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Rethinking Integration as Cosmopolitan Subjectivities:  
From migrant & minority to citizen of the world: Evidence from la  
francophonie de Calgary

Yvonne Hébert

University of Calgary

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For additional information contact:

**PMC Working Paper Series**

Attention: Mrs. Lenise Anderson, Editorial Assistant  
Suite 2-060 RTF Building, 8308 – 114 Street, University of Alberta  
Edmonton, AB T6G 2E1 Canada  
Tel: (780) 492-0635 Fax: (780) 492-2594  
Email: lenise@ualberta.ca  
Web Site: <http://pmc.metropolis.net>

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Rethinking Integration as Cosmopolitan Subjectivities:  
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University of Calgary

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**Abstract**

Given the global scope of migration and ensuing integration, identity and citizenship issues, this paper explores the re-emerging concept of cosmopolitanism for its subjective possibilities for individuals in the process of integrating in to a new location, a new society. From a literature review, a set of possible positionings is tentatively identified and applied to two sets of interviews with French-speaking migrants in Calgary, as part of la Francophonie, a national minority. The results of the analysis provide evidence to support a Cosmopolitan position as key to the multiplicities of integration, identity formation and citizenship.

**Key words:** cosmopolitanism, subjectivities, integration, identity, citizenship, francophone

Notions of integration have been largely circumscribed by national and regional boundaries, with migrants developing complex intergroup relations and cross-cultural contact over time and place (Loewen & Friesen, 2009). Understandings of integration, however, vary widely (Li, 2002). As evidenced in statistical analyses, public media, populist discourse and academic research, these include expectations of immigrants, selected or not, (a) to match the social and economic performance of native-born ‘average’ Canadians; (b) to take up cultural and normative standards of Canadian society; and over time (c) to resemble Canadians in terms of behaviour and psychological profiles, with the “persistence of cultural diversity or ethnicity interpreted as resistance to assimilation” (Li, 2002: 49-50). In other words, integration is defined in comparison to standards based on those born in Canada. Since this subordinates immigrant groups to native-born Canadians, this underlying perspective favours the socially dominant groups at the expense of subordinate immigrants, with the dominant group holding negative stereotypes of the Other (Sidanius and Pratto, 1999; Nagayama Hall, 2010). This allows racist considerations of non-white immigrants as being ‘too many’, to be arriving faster than can be absorbed and to be inscribed in an adaptive process exacerbated by differences in language, culture, tradition, and values (Li, 2002). Even allowing for multiculturalism and integration as dialogic processes among many, what these views reveal is that assimilative understandings of ‘integration’ persist and have become painfully apparent, surprisingly so, in a country proud of its multicultural policies and laws. What these assimilative views miss, however, is that the native-born population today is the result of previous processes of adaptation contributing to a continuously evolving sense of Canadian-ness.

Today, with instant global communication and remarkable ease of travel, those who have experienced migration and or mobility as well as the youth generation have multiple attachments and extensive knowledge of the world, grounded in lived and virtual experiences. This must be taken into consideration in wondering what it means to be integrated in Canadian society, especially since this society is, according to its policies and laws, officially bilingual and multicultural. From such contradictions flows the need for rethinking integration as a far more complex process, necessitating new methodological conceptualisations to build a frame of reference beyond the nation to analyse new social conflicts, adaptations, dynamics and structures (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2009; Beck, 2006, 2002a, b).

The sense of being part of something bigger than one's country is pervasive among young people today who insist that they are part of a greater world, that they are global citizens, moving well beyond the confines of local ethnos, local community, local schools and religious institutions. Young people participate eagerly in a world well beyond national borders (Hoerder et al, 2005). Second generation adolescents, of immigrant parents, in schools in Toronto, Winnipeg and Calgary engage in three forms of mobility: mobility of mind, body and boundary, all forms responding to globalisation (Hébert, Wilkinson & Ali, 2008). In Europe, national and transnational identities are particularly significant in geographical youth mobility whereas family and peer networks are salient in mediating migratory movements; moreover, regional and national economic performance as well as national and European policies impact upon youth mobility patterns (Cairns, 2010). While students in Canadian schools learn to accept and respect one another, due in part to multicultural policies as enacted in curriculum and schools (Hébert & Lee, 2006), individual human rights are not sufficient to guarantee against denigration in everyday life that groups may suffer, nor are these sufficient to thwart the vulnerabilities of people in social relationships in which they live their lives (van Hooft, 2010, 2009; Honneth, 2007, 1995).

The realities of contemporary life reveal the complexities of living within diversity as a normal part of co-existence, with multiple belongings. These continuing realities, shared by migrants and minorities, require new analyses and theories to support cosmopolitan connections between peoples in a highly interactive and intense globalising world, so as to start from global variability, global interconnectedness and global intercommunication (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2009) in order to cultivate better understandings of changing political, sociological and psychological attributes of societal change. Thus, is situated the relevance of cosmopolitan subjectivities, its possible positionings and practices.

Of considerable relevance to notions of integration and complex cosmopolitan subjectivities are two data sets collected in Calgary. One set consists of narratives elicited from graduates of Francophone high schools in minority contexts enrolled in an English language university and the other, an ensemble of interviews with adults, about half of whom are recent arrivals from either side of the Sahara in Africa, participating in a study of French language immigration with respect to la Francophonie in Calgary (Hébert & Wanner, 2010). These French speaking youth and adults in the Canadian West are moving beyond the confines of their

assignment as migrants and as national minority, so as to redefine themselves and to broaden horizons for situating themselves with ease and comfort in globalised contexts. This reconstruction of self is sensitive to two major identity tendencies, that is, the resurgence of linguistic rights as well as global migration, contributing to a diasporic formation of an international Francophonie in complex processes of localisation and globalisation.

Shifting identifications among this national minority are not new. In previous eras, as Francophones migrated internally from Québec and l'Acadie (the Maritimes) to other parts of Canada, there was in each instance a process of localisation, resulting in cultural and technical adaptations as well as shifts of identifications while maintaining a sense of belonging to a larger collectivity (Frenette, 2004). The displacement of peoples provokes profound questionings and redefinitions of self and of belongings, especially for subjected peoples, thus producing vigorous cultures of opposition and resistance to a dominant power (Bauman, 2006). In Canada, this is observable in the discourse of resistance emanating from Québec towards the federal government and in the discourses of victimhood from minority language groups across the country (Bernard, 1998; Castonguay, 1997, 2002a, 2002b). However, increasing sophistication, especially with the winning of school governance, is emerging to reposition French-speaking peoples within complex processes of localisation and globalisation (Behiels, 2004) as well as horizontal forms of governance in which the state is a partner (Cardinal, 2006), requiring a move towards greater citizen engagement (Denis, 2008, 2006; Hébert & Wanner, 2010).

To examine such complexities, this paper addresses the question, *what does it mean to be cosmopolitan?* In the next section, the various forms of cosmopolitanism are explored from ethical, political, cultural and sociological perspectives, seeking both conceptual and methodological understandings of cosmopolitan subjectivities. The subsequent section proposes an analytic set of possible positionings and practices as evidence of cosmopolitan subjectivities and takes these up for a thematic analysis of perspectives and experiences of participants in two relevant research projects on migrant and minority Francophones in Calgary. The final section offers a critical reflection on the scope and significance of the emergence of cosmopolitan subjectivities in these populations, their future, and their relevance for the understanding of integration.

## *COSMOPOLITANISM AS COMPLEXITY, KINDNESS AND CONNECTION*

In its many forms and its resurgence in times of crisis in China as in Europe, cosmopolitanism provides much leavening for thought and consideration for possible theories and orientations to the world (Xiao, 2010). Common to all cosmopolitan views is the notion that all human beings belong to a single community, reflecting a positive moral ideal of a universal community. In other words, all humans are of equally moral standing and this community should be cultivated. The various forms of cosmopolitanism envision this ethical standard and global community in different ways, with some focusing on political institutions and others on shared moral, ethical and or cultural expressions. The term, cosmopolitanism, is used widely used in various disciplines, especially global ethics, political science, international relations, political philosophy, sociology, cultural studies and history. Although the literature is abundant, its review will necessarily be relatively brief in the confines of this paper.

As a global *ethical* theory of the nature of human well-being, of the good life well-lived, cosmopolitanism is an ensemble of moral perspectives that overcome normative divisions between one's own people and those of others (Brown, 2009). In a country of diversity, this involves the development "of habits of coexistence: conversation in its older meaning, of living together, association" (Appiah, 2006, p. xix). For him, this means to accept difference, understand it for what it is, without feeling the need to change it for something familiar to ourselves, thus arguing against some expectations of integration in Canadian contexts. This view of cosmopolitanism as the need for kindness to strangers and as a moral commitment to our global neighbours requires that all states respect the rights of their citizens and meets their needs. If states fail to do so, then it becomes our collective obligation and an equally fundamental cosmopolitan commitment for which we do our fair share (Appiah, 2006).

As a global *political* theory of a world-wide community, cosmopolitanism focuses on the *demos* and is concerned with legal frameworks and institutional structures adapted to globalisation, in a search for a form of world governance (van Hoof, 2009). For political scholars and educators, this involves consideration of the dynamic process of international human rights crossing over into domestic law, for example, assuring the human rights of legal and illegal aliens, a step towards the integration of strangers into the full status of national citizenship (Kymlicka, 2009). From this perspective, a cosmopolitan stance would then require

involvement in both local and global civil society as well as a critique of justice, power structures and of the ideological constructions of truth and belief.

As a *cultural* theory of global community, cosmopolitanism emphasises the *ethnos*, that is, cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue, so as to bring cultural pluralism under the same umbrella (Pollock, Bhabha, Breckenridge & Chakrabarty, 2000). Cultural studies of cosmopolitanism also examine processes of adaptation and awareness of rapidly changing global realities (Hannerz, 1990) as well as the means for building global community by bonding people together with shared fate, memories, solidarity and belonging (Benhabib, 2006), thus blending in sociological perspectives. From this perspective, globalization as a social and cultural process brings a new landscape of complexity, a deeper experience of difference in which the other is returned to a space within the self (De Lissovoy, 2010). Ethical concerns within contemporary societies must then include a basic respect for cultural differences (Kymlicka, 2001), as an essential ethical principal of the human community. A basic recognition of the transnational networks of migrants exposes an essential *kindredness* of persons and populations to each other, to ecological catastrophes and dwindling biodiversity as well as the means for a genuine opening to the other. Furthermore, a global ethical and decolonial politics and knowledge ought to be centered outside Western traditions while reaching out to communicate with and include them (De Lissovoy, 2010).

As *sociological* theory, cosmopolitanism focuses on the dialectic between individual agency and social structure, addressing problems such as identity and mobility (Holton, 2009). An analysis of the affinities between the stranger in sociological thought and the cosmopolitan subject is illustrative (Marotta, 2010). Sociological and historical perspectives explore and question notions of community, mobility, identity and co-existence as moral projects in interconnecting local and global contexts, opening up to greater feelings of togetherness and mutual bonds within radically new coordinates and relationships to place and time (Back, 2009; Beck, 2006, 2002a, b; Cairns, 2010; Hall, 2008; Hébert et al, 2008; Hoerder et al, 2006, 2005; Rätzsch, 2008). Reflecting upon connections between community, heterogeneity, localisation and globalisation, Beck & Beck-Gernsheim (2009) argue that a cosmopolitan sociology is needed to understand the situations, impacts, divisions, contradictions, and desires of the global generations.

In explaining the meanings of cosmopolitanism, Waldron (1992) goes beyond a universal positioning as well as the philosophical debates, moving towards community complexities to find a sense of direction for the individual. He writes that the cosmopolitan is not without culture, but draws on the traces and residues of several cultural systems, of several ethical systems – that this is key to cosmopolitanism. For him, it is this ability to situate oneself outside a particular community without letting it script or write one's life, be it a faith, tradition, religious, or cultural community, and to draw selectively on discursive meaning from a variety of sources. Further to this, Vertovec and Cohen (2002, p. 4) insist that cosmopolitanism offers a way of managing cultural and political multiplicities, simultaneously suggesting that this concept:

- (a) Transcends the seemingly exhausted model of the nation-state;
- (b) Is capable of mediating actions and ideals oriented towards both the universal and the particular, towards the global and the local;
- (c) Is culturally anti-essentialist; and
- (d) Is capable of representing a diverse complexity of repertoires of allegiance, identity and interest.

This positioning allows for several indicators of a cosmopolitan identity positioning. Thus, cosmopolitanism becomes, not a society, but a set of interactive relations between de-nationalisation and re-nationalisation, between de-ethnicisation and re-ethnicisation, between de-localisation and re-localisation in society and policies (Vertovec & Cohen, 2002, p. 81).

It is from this perspective, then, that Beck's proposals draw our interest. For him, the concept of cosmopolitanism describes a relational process that permits parallel analyses of the connections between societal changes and cosmopolitan movements as well as resistances and blockings. Located within simultaneous localization and globalization, a cosmopolitan sociology would necessarily involve three steps: (a) a critique of methodological nationalism as limitative of research and analysis; (b) analyses of various transnational fractions, such as the precarious nature of work, contextualised simultaneously in glocal spaces, situations and times; and (c) a methodological cosmopolitanism that makes use of transnational constellations instead of the nation state, so as to open up to the fundamental transformations of the current era (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2009), be it termed postmodernity, late modernity or the second modernity.

Starting from global variability, global interconnectedness and global intercommunication, a sociological approach means conceptualising and analysing ideas and data as a multiplicity of global phenomena that appear as sets of intertwined transnational constellations. Thus, in consideration of its interdisciplinary nature, conceptualizing cosmopolitan subjectivities rests upon complex understandings of all humans as being of equal moral standing, with responsibilities extended to all the peoples of the world, and commitments to express these through political action in the context of institutions with a global reach aligned towards equality, respect and recognition (Dower, 2003; van Hooft, 2010; Honneth, 2007, 1995).

#### *DATA ANALYSIS*

An analytic regard over the theoretical framework of the preceding section permits the development of a set of practices and positionings that could serve in the analysis of data drawn from two research projects examining mobility and migration of Francophones in a minority situation in Calgary:

- Openness towards an Other;
- Relational attachment to a locality, be it a place of origin or another;
- Recognition of the smallness of one's milieu;
- Migratory experiences, be these international, national or regional;
- Capacity to integrate oneself in a milieu;
- Establishment and maintenance of mutual relationships, interconnecting with other similar persons;
- Awareness of living between two entities or in multiplicity, in a larger world, with the possibility of relational subtleties and positionings;
- A moral obligation towards the Other, especially towards the less fortunate;
- Critical regards on the major contemporary questions, ex., economic and ecological crises, and hyper-consumption.

**Project “A”** focuses on young adults who were graduates of francophone schools in a minority context, enrolled in an English-language university in Western Canada whereas **Project “B”** deals with the impact of French-language immigration on the Francophone community in the

same major city, Calgary. Interviews for the two projects were carried out during the same time period, Fall 2008-Winter 2009.

### *Participants*

The ten young adults who participated in Project A are on average 23.8 years old. More specifically, the eight females range in age from 18 to 29 years and the two males are 20 and 21 respectively. All have completed or were on the cusp of obtaining their first university diploma, be it in engineering, political science, development studies, music or commerce; five were working on a second degree in teaching. All were born in Canada, including one whose parents were born in Poland. All but one had experienced mobility in their lives, be it by reason of their parents' mobility or for their studies. The parents of all others were born in Canada, of whom six had a parent who spoke English only. Only three had parents who were both native French-speakers. Seven declared that English was their language of principal usage whereas three had French as their main language. These youth lived within their choice of languages, with code-switching for purposes of communication and self-positioning.

The seventy-eight participants of Project B on French language immigration are almost evenly distributed with 40 males and 38 females, i.e., 51.28% and 48.7% respectively. The racial composition of the participants is of interest with 72.5% of the men are visible minorities whereas 52.6% of the women were white. Of these, 17 of the 38 women and 26 of the 40 men were born in Africa, either north or south of the Sahara. These participants are generally bilingual, have a higher level of education than the Anglophone population in Calgary, and tend to be professionals (Hébert and Wanner, 2010).

### *Application of the Set of Cosmopolitan Practices and Positions*

Nine practices and positions of dimensions of cosmopolitanism today, as derived from the theoretical framework, serve to organise, present and discuss the patterns in the two data<sup>1</sup> sets. Only one or two good examples are given to illustrate the participants' positionings, practices and understandings of dimensions of cosmopolitan subjectivities (Flyvberg, 2001).

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<sup>1</sup> The interviews were all carried out in French, with quotes given here translated by the author of this paper. Most of the quotes have been lightly edited for greater brevity.

### *Openness towards an Other*

The participants discussed the movement of peoples as (a) a process of transcultural creativity and renewal within (b) a process of integration to what already exists as well as anxieties of new arrivals tending towards life in English rather than in French. Moreover, several participants worried about (c) barriers linked to the lack of mastery of the English language, to the non-recognition of credentials acquired in other countries and to adaptation to living in a new milieu.

### *Process of transcultural creativity:*

I liked the region where I grew up in Woodstock in Ontario, but I wanted other experiences. With my best friend, Louis, from Québec City, met during a secondary school exchange, I had opportunities to participate in French cultural events. I've maintained contact with the friends while at the University of Ottawa. But it is politics, philosophy and the social sciences that I'm passionate about and in the long run, I want to work either as an elected representative or in government on policies, so I absolutely must be bilingual. Me and my brother, we traveled to France, Great Britain, Holland, Italy, USA and Germany. I've had different experiences in Europe which changed my perceptions. I noted different ways of undertaking daily activities, of communicating together, so an opening to the world, just like my experiences in Québec City opened me to different ways of seeing and doing. I experienced the joy of living, leisure activities, different cultures, different celebrations, different lifestyles (A, Lyons, M, B, 21-25yrs, 3yrs, ON, C).<sup>2</sup>

There are lots of people from different cultures here and, well, that makes for a city that is quite open and we can find different kinds of things. So, that makes for a rather positive impact (B, Lou, F, B, 26-30yrs, 1yr, EU, A).

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<sup>2</sup> The following codes are used in the following order to describe the participants and to better understand their quotes: A or B for the project, followed by a self-selected pseudonym; M or F for gender; for race, B = White, M = North African or Magrèbin, N = Black; for age, 21-25; 26-30, 31-35, 36-40, 41-45, 46-50, 51-55, 56-60, 61-65, 66-70 years; then the exact number of years in Calgary; origins according to world region: An for North Africa, AS for African South of the Sahara; CA for Caribbean, EU for European Union; USA for the United States of America. Canada is indicated according to province whereas F indicates France and A, Germany. Religion is also noted: B = Buddhist, C = Christian, M = Muslim, A = Other, ND = for unavailable information.

*Integration process:*

Lots of new arrivals who come here, this migration, now it's whole families. Me, I was a bachelor when I came to Alberta. I didn't expect to get married here, but rather in Québec but then, I got married here. So with immigration, we must expect that. They will finish by finding someone here, getting married here. There'll be some newborns, children who'll go to school. So, there must be institutions to support that (B, Pierrot, M, N, 36-40yrs, 9yrs, AS, C).

It's integration. Do immigrants come here to function in isolation or to integrate themselves into the community? The immigrant communities are in the south and north parts of the city, which is okay, but they must also mix in with other communities. (B, Natalie, F, B, 41-45yrs, NB).

*Triple barriers to integration:*

There are lots of parameters to take into consideration. In Calgary, there is not only one barrier but triple barriers: we are first of all immigrants, we must adapt ourselves. Secondly, we don't have diplomas from here. It is clear that if you do not have a professional background in North America or else in Canada, it's another barrier. To those two barriers, if you add the language, then that makes three barriers. So, frankly, that makes things rather difficult (B, Carara, M, N, 36-40yrs, 15yrs, AS, M).

Immigration changes the flavour of the Francophonie. First it was the French from France, then the French from Québec, who built the Francophonie in Calgary. As for me, whether a person comes from China or Africa, or South America, I believe that once in Calgary, there comes a day when it is the English language and culture that invites and draws in other dimensions (B, Annie, F, B, 51-55yrs, 36yrs, QC, C).

Thus, in terms of cosmopolitan subjectivities, the integrative process is multi-faceted and engages multi-perspectives, some delightful yet some very difficult, as people of many sources find ways to live together, to be gainfully employed, to obtain recognition of their credentials and to learn English while maintaining French.

*Relational attachment to a locality, be it a place of origin or another*

In responding to a question on socio-historical perspectives of the city of Calgary and its francophone community, participants recognised that French-speaking people occupied fertile land at the very onset of the opening of Canadian West and of the city in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, as evidenced in the early establishment of institutions and neighbourhoods:

Yes, absolutely, French was part of the values of the West. All the churches and religious communities that looked after hospitals in the West, all spoke French (B, Midas, M, M, 51-55yrs, 39yrs, AN, C).

Right from the beginning, in this city, there were streets with French names. And after that, it was changed to numbers. As a minority, they were not able to defend themselves. If you start on 17<sup>th</sup> avenue, there is a church there, the neighbourhood is called 'Mission', there's a small park too, and a very chic French restaurant. It's on 17<sup>th</sup> before arriving at Macleod Trail. There is a lot that is historical to Calgary. Those brave people settled there and this gives you some idea of what city life was in the past (Brahma, M, M, 41-45yrs, 15yrs, AS, M).

Beyond streets, other participants mention the locations of community life according to the time of arrival and of community development. Those arriving in the 1970s spoke of the church, the ping-pong club, the lycée and l'Alliance française, the two latter institutions the result of the presence of professionals from France who had come with the development of important oil deposits in the province of Alberta. Those arriving in the 1980s spoke of la Société Franco-canadienne de Calgary, la villa Jean Toupin and a park, named Beauchemin, on the outskirts of the city near a brook. Moreover, in the eighties, negative perceptions of Francophones were mentioned with respect to the federal Liberal government's energy policy and the establishment of Francophone schools under the Charter rights:

What was most noticeable in Calgary was that if we spoke French, heads would turn in the elevators, as this was the era during which the Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. Pierre Elliot Trudeau, had invoked an energy policy, termed the NEP, and the Liberal

government was detested. Thus, Francophones were not well seen as there was a tendency to over-generalise. They were Francophones, thus they were liberal and thus, heads turned their way (B, Armand, M, 61-65yrs, 24yrs, ON, C).

However, these perceptions changed over the next thirty years, with the development of greater networks of locations where French was spoken. To illustrate, in the most recent decade, newcomers allude to the French Centre at the University of Calgary, l'Alliance française, the regional office of the Association of French Canadians in Alberta (ACFA) and the community-school centre, La Cité des Rocheuses. Moreover, participants, such as Hadja (B, F, M, 51-55yrs, 33yrs, AN, M), indicate that a positive image is now current, with more people communicating in French in the public sphere.

Thus, these examples provide evidence that integrative processes continue, from one generation to another, from one wave to another, for yesterday's immigrants are today's citizens. In doing so, the participants reveal the very gradual localisation processes, of getting to know and attaching to local institutions, events, places and social networks, in a process of developing positive associations with such markers of localisations.

#### *Recognition of the smallness of one's milieu*

In terms of Canadian bilingualism, the participants spoke abundantly about the limited scope of the national linguistic policy and its practices in Calgary. Different elements were evoked, such as those external to the community organisations: the lack of Francophone politicians, the perceived unfavourable position of the provincial legislature and its authorities towards the Francophonie; difficulties accessing health services in French; and the general lack of provincial services in French, a national minority language in Alberta. Internal perceptions were noted especially with respect to the shortcomings of the Francophone leadership; a greater preoccupation with the economy than with linguistic policy; youth's diminished interest in policy; and a general absence of French language services.

French services, did you say? Getting services, that requires a lot of work! They would hafta do something! (B, Ahmed, M, N, 21-25yrs, 2yrs, AS, M)

Frankly, I've always been disappointed with this conservative province since my arrival. Given the riches of the past thirty-five years, any government whatsoever would have given good results. With a political change, we would have had other people having different ideas and better changes in provincial directions. Things work so well, people don't get involved (B, Annie, F, B, 51-55yrs, 36yrs, QC, C).

This is my first university degree in the French language. I was very nervous at first and so, as strategy, I sought out French speakers and when I was corrected, accepted by saying, 'that's the way it is'. Now I speak French frequently and well (A, Volleyball, F, B, 21-25yrs, 24yrs, QC, C).

Yet at the same time, there were gradual systemic improvements with the creation of a Francophone system of education, the possibility of having a legal case heard in French and a gradual recognition of the Calgary Francophonie. Thus, participants persisted, especially with respect to the restoration of French language services, the wish for a political change and various strategies of resistance. This recognition of the limits of one's milieu inspires migrants to search for broader horizons, new ideas and ways of becoming, thus opening themselves up to other practices and positionings for greater breadth and meaning of their lives.

*Migratory experiences, be these international, national or regional*

Several reasons motivated migration towards Calgary: employment, family reasons, workplace, low level of municipal taxes and the economic surge. The principal reason given for mobility is *employment*, be it the fruit of one's own research or a transfer:

Arriving here in Calgary in the late '69 early '70 by Greyhound, from the Maritimes, I looked for a job in the oil patch and found one (B, Midas, M, M, 51-55yrs, 39yrs, AN, C).

On July 1<sup>st</sup>, 1985, we came to Calgary from Montréal because of a transfer for me and my family. I had worked 4 ½ years in Montréal and before that Ontario and

earlier in Montréal where I started my career after graduation (B, Armand, M, B, 61-65yrs, 24yrs, ON, C).

I came to Calgary from Hamilton where I did my studies. I knew a lot of people in Edmonton, so I went there for 3½ weeks, then came to Calgary where I found work (B, Reine, F, B, 26-30yrs, 1yr, AS, C).

Among the familial reasons pushing participants to settle in Calgary are *family unification*, *creation of distance with family or in-laws*, and *the children's schooling*:

My main motivation was to get far away from my family, to get a little bit of freedom. I'm from a Muslim family in a small village in France. When my parents went there in 1967, their ideas of Algeria calcified. When I went to Algeria at the age of 18, the people had evolved but not my parents. When I came here, I found that young people are much friendlier than in France. Me, I've seen much more racism in France than here (B, Hadja, F, M, 51-55yrs, 33yrs, AN, M).

We wanted to get away and change our lives. We wanted to get far away from my mother, my husband's parents because they were always meddling in our affairs. So a cousin here told us there was lots of work. It took us only a moment to decide. Within a month and a half, we were packed up and gone (B, Chatou, F, B, 31-35yrs, 2 yrs, QC, C).

Me, I came to Calgary for my children. We don't have a good school system in my home country, where teachers hit children in kindergarten. I didn't like that. I decided to bring my children here (B, Sam, M, N, 26-30yrs, 3yrs, AS, M).

Calgary's *economic boom* figures among the motivations of many participants to migrate:

Calgary's economy is based on oil and natural gas. My brother worked in oil in Tunisia and when he told me about this, I proposed that we go to Vancouver or

Toronto, the two largest cities. So one day, he said, “Why not go to Calgary? I’ve spoken seriously with a lot of people who come to the forum and they tell me that it’s a city in full economic expansion, that it’s not as big as other cities, and that there is a lot of possibilities, so why not?” On that basis, we made our decision (B, Lazare, M, M, 36-40yrs, 9yrs, AN, M).

While these reasons are common to many individuals and groups, what is to be noted here are the complexities of decision-making and of motivation, facilitated and influenced by global intercommunications, global interconnectedness and global variability.

*Capacity to integrate oneself in a milieu*

The sentiment of adapting to a local system and demonstrating respect for local values so as to experience integration was raised by many participants especially of Project B. Such an adaptation represents a capacity, a power to share and to get along with the local population, permitting personal development and expansion within social, cultural and professional spheres. Accepting first of all to adapt oneself so as to integrate, the participants spoke of this acceptance and of an aptitude to understand different cultures and values, to feel good in strange environments by joining in, being able to function, to find oneself there, adopting habits, ways of living and locations of this environment and in so doing, to find one’s place.

Integrating oneself means intelligence, the capacity to be conscious of the fact that you are a minority. Without waiting for services to come to you, one must not think that all will fall from the skies, the job for you, the apartment you want, services are not there for that. Instead, services are there to sustain you, not to take you there (B, Isabelle, 26-30yrs, 2yrs, QC, C).

Being integrated, for me, means marrying the values of this place so that I make it my own as much as possible. For me, integration is being able to live at ease in a community or a city, it’s being in harmony with my work environment and life, and that this be the same for my children (B, Hourdou, M, N, 46-50yrs, 2yrs, AS, M).

Integration is the power to get along with folks who understand you and that you also talk with them; so, integrating oneself is to share, to live in a society without extremism; that's it, then, to talk and do things and to understand each other (B, Moh, M, N, 26-30yrs, 1yr, AN, M).

It is necessary to understand the other culture and to be likely to understand other cultures (B, Philomène, F, M, 66-70yrs, 51yrs, EU, C).

Integration, it means, when a person, an immigrant, becomes a citizen, i.e., the person becomes productive in a society. She has a value added, she participates (B, Laha, M, M, 26-30yrs, 1yr, AS, M).

Integration for me, is to know the city well, it's to know the different angles (B, Al, M, N, 36-40yrs, 3yrs, AS, M).

Integration for me, it's when I have become a Canadian citizen and that I can vote and that I can be integrated with friends and a sentiment of well-being (B, Hadja, F, M, 51-55yrs, 33yrs, AN, M).

Integration, it's the fact of succeeding your professional life and your personal life, to succeed in the place where you live. If you live in Calgary, if you have succeeded in your studies, your personal life and your professional life, well, then, you're integrated! (B, Bensa, M, M, 41-35yrs, 1yr, AN, M)

To integrate oneself in a society, for me it's to have found my place if you are adapted (B, Carara, M, N, 36-40yrs, 15yrs, AS, M).

With age, I'm beginning to have more confidence in myself, but before, no, I wasn't confident enough in myself or in my abilities. It is with age and maturity, I believe, that it comes (A, Volleyball, F, B, 21-25yrs, 24yrs, QC, C).

In terms of cosmopolitan subjectivities, these participants have well understood how to live comfortably with multiple attachments, how to be effective in their local integrations, and in doing so, to effectively demonstrate that cosmopolitans are well grounded in glocal environments.

*Establishment and maintenance of mutual relationships, interconnecting with other similar persons*

A balance between establishing and maintaining mutual relationships, interconnecting with others like oneself is noticeable with respect to the linkages with the local Francophonie in Calgary. Equally important are sentiments of belonging to one's origins and to new Canadian attachments which can be present in several types of phenomena: (1) love and knowledge of one's origins; (2) openness, adaptation and independence with respect to a panoply of belongings; (3) public valuing of the good image and values of one's country or region of origin; (4) resistance to negative images and discourses; (5) the will to retain cultural and linguistic elements, to take the best to weave a transcultural identification in a transparent process of creativity; and (6) possibilities to be better understood. Finally, all of this is articulated through the appreciation and interaction with cultural markers, be they material, spiritual, alimentary, symbolic, concrete or imaginary.

Yes, I identify myself as a Francophone because culturally, I believe, I love my culture. But a sense of belonging to a community, it's more difficult but I think that's because of the fact that I grew up in a minority context and that it's also my own journey and that I rejected it for a long time. And now, I'm in the process of re-establishing relations, especially professional ones, and also with my family, here and more broadly too. So I'm playing cards with family members on Saturday night rather than being with my Anglophone friends, but it has not be easy (A, Volleyball, F, B, 21-25yres, 24yrs, C).

As for me, I consider that Canadian values, as I find them, I love these values and consequently, in any corner of Canada, I could live without feeling like a stranger. I think that the values of the Francophonie must be maintained because this is a value that regroups many people. For many, this is really an opening to the exterior (B, Hourdou, M, N, 46-50yrs, 2yrs, AS, M).

Well, I'm proud of being African, but I don't know, I just don't have any problem with that (B, Pierrette, F, N, 36-40yrs, 3yrs, AS, C).

For me, well, it is first coming from Africa where we have a very different cultural than in the West. I try to transport my culture here and teach it to my children, for example, I inculcate my African culture to them, for example, how to behave with elders. When you see my house, it is very African. I brought my art objects to find myself in my place. There is so much that is African, lots of objects, food, for example (B, Barcam, F, N, 41-45yrs, 7yrs, AS, C).

For me, being African in Calgary, it's the music, culture, food, dress. It's also pride, and, although Canadians do not know us well, I believe that they know the difference between the Francophones from the Caribbeans and the Africans because the Blacks do not all come from the same corner (B, Reine, F, B, 26-30yrs, 1yr, AS, C).

The Francophone school in a minority context has a strong mission and responsibility to spread la Francophonie, to construct it, to assure the future population as well as an excellent knowledge of the language which holds a central collective value:

If we want a Francophonie, if we want a group, we must include everybody. Me, I do not wish to separate anybody with respect to the quality of their speech, of well-spoken French versus those who do not speak French well. Especially since I'm going to be teaching in French immersion and that I'm really miserable at correcting spoken French. I don't like to do that because I know how I felt and I don't want to recreate this feeling of rejection in my students (A, Volleyball, F, B, 21-25yrs, 24yrs, QC, C).

*Awareness of living between two entities or in multiplicity, in a larger world, with possibilities of relational subtleties and positionings*

Noting the challenges and advantages of living in both English and French, the participants remarked that a relational and positional agility is part of living between both, in multiplicity, in a larger world. Certain participants in Project B noted the distinctiveness of each world with respect to the two official languages in Canada, creating two worlds that co-inhabit, without knowing each other well whereas the participants in Project A explained their difficulty in balancing both official languages, whose usages are sensitive to topic, situation, interlocutor and intention.

I have lots of difficulty living in French. I'm happy to speak French and my primary identification is with French, just like we do our university courses in French, but my identity is mostly in English, especially that my adult social life is nearly all in English. The movies I see are all in English, well, there are a few in French and I love them. But there are very few. So we must really search for our place in French in an English world. And also, my father is English and at home, we speak English (she laughs). So my identity is in the English quadrant and I can speak French, but when we discuss French culture, it is not part of my life as directly as English is. Now that I'm preparing to be a French Immersion teacher and that my husband speaks French, we sometimes talk in French at home. We talk about all sorts of things, for example, when we talk about alpine skiing, we use the vocabulary we have in English and French. We also try to speak about our environment, and I talk to him about my day in French (A, Ariel, F, AB, 26-30yrs, 29yrs, AB, C).

La Francophonie is more important in Moncton than Calgary. The school is larger as is francophone culture. We were about 350 students between 7<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> grade. Everybody speaks French, the majority are bilingual, and many speakers weave in both languages when they speak, like half and half. To be an Acadian is a major commitment, it's your culture, it's your identity. Moving to Calgary was a bit shock

to me because the school was so small – we were only about twenty per grade in those years (A, Bridgey, F, B, 16-20yrs, 3yrs, PEI, C).

Socially, I live in two worlds in which co-inhabit one minority which tries to open up to the other which is the Anglophone majority which knows of the existence of the other. Of these two worlds, the small one distinguishes itself as the Francophonie. There are also lots of people who would like to live the Francophone experience but do not know of its existence (B, Loulou, F, B, 46-50yrs, 20yrs, ON, C).

At the same time, integration towards la Francophonie is perceived as a positive benefit of societal diversity and as favourable to intercommunity relations.

Being francophone, I would say, is to share the Francophonie, the French culture and how the French language is called forth in all those countries which have become francophone (B, Akim, M, N, 51-55yrs, 1yr, AS, M).

This stance however is not always easy as discrimination does occur, which in return triggers resistances and blockings:

In my pedagogy class, a student from Nova Scotia was told to improve her French by one of our teachers. In response, she defended herself by indicating that she was moving back there upon completion of her degree, that she had lots of Acadian friends, that she'd practice her French there and that she would be teaching there. In reply, she was told that the Acadians do not speak French well (accompanied by eye-rolling) (A, Volleyball, F, B, 21-25yrs, 24yrs, QC, C).

The *international* positioning alludes to an opening to the exterior as this language unites many peoples and countries in the world. To come from a Francophone country means belonging to the world-wide Francophonie, a contemporary version of what were once the French and Belgian empires. The next quotations articulate a sense of belonging to a larger world.

Because we were colonised, we speak French and have something in common when the other person might be Vietnamese, African, Québécois (B, Andrew Carnegie, M, B, 26-30yrs, 3 yrs, QC, A).

Being Francophone for me, as a Nigerian, is not simple, but it is the opening to the exterior for me (B, Hourdou, M, N, 46-50yrs, 2yrs, AS, M).

La Francophonie manages the fact of sharing this language. Other than your mother tongue, this language supports you to learn, to work and to communicate. For me, well, the promotion of that is La Francophonie (B, Carara, M, N, 36-40yrs, 15yrs, AS, M).

Thus, in terms of an awareness of living in duality and multiplicity in a larger world, cosmopolitan subjectivities are lived in interactive relations involving de-ethnicisation and re-ethnicisation, de-localisation and re-localisation, as well as de-colonisation in society and in the politics of daily life.

*Moral Obligation towards the Other, especially the less fortunate*

Few participants expressed a sense of moral obligation to a generalized Other. Of considerable relevance, however, the immigrants often spoke of their obligations to family members left behind in countries of origin and who depend on these remittances from more fortunate family members. Assuring the security of financial transfers was of utmost importance to all parties concerned. Two quotes provide good examples as one accentuates the provision of help to new arrivals and the other help to the fortunate to better understand countries of origins.

There is a francophone service organised to help new arrivals; there is a real need, it is true, since when a person arrives, there are plenty of things that the person does not know, coming to another system that is completely different. It is sometimes difficult to understand all this so there is a definitive need here to help people to understand (B, Marie-Josèphe, F, B, 61-65yrs, 26yrs, QC, C).

Everything I do reflects where I come from; my way of speaking reflects my education. My education, that's Africa. It is Africa that permits me to appreciate what Calgary has become now, because, you know, when you come to this country, you see certain problems, certain situations, certain blockages put in people's way or else the lack of work. The Calgarian, born here where he has everything, he loses the notion of what is essential, he loses the notion of what is good, of what brings joy to the heart. We the Africans, we have another vision. And why not organise safaris? I've brought a few Italians to Africa, so my next step is to bring Calgarians to Africa (B, Billy2008, F, N, 25030yrs, 1yr, AS, C).

These two quotes suggest that participants are not entirely aware of the colonial past of the Francophone diaspora and of post-colonial and de-colonial movements since. They are however aware of the repositioning of la Francophonie in a minority situation as a full-fledged citizen, as a bilingual citizen, meritorious of the valuing of linguistic, cultural and socio-educational rights. And they are very aware of the need to better understand one another in order to live well together.

#### *Critical Regards on Major Contemporary Questions*

Current examples of such questions may include the economic and ecological crises as well as hyper-consumption in a world-wide market era. Particularly sensitive to contemporary issues, it is especially the youth of Project A, who mentioned these during interviews. These participants also mentioned the influence of an upper socio-economic class as well as the warm links with the Other met in university classes.

Well, in my political science classes at the university, I learned that there is money and that it brings people from the world over. So I have a lot of trouble feeling good here in Calgary. I did not think that this city was for me because everybody runs after money and, for me that is not the most important thing in life. I think that I have a sense of community, which is part of my cultural identity – I do not understand why there are Hummers in Calgary (A, Volleyball, F, B, 21-25yrs, 24yrs, QC, C).

I have a colleague in my university class, a French woman from France, and I have established a link with her. She sees the world not quite exactly like me but we share the same grand ideas, ideologically. We see the same injustices where others see none (A, Volleyball, F, B, 21-25yrs, 24yrs, QC, C).

Here, the cosmopolitan subjectivities revealed in this participant's good examples provide evidence of sensitivities and positionings on global issues lived locally, thus transcending the model of the nation-state, and capable of mediating actions and ideals towards the universal and the particular, towards the global and the local.

#### *CRITIQUE AND CONCLUSION*

The concept of cosmopolitanism and especially of its subjectivities seems productive for this transversal analysis of two sets of interviews in the same city that is at the same time, a minority milieu with respect to French and a migratory movement whatever its provenance, be it internal or external to Canada. Well situated in the literature, a set of nine positionings served for an organic analysis, given the quality and relevance of the data under consideration, is now being subjected to a critical reflection.

Let us first note the interactivity between the nine positionings proposed for the analysis. First, relational and positional subtleties merge well with an awareness of living in duality and multiplicity. A feeling of belonging to a larger world serves to better represent and analyze the experiences and views of the participants. Moreover, the appreciation and interactions of cultural markers, be these material, spiritual, alimentary, symbolic, concrete or imaginary, are part of the establishment and maintenance of mutual relationships, of interconnections with similar persons. It should be noted however that the set of positionings are permeable and that the data could possibly have been characterised differently. This represents the fluidity of the data and processes of categorisation. Finally, this is a working analysis of the concept and data sets, subject to amelioration as need be.

A second point of reflection on the concept itself notes its fluidity and variability. Obviously, the travels of students and youth are not the same as the migration of people from many countries, from city to city, especially with negative experiences bringing people to migrate in the hope of a better life elsewhere. Philosophers, political scientists and sociologists among many other scholars have considered the concept of cosmopolitanism according to their disciplinary lens and educated views. Given this

diversity of opinion, it is probably wise to consider the analysis herein as exploratory, even uncertain like much in life.

A third point of reflection notes the concept's productivity, as the results of the analysis clearly demonstrate with its voyages towards the Stranger, its experiences with the Other, the fact of living as minority and as migrant, is provocative and allows for a profound reconsideration of theoretical frameworks. It is possible to recognize here, that a more refined comprehension of what might be termed 'the art of living in multiplicity' is permissible for two types of participants, those who reside in a minority context and those who migrate to new contexts. Moreover, it allows new perspectives on the recognition of (1) the importance of a socialisation to place, be it scholarly or communal or parental; (2) the necessity of a critical cosmopolitanism towards traditions and customs, one's own and those of others, raising the possibility of the relative nature of choices for a subsequent life. Given the actual context of an economic recession situated within the excesses of the capitalist financial system, it is important to consider the world-wide uncertainty, highly interdependent states and the necessity of collaborative horizontal governance at all levels. From this globalized perspective, it is important to weave new universal motifs with local worries and issues, finely etched as detailed human experiences, needs and hopes.

With this refinement, a fourth reflection concerns the viability of the concept, 'integration', which is bounded by the nation-state in current thought, research analysis, policy and folk talk. However what this analysis has shown, however preliminary, is that cosmopolitan subjectivities, i.e., what is it like to be cosmopolitan?, is closer to the realities of migrants and minorities' lives than the imaginary average Canadian who drives policy decisions and hence current thinking, research analysis and folk talk about integration. Moreover, the distinctions between 'Anglophone' and 'Francophone' are unrealistic, given the linguistic, socio-foundational, cultural multiplicity of the participants, as well as new understandings of transnational constellations which rests upon and are repositioned as the 'saviour' in the current flow of possibilities. The application of this concept, however variable, is not limited to intercultural activity but is truly a valuable social approach to citizenship.

Given its interdisciplinary nature, conceptualising cosmopolitan subjectivities rests upon complex understandings of equal moral standings and of civic and political commitments to all humans of the world. It goes well beyond the boundaries and bondages of the nation-state, thus

providing superior sophisticated understandings of the era's key question, How shall we live together? Thus, the current limited understanding of 'integration' as a one-way national and provincial responsibility is unlocked and has itself the potential to unlock major issues.

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