

Youth in Plural Cities, Multiculturalism and Citizenship: Policy Challenges and Opportunities

La juventud en ciudades plurales, multiculturalismo y ciudadanía: desafíos políticos y oportunidades

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Abstract: From a comparative focus on ethno-cultural minority youth in Australia, Canada and France, this synthesis addresses five issues: (1) youth's view of themselves and their sense of community; (2) barriers to integration; (3) innovative governmental and community approaches to youth integration; (4) opportunities youth create for themselves; and (5) the impact of policy types and programmes. The Australian research draws a non-linear image of youth's transitions, struggles and their community participation. The Canadian research focuses on transcultural processes of identification, school completion, racial and spatial attachments, and social networks of immigrant youth. The French research strains to hear young people's voices, and struggles to find a way to cope legitimately with social cohesion in a country that does not recognize its inherent plurality. Thus, poverty, spatial segregation, economic disempowerment and political disenfranchisement of youth vary in their severity, sensitive to the multiculturalism and citizenship policy context.

Keywords: youth; multiculturalism; citizenship; sense of community.

Resumen: A partir de un enfoque comparativo de las minorías etno-culturales en Australia, Canadá y Francia, este trabajo trata cinco cuestiones: (1) la visión de los jóvenes de sí mismos y su sentido de comunidad; (2) las barreras de integración; (3) los acercamientos innovadores gubernamentales y comunitarios a la integración de la juventud; (4) las oportunidades que la juventud crea por sí misma; y (5) el impacto de tipos programas políticos. El caso de Australia dibuja una imagen no lineal de las transiciones de los jóvenes, sus luchas y la participación en comunidad. La investigación en Canadá se centra en los procesos transculturales de identificación, la escolarización, la adhesión racial y espacial, y las redes sociales de legitimidad vinculadas a la cohesión social en un país que no reconoce su pluralidad inherente. De tal forma, la segregación espacial, el desempoderamiento y la exclusión política de la juventud varía en su gravedad, sensibilidad hacia la multiculturalidad y en función del contexto político ciudadano.

Palabras clave: juventud; multiculturalidad; ciudadanía; sentido de comunidad.

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1. Introduction¹

Youth matter, as citizens, for their present and future contributions to their countries of residence and origin. It is for their sake, as well as that of the globalised village, that a focus on children and youth of ethnocultural background in minority contexts may contribute to the refinement of multicultural and citizenship policy and practice.

Yet there are many childhoods. What is meant by «child» and «youth» has changed over time and in different historical contexts, contingent upon a wide variety of factors and circumstances, cultural traditions and rituals, and historical variations (Hébert & Hartley, 2006a,b). Today, new definitions that challenge our fundamental conceptions of childhood, youth and the state have resulted in conflicting positions, practices and policies. When considering policy challenges and opportunities, it is essential to keep the multiplicity and fluidity of the conceptions of childhood and youth in mind for these are central to the current debates on youth (Arnett, 2004; Bynner, 2005; Hollands, 2001; Hudon, 2003; Gauthier, 2001; Postman, 1982).

Children and youth are holders of human rights and citizens. Emerging in the post-World War I period, young people's rights have been codified in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989). Protection rights include the right to life, survival and development; as well as the right to protection from abuse, neglect and exploitation (Howe & Covell, 2001; Hudon & Fournier, 2003; Verhellen, 2000). The provisions of rights to access include information, social security, and the highest level of health and education. Participation rights include the right to express an opinion, freedom of thought, conscience and religion, freedom of association, protection of privacy. These rights acknowledge children and youth as meaning-makers and acknowledge their citizenship. Containing civil, political, social, economic, and cultural rights, the Convention demands a comprehensive and interactive interpretation.

Within Western intellectual traditions, there are *two dominant conceptions of young people*, an *angelic* one and a *demonizing* one (Rooke & Schnell, 1983). Beyond these two faces of the middle class ideal lies a *third pervasive conception* in which children and youth are perceived as *consumers*, i.e., as producers, buyers and commodities throughout history, and as buyers in a contemporary market economy (Hébert & Hartley, 2006a,b).

While broad surveys indicate that many teens are doing well (Bibby, 2001), there are nonetheless many indications that all is not well for many young

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people, especially for youth of ethno-cultural origins who are excluded socially, culturally, spatially and economically in plural cities. For example, race riots in the suburbs of Sydney, Australia in December 2005 involved physical and verbal attacks by majority youth against the city's sizable Lebanese community, followed by retaliation by the racial minority. In October 2005, youth in the suburban margins of Paris strongly protested their exclusion from mainstream French society, a protest that spread to about 300 urban communities over an extended period (van Wyck & Donaldson, 2006). In Canada, the arrest of seventeen alleged terrorists in Toronto in 2006 added to the public perception of a rise in gang-related crime and violence among ethno-cultural youth in metropolitan areas (Ontario Terrorism, 2006) and led to eighteen inter-connected key events in this case over the next three years (CBC News, Toronto 18).

The lives of young people today are diverse and multifaceted, and as such, cannot be reduced to the reality of the working world, or to globalization, or to the problems of becoming an adult. Children and youth are themselves able to see great richness of detail hidden behind images of others (Hoerder, Hébert, Schmitt, 2006; Jover & Reyero, 2000). By virtue of their professional responsibilities, policy makers and practitioners in many fields are called upon to see beyond broad social representations of children and youth so as to support their strengths, legitimacy, diversity and vitality.

2. A Tri-Country Comparison: Australia, Canada, and France

Australia and Canada are both federated states, constituted of many groups and peoples, including significant Aboriginal populations, whereas France is a civic republican nation-state (van Wyck & Donaldson, 2006; Inglis & Model, 2007). In all three countries, the increasing presence and claims of pluralist populations are at the heart of public debates focussing on the meaning of citizenship, social cohesion, and national identity.

Australia abandoned its exclusionary whites-only immigration policy prior to 1973 and subsequently adopted a policy of multiculturalism by ministerial decree. This policy is subject to political winds and is now part of ministerial discourses as a cultural diversity policy for economic purposes. The Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander populations were granted equal citizenship three decades ago, yet the Indigenous peoples continue to experience social, economic and educational disadvantage. In contrast, immigrant individuals and groups experience more limited discrimination, variable levels of employment, and more extensive incorporation (Inglis & Model, 2007). Public discourses continue to omit the present situation of Aboriginal peoples and to recognise immigration as diversity (van Wyck & Donaldson, 2006).

Official multiculturalism is synonymous with Canada, where this policy is anchored legislatively and constitutionally, alongside official bilingualism, in 1971 and 1969 respectively. Canadian diversity includes Aboriginal peoples, French and English official language communities, and a long history of immigration. Immigrants of many backgrounds have become integral to the social, economic and political fabric and have shaped Canadian identity and consciousness. Immigration now accounts for more than half of Canada's total population growth and for 70 % of the net growth of the labour market (Wayland, 2006). A multi-national and increasingly poly-ethnic society, roughly one out of every five Canadians would be visible minority in 2017, with new immigrants mostly from East and South Asia, the Middle East and Africa (Bélanger & Malenfant, 2005). Yet Canadian multiculturalism is critiqued as being a myth, with recent visible immigrants experiencing more difficulties in gaining recognition of their credentials and hence, employment, than previous generations (RBC Financial, 2005; S. Guo, 2005). The paradox of multiculturalism lies in its ability to incorporate diversity but also to neutralise dominance and legitimacy while anesthetizing racism and resistance (Bannerji, 2000; Sefa Dei & Calliste, 2000; Henry, Tator, Mattis & Rees, 2006).

France is a republican nation-state, with no policy of multiculturalism. The notion of citizenship is expressed as «nationalité» and is based on a universal understanding; identifications such as ethnicity, language, religion, or other cultural differences are seldom recognized as legitimate. A second notion, «laïcité» or secularism, reinforces nationality, within its strongly integrative Republican model (Lagrée, 2000), which is promoted by the educational system. Discrimination is a long-standing issue for minorities from the former French colonies or areas that were formerly under French influence, notably those from the Maghreb and sub-Saharan Africa. France has been criticized as an immigrant-receiving country that does not recognize itself and whose model of integration renders immigrants invisible (Brinbaum, 2004). For recent immigrants, entry into the workforce, access to housing and access to educational opportunities have proven to be very difficult. The term, 'multiculturalism', fails to enter the public debate on the changing nature of French society, and is received with much reticence, such that it can hardly be spoken, without using stereotypes and clichés that simplify understanding (Brinbaum, 2004; Lagrée, 2000).

3. Five Policy Questions

Five questions inform the tri-country comparison and inspire the dialogue. These are:

- How do youth in Australia, Canada, and France view themselves, and how do they construct a sense of community and belonging to a particular ethno-cultural, regional or national group?
- What barriers to integration do ethno-cultural / racial minority youth face in Australia, Canada, and France? What impact do these barriers have on their sense of citizenship?
- What are some innovative government and community approaches to youth integration? What can governments learn from the experiences of other countries with respect to youth engagement and integration?
- How are young people creating their own opportunities, and what are the approaches to engagement that they value?
- What types of policies and programs of integration are currently in place (e.g., multiculturalism, assimilation) and to what effect?

Each question is addressed in turn in one of the sections below, drawing from the documentation provided from each country and where possible, additional sources without however seeking to be either exhaustive or comprehensive. If provided, each country's documentation is reviewed in a synthetic manner; otherwise, no mention is made.

3.1. *Youth Identities, Sense of Community and Belonging*

Youth's identification, sense of community and belonging are represented in creative, nuanced images in each of the three countries; however, the impact of the three countries' policies is more apparent. The Australian research draws a non-linear image of youth's transitions, struggles and community participation. The Canadian research focuses on transcultural processes of identification, school completion which affects life chances, on racial and spatial attachments, on the formation of social networks of immigrant youth, as well as young people's changing understandings of friendship. The French research recognizes systemic racism, strains to hear young people's voices, and struggles to find a way to cope legitimately with social cohesion in a country that does not recognize its inherent plurality.

Australia

According to the Australian government's Census data, some 43% of Australians are either first or second generation. As of 2001, young people in this country constitute 14 % of the total population. Of these around 15% are first generation, i.e., born overseas, in mainly non-English speaking countries. Over

200 languages are spoken with 21% having a first language other than English; home languages include Cantonese, Arabic including Lebanese, Mandarin, Vietnamese, Italian and Greek. Reflecting the increase in educational participation and the delay of marriage, some 59 % of young people are living in the parental home. Nearly half of all young people (53 %) were attending an educational institution. Of these, 49 % were also working in the labour force, compared with 84 % of those not pursuing further study.

Filling in the statistical portrait, three studies are of some interest in portraying Australian youth in terms of life transitions, drug use and youth culture, and the impact of gender and time on participation. Representing successful attainment of adult status, educational transitions in Australia since the 1970s have become non-linear in response to dramatic changes in the labour market and associated policy shifts in relation to post-compulsory education (Riele, 2004). Young people's consumption of illicit drugs has risen dramatically in Australia but not quite at the rates recorded in the United Kingdom (Duff, 2003). Australian youth, 18-to-34 years old, have four distinct types of participatory experiences (Vromen, 2003). These are termed: activist, communitarian, party and individualistic. Two of these types, activist and communitarian, are differentiated by gender, with women being more participatory. Thus, these studies suggest that policy be reconceptualised for transitions to better match non-linear experiences in contemporary society, that greater attention be given to youth's identity formation to understand recent cultural changes and the meaning of drug use for young people, and that parenting commitments and paid work be taken into consideration in policy development of citizenship participation.

Canada

Canadian youth of a diversity of backgrounds create themselves with layered practices and understandings of their identifications. Their emerging sense of community and their negotiation of belongings provide rich, nuanced portrayals, although somewhat mixed when placed in juxtaposition with barriers to integration. Several themes weave through this section: the impact of immigrant status, gender, race, and discourse on completion rates at the secondary level; struggles with racialized identifications, their changing nature and everyday life; social relationships; the discourses of adolescence; youth's understandings of spatial attachments and the meaning of friendship in the context of migrancy.

Refugee youth in Alberta are doing well in the education system, with about half expecting to complete high school and to continue into post-secondary education, while a third are experiencing some difficulty and the rest expecting not

to finish (Wilkinson, 2002). When compared to Alberta's 75 % completion rate at the secondary level, these refugee youth are faring reasonably well. Yet growing up Black is a challenge for youth in a Prairie City where African Canadians are a slim percentage of the population. They struggle with race, drawing strength and resilience from a range of sources of identity including community and popular culture (Kelly, 1998). Relating to peers, maintaining friendships and connections with people from the Black churches, is particularly important to cope with daily racial slurs. The youth hang out, dance, settle disputes, use patois to distinguish themselves, and return the gaze of others. They are deliberative in their difference, as they come to understand themselves and others in an imperfect world.

In Toronto, youth situate themselves amidst symbols of difference, globalisation, diaspora, and race at the intersection of spatial practices and routes, ambivalence, and subjectivity (Yon, 2000). These youth create their identifications by changing sets of relationships, modifying their discourses, cultural forms and expressions, for ex., clothes, language, and musical interests. Relationships of belonging shift with desires and are shaped by racist practices that marginalize, alienate and brutalize. They engage complexities and incompleteness of everyday social life in a globalised and globalising world (Yon, 2000). Be it in a Toronto or a Prairie City (Kelly, 1998), female black youth learn to cope with gossip and with double standards in inter-racial relationships. Teenage girls in Toronto invest, deploy and experience the discourses of adolescence – storm, becoming, at-risk, social problem, and pleasurable consumption – in relation to each other (Raby, 2002).

A framework for new modes of being takes up notions of

- *transculturation* (Hoerder, Hébert & Schmitt, 2006; Hébert, 2006; Hébert & Murji, 2006; Hébert, Lee, Sun & Berti, 2003; Hébert, 2006, 2003, 2002, 2001; Howe & Covell, 2001; Hudon et Fournier, 2003);
- *glocal spaces* (Sicakkan, 2005) and locality (Appadurai, 1996), and
- *cultural flows* (Appadurai, 1990; Hannerz, 1997; Lash & Urry, 1994; Hudon & Fournier, 2003; Quéniat et Jacques, 2004).

Resources inhering in Calgary youth's relationships, attachments and belongings, social networks and cultural flows occur in glocal spaces of possibility (Hébert, 2006a,b). Such youth draw themselves simultaneously in the present and in the past, in different locales, near/distant, in two or more countries, sometimes with an imaginary past/future return to the country of origin or of passage (Hébert, 2006a,b). Their social networks ebb and flow over time, with the number of friends increasing in the new country and decreasing in countries of origin and passage. Transforming their understanding of friendship, they represent their relationships, in horizontal networks of consensus and mutuality, and

in hierarchical networks of alternating dominance. The horizontal is very frequent in the first two years of settlement, the hierarchical ones dominate during a middle stage of integration (3-9 years in country), with a return to the horizontal one upon seeking a sense of equilibrium after a decade or more of residence in Canada (Hébert, 2006a,b).

Thus, policy development must take into account that youth are deliberative in exploring possibilities of identifications and belongings, that discourses are powerful in constructing potential for agency and/or resistance among teenagers, that having multiple transcultural frames of reference is not unusual in Canadian contexts, and especially that youth integration is a vital long-term process of some 10 to 15 years or more.

France

The integration of youth of immigrant origins is a major social policy issue within citizenship debates that rage in all pluralist democratic countries. In France, for example, youth have been rioting in the streets since 2002, with the social unrest reaching critical proportions and receiving international attention three years later. Yet, the French government documentation for this major social issue refers vaguely to «la crise des banlieues», that is, the crisis of the suburbs.

France has experienced two important periods of migration, during the inter-war period, and after the Second World War (Brouard & Tiberji, 2005). During the second period, immigration rose rapidly, with a maximal flux after the war of independence in Algeria. Later in the 'sixties' (1960-to-1970), immigration diversified. In 1999, the population of foreign-born represented 23 % of the total population of 59 million in metropolitan France. Of this immigrant population, those from the Maghreb – Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria – including all three generations, represent only 3 million people, i.e., 22 % of the total immigrant population (Brouard & Tiberji, 2005).

The portrayal of youth at the time of «la crise des banlieues» may be drawn on the basis of personal observations, journalistic accounts, conversations with youth, and research. In informal conversations, Parisian suburban youth compare the freeway ring around Paris to the Berlin wall (Hoerder, 2006). Residents within the perimeter, 'les Parisiens' dare not venture into the territory beyond, perceived to be dangerous, and vice versa, the suburbanites have no geography of the inside. Their geographic knowledge ends at the entry gates, that is, where the subway lines cross «les portes», which constitute concrete symbols of spatial exclusion for these youth.

The Parisian suburbs are enclaves mostly for social reasons (Vieillard, 2001; Calbérac & Vieillard, 2005). A train and its gate can be a place of rupture,

keeping people out of the centre of the city, socially, symbolically and in reality. It can also be a place of passage and access to mainstream society. In these suburban neighbourhoods, the 'quartiers' are enclaves, given their isolation from the centre, their poor integration into the mainstream, especially in terms of public transportation, and other disadvantages. This places them in a process of fragmentation, exacerbated by globalization, yet in networks, linked instantly to one another by the new communication technologies.

Nonetheless, the inter-group differences are small, once the stories of violence are not placed center-stage (Brouard & Tiberj, 2005a, b). The two groups are remarkably similar, in terms of social distance, shared values, and the negligible influence of religion on attitudes. The Maghrébins and their French counterparts are somewhat dissimilar, with the French of immigrant origins more to the left politically, more attached to religion, more anti-Semitic, more attached to democracy, more sexually intolerant, less authoritarian, but with a higher sense of insecurity. Social class however does seem to have an effect on these youth: a French worker of African or Turkish background is more likely to see him/herself as more 'French' than a French carpenter who is more likely to see himself as a «worker» (Brouard & Tiberj, 2005b).

Thus, at the very core of the 20 year debate, youth identifications and inter-group relations involve issues of religion, political stances, value systems, integration, equity, identity and the sense of community belonging. Contextualized by the results of recent election and current social events, these polemic debates put into question the French republican model of integration. Policy development must then keep in mind the strong linkages between poverty, spatial segregation, systemic exclusions, economic disempowerment, and political disenfranchisement of all youth.

3.2. Barriers to Integration and their Impact

The barriers to integration are similar across the three countries and deal with issues of equality of opportunity, equality of treatment and equality of outcome, as experienced in educational institutions, settlement services, the workforce and daily life.

Australia

A settler society, Australia's story of inter-group relations can be told by looking at educational attainment, economic activity and study, occupational class, avoidance of unemployment, occupational attainment, and income (Inglis &

Model, 2007). Groups of recent migrants, however, appear to integrate into the labour market, with some groups at the lower level of the economy with others showing greater spread in the labour market. Among these groups, it is those with limited knowledge of English and foreign educational qualifications, such as substantial numbers of the Chinese from PRC and Taiwan, who are most likely to experience unemployment and lower occupational status. By the second and third generations, «the ‘ethnic penalties’ suggestive of disadvantage and discrimination have substantially disappeared» (Inglis & Model, 2007).

Canada

The barriers to integration in Canada include the provision of language services, the marginalisation of youth and youth gangs, access to the labour market, and insidious systemic racism. The main barrier is *access to employment* which is the primary need for most newcomers and which helps to reduce other barriers that impact on youth (Anisef & Kilbride, 2003; Anisef *et al.*, 2007) and their adaptive processes.

Language barriers prevent informed choices about health care, education, and other important areas (Anisef *et al.*, 2007). Funding is ad hoc, accessibility limited, the availability of trained adult and school-level educators sparse. Language proficiency is important for access to employment and income, personal development and civic participation. Schools accommodate children and youth with little or no formal educational background, some of whom are coming from trauma or multi-generational illiteracy. Newcomer adolescents without proficiency in one of the official languages, often have considerable difficulty completing their secondary studies (Anisef & Kilbride, 2003; Wayland, 2006). Language, equity and power intersect with passive views of citizenship in the classroom whereas linguistic rights, equivalence and equity are central to active citizenship for immigrant youth in Canada (Hébert, 2005).

Immigrant youth gangs are vastly overdone in the media. An important distinction exists between «social gangs» of like-minded friends and acquaintances; and «criminal gangs» who have very high levels of criminal offending and illicit drug consumption (Wortley & Tanner, 2006; O’Grady & Gaetz, 2004; Perreault & Bibeau, 2003; Kelly & Caputo, 2001). The majority of serious gang members in Toronto are Canadian-born whites (Wortley & Tanner, 2006). Criminal gang membership, in Toronto and Montréal, is however more enduring among severely disadvantaged youth who have become totally disengaged from mainstream society and the legitimate opportunity structure (Perreault & Bibeau, 2003; O’Grady & Gaetz, 2004). These youth are sick at heart from a lack of

friends, social exclusion, isolation and the absence of a network of interpersonal social networks, without collective social referents, given the retreat of religious beliefs, and the weakening of common values (Perreault & Bibeau, 2003).

Exclusion in the Workforce: In recent years, immigrants are better educated, in better health, and at similar career stages as those born in Canada. Yet the evidence shows that they are much less successful in achieving success than earlier waves of immigration. This is due in part because of funding cuts and the credentialing issue in which serious difficulties are experienced in gaining recognition for prior education, skills and work experience (RBC, 2005; Guo, 2009). The process of gaining recognition is hampered by three major barriers: poor information available on the accreditation process, lack of a responsible, coordinated approach for the evaluation of foreign credentials, and lack of agreed-upon national standards. Seeking accreditation in Canada requires a personal journey with multiple players in complex interactions (Guo, 2009).

Insidious Racism: Diffuse racial preferences underlie two hurdles to the integration of youth and adults into the workforce. One is the prevailing attitude toward difference, and the other is the use of knowledge as power. Negative attitudes and behaviours toward immigrants may for example require newcomers to have Canadian work experience before obtaining a job. High school immigrant students, for example, may not understand the language of the classroom, missing much of what is being said and learned. Such incidents are highlighted when a teacher asks a question of such students who, with their limited English skills, cannot respond very well. More likely though, such students tend to be ignored by both teachers and non-immigrant students who then take up the topic leaving the language learners lagging behind. This then makes explicit that such students are left behind as non-citizens, without sufficient linguistic knowledge to participate in classroom interactions. Thus, social and monolingual situations contribute to the marginalisation of students of immigrant origins, thus creating strong negative signs of social and educational exclusions (Sears and Herriot, in process).

Professional and academic knowledge possessed by immigrants is thus deemed inferior and discounted. Their real and alleged differences are claimed to be incompatible with the cultural and social fabric of the 'traditional' Canada (Guo, 2009). Thus the accreditation issue is the new strategy to maintain the subordination of immigrants and to reinforce the extant power relations in Canada.

If social policies are redesigned to reduce gang activity, these must significantly improve racial discrimination and inequalities among disadvantaged populations including Aboriginal and youth of immigrant background (Schissel

& Wotherspoon, 2002; Kelly, 1998), without blaming young people (Schissel, 1997). New policies must focus upon spatial segregation and poverty, that is, economic disadvantage and exclusions from the labour market. Without improving the relative social position of these groups and taking into consideration gender, social programs and other gang suppression efforts are likely doomed. According to Wortley and Tanner (2006, p. 34), the greater the suffering of new immigrants, the greater the risk that their Canadian-born children will turn to gangs as a means to attain power, money and respect.

This ideology of intolerance co-exists in Canada with its commitments to democratic principles, such as justice, equality, and fairness, with these conflicting ideologies referred to as *democratic racism* (Henry, Tator, Mattis & Rees, 2006). Overcoming insidious forms of racism, would require embracing difference and making changes in the existing social, economic, and political order, to develop a *policy of difference and integrative citizenship* and practices that ameliorate the low status of immigrants and create space for multiple voices and perspectives.

France

Systemic exclusion in France is rampant with hideous housing in urban perimeters, a harsh educational system, oppressive policing, and an economic system that leaves these youth massively unemployed in a myopic society with a huge race-and-poverty gap due to economic policies that are unfavourable to these social classes (Brouard & Tiberji, 2005; Charlot, 1999; Djouder, 2006; Saunders, 2005; Smith, 2004). The educational system has two tracks, one for the preferred and elite students that leads to the very best classes and schools; as well as a vocational track for the remainder of the school population, including most immigrant youth, be they first, second or third generation born in France.

Life and learning in «les lycées professionnels» (vocational high schools) in suburban Paris is challenging. For the heterogeneous youth populations in such schools, the specific meaning of secondary schooling is less than clear (Charlot, 1999). School knowledge is not valued, but then neither is professional knowledge. The objective is to obtain a high school diploma that will make work life possible in a good job and then to live a normal life where family happiness is the focus. The world of these youth is centered on relationships, affections, and learnings that are linked to personal development. Centered more on others than themselves, the identities of these youth are defined within a rapport to the world, to others and to oneself, in a combat between the forces and principles of «life» and «my life».

The rapport of these youth to the world is that of personal involvement and to relational proximity, and not an objective order. For girls, a positive affirmation of self operates in the family and at school; for boys, affirmation is located in «la cite», that is, the huge apartment complexes in perimeter areas of Paris. For boys, the vocational high schools require more self-control; and for girls, more personal valuing. Nonetheless, these youth are constantly at risk of exclusion in either of three ways: a rupture of the social and or of the collective; and the loss of a positive self-image (Charlot, Bautier & Rochex, 1992; Hannoun, 1987).

Integration policy in France, currently under the auspices of the Interior Ministry, is designed to serve newcomers who have been in the country *five (5) years or less*, including children and youth in schools. Given the initial objective of teaching the dominant language, French integration policy impacts upon youth in three dimensions – integration, reception and citizenship – as implemented by a government office, la *Direction de l'accueil, de l'intégration et de la citoyenneté (DAIC)*, with its language programmes upon arrival, access to housing and to employment. Located within the Interior Ministry, DAIC provides programmes inscribed within mainstreaming.

After those initial five years, the integration of immigrants is addressed through general policies that target disadvantaged neighbourhoods especially those with a high proportion of foreign born, thus moving from temporal to spatial perspectives. A wide-spread programme called for special support for learning as inscribed within particular neighbourhoods termed, *Zones d'éducation prioritaires (ZÉPs)*, later to be termed, *Zones urbaines sensibles* or *Quartiers prioritaires*. These terms redirect the pupil to familial and other programming, so as to reduce social inequality and to target specific disadvantaged areas, thus as served as main provider of Educational Achievement Programmes (Escafré-Dublet, 2014). Given this temporal emphasis, the French policy and initiatives imply mainstreaming. After those initial years, the integration of immigrants is addressed through general policies that target disadvantaged neighbourhoods, especially those with a high proportion of foreign-population, then retitled, *Programme de Réussite Éducative (PRÉ)*.

Complementing DAIC's scope, a City Ministry develops programmes that disproportionately affect people of immigrant descent, with its programme *'Agence pour la cohésion sociale et l'égalité des chances'* (ACSÉ). Furthermore, local city councils may approach integration policy in different ways, for ex., Lille is experimenting with an area-based approach to inequalities whereas Marseille employs a conflict-resolution approach.

Public schooling was also shaped by these policies. Language instruction for new arrivals became the only legitimate immigrant-centred project in public

schooling (Escafré-Dublet, 2014). Generally, the French Ministry of Education is reluctant to target descendants of immigrants as they hold citizenship, but would prefer to refer to mechanical/technical, linguistic, areal terms of reference.

The only information recorded in the census is nationality, a perspective set within the French republican understanding of equality and the reluctance to recognise any criteria other than nationality as a legitimate basis of distinction, although a distinction was introduced in 1999, between French by birth or by naturalisation, giving rise to intense debate (Patrick Simon, 1999, as cited in Escafré-Dublet, 2014, p. 3). This reluctance to recognize any criteria other than nationality as a legitimate basis of distinction stems from the French republican understanding and ideals of equality. Thus, such socio-institutional structures greatly limit the work of immigrant-based organisations to defend their interests and to participate explicitly in immigrant integration.

The malaise in urban schools in France is also observable in major cities in other countries such as Australia and Canada, albeit to a lesser degree. These tensions include high drop-out rates, poor attendance, boredom, lack of motivation, lack of achievement, inequity in achievement, high remediation rates, lack of job performance, serious and pervasive school violence, and high student anxiety.

An important growing underclass linked to poverty and scarcity of full-time permanent employment for youth exists in France, Australia and Canada, as well as in many other countries. Accessing only low-paying jobs limits the potential of young people to be productive contributors to adult society and to be efficacious active citizens. In the global economy, youth are both workers and consumers, spending their limited income on fashion and leisure as part of a prevailing consumer culture (Côté & Allahar, 2006; Klein, 2000). Whether these are the outcomes of social disorganization created as economic changes erode normative structures and safeguards, or whether they are directly orchestrated by controlling interests in society, does not seem to matter.

In all three countries, school failure and peer rejection are the first indicators of future difficulties, followed by drug use and police arrests in mid-adolescence, bringing youth to view the world as basically unfair and to define themselves in opposition and marginality. Current criminal gang membership is strongly related to low levels of parental education, high levels of parental unemployment, residence in public housing projects and subjective assessments of lower class position. Living in a public housing project is a very strong predictor of gang activity, with the particular combination of poverty with specific geographical local, making housing projects ideal breeding grounds for youth gangs. Thus, youth gangs are domestic phenomena, with roots in the Canadian, Australian and/or French experiences marked by social class and social alienation. Produced

by intolerant societies, these are the children of poverty, of racism and of violence (Perreault & Bibeau, 2003).

What is most important is that policy makers and practitioners recognize the economic disempowerment and political disenfranchisement of all youth (Côté & Allahar, 2006). There are immediate social policy implications for restructuring society to assure normative economic, social, and political benefits for all youth, and for enhancing the quality of schooling, the settlement and integration experiences, as well as pluralist understandings and practices of citizenship that enhance mutual recognition, empathy for one another's views, and benevolence towards others.

3.3. *Innovative Approaches to Youth Integration*

The three countries exhibit very different approaches and styles in the provision of programming to assure youth integration. Currently, the Australian government representations talk about their cultural diversity policy to maximise economic benefits from its population diversity and workforce. Canada's multiculturalism law and clause the Charter of Rights and Freedoms is permissive, in promoting cultural retention and diversity, without an economic overlay. In France, the innovative Charter of Diversity in Business, was initiated by a couple of researchers, picked up by business and professional associations, and is currently led by such a group. The larger piece, declaring 2006, the year of the Equality of Opportunities, is a short-term, one year only initiative, originating in the Prime Minister's office, delegated to a minister of ethno-cultural background. Neither one of these two initiatives has any explicit basis in law other than the retrospective claim that the constitutional guarantee of the equality of human rights applies to cultural diversity, in other words, as part of a right to work.

Thus, without having legally embedded cultural diversity as a right in and of itself, and as a democratic value in two countries (Australia & France), cultural rights are masked within the logic and discourse of the neo-liberal market economy and the current approach to governance. There is no guarantee, then, that these initiatives will be sufficient to address the economic disempowerment and political disenfranchisement of all youth, nor to be able to heal the deep rifts in minority youth's hearts and lives.

Australia

The country's *National Cultural Diversity Policy* aims to encourage and support the private sector in capitalising on the advantages arising from

Australia's diverse population, including its cultural and language skills, business networks and market knowledge, and to remove barriers to diverse contributions to Australia's economic prosperity (Dhanji, 2009). Additionally, a program titled *Living in Harmony* promotes mutual respect and acceptance as shared responsibilities, focuses on shared values, and encourages understanding and addresses intolerance.

A whole-of-government approach to youth issues brings several departments to direct responsibility for encouraging active participation of young people, including migrant youth, in all aspects of Australian life, with a sampling of programs listed below, as informed by an Australian Government Contribution to a ten page discussion paper, titled: *Integration of Ethno-cultural Youth in Australia*.

- The program, *Newly Arrived Youth Support Services*, provides a range of culturally and contextually appropriate services, to re-engage youth who are homeless or at risk of homelessness, with their families, education, training, employment and the community.
- The offshore *Humanitarian Programme* takes in people who are outside their home country and cannot return, with a rising proportion of youth entering Australia. In consultation with the UN High Commission on Refugees and the Refugee Council of Australia, the primary focus for settlement in Australia will be Africa.
- The *Unaccompanied Humanitarian Minors* program looks after non-citizen children under the age of 18 and who do not have a parent to care for them in Australia; and works with the child welfare authority.
- Funded through *Settlement Grants Programme*, the project, *Young Refugees in the Picture* is an example of capacity building among refugee youth in metropolitan and rural Australia.
- The *Adult Migrant English Program* includes entrants under the age of 25 who are not otherwise enrolled in schooling, with free tuition, for basic language skills to assist them to settle successfully.
- To assist unemployed young people into work, the main way is the *Job Network*, through several venues, such as a *Job Placement, Employment and Training Programme*, and *Green Corps*, an environment training programme.
- Established to advise government, the *Muslim Community Reference Group* has developed a *National Action Plan* intended to build social cohesion, harmony and security. This plan includes possibilities for a world class centre of faith and educational excellence in Islamic Studies within a major Australian university; interfaith dialogues; a counselling

and support helpline for the Muslim community; projects including the *Mentor Marketplace*, for working with 12 to 25 year olds, at risk of disconnecting from family, community, education, and the workplace, being piloted in an area of significant Muslim population.

More generally, youth representation is encouraged, for example, through the *National Youth Roundtable*.

Canada

Youth integration programmes in Canada tend to focus on the settlement period, particularly important as this is the time when youth and their families are more likely to be in crisis than in later periods of integration. Programme delivery includes services for immigrant youth provided by immigrant serving agencies with funding partners, to those which are designed within partnerships, be it with parents, community groups, school districts and or foundations.

A promising practice in youth services, the Multicultural Youth Circle Program addresses the process of integrating into a new life and works with youth who are 14 to 24 years old in Vancouver (Immigrant Services Society of BC). The program, offered by the Immigrant Services Society of BC, addresses racism and discrimination, communication skills, self-care and coping strategies, cross-cultural leadership and facilitation skills, thus focusing on social responsibility and civic engagement. It also counts for credit as part of Grades 10-12, involves youth in all levels of decision-making and evaluation, uses a wide range of teaching approaches, and invites strong presentations from other youth organisations.

An integrated service delivery framework (Building Systemic Solutions, 2005) enhances supports to refugee children and youth of the Afghan community, in cooperation with a school district and the Immigrant Services Society of BC. In a first stage, consultations with parents, school administrators and the ISS identified a long list of needs for services. A second-stage multi-party consultation led to the implementation of a range of activities, followed by informal internal evaluation to gather feedback on its rapid-response strategies and tactics. Among unanticipated outcomes is the multiplication of the program with the Black African community, the establishment of similar pre-literacy programs with other school districts, and an application to the relevant ministry to have adolescent pre-literates recognized in a special way so as to increase funding for their education and allied services.

The Vancouver Foundation is preparing a multi-year campaign, to take up a decisive provincial leadership role that will shape the future course of British Columbia (Concept Paper, 2006, p. 6). In Phase I, the Foundation undertakes a

high level stakeholder consultations and a summary of current research on ESL. Phase II will initiate a multi-year campaign/program that would start and finish with a round table, interspersed with working groups focussing on specific topics.

France

The current initiative promotes the equality of opportunities and of diversity via a policy on employment, education and social policies, p. ex., l'Égalité des chances (2006) du Bureau du Premier Ministre; ainsi que la Charte de la diversité dans l'entreprise. In the domain of education, with the mastery of fundamental knowledge and access to new paths to success in the school system, will come the discovery of the trades, apprenticeships programmes, and voluntary civil service. In the struggle against discriminations and the promotion of diversity, new powers will be conferred. In the domain of employment, to support the offer of working positions, companies, small, medium and large, are being invited to sign on a charter and to create new jobs for immigrant youth. Moreover, 300 enterprises have signed on a Charter of Diversity in Business, an initiative from the private sector. The government is claiming that the results are visible.

3.4. Youth's Own Opportunities and Approaches to Engagement

Often perceived as apathetic to political participation, uninvolved in voting, uninterested in volunteering and government, lacking political knowledge, and ignorant of their rights, young people's citizenship is considered to be problematic, a future status to be prepared for (ONeill, 2003; Pammett & LeDuc, 2003; Quiéniart & Jacques, 2004). Yet there is ample evidence to the contrary.

Sensitive to increasing pluralism and to their own diversity, most young people believe and accept Canada's policy of multiculturalism (Lee & Hébert, 2009; Levesque, 2003; Charland, 2003); Ethno-cultural youth decry the loss of values, family communication and social framework in their country of adoption, which brings about solitude, anomie and violence. At the same time, youth value freedom, equality and pluralism, defining themselves with these social policies, which permit them to explore and play with cultural identifications. For the most part, youth accept social rules for living together, develop respect, moderation and tolerance as part of citizenship, and accept that differences and tensions that follow are inevitable. Many recognize that society is composed of a plethora of antagonistic groups, some of which are marginalised. More specifically, many realize that citizens are not powerless, that they can interact to improve problem

areas such as racism and sexism; that they can initiate within institutions and in civil society, such that justice and equity prevail. Most recognize that the social contract that is Canadian democracy is founded on freedom, respect of others, equality, justice, social and cultural rights, access to employment and revenues for all.

Young people hold three understandings of citizenship which intersect with inclusion and exclusion, while holding a self-perception as «insider» or «outsider», as revealed in a UK study (Smith, Lister, Middleton & Cox., 2005). These include *first* a general understanding that citizenship is universal, that everybody is a citizen. *Second*, work obligations are recognised as part of wider social interdependence. These youth however consider that only respectable economically independent citizens count. Responsibilities such as voting and formal parliamentary politics are seen as the purview of waged, tax-paying employees with their own families, houses and car, which implies that only the respectable economically independent citizen counts. This view of citizenship leaves them feeling like «second-class citizens» and excludes them as many youth are unemployed, enrolled in education or engaged in unpaid family care work (Smith *et al.*, 2005). *Third*, the youth consider citizenship to be helping people, having a positive impact, contributing to society, helping the community, being a good neighbour as part of general reciprocity of mutual relations, supporting the vulnerable, participating in political action and awareness-raising. The «socially constructive citizen» informs an alternative salient vision of citizenship for these youth. In this light, formally organized voluntary service as «unpaid work» has limited practical relevance for young people. Citizenship is perceived in multi-dimensional, fluid and dynamic terms for these youth who, at different points, felt «more» or «less» of a citizen (Smith *et al.*, 2005).

This suggests that citizenship is a contingent, life-long project, which can be either inclusionary or exclusionary for young people who engage constructively in their communities. In terms of social policy, giving greater prominence to the constructive social participation model of citizenship requires shifting from interventions that promote student vote and formalized community service, in favour of recognizing and supporting what young people believe and do as citizens.

3.5. *Types of Integration Policies and their Effects*

At issue are cultural rights, which follow upon the civic, political and social rights developed earlier in democratic countries around the world (Marshall, 1963). The three countries exhibit three very different types of cultural policy.

Only one country has enshrined its cultural and linguistic policies as laws and into their constitution. Two countries have a cultural policy: one is permissive, the other subsumed in an economic ideology. The third country has a de facto policy of harsh assimilation under the banner of civic republican universalism.

- Canada's multiculturalism policy and law promotes cultural retention and diversity, as valuable in and of themselves. Originating in the early 1970's, this policy seeks to reduce societal tensions and to accommodate peacefully the various collectivities in Canadian society: the French-English divide, the Aboriginal peoples now recognized politically as nations, and the many poly-ethnic groups. This cultural policy and law permits a multiplicity of cultural identifications, two official linguistic identifications, and supports a political identity as Canadian.
- Australia's fascination with multiculturalism remains at the level of policy, without formalising this notion as law or constitution, developing services, programmes and implementation procedures. This country's cultural diversity policy tends to maximise economic benefits from its population's diversity and workforce. As in other countries, Australia engages in humanitarian refugee and immigrant work, but does not formally recognize the intrinsic value of cultural identifications and economically exploits its diversity.
- France has had no cultural diversity policy and still does not today, given its strong republican stance of universalism. All benefit from a shared body of human rights as enshrined in the French constitution. That universalism leaves no room for official recognition of cultural or racial difference. It is the French culture, albeit viable and attractive to tourists and language learners from around the world, that is at the heart of the life of this country.

Unfortunately, there is an inverse relationship between policy and today's concerns with the increasing presence and claims of pluralist populations which are at the heart of public debates focussing on the meaning of citizenship, social cohesion, and national/political identity. Nonetheless, examples of discrimination occur in the

With harsh assimilation as de facto policy position, it is France that has endured the most widespread revolt and that treats its young to the most extreme forms of poverty, spatial segregation, systemic exclusion, political disenfranchisement, and economic disempowerment. Australia comes in a close second. Although in an earlier era, it adopted a patina of multiculturalism and more recently a lightweight policy of cultural diversity, these policy tools are unable to counter-balance inter-group tensions. These lightweight policies are insufficient

to limit brutal forces and to assuage youth's experiences of harsh exclusion, of social segregation, economic disempowerment and political disenfranchisement.

Canada's youth experiences are far more muted given the weight of multiculturalism in a bilingual context as policy and law of the land. There is however reason to worry. These policies and laws camouflage on-going tensions between groups, tensions borne by young people, who although most believe in multiculturalism, are nonetheless subjected to economic, social and political disadvantage.

Thus, given the extreme conditions created by globalisation with its neo-liberal individualistic ideology, all youth are affected by economic disempowerment and political disenfranchisement. It is with finely-tuned formulations of policy and human rights that governments have the power to modify and lessen the economic, cultural, social and political impacts on the young.

4. Reflection and Critique

Today, there are a complexity and diversity of issues around identity, multiculturalism and citizenship which challenge policy makers and practitioners alike. One of these issues is so fundamental that it is oft forgotten – that the categories and constructs that we think with are sometimes useful and yet can limit our views and vision of our societies. These can flaw research and policy. A good example of that is the word «race» that continues to be used in popular discourses as a cover term for «people of colour», a category of people to be feared, disparaged, segregated, and disadvantaged (Pain, 2001). Yet youth themselves, who come in a range of colours, value difference and pluralism, if and when social and cultural policies established suitable conditions. Let us consider the meanings of social categories, difference and integration, and youth, as these give cause for reflection and critique, and are preliminary to building policy capacities and recommendations.

Issues of Language

The power of language used to refer to integration, ethnicity and race are worthy of our reflection (Li, 2003). The term, «integration» for example, is commonly used in France and Australia to mean assimilation. In Canadian immigration discourse, «integration» refers to the desirable way by which newcomers should become members of the receiving society. As used in policy statements, immigration debates, and academic writings, the prevailing discourse endorses a conformity model in assessing immigrants and a monolithic cultural framework

that preaches tolerance in the abstract, but remains intolerant toward cultural specificities deemed to be outside the mainstream. The subtext is clear – becoming similar is integration; and maintaining cultural difference is opposite to integration. A more complex, inclusive approach is advocated to actualise the ideal of multiculturalism (Kilbride, 2014; Li, 2003).

The complex and ill-defined term «ethnicity» was first used to distinguish minor differences between European populations and is poorly suited for understanding the new colour complexity of plural societies (Brunsmas & Tockquemore, 2001). It does not seem to fit realities in an era of global alliances for common purposes. As a cover term for culture, race, and religion, the term «ethnicity» blurs understanding, obfuscates and neutralises dominance. As euphemism for racism, the phrase, «ethnic penalties» implies that the penalties were somehow well deserved, thus blaming the individual for systemic discrimination and oppression.

Other phrases carry a negative connotation, too. For example, a phrase, «the group were not able to obtain employment» blames the individual for inability in job hunting or lack of qualifications, without acknowledging systemic discrimination. It would be more accurate to recognize that there are many structural and racist factors that prevent and block a search for employment. Furthermore, such discrimination is due to deep distinctions between ‘self’ and «other» resulting from the way the dominant group constructs what counts as difference and knowledge (Guo, 2009). A new lexicon and paradigm are needed.

The Construction of Youth

The concept of youth extends more widely across the lifespan, squeezing childhood and extending into adulthood (Arnett, 2000, 2004; Blackman, 2005; Côté, 2000; Mizen, 2002; Schwartz, Côté, Arnett, 2000). Moreover, all the usual cues that a young person is approaching adulthood no longer signal completion of the change, be it getting a driver’s license, steady employment, departure from the parental home, courtship and marriage, birth of a child, buying a home and assuming mortgage and so on. Today, these are mostly markers of the middle class.

What Then Is it to Be a Youth?

Thinking of youth as emerging adulthood is useful in drawing attention to the impact of technological transformation and globalization on youth, as well as the premium placed by employers on qualifications, and the great uncertainty about the future (Côté & Allahar, 2006). For many, this means the postponement of commitments involved in partnership and parenthood, as well as the

maintenance of the single life style. Relationships within the family also change as young people stay on longer, with the tensions of adolescence giving way to more mature forms of interaction. At least in principle, there is a greater array of choices, a more extended set of opportunities, than at any previous time. Nevertheless, the entry points into emerging adulthood differ depending on prior achievements and the constraints these put on a range of life-course plans. All youth however do not march in step or change all elements at the same pace on the same rhythm. For many, the traditional routes to adulthood are still very much in place, not as the norm for most youth, but for a sizable proportion.

The policy implications are many. Tracing differentiated paths through broad educational routes to different destinations in the workplace and in the postsecondary system exemplifies the scope and complexity of the issue. Assuming that most youth are doing reasonably well may overlook those who have not had the opportunities and resources to navigate their way through the early stages of adult life. Thus, effective youth policy needs to be inclusive. This means loosening the traditional boundaries that stand in the way of opportunity while assuring that all enabled emerging adults to take advantage of them (Bynner, 2005).

The Construction of Difference

The meaning of «difference» has changed over time. The conversation today is about how to «think affirmatively about identity without either freezing or dissolving difference among groups» (Taylor, 1994; Isin & Wood, 1994, p. 14) which goes beyond identity as essential difference or as social prejudice to be overcome. From this perspective, identity is a strategic performative competence that acknowledges a desire to affirm identities and to transcend them. Imagining the cultural other is the first step in building a civic identity (Abowitz, 2002; Hébert, 2002; Hoerder, Hébert & Schmitt *et al.*, 2005). The strategic identification evokes and involves rights and responsibilities for deliberation and participation.

Imagining the other as a citizen and the process of integration is a two-way street. Successful integration would, henceforth, refer to the «process of granting citizenship rights and social entitlements to newcomers and allowing them to exercise these rights, including the right and legitimacy to challenge the status quo». In other words, integration means giving newcomers «the right of contestation, the legitimacy of dissent, and the entitlement to be different» (Li, 2003). Thus, integration includes newcomers in a democratic process of participation, deliberation, and negotiation, to shape the future with other citizens.

Youth's understandings are important to the development of citizenship policy. Adopting a model of socially constructive and integrative citizenship,

policy could, for instance, recognize the altruism that underlies youth participation in everyday life as part of a general reciprocity of mutual relations, helping people, being a good neighbour, supporting the vulnerable, participating in political action and awareness-raising. Taking up this salient vision of youth citizenship, policy could also support political action and awareness-raising initiatives created by or with youth leadership. To sustain youth's engagement in fundamental identity work as part of citizenship, policy could recognize and support initiatives that explore and celebrate multiple belongings and political identification, that support youth in negotiating places, times and relationships in a variety of landscapes from postmodern and critical perspectives.

5. Research and Policy Capacities

Building the research and policy capacities are necessary to the refinement of multiculturalism and citizenship. This means developing networks and teams of interconnected and collaborative researchers, policy makers, and practitioners. They would consciously draw on different research methodologies and disciplinary traditions, to develop a lexicon of identity and youth, to examine the relationships between policy and practice, between knowledge and politics (Hébert, 1999; Kilbride, 2014; Popkewitz and Fendler, 1999). Policy development must then keep in mind the strong linkages between poverty, spatial segregation, systemic exclusions, economic disempowerment, and political disenfranchisement of all youth.

With planetary flows of ideas, images, culture, people, finance and commodities, the ideal of multiculturalism is increasingly relevant to a postmodern globalized age (Samad, 1997). Its detachment from a duly constituted body of policies and laws means that it floats as a global solution to the national problems and practices of a country, whatever the case may be. Without being inscribed in constitutional law guaranteeing multicultural rights and responsibilities, without clear implementation procedures, without a clear understanding of integration, multicultural policy is doomed to failure in everyday life.

5.1. *Policy Recommendations*

Policy matters. It imagines a vision for society, defines its cultural, structural and social plurality, and predicts consequences in different societies or part-societies. Social policy heavily influences the integration of migrant groups into a society (Samad, 1997; Lyon, 1997; Hébert, 2005; Quéniart et Jacques, 2004).

At issue are the forms of political identification and participation that are deemed legitimate in light of existing social structures. Care must be taken

therefore to avoid reifying identity as a collection of fixed, discrete, unchanging collective traits transmitted from generation to generation. Care and attention must be given to select discourses that transcend essentialist and constructivist views of identity, but that allow for critical perspectives and move rapidly towards social justice for all persons within a given country. Given the nature of youth's identity formation and engagement as well as effective language learning, emphasis must be given in policy and programming to creativity, fluidity, performance and strategic competence (Guo & Hébert, 2014). Attention must also be given to the necessary knowledge for the comprehension of familial links, laws, and obligations that flow from common law² (LaViolette & Audet, 2014).

What is needed then is a new policy articulation and laws in countries that embody that socio-educational vision. A new policy would clarify the meaning of multicultural and integrative principles and make possible creative solutions that embrace youth and that open possibilities for better understanding among peoples and that recognize a «deep diversity», i.e., a diversity of diversities across all domains of life (Kilbride and Scott Johnson, 2014). Thus, we recognize this as a policy of difference and integrative citizenship, one that lives every day and recognizes every person.

5.2. *Engaging Youth as Citizens Today and in the Future*

To develop multicultural societies that genuinely integrate newcomer youth, policy development would take up a long term perspective, rather than short term fixes. Such policies would favour the development of ways to live together peacefully. All citizens would have a duty to the future which, for youth, would mean the development of a life project for the future (un devoir d'avenir), albeit one that is revisited from time to time. In support of life projects, government policies would favour programmes for youth that:

- Develop friendship networks based on relationships between youth learners, friends, family, teachers, adult workers;
- Reward young people for what they already do, helping others, as valuable citizenship contributions;
- Create authentic workplace experiences wherein youth enrolled in studies, learn to take on the responsibilities of work, without neglecting their studies or dropping out of school; and
- Create new cultural forms and flows, within national (for ex., Canadian) and global frames of reference.

² <http://www.editionsyvonblais.com/product-detail/lessentiel-du-droit-de-la-famille-dans-les-provinces-et-territoires-de-common-law-au-canada/#sthash.6O8aAeQk.dpuf>

Government would also join with schools, communities, cities and other partners, including philanthropic interests, to:

- Sustain community-based programs which positively extend and enhance youth's learning, their social networks; programs that also support parents;
- Establish public spaces and resources for cultural expression, recreation and sports;
- Establish world-class centres for global citizenship which cater to youth;
- Create and sustain public glocal spaces, where difference is commonplace and is taken for granted;
- Create institutions and workplaces that eliminate systemic exclusion;
- Develop housing and urban areas that eliminate spatial segregation; and
- Adopt an economic model that eliminates poverty, economic disempowerment and political disenfranchisement.

These recommendations are intended to accept youth as they are, with all their creativity and explorations, to support youth as they struggle with global forces, and to create society as a closer & tighter weave of relationships, without exclusions that oppress and/or discriminate.

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