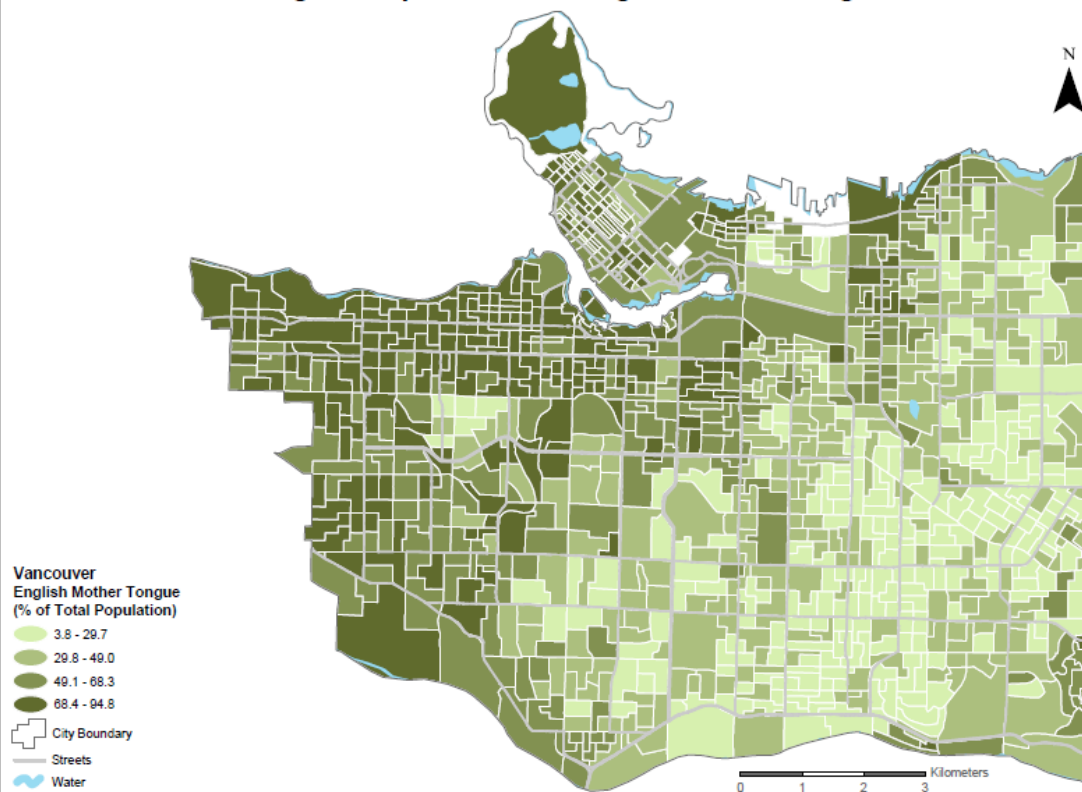er)
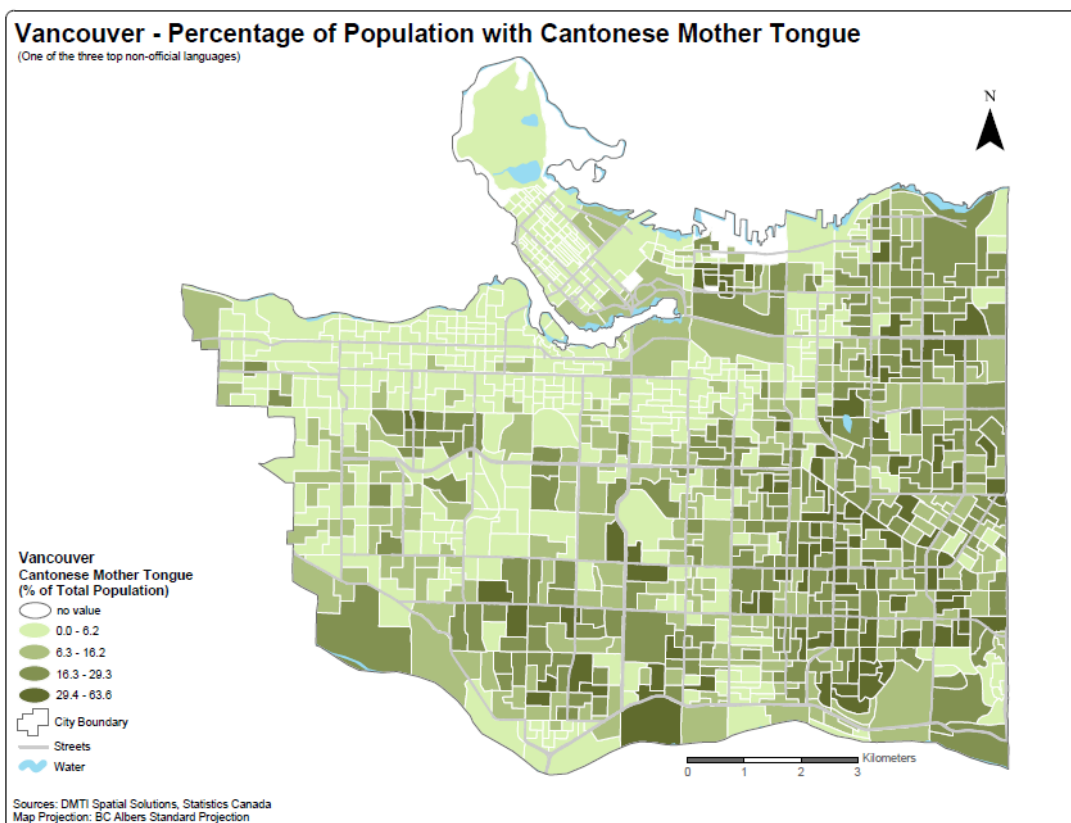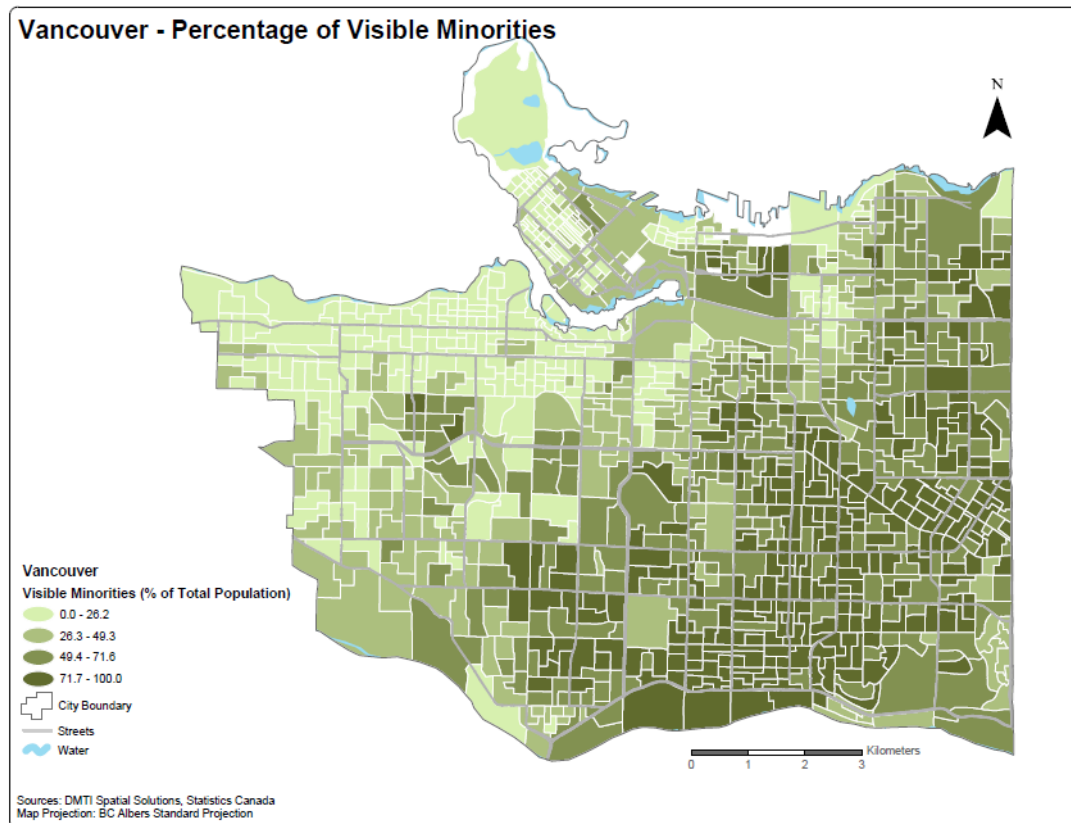
Vancouver - Percentage of Population with Chinese, n.o.s. Mother Tongue
(One of the three top non-official languages)

N

Vancouver
Chinese, n.o.s. Mother Tongue
(% of Total Population)

- no value
- 0.0 - 6.3
- 6.4 - 14.9
- 15.0 - 25.7
- 25.8 - 66.0

City Boundary

Streets

Water

Kilometers
0   1   2   3

Sources: DMTI Spatial Solutions, Statistics Canada
Map Projection: BC Albers Standard Projection

Vancouver - Percentage of Population with English Mother Tongue

N

Vancouver
English Mother Tongue
(% of Total Population)

- 3.8 - 29.7
- 29.8 - 49.0
- 49.1 - 68.3
- 68.4 - 94.8

City Boundary

Streets

Water

Kilometers
0   1   2   3

Sources: DMTI Spatial Solutions, Statistics Canada
Map Projection: BC Albers Standard Projection

Appendix E: Observation Report

Observation report, Vancouver, Canada
March 15th – May 15th

Situations:

Weekdays, day (WD-D): University of British Columbia campus (including UBC bookstores and libraries); Downtown office blocks (West Pender St, Burrard St, Georgia St, Howe St, Hornby St; mainly in the surroundings of the Asia Pacific Foundation office on West Pender St); Cafes and coffee shops (among others Tim Hortons (W. Georgia and Burrard), Starbucks (W. Georgia and Burrard));

Weekdays, afternoon (WD-A): Grocery stores: Marketplace IGA (W 41st Ave and Collingwood), SafeWay (4th and McDonald)

Weekdays, night (WD-N): Kerrisdale restaurants and pubs (W. 41st Ave., West Blvd.)

Weekends, day (WE-D): Kitsilano shopping streets and shops (4th Ave), Downtown shopping streets and shops (Robson St, Davie St, Granville St, Seymour St), Granville Island boutiques, open market, restaurants; Malls: Metropolis Mall in Metrotown, Pacific Centre in Downtown, Oakridge Mall in Oakridge, Parc Royal in North Vancouver; Parks and Beaches: Kitsilano Beach, Sunset beach, English Bay Beach, Canada Place, Robson Square, Harbourview Park, Balaclava Park, Musqueam Park, Stanley Park; Book stores: Chapters (Robson and Howe).

Weekends, night (WE-N): Granville Street clubs and pubs, Yaletown restaurants and pubs

Travel (TR): Bus stops and buses (not only on line 22, but throughout the city.), SkyTrains and SkyTrain stations

Situation entries:

Weekdays, Day

WD-D.1) April, on my way to the UBC Library, a couple of female students sitting across the Student Union Bulding ask for my help with their psychology research. I offer my help, but only if they help me in exchange. The test I take is about associative thinking. One of the questions is about my native language through which our discussion naturally evolves onto my research. One of the girls is Asian-Canadian and the other is Anglo-Canadian. Both speak fluent English. First, I ask the Anglo-Canadian girl about her background (she turns out to be a Vancouver native) and about her thoughts on multiculturalism in Vancouver and Canada. Without hesitation she states that the country of Canada wouldn't have been what it is if it wasn't for the immigrants. I ask her about the strength of Canada and she points out that harmony and diversity and a high level and stable prosperity level

make Canada what it is. She does admit that the former leads to the latter, but she does not talk about the latter influencing the former.

I ask the other Asian-Canadian girl about her background. She is Taiwanese and is living in Canada for four years now. When asking her about the reason to come to Canada she describes Canada as a window of opportunities that Taiwan cannot offer her and most other country wouldn't offer her. She says she is still closely tied to her family back home, who she speaks almost every day via Skype. About her future plans, she tells me that she is taking courses in German (which surprises me) to travel to Europe some day. On the longer term, however, she wants to keep thinking about sustaining her family. This latter bit she only tells me when I ask about her family. I wonder why she did not tell me this at once. Is she really primarily focusing on her own plans right now, or is thinking about her family a self-evident to her?

WD-D.2)   On May 12th I presented my subject to the people at the Asia Pacific Foundation. After I explained my angle of view and I presented my thesis topic, a discussion started between me and the members of the office. The first and most crucial remark that one person made (and everyone agreed upon) was the fact that it was short-sighted or even offensive to state that in Canada is a buzzword more than a theoretically grounded notion. Clearly, multiculturalism is a source of pride for them. The question is to what extent this is caused by their professional position in the field and to what extent this is generally Canadian.

WD.D.3)   During the same May 12th post-presentation discussion, the debate went on about transnationalism and multiculturalism in general. One of the francophone discussion members threw in the issue of Quebec, invoking a discussion about the sovereignty of Quebecois and the differences between Canadian cities (predominantly west coast vs. east coast). The same person stated that in Toronto, even more cultures were living together successfully than in Vancouver. What was interesting to me is that none of the immigrant groups were picked out, not even the Asian in Vancouver. Only the Quebecois, which are not an immigrant group, are single out.

WD.D.4)   There is a quite distinction in time slots in Tim Hortons at Burrard St. During lunch time, most of the customers are Anglo-Canadian, but in the end of the afternoon, around four and five, Asian-Canadians dominate the customer figures. I found a partial explanation after enquiring about this at APF. Most of the Asian-Canadian employees go out to lunch at a Japanese or a Chinese restaurant, or take in food and lunch at their desk. Anglo-Canadian employees also frequently take in food, but usually at places like Tim Hortons rather than at exotic places.

WD.D.5)   At UBC campus, lots and lots of Asian-Canadian students fill the paths and buildings. Especially in the library, Anglo-Canadian students seem to be less present than their Asian-Canadian counterparts.

Weekdays, afternoon

WD.A.1)   Both in Marketplace IGA and in Safeway Asian-Canadians seem to be underrepresented. Checking smaller scale (eco-friendly) grocery stores and stands on 4th Ave tells me that most Asian-Canadians prefer these over the large supermarkets. Partially this is caused by the fact that various specific products for Asian dishes are not for sale in e.g. Safeway. The fact that most of these stands are run by Asian-Canadians themselves also contributes. An important conclusion here is that Asian-Canadians apparently still predominantly make Asian meals. But why? Because their Asian identity is still that strong or because the alternative isn't attractive enough?

WD.A.2)   The Metropolis Mall houses a big T&T supermarket. The share of Anglo-Canadians in this supermarket is bigger than in the rest of the mall. This is presumably caused by the fact that Anglo-Canadians visit the supermarket more than the rest of the mall. For example, for retail and daily groceries West-Vancouver offers lots of possibilities for its inhabitants (Kitsilano, 4th Ave.), but for long term groceries Vancouverites are willing to drive to the city's suburbs, true to North American-standards. Metropolis is the largest suburban mall in Vancouver, so West-Vancouverites will consider this mall for their long term groceries, although a trip would easily take forty-five minutes.

Weekdays, night

WD.N.1)   May 5th, evening, Cheshire Cheese Inn, Kerrisdale; A relaxed conversation with my housemates turns into an interesting discussion about the Canadian skills mismatch, which I brought up because of my interview with François Bertrand of BC Government. I state that it is highly surprising and strange that Canada suffers from a skills mismatch, since its immigration labor force is overall very highly educated. I make a comparison to European countries, where the immigrants mainly fill in the lower part of the labor force. Jorge (30, Nicaraguan, living in Canada for 15 years now) tells me he thinks that the USA is the reason for this. According to him, all the highly educated people in Canada move into the USA, simply because the paycheck is higher. Furthermore, we agree that tuition fees for a medical study (or anything alike) are way too high in Canada. Summing up, because Canada's governmental system tends more to a welfare state (i.e. more socialist) than the USA (which would be more liberal), Canada can be represented as a transit migration country for high skilled laborers.

Weekends, day

WE.D.1)   One of the most striking images illustrating transnationalism are the various hot dog stands. There are many hot dog stands in Downtown Vancouver (presumably one every two blocks) but Japadog clearly stands out. Their menu is iconically transnationalist (it practically is sushi on a hot dog) and the lines are longer than any other hot dog stand. Asian-Canadians account for roughly 75% of these queues. What does this tell me? Is the quality of these hot dogs better? Do Asian-Canadians

value their food better than ordinary hot dogs? Do Asian-Canadians bother less about queues than other people?

WE.D.2)   When visiting the Metropolis Mall, the Asian-Canadians easily outnumber Anglo-Canadians. This not a surprise, since it is situated in 'Asian' Metrotown. What sticks with me is the image of groups of young, alternatively dressed (eye-catching shirts and shoes but also short skirts) Asian-Canadians sticking together, with girls walking arm in arm.

WE.D.3)   I notice that Robson St, the most crowded shopping street of Vancouver, has more Asian-Canadians walking around than Granville Street, which is a popular restaurant and club street. Does this mean that Asian-Canadians shop more than they go out for dinner or a drink? Do they have other spots to go out? Situation entry WE.N.1. seems to support the former. Based on chit-chat, I can confidently say that for Anglo-Canadians Robson St. is the primary shopping street as well. Additionally, many of them see Granville only as second favorite for going out, after the Yaletown district.

WE.D.4)   Relatively speaking, Asian-Canadians wear as much Vancouver Canucks gear as Anglo-Canadians. Obviously, after the elimination of the Canucks in the NHL play-offs, none wear Canucks gear. After this elimination, lots of Vancouverites were frustrated and disappointed with the team.

WE.D.5)   I am quite surprised by the amount of books written by Asian authors in Chapters Bookstore. Given the fact that the account for a lot of the migrant population and the fact that they are generally well-educated and English proficient, I would presume that they would account for a sizeable amount of books. Two things caught my eye however: one, the amount of books by Asian authors is limited, and two, most of them are categorized in one section labeled 'Regional Culture and History'.

WE.D.6)   During the many times I sat down to read a book for a couple of hours in the Chapters store, only occasionally a Asian-Canadian joined me. Most of the time, the sitting lounge was occupied by approximately 10 Anglo-Canadians, roughly having the same pattern as me (walking around for half an hour, picking a book and sit down to read with a view on Robson Square on the first floor of the store.

WE.D.7)   When visiting the Metropolis Mall, the Asian-Canadians easily outnumber Anglo-Canadians. This not a surprise, since it is situated in 'Asian' Metrotown. What sticks with me is the image of groups of young, alternatively dressed (eye-catching shirts and shoes but also short skirts) Asian-Canadians sticking together, with girls walking arm in arm.

WE.D.8)   The only time in my stay when I got off the SkyTrain on Commercial Drive (the nexus for non-Asian immigrants, with lots of Irish pubs and Latin-American, Greek and Italian restaurants), an Asian-Canadian boy (appr. 16 yrs) and girl (16 yrs.) where sitting together in the SkyTrain and were leaving the station together as well. The weird thing was that the boy was watching a movie on a small electronic device (presumably a phone) with earplugs, not even turning his eyes from the device when boarding off the train. This made me wonder whether they were traveling together or not.

WE.D.9)   When going for a run around Balaclava Park (W 41st Ave, Carnarvon St, Balaclava Bikeway, a couple of laps around the track, then W 30th Ave, Blenheim St and back to W 41st Ave) I usually sit down for half an hour, just to watch people come and go at the park. Next to the many football, softball and frisbee matches I witness here, the little league softball is the only daily recurring event at the park. The baseball diamond is crowded with little kids and more interesting, around the fences often as much as fifteen or twenty parents are chit-chatting with each other. I don't see any Asian-Canadians, not in football, frisbee or softball and not in little league softball. Even the away teams of the little leaguers are nothing but Anglo-Canadians. I do not know how much this tells however, because the away teams come from close by parks in the same suburb.

Weekends, night

WE.N.1)   When going out on either Granville St. or in the Yaletown district, it seems as if the Asian-Canadians have vanished. Especially in upscale Yaletown I barely see any Asian-Canadians in the crowd. On mainstream Granville St., I usually see some groups of Asian-Canadians, but not as frequent as on a Saturday afternoon.

WE.N.2)   Frequent visits to Granville street for grabbing a bite to eat for diner learn that Anglo-Canadian students and yups make up for the better part of the public.

Travel

TR.1)   n.d., evening, line 22, between 1st and Broadway; Asian-Canadian guy (ca. 18 yrs.) is looking at a Anglo-Canadian girl (same age, bit older maybe) a couple of times, then changes seat in front of her and introduces himself. His English is not fluent, but he tries hard. Girl seems not interested, but plays enthusiastically along. The subject is a movie the Asian-Canadian guy saw last night. At Broadway, both get off the bus and leave in different directions.

TR.2)   5/5, noon, line 22, between Broadway and Downtown; a Japanese mother picks up child (8/9 yrs.) from school. Talking about what the child did at school. It is obvious that the mother wants her child to speak/learn English, since she is going to an English school and she is explaining her all kinds of English words (the subject was a car accident on 4th and McDonald). Then, the mother sees that the child is hungry and offers her a lunchbox with homemade sushi. The girl responds

enthusiastically ("Sushi!") and asks about the fish. Clearly, she knows what she is talking about, when naming various kinds of fish.

TR.3)   n.d., noon, line 22, between 16th and Downtown; Katherine (65, retired a week ago) sitting in the seat next to me asks about my little notebook, wondering if I am a bus surveyor. I explain that I am doing research and hence ask her some things about immigration. The first thing that comes to her mind is not Asian immigration, but a relative that hosts his Swedish (adult) children in Calgary. When I ask her about Asian immigration, she says "I guess everybody does what he has to do. There are many enclaves I the city, like the Italians on Commercial Drive and the Greeks on 4th Avenue.". Furthermore, she argues that the West coast (i.e. Vancouver and Calgary) tends to be more laid back and relaxed than the more hurried op East Coast (she mentions Toronto as a concrete example). What's funny to me is that she doesn't mention Asian-Canadians throughout our conversation.

TR.4)   In the category of senior citizens in the bus, Anglo-Canadians are dominant (likely 70-30) over Asian-Canadians

TR.5)   In the category of recreating people in the bus (like hikers, bikers, tourists, people in sports clothes), Anglo-Canadians outnumber (likely 90-10) Asian-Canadians.

TR.6)   Both Anglo-Canadians and Asian-Canadians do not travel often in a family companionship. If they do this, however, father and son are often traveling together among the Anglo-Canadians, whilst mother and daughter are more likely to travel together among the Asian-Canadians.

TR.7)   If Asian-Canadians are speaking Asian to each other or on a phone, it doesn't mean that this is their first language. Often, they switch easily between Asian and fluent English, which means that many plus-generation Asian-Canadians retain their (ancestors') native language.

TR.8)   Babysitting during the day/children's daycare is often provided by Asian-Canadian women. In the two months of observations, approximately ten times an Asian-Canadian woman entered a bus with one or more (often more than one) kids.

TR.8)   On their daily routine, Asian-Canadians travel not often with company. Only the younger people tend to have a peer along sometimes. However, on a Saturday in the shopping streets, Asian-Canadians almost always have someone on their side.

TR.10)   Approximately 95% of the passengers thank the bus driver when boarding off. Differences between Asian-Canadians and Anglo-Canadians are not significant

TR.11)   4/21, night, line 22. Getting on at Burrard St. the female bus driver clearly feels good today. She starts talking with a passenger on the front row seat about her wedding next month at Disneyland in Anaheim. The passenger talks along. The driver greets every passenger getting into the

bus with joy ("How is your day, today, sir?", "Have a nice travel today, lady") which in turn makes her passengers smile. Along the bus route, the bus gets emptier and when only a couple of people are left, an Asian man (around 18 yrs) leaves the bus without saying 'thanks' to the bus driver (see TR.10). Suddenly, the bus driver is offended. When he has left the bus, she mumbles on about this issue saying "come on, you're a human being".

TR.12)   Illustrative to Canadian hospitality is an event on a late weekday night (around 11). On elderly woman asks the bus driver for directions upon leaving the bus. I cannot exactly hear what she is saying, but the bus driver tells her that it still is a long walk to her destination. He picks up his bus phone and asks if someone is around. A couple of minutes later, an 'out-of-order' bus stops across the street, picks up the old lady and drives off. Presumably, the bus was going in the right direction for the older lady, but was not running on a schedule. This is quite plausible, since lots of out-of-order buses pass by in the streets of Vancouver.

TR.13)   Generally speaking, Asian-Canadians behave less extrovert than Anglo-Canadians. During the bus survey, the most people that I hear talking are Anglo-Canadians. This does not mean that Asian-Canadians do not talk in public, but rather that they predominantly talk to their companions and often with a lower voice. Practically every time a random person starts talking to me (e.g. about the Vancouver Canucks, rugby, biking in Vancouver) it is an Anglo-Canadian. Also, the decision where to take a seat in the bus reveals a difference in openness. Especially in the morning, I see that most of the Anglo-Canadians pick the first free seat on a bus, whereas Asian-Canadians often search for a free seat without any neighbors. Obviously, the one leads to the other here. Sitting apart from your fellow travelers does not improve the chance of a spontaneous chit-chat.

The following results are gathered on 18 days on the northbound 22 line between Carnarvon St, the second stop of the line, and Cypress St., the last stop before Downtown Vancouver. The distribution of survey days is as follows:

Weekdays	16	Day (until noon)	9
Weekend Days	2	Afternoon (noon-5)	7
		Night (6-morning)	2
Total	**18**		**18**

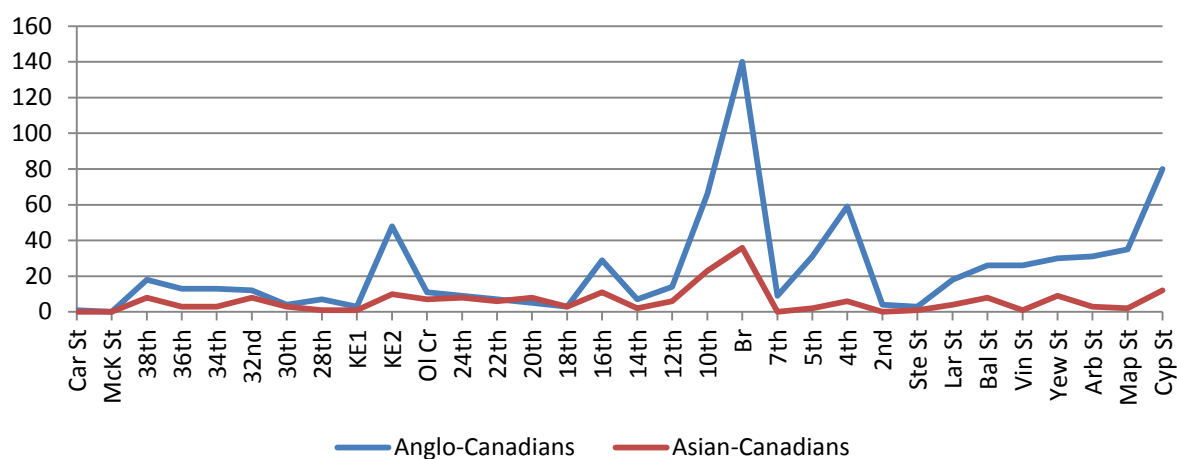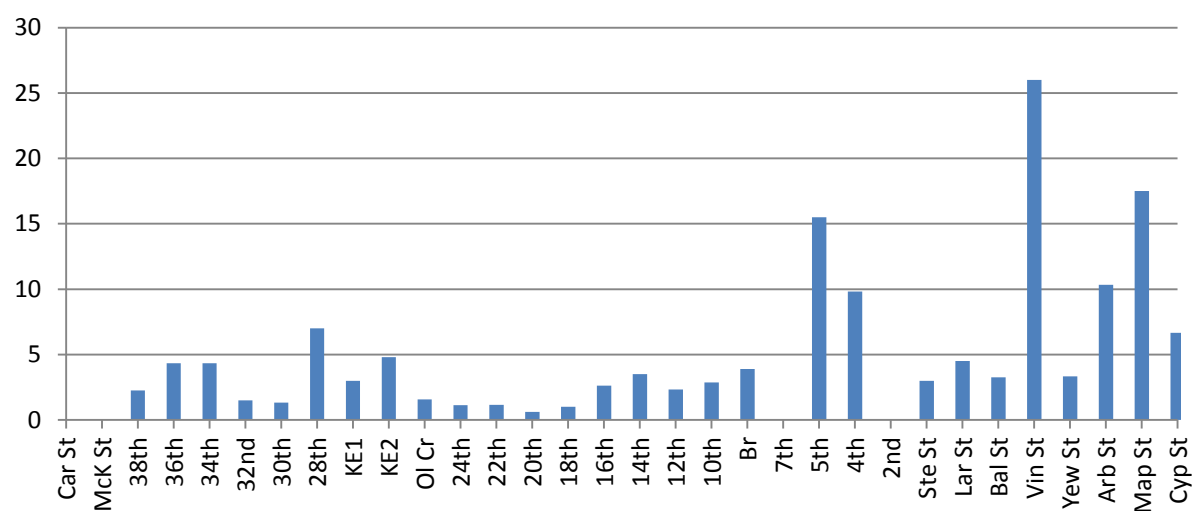Table F1:Overall absolute numbers

Table F2: Anglo-Canadians divided by Asian-Canadians

Table F3: Number of Asian-Canadians getting on and off the bus compared to neighborhood's Asian population density
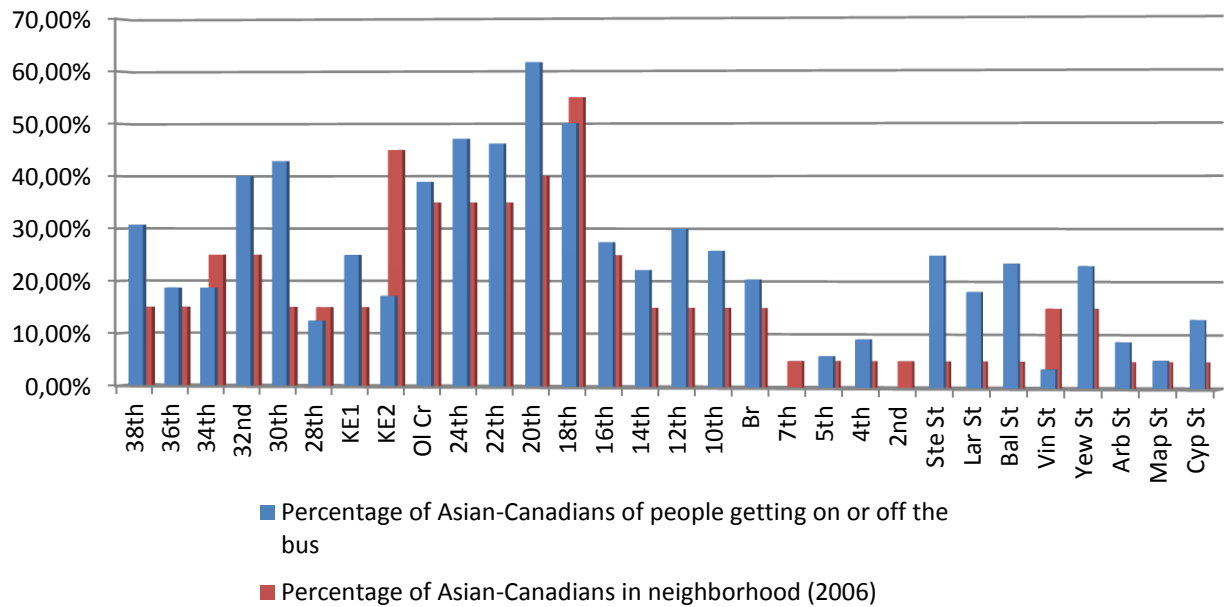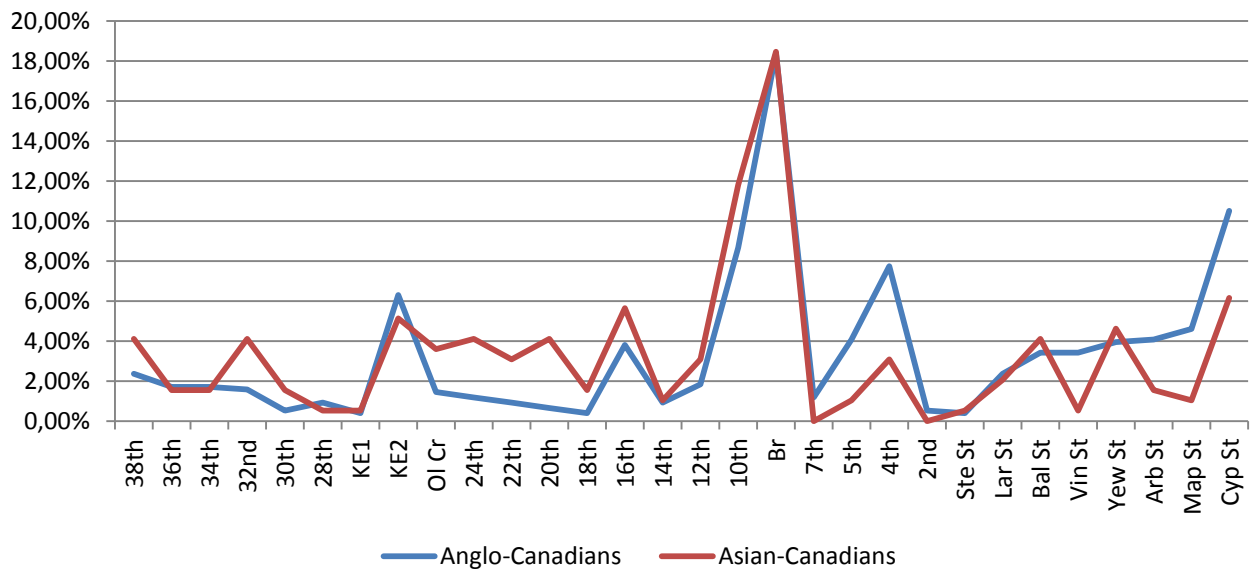
- Percentage of Asian-Canadians of people getting on or off the bus
- Percentage of Asian-Canadians in neighborhood (2006)

Table F4: Percentage getting on or off the bus of total people in category

- Anglo-Canadians
- Asian-Canadians

Appendix G: Interview with François Bertrand, Director, Immigration Policy and Agreements, B.C. Government.

Interview guide, created on April 26th.

- To what extent is BC's policy based on the currently dominant political environment/programs? (Assuming that this policy is an outcome of a certain political attitude)
- What are the other determinants? (financial considerations? Personal considerations?)
- How is the step being made from a political program to a policy program?
- Are there any theoretical notions underlying current policy programs? (i.e. multiculturalism, diversity as clearly operationalized concepts, rather than buzzwords)
- What is the predicted success rate of current programs? What percentage would meet the required outcomes (short- inter- and long term) eventually?
- Is there any attention paid to the migrant's still existing linkages with his home country?

Topics:

- It seems that immigrants are perceived as people who have to/want to fully incorporate into Canadian society. But what about people who don't want to. Participating in programs is voluntarily, but what are its goals in terms of coverage among the immigrants?
- In the different programs (BSCAP, WICWP) it seems that Canadian society is perceived as clearly demarcated container, which collides with the overall image of Canada as a successful multiculturalist society, in which a not only Canadians are recognized, but f.i. Chinese-Canadians as well. If government helps the immigrant building up networks and contacts in Canada, shouldn't it be responsible for reducing/controlling/stimulating the immigrant's contacts with his native country as well?
- The Welcoming Communities approach seems to neglect differences between the various migrants. Wouldn't it be more efficient to acknowledge these differences and to fine-tune this approach somewhat?

Notes on interview with François Bertrand, Director, Immigration Policy and Agreements, B.C. Government.

April 28th, 3pm, 605 Robson St, Vancouver

FB: Maybe the benefits of immigration are not as much taken-for-granted as I (KS) expect.

FB: There are three pillars underlying the immigration to Canada:

1) Economic pillar, on which FB agrees that it is the reason for the people to accept immigration, especially in BC. The prospects are that there will be more than one million job openings in

the upcoming years in BC, predominantly due the aging of society. Additionally, there is evidence of a skills mismatch. E.g. doctors are considerably lacking in B.C., *which is striking to my opinion because (at least) Vancouver's immigration labor force is high-skilled, especially compared to USA and Europe.*

2) Family reunification
3) Refugees (GAP program)

KS: What about diversity and multiculturalism in Vancouver? Canada is proud to be built on multiculturalist foundations, but the Asian communities and the Anglo-Canadian communities are quite segregated.

FB: There are no major problems (there are problems though), so there's no need to be worried.
To me this seems to be an example of pragmatic policy. There are no troubles, so why bother. Theoretical thoughts are lost somewhere, but because it serves a higher goal, living next to each other respectfully, these thoughts are simply put aside.

KS: What about theoretical notions underlying the WelcomeBC program?

FB: Recently we are exploring the notion of circular migration.
Sounds good, but is more it seems because it's in fashion and not because it can contribute to the dialogue.

KS: But still, in the various programs there is not one word on the still existing links between the migrant and his native country. Canadian society is perceived as a container.

FB (not directly answering this question): Efficiency is the biggest priorities. Plus, the big thing still is the mixing and intermingling.
1) Policy talk, just saying the 'right' things. 2) Contradiction: if the big thing is the intermingling and the mixing, then pay attention to it!

Appendix H: Canada's immigrant numbers (Statistics Canada,

http://www5.statcan.gc.ca/cansim/a26)

1955	109,946	**1976**	149,429
1956	164,857	**1977**	114,914
1957	282,164	**1978**	86,313
1958	124,851	**1979**	112,096
1959	106,928	**1980**	143,498
1960	104,111	**1981**	128,794
1961	71,689	**1982**	121,331
1962	74,586	**1983**	89,377
1963	93,151	**1984**	88,599
1964	112,606	**1985**	84,339
1965	146,758	**1986**	99,343
1966	194,743	**1987**	152,031
1967	222,876	**1988**	161,534
1968	183,974	**1989**	191,516
1969	161,531	**1990**	216,424
1970	147,713	**1991**	232,776
1971	121,900	**1992**	254,856
1972	122,006	**1993**	256,754
1973	184,200	**1994**	224,395
1974	218,465	**1995**	212,875
1975	187,881		