

JIHOČESKÁ UNIVERZITA V ČESKÝCH BUDĚJOVICÍCH

Pedagogická fakulta

Katedra anglistiky

Diplomová práce

*Officially Multicultural: How Canadian Society Started
Changing Under Pierre Elliott Trudeau*

*Oficiálně multikulturní: Jak se začala měnit kanadská
společnost za Pierre Elliotta Trudeaua*

Marie Štanglová

Ročník ČJ-AJ/ZŠ

Vedoucí práce: Regina Helal, M.A.

2009

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V Českých Budějovicích 23. dubna 2009

.....

I would like to thank a lot Mrs. Regina Helal, my advisor.

Abstract:

The diploma thesis concerns with dramatical changes of Canadian society during Pierre Elliott Trudeau was Prime Minister of Canada. In 1960's, when he came to power Canada enjoyed economic prosperity.

The thesis deals with the policy of multiculturalism as it was proclaimed official policy in 1971 by Trudeau and Canada is the only country in the world that has the multicultural policy "embedded" in its Constitution. Trudeau wanted to solve problems with Quebec nationalism by coming up with official multiculturalism, but we can say that he acutely described the situation in Canada that was always dependent on immigration. Trudeau reached his most important goal in 1982 when Canadian Constitution was patriated (moved from London to Ottawa). By that time, Canadian Constitution could be modified by the British parliament, only. By patriation of its Constitution Canada reached full independence.

Anotace:

Diplomová práce se zabývá změnami kanadské společnosti během vlády premiéra Pierra Elliotta Trudeaua. V 60. letech, kdy se dostal k moci, Kanada zažívala období ekonomického rozkvětu.

Práce se také věnuje problematice multikulturality. Roku 1971 Trudeau prohlásil multikulturalitu za oficiální národní politickou strategii, která byla následně zakotvena v kanadské ústavě (Kanada je jediná země na světě, která má multikulturalitu zakotvenou v ústavě). Trudeau chtěl vyhlášením této strategie především vyřešit problémy s quebeckým nacionalismem, dá se ale říci, že vyhlášením multikulturality výstižně pojmenoval i situaci tehdejší Kanady, která vždy zažívala příliv imigrantů z různých částí světa. Dalším úspěchem Trudeaua byla patriace kanadské ústavy roku 1982, kdy byla ústava převezena z Londýna do Ottawy. Do té doby totiž mohl kanadskou ústavu upravovat pouze britský parlament. Tímto krokem Kanada dosáhla své úplné nezávislosti na Velké Británii.

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1. Introduction

Canada became the first country in the world which has had the multicultural policy “embedded” in the Constitution. As a state policy, multiculturalism is reflected in a number of laws, regulations and practises.

My diploma thesis is concerned with dramatic changes that Canadian society went through during the period Pierre Elliot Trudeau was Prime Minister of Canada (1968-79 and 1980-84). When Trudeau came to power, the country was enjoying prosperity and a high standard of living, but it was also torn apart by the perennial English-French conflict, going back several centuries. Trudeau, a Liberal, grew up in Quebec in a French-English family and became aware of the deep-seated problems in the Quebec-English Canada relationship. Therefore, his main concern was to create a better status for the French speaking province. He also wanted to change Canada’s standing in the world. The country had been independent since 1867, but most of its policies were still designed and controlled in London, Great Britain.

The British parliament had been in charge of formulating the Immigration Policy of Canada. The country built on the triangular base of British, French and Aboriginal cultures, did not have control over the central aspect which was shaping its character – the influx of immigrants. It was the British parliament that was deciding for centuries who should and should not live in its overseas colony. Moreover, Canadian constitution could only be modified in London. When Trudeau became Prime Minister, one of his main tasks was to *patriate the constitution* (bring it physically home). Further, this goal was to have Canada control its immigration policy. In the 1960’s, Canadian population was predominantly white, with European or American Christian roots. There were Jews but very few Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs or Buddhists. People of colour would not have been admitted to the country because of the overtly racist immigration policy at the time.

Almost all these changes of Canadian society can be traced to those fifteen years Trudeau was in the office. From the sociological point of view, it is a very short time to monitor changes in a society. To understand the consequences and the conditions

which prepared the ground for those changes, more extended period had to be written about.

Canada has become a mosaic of different cultures, but unlike the United States, there is less pressure on the newcomers to assimilate. So while America is often compared to a *melting pot*, the concept of Canada is more based on acculturation – newcomers are expected to adapt to the host society sufficiently to be able to function economically and socially, and therefore Canadian government's concern is to manage this cultural diversity successfully.

However, at first I did not know much about the topic, I was interested in it because the image of multiculturalism seemed to be almost ideal to me, because of its very positive connotation it has in Europe. I wanted to know how it can work practically in a country where multiculturalism was proclaimed the official policy. What are its benefits and what are its failures, if there are any. If its goals are real and can be reached or if it is just a politically correct phrase for a country to have highly democratic image. I also wondered what it means for a country to be officially multicultural and how it can be implemented in laws and rules. I was also interested in the personality of Pierre Elliot Trudeau. I asked myself why he was so important to Canada and why he is still so controversial.

2. Multiculturalism

2.1 What is multiculturalism

The idea of multiculturalism characterizes a society living in inter-racial and intercultural harmony. The concept infuses the traditional understanding of culture, searches for opportunities for tolerance and understanding, and does as much as possible either to avoid or to resolve conflicts. It can be defined as a set of principles to integrate and legitimate cultural pluralism and ethnical diversity. Multiculturalism encompasses different cultural backgrounds, races and heritages. As a policy, it tries to encourage tolerance, reduce racism, stress mutual respect and remove discrimination and social barriers. It also emphasises unique differences which characterize various cultures within a nation.

Multiculturalism is an ideology proclaiming that culturally diverse groups should have equal status, i.e. it strives to guarantee equal rights for everyone. The term “multicultural” also describes demographic conditions of ethnic or cultural diversity which have been created in a specific area.

Before looking into specific Canadian conditions it will be useful to describe some of the theoretical precepts of this ideology.

- Kymlicka describes multiculturalism as cultural pluralism, where minorities are incorporated into societies and where societies accommodate the cultural background of different minority groups and confront the demands of these groups to recognize their identity (Kymlicka, 1995). Multiculturalism focuses on cultural diversity, ethnic variety, and teaching tolerance. It concerns with relations and interaction of existing cultures (Mitchell, 1993).

- Multiculturalism deals with ‘majorities’ as much as ‘minorities’, and forms the whole society using various practices. It protects society against inequalities of power, and racism, emphasizes human rights the “multiculturalization” of society (Jackson, 2002).

- Forbes claims that multiculturalism *“is a particular social condition of racial and ethnic or cultural diversity resulting from immigration; it is a complex network of laws and policies for managing that diversity; and it is a vision of a free and diverse*

society in which all individuals live peacefully and amicably on a footing of equality with each other” (Forbes, 2001:1). Wilson states that multiculturalism is a strategy designed as a system of social control (Wilson, 2005).

2.2 Multiculturalism in Canada

In Canada, as well as other English-speaking countries, the term ‘multiculturalism’ became widely used in the 1960’s because of the cultural needs of immigrants, mostly of non-European origin. It is a policy defined by race or ethnicity, nationality and religion (Modood, 2007). It provides for various cultural activities and different views of life and cultural experience.

“Multiculturalism” refers to the presence of diverse racial and ethnic minorities who define themselves as different and who wish to remain so. Ideologically, multiculturalism consists of a relatively coherent set of ideas and ideals pertaining to the celebration of Canada’s cultural diversity. Multiculturalism at the policy level is structured around the management of diversity through formal initiatives in the federal, provincial and municipal domains. Finally, multiculturalism is the process by which racial and ethnic minorities compete to obtain support from central authorities for the achievement of certain goals and aspirations (Parliamentary Information and Research service, 2006).

Multiculturalism was incorporated into official policies of a number of countries in 1970’s. In Canada, it was proclaimed a national policy¹ by the *Multiculturalism Act* in 1971 and confirmed with slight changes in 1988. Canada is the only country in the world which has got multiculturalism ‘embedded’ or ‘enshrined’ in its Constitution which means that every other law has to be compatible with it.

Without any doubts, Canada is a multicultural society, as almost 60 % of the population is of non-British or non-French origin. Consequently, multiculturalism describes the reality of Canadian society and in 1971 the policy denominated what was already

¹ The idea of multiculturalism appeared and was being practised in another liberal states, e. g. in the United Kingdom, the Netherlands and Australia, but it had been never proclaimed a national policy.

obvious (Troper, 1999). Although Canada had already been de facto multicultural, this aspect had not been appreciated in reality. Multiculturalism began to be supported during the 1960's and 1970's, as a result of Canadian people's values changing dramatically since the end of the Second World War. Especially in the 1950's, old values were being replaced by pragmatism, empowerment and, last but not least, support of ethnic diversity (Dasco, 2003).

3. Historical context

To understand the basis of multiculturalism, it is important to be familiar with Canadian history. From the historical point of view, the country has never been homogeneous, as it stands on the triangular base of British, French and Aboriginal people's cultures coexisting and influencing each other.

3.1 Early immigration

The Minister of Employment and Immigration Ron Atkey stated: "*Except for our native peoples, we are all immigrants or the descendants of immigrants*" (Atkey, 1979:7).

The aboriginal people were Indians and Inuits. They probably came from Siberia across the Bering Strait during the last Ice Age. The indigenous peoples inhabited Canada for at least 10 000 years before the arrival of Europeans. Those peoples who had already been diverse linguistically and culturally created the native population.

The first Europeans who came to the east coast of Canada around 986 were Vikings from Sweden or Norway. Leif Eriksson, one of the most famous Viking explorers, probably built the first European settlement in North America, which was abandoned a few years later. However, the sailing west Vikings never established a permanent colony. Five hundred years later, European explorers were trying to discover the passage to Asia. In 1497, John Cabott, who sailed from England, reached an unknown territory and named it Newfoundland, claiming the area for the English King. Jacques Cartier, a French explorer, reached the Gulf of St. Lawrence in 1534. The first permanent French settlement called Acadie was established in 1604. For the next 230 years the French built a string of settlements along the St. Lawrence River. King of France attempted to settle the eastern Canada and establish a colony called New France there but he needed more settlers to colonize the land. In 1663 sparsely populated, but coherent New France was made a royal colony, but as France had been almost constantly at war since 1688, it had neither time nor money to spend on the colony.

At the beginning of 17th century, there were British, French and many Indian tribes living in what was called Canada². From 1689 to 1763 there was a series of four intercolonial wars. In 1759, British defeated French in *the Battle of the Plains of Abraham*³ which was a decisive event of the Seven Year's War in Canada because it led to the fall of French power over Québec. In 1763, the French had to promise fidelity to the King of England and sign the Treaty of Paris, if they wanted to stay in Québec. They lost all of their dependencies in North America and Canada became fully controlled by British Empire. In 1774, *Québec Act* was passed to avoid connecting this francophone province with rioting American colonies. In 1791, *Constitutional Act* divided the country into English-speaking Upper Canada and French-speaking Lower Canada.

Starting in 1763, when the British gained control of the land, they began to direct immigration to Canada. Between 1815 – 1838, when 40 000 Scottish settled in Nova Scotia, they had to get familiar with descendants of French, Indians and with families of English farmers. Scottish settled in New Brunswick, Ontario and Quebec, too. Thousands were displaced farmers but many also came from quite wealthy and educated city families and they wanted to start a new life and “create their fortunes” in Canada. As a result, some of the largest Canadian businesses were created prevalently by Scots. There were 25 – 40 thousand of people coming to Canada annually in the 1850's. The main groups of immigrants were Irish, who suffered from famine in their homeland. Canada also saw the influx of Black people⁴ from the U.S. Loyalists⁵ brought about 5,500 blacks into Canada. Blacks were using a system of the “Underground Railroad” which was an elaborated network of guides to help them

² The name Canada comes from an Iroquoian word “canata“, meaning a “settlement“ or a “village“. The land was called Canada by Jacques Cartier according to references of Aboriginal people and was referred to as Canada in European books by 1545 (Dějiny Kanady, p. 25).

³ Also known as the Battle of Québec.

⁴ Slavery was abolished in British Upper Canada in 1793. Great Britain promised freedom and sanctuary to any slave who deserted his American master. Americans were enraged and demanded their slaves to be returned but British did not agree.

⁵ Americans who sympathised with the British side in American revolution. Almost 100,000 of Loyalists escaped to Canada when the British side lost. They were said to bring anti-American sentiments into Canada.

escape from the U.S. to Canada. At that time, slavery in Canada was abolished, black people could become citizens, could vote and own land. Estimated number of blacks coming to Canada between 1800 and 1850 was about 100,000. Most of them returned to the U.S to fight in the Civil War, or just came back to their families after the abolition of slavery. 20,000 blacks stayed in Canada and formed the backbone of the black community (The African Slave Trade and the Middle Passage at <http://www.pbs.org>).

On July 1, 1867, as the first step toward the independence of Canada, four provinces created a *confederation*: Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. There are now ten provinces and three territories in Canada. Sir John A. McDonald, a Scot, became the first Prime Minister of Canada.

3.2 Immigration under British Control

Canadians needed immigrants to farm the Prairies, work in the forrests and help to build the huge country, however, in the society many doubted that they can benefit from the influx of non-British people. Canadian government, directed from London, England established new regulations, which strongly discouraged Asian, Jewish and southern-European from immigration and made admission of eastern-Europeans more difficult (Mount Allison University, 2009). The 1880's pogroms in Russia forced masses of Jews to escape and seek refuge in the western countries. As Canada needed immigrants, the government accepted almost 160,000 Jewish people between 1880 and 1930. Around the same period, Chinese workers were invited to Canada to build the Pacific Railway. When it was finished, Chinese were supposed to return to the poor China but thousands of them stayed illegally in Canadian forrests where they formed small enclaves. Canadian government knew about them and later came up with strict regulations to limit Chinese immigration at the beginning of 20th century, head tax was levied on any Chinese coming to Canada.

In 1907, the government published an immigration pamphlet which stated that *"Canada is situated in the North Temperature Zone. The climate is particularly suited to the white race. It is the new homeland for the British people. It is a British country,*

with British customs and ideals” (In Potrebenko, 1977:23). The immigration policy continued in this racist mood, in 1910 the government was allowed to prohibit landing to anyone deemed unsuitable.

3.3 The First World War and the Economic Crisis

At the beginning of the First World War, the Canadians wanted to protect their homeland against enemy – the Germans, and people from the ex-Austro-Hungarian Empire who were previously admissible as immigrants, became potential enemies. Those who refused to submit to Canadian racial discipline, were arrested, interned, or deported (Day, 2000).

That kind of unwelcoming treatment continued in the 1920’s. Black Americans and people from the Caribbean islands found it difficult to be accepted by Canada and when they managed to get in they were employed in low-status jobs. *The Chinese Immigration Act* in 1923 ruled against not only Chinese who wanted to enter Canada, but against those who were already living there. For most Canadians, presence of Asian people in Canada was an unacceptable reality, as they were considered as “*genetically and culturally inferior*”(Avery, 1999, pages not numbered).

As a result of the Great Depression, unemployment reached about 30 % in 1930’s. It was obvious that the first to be helped were Canadian citizens. There were no jobs for the immigrants. The Canadian government came up with restrictive regulations which aimed to decimate immigration in Canada. The impact of Great Depression can be measured by rising number of deportations. Immigrants were the last to be hired, and if they lost their jobs, which happened very often they were deported. There were various reasons for deportation – people were deported for union activities, for membership in the Communist Party, for charges of criminality, or for medical reasons.

3.4 The Second World War and the Beginning of Changes

During the Second World War, Canada did not accept any immigrants except the British. Thousands of Jews trying to flee Nazi terror were not admitted, although they

definitely should have been helped. The Canadian immigration policy remained unchanged even after the Second World War. Canadians were afraid of bad economic situation after the end of wartime industrial production and demobilization. Yet the economy expanded rapidly not only because of export markets. Canadians saved good money during the wartime and post-war period brought an explosion in consumer spending. Canadian industry had to face a huge problem which nobody had expected – shortage of workers. The best solution was to open the door to immigrants, especially from Europe. Prime Minister Mackenzie King's directive stated that the government policy supported the population growth by encouraging immigration to Canada. In 1952, *Citizenship Act* was passed by the Parliament and stating rights and regulations for applying and getting Canadian citizenship. British, Americans, Germans and Dutch were on the list of desirable immigrants. People from southern Europe were not wanted at that time, reputedly, because of their darker skin Portuguese, Greeks and Italians were accepted later. Caribbeans started entering Canada and replacing European immigrants who worked in agriculture and who sought occupations according to their qualifications.

The population of Canada increased from eleven and a half to twenty-two million between 1946 and 1970. Almost two million were immigrants from Britain, Italy, the Netherlands and Hungary, who settled in urban and industrial areas. Most of them chose to become English-speaking rather than French-speaking, a fact that contributed to a rising anglophone and declining francophone birth-rates and catalyzed the development of nationalism in francophone Québec. The Canadian public saw immigration as a cultural problem and demanded assimilation of the immigrants. Most of them were willingly learning English or French, their children were attending Canadian public schools and found a place in Canadian society, but retained in touch with their cultural roots, ethnic and religious traditions.

The immigration policies have always reflected political, economical and social issues of the country. The Canadian immigration policy still remained selective, it has ever been selective, but was becoming more inclusive. Efforts were being made to reduce racism and discrimination in the society and the last barriers came down in 1967 by passing the *Immigration Act*. As a result, immigration from Asia started rapidly

increasing. “*Visible minorities*”⁶ became a very important part of Canadian community. Nowadays, new immigrants from the developing countries outnumber incoming Europeans by three to one (at http://www.mta.ca/about_canada/multi/).

To sum up the picture of population changes, it is obvious that Canadian society was predominantly white, Christian and European right up to the 1960’s and only new policy stated in *Multiculturalism Act of 1971* launched a new era.

3.4.1 Changes in Immigration policies, Displaced Persons

There were several thousands of immigrants coming from Germany and the ex Austro-Hungarian Empire soon after the First World War started. Most of them, farmers and workers, were invited to Canada by the Federal government. Canadian public started to suspect them of disloyalty, so they had to register and report regularly. Some of them were put to *internment camps*⁷ and confiscated all their property. The camps were supposed to accommodate “enemy alien” immigrants who failed to register. Almost all of the interned were released in 1916, as they were needed to fill the gap on the labour market caused by men who served at the front in Europe.

During the Second World War, German, Japanese and Italians were accused of being Nazi spies or being dangerous for national security and were consequently interned because of their ethnic origin. The government seriously considered deportation of entire Japanese population, most of whom were born in Canada but it was not realised.

When the Second World War ended, Canada started to change its immigration policy dramatically. Canadians saw the impact of the war and a number of immigrants accepted for humanitarian reasons, not for their skills and qualifications was increasing.

⁶ A person who is immediately recognized as originally coming from abroad according to a different colour of skin, eg. Chinese or Indian people belong to visible minorities. People “other than Aboriginals, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour” (Employment and Immigration, 1987).

⁷ There were 24 internment camps across Canada, 8 of them in British Columbia. (Canada: A People’s History, p. 97).

It was the reaction to both the international and domestic developments. This was a step forward to gradual abandoning of “*xenophobic and racist policies*” (Avery, 1999).

There were almost 165,000 refugees called *Displaced persons*⁸ who were admitted by Canada between 1946 and 1952. These were people mainly from central, southern, eastern Europe and Baltic States from former Nazi concentration camps forced to leave or not willing to return to their homelands due to troubled political or economic situation. They could not stay in their countries for facing an uncertain future.

Another new development continued in 1947 when the Chinese-Canadians were given full citizenship. An Immigration–Labour Committee was established to check immigration and sectors of economy where displaced persons were intentionally employed to fill in the gaps in the Canadian Labor market. Later that year, the Bulk Labour Programme was instituted which helped Canadian employers to organise the movement of the displaced persons enabling them to work for a specific employer in Canada for two years. The Displaced persons definitely helped the Canadian economic boom after the war and the biggest contribution was apparent in agriculture. Almost 11,000 people from Baltic states, Poland and Ukraine were drafted under this contract system. The men worked as farmers or miners, the women helped in households or hospitals which were often not the occupations in keeping with their education or training, but they could sponsor their families in Europe for immigration to Canada. Canadians often underestimated their abilities because of their poor English (Avery, 1999).

Not all displaced persons were admitted to Canada. ‘In 1949, 18 Arabs were not allowed to enter the country for being “too alien”. Anti-Semitic sentiments, as already

⁸ Term “stateless“ or “forced migrant“ is used. These were often people who survived in Nazi concentration camps or labour camps. When the WWII ended, they had nowhere to go. After the communist regimes gained complete power over Eastern Europe, it created displaced people again, who were victimised for their education or higher-class membership.

mentioned, caused that Canada had the worse record for accepting Jews, compared to Australia or the United States (University of Calgary, 1997).

3.4.2 Preferred immigrants

When the Second World War ended, many Europeans wanted to leave their destroyed countries. It was the opportunity for Canada and classes of “preferred immigrants” were created. Classes of preferred immigrants included British, American and northwestern Europeans at first. The Canadian government believed that these groups would assimilate easier because of their similar culture and language. In 1947, thousands of Dutch were invited to Canada, as the Netherlands sustained the high birth-rate in spite of the war (University of Calgary, 1997).

Despite their former status of “enemy aliens”, Germans became preferred immigrants quickly after the Second World War which *“provides yet another example of Canada’s racial and ethnic preferences. Public opinion polls revealed that the majority of Canadians would rather allow German enemy aliens into the country than Mediterranean or Asian peoples. In keeping with these racial preferences, the federal government fully revoked the enemy aliens prohibitions against Italy and Germany by 1952”* (University of Calgary, 1997, pages not numbered).

On the other hand, Canada kept its door closed to European war victims. Federal government prepared labour and ethnic requirements, potential immigrants had to pass medical and character examinations which means that *“Canadian officials were highly selective in admitting immigrants”* (University of Calgary, 1997, pages not numbered).

In the 1950’s, Canadian preferences focused on Portugal, Greece and still continued in Germany and the Netherlands. In 1952, an amended Immigration Act was passed by the Federal government. It established the rights for admission or refusal of immigrants, both prospective or illegal. These rights, or privileges were based on the nationality and ethnical background of immigrants, including habits and probability of assimilation in Canadian society.

Economical prosperity of northern and western Europe in the late 1950's helped to change immigration policy of Canada, too, because the numbers of people applying for entering Canada declined. Movement of people from behind the Iron Curtain in eastern and central Europe was restricted and Canada almost desperately needed workers because development in industrial field would have been a great risk without immigration. Therefore, previously undesirable sources of workers were discovered in southern Europe, especially in Italy. On the other hand, there was a strong influence of Communist Party in that country and Italians were still considered as the old enemy, but Canadian government decided to open immigration offices in Italy which should guard against communist infiltration (Troper, 1999).

3.4.3 Hungarian influx: The Turnaround

Between the 1950's and the 1980's, huge numbers of refugees from countries behind the Iron Curtain sought asylum in Canada wanting to improve their standard of living or escaping political persecution. Between 1956 and 1957 thousands of refugees escaped from Hungary during the uprising against brutal Communist regime to Austria and Yugoslavia. Western countries offered to help them finish their studies, as they saw a great opportunity to accept educated immigrants for the Hungarian refugees were predominantly young university students and professors. *"This first major European refugee crisis of the Cold War came at a fortuitous moment for Canada"* (Troper, 1999, pages not numbered). Canadian government provided free transport of 37, 000 refugees from Europe, as well as financial and medical support, when they arrived to Canada. The entire staff of Faculty of Forestry of The University of Sopron was moved from Hungary to British Columbia. Accommodating Hungarian refugees was the first larger influx of welcome immigrants after the Second World War. Hungarians kept arriving to Canada in the following decades, many of them joined their families who had already been living there. Immigration of Hungarians stopped in the early 1990's because of the fall of communism.

The economic boom of the 1950's slowed down in the next decade not only in Canada, but in Europe. Number of immigrants declined by half and it led to the revision of the immigration policy. In 1962, federal government approved to lift racial and ethnical

criteria on immigration applicants, but the criteria remained for Asians. It modified the direction of public policy for Canadians started to be more liberal to racial and ethnical barriers to immigration. The main sources of immigration in early 1960's still remained Great Britain and the U.S., but Canada began to attract immigrants from developing countries. Immigration offices were therefore opened in Japan, Egypt, the West Indies, Lebanon, the Philippines and Pakistan. Canada started to turn from racist to non-racist immigration policy. The motivation was in particular to improve international image of Canada and to coordinate immigration legislation with the international focus on human rights. These steps caused a total change in racial composition of immigrants coming to Canada (Troper, 1999).

Responsibility for immigration moved to a newly established Department of Manpower and Immigration as it was necessary to solve low number of incomers. Immigration officials had to wrestle arising problem with illegal immigrants in mid-1960's. *"Among those illegally in this country were persons who had overstayed tourist visas, Asians smuggled into Canada, and the extended families of individuals who had misrepresented the closeness of their relationship in order to gain entry"* (Troper, 1999, pages not numbered). Tracking down and deportations cost a lot of money, and the cabinet found the best solution in changing the rules and authorizing amnesties for illegal immigrants. Not all of the illegal immigrants declared themselves and the government was warned by a number of critics that it could not solve the real problem of immigrants wanting to escape poverty and persecutions.

In 1966, the federal government published a white paper on immigration, which called for a complete revision of immigration law and regulations, and totally rejected any hint of discrimination and racism. The white paper was discussed by the Parliamentary Committee on Immigration, ethnic leaders were also involved in discussion but the government postponed proposed changes as they were afraid of the political impact. However, one year later, racism and ethnic discrimination were erased from regulations and even immigrants from developing countries could apply for admission. Ottawa finally ended racial and ethnic preferences and revised regulations dealing with family-reunification and admission of independent immigrants at that time. New legislation became known as "the point system" for measuring qualifications of an individual

applicant and giving points for specific skills, background, language proficiency, age or prearranged employment.

3.4.4 Era of Trudeau

Trudeau's government announced the policy of multiculturalism in 1971 which had been designed to react on cultural and ethnic plurality in Canadian society. In 1973, *Report of the Canadian Immigration and Population Study* was published by the Department of Manpower and Immigration, which pointed out the need of population growth through increased immigration. The study came up with a conclusion, that sustained growth, especially in wealth-generating group, is necessary to avoid the time when the number of those requiring support would be higher than the number of productive-age people. "*Immigration was necessary if Canada was to keep its position in world markets and deliver goods and services to its own population*" (Troper, 1999, pages not numbered). However, some public voices appeared criticising the notion of inviting immigrants when there were unemployed Canadians.

During the 1970's as the racial criteria in the selection of immigrants were being suppressed, racial and ethnic composition of incomers started changing. As immigration offices were opening up in Asia, non-traditional sources of immigrants caused that the percentage of visible minorities in Canada to double to 30 % between 1967 and 1975. Government introduced a quota system consulted with provinces which divided immigrants into various categories⁹. The figure could be modified according to the actual conditions in Canada or abroad.

3.4.5 Changes in refugee policy

Canada played a high-profile role at United Nations and ratified the 1951 United Nations convention on refugees but had no legislature which could guarantee the country as a sanctuary for people in distress. Although accepting displaced persons and

⁹ Refugee category was the most controversial one. Entrepreneurial immigrant class was created as well, which included investors who brought their capital into Canadian enterprises. As these class was initiated, number of business immigrants, particularly from Hong-Kong, increased from 1 to 6 % of the incomers (Troper, 1999).

Hungarian refugees was considered as an exceptional activity, in 1968 Canada accommodated 12,000 refugees immigrants from Czechoslovakia who escaped after the end of Prague Spring from communist regime and Russian invasion. At that time, motivated by economic interests, wave of humanitarianism and tension of Cold War, Ottawa did not hesitate and immediately offered help to the incomers.

In 1972, 50,000 Ugandan Asians with British passports were expelled from Uganda by Idi Amin and Britain asked Canada and other countries for assistance because British authorities were afraid of public resistance against such a huge Asian influx. Canada agreed to admit almost 6,000 Ugandan Asians with a little or no racial influence on government's decision. On the other hand, a year later Augusto Pinochet gained power in Chile. Canada who was an investor in the country had recognised his military regime, so when a group of Chileans asked for asylum in the Canadian embassy, they were refused for fear of bringing in potentially left wing-learning immigrants. Two years later, about 2,000 well-educated Chileans were permitted to enter Canada, however (Troper, 1999).

Worldwide problems with refugees compelled Canadian authorities to come up with efficient and responsible policy, so a new *Immigration Act* was introduced in 1978. It excluded refugees legally entitled to sanctuary from other immigrants, and proposed annual percentage of total immigration number to be prepared for refugees and costs for their integration. The new Immigration Act was needed because the 1952 Immigration Act was in force till 1978 and it had not served its purpose anymore as Canadian society in the 1970's differed greatly from that in the 1950's.

The refugee provision of the new Immigration Act were soon tested by Vietnamese people who were leaving their country because of the communist regime in late 1970's. They were called *boat people*¹⁰, as they were escaping on small vessels. Canada accepted them as political refugees. Although the majority of Canadians doubted about accepting such a large number of refugees, the other part of public expressed generosity and financially supported the Vietnamese. Till the end of the 1980's, Canada admitted over 60,000 people from Southeast Asia. Accepting refugees became an inseparable

¹⁰ Canada: A People's History, p. 297.

part of Canadian immigration program, as in 1980's when the refugee crisis culminated, almost 30 % of immigrants permitted to enter Canada were refugees. However, in 1980's Canadians considered the system overloaded and abused by people who pretended to be refugees, but there was no fear of persecution in their country. Canadians started to call for refugee policy restrictions, but all of the proposals were rejected by the Supreme Court for being incompatible with Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (Troper, 1999).

3.4.6 Minority groups

3.4.6.1 Jews: Fleeing from Nazis

French King Louis XIV. ruled that only Roman Catholics could enter New France, so there were no Jews in Canada before 1760. The earliest Jews were those serving in the British Army during the Seven Year's War. By 1850, only 450 Jews lived in Canada. In the wake of 1880's pogroms in Russia, millions of Jews began leaving for the West. Although the United States accepted the majority of these people, Canada became one of their chosen destination as well. Between 1880 and 1930, the Jewish population in Canada increased to 155,000.

After the economic collapse, the government did not want to admit immigrants, because it was difficult to find work for Canadian citizens, and the government was not able to offer any working possibilities to immigrants. The Depression was not the main reason for not accepting Jews.

How overtly racist Canadian immigration policy was can be shown on treatment of Jewish refugees escaping Nazi terror during the Second World War. These people were not accepted. In 1933 when Hitler's power established Nazism in Germany, many Jews started to seek asylum anywhere else. Not many countries were prepared to accept such a large number of refugees. Canada admitted only 5,000 of Jewish immigrants in the 1930's, it happened that ships with Jewish people, which wanted to land in Canada, were forced to return to Europe. During the years 1933-1945 only 5,000 Jews were allowed to come to Canada which is worse than any other Western country.

Canada did not have a refugee policy. When the Second World War ended, the experience with holocaust and death camps made racial discrimination unacceptable for many Canadians.

“Canadian immigration policy had always been selective, favouring those who would most easily fit into the “Canadian way of life“. While there had been some previous Jewish immigration, there was a subtle, yet all-pervading feeling that these people with their alien customs, language, and religion would not fit into the Canadian mosaic. There was even feeling that they were responsible to a large extent for their problems in Europe, and would cause problems in Canada, if allowed in” (Abella, Troper, 1982).

Prime Minister Mackenzie King was persuaded that accepting Jews would destroy his goal to keep Canada united and Frederic Blair, Director of the Immigration Branch, is said *“he had felt his moral duty to prevent the entry of Jews and thus keep Canada pure. He was undeniably an anti-Semite” (Abella, Troper, 1982).* Even there were anti-Semitic moods in Canada, not all Canadians agreed with the policy. Jewish immigrants did not become popular even in 1946 when new facts about the German death camps appeared.

3.4.6.2 Chinese: Head tax levied to bar them

Chinese first began immigrating to Canada in large number in 1858 during the Fraser Canyon Gold Rush. The lack of workers for the building of the section of the Canadian Pacific Railway had to be solved, so Chinese people from California were invited to Canada, and made the main labour force. Almost 7 000 Chinese came from California, and they attracted many others from China. Through contracts with Chinese companies more than 5000 other labourers were sent from China by ship. They had the most dangerous jobs and often lived in canvas tents which could not provide adequate protection against weather and falling rocks and were paid twice or three-times less than other labourers.

When the Canadian Pacific Railway was completed, most of the Chinese were without work and they were not welcomed to stay. Canadian government passed *The Chinese*

immigration Act, 1885 levying a head tax 50 dollars on any Chinese coming to Canada. In 1900 the tax was increased to 100 dollars, in 1904 to 500 dollars. Chinese who were banned from many professions found it hard to adjust and assimilate in Canada, as a result, they formed enclaves called “Chinatowns”.

Between 1923 and 1947, only 15 Chinese were allowed to come to Canada annually after the Federal government passed the *Chinese Exclusion Act*. Only in 1947, were the Chinese Canadians given the full citizenship, they had fought for this because most of them had joined the Canadian army during the Second World War.

Chinese Canadians felt discriminated no more after the implementation of the policy of multiculturalism in 1971. During 1980’s economy of Hong Kong began to grow rapidly, despite the Canadian economy being the worst since the end of the Second World War and the phenomenon called *astronaut families*¹¹ appeared. Many Chinese Canadians left their families in Canada and returned to work there. They earned more money and their families could use better welfare and education system in Canada.

3.4.6.3 Japanese: Stripped of their homes and businesses

The Japanese started to settle British Columbia in 1870’s; they were poor fishermen or farmers who found work in mining, forestry or in sugar beet fields. Japanese women usually worked in hotels as bellhops, or ran dry cleaning businesses.

Japanese people were not discriminated before the Second World War. When Japan attacked Pearl Harbor in 1941, Canada declared war on Japan. Anti-Japanese moods deepened and Canadians started to suspect the Japanese of being spies. In February 1942, all people of Japanese origin who lived within 160 kilometres of the Pacific

¹¹ In an astronaut family, the husband, being the money-earner, would only visit Canada once or twice a year, but his family would live in Vancouver, Toronto, Sydney, or elsewhere. Often teenage children were left with a house and bank account for months, while the parents worked in Hong Kong. This resulted in various social problems in schools, including a worry by police that such children were more likely to be drawn into gangs due to the lack of parental supervision. (<http://archives.cbc.ca/society/immigration/topics/1433/>)

Coast were evacuated because the Canadian government was afraid of Japanese attack. Thousands of Japanese were sent to forced labour internment camps to Alberta to work in sugar beet fields. They were confiscated their houses and businesses and they were not allowed to live in cities and very often lived in terrible conditions on farms.

When the Second World War ended, Japanese were given two options by the Federal government – to return to Japan, or to move east of Rocky Mountains. Although the government offered passage to Japanese people from the country, many of them chose to stay. Those who decided to leave being angry about the confiscations soon recognised destroyed Japan and wanted to come back to Canada, but they were not allowed to. In 1949, all Japanese living in Canada became citizens. The treatment of the Japanese during the war is often considered to be a black mark in Canadian history.

3.4.6.4 Blacks

The terms Black Canadians, Caribbean Canadians or African Canadians are used for black people of African ancestry, “Caribbean Canadian“ often refers to black Canadian of Caribbean heritage.

Blacks first came to North America as slaves having been brought by British or French and the first blacks coming to Canada were slaves escaping from the U.S. to the North through the so-called Underground Railroad. In the end of 19th century and the period before the First World War, blacks were unofficially restricted from immigration, as Prime Minister Laurier claimed that “...*any immigrant belonging to the Negro race...is deemed unsuitable to the climate and requirements of Canada*“ (Laurier, 1911). They were permitted going to theatres and restaurants, but they could not join organizations and their schools were separated from the whites.

In 1920's, more black people came to Canada to work as a coal miners. They were not allowed to be employed except as railway porters or for domestic work. This changed during the period around both world wars, because labour shortage had to be relieved. After 1962, when white racist immigrational policy was abandoned, huge number of

black people from Africa and Caribbean immigrated to Canada, refugees seeking better economic conditions in many cases.

3.4.6.5 Natives: Assimilation was a norm

The Federal government founded a series of residential schools because they assumed the responsibility for the education of native (aboriginal) people.¹² Children were taken from their families and reports describing bad conditions and shortages of food and clothes appeared.

When in 1962 native people finally got right to vote, Federal government improved the support of schools' funding, but natives criticised the curriculum for absence of their history and for not teaching in their languages. Indian Affair minister Jean Chrétien proposed a White Paper which should change the ways of treating Indians in 1969. It was considered to help Indian children integrate into white schools, but native leaders felt that it would mean the "*assimilation of native people into the white stream*" (Canada: A People's History, p. 264).

Native people protested against educational limitations and abuses in these schools run by the Federal government. In the end, native people reached its goal through protests and in 1971, the first school run by native people was opened. In two years' time "*the Supreme Court of Canada ruled that treaties signed as much as two hundred years earlier gave native people a strong legal basis for their current territorial claims*" (Canada: A People's History, p. 266).

3.4.6.6 Women: Becoming "persons"

Women who were British subjects and served in the army got the right to vote in 1917, two years later the right was extended to all women. In 1927, five women from Alberta asked the Supreme Court to confirm that women were *persons under the law*. They did not manage at first but they persisted and asked the Privy Council. In 1929 women were indeed declared as persons under the law.

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¹² Churches were delegated for education of native people by the time.

In 1972, Trudeau appointed Muriel McQueen Fergusson the first woman Speaker of the Senate and eight years later, Jeanne Sauvé first woman Speaker of The House of Commons.

At the end of 1970's the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women started to prepare their demands they thought to be involved in the Charter. They wanted to be included in the process of drafting of a Charter of Rights and Freedom and saw the great opportunity to advance women' rights. Mary Eberts who was a student of constitutional law presented their demands of "*sexual equality, right to control reproduction and other quarentees.*"(Canada: A People's History, p. 300-301). As a result, the acknowledgement of equality between women and men was added to the Section 28 of the Charter.

3.4.6.7 Homosexuals

Open homosexuality had been punishable by up to 14 years in prison from the time of Confederation because it was considered as a deviant practice. Restrictive practices following British models persisted until the 1960's. In the 1970's and 80's homosexuals were becoming more accepted by the society and became more visible, therefore. They called for legal protection against discrimination. The law was amended¹³ in 1969 and brought sexual freedom and sexual practices between two people in private older than 21 years were decriminalized. In 1977, Parliament passed the bill which enabled homosexual immigrants to enter and stay in Canada. The same year, Québec was the first province to issue that nobody could be discriminated against sexual orientation. Under the Charter of Rights and Freedoms adopted in 1982, discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation is banned. In 1996, almost all Canadian provinces had banned discrimination against sexual orientation and by 2006 Canada along with Spain were the only two countries in the world allowing gay and lesbian partners to adopt children.

¹³ This was Trudeau's first achievement, as he was Justice Minister at that time. Ironically, as a Catholic he personally did not believe but respected popular sentiments.

3.5 English and French relations

The British and French have always been rivals not only at European, but also at the international level and their relations in Canada mirrored their actual relations. The history of conflict between these nations in Canada goes back to the middle the of 18th century when settlers competed for the power over new Canadian land. The two founding nations had forever tried to undermine each other on the issues of religion, language, or culture. There were several events in Canadian history which split the two peoples.

At the beginning of the 20th century, for instance Minister of the Interior Clifford Sifton wanted to make Canada an English nation although he advocated immigration policy which should have settled the Canadian West. The French Canadians started to feel that their culture and language was tolerated only in Québec.

During the First World War, Canada contributed to the war efforts, but the number of volunteers was insufficient leading the then Prime Minister Borden to persuade the Parliament to pass the conscription bill. All able-bodied men were drafted into the military service. Resistance and protests among French Canadians in Québec started because Canadian soldiers spoke mostly English and were Protestants.

In 1967, French president De Gaulle supported the independence of Québec during Expo in Montreal. The separational tendencies culminated in 1970's into the October Crisis, which disrupted the French-English Canadian relations again.

4. Pierre Elliot Trudeau

4.1 Biography

Joseph Philippe Pierre Yves Elliott Trudeau was born in Montreal in 1919. His mother was of Scottish origin, his father a French Canadian. He finished his law studies in 1948, worked in Ottawa for the Privy Council, during the Korean war for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and started a journal called *Cité Libre*.



Trudeau won his parliamentary seat in federal election in April 1965 and two years later he became the Minister of Justice. As such He reformed the divorce laws and liberalized the laws on abortion, contaception and decriminalisation of homosexuality by passing *Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1968-69* which he defended by famous statement that “*there’s no place for the state in the bedrooms of the nation*”.

When Prime Minister Lester Pearson resigned in December 1967, Trudeau was invited to run as the Liberal Party candidate, after the most famous politician from Québec Jean Marchand refused to run. Trudeau won the leadership, called an election immediately and won a majority government in June at the age of 49. Although he was percieved as French, he was able to talk to English speaking people authentically and effectively, too. He was never whole heartedly supported by French canadians who by this time were pressing for sovereignty.

His charismatic dandy appearance created a phenomenon called “Trudeaumania”¹⁴ during the campaign. Whole Canada was amazed by him, as he could give a bit of adrenalin which the country needed. He danced with an Arabian Sheik, earned a brown belt in judo, or performed a pirouette behind the Queen Elisabeth’s back at Buckingham Palace in 1977. He was very intelligent and called himself a “Citizen of the World”, which perfectly described his political view and opinions. As the Prime

¹⁴ Term formed by journalist Lubor J. Zink.

Minister, he wanted to reach a “Just Society” in Canada by means of participatory democracy.

During the War in Vietnam, Trudeau opened the door to the American draft dodgers. These were young men who decided to flee to Canada rather than serve in the army. The influx of young men was welcomed by many Canadians. The draft dodgers were crossing the Canadian border as immigrants, or pretended to be visiting the country. Some of them returned to the U.S. after the amnesty declared by Jimmy Carter in 1977, half of them stayed in Canada. Trudeau wanted to make Canada the “country of peace”, or the “*refuge from militarism*” (Trudeau, Winnipeg, 1970). He reduced the armed forces by a third in 1969 which brought a wave of criticism within and outside the country. In December he met John Lennon in Ottawa, who later said: “*If there were more leaders like Mr. Trudeau, the world would have more peace.*”

His government implemented the official bilingualism by accepting the *Official Languages Act* in 1969 which required all federal services to be provided in both English and French. Trudeau’s work is above all associated with multiculturalism as the official policy and the patriation of Canadian Constitution.

He decided to retire from politics after 15 years in the office in 1984 after he managed to reach his main goal and dream of the patriation of Canadian Constitution in 1982 which could have been modified by the British Parliament by that time. Then, he started to work for a law company in Montreal. Although he had left political life, he criticised both proposals of *Meech Lake Accord* and *Charlottetown Accord*, which should be amended to the Constitution, for they would weaken the *Charter* in case of implementation and was responsible for their failure. It is considered to be his last contribution to the multicultural policy. Basically, if Trudeau had not opposed to the proposals, they may have been probably ratified. He rejected nationalism and accepted the idea of “ethnic pluralism” instead, not only theoretically, but in practice. He had been doing as much as he could to stand by his idea of a “just society” in Canada and multiculturalism was a means to reach his goal. He published a number of books, where he described his political ideas, opinions and experience. In 1971, he married Margaret

Sinclair, who was 29 years younger. They had three sons¹⁵. Soon after, Margaret started to suffer from depressions and the marriage came to the end, they were divorced in 1984. In 1991, he became father for the fourth time when his daughter Sarah was born to a constitutional lawyer Deborah Coyne.

At the end of his life he suffered from cancer and Parkinson's disease and died on 28th September 2000 at the age of 80, his funeral turning into a huge celebration even in Quebec where his legacy remained controversial.

He loved Canada and stood for his ideals, promoted programs for the equality of English and French. On the other hand, he was reproached for not being able to accept any compromise and for annoying his opponents when he simplified their views. He was often criticised for promoting bilingualism and the policy of multiculturalism to solve the problem of Quebec nationalism. He wanted to satisfy French Canadians, as well as the English Canadians. He is one of the most disputable politician in Canadian history, but his legacy is uncontradicted.

4.2 Trudeau's role

Trudeau set out to make Canada a "Just society" when he became the Prime Minister. His political ideas and tremendous charisma started to drive the process of slow but dramatic changes in Canadian society.

4.2.1 Bilingualism as a goal

Canada has always been facing the problem of relations between French and English-speaking, especially in Québec where there is a 5/6 majority of French. English has been the government language in each of the provinces since their inception but French became the official language of the Québec government since the entrenchment in the Canadian Constitution¹⁶ in 1867. Since 1867, institutional bilingualism has existed in

¹⁵ Justin, Alexandre and Michel. Michel died at the age of 23 in an avalanche in 1998. Trudeau was devastated by the death of his youngest son.

¹⁶ Also known as British North America Act.

Canada, but both languages did not achieve equal status, as English was used in majority of the provinces and was privileged, therefore.

Trudeau promoted bilingualism and in 1963 his government established the *Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism* which was to monitor how English and French speaking Canadians were treated by federal institutions¹⁷. Annual reports of the Commission prepared the ground for the adoption of the *Official Languages Act of 1969*. It gave French and English equal status and guaranteed Canadians the choice to speak English or French in civil services anywhere in Canada.

The principles of bilingualism is incorporated in the Constitution, resp. in Section 16 of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms (Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedom, pages not numbered). In 1977, the nationalist provincial government declared French as the only official language in Québec by Bill 101 and placed limits on the use of English. That kind of policy led to decline of the English-speaking population by 90, 000 in five years (Canada: A People's History, p. 290).

4.2.2 FLQ: Canada's encounter with terrorism

Québec nationalism started to strengthen in the 1950's and 1960's. At the beginning of 1970's, French Canadians felt discriminated by the Anglophone majority across Canada and separatist tendencies developed in Québec.

During the 1960's, a national movement appeared in Québec calling for independence of the province. In 1963, Le Front de libération du Québec (FLQ) was founded. It systematically used violence¹⁸ to achieve their aim, particularly in 1968 and 1969 when there was a series of bomb attacks. It culminated on the 5th October 1970 when members of FLQ kidnapped British Trade Commissioner James Cross in Montreal. Five days later, second FLQ members group calling themselves Chénier Cell kidnapped Québec's Minister of labour Pierre Laporte, a francophone and a close friend of

¹⁷ In 1960's, Francophones formed 25% of Canadian population, only 9% were occupied in federal public service.

¹⁸ Since 1963, the FLQ terror had killed six people and twenty-one injured. Most of them were caused during the bomb attack in the Montreal Stock Exchange building in 1969.

Trudeau. Robert Bourassa, Québec PM leader, asked the army for help to the police in Montreal to guarantee safety of people and public buildings.

On Bourassa's request, Trudeau declared "the apprehended insurrection" in Québec and invoked the *War Measures Act*¹⁹ on 16th October, which suspended civil liberties and made the FLQ an illegal organization. Two days later, Laporte was found dead in a car trunk after anonymous phone calls to Montreal radio station. By the end of the year almost 500 people who supported Québec nationalism often members of *Parti québécois*²⁰, were arrested. In early December, James Cross was freed by police after 59 days in captivity. His abductors with their families obtained the safe passage to Cuba. This episode was an example of Trudeau standing firm in the face of terrorism, defying his soft image.

4.2.3 René Lévesque, the opponent

Although, Prime Minister Trudeau had claimed that there existed no separatism in Québec any longer, Parti Québécois led by René Lévesque won the provincial election in 1976. Lévesque came up with a number of reforms – in 1977 the provincial parliament passed Bill 101 declaring French as the only official language in Quebec which was in contradiction with Trudeau's ideals.

Lévesque as Quebec premier promised to do as much as he can to reach the sovereignty²¹ of Quebec. In May 1980, people in Québec should have decided in referendum about the negotiation of an agreement with the rest of Canada which would

¹⁹ The emergency law, developed during the First World War, which gives the government and the police special powers in a crisis and suspends most civil liberties. It can be declared because of a war, a rebellion (insurrection), or a situation when the government can presuppose a rebellion (an apprehended insurrection).

²⁰ Political party *Parti québécoise* was created in 1968, it promised independence of Québec within an economic union with the rest of Canada. They won the provincial election in 1976 and René Levesque became the provincial leader.

²¹ 60% of Québeckers rejected the province sovereignty-association.

give Québec special status within Canada.²² Trudeau complained that Lévesque never used the term separation – dit not “*have courage to ask a simple question, Do you want to separate from Canada, YES or NO?*” (Trudeau, Québec City, April 1980).

Sixty per cent of Quebecers voted against separation of the province. The main role for that decision played the fellow feeling with a huge country, not the awareness of economic advantages (Canada: A People’s History, p. 292). Although Lévesque was defeated in the referendum, his Parti Québécois was reelected later that year and a new battle started between him and Trudeau – dealing with the patriation of Canadian Constitution.

In 1984, conservative Brian Mulroney became Prime Minister of Canada and continued in solving the Quebec problem. He promised to strengthen the provincial powers. Provincial leaders met in Meech Lake in April 1987. They created constitutional amendments dealing with Québec with the intend to limit Federal government’s powers over the provinces and to obtain for Québec the status of “distinct society”. *Meech Lake Accord* was passed by the Federal parliament in July 1987 and it should have been confirmed by all provinces in three years but it had never happened. In 1990, all hopes for Meech Lake Accord realisation disappeared, and the Québec government started threatening with another referendum about the independence, if the Federal government did not come with satisfactory constitutional offers in two years time. As a result, *Charlottetown Accord* was proposed. It intended to guarantee “distinct society” status for Québec while empowering rights even for the other provinces. Despite warnings given by Prime Minister Mulroney that if the accord was not accepted, the country’s unity could be destroyed, Canadians chose not to accept it by 54,4 per cent (Rovná, Jindra, p. 297-298).

Trudeau advocated the concept of multiculturalism because he wanted to solve problems concerning Quebec. He called himself a “Citizen of the World” (Sheppard in Maclean’s, p.58), which perfectly described his political views and opinions and the

²² Lévesque preferred to use the term “sovereignty-association” than separation, it meant that Québec would gain a special position within the country. It would enable Québec to create its own law system, external relations or to levy taxes, but it would be economically connected with the rest of Canada.

image of divided country was unacceptable for him. He thought that multiculturalism could acquit claims of Quebec and save the country's unity. He wanted to strengthen federalism and to improve the awareness of national identity, but not through nationalism.

4.2.4 Patriation: Trudeau's greatest triumph

The Statute of Westminster of 1931 promised legislative equality between the United Kingdom and dominions of British Empire. It also marked the legislative independence of Canada, but Canadian Constitution stayed in London.

Trudeau had tried to release Canada from the colonial status by patriation²³ and revision of Canadian Constitution, because it could be only modified by the British Parliament. Previous negotiations with the provinces to patriate the Constitution were not successful, so the Federal government intended to do it unilaterally. In November 1981 they agreed on the conditions with Anglophone provinces. Queen Elisabeth II favoured Trudeau's attempt to move the Canadian Constitution from London to Ottawa and proclaimed the *Constitution Act of 1982* on 17th April 1982 which included *Charter of Rights and Freedoms*. Canadian Constitution became the Canadian law which could be entirely amended by Canada.²⁴

Trudeau had presumed that patriation of the Constitution could enhance Canadian identity because it was the last step to sovereignty and full independence of the country. The component *Charter of Rights and Freedom* should support multicultural policy and its Section 27 embedded multiculturalism into the Constitution. Patriation of the Canadian Constitution was definitely his most important achievement. It was the Queen herself who symbolically brought the document to Canada.

²³ Term, particularly used in Canada, which means "to move the Constitution home". It is based on the term *repatriation*, but historians agree, that term *repatriation* is not precise, because the Constitution was created in Britain and it was moved home for the first time, not again. It could not return to Canada, because it has never been there before. That is the reason why the term *patriation* was created.

²⁴ The Amended formula was included to the *Constitution Act 1982*, too, to allow to modify the Constitution. In 1967, British Parliament proclaimed *The British North America Act* (Canadian Constitution), which was a part of British law system. It was renamed *The Constitution Act of 1967* in 1982 when the Constitution was patriated.

5. Development of the multiculturalism

5.1 *The development of multicultural idea*

It is said that there has been always cultural diversity in Canada, and the two founding cultures were clearly dominant for more than three hundred years. French used to be Catholics and English Protestants, both cultures together often called the “two solitudes”²⁵. French used to be overshadowed by the English culture because Canada had been under control of Britain from 1763 to 1982 when the Constitution was patriated. During the years that followed the formation of Canadian Confederation in 1867, Canadians generally wanted the immigrants to assimilate into the mainstream. This policy favoured “preferred nationalities”²⁶ and discouraged the others. It resulted that the number of Canadians who were of different origin from that of English or French was increasing only slowly.

The sentiments of Canadian society in the second half of the 20th century influenced and started shifting the development of the multicultural idea. Canada has been always recognised as diverse and had to face “*the problem of creating the society where people of varied linguistic and cultural background can live together*” (Bibby, 1990, p. 7), but nobody was forced to conform to the mainstream. The American expression *melting pot*²⁷ was not able to describe precisely what was happening in Canadian society. Immigrants who come to the U.S. are often integrated into newly created nation and lose their own cultural heritage, but this happens without state interventions. In Canada, the process of integration differed from that in the U.S. and historians and sociologists specified the Canadian cultural situation as *mosaic*, where ethnic groups sustain their unique and traditional culture and contribute to the national development.

²⁵ It describes the problematic relations between Anglophone and Francophone people in Canada and refers to the absence of their will to communicate. Hugh MacLennan made the term popular in 1945 when he wrote a novel called *Two Solitudes*. The expression was first used by Benjamin Disraeli, but in a different meaning.

²⁶ British, American and western European.

²⁷ Expression used for a pot image where all original nationalities of incomers melt and new nation is created.

British dominance was longer to acceptable although European culture still created a pivotal part of Canadian cultural heritage. Bibby notes that *“Canadians were part of a culture that largely had been imported from Western Europe, which accepted the “truths“ of male dominance and British and White Supremacy.”* (Bibby, p.33). But the national policy of assimilation appeared inappropriate when thousands of immigrants were searching for new home after the Second World War.

The rural and agrarian society was changing into industrial and urban, the former is characterized by community, the following by individual, pluralism, rising education and liberalization. With the increasing influence of media, Canadian society rediscovered inequality and the difference among regions and wanted to classify and identify its problems. Increasingly, people were moving from small towns and villages into huge megacities such as Toronto and Vancouver.

In 1957 John Diefenbaker offered a new national perspective in his campaign. He opened a question of Canadian identity which was disputed by Canadians themselves, as they had been looking for it for decades. The identity question was later clearly faced by Pierre Elliot Trudeau who expressed: *“Canada...is a human place, a sanctuary of sanity in an increasingly troubled world. We need not search further for our identity. These traits of tolerance and courtesy and respect for our environment and one another provide it. I suggest that a superior form of identity would be difficult to find.”* (Trudeau in Christiano, 1990, p. 21)

5.2 Development of the policy

The origin of multiculturalism can be found during the war years when the government had to solve problems connected with the immigration, especially with integration of the immigrants. It developed because of the influence of immigration, as every Canadian can trace his origin to immigrants. Although many Canadians might not have had a real experience with immigration, they were descendants of people who came to Canada from other parts of the world. During the war, many formerly suppressed minorities such as the Chinese, the blacks or the Sikhs joined the army and this led to

mixing of people of different races. Also, women joined the workforce in great numbers as the men were in Europe.

Until the first *Citizenship Act* in 1947, all Canadians were British subjects. After the passage of the Act, they became Canadian citizens. The *Citizenship Act* also equalized immigrants from other countries who applied for the Canadian citizenship with those who came from the Commonwealth and were of British origin. It provided grounds for focusing on human rights and equality in the Canadian society. The progress was supported in the 1960's when the Federal government led by Prime Minister Diefenbaker introduced *Canadian Bill of Rights*, which specified racial, religious, sexual and other freedoms of Canadians. The amended *Immigration Act* between 1962 and 1967 opened doors to formerly non-preferred nationalities, especially Asians. Meanwhile, the Royal Commission for Bilingualism and Biculturalism was created in 1963. It should promote better relations between the Anglophones and Francophones and to improve awareness about the cultural dualism. Other ethnic groups were not focused on, but mentioned as culturally enriching to Canada. Aboriginal people were not mentioned at all. The Commission recognised groups who were often ignored in the past. In 1969, the *Official Languages Act* enacted English and French the two official languages.

In the following years, Canada continued to extend principles of equal treatment and to eliminate all kinds of discrimination although that period was also marked by troubled relations between English and French. The Royal Commission for Bilingualism and Biculturalism held hearings across the country and recognized that the old policy of assimilation of ethnic groups and immigrant communities was not successful. Some of the immigrants were complaining that they supported the country during the Great Depression and then served in the army during the war, so they wanted to be declared Canadian citizens.

At the beginning of the 1960's Trudeau wrote about the "polyethnic pluralism" as a direction for Canada to head. "*If two largest ethnic or national groups, the British and the French, would collaborate at the hub of a truly pluralistic state, Canada could become the envied seat of a form of federalism that belongs to tomorrow's world*"

(Trudeau, 1968, p. 178-9). From then on, multiculturalism became the standard term used by non-English and non-French citizens, who felt that dualism and biculturalism degrade them to second-class citizens. The separatist movement in Québec was gathering strength and the new decade began with the October Crisis.

5.3 Multicultural policy

Pierre Elliot Trudeau announced the new federal policy of nation-building and national unity on the 8th October 1971. Canada became aware of protection of cultural rights not only of Canadians but of ethnical minorities as well. All cultural groups were enabled full participation in the society. By declaring the *Multiculturalism Act of 1971* Canada became the first country in the world to adopt multiculturalism as the official policy. Multicultural policy should confirm the “value and dignity of all Canadian citizens regardless of their racial or ethnic origins, their language, or their religious affiliation.”²⁸ The federal government set out to support all cultural groups, the idea was not to have them assimilate, but to integrate them freely, at their own pace, into the fabric of Canadian society - the main ideal of multiculturalism.

The importance of immigration for multiculturalism should not be underestimated, because without a flow of racially and culturally diverse people, multiculturalism would fail its purpose.

Parliamentary reports²⁹ divide multicultural policy to three stages: the incipient (pre-1971), the formative (1971-1981) and institutionalization (1982-to the present).³⁰

The incipient stage is characterized by the “*gradual movement towards the acceptance of ethnic diversity as legitimate and integral to Canadian society*“. Federal authorities considered cultural heterogeneity as harmful to national interests and integrity. They had to change their opinion after the Second World War when a huge number of

²⁸ Canadian Heritage Ministry www.pch.gc.ca/multi/what_multi_e.shtml

²⁹ <http://www.parl.gc.ca/information/library/PRBpubs/936-e.htm>

³⁰ <http://www.parl.gc.ca/information/library/PRBpubs/936-e.htm>

immigrants were coming from Europe. “Pressures for change stemmed from the growing assertiveness of Canada’s Aboriginal peoples, the force of Québécois nationalism, and the increasing resentment of ethnic minorities towards their place in society“ (<http://www.parl.gc.ca/information/library/PRBpubs/936-e.htm>).

During the formative period Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism recommended the integration of ethnic groups “with full citizenship rights and equal participation in Canada’s institutional structure”, which fastened the new policy announcement. Equality, fighting against discrimination and cultural barriers were the main concerns emphasised in the multicultural programs, as well as the participation of ethnical minorities in Canadian society.

In the 1970’s, Canada ratified three important United Nations conventions – on the elimination of racial discrimination; on civil and political rights; and on social, economic and social rights. (Gauld, 1992)

The last stage of multicultural policy is in the parliamentary documents called the institutionalization. During this period, a number of immigrants who came to Canada changed the composition of population in large cities and Canadian institutions had to adapt to presence of new groups of immigrants. Government prepared institutional changes. In 1984 and 1985, Committee on Visible minorities and House of Commons Standing Committee on Multiculturalism were established to report the implementation of multicultural policy. Despite anti-discrimination and multicultural programs introduced to help remove barriers among majority and minorities, groups promoting racist ideas emerged.

In 1987, Department of Multiculturalism was considered to be created, and multiculturalism fell within the jurisdiction of Department of Canadian Heritage, established in 1995, then it moved to the Department of Citizenship and Immigration. A report of the Standing Committee in 1987 required enactment of the new multicultural policy. The *Multiculturalism Act* was adopted by Parliament in 1988, new policy should have been more direct and targeted. Multiculturalism was stated as a fundamental component of Canadian society which should direct decisions of federal government towards preservation and enhancement of the policy. The *Multiculturalism*

Act was accepted to assist in the preservation of culture and language, to reduce discrimination, to enhance cultural awareness and understanding, and to promote culturally sensitive institutional change at the federal level (Parliamentary Information and Research service, 2006), to preserve cultural differences and focused on annihilation of racism and discriminatory barriers. The policy emphasized intercultural dialogue and social and economic integration.

Multiculturalism is sometimes misunderstood as the policy for ethnical minorities.³¹ However, it was established to be followed and respected by all Canadians, for it is defined as part of Canadian identity and all majorities and minorities should be involved into the mainstream.

Passing the *Immigration Act* and *Multiculturalism Act* in 1971 changed the composition of Canadian society because both opened the doors non-traditional sources of immigration. Further step was the acceptance of *Employment Equity Act* in 1986 which promised to guarantee equal job opportunities to all, regardless of colour, religion, etc.

5.4 Charter of Rights and Freedoms

Charter of Rights and Freedoms (See the Appendix) became part of the Canadian Constitution and came into effect on 17th April 1982³². Since it is inserted into the Constitution which is the supreme Canadian law, all other laws must be consistent with it.

The Canadian commitment to multicultural diversity is reflected by a wide scope of the *Charter*. It guarantees fundamental rights and freedoms which Canadians believe to be necessary in a democratic country, eg. mobility rights, equality and legal rights or the protection of multicultural heritage.

Canada is the only country in the world which has the policy of multiculturalism embedded in the Constitution. The *Charter* refers to multiculturalism in its Section 27,

³¹ This is the European model; such as has existed in Britain and the Netherlands, for instance.

³² Section 15 of the Charter invoking equality rights came into effect three years later.

it states that interpretation of the *Charter* must be *consistent with the preservation and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canadians* (*Charter*) which has far-reaching legal and moral implications and assists courts at the level of decision-making about individual and multicultural rights. It should protect citizens against state, minorities against majorities. By guarantees of equality and fairness, it provides protection against discrimination, regardless race or ethnicity. Equality rights of sexes are included, too. Aboriginal rights and freedoms are not affected by the *Charter*, but it refers to the Royal Proclamation of October 7, 1763 or to land claims agreements, that were signed in the past.

It also clearly outlines that English and French are the two official languages and have equal status, protects official languages and minority language education rights. Every Canadian has a right and privilege to use either English or French in the Parliament and government of Canada, as well as the proceedings in courts and for communication with federal institutions.

The Canadian *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* is supposed to the nation, as Canada was founded on the principle of intercultural cooperation and cultural diversity. Any Canadian whose rights or freedoms have been denied can apply to a court to try to obtain appropriate remedy. The *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* clearly lists the rights of specific peoples, but it also leaves space for open interpretation and application of the law. However, most sections of the *Charter* can be ambiguous, interpretation depends on judges and can decide controversial cases³³. This is both an advantage and disadvantage. It means that many people can vent and pursue their grievances, such as job dismissal due to colour skin, but others can also abuse the system, such as perceived discrimination (See incidents with kirpan).

Rights and freedoms of Canadians are protected not only by *Charter*, but by *The Canadian Bill of Rights* as well. It was enacted by Parliament in 1960, it is not a part of the Constitution, but contains the similar rules as the *Charter*.

³³ See Kirpan case

5.5 Implementation of the multicultural policy

In 1972, Multiculturalism Directorate was created within the Department of Secretary of State to assist the implementation of the multicultural program, which was dependent on the government fundings. During the first decade of the policy, almost 200 million dollars were provided. Ministry of Multiculturalism was established in 1973 to review if the government implemented the multicultural policy, as well as “formal linkages between the government and ethnic organizations were established to provide ongoing input into the decision-making process.”³⁴

In 1988 new program areas were announced – race relations and intercultural understanding which should help combat racism and discrimination, minority groups and immigrant-generation Canadians were encouraged to participate in the society.

Minister³⁵ responsible for the Multiculturalism Act should for example give advice and assistance to individuals, organizations and institutions to project multiculturalism in their activities. He should help with research in the field of multiculturalism and support cooperation among communities. There are a lot of other competences belonging to the Minister, all listed in the *Multiculturalism Act of 1988*. All government agencies, departments and corporations have to act appropriately to implement the policy and take part in its plans, programs and strategies.

In 1991, Department of Multiculturalism and Citizenship was established by Parliament, with main concerns on race relationship, national heritage and intercultural understanding. In 1993, Department of Multiculturalism and Citizenship was abolished and multicultural programs were integrated into newly created Department of Canadian Heritage, which annually prepares a report on the operation and implementation of Canadian Multiculturalism Act.

³⁴ <http://www.parl.gc.ca/information/library/PRBpubs/936-e.htm>

³⁵ "Minister" means such member of the Queen's Privy Council for Canada as is designated by the Governor in Council as the Minister for the purposes of this Act. (Canadian Multicultural Act, 1988, <http://laws.justice.gc.ca/en/C-18.7/text.html>)

5.6 Canadian citizenship

In 1947, Citizenship Act was passed and made Canadian citizenship independent of British subject status. Potential candidate on Canadian citizenship had to have legally gained admission to Canada, had to be five years resident, have adequate knowledge of English or French and knowledge of privileges and responsibilities of Canadian citizen and had to prove a good character and intention to reside in Canada permanently. Before formally getting Canadian citizenship applicants have to pass a special computerized test on knowledge of Canadian life and history (University of Calgary, 1997)

The act was substituted in 1977 by a new Citizenship Act, which is still in force. Nowadays, to get Canadian citizenship, a man must be at least 18 years old. Children can apply if they are permanent residents, if one of their parents is already Canadian citizen or applies at the same time.

It is necessary to have permanent residence status and to live in Canada four years before applying for the citizenship. People need to speak one of the two official languages of Canada well enough to communicate. Criminals, people under investigation, under a removal order, or those who had taken Canadian citizenship away within five years cannot apply for Canadian citizenship.

To become citizens, people must know the rights and responsibilities of a citizen, must know political system, some historical and geographical facts about Canada (Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2007).

6. The impact, current situation

Recently, an interesting phenomenon called *retreat from multiculturalism* appeared in several liberal states where multicultural policies were practiced. In Australia, the Netherlands and in Great Britain multicultural policies are being questioned and will possibly be replaced by the concept of civic integration, especially because of their unpopularity, failures and a new assertiveness of the liberal states in imposing the liberal minimum on its dissenters (Joppke, 2003).

Terrorist attacks on New York World Trade Centre on the 11th September 2001 threatened the whole world and in Canada opened discussion about cultural diversity and immigration related to the security of the country. In spite of ongoing War against Terrorism around the world, Canadian attitudes towards multiculturalism, diversity and immigration continued to be “*stable and solid throughout the crisis*” (Baker, 2002, p. 1). Multiculturalism remained embedded in the Constitution as the official policy despite the 9/11 events. On one hand, public conversations demonstrated the reluctant end of multiculturalism era, at the same time, “*multiculturalism is being newly championed*” (Symposium report, 2007, p. 1-2) as it can be the best country’s security and counter-terrorist technology (Brynen, 2006) and Canadians retained confident of civil liberties maintenance. Therefore, Canadians think that the threat of terrorism does not justify placing limits on any of their civil rights and freedoms (Baker, 2002) and still believe in the strength of multiculturalism and ethnical diversity.

According to 2008 polls, however, most Canadians believe that their country is too accommodating when it comes to the “visible minorities”. The Strategic Counsel poll for the Globe and Mail and CTV, found that 61 percent of those asked thought Canada does too much for members of the visible or non-white minorities. In Quebec, this figure went up to 72 percent, the survey said.

(http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_kmaf/is_n200804/ai_n25344294).

7. The Aftermath

7.1 Positive achievements

At first, it is very important to say, that Canadians are very proud of their multicultural policy, although they are aware of some darker sides of it which cannot tip the scale with its benefits. They feel that the policy reflects their personal values. A huge number of people were coming to Canada as refugees seeking new home, they were admitted and given the chance, so they felt responsible for the opportunity given. Canada needed immigrants to be building the country.

Canada is an urban society, there are huge city conglomerations where visible minorities form about 45 %. Many large Canadian cities have their “little Italy” where it is possible to buy typical Italian food, or a Chinatowns with shops and restaurants. Although the majority of people living in Canada is of non-British and non-French origin, there are more or less no ghettos there.

Every cultural group which came to Canada to call it home contributed much of value to this country – to the arts and sports. The cultural nature is seen in schools, in urban centres children can choose to go to bilingual programs where they are taught in English and in their heritage language. They can also attend heritage classes on Saturdays. International festivals and cultural events take place where various cultures can be presented.

Concept of multiculturalism does not focus on ethnic minorities only, but on the topic of sexual orientation and gender as well. The gay lifestyle is accepted and Canada and Spain are the only countries where adoption of children is permitted, homosexuals can also sponsor their partners for immigration (at <http://www.apf.gov.au/library>).

When people come to Canada, it is not difficult to become citizens. Multiculturalism tries to require or encourage preferential treatment in employment for women, people with disabilities, Aboriginal people and visible minorities (Employment Equity Act, 1995).

7.2 Multicultural negatives

7.2.1 Canadian identity

Canadians have been trying to solve the question of national identity since the country has existed and never has been sufficiently answered. And no nation ever dealt with this question more than Canadians. Carpenter explains that the problem of Canadian identity was caused by the government and media propaganda dealing with what a Canadian is. Basically, one argument goes, the way to be aware for Canadians of their identity is to distinguish themselves from the rest of the world, particularly from Americans (Carpenter, 2000).

Canadians want to show that they differ from Americans, but they forgot that they have much in common, at least they share the whole southern border and both American and Canadian Constitutions are to a large extent based on the British law.

“... Canada identifies itself through the eyes of Americans. In other words, “What makes us truly Canadian is that we are not American.” I find it hard to accept being reduced this way as a Canadian, I mean, it sounds as if we are considered of little worth because we aren’t American. Canada minus American influence means half-hearted Canadians. We are just those guys up there living next door to the big wigs” (Berton, 2008).

Concept of Canadian identity was limited by the ties with Europe, either British, or French. Immigrants who left their old country behind, better identify themselves with Canada. Canadian culture should not be understood as primarily British, although English language and British institutions were to be utilized as a matter of convenience (Ogmudson, 1992).

Trudeau refused nationalism and adopted multiculturalism instead, which should strengthen Canadian unity by smoothing the integration of newcomers and offered all Canadians new, more unifying identity (Forbes, 2001).

Ogmudson offers a solution, that every individual Canadian should understand and accept his identity through his own way of identifying with his own cultural heritage (Ogmudson, 1992).

7.2.2 Hyphenated Canadians

Jackson and Crawford write about the "crisis of racial and national identity" (Jackson, 1998; Crawford, 2007) which led to creation of hyphenated Canadians. This phenomenon cannot be found anywhere else in the world and has either positive or negative aspects.

Immigrants usually retain their ties to their original nations and their origin remains a part of their identity. Japanese-Canadians, Russian-Canadians carry the label through generations to descendants who were even born in Canada. They want to show and stress that they had chosen to come to the different Canadian culture. They identify themselves primarily according to their original roots, and secondary as Canadians.

From this point of view, there is no choice for someone who wants to be Canadian, only. In that way, "one might consider the multiculturalism program to be a form of cultural genocide aimed at the destruction of a pan-Canadian identity" (Ogmudson, 1992).

Dashupta notes that the hyphenated identity is an element for encouraging immigration, because the country needs it for maintenance of the population growth.

"Without immigration, the national population growth is less than 0.5 per cent annually so, at current rates, could become a negative rate by 2008—if not for immigrants. The most encouraging factor for prospective Canadian immigrants is the existence of a strong homeland community here; since the new arrivals immediately feel they're part of a community" (Dashupta, 2005, p. 11).

Bibby describes another point of view when sprinter Ben Johnson won the Olympic Games in Korea. Whole Canada celebrated his gold, because the Canadian athlete managed to win. Soon they felt into disappointment as he was disqualified for doping,

and Johnson was told and written not as about Canadian, but as Jamaican-born Canadian athlete positive on steroids. (Bibby, 1990)

Most Canadians prefer the idea of hyphenation, because they feel that it describes their origin precisely, but sociologists call for “just Canadian” identity and nationality. Anchan explains that multicultural policy supports hyphenated identities, but on the other hand “...*We should be Canadian first before anything else, or we create psychological ghettos preventing social cohesiveness*” (Anchan in Dashupta, 2005, p. 11).

On all accounts, multicultural policy gives the possibility of choice, even though some sociologists argue that multicultural tendencies block, paradoxically, the way of a proper nationalist knowledge (Crawford, 2007).

Two options can be concluded – that people come to Canada either to become Canadians and part of the nation, or to take their advantage of living in Canada, when dual citizenship possibility exists.

According to Weinreb, “*Canada doesn’t necessarily have to strip [immigrants] of their citizenship, but all Canadian citizens should be forced to take some responsibility. Those who have not resided in Canada for a certain period of time or those who have not paid Canadian taxes while being abroad for a certain length of time should be disentitled to financial assistance to return to Canada to sit out current hardships in their chosen country of residence*” (Weinreb, 2006, pages not numbered).

Some Canadians are therefore afraid of devaluation of Canadian citizenship, because the multicultural policy has produced a number of Canadian citizens who permanently live abroad without any benefit to Canada. The number of cases increases, when immigrants return to their homeland after receiving Canadian citizenship. According to some politicians, continuing in such an immigration policy can result in social system break down (Weinreb, 2006).

7.2.3 Hate crimes and discrimination

The implementation of multicultural policy cannot totally erase hate crime and discrimination in Canadian society. Ministry of Attorney General published a manual dealing with specification and qualification of hate crimes and discrimination and their impact on individuals, groups or communities.

According to research done in the end of 1990's, wages of people of the same qualification but different race were 15% less in average. Approximately 60,000 hate crimes are committed annually in industrial areas, 60% committed against racial minorities, 25% against religious minorities (Crawford, 2007).

Multiculturalism is sometimes regarded as being a consequence of racism and discrimination when putting different ethnics, values and cultures together and when dividing society into mainstream and minorities. In spite of rare leading to racism, multicultural policy eliminates it, as it is one of its main points.

7.2.4 Large cities and the rest of Canada

86 % of visible minorities live in urban areas, in eight major cities, almost half of them in Toronto alone. It means that Canadians who live somewhere else are not in touch with visible minorities, and are often surrounded by WASPs³⁶ or at least Europeans. Multicultural policy can seem to be useless for people living in rural areas, they may not understand the policy in practise, but they can benefit from the its ideas (Crawford, 2007).

7.2.5 Emphasis on individualism

Bibby notes that Canadians understand pluralism as freedom for individuals and that pluralism divides society into protected parts but it is not able to bring them together again. These parts cannot live side by side without influencing one another. Individualism makes group life more difficult when emphasising individual rights and personal gratification. Bibby noticed that "*Canadian find themselves torn between*

³⁶ White Anglo-Saxon Protestant.

wanting good ties with other people while responding to a culture that tells them to put themselves and their own well-being first” (Bibby, 1990, p. 96). Exaggerated individualism can strain relationships of all kinds. According to sociologist Christiano, groups of people have to be aware of what makes them a group and *“they must be given an identity”* (Christiano in Bibby, 1990, p. 97). It can explain the problem of Canadian individualism connected with inability to identify themselves.

No matter how much Canadians emphasise their individual rights, individualism does not have to be a direct result of pluralism and multiculturalism because individualism appears not only in Canada, but in the whole world society and could be better connected with globalization.

7.2.6 Forced multiculturalism and confusion

When *Multiculturalism Act* was passed in 1971, Canadians were de facto forced to avoid any kind of discrimination and to tolerate each other even if they did not agree with the policy. They were forced to accept multiculturalism as a part of their lives and it helped to change the society root and branch from discriminative to tolerant. Bibby noticed that *“an educated, enlightened, sophisticated Canadian is a person who tolerates almost everything and seldom takes a position on anything. If a person dares to advocate a position in an ethnical, moral, or religious realm...such a person typically is viewed as narrow-minded”* (Bibby, 1990, p. 100).

In some cases, multiculturalism is viewed negatively because it brings confusion and misunderstanding when immigrants come to Canada not being able to communicate in English or French and knowing only the law system of their native country.

On the other hand, researches done by the Environics Research Group in 2002 show that problems or negative aspect of multiculturalism mentioned above are not considered to be serious by the most of Canadians (See Table 1 in Appendix).

7.2.7 Concrete examples

Neil Bissoondath regrets that most of the cases under the Charter provision Canadian courts have been dealing with can be viewed as trivial and are often ridiculous (Bissoondath, 1994).

7.2.7.1 Lebanon Rescue Case

The Israeli-Lebanon conflict in July 2006 revealed the existence of 40 to 50 thousand Canadian citizens in Lebanon. Canadian government offered safe evacuation to these people after being criticized for not doing enough to help thousands of Canadians, especially when eight members of Lebanese-Canadian family died during an Israeli airstrike. Less than half of Canadian citizens chose to be evacuated to Canada but most of them have since returned to Lebanon. The cost of rescuing nearly 15 000 Canadian citizens has come in at \$94 million - \$20 million more than expected.

The evacuation effort, which involved scores of chartered flights and sailings arranged by harried Canadian officials, was criticized by some evacuees, many of whom said they endured heat and chaos on the docks, slow boat rides and sometimes wretched shipboard sanitation.³⁷

This again started the debate regarding the rights of dual citizenship, responsibilities which are connected with citizenship and the acquisition of so-called “passport of convenience”. There was a question if it could improve the attitude towards Canadian citizenship and if the ramifications of policy reform - such as cancelling dual citizenship and taxes on citizens working abroad - would be good solution. Many experts came with an opinion to change the laws to help Canada not to be “*just a rescue squad for people who are citizens in name only*” (Weinreb, 2006).

7.2.7.2 Strange Jewish demands

In 2006, ultra conservative Hasidic Jewish group asked YMCA members in Montreal to solve the problem of fitness centres housing near their synagogue and an orthodox Jewish school. Jewish community asked to install the frosted glass in the exercise rooms to protect innocent eyes of young orthodox Jews against spandex-clad female

³⁷ <http://www.cbc.ca/canada/story/2006/11/24/lebanon-cost.html>, 12.9.2008, 14:33

exercisers. The exercisers argue that they have no right to block out the sun and came with the petition demanding the right to see and to be seen in the gym. YMCA was forced to search for the solution everyone can agree on (at http://www.cbc.ca/news/viewpoint/vp_zolf/20070312.html).

In 2008, a judge dismissed the case of a devout Sikh man in Ontario, who argued that his religious rights were violated when he was fined for riding a motorcycle without a helmet. For Sikhs, turban is the only headgear and it is an integral part of their dress. Sikhs demanded the change of the Ontario *Motor Vehicle Act* as it does not correspond with the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* and that it disturbs their religious rights. They argued that in British Columbia and Manitoba there is an exemption which allows Sikhs to ride without a helmet but Ontario's attorney general said that there are no plans to legislate an exemption for Sikhs because it could disrupt public safety.

7.2.7.3 The Québec Kirpan case

In 2001, 12-year-old Gurbaj Singh Multani accidentally dropped his ceremonial dagger in his schoolyard. He was wearing the dagger called kirpan because he belonged to the orthodox Sikh community. Orthodox Sikhs say the kirpan is not a weapon but a religious symbol that is made of metal and devout Sikh males must wear it all the time. Parents of other children were afraid and said no matter if it is a symbol, it has no place in school. The kirpan case became known after it headed to the court. It was necessary to solve if the total ban on kirpans in school violated the religious freedom of Gurbaj Singh, as guaranteed in the *Charter of Rights and Freedom*, or if it was a reasonable restriction.

In March 2006, The Supreme Court of Canada ruled that a total ban of the kirpan in school violated the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* because it infringed on the Charter's guarantees of religious freedom, but it allowed school boards to impose restrictions on wearing kirpans to ensure public safety. According to Justice Louise Charron, "*religious tolerance is a very important value of Canadian society and a total prohibition against wearing kirpans to school undermines the value of this religious*

symbol and sends students the message that some religious practises do not merit the same protection as others“ (Justice Louise Charron, March 2, 2006).

7.3 Quebec

Quebec in the 1950's was characterised by traditionalism, conservatism and rejected contemporary ways and values. After the death of Duplessis, liberal Jean Lesage was elected and it initiated the new period of "*intense changes and activities*" (Bélanger, 1999:1). People lived in villages according to the traditional rural way of life.

The new period of Quebec between 1960 and 1966 is called the Quiet revolution and started with modernisation, the refusal of the past values. People started to move to large cities, their attitudes became liberal.

In the 1960's, development in the social services and civil rights, democratisation of political and education system was apparent not only in Quebec or in Canada, but almost all around the world. (Bélanger, 1999). The only value which survived in thoughts of Quebeckers from the previous time was nationalism. Parti Québécois was founded in 1963, the nationalist sentiments gave also rise to powerful separatist movement and the end of the 1960's and especially the beginning of the 1970's saw series of terrorist attacks (See the FLQ). Although Trudeau managed to blunt the most separatists tendencies in Quebec, the nationalist sentiments were gathering strength which culminated in 1980 by the referendum on the place of Quebec within Canada. Quebeckers voted 60 % against the sovereignty of Quebec. In 1995, the second referendum on whether Quebec should secede Canada and become an independent state. The motion was defeated by a very narrow margin of 50.58 % for "no" to 49.42 % voted for "yes" (at www.synapse.net/radio/refer.htm).

8. Attitudes towards multiculturalism

Generally, Canadians support the multicultural policy, if not really in practise, at least in principle, although many Canadians do not know what multiculturalism is and what for it is in the society (Dewing, Leman, 2006). Quebeckers feel uneasy about the federal policy, as they consider it as intrusion into their internal affairs or downgrading them into the level of ethnical minority. The policy is seen to be dangerous to the dual relationship of English-Canadians and French-Canadians. In fact, multiculturalism is seen as weakening the francophone status of Québec, which corresponds with the strong nationalism in the province. It describes the misinterpretation of the policy, because if Quebeckers are afraid of reducing their rights at the same level as those of ethnical minorities, it is inconsistent with the equality which multiculturalism offers, for all Canadians are guaranteed equal rights. If these thoughts are spread across Québec, it shows that multiculturalism policy does not function precisely and that the mainstream of English-Canadians and French-Canadians is not measured the same way as visible minorities (Lalande, 1992).

Lalande recalls problems between English- and French-Canadians and notes that if Canadians are not able to overcome the old conflict between the two founding nations, there can be no space for the “other ethnic groups” and offers a solution in separation of Québec. *“Paradoxically, by putting an end to this old conflict, the separation of Quebec may help both societies, the Canadian and the Québécois, to achieve this goal. Or maybe, it is exactly the contrary, and, as long as we will be unable to accept living in dualistic society, it is unrealistic to talk about a pluralistic society”* (Lalande³⁸, 1992:75).

The main idea of the policy is definitely good and progressive, but even idealistic. Trudeau transformed cultural diversity into a national virtue, when he proclaimed multiculturalism as a national policy. It can seem to be strange solution to do the best friend from the enemy. His ambition was much higher than to respond to the demands for recognition of smaller ethnic groups. He wanted to teach people tolerate each other. He did not distinguished between races or ethnics, he considered himself “a citizen of

³⁸ It is important to note, that Gisele Lalande is a French Canadian living in Québec.

the world” and he expected the same from his fellow-citizens. He and his colleges who developed multiculturalism wanted to overcome political problems originated from national organization.

In any case, there has been identified a number of problems which were brought by multicultural policy in practice, although they have sometimes been caused by misinterpretation of terms (Dewing, Leman, 2006).

According to Dewing and Leman, multiculturalism is sometimes misinterpreted to be the policy for ethnical minorities, although all Canadians are invited to benefit from it. In fact, multiculturalism emphasized the differences and divided Canadian society into groups of various ethnicity. The main principle of multiculturalism was equality, but this principle marked and labeled people of another ethnical background, so as they were considered as ethnic which is not pleasant. From this point of view, if multiculturalism speaks about the mainstream and ethnical minorities, equality cannot be reached, it can even support racism and discrimination and multicultural policy can be regard as divisive and separational. Bibby claims that multiculturalism has not helped Canadians with integration and unity although it has protected languages and cultures and Wilson continues “*We can live in our culture but we are called minority groups. Appears on job applications. You are different. Never be part of the total*” (Wilson from Gingrich and Fries, 1992:14).

Debicki explains that Section 27 of the Charter concerning multiculturalism has got two functions – “First, it is there to “preserve” and thus prohibit interpretation of the Charter, which would “abrogate” or “derogate” the “multicultural heritage of Canadians”. Second, section 27 shall cause interpretation of the Charter “enhancing” that heritage.” (Debicki, 1992:29-30) Debicki rencons the main problem a total absence of content in the section, he requires precise definition of the term culture, because its absence leads constitutional experts to doubt about its utility. He attacks the ambiguity of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms which can lead to the absurdity at courts.

It is interesting to note that among harsh critics of multiculturalism, people belonging to ethnical minorities can be found, eg. Neil Bissoondath or Richard Ogmundson.

Bisoondath asks if multiculturalism is needed for immigrants to preserve their heritage because if someone decides to come to settle in Canada, he actually will not desire to bring his culture with him. According to him, immigration is based on the principle of renewal. He also argues that the central multicultural premise of all cultures being equal de facto prevents from definition of what is Canadian because no immigrants cannot be forced to conform to a model of national identity (Bisoondath, 1994).

Ogmundson, who is a third-generation Icelander, notes that the basic mistake of multiculturalism was misunderstanding of Canadian reality and mistaken identity. He offers solution in fostering Canadian identity, which would help to protect Canadian economic interests, internal stability and gain independent existence. He blames multiculturalism for maximizing internal divisions, encouraging foreign exploitation and facilitating disintegration. Canadians refuse nationalism in reaction to the American or German example, but national identity needs nationalism (Ogmundson, 1992). Canadian public believes, that if the country should remain united, people have to learn to be Canadians first and they will learn it through national awareness.

Forbes comes with a very interesting thought that multiculturalism “*can be seen... as an alternative to nationalism*” (Forbes, 2001:2). Nationalism refers to the intensity of patriotic feelings, on one hand. Such a nationalist person identifies himself with a nation, and takes pride in its achievements. In this sense, he will support multiculturalism, as it is not in contrast with nationalism.

On the other hand, nationalism can refer to the principle of international organization, according to which national boundaries are created corresponding with boundaries between ethnic nations. In this case, countries, or states should be ethnic nations – there can be multinational states, or nation-state examples. This kind of nationalism stands as an antithesis to multiculturalism. Trudeau anticipated the nationalistic danger of alienation and individualism especially in Québec, and wanted to avoid conflicts by declaring new national policy of multiculturalism. He called it “polyethnic pluralism” at first and wanted Canada to show other countries that it is possible to organize political life different way than that of national sovereignty.

Multiculturalism used to be presented as the application of liberal democratic principles in new circumstances of ethnocultural diversity, because judges are responsible for making decisions about minority and majority demands. The reliance on judicial power connects multiculturalism and liberalism, as both concern with minority rights, but they differ in understanding. Basically, liberalism value individual rights, while multiculturalism group rights (Forbes, 2001).

Gauld says that “*We (Canadians) are receiving an increasing number of foreign government delegations and enquiries, particularly from western and eastern European countries faced with European unification and with changign population*” (Gauld, 1992:14) which means that the rest of the world is interested in multiculturalism and Canada is the most experienced.

While Mazurek comments the policy of multiculturalism, as Canada is a model of tolerant and respectful nation appreciated in the international community, he admits that the fact that multicultural policy is being discussed and examined over and over led to its criticism (Mazurek, 1992).

International organizations are interested in the Canadian model for accomodating diversity, for they are expected to be familiar with multicultural policy. The main promoter of the model on the international level is the Canadian government. Kymlicka opposes that the international praise does not take into account right-wing critics of multiculturalism in Canada. It can lead to failure of multiculturalism in countries where the policy will be declared by right-wing politicians who are not informed about the criticism. If the rest of the world considers Canada as a model, three assumptions must be realized according to Kymlicka – existence of distinctly Canadian model of managing diversity; that this model is successful in Canada and that countries can learn from Canadian experience. Of course, the second premise of multiculturalism success is the most debated. In spite of Kymlicka notes, that Canadian model cannot be applied in any country, because it is a product of a unique history (Kymlicka, 2008).

In fact, many Western countries adopted policies for accomodating diversity similar to the Canadian, but they were not as successful as in Canada, especially in bigger

backlash and the public view on the policy (Kymlicka, 2004). In 1980, non-European immigrants started to involve in multicultural debate, which rose doubts about the limits of tolerance. Canadians were afraid of illiberal practises such as wife-beating, forced arranged marriages, female genital mutilation, or honour killing which could be excused as a part of ones culture (Bibby, 1990).

9. Conclusion

When I started gathering information about multiculturalism, I found this idea interesting and almost ideal. People who live next to each other, respect their race, religion and culture, a perfect mosaic full of harmony. Diversity is very important for us to expand our knowledge and horizons. We can compare and make judgements upon different values and beliefs which can help us create more universal values and beliefs. As it was already mentioned, Canadians are proud of their official policy of multiculturalism, even they know it is not perfect. However, it is not perfect, it is unique and often viewed as almost sacred even with its failures.

After the Second World War Canada had to face the shortage of workers on its labour markets and the only solution was to open the door to immigration. The 1960's saw Canada enjoying economic prosperity and thousands of immigrants coming to the country. Trudeau took advantage of the period and initiated reforms that left an indelible mark on his country, sometimes sensing the people's sentiments, other times pushing ahead and dragging the people along. He lived long enough to see some of the most dramatic societal changes. By 2001 when he died, his country was transformed – in the large cities of Canada, such as Toronto, about 45 % of people now belonged to *visible minorities*, people whose racial origin were non-European. Asia rather than Europe became the largest source of new immigrants.

He declared multiculturalism the official national policy in 1971. The original idea of multiculturalism was definitely to make people better, to combat hatred and intensify tolerance in the society through cultural diversity. He also intended to solve the problem of Quebec nationalism and separatist sentiments in the province. A very special and courageous way of reaching it, and I would not consider it not successful way, is to initiate the change in the field of national policy. It can influence people's minds more deeply when transferring it to the national level and dealing with it globally. Immigrants are generally regard as not welcome, but in Canada politicians managed to transfer immigration and cultural diversity from the negative level into the more or less positive. They managed to convert problem to the national virtue.

Multiculturalism is embedded in Canadian Constitution which is the highest law and every other rule or law has to accord with it and everyone must respect it.

In Canada, multiculturalism was not a political phrase to improve Canada's reputation on the international political field, it was a national need as the country was and still is developing because of immigration. Sometimes, politicians and others say that the country has always been multicultural, but the term comes from Trudeau and it can be argued if he only gave name of Canadian reality or not.

10. My Reflections

I was thinking about multiculturalism from the European point of view. European culture has always been unique, more or less catholic, monoracial and more or less racial. I was considering if multiculturalism according to Canadian model could not be even harmful, if exaggerating tolerance and respect would not lead to destroying the original culture. I took a concrete example of Muslims who are coming to Europe and building mosques there. Sometimes they rebuild a catholic church to a mosque, which happens in Germany and Austria, traditionally conservative countries.

On the other hand, we can learn a lot from Canadian multiculturalism, because Europe has a very low birth-rate and the population gets older according to researches. The only solution of the European population decline which could be considered is the immigration from Africa and Asia. If this are to happen, we should learn from almost forty-years Canadian experience with multiculturalism policy, especially from its positives and negatives to be aware of problems it can bring. This could help us to prepare minds of European citizens, law systems of European countries and other important things. We talk about multiculturalism and we consider it as a very positive idea but European culture is still conserved and a number of Europeans have not got in touch either with multiculturalism in practice, or with the multicultural idea at all.

11. Summary

Diplomová práce popisuje změny v kanadské společnosti během vlády premiéra Pierra Elliotta Trudeaua – především se zabývá multikulturalitou, kterou Trudeau vyhlásil roku 1971 za oficiální národní politickou strategii, později byla dokonce zakotvena v kanadské ústavě. Kanadská imigrační politika se z důvodu nedostatku pracovních sil musela po 2. světové válce začít rapidně měnit, aby byla země schopná udržet ekonomický růst. Od 50. let a hlavně v letech 60. se začala měnit i skladba imigrantů, kdy tradiční evropské zdroje byly z velké části nahrazeny asijskými zeměmi, případně africkými.

Trudeau během své vlády musel čelit několika zásadním problémům, zejména musel uklidnit separatistické snahy Quebecu. Jeho největší přínosem je ale patriace kanadské ústavy, která byla převezena z Británie do Kanady. Do té doby mohl kanadskou ústavu pozměňovat pouze britský parlament, země tedy tímto dosáhla úplné samostatnosti.

Kanada je jediná země na světě, která má politiku multikulturality zakotvenou v ústavě. Vyhlášení oficiálního programu multikulturality v Kanadě nebylo jen pouhou politickou frází. Kanadčané jsou na tento fenomén velmi hrdí, i když jsou si vědomi jeho nedostatků. Zároveň ale mohou vidět jeho velký přínos a velmi často se na něj pohlíží jako na přirozenou sílu země.

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13. Appendix:

13.1 Basic facts about Canada:

Population: 33,487,208 (July 2009 est.)

Population growth rate: 0.817% (2009 est.)

Urbanization: *urban population:* 80% of total population (2008)
rate of urbanization: 1% annual rate of change (2005-2010)

Ethnic groups: British Isles origin 28%, French origin 23%, other European 15%,
Amerindian 2%, other, mostly Asian, African, Arab 6%,
mixed background 26%

Religions: Roman Catholic 42.6%, Protestant 23.3%, Anglican 6.8%, Baptist
2.4%, Lutheran 2%), other Christian 4.4%, Muslim 1.9%,
other and unspecified 11.8%, none 16% (2001 census)

Languages: English (official) 59.3%, French (official) 23.2%, other 17.5%

Independence: 1 July 1867 (union of British North American colonies); 11
December 1931 (recognized by UK)

Constitution: made up of unwritten and written acts, customs, judicial decisions, and
traditions; the written part of the constitution consists of the Constitution Act of 29
March 1867, which created a federation of four provinces, and the Constitution Act of
17 April 1982, which transferred formal control over the constitution from Britain to
Canada, and added a Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms as well as procedures
for constitutional amendments

Legal system: based on English common law, except in Quebec, where civil law
system based on French law prevails; accepts compulsory ICJ jurisdiction with
reservations

Source: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ca.html#Intro>

13.2 Table 1: Effects of Multicultural Policy, 1989-2002

	1989		1997		2002	
	Would	Would Not	Would	Would Not	Would	Would Not
Greater understanding between different groups in Canada	67	21	63	24	77	18
Greater equality of opportunity for all groups in Canada	62	23	59	28	73	20
Greater national unity	-	-	46	35	65	28
Some groups getting more than their fair share of government funding	53	27	50	31	51	40
Greater conflict between racial and ethnic groups	43	41	36	47	33	59
Erosion of Canadian identity and culture	35	48	36	49	32	59

Source: *Canadian and French Perspectives on Diversity*, Conference Proceedings October 16, 2003, PUBLIC ATTITUDES TOWARDS MULTICULTURALISM AND BILINGUALISM IN CANADA, *Donna Dasko*.

13.3 Visible minorities

Total population	33,487,208
Total visible minority population	3,983,845
Black	662,210
South Asian	917,075
Chinese	1,029,395
Korean	100,660
Japanese	73,315
Southeast Asian	198,880
Filipino	308,575
Arab/West Asian	303,965

Latin American	216,975
Visible minority, not included elsewhere	98,920
Multiple visible minority	73,875

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population.

Last modified: 2005-01-25 at <http://www40.statcan.ca/101/cst01/demo52a-eng.htm>

13.4 A part of Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms

Whereas Canada is founded upon principles that recognize the supremacy of God and the rule of law:

Guarantee of Rights and Freedoms

1. The *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* guarantees the rights and freedoms set out in it subject only to such reasonable limits prescribed by law as can be demonstrably justified in a free and democratic society.

Fundamental Freedoms

2. Everyone has the following fundamental freedoms:

- a) freedom of conscience and religion;
- b) freedom of thought, belief, opinion and expression, including freedom of the press and other media of communication;
- c) freedom of peaceful assembly; and
- d) freedom of association.

27. This Charter shall be interpreted in a manner consistent with the preservation and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canadians.

Source: <http://laws.justice.gc.ca/en/charter/>