INTEGRATION AND DISCRIMINATION UNDER CANADIAN MULTICULTURALISM:
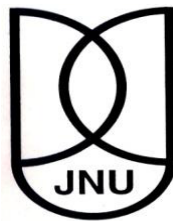# A STUDY OF SIKH AND MULSIM COMMUNITIES, POST-9/11

Thesis Submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University
for the award of the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

INDERJEET SINGH

JNU

Canadian Studies Programme
Centre for Canadian, US and Latin American Studies
School of International Studies
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
New Delhi - 110067
INDIA
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Date: 02|01|2017

DECLARATION

I declare that the thesis entitled **"INTEGRATION AND DISCRIMINATION UNDER CANADIAN MULTICULTURALISM: A STUDY OF SIKH AND MUSLIM COMMUNITIES, POST-9/11"** submitted by me for the award of the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy** of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. The thesis has not been submitted for any other degree of this University or any other University.

Inderjeet Singh

CERTIFICATE

We recommend that this thesis be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

Prof. Abdul Nafey

Chairperson, CCUS & LAS

Prof. Christopher S. Raj

Supervisor

Acknowledgement

Research is a unique journey that makes one traverse through enthralling, arduous, challenging and fulfilling moments in varying degrees and spans. The fulfilment that one achieves on the completion of a research endeavor is beyond explanation. This fulfilment of the research owes its intensity to efforts on the part of many people which deserve acknowledgement. The entire journey since beginning to the completion of my Ph.D. thesis, the person who motivated me, directed me and assisted me is my supervisor Prof. Christopher S. Raj. I am profoundly grateful and deeply indebted to him for his erudite guidance, incisive remarks, constructive criticism, tolerance for my limitations and eye for subtle details. He is a noble human being. He always stood with me in my difficult times, and has been very supportive and encouraging. Without his assistance and support, I could not have completed this research work.

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Preface

This study entitled, "Integration and Discrimination under Canadian Multiculturalism: A study of Sikh and Muslim Communities, Post-9/11" makes a modest attempt to explore the concepts of Multiculturalism and Citizenship in regard to the rights of ethno-cultural and religious minorities, and in order to understand the actual stature of immigrant communities in Canada. My interest in this issue germinated when I was doing Ph.D. course work, in which one of the papers was purely on ethnic issues in Canada. I also was prepared an assignment on this topic, by going through many articles on this area of research. Besides this, I came through many articles and book reviews during my Ph.D. course work. I also attended valuable lectures by the Faculty of my Centre (CCUS &LAS) particularly in this area. This all together create a curiosity in my mind to pursue research work in this area. Later, I was quite fascinated to find out facts related to Multiculturalism and issues of ethnic minorities in Canada, mainly Sikhs and Muslims especially aftermath of 9/11incidents. In due course of time, I came across literatures on multiculturalism which tried to explain how issues of Sikhs and Muslims in Canada became prominent and contentious in Canadian multiculturalism. This generated interest in me to explore the prevailing understanding about multiculturalism as a theory and policy in Canada. Therefore when I was to decide a topic for my Ph.D. research, I made my mind to dig into the existing literature on this. For this I visited libraries and met experts in this area in person and connected through emails who were in Canada. I went through all available literature that sharpened my focus and found information gaps. Consequently, I prepared my synopsis that included relevant information on multiculturalism in general and Canada in particular.

At a general level, multiculturalism can be defined as a belief that people can live together with their differences. Specifically, official multiculturalism can be defined as a package of policies and programmes for society building around the institutional integration of minorities through the removal of discriminatory barriers. The degree to which any country is a multicultural society varies with how multiculturalism is defined. As Augie Fleras states that "different levels of meaning of multiculturalism can be discerned, as (i) *empirical fact* (of what is); (ii) *an ideology* (what ought to be);

(iii) government *policy and programmes* (what is proposed); (iv) a set of *practices* for promoting political and minority interests (what really is); (v) and a *critical discourse* with a commitment to challenge and change (what must be)" (Fleras 2010). Is Canada a multicultural society, polity and, say, also an economy on all these counts? Rationale behind this research is that to analyse in a comparative perspective the performance of two religious minorities viz. the Sikhs and the Muslims; challenges of their integration and unofficial obstacles put in the path of their integration.

Religious identity has emerged as a key variable in the integration or otherwise especially in the West since last two decades or so. The questions arise in mind: can religious diversity be managed and worked out under the discourse on multiculturalism? How multiculturalism can be restructured as policy and mechanism to accommodate religious rights and diversity? Now religion becomes the main problem for West to accommodate. If the religion is brought under the multicultural act and adequate modification in policies are made to extend the space for minorities to ensure and guarantee their religious rights, then the tension can be reduced to a great extent.

Besides the above mentioned modifications, some gaps can be identified between citizenship rights and multicultural rights in Canada. Citizenship gives equality and freedom to all. Multiculturalism puts it forward while religion stays away from equality. In practice religious freedom is not an individualistic matter of choice which challenges theory of liberalism and it is not a choice of community which gives challenge to multiculturalism's approach to group rights. However, state could not be indifferent to multiculturalism, due to increasing and forthcoming hyper diversity. This study also seeks to investigate the failure and success of multiculturalism by examining inherent contradictions in Canada's multicultural discourse.

Utilizing an interdisciplinary approach, drawing on political science, sociology, and cultural and religious studies, the proposed study has focused mainly on the following aspects and issues: (i) the areas of integration of Sikh and Muslim Communities within the framework of multiculturalism; and examination of the challenges and obstacles to their integration; (ii) working of exclusion or discrimination through critical analysis of public policies related to education, funding, employment and workplace norms; and more importantly, practices and norms of denial and restriction to spaces of civic and political participation and representation to the Sikhs and the Muslims;

(iii) strategies of mobilization and building of pressure to promote their interests and identity in public spaces; (iv) reasons for the failure of Muslim community to successfully mobilize and build pressure for its political recognition and representation; an analysis of the various laws and practices that work to exclude them and further to marginalise and stigmatise them; (v) in comparison, the relative success of the Sikhs to utilize the political process to successfully bid for representation at federal level of governance.

The study begins with first Chapter that includes immigration history of two specified communities in Canada – Sikhs and Muslims and review of literature of numerous leading authors of Immigration; Multiculturalism; Citizenship, and issues of ethnic/immigrant minorities in national security paradigm, aftermath the 9/11 incidents. To proceed this research work, the chapter presents few research questions, proposes hypotheses and adopts research methods, and provides the outline of the following chapters.

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List of Acronyms

AEIP	Active Engagement and Integration Project
ATA	Anti-Terrorism Act
CAIR-CAN	Council of American-Islamic Relations-Canada
CANN	Community Airport Newcomers Network
CBC	Canadian Broadcasting Corporation
CCRF	Canadian Race Relations Foundation
CHRP	Community Historical Recognition Programme
CIC	Canadian Islamic Congress
CIC	Citizenship and Immigration Canada
CIIP	Canadian Immigrant Integration Program
CMB	Citizen and Multiculturalism Branch
CPC	Commission for Public Complaints
CSIS	Canadian Security Intelligence Service
EDS	Ethnic Diversity Survey
EEA	Employment Equity Act
EICCWA	East Indian Canadian Citizens Welfare Association
FLQ	Front de Liberation du Quebec
Gs&Cs	Grants and Contribution
GWOT	Global War on Terrorism
ILO	International Labour Organisation
INSAC	Integrated National Security Assessment Centre
IPMB	Integration Program Management Branch
IRB	Immigration and Refugee Board
IRPA	Immigration and Refugee Protection Act
MAP	Moving Ahead Program
NDP	New Democratic Party
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
PCH	Department of Canadian Heritage
PRI	Policy Research Initiative
R&E	Research and Evaluation Branch
RCMP	Royal Canadian Mounted Police
SEED	Supporting Employers Embracing Diversity
SIN	Social Insurance Number
SMD	Single Member Districts
UDHR	Universal Declaration Human Rights

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 BACKGROUND

Canada as a nation has emerged a result of immigration from different parts of the world but primarily from western world. Now Canada has the largest foreign-born population (20.6%) among the G8 countries, and this figure is only second to Australia (26.8%) across the world (Statistics Canada, 2011). Compared with many other countries, Canada's distinctive immigration and integration model characteristic of large-scale skill-based immigration policy and integration based on multiculturalism policy has been proved relatively successful in that Canadian public which promoted a general positive attitude towards mass immigration (Reitz, 2012). Moreover, Canadian multiculturalism policy is believed to serve as an important social cause for such popular views.

However, post 9/11 multiculturalism policy has constrained immigration friendly because of operation and processing of security priority. Over forty years have passed

since multiculturalism's inception in 1971, this policy has fueled ongoing debates among academics, politicians, media, and Canadian public, particularly on its role in promoting social justice and equity for racialized and ethnic minorities. However, one of the critiques is that racialized minorities have yet to be treated as 'real' Canadians or as equal partners with the white-dominant group, although multiculturalism claims all cultures in Canada enjoy equal status. Ever since its adoption in 1971, supporters and critics of multiculturalism have debated its impact on the social, economic and political integration of immigrants or 'visible minorities' and descendants. Supporters argue that multiculturalism assists in the integration of immigrants or 'visible minorities', removing barriers to their participation in every sphere of Canadian life and making them feel more welcome in Canadian society, leading to a stronger sense of belonging and pride in Canada.

Critics argue that "multiculturalism promotes ghettoization and balkanization, encouraging members of ethnic groups to look inward, and emphasizing the differences between groups rather than their shared rights or identities as Canadian citizens" (Guo and Wong 2015; 207). Besides, the descendants of immigrants, called second generational minorities whose lived experiences shows the integration problems in Canada than their parents who struggle with language and adaptation issues over time (Reitz & Somerville 2004). Therefore, research on ethnic minorities would have important implications to develop a better understanding of the multiculturalism as an integration policy.

This chapter begins with a brief introduction of this research project, and further it explores the immigration history of two specified ethnic communities- Sikh and Muslims. Next part reviews the existing literature on multiculturalism and the other data used in this study. Further segments highlight the research focus and method, and finally the overview of the chapters.

The 'integration' is a broad term that is typically used to describe the settlement experiences and participation of immigrants in the country of adoption. According to Kymlicka and Heyman, "Integration may encompass many different dimensions: economic integration into the labour market; political (or civic) integration into the electoral process and other forms of political participation; and, social integration into

the networks and spaces of civil society, from informal networks of friends and neighbours to membership in more formal organizations" (Kymlicka, 2010: 7 and Hyman 2011;3). While other academics describe "integration as a two-way interactional process between a host society and immigrants (regardless of generation) that is influenced both by institutional structures and societal attitudes on the one hand, and migration factors such as human capital and collective social capital on the other. Immigrants may be well integrated in one domain of life, e.g., employment, but poorly integrated in other domains e.g., social and political, during different stages of the resettlement process. Typically, the term 'settlement' is used to describe the provision of: a) immediate needs such as shelter, food, clothing, information and orientation, basic language instruction, and other essential 'reception' or early settlement services and b) intermediate needs such as employment-specific language instruction, upgrading skills through education and training, access to health services, housing, and the legal system. Long-term integration goals include the removal of systemic barriers, full participation in Canadian society, and citizenship" (Friederes & Mwarigha cited in Heyman 2011; 3).

However, the term 'discrimination' is used in regard of unjust or prejudicial treatment with different categories of people, especially on the grounds of race, age or sex. Fleras (2010; 371) observed that "discrimination consists of actions that have an adverse effect of denying or excluding of people who they are. Discrimination can be expressed at different levels, ranging from the personal, intentional, and direct to the impersonal, inadvertent, and systemic". Discrimination denotes to social exclusion, or the "unequal access to critical resources that determine the quality of membership in society, ultimately produces and reproduces a complex of unequal outcomes" (Galabuzi, 2008: 236). Although the contemporary discourse on social exclusion focuses largely on political, cultural along with poverty and labour force participation.

As many immigrant groups in Canada relatively reported more discriminated against. A new form of discrimination prevails in Canadian society, the 'indirect discrimination' that is often called 'structural discrimination' or 'invisible discrimination'. In Accordance with Canadian Ethnic Diversity Survey, 2003 "approximately 20% of 'visible minorities', compared with 5% of non–'visible minorities', reported having experienced discrimination or unfair treatment in the five years preceding the survey."

Significant differences in experiences and perceptions of racism were noted between dominant groups with European heritage and racialized groups. "The immigrants were twice as likely as non-immigrants to experience discrimination (job or promotions, in a store, on the street), and racialized groups were twice as likely as non- racialized groups to experience discrimination" (Hyman 2011; 10).

It is generally believed that Multiculturalism is a device that effectively works to enhance the level of integration and reduce the discrimination, and manages the diversity in any society. As true ideal of multiculturalism is that it only protects the interests of marginalized groups or communities, not numerical (Mahajan 2002). Others have the view that multiculturalism works for protecting the distinct cultural heritage of all minority groups, whether these are numbers or marginalized, and it reduces the pressure coming from dominant group (Kymlicka 1998). As a official policy in Canada it provides 'limited' or 'reasonable' accommodations to ethnic groups for preserving and maintaining their cultural heritage by providing exemption from prevailing state laws. Multiculturalism policy particularly in Canada goes something beyond 'individual rights' that are guaranteed under "charter of rights and freedoms" (1982), that further makes the consonance with Canadian citizenship legislations. Multicultural rights are providing in kind of accommodations or exceptions to ethno-cultural groups for the facilitation to increase the level of integration. These are the *adhoc* adjustments in Canada which aims to boost the level of integration.

In Canada, Sikhs and Muslims are co-existed immigrant communities, and constitute a 'visible minority' status in Canada, not a national minority. They mostly have some physical similarities in terms of appearance, colour, dress while there is no other commonalities among them. However, Sikhs are 'homogeneous' in terms of their geography, language, history, culture and beliefs in Sikh religion while Muslims are 'heterogeneous' in terms of nationality, language, culture, faith practices and history. 'Homogeneity' and 'heterogeneity' determine the level of 'integration'- Social, Economic and Political. Therefore, Sikh and Muslims' 'integration' varies in Canada and other western countries.

In this study, Sikh term often used as a cultural group and a religious group, and both. In case of Muslims, the Muslim term is used as cultural group and Islamic as a religious group. In both communities, many times, cultural claims overlap to their religious claims and vice versa. Sometimes both cultural and religious claims are infringed or mixed with each other that becomes much difficult to de-attach the culture entity from religion. This is a common in ethnic minority communities that creates a confusion in understanding among mainstreams. Many times, claims may indicate that they are either cultural or religious. Multiculturalism policy in Canada since its inception, accommodated different ethno-cultural immigrant groups in its first track. Next it created new measures to combat with racism in its second track, and later religion put the pressure to bring it inside the multiculturalism in its third track.

As Will Kymlicka in his current paper three lives of Multiculturalism, states that "to foreshadow my main argument, I will distinguish three stages in the unfolding saga of Canadian multiculturalism. In its original incarnation, multiculturalism was based on a logic of ethnicity – that is, the policy encouraged the self-organization, representation and participation of ethnic groups defined on the basis of their country of origin. In the 1970s and 1980s, this logic of ethnicity was supplemented by programs intended to deal with processes of racialization and racial discrimination. And, more recently, we have seen yet another basis for self- organization emerge, as groups defined by religion seek a seat at the multicultural table. As a result, we have three distinct dimensions of diversity at work in the multiculturalism policy – ethnicity, race, and religion" (Kymlicka 2015; 16). In practice, during the 1990s, Canada began to accept some 'reasonable' religious claims made by immigrants, while the 9/11 situation turned the whole attention of state towards national security and controlled immigration.

1.2 IMMIGRATION HISTORY

Generally, immigration is of two types: voluntary and involuntary. Immigration in search of greener pastures is voluntary; those affected by wars, famines, slavery etc immigrate involuntarily. More so in twentieth century, immigration has generally been accounted for by refugees or others those who are called economic immigrants. According to the International Labour Organisation (ILO), "the first decade of the 21st century witnessed a significant increase in immigration, thanks to globalization.

Information revolution has spread awareness of material opportunities; and transportation revolution has made it easier and faster to travel to lands of opportunity."

Countries such as Canada, Australia and US are described as 'settlers' societies – as countries which welcome immigrants. Thus societies could be of two types: those which are immigrants i,e., where all can claim equality and where none is perceived primordial; and no social hierarchy is deemed to be sacrosanct and preordained. Then there are societies where hierarchies have got formed over long historical material processes. "Canada has a growing and diverse immigrant population due to various immigration acts since the 1970s and it has ever since remained in an ascending order. Canadian immigration policy has been shaped by two principal imperatives: demography and economics: felt-need to populate the vast empty geographical expanse and/ or need for young and preferably educated and skilled immigrants to work the economy. In the period after the Second World War, economic needs have largely determined official policy towards immigration. As Canada is becoming an aging society, in the last several decades, both economics and demography is leading to liberalised immigration policies" (Mann 2014; 1).

The proposed doctoral-level study is focused on two principal immigrant communities in Canada: The Sikh and Muslim Communities in terms of their integration experiences and discriminatory treatment or otherwise. Both are, to use a Canadian expression, 'visible' minorities who face certain peculiar forms of challenges to their integration especially since the aftermath of 9/11 terrorist events.

'Context' of immigration and 'reception' factors are considered important variables in understanding the socio-economic and political achievements of immigrant communities. Several issues of comparative importance are involved here: the historical and time-frame for immigration of Sikhs and Muslims are different. Sikh immigration to Canada began in 1897 onwards while Muslims were counted 'thirteen' in 1871 by census Canada, but there was no significant increase in Muslim immigration to Canada until 1960s. Between this period, minimum increase in Muslim number had seen but it was because of fertility, not much immigration.

It is to be noted that immigration of Sikhs, though, started two decades later of Muslims, but has been significant in terms of its numbers and cohort in Canada. Immigrating Sikhs have had the commonality of territoriality, religion and linguistic ethnicity, notwithstanding very different periods in which they arrived into Canada. In contrast, Muslims, who have immigrated to Canada consistently since the 1960s, come from very different geographical and nationality backgrounds. Perhaps it is advisable to describe Muslims in plural, as communities in Canada.

Demographically, the ethnic diversity existed in Canada at the time of confederation when the country was formed in 1867. Shortly after confederation, from the late 1800s to the early 1900s, ethnic diversity increased with the arrival of many European groups and also some non-European groups such as the east Indians (lumber workers), Chinese (railway workers), Japanese (agricultural workers) and Blacks (underground railway) to name a few. In the 1901 Census Canada was overwhelmingly British and French (88%) however there were twenty-five different ethnic origins listed (Basavarajappa & Ram 1999).

Over one hundred years later, according to Census Canada 2001 "the British and French were still the majority but less so as they comprised only 63% of Canada's population and there were now over 200 different ethnic origins listed. Much of the increase in the number and proportions of non-European ethnic origins occurred after the liberalization of immigration policy in Canada in the late 1960s. Since the 1980s with an increasing number of immigrants coming from Asia, Africa, and South and Central America Canada's ethno-cultural diversity over the past three decades has become increasingly racialized with the increase of non-white ethnic groups" (Guo and Wong 2015; 1).

But, in 1981, when the Canadian census first started counting Canada's 'visible minority' population, "the racialized persons in Canada constituted 4.7% of the population. This proportion increased to 9.4% in 1991, to 13.4% in 2001 and to 19.1% in 2011" (Statistics Canada, 2008, 2013). Thus currently approximately one in five people in Canada are racialized and religious persons with the proportions much higher in the larger cities of Toronto (47%), Vancouver (45.2%). (Statistics Canada, 2013).

While Canada began demographically as a multicultural nation the breadth and intensity of this cultural and religious diversity that has increased over time due to the flexibility in immigration rules (as mentioned earlier). The following figures (1 to 3) show the growth trends in three Metropolitan cities in Canada. However, multiculturalism, as public and state policy, has only existed since the 1970s. Like the other visible minorities, Sikh migration to Canada remarkably increased in 1970s while it began decades back in the beginning twentieth century.

Figure 1: Immigration contribute to growing religious diversity: Vancouver
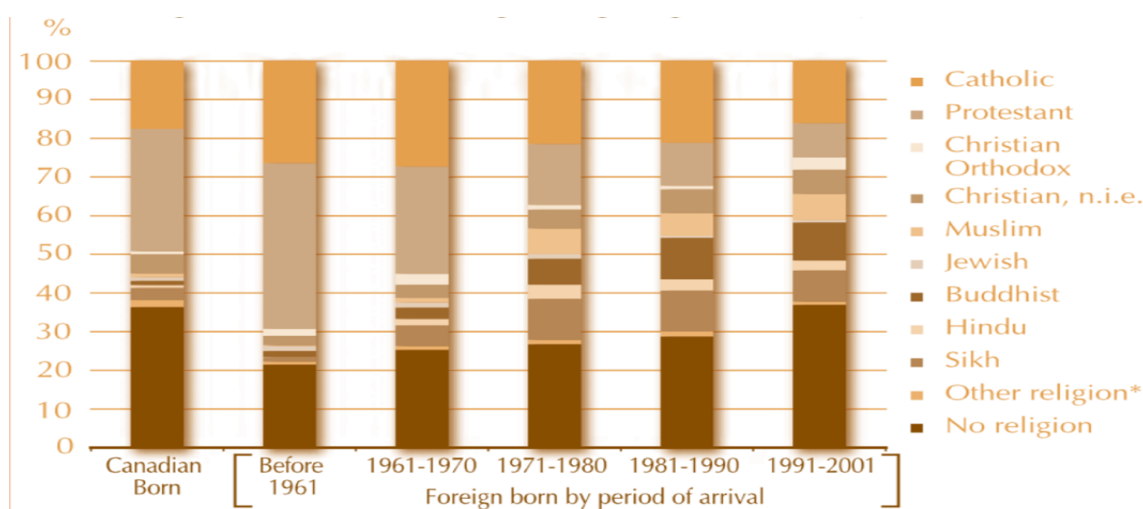
Source: Government of Canada PRI, Horizon; Religious Diversity in Canada

Figure 2: Immigration contributes to growing religious diversity: Toronto
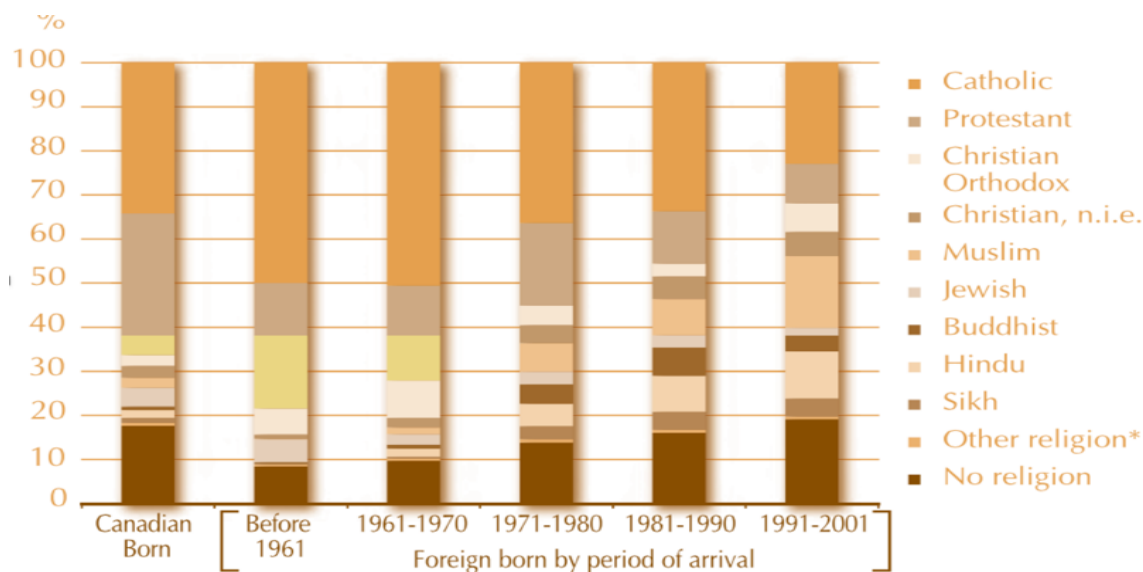
Source: Government of Canada PRI, Horizon; Religious Diversity in Canada

Figure 3: Immigration Contributes to Growing Diversity: Montreal
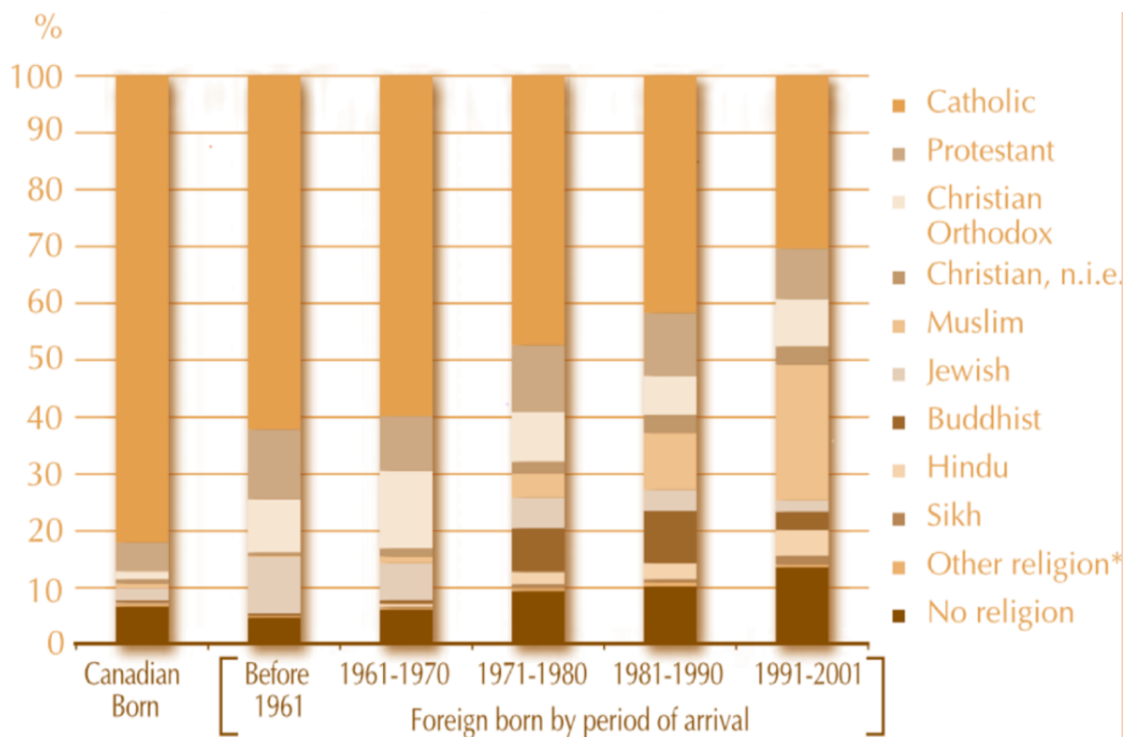
Source: Government of Canada PRI, Horizon; Religious Diversity in Canada

1.2.1 Sikh Immigration to Canada

Sikh immigration to Canada can be seen as having occurred in five waves, 1) the early migrants, during the former half of the twentieth Century; 2) white-collar professionals, who immigrated during 1950s; 3) family members who arrived through sponsorship or arranged marriages in 1951 and continuing to the present 4) blue collar labours, who migrated during the 1970s; and 5) immigrants arrived after "Operation Blue Star" in 1984 as "political Refugees". However, during the period of early migration, a term often used to describe for those who migrating to Canada from Indian subcontinent was 'east Indians' or 'Hindus'. Yet most of early arrivals were, in fact, Sikhs from Punjab, most of them belonged to the farming profession and *Jat* caste (Nayar 2012)

The first wave of the east Indian migration to Canada, in the early 1900s, is often connected to a story about a Sikh regiment of the British Indian Army, which travelled through the Canada in 1897 on its return to home after celebrating queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee in England. As a result of this trip, Canada became known in India as an attractive place for economic advancement. Reflecting the gusty Punjabi character,

east Indians (predominantly Punjabi or Sikhs) were willing to traverse unknown territory under incredibly difficult conditions in the hope of finding more lucrative employment. Most of these early immigrants were young Sikh males (mostly single) seeking employment to earn money to send back home, and came to Canada with the intention of eventually returning to India. East Indian migration began when Canada was in need of manual labour. The east Indians found jobs mainly in lumber camps and saw mills, but also in construction of pacific railway, in salmon canneries, on cattle farms, and in fruit orchards (Barrier & Dusenbery 1990; Nayar 2012).

By 1903 there were only about 300 east Indians in Canada. Between 1904 and 1908- a time when immigration was unregulated- the numbers increased to 5,185 (5158 men, 99.5 percent), 15 women, 0.3 percent, and 12 children, 0.2 percent. In 1908, however, the Canadian Government erected a barrier against Asian immigration, part in response to the 1907 anti Asian riots in Vancouver against the Chinese, Japanese, and east Indians. This new barrier resulted in a sharp drop in the number of east Indian immigrants. Between 1909 and 1913, only 101 immigrants were permitted into Canada from India: 93 men (83.8 percent), 6 women (5.4 percent), and 12 children (10.0 percent) (ibid).

It was a 'white' Canada and entry into Canada was regulated under racial rules and yardsticks prevailing at that time. Therefore, the early east Indian migration to Canada was marked by a considerable racism. The east Indian community (Mostly Sikhs, few Hindus and Muslims) often banded together to fight racism, poor working conditions, and immigration restrictions. They were often assembling in *Gurudwara* and eat in *Langer* (food) together because there was no temple and mosque in Canada at that time. This is the most evident in the Sikhs' founding in 1906 of the *Khalsa Diwan Society*, inspired by the idea of independence for India. In 1908 the society built *Gurudwara* (Sikh temple) in Vancouver, which served as place for religious practice as well as social and political activities.

East Indian immigrants contested the racial discrimination as they experienced in Canada. In 1909 the congregation, guided by Sant Teja Singh, at the Vancouver *Gurudwara* rejected a government proposal for east Indians to immigrate to British

Honduras; they saw this proposal as simply a scheme to expel east Indians from Canada. The *Khalsa Diwan* Society also protested against the Canadian immigration requirement of 'Continuous Journey'. The 'continuous journey' rule required every ship to arrive in Canada directly from its home port; this made it impossible for an Indian ship to dock in Canada, since a ship leaving distant India had to stop at a foreign port en route for refueling. In effect, this rule meant that no immigrants could conceivably come from India. This angered and dismayed many east Indians: even though they were from a colony under the British crown, they were forbidden to migrate to another part of the British empire- Canada.

The discrimination against east Indians in Canadian immigration law became most evident in 1914. A Japanese ship, the *Kamagata Maru*, had been chartered by Gurdit Singh to bring 376 Indian immigrants (mostly Sikhs) to British Columbia. Gurdit had chartered the ship from Hong Kong in an attempt to get around the "continuous journey" restriction. However, that attempt proved unsuccessful: by a court order, the ship was prevented from docking at Burrard Inlet in Vancouver (Tatla 2002).

During the first world war, there was a sharp decline in east Indian migration: between 1914 and 1918, only one east Indian man entered in Canada. after the war, only a few east Indians were permitted to migrate to Canada – some women and children. Between 1919 and 1947 the number of east Indian immigrants remained quite low. In response, the Vancouver Sikhs established the East Indian Canadian Citizens Welfare Association (EICCWA) in 1947. The EICCWA lobbied to change government policies especially immigration policies. For example, in 1949 the Sikh community began demanding the right to bring fiancées to Canada; in 1951 they were extended this right. By the mid to late 1950s a generation of Canadian born east Indians, mostly Sikh, was beginning to emerge (Nayar 2012).

This first generation of Sikh immigrants, though inspired by the freedom struggle in India and several of them being activists of the *Ghadar* Party, nevertheless showed higher 'assimilative' tendencies. They felt themselves to be 'Canadians' and they fought against the discriminatory policies; they showed faith in Canadian judiciary and parliamentary norms by petitioning and filing court cases; and they showed a fairly high degree of self-consciousness as a group/ community fighting for its civil liberties and human rights against racial discrimination. In fact, they succeeded as by 1940s,

several court judgements upheld their civil rights to be treated as 'equal' citizens of Canada.

Only after 1951, following changes in Canada's immigration law in the wake of Indian independence (1947), was there a real change in immigration patterns. The early 1950s were marked by increased east Indian immigration to Canada based on the sponsorship system – a system that worked in favour of Sikh immigrants, since most of the earlier east Indian immigrants were Sikhs in Canada. During the same period, there was another change in Canadian immigration policy, based on Canada's need for educated white-collar professionals. This change opened the door to white-collar professionals from India, in contrast to earlier times when east Indian immigrants found work mainly in mills or on farms. In terms of the Sikh community, some educated army veterans were permitted to immigrate to Canada. However, the majority of Sikh immigrants during the 1950s and 1960s came under the family sponsorship program.

The huge East Indian immigration occurred during the Trudeau era in the 1970s, especially after the declaration of Multiculturalism policy in 1971. During this time, many Sikhs immigrated to Canada, and found work as labourers or machine operators. The many Sikhs who were permitted to immigrate into Canada around this time encountered a great deal of hostility and racism. As a result, many east Indians formed social movements to fight against racism, for example, the BC. Organization for fighting racism (1975-80). While the leftist organizations were at their height in the mid- 1970s, the Sikh community became divided. Unlike the earlier generations of Sikhs, who gave up many of their customs, some of the newer immigrants wished to maintained traditional orthodox practices they had brought with them from Punjab. This resulted in ongoing tensions between the earlier and more recent immigrants, between the less orthodox and more orthodox Sikhs (ibid).

During the 1980s, the sentiment grew among Canadian Sikhs that the Indian government was marginalizing their co-religionists in the Punjab. On 3 June 1984, in "operation blue-star", Indian government troops stormed the 'Golden Temple' at Amritsar, in response to armed separatist activity taking place within its walls. Although many Sikhs continued to immigrate through family sponsorship program and arranged marriages, a considerable number of immigrants arrived after the assault as political refugees. As the political climate in the Punjab cooled down and elections resumed, Sikhs migrated to Canada mainly through the sponsorship program. With this

program, in 2000s Sikhs started migrating as economic immigrants as skilled workers or entrepreneurs. With the change in immigration laws removing racial basis immigration laws, Sikh took benefit and migrated on the basis of their skill, education, experience and language.

As a result of new immigration policy, the number of Sikh immigrants have increased phenomenally in the past four decades or so. In 1990s, there were an estimated 130000 to 250000 Sikhs in Canada; In 2000, their number was increased to 278000 (Statistics Canada 2001). In 2011, their number had gone up to 454965 (Statistics Canada 2011), now there are estimated over 500000 Sikhs in Canada. As a result, the size of the community has doubled between 2001 and 2011. The post-9/11 'restrictive' immigration laws for many others, especially those seeking immigration from the Muslim countries, Sikh immigrants slightly affected while intake remained the same.

However, the new trend of migration is through the study permit. Sikh youths from Punjab largely are migrating by student visa, while they receive immigration status after few years of study and work. Mostly students' aim to migrate by this category to achieve the immigration, not study. For this cause, they prefer to work at farms, factories, shops and petrol- pumps along with the study while study is not is primary goal; it is used for staying Canada until they get immigration. On the other side, Canadians have much economic interested in taking large number of foreign students as benefited from heavy tuition fees and other charges. Thus, huge number of students are migrating only for immigration purposes. Beyond all categories, it is significant to note that Sikh immigrant community relatively has large concentrations surrounding metropolitan centres in Canada like Vancouver, Toronto as figure 1.1 is showing above (see figures 1 to 3 at earlier on pages 8-9).

In brief, many waves of Sikh immigrants, ranging from new immigrants to those who have been living Canada for over fifty years and those who are second, third even fourth generational immigrants, have some differences. Irrespective of differences, Sikh constitute a common Punjabi ethnicity, culture, language and religious affiliations that assist to be homogenized the whole community in Canada. Like their counterparts (Muslims and others), Sikh immigrants' religious affiliation has increased with the time as figures 4, show this change between 1991 to 2001 while figure 5 is projected to continue to do so.

Figure 4: Percentage of Change in Religious affiliation, 1991 to 2001
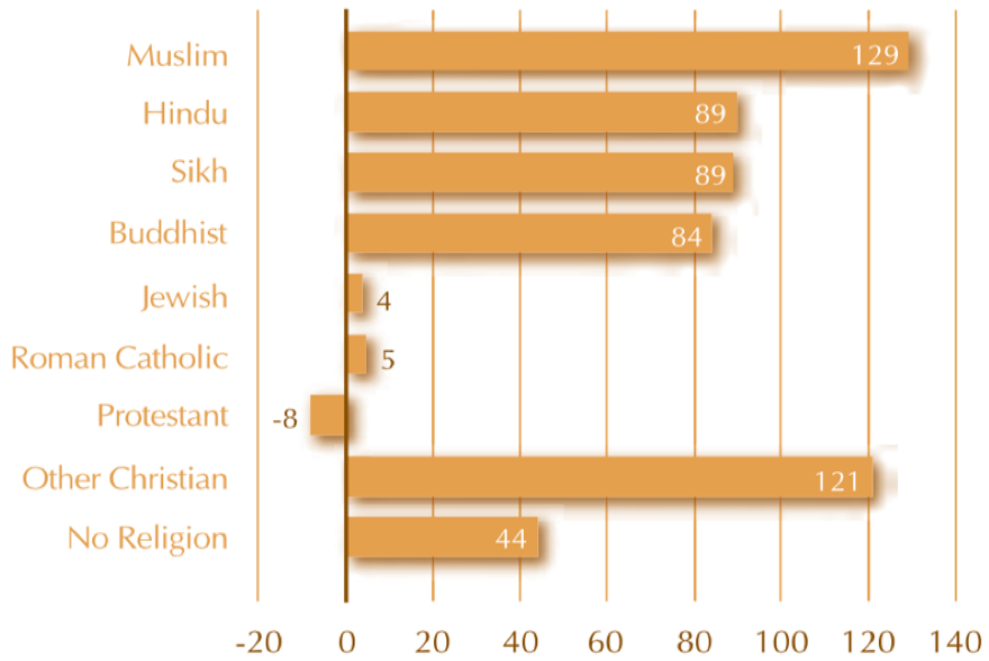
Source: Government of Canada PRI, Horizon; Religious Diversity in Canada

Figure: 5 Projected percentage change in religious affiliations 2001 to 2017
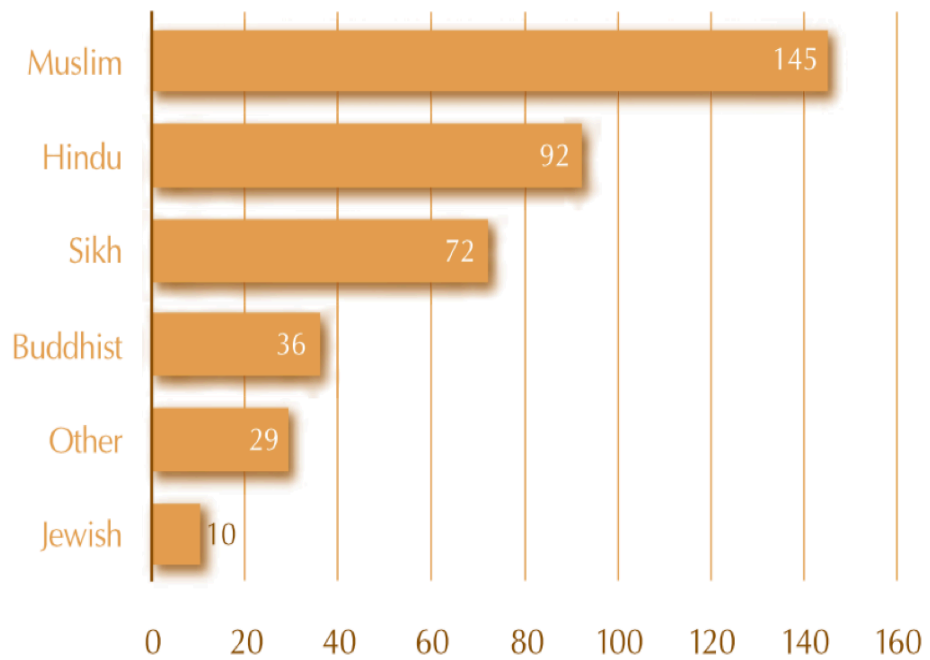
Source: Government of Canada PRI, Horizon; Religious Diversity in Canada

1.2.2 Muslim Immigration to Canada

Muslim immigration began to Canada in small numbers around the turn of the twentieth century, and until the end of second world war, their flow of migration was relatively limited. Since the period, a progressive increase was noticed in the arrival of Muslim immigrants to Canada. Consequently, past three decades witnessed a substantial growth of Muslim community in Canada along with widely expanded geographical areas - national origins of Muslim immigrants. While the early Muslim immigrants came largely from the Arab countries, the post-war migration of Muslims represent a wider array of linguistic and national origins.

Muslim community is a product of two waves of immigration, one is pre and another is post-world war II. The earliest record of Muslim's presence in Canada dates back to 1871, when Census Canada recorded 13 Muslim residents. Until 1901, Muslim immigrants number reached at 300 to 400, about equally divided between Turks and Syrian Arabs (Abu-Laben 1983; Hamdani 1999).

By 1911, the size of Muslim religious community had risen to about 1,500, of whom over 1,000 were of Turkish origin, and rest of the Arabs. The natural evolution of this budding Muslim community was disrupted by the Canadian government's earlier moves to restrict the immigration from Asia, and by the onset of first World War, that witnessed the return of many Turkish immigrants (then classified as enemy aliens) to their country of origin.

These earliest Asians Muslims worked in lumber mills or in agriculture, and they also shared class location and orientations with the early Sikh community. Thus, since 1911 to 1951, the growth rate of Muslim community in Canada was very slow, and was largely based on natural increase like surplus of births over deaths. As Census Canada (1931) noted that there were only 645 Muslim residents. Mostly they were Syrian/Lebanese Arabs, and they represented a small fraction (6 to 7 %) of the then well-established Syrian-Canadian community. During this phase, the first mosque was established in the city of Edmonton at Alberta province in 1938 (Abu- laben 1983)

Until 1951, Canada had from 2,000 to 3,000 Muslim immigrant residents, while today, it is estimated that they are more than 1 million. Todays Muslim community in Canada representing different ethnic origins and sects, and the majority of them (about six out of ten) are foreign-born. Most of the early Muslim immigrants were young males

having little education and no capital. Upon arrival, many of them started working as unskilled labourers or itinerant peddlers.

However, the influx of Muslim population immigrated to Canada after the Second World War, mostly during the 1960s. Five factors influenced the immigration of Muslims during this period: economic benefits, educational opportunities, political alienation from their ancestral lands, the pull of kin and friends already in Canada, and the freedom of faith and expression guaranteed by Canadian law (Nimer 2002). The single most important feature of this post-war Muslim immigrant wave was the 'diversity'. While they shared a common religious affiliation, immigrants came from different parts of the Arab world, from Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Iran, Turkey, Eastern Europe, East Africa, the Caribbean, and elsewhere (Abu-Laban 1983). These Muslim immigrants also had heterogeneous educational and occupational backgrounds.

As Abu-laben noted that "most of these Muslims immigrated in large urban centers (Toronto and Montreal), and later they moved to different regions in search of business and good job opportunities. The economic adaptation of the early Muslim immigrants was often linked with a keen desire for economic and occupational success. The descendants of these early immigrants did not face as restricted a range of occupations as had the immigrant generation. Thus, as the Canadian-born generations entered the labour force, the early Canadian Muslim community began to experience further occupational differentiation" (Abu-laben 1983; 76).

In addition, he observes that "Muslims include different Shia sects, particularly *Ismailis* (of Indo-Pakistani origin) and Druze (largely from Lebanon), although Sunni (orthodox) Muslims are in the majority. The differences based on sect, language, and national origin can result in cleavage and a corresponding reduction in communication between and among the different subgroups, resulted in a lack of cohesion of the Canadian Muslim community" (p77). To compare with early immigrants, these post-war Muslim immigrants are more "heterogeneous" even in terms of their education and occupation. For example, about 40 to 50 percent of the post-war Muslim immigrants from Middle East intended to pursue managerial or professional careers; about 20 percent intended to pursue white-collar careers; and others had variable career intentions with a substantial portion aspiring to work in the manufacturing industry.

At present, the different generations of Canadian Muslims are to be found in a wide range of occupations across the occupational hierarchy, both in the public and private sectors. According to him "geographically, they appear to be evenly spread, in relation to the inhabited areas of Canada, but with slightly more representation in Anglophone rather than Francophone Canada. Moreover, in the cities in which they have settled, they tend to be dispersed and there is no evidence of closely knit Muslim residential communities. This pattern of geographical distribution makes Muslims more susceptible to the acculturative and assimilative influences of the host society" (p78).

Mostly Muslims choose to Canada because of political alienation and better economic opportunities. Other reasons like civil disorder and disturbance in Muslim source countries became the push factor for Muslims to immigrate to Canada. The main challenge Muslim immigrants to Canada is to make the living environment suitable. They tended to turn their attention towards founding of new institutions and organizations to replace the ones they have left at they home country. They constructed many religious, social, cultural, educational and economic associations.

Figure 6: Muslim immigrants as a percentage of total immigrants to Canada by year of arrival
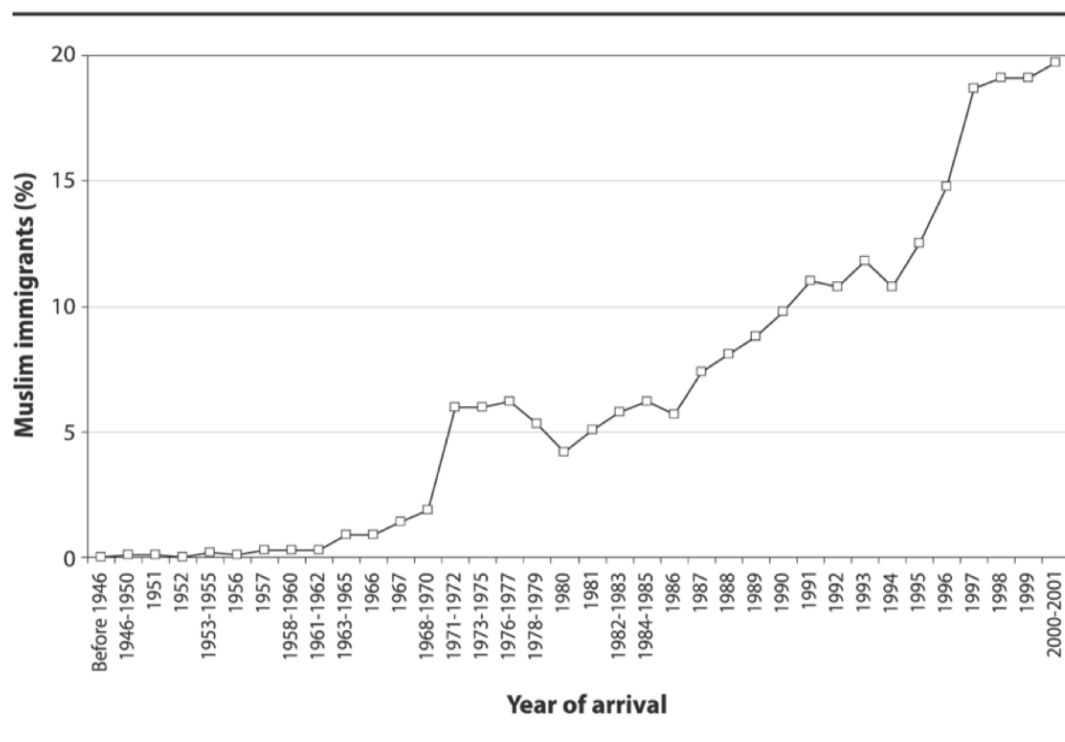
Source: Statistics Canada (2001) ; Kazemipur (2014)

Muslims now constitute the largest non-Christian religious group in Canada (Statistics Canada 2001), and demographers claim that Islam is the fastest growing religion in North America (Nimer 2002).

The rapid growth in the Muslim population in Canada is due to two factors, the first of which is the arrival of a larger number of Muslim immigrants. The increase in the numbers of Muslim immigrants as figure 2.1 indicates, has raised the proportion of Muslims within the total immigrant population in Canada around 2 percent in 1970 to around 20 percent in 2000. In addition to immigration, Muslims have a higher fertility rate than the host population. This higher rate is a product of the fact that Muslims are mostly first generation immigrants, with many of them being in their child-bearing years (Kazemipur 2014). According to Hamdani (1999; 205), "Muslims are experiencing a baby-boom while the country as a whole is faced with a low birth rates".

Besides, Muslim community in Canada is well-educated, comprising sixty percent of Muslim adults have post-secondary education. However, according to Beyer, "the higher educational level does not correspond to higher income; there are more Muslims in the lower income bracket (earning $30,000 or less) than any other religious group" (Beyer 2005 cited in Nagra 2011; 6). Hence, Muslims in Canada may be facing some kind of economic marginalization. "Since the September 11 attacks in the US, Muslims in Canada and other western nations are vulnerable to increased discrimination" (Stein 2003 cited in Nagra 2011; 6).

Moreover, Muslims are not well-represented in the Canadian legislature or in its civil service. The diversity of the Canadian Muslim community in terms of national origin, sect, political and religious orientation may be affecting its political engagement in Canada. However, Sikhs are well represented in Canadian politics as they have more successfully worked on their strategies to mobilize and leverage the official multiculturalism of Canada but Muslims have not been able to do so (Hamdani 2005).

A decade back in 1990s, during Gulf War, anti-Muslim sentiment in Canada was heightened, resulting in an escalation of discrimination towards Canadian Muslims. Muslim students encountered explicit 'discrimination' in schools, malls and other

public places. Canadian Muslims also reported being targeted by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) and by Canadian Security Intelligence Services (CSIS). Overall, many Canadian Muslims felt silenced, devalued, and misrepresented during this time period. Prior to 9/11 Muslim communities were also scrutinized for their religious practices (Roach 2005).

But, until 1980s, large number of immigrants from non-white countries created a 'racial diversity'. This resulted in starting a confrontation between mainstream and 'visible minorities'. As many 'visible minority' groups started struggle against race based discrimination that was historically prevalent in 'white' Canada. Visible minorities raised the demands to recognize their certain cultural and religious practices. This kind of demands created challenges to existing laws and society of Canada. Consequently, Canadian government had to bring all 'visible minority' groups under multiculturalism policy. Primarily, the policy was created to recognise three ethnic groups- Francophone, Aboriginals and White ethnic groups who migrated mainly from European countries.

Along with the struggle against racism, in 1990s, Muslim community began making claims for the recognition of their cultural and religious practices, as they demanded to change public school curriculum by allowing Islamic holidays and different prayer rooms in schools (Rita 2003). Muslim also demanded funding for Islamic faith-based religious schools during 1990s and 2000s. Moreover, a demand for different *Sharia* courts created controversy in Ontario in 1990s. About a decade later, in the mid-2000s, another controversy surfaced on the issue of 'reasonable accommodation' in Quebec. Besides, they sought exemptions from existing laws to allow Muslim girls to wear headscarf and *hijab* at educational institutions and other public places, and later in citizenship oath ceremony.

However, Sikh community, fight along with racial discrimination, made numerous claims to accommodate their cultural and religious practices, earlier to Muslims in the beginning 1980s. Sikhs sought exemption from helmet to allow ride motorcycle with turban in 1978, and from recruitment rules of RCMP to allow with turban and beard in early 1990s. Sikh also sought permission to wear *Kirpan* in parliament, in courtrooms, governmental and other official positions as well as they demanded to permit Sikh children to wear *Kirpan* in public schools in the same decade. Simultaneously, Sikhs

asserted for granting exemption to allow Punjabi language in public schools of Canada. Besides, *Kamagata Maru* issue has been a prominent among Sikhs in Canada to be apologize in Canadian parliament for that. Recently, Sikh assertion and demonstration against the 'hate crimes' occurred by mainstream in confusion about Sikhs as Muslims has been the primary concern in US and Canada after 9/11.

However, debate began as to which of the minority cultural and religious practices are fine with Canadian multiculturalism. Several cultural practices including wearing of turbans or headscarf came to be conceived as 'illiberal'. Sikh and Muslim community's requests and assertion for cultural and religious accommodation in public spheres, test the limits of state-sanctioned multiculturalism in Canada. By challenging the division of sacred and secular space in mainstream society, they reveal inherent contradictions in Canada's multicultural promise. The controversies over these requests signal that Anglo-Canadian Christian hegemony continues to assume a normative position in Canada's cultural discourse. Moreover, there are four set of themes that would be taken into account to proceed this research: (i) the shift in Canadian immigration policy and process after 9/11; (ii) shift in the concept of citizenship and its discourse in general and in Canada in new age global migration in 1990s and after 9/11; (iii) change in multiculturalism policy and discourse from liberty to security under impact of 9/11 events (iv) the political participation of ethnic minorities prior and after 9/11. These themes focus on two co-exited communities - Sikh and Muslims in terms of their inclusion and exclusion in the institutions of state and the larger society as well as their assertion and struggle for preserving and protecting their group rights under Canadian multiculturalism.

1.3 LITERATURE REVIEW

In the aftermath of 9/11 and the US-led 'Global War on Terrorism' (GWOT), there have come to fore the question of religious diversity, mainly of the Muslim immigrant communities who have come to constitute sizeable minorities in many of the Western countries. Several issues are involved such as the economic and cultural impact of globalisation on immigrants and the host societies; rising number of 'visible' communities on grounds of their colour, dress etc in these societies; the cultural transition the immigrants have to make from a developing to a developed economy;

and recognition of their community or group rights have been the subject of serious scholarly debates in the Western world.

Diversity is not new to settlers' societies; rather it has been one of their founding templates. As societies became more diverse, two policy paths, namely of assimilation and multiculturalism emerged in US and Canada respectively. Diversity is fine so long as one subscribes to the so-called 'American way of life' and ethos. It was claimed that diversity has no place in public space. As for group discrimination and disadvantage, US came out with affirmative action policies and programmes. Followed in US, scholars called it 'melting pot' thesis. Much later, empirical studies observed that the 'pot' was all White and Blacks had no place in the American 'melting pot'. Secondly, it was also discovered that not much was actually 'melting' in the American 'pot'. Italians and Polish, Orthodox Eastern Church and almost everyone retained their group identity beneath their overt and superficial integration at the level of English language, food and dress and allegiance to liberal democratic values, etc.

In contrast, multiculturalism was essentially the initiative of the Canadian state to recognise and station various diversities in a fixed place in a cultural hierarchy. Critics are unsparing when they argue that multiculturalism is nothing but an elite response to manage diversity. That it does not encourage integration rather it follows division, distancing and stationing of diverse ethnic groups in a politico-cultural power hierarchy. By encouraging their isolation from each other; state encourages divisiveness and even pitting one ethnic group against another; and thus facilitates continued domination of the Anglophone Canadian political elite. For example, Chinese and Indian groups are seen protesting against restrictive immigration measures but separately.

Quebec nationalists were the first one to understand the domination-subordination aspect of multiculturalism; and saw it as a federal ploy to reduce them as one among diverse ethnic groups and minorities in Canada. Quebec government came up with its own 'interculturalism', which establishes the primacy of 'French Fact' in linguistic and cultural terms. Once thus 'assimilated', 'interculturalism' moved towards greater accommodativeness and integration of all sorts of diversities – religious, sectarian, linguistic, colour etc. Thus it claims that it has a better success rate in 'integrating'

diversities. It is interesting to note that Muslims under interculturalism in Quebec faces more racial discrimination than Multiculturalism in rest of Canada, despite the common French language due to their immigration from African francophone countries. English speaking Muslim immigrants in rest of Canada are relatively more integrated than Quebec (Nafey 2016; interview and Reitz 2014; 118).

One critical issue is the reaction against multiculturalism and immigration both at the official and popular levels in the Western world. Around late 1980s, a crucial turn in the public discourse took place, initially it was especially the ideology of multiculturalism that came under attack; more recently, immigration itself has become a matter of public debate due to the emergence of strong anti-immigration political groups. The terrorist events of 9/11 have made Muslims the central focus of both anti-immigration and anti-multiculturalism measures and debate.

Canvas is vast and myriad issues are involved in the debate. The present study shall however focus primarily on cultural and religious diversity, and changing discourse on multiculturalism in Canada by taking the case studies of two major religious minorities, viz. the Sikhs and the Muslims. In the context of the proposed study, the available literature can be divided into five principal interlinked themes: (i) Multiculturalism: Theory, Operation and Critique; (ii) Citizenship: Theory, Debate Practice; (iii) Multiculturalism: Issues of Sikh and Muslims; (iv) Multiculturalism after 9/11: Experiences of Muslims and Sikhs; and (v) Political integration of ethnic minorities.

1.3.1 Multiculturalism: Theory, Operation and Debate

Chronologically, Fleras and Kunz describe that "since the inception of multiculturalism policy in Canada, discussions on cultural diversity have evolved from cultural 'retention' in the 1970s; 'racial' equality in the 1980s; to 'social inclusion' in the 1990s; and to 'integrative' processes in 2000 onwards" (PRI Horizon 2009; 6)

The first academic anthology on multiculturalism was published in 1989, one year after passing the multiculturalism Act in 1988, and entitled "Multiculturalism and Intergroup Relations" and edited by James Frideres (1989). This work includes leading academics in ethnic studies at the time. The chapters in Frideres' volume grappled with the

fundamental theoretical and empirical issues of 'individual rights' vs. 'group rights' as it pertains to ethnic maintenance, retention, and relations and the involvement of the state in such matters. It is interesting to note that the issue of individual and group rights still remains contentious in Canada today over a quarter-century later.

Kymlicka (2014) distinguishes the three stages of Canadian multiculturalism. Multiculturalism in Canada at first was based on a logic of ethnicity – that is, the policy encouraged the self-organization, representation and participation of ethno-cultural groups defined on the basis of their country of origin. In the 1970s and 1980s, this logic of ethnicity was supplemented by programs intended to deal with processes of racialization and racial discrimination. And, more recently, during 1990s, another basis is emerged and defined by religion seek a seat at the multicultural table. As a result, three distinct dimensions of diversity at work in the multiculturalism policy – ethnicity, race, and religion. He added that the evolution of multiculturalism has indeed taken place in an unplanned and ad hoc way, and Canada's approach therefore lacks the conceptual clarity or ideological purity that we can see in some other Western democracies.

Others argue that religion is often discussed in the context of culture, more so now; therefore, accommodating religious diversity has increasingly become a topic for research. A series of regional roundtables conducted by the Policy Research Initiative (PRI) in partnership with the Department of Canadian Heritage in the first half of 2007 provided the opinions of randomly selected groups of Canadians on multiculturalism. One key finding was the significant uncertainty among participants as to whether and how to incorporate faith and religion into the public sphere more generally and into the multicultural discourse more specifically (Kunz and Sykes, 2007).

Watson (2005; 135) argues that "social philosophy began to change. Different cultural groups were not simply abandoning their original cultural characteristics, and this analogy emerged to take account of their circumstances under the term 'salad bowl', instead of the 'melting pot'." Comparison of the 'melting pot' and 'salad bowl' helps both to imagine the differences between 'assimilation' and 'integration'. Integration offered a more practical way to incorporating immigrants into society. He also adds that "public policy decisions were larger than philosophical principles in relation to

theories of distributive justice and rights of minorities which now took on a new urgency. People should not and cannot be forced to abandon their cultural traditions and their religious duties. New immigrants wish to remain separate and to maintain an identity distinct from majority population; they should be allowed to do so".

Further Watson discusses several critical issues that are involved such as in the school; wearing veil and headscarves are culturally unacceptable, preventive of integration, and considered even an 'illiberal' practice in the liberal democratic Canada. As religious diversity increases, one gets tempted to ask; how come wearing crosses in the school is not deemed as a threat to Canadian secularism. More substantial issues are involved; Christian schools, where the whole echoes of the school is religious, follow national educational curricula and get state funding. So do Jewish denomination schools. The support of the state indirectly goes to religion in this way. In other words, education is public and secular on the one hand, private and religious on the other.

However, similar demands and requests for recognition and funding by Sikh and Muslim educational institutions are regarded as 'disintegrative', illiberal and un-secular, if not anti-secular, and threatening the fragmentation of the nation. Instead, such demands provoke anti-immigration and anti-minority backlash and governmental measures. Be that as may, the discourse is interesting: should state at all fund and recognise religious-denomination schools? Is the dominant majority's way the national way? Are liberal democracies undergoing 'majoritarian' experiences, etc/?

Lefebvre and Beaman (2014) makes a significant point that "religious diversity has increased, the secularization thesis has lost much of its appeal, the contours of the post 9/11 era have become more clearly defined, and so too have those of globalization." Religion has the subject of frequent and lively debate in a wide range of places: in media; among academics, policy makers, and communities; and within social institutions. This increase in attention has resulted in a reconsideration of religion and its place in society, raising the question of whether religion is enjoying a resurgence. They also discussed religion in 'public' and 'private' spheres in Canada and tried to make a distinction between these two binaries.

Mahajan (2002) makes an effort to define multiculturalism as a political theory and distinguishes multiculturalism from traditional view of liberalism and pluralism. She stresses on both the sides: role of democracy in strengthening the idea and policy of multiculturalism; while multiculturalism extends the democratic concerns. Mahajan argues that 'equality' differentiates to multiculturalism from pluralism. She defends the group specific rights of ethnic minorities within the framework of differentiated citizenship. Bhargava et al. (1999) insists on 'stable' identity and makes a link between identity and recognition. He discusses liberal individualism, republicanism and Rawl's political liberalism as possible solutions to problems addressed by multiculturalism and notes their limitations. Further he tries to deal with skepticism over multiculturalism and problems of existing formulations of multiculturalism. Kymlicka and Baogang (2005) explain how state should treat minorities and how best to negotiate majority-minority relations and manage conflicts. They add that any discussion of minority rights must begin with guarantees protecting individual rights and freedom and equal access to opportunities and services. Kymlicka and Baogang, move away from their communitarian liberalism and even suggest, somewhat impracticably, that international community can play a vital role in transition from communitarian practices to democratic consolidation and genuine multiculturalism.

Raj and McAndrew (2009) present the overview of multiculturalism policy of Canada and newly emerged issues and debate on these issues. They argue that multiculturalism was adopted so as to create a counter against rising nationalism in Quebec. Further Raj makes a critical analysis of the discourse of multiculturalism by emphasizing on the unjust treatment of minorities and cultures under liberalism. He questions the theory of liberalism and states that liberalism only sees individualism but does not have a view of ethnic and cultural differences among individuals and their fears about security and their reactions regarding insecurity. Further they also justify the cultural diversity by giving Rawls new concept of justice in political liberalism.

Sugunasiri (2001) divides Canadian history into three phases: pre-multiculturalism that spanned a century from 1867 to 1967; formative multiculturalism in the early seventies, when policies of justice and affirmative action were thought out; and chaotic multiculturalism when ethnic minorities became as racist as the white class at the centre of power has always been. After 'deconstructing' the devolution of multiculturalism

from good policy to bad practice, the author suggests how to 'construct; a better future through corrective and integrative phases of multiculturalism. The corrective phase is addressed to the minorities and consists of going beyond the stranglehold of 'political correctness' imposed on the whites on the one hand; and extreme suspicion and ingratitude propagated against non-whites on the other. The integrative phase addresses question of individual ethics, family values and spirituality which needs to be integrated into the Canadian ethos if Canada has to move towards a better future.

Fleras (2010) references to multiculturalism in Canada ranges from descriptive to the prescriptive. Canada's population is known to be multiculturally diverse; Canadians generally subscribe to the multicultural value of openness and tolerance; and both minority and political elites are known to play multicultural politics to advance vested interests.

Kymlicka (2008) observes that "multiculturalism is under pressure to add religion as a 'third track' along with ethnicity and race, noting in particular that there remains much uncertainty about the role of religion within the multiculturalism policy, and about the sorts of religious organizations and faith-based claims that should be supported by the policy. Religious diversity is a demographic fact in Canada. While often subsumed under the domain of culture in the past, dealing with religious diversity has emerged in recent years as a topic in its own right for further research and debate. As governments and the courts are increasingly asked to respond or arbitrate tensions arising from religious differences." (PRI, Horizon 2009;6) Kymlicka proposes "an analytical framework to approach religious diversity at the levels of individuals and communities, and governments, as well as society as a whole. He also highlights the need for better understanding of the factors associated with the integration of religious communities into Canadian society" (ibid).

Stein et al. (2007) focuses on the conflict between the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms'* equality rights and multiculturalism as both policy and practice. This work provides consensus on the meaning of multiculturalism. However, there was disagreement with respect to some substantive and specific issues such as the role of religious freedom in multiculturalism (equality rights) and immigration and its conflict with social policy or lack thereof.

Fleras (2010) addresses the challenges to racism in contemporary Canadian society. His work includes immigration, concept of multiculturalism, practice, and nature of citizenship in Canada that began shifting towards inclusive citizenship after 9/11. Therefore, work covers the entire picture of multiculturalism of Canada. He focused on three challenges; 1) aboriginal peoples claim to be relatively autonomous political communities with collective and inherent rights to aboriginal models of self determine autonomy over land, identity, and political voice; 2) national minorities like Quebecois are seeking to transform Canada's constitutional arrangements in hopes of constructing a new social compact based on the notion of Quebec as a nation rather than simply province. 3) racialized minorities have become increasingly politicized in hopes of establishing a more inclusive Canada, one that respectful of, reflective of, and responsive to minority needs and demands. Yet the doubts remain and debates persist over the direction of institutional responses to inclusiveness challenge for reasonable accommodation. Moreover, Chazan et al. (2011) acknowledges the other aspect of multiculturalism being unsettled is the fact that "different groups and interests have taken advantage of the fluidity of multiculturalism to make a variety of claims that aim to settle identities and arrangements while contestation remains" (cited in Wong and Guo 2015; 7).

1.3.2 Citizenship: Theory, Debate and Practice

In a liberal democracy, when all citizens are equal before and under the law, how come certain groups remain unequal across time and generations? Group inequality and denial of access to resources and representation to certain groups on grounds of ethnicity, religion or gender is a challenge before liberal democracy and the democratic theory per se.

T.H. Marshall discussed the 'social concept' of citizenship first in his essay, *Citizenship and the Social Class* in 1949. He agued that state needs to accept the social responsibilities of its citizens, in the context of evolution of 'rights' that acquired via citizenship from 'civil rights' in the eighteenth century, political in the nineteenth, and social and economic in the twentieth (Plant 1998).

Taylor (1994) holds the view that the struggles for 'recognition' in the modern state are about access to equal citizenship. Groups excluded from citizenship, or discriminated

against in terms of rights of citizenship, demand to be included. This political logic applies to ethnic and national groups, as well as to other kinds of marginalized identities like women. Taylor calls this "the politics of equal dignity". Besides being recognized as holders of the same rights, the members of different cultural communities want to be recognized in their specificity and to see the collective ends of their communities protected by differentiated rights.

Kymlicka (1995) accepts human rights and equal rights of citizenship for all, but he adds that other rights – namely multicultural rights – are needed in order to protect the societal culture of minorities, whether they are national or ethnic. He enters into details by pointing out different kinds of multicultural rights – self-government rights, poly-ethnic rights, special representation rights – and establishing that not all those rights, or kinds of rights, are required to protect all kinds of cultural minorities. Cultural minorities or immigrants only can claim for certain exemptions or accommodations under the category poly-ethnic rights. He restricts poly-ethnic rights to certain kind of exemptions and exceptions those may be given to different immigrant groups in Canada, provided if they do not contradict with Canadian law. He clarifies that immigrants can not make claim for 'special rights' or 'self government rights'.

Unlike Taylor, Kymlicka details to deal with the difficulties that arise at the sociological and practical level. He observes that some of the demands of cultural groups enter in conflict with the baseline of equality defined by general and universal fundamental rights or human rights. He adds that anti-multiculturalists always bring into discussion some multiculturalists demand that are difficult to accept, such as female genital mutilation and arranged marriages. So, he has drawn the line between 'good' multicultural rights and 'bad' multicultural rights. To do that, he made distinction between 'external protections' and 'internal restrictions' of minority groups. He claimed that "Multicultural rights are always protections against external pressures coming from the majority's culture, against the minorities. As 'external protections', multicultural rights allow the minorities to maintain their societal culture by protecting the changes in context of choice of their members" (Kymlicka 1995; 38). However, multicultural rights, in the sense of Kymlicka, "should not be 'internal restrictions' to the fundamental rights and freedoms of minority cultures; and further, multicultural rights should be added to human rights, but without endangering the latter" (ibid).

Fleras (2010) focuses on the challenges to inclusive citizenship that incorporates universal and differentiated citizenship. Schouls cited in Fleras (2010) who argues that "Entitlements under universal citizenship often fail certain marginalized minorities because they privileged formal equality rights (equal treatment) over the substantive equity rights (treatment a equals), thus ranking all individuals as similar for political or economic purposes regardless of circumstances or commitments". Fleras further responds to the questions that should citizenship rights be restricted to individual citizens only or be extended to include politically/ culturally defined groups? Is it possible to create a citizenship-in –space in a global world of transnational communities and diasporic migrants (Kernerman; Harty & Murphy cited in Fleras; 2010)? Or is Canada destined to become a space of travelling cultures and people with varying degrees of attachment and commitment (Sandercock 2003; Fleras 2010) or - a hotel of convenience in which people come and go they please without obligations or duty (Kent 2008; Fleras 2010).

Kymlcika (2003; 195) discusses that "most western democracies are having to rethink their approach to citizenship to respond to the challenges raised by migration. There are growing numbers of migrants in most western countries, and these migrants often retain close ties with their country of origin." He tries to respond the implications of these facts of citizenship. Some commentators argue that " in a world of migration, we must recognise that whole idea of 'national citizenship' is increasingly obsolete. On this view, we need to develop a new way of assigning rights and responsibilities, perhaps based on international law and human rights norms, that does not presuppose that immigrants will or should be become 'national citizen'".

Others argue, on the contrary, that the increasing ethnic and religious diversity within modern states requires a more active effort by the state to construct and sustain a sense of common national citizenship. Feelings of solidarity and common values, which could perhaps be taken granted in a period of greater ethnic and religious homogeneity, must now be actively promoted by the state, in part by emphasising the centrality of common citizenship. On this learning to live with diversity requires a revaluation of citizenship. In the age of migration and transnational identities, should national citizenship be de- emphasised or revalued? and if the later, does revaluing citizenship

require de-emphasising multiculturalism, or can national citizenship and multiculturalism support each other?

Further Kymlicka makes a relationship among three- immigration, citizenship and multiculturalism by creating a wonderful example as "we can think of immigration, citizenship and multiculturalism as three leg stool, each leg of which supports (or weakens) the other two. Where one leg is weak, people begin to worry about the motives and consequences of the other two legs as well. Conversely, confidence in one leg can help generate optimism and trust in the other two" (Kymlicka 2003;195).

1.3.3 Multiculturalism: Issues of Sikh and Muslim Communities

Discussions on religious diversity have often been subsumed under the broader aspects of cultural diversity and multiculturalism. Yet in a series of roundtable consultations jointly conducted in 2007 by the Policy Research Initiative (PRI) and the Multiculturalism Programme (Department of Canadian Heritage), many participants observed that "religion is increasingly emerging as a topic on its own. Among the gaps identified were: (i) the absence of a clear societal discourse that, at the level of principles, describes and guides how Canadians deal with religious diversity in their daily lives; (ii) and a lack of understanding of how governments and other institutions relate to religious individuals and communities in practice especially in policy development and design, and in service delivery" (PRI 2007).

Watson (2005) observes that pressure for the establishment of religious schools is understandable given the discrimination which pupils from religious minorities face in mainstream state schools. Relationship between the institutions of the state and religion of its citizens can be distinguished by three sets of arguments: (i) The first concerns the degree to which the state is or should be an instrument for implementation of a set of principles derived from religious belief. Here the question of secularism comes that how much state is secular. What are the strong divisions between state and religion? (ii) The second set of discussion associates state with public domain and religion with private. Some fundamental liberties, particularly freedoms of religion and speech focus on religion and state guarantees to all Individuals. State intervenes positively where necessary and creates conditions to allow a community to fulfil the demands of its faith.

(iii) Third is the confusion between ethnicity and religion which affects the perception of all parties to these debates. Here for instance, practice of keeping women in seclusion is frequently identified with *Islam* rather than being identified as the cultural practice of a specific ethnic group.

Controversy arises when religious communities make demands for exemptions from statutory legislations on religious grounds. Sikhs, requesting the right to be allowed to wear turbans and not being subject to safety helmet regulations, are issues which are difficult to be left as private affairs. It becomes a matter of general public concern and safety. Issues become ticklish and difficult to resolve. Often a debate arises as to how far religious precepts can or cannot allow wearing safety helmets? Another question that greatly excites public debate in such context is whether a practice is religious or cultural; that is whether the universality of the religion ordains it or it is a same community-specific practice?

Governments have often acted in an *ad hoc* fashion as issues have arisen - Muslim girl students wearing veils and Sikh students wearing *Kirpan* and 'Turban' in Government schools as well as Catholic schools, but there has been no concerted and systematic attempt to think through moral and legal implication of the right to religious freedom.

Despite of all social concerns, economic exclusion is also a serious concern among ethnic minorities in Canada. As recent survey (Environics Research Group, 2007) found that 45 per cent of Canadian Muslims have at least one university degree; yet Muslims have the second-highest unemployment rate in Canada – 14.4 per cent of Muslims are jobless – almost twice the national rate. It can be noted that Canadian society does not yet appear to embrace Muslims as full citizens. As Husaini (1990) has noted, "If people are constantly reminded that they do not belong, whether on the crude level of the rhetoric of far-right discourse or media or the day-to-day discrimination, subtle or otherwise that they may face, or when the government fails to listen to their concerns and request for needs, it is only a matter of time before they will feel alienated and lose the desire to belong" (cited in Horizon 2009; 83). Interestingly, most of the Muslims under inter-culturalism in Quebec are not different.

According to Delic (2008) "overcoming the obstacles to integration and inclusion and expanding the opportunities to engage Canadian Muslims in Canada's civic, economic, social, and political life would be a major national undertaking" (cited in Horizon 2009; 83). He argues that "representatives of Canadian Muslim associations and government policy makers must make a priority of increasing Muslims' engagement in Canada" (ibid). Delic calls on leaders, scholars and institutions (Muslim as well as non-Muslim) to find ways to help Canadian Muslims participate fully in Canada.

However, Judge (2003) discusses Sikh identity how they constructed on Canadian soil– a point also discussed earlier in the theoretical context of identity 'construction', 'retention', 'adoption' and even 'invention'. Judge is concerned with social construction of identity among Sikhs and how multiculturalism takes cognizance of the cultural basis of citizenship. He identifies various cases dealing with identity construction and tries to clarify, how religious identity differs from cultural identity. Author explores a new identity of Sikhs after 1984 'Operation Blue Star'- *Khalsa* as a military force and *Khalistan* as terrorism. Besides he adds the new image of Sikh at international level had emerged after *Kanishka* air crash. Lastly, the whole article relates with the critical analysis of the policy of multiculturalism and Sikh identity issues in historical perspectives and discusses the challenges before the policy of Canadian multiculturalism.

Moreover, Raj Kumar Hans (2009) goes into aspects of 'longing' and 'belonging' immigrant communities such as Sikhs go through in their adopted country. How the pain and suffering that results after immigration get transmitted to next generation is also an important question examined here. He discusses the feeling of many Punjabi writers living on Canadian territory who explained the real situation of the community and how they feel about both the host and home countries. Om P. Juneja (2009) examines the voices raised in Canadian diaspora writings by explaining the problems faced by first generation Sikh immigrants.

The survey on "Religious Diversity and Implications for Multiculturalism Policy" published in Horizon (2007) shows the rising interest in issues of religious identity in Canada and other countries, and summarizes the work of prominent academics conducted between April 2007 and March 2008 with funding from the Multiculturalism

Branch of Citizenship and Immigration Canada. They made a general observation that "Religious identity is central to the lives of many individuals, and the intensity and public manifestation of those identities is increasing in many countries. Even predominantly secular societies must address challenges associated with growing religious diversity. Significant public discourse on the place of religion in Canadian society has been going on for several decades" (PRI horizon 2007).

1.3.4 Multiculturalism after 9/11: Experiences of Muslims & Sikhs

In recent years, long-standing approach to accommodate religious differences had to be adapted amid to the growing religious diversity in Canada. "The uncertainty over whether and how to adapt private and public practice to this new reality has been evident with significant attention that the media and the general public have paid to visible religious markers in clothing (e.g. head covers for Muslim women, turbans for Sikh men), faith based arbitration, and incidents that have been perceived as signs of increased anti-Semitism and *Islamophobia"* (Horizon, 2007). Despite the scarcity of basic information on religious identity and its relevance to public policy, interest in research on religious diversity – its potential effects and the policy responses to it – has increased over the last decade. The question "What is this person's religion?" was last asked in the 2001 and 2011 Census of Canada. Statistics Canada asked more questions on religious identity in recent surveys. Ethnic Diversity Survey (2002) counts the change in the attitudes of ethnic minorities about its religion after 9/11.

Prof. Raj (2007) in his article, "Canada and international terrorism since 9/11" explores that Canada now seems to be harmonizing its concerns with those of united states and towing the American line on policies relating to immigration, refugees, visa, border control, trade and customs. Moreover, since 9/11 and counter terrorism agenda, Canada for the first time in history proclaimed itself to be a national security state like America. He also adds that in the context of security and civil liberty, there has been a constraining of civil liberties to uphold the security of Canadian national state. Besides, Canadian anti terrorist act and immigration and refugee protection act by linking foreign nationals and terrorists to be cause of terrorist threat also convey the impression that the terrorist threat is an imported problem and that foreign nationals want to enter Canada for terrorist purposes.

How 9/11 episode triggered the issues and problems of Muslims in Canada as Prof. Moens (2011) believed that issues and problems of integration of Muslims in Canada were continuously growing since 1990s but was heightened after 9/11 that still up warding while the problems and issues relating to integration of Sikhs is going downward since 1990, few years after Air India crash (1985). He assumes that if Donald Trump wins US presidential elections then discrimination against Muslims immigrants would subsequently rise. He also points out dangers that has caused to imbalance in security and liberty.

A noted lawyer and academician Kent Roach's article, "National Security, Multiculturalism and Muslim minorities" explores the impact of 9/11 episode on immigrants especially on Arabs/Muslims in Canada. Roach checks the constitutionality and legality of post-9/11 legislations and executive actions those deals with terrorism. He explores how Canadian security forces and agencies misused the laws to confine the Muslim community, and enlists the victimized Muslims who went under surveillance, wrongfully profiled, arrested, detained, tortured and deported to other countries for further investigations. Moreover, he also highlights to hate related crimes and stereotypes against Muslims and other immigrants in Canadian society. Roach's another work titled as "9/11: Consequences for Canada" devotes to the study of 'fearful atmosphere' for Arabs/ Muslims and other visible groups in Canada. He contends to the negative role of 'mainstream media' for portraying Muslims as enemy in Canada. He responds to how Canadian government failed in protecting the civil liberties of many immigrant groups, and how Canadian security agencies misused the powers in name of 'security'?

Kazeemipuri and Nagra observe that after 9/11 situation in Canada has been worse to Muslim youths as it has heightened racial discrimination against the whole Muslim community in Canada. Further, they identify that post 9/11 atmosphere created a segregation and 'otherness' that led to grow the religious fundamentalism or extremism among Muslims in Canada, even among Canadian born Muslims. They preferred to come back to religion in search of own 'identity'. As a result, Canadian born youths began protesting in support of their own 'community interests'. However, Jedwab (2015) seeks to improve the understanding of 'societal context' within which terrorist

acts occur. This work investigates the public perceptions to combat with terrorism in Canada. He adds how Canadians sacrificed their civil liberties to curb terrorism.

The Norman Paterson School of International Affairs' academic team of Maureen A. Molot and Norman Hillmer as editors of the annual volume of "Canada among nations" in 2002 notes that since 9/11 Canada as a vulnerable country in international decline had become so dependent on the united states that what little room there was for man oeuvre existed no more. A globe and mail-CTV-ipsos reid poll revealed that nearly half of the Canadian would oppose joining US-led international war on terrorism if it would expose civilians in Canada to terrorist attack (Raj 2007).

Prof. Nayar (2012) discusses the findings of the interview with Sikh people. As she observes that Sikh community has been victimizing of 'mainstream hate-wave' in Canada since 9/11 due to mistaken identity as Sikhs look alike Muslims in terms of turban, beard and skin colour as well. Nayar further identifies that 'mainstream society' often confuses with Sikh and Muslim identity because it has an ignorance in making difference between Sikh and Muslim. As a result, mainstream treated Sikhs in mistake of Muslims or terrorists that is much reported in US and in few parts of Canada where Sikh population number is very small.

Moreover, Simrat Verraich's doctoral thesis focuses on Sikh community in US and Canada, after 9/11. She finds that hate crime or discrimination against Sikhs are still prevalent more or less in US and Canada. Her work explores how Sikh are different from Muslims and how mainstream can learn about Sikhs as a different identity. Her thesis work concludes that Sikh are targeted in US and Canada in resemblance with Muslims.

The Environics Institute's Survey of Muslims in Canada (2016) explores that "how are Muslims in Canada faring today?" It shows that "the angst of 9/11 has faded but public concerns about the cultural integration of immigrants are growing, and Muslims continue to be viewed with discomfort, if not suspicion, by some. At the same time, discrimination and stereotyping continue to be a difficult reality for Muslims in Canada, and this is of particular concern to women and youth." One in three Canadian

Muslims reports having experienced discrimination in the past five years, due primarily to one's religion or ethnicity; this is well above the levels of mistreatment experienced by the population-at-large. "Such negative experiences take place in a variety of settings, most commonly in the workplace, in public spaces, in retail establishments, and in schools and universities. One in four Muslims reports having encountered difficulties crossing borders, and this experience happens irrespective of gender, age and country of birth."

On the other side, survey shows that "religious observance among Muslims has strengthened over the past decade. An increasing number are attending mosques for prayers on a regular basis (at least once a week) and (among women) are wearing the hijab." In both cases the trend is most noticeable among Muslims 18 to 34 years of age.

Moreover, this study reveals that society's targeting of Muslims has been more prevalent in Quebec than anywhere else in Canada, and yet Quebec Muslims are surprisingly upbeat. Muslims in Quebec express the lowest levels of concern about discrimination against their community and about the provisions in Bill C-51. They are among the most positive about how future generations will be treated, and their level of pride in being Canadian has jumped dramatically over the past years. While these findings may appear counterintuitive, it could well be that Quebec Muslims are feeling a sense of relief having dodged two recent bullets. First, the election defeat of the PQ Government and its proposed 'Charter of Values' that would have banned to wear the religious symbols in public services. And second, the election defeat of the Harper Conservatives which stoked anti-Muslim sentiment during its recent reelection campaign, especially in Quebec.

1.3.5 Political Participation of Ethnic Minorities:

Sikh participation in Canadian politics has been noteworthy. Their access to various influential political positions as premiers, ministers and legislators both at federal and provincial level has been notable. For instance, Ujjal Dosanjh became the first Sikh who was elected as premier of British Columbia and he has been also a federal minister. A fairly notable number of Sikhs have been elected to federal parliament on the tickets of the two main parties particularly; in due course, also joining cabinet as ministers.

Besides, one, Hardial Bains was a founder and leader of the Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada from 1970-1997. Most of the Sikh politicians have grown from labour unions or religious associations (World Sikh Organization, Canada 2013) and retain grass-roots support among their electorates and the community as a whole. However, Muslim participation in Canadian politics has been limited through out the years. They remained few in number in Canadian Politics as at the federal level, Rahim Jaffer was the first Muslim Canadian MP; perhaps none has ever occupied the position of Minister in federal cabinet (Canadian parliament 2004).

Neil, et.al (2012;185) observes that **"**citizen participation remains a fundamental tenet of democratic legitimacy. For immigrants and members of ethnic minorities, in particular, political participation can serve as an important element in their overall integration into society." According to him, "Political participation offers a direct mechanism for voicing concerns and interests, and for joining with others to bring into place needed changes at the community level; it also provides an important indirect mechanism for change by providing opportunities for selecting elected representatives who can voice those concerns and interests in turn. While the political participation of immigrants and minorities has received increased research attention in recent years, significant gaps in our understanding, nevertheless, remain."

Black (1997) comments that the current literature on the intersection of citizenship, immigration and political engagement is a nascent one with many gaps, largely characterized by uneven theoretical development and limited empirical examination. These gaps in our knowledge provide the opportunities to contribute to an underdeveloped academic area – the topic of political participation of newcomers and minorities in Canada.

Cairns (1993) remarks that Canadian political science's traditional concentration on the institutional forms of federalism distorts our view of ethnicity by directing our attention to territorially concentrated ethnic or national groups that can be accommodated by 'province hood or a third order of government'. Wilson (1993) acknowledges that this bias has led us to pay too little attention to dispersed metropolitan ethnicity, and emerging demographic reality destined to have important implications for Canadian social and political life.

In their examination of the 1993 House of Commons, Black and Lakhani (1997) comment that while Members of Parliament of the British-only and French-only origins exceeded their proportions of the general population, racial minorities were distinctly underrepresented in Parliament with only 13 elected. In his later study, Black (2001) found that in the 1997 election, 19 'visible minority' candidates were elected, and after the 2000 election there were only 17 'visible minority' candidates elected to Parliament, and in 2004 federal election number again rise to 21.

The work of Kymlicka (2007) and Bird (2011) analyzed that the political participation of 'visible minorities' is particularly salient in Canada. About 20 percent of the population in Canada is currently foreign-born, and three-quarters of those who arrived within the last five years are members of a 'visible minority' Canadian multiculturalism through federal laws and policies has played a role in assisting to the integration of 'visible minorities'. More specifically, Irene Bloemraad (2006: 6) argues that "Canadian multicultural policies have provided for greater political integration for ethnic minorities when compared to the United States." The political integration, according to Bloemraad, is "the process of becoming a part of mainstream political debates, practices, and decision- making ... incorporation is generally achieved when patterns of immigrant participation are comparable to those among the native-born While we may take comfort in the comparison with our southern neighbours, political integration is far from complete."

However, Michael Ignatieff (2005) argued that "the extension of political rights to new citizens has not proved up to the task of securing their genuine political incorporation. We have, as host communities, worked hard to break down barriers preventing the political inclusion of immigrants: we provide an equal set of formal political rights to all citizens, we fight discrimination and racism where we find it, and we discourage unfair practices in hiring and educational access. Yet, members of these communities – in both Canada and the United States – continue to behave in a manner that appears to indicate a sense of exclusion, a feeling that they do not yet properly belong within the social and political communities they have joined" (cited in Lenard 2005; 53).

Elections Canada, in working paper series (2007), studies the political and civic engagement of immigrant and ethno-cultural minority communities in Canada that have identified key themes related to the following areas: 1) "Settlement and integration patterns– affected by timing of arrival, interaction with people outside the ethnic community, linguistic integration, generational status and intensity of ethnic identities. 2)Individual resources– affected by politicization in the country of origin, ethnic media consumption and organizational involvement. 3) Individual socio-demographic attributes – affected by age, race, ethnicity, education and socio-economic status. 4) Community-level factors– affected by elite mobilization and general orientation toward the value of political participation. Comparisons between the turnout rates of immigrants and the Canadian-born, and between citizens of non-European and European heritage, have been structured around two broad arguments" (Tossutti 2007;11).

Besides, assimilationist and integrationist theorists propose that "as immigrants spend more time in a new setting, their political behaviour converges with that of the majority group. This follows a period of adjustment, during which new arrivals are preoccupied with learning a new language, finding employment and housing, and establishing new social networks" (ibid).

A second school of thought contends that "community orientation toward politics, and the mobilization efforts of political actors and voluntary associations in the community account for variations in turnout, political interest or knowledge between Canadian-born and foreign-born Canadians, and among Canadian citizens from different cultural communities, regardless of how long they have lived in this country" (ibid).

As Abu laben noted that "most of the research adopts the voting rates of the Canadian-born, or Canadians of British or French heritage, as the benchmarks against which to evaluate the participation of immigrants and minorities. Some of these studies have used broad ethno-cultural categories with little cultural meaning, probably because few surveys before the EDS drew representative samples of minority groups. These approaches have been criticized for portraying these minorities as abnormal in relation

to majorities and the native-born and for treating heterogeneous cultural communities as homogeneous blocs" (Abu-Laban 2002; 278).

Generalizing results from older studies of minority communities has been hampered by small sample sizes, limited geographical coverage and over-reports of voting behaviour (Quo 1971; Wood 1981). Nevertheless, these results show the integrationist and community-based perspectives on the electoral participation of minorities. Quo's study of the Chinese in Lethbridge, Alberta, anticipated that their participation rates would eventually match those of the Japanese once they had spent more time in the area (1971).

Wood (1981) attributed the strong turnout reported by Vancouver's East Indians in the 1979 federal and provincial elections to the size of the East Indian community, the interaction of community members with non-East Indians and the mobilization efforts of political elites (1981; 198). An analysis of national survey data found evidence of ethno-cultural and birthplace-based variations in turnout; Canadian-born British and the foreign-born, non-British voted at significantly lower rates than Canadian-born French in the 1974 federal election (Black 1982).

A later comparison of the turnout rates of British, North European, South European, East European and West Indian immigrants to Canadian-born British respondents in the Toronto area in 1983 found that only the West Indians had voted at significantly lower rates than the benchmark group in the previous federal and provincial elections. (Black 1991). "Possible explanations for the participation equality enjoyed by most immigrants were attributed to elite mobilization and an enhanced political consciousness based on perceived discrimination and ethnic sentiments" (p 149). In their comparison of the political involvement of immigrants and the Canadian-born, Chui, Curtis and Lambert analyzed patterns of campaign work, contacting politicians, voting, membership in political organizations, exposure to political stimuli, interest in the 1984 election and general political interest. For the voting and election-interest measures, they found no significant differences between immigrants and Canadian-born respondents; this further supports the assimilationist thesis. They also found that political involvement tended to peak in the second generation and decline in subsequent generations (Black 1991).

The increasingly heterogeneous composition of the electorate is shifting the focus of research to questions of race and religion, although timing of arrival continues to be a key variable. An analysis of the 1997 CES found that "recent immigrants and non-Christians were less likely to vote" (Nevitte 2000; 161). According to the 2000 CES, recent arrivals also reported lower turnout rates, although these differences became insignificant once levels of political interest, information, party attachment and party contacts during the campaign were held constant (Blais et al. 2002; Gidengil et al. 2004). Statistics Canada's analysis of the EDS concluded that "immigrant turnout rates were associated with the amount of time spent in Canada. Although immigrants who arrived in Canada between 1981 and 2001 voted less frequently than the Canadian-born, the turnout gap disappeared after 20 years of residence" (Statistics Canada 2003). This author's preliminary analysis of the EDS revealed that "immigrant status alone was not a barrier to participating in the 2000 federal election; that visible minorities, regardless of where they were born, generally voted at lower rates than non-visible Canadians; and that differences in the turnout rates of members of 'visible minority' communities were at least partly conditioned by their birthplace and age" (Tossutti 2005; 9). However, Munawar and Humdani (2005) observes that Muslim participation in Canadian politics and in social discourse increased after 9/11.

1.4 DEFINITION, RATIONALE AND SCOPE OF THE STUDY

At a general level, multiculturalism can be defined as a belief that people can live together with their differences. Specifically, official multiculturalism can be defined as a package of policies and programmes for society building around the institutional integration of minorities through the removal of discriminatory barriers. The degree to which any country is a multicultural society varies with how multiculturalism is defined. As Augie Fleras states that "different levels of meaning of multiculturalism can be discerned, as (i) *empirical fact* (of what is); (ii) *an ideology* (what ought to be); (iii) government *policy and programmes* (what is proposed); (iv) a set of *practices* for promoting political and minority interests (what really is); (v) and a *critical discourse* with a commitment to challenge and change (what must be)" (Fleras 2010; 291). Is Canada a multicultural society, polity and, say, also an economy on all these counts? Rationale behind this research is that to analyse in a comparative perspective the

performance of two religious minorities viz. the Sikhs and the Muslims; challenges of their integration and unofficial obstacles put in the path of their integration.

Religious identity has emerged as a key variable in the integration or otherwise especially in the West in the last about two decades or so. Can religious diversity be managed and worked out under the discourse on multiculturalism? How multiculturalism can be restructured as policy and mechanism to accommodate religious rights and diversity? Now religion becomes the main problem for West to accommodate. If the religion is brought under the multicultural act and adequate modification in policies are made to extend the space for minorities to ensure and guarantee their religious rights, then the tension can be reduced to some extent.

Besides, some gaps can be identified between citizenship rights and multicultural rights in Canada. Citizenship gives equality and freedom to all. Multiculturalism puts it forward while religion stays away from equality. In practice religious freedom is not a individualistic matter of choice which challenges theory of liberalism and it is not a choice of community which gives challenge to multiculturalism's approach to group rights. However, state could not be indifferent to multiculturalism, due to increasing and forthcoming hyper diversity. This study also seeks to investigate the failure and success of multiculturalism by examining inherent contradictions in Canada's multicultural discourse.

Utilizing an interdisciplinary approach, drawing on political science, sociology, and cultural and religious studies, the proposed study has focused mainly on the following aspects and issues: (i) the areas of integration of Sikh and Muslim Communities within the framework of multiculturalism; and examination of the challenges and obstacles to their integration; (ii) working of exclusion and discrimination through critical analyses of public policies related to education, funding, employment and workplace norms; and importantly, practices and norms of denial and restriction to spaces of civic and political participation and representation to the Sikhs and the Muslims; (iii) strategies of mobilization and building of pressure to promote their interests and identity in public spaces; (iv) reasons for the failure of Muslim community to successfully mobilize and build pressure for its political recognition and representation; an analysis of the various laws and practices that work to exclude them and further to marginalise and stigmatise

them; (v) in comparison, the relative success of the Sikhs to utilize the political process to successfully bid for representation at federal level.

1.5 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- How has integration worked for Sikh and Muslim communities within the framework of multiculturalism?

- What are the challenges to integration of both the communities in the Canadian multicultural society?

- How is the Sikh community organized to promote their interest and identity and, register the demand and protest?

- What are the reasons and failures of Muslim community to organise for protecting their identity and interest?

- How have various Canadian laws and practices excluded both the communities and further marginalised and stigmatised them?

- How Sikh community is able to utilize the political process at federal level to promote their cause that has been beneficial?

- How far the post 9/11 legislations affected the interest of Sikh and Muslim communities in the context of liberty v/s security discourse?

1.6 HYPOTHESES

The available literature fairly establishes that multiculturalism is in crisis both in theory and practice because of its inability to deal satisfactorily with religious diversity almost everywhere. Secondly, the available literature on Canada establishes, again, fairly that Sikhs have succeeded better than Muslims in their mobilisation strategies to gain political representation and access to power. The proposed thesis would dwell in depth with the available empirical studies on these two variables. In the background of these

two theoretical variables, the proposed study would develop and test the following two hypotheses:

- 9/11 has affected the degree of integration and discrimination differently among the Sikhs and Muslims communities under Canadian multiculturalism.

- The level of participation of Sikh and Muslim communities in Canadian federal politics has been influenced by post 9/11 enactments/legislations.

- The post-9/11 discourse on security vs. liberty limits the scope of group rights under multiculturalism for Sikh and Muslim Communities.

1.7 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The study would be largely based on analytical and comparative methods. A liberal-pluralist approach would support the study on Canadian multiculturalism and the two specified communities. State perception and policies/programmes towards religious minorities specifically in the context of the Sikhs and the Muslims would be comparatively examined. The 9/11 events would be treated as an independent variable in so far as it led to systemic discrimination and denial of access to economic resources and political representation.

The proposed work would be based on both primary and secondary sources of data available including reports and surveys carried out by Sikh and Muslim associations. The researcher has already conducted a questionnaire-based survey of approximately 100 respondents – both Sikhs and the Muslims – in Vancouver and neighbouring cities. Data thus collected and computed would be used to compare with the ones available in government reports and the scholarly criticisms on the limitations of Canadian multiculturalism. The eclectic approach would hopefully give better and deeper insights into understanding the aspects of integration and discrimination under Canadian multiculturalism for the two principal religious minorities specifically since the events of 9/11.

1.7 OUTLINE OF THE THESIS

The thesis is divided into six chapters. Apart from this introductory chapter, the thesis has four more chapters and conclusion. The second chapter analyses the concept of citizenship in general and citizenship of Canada in particular. This part explores the connection between the Citizenship and Multiculturalism. It also throws light on differentiated citizenship and how it differs from universal citizenship with special reference to two specified groups - Sikh and Muslims This part is attempt to find out where is the consensus possible between universal Citizenship and Multiculturalism in Canada. It also views the constitutional provisions related to group rights which multiculturalism purportedly favours.

The third Chapter critically examine and analyse the multiculturalism policy structure and its working institutions with changing dimensions at federal, provincial and municipal levels as well as province-wise, and their emphasis on the behaviour and living patterns of Sikh and Muslim minorities in Canada comparatively. Secondly this chapter focus on the issues and problems faced by both ethnic minority groups comparatively and what type of strategies they adopt to settle down these issues.

The fourth chapter focuses on the legislations which were passed and strictly enforced or imposed on specified groups, under national security considerations, aftermath 9/11 incidents. This Chapter comparatively views how these laws have affected the procedure and flow of immigration of Sikhs and Muslims as well as the lives of Muslim and Sikh communities living in Canada. This chapter also throws light on the measures adopted by Canadian Government to deal with security issues related to home-grown terrorism. On the other side, this part explores the misuses of powers like wrong profiling of Muslim innocents by Security forces under Anti- Terrorism Act 2001.

The fifth chapter examines how liberal democracy has assisted to make safeguards or deterrence for the participation of both Sikh and Muslim communities in Canadian political process. It also explores the various mobilization strategies that both communities have worked out to gain access to political representation and build pressure for fulfilling their community demands. The core of the chapter is to delineate

the levels of political integration and exclusion/ marginalization of the two communities.

The conclusion assesses the overall Canadian Multiculturalism and key issues of two specified ethnic minorities -Sikhs and Muslims, mainly aftermath of September 11 incidents.

CHAPTER 2
Citizenship and Multiculturalism

"Citizen and Citizenship are powerful words. They speak of respect, of rights, of dignity…we find no pejorative uses. It is a weighty, monumental, and humanist word" *(Fraser & Gordon 1994: 90).*

In this chapter, the objective was to provide the theoretical and conceptual basis to the analysis of Sikh and Muslim minorities in Canada.

2.1   Introduction

During the last two decades, the emergence of two topics has been prominent within debates in political philosophy; rights and status of ethno-cultural minorities in multiethnic and multicultural societies (the 'minority rights-multiculturalism' debate), and the virtues, practices, and responsibilities of democratic citizenship (the 'citizenship-civic virtue 'debate) (Kymlicka & Norman 2000). These two debates have developed independently from one another, with little discussion of their interconnections.

The aim of this chapter is to explore the connection and consensus between these two concepts. It also explores the emerging theories of ethno-cultural minorities' rights and multiculturalism that affect the long standing concept and practices of 'universal

citizenship', and emerging theories of citizenship affect the rights of ethno-cultural minorities. This chapter begins with a brief historical overview of the concept of citizenship. Second segment discusses three generations of rights within the framework of 'universal citizenship'. Third views to multicultural rights as a fourth generation. It attempts to find a consensual point where multiculturalism can be compatible to citizenship and vice-versa, particularly in Canada. Fourth is a deeper insight of two specified ethno-cultural as well as religious communities; Sikhs and Muslims as citizens and as new immigrants in multicultural Canada and their status, post 9/11. Final section summarizes the outcomes of the entire chapter.

The core argument of this segment is that 'universal citizenship' justifies only individual rights not collective rights in response to ethno-cultural minorities; ethno-cultural minorities do not have any group specific rights in Canada except of a limited accommodation or space provided on temporary basis to facilitate to integration process. It has seen that Canadian multiculturalism withdrawn its support from promoting multicultural heritage by shifting it towards the integration of ethnic minorities.

2.2   Concept of Citizenship

This section will highlight the historical developments of the concept of Citizenship and its dimensions. "Citizenship has often been perceived as a static ideal, a juridical relationship between a person and a nation state. The form of citizenship also known as legal citizenship, is the formal status of membership in a state, or nationality as it is understood in international law" (Macklin 2007: 334).

During the past decades, Citizenship have emerged as key topics of debates within social, political, economic and educational spheres. Under contemporary political and social conditions, Citizenship is no longer an automatic given but is something that is negotiated, debated and constructed.   The conception of Citizenship "as active membership of a 'Political Community' is thought to have originated in Greece between 700 and 600 BC (Pattie 2004). At that time, citizens were classified with regards to their wealth and status, which determined their influence on government affairs. Under the subsequent Roman Empire, citizenship was expanded to confer legal

status instead of just political status. This conceptualization enabled citizenship to extend beyond the city-state, enhancing integration within the empire" (Whiteley 2004). However, as the Roman Empire declined, the idea of citizenship had been fainting. The following, feudal system had failed to accommodate for such a conception and only fragments of the Roman and Greek conceptions of citizenship survived within particular social groups (Pattie & Whiteley 2004).

During the modern period, the most predominant perspective in western political thought has been the liberal theory. The advancement of political theory has been achieved through ongoing debates between liberal and socialist standpoints. The most modern political theoretical debates on 'citizenship' and rights under citizenship can be situated within a broad liberal tradition. Other traditions have been emerged from the critiques of liberal theory (Heywood, 1999). Though Liberal theory has some variations but it strongly supports to universal nature of citizenship.

Another view is that the concept of citizenship consists of two dimensions: the legal and the social. Former entails formal membership in a politically constituted community (Delanty 2000). A legal-political contract is established involving a transaction of mutual benefit to all parties, including reciprocal exchange of rights and duties that connects individuals with membership in the state. Individual citizens rely on the state to protect their rights and freedoms; in turn state expects certain duties, obligations and responsibilities from citizens. Latter incorporates a social dimension with respect to belonging and entitlements. Citizenship as belonging can be assigned in several ways:

(1) by blood or genealogy: citizenship is restricted to those who share common descent

(2) by soil or territory: citizenship is open to all who were currently live on certain territory.

(3) by ideology: citizenship is offered to those who share values or a commitment to the rule of law so no one is excluded for reasons beyond their control.

(4) By colonialism: citizenship is open to all members of a former empire. (Castles and Miller 2003).

Common to each of these citizenship regimes is the primacy of 'universality' as a basis

for belonging and entitlement. Therefore, the universal citizenship can be defined as one that treats all citizens the same since everyone is thought to belong in the same way. Each citizen is entitled to the same benefits and rights- and stands in the same relation to the state- regardless of race or ethnicity. Entitlements because of difference are ignored under a universal citizenship. A universal citizenship also rejects any type of entitlement rooted in collective or group rights as contrary to the principle of individual equality before the law.

However, enlightened for its times, the concept of citizenship has come under attack (Harty and Murphy 2005). The trend of migration in the era of globalization put together to multiple identities, consequently the idea of universal citizenship come across as increasingly antiquated and counterproductive, although some would argue that increased diversification intensifies its relevance and importance (Kymlicka 2003). Yvonne Hebert and Alan Sears argue in their report, "Citizenship Education", contemporary citizenship involves a more dynamic dimension in a democratic state – thus reinforcing the need to rethink the concept of citizenship:

> Citizenship is a transformation, its meaning is expanding, and Interest in the subject is exploding. Citizenship has moved from being closed to being opened, from exclusion to inclusion. Once having had a unitary meaning, citizenship is now diffuse, multiple, and ever-shifting. Originally defined clearly by geographical borders and a common history, citizenship is increasingly in question…the transformation of citizenship is important, for it concerns who we are, how we live together, and what kind of people our children are to become (Hebert and Wilkinson 2002).

Responses differ over the transformational crisis that is challenging the concept of Citizenship in Canada. Canada is more likely to other western democracies is practicing and justifying the universal concept of citizenship. Universal citizenship, everyone has same rights, entitlements, and obligations regardless of their differences. Universal citizenship provides identical rights and freedoms with logic of identical justice that is supported by liberalism and, somehow conservatism specifically by right wing ideologies, while social and communitarian upholding 'group differentiated citizenship' provides and protects the groups or community rights with logic of distributive justice.

Universal citizenship enables the communities (different identities) to achieve membership of the state but it has not provided equality of democratic citizenship. It left many structures of discrimination untouched within polity. It is at the level of state that demands homogeneous public. It gives/ mandates identical treatment to all as a member of state. Collectively these three elements have resulted marginalized of some communities within the nation state (Mahajan 2002).

Under the concept of 'universal citizenship', it is argued that ethnic minorities are being marginalized due to domination of majority culture over the state and its institutions. However, distinct culture of minorities can be only recognized under a new developed concept of 'differentiated citizenship' that is strongly justified in most of the theories of multiculturalism. Ideal of differentiated citizenship is to stand with disadvantaged and marginalized groups, not with small numbers. Like Canadian francophone community is economically very sound and constitutes a majority within Quebec province, but constantly claiming for special status. Can they demand for special claims as a minority as whole under differentiated citizenship? Can it be a justification to the claims of those minorities who are marginalized and disadvantaged (Ibid). These two questions have been major part of the debates on citizenship.

"As liberal societies tend to espouse universal values and emphasize the importance of personal autonomy and freedom of choice, they are often seen to weaken cultural bonds and identities" (Haywood 2011;182). Post second world war, ethnic and religious based conflicts and movements in Europe and North America have questioned the centuries old 'concept of citizenship'. 'Universal Declaration Human Rights' (UDHR) is challenged by thinkers of minority rights and feminists.

Later work of Fukuyama (2000) "End of History" which pronounced that the collapse of communism and end of cold war which appeared to be herald the universalization of western style liberal democracy. Moreover, the same period also witnessed early signs that universalist liberalism was under pressure, both in its western homeland and beyond. Increasingly in western society, the growing backlash against liberal values took the form of growing support for social conservatism[1] calling for strengthening of

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[1] Social conservatism is the belief that societies should be based on a bedrock of shared values and a common culture, providing a necessary social 'cement'.

traditional values often in religion. End of the cold war, later 9/11 episode resulted 'war on terror', has altered the thinking about global order which appears to be increasingly shaped by new forces, especially those related to identity and culture. Some even argue that "culture has replaced the ideology as a key organized principle of global politics, reflected in the increasing significance in the world affairs of factors such as ethnicity, history, values and religion" (Haywood 2011; 181).

2.3   Theories of Citizenship

This segment highlights the three developments in the theory of citizenship and chronologically discusses four phases of citizenship rights.

In political terms, citizenship revolves around three main notions; liberalism, communitarianism and multiculturalism. Liberalism as a dominant political   theory strongly emphasizes the freedom of Individuals. Within liberalism, legal and political rights are prioritized and balanced by few obligations, particularly the obligation on citizens to obey laws. The relationship between these rights and obligations is a contractual and reciprocal one (Janoski & Gran 2002). Liberalism concentrates on individuals' choice of freedom that guaranteed and protected by universal citizenship. It justifies that all individuals are similar and common biological and natural features, for the reason they all are covered under the universal citizenship. Some positive restrictions are determined in terms of protecting the freedom of individuals.

Liberal theory of citizenship is extended and further justified by liberal political philosopher John Rawls through his theory of justice as fairness. Rawls presents a framework that explains the significance of political and personal liberties, equal opportunities and cooperative arrangements which are beneficial to the less advantaged individuals of the society (Garrett 2005). Apart from many liberal counterparts, Rawls aims to explore the rights of free and equal individuals. Rawls seeks to achieve this by associating justice with the idea of fairness. Rawls postulates that when co-operation between individuals is fair, justice can then be insured. In this sense Rawls approach represents a shift in the liberal focus from private (individualistic) to public (social). Rawls argues that such conditions will enable individuals to develop a framework of political justice and consequently construct a society of free and equal individuals (Pocock 1998).

Another theoretical standpoint is the social democratic version of citizenship. According to Marshall, "citizenship has an 'official' legal status associated with full membership of a community. Within this conception, citizens have the right to have rights and all citizens are equal with respect to their rights and duties" (Hogan, 1997 pp). Marshall's theory of social citizenship counters the capitalist class system and supports for reducing the social inequalities. Marshall states, "citizenship has itself become in certain respects the architect of legitimate social inequality" (Marshall and Bottomore cited in Heater 2004:114).

However, another school of thought developed in contrast to liberalism is communitarianism. It emphasises community goals which can be achieved through mutual support and group action, and through participation and integration. It also emphasises community obligations that are necessary conditions to preserve the rights of individual. (Janoski and Gran 2002). Rousseau begins from this standpoint that men are naturally unequal. In *Social Contract* (1762), Rousseau suggests that "the process begins with each person yielding his or her natural rights to the community. These are then exchanged for civil rights, which enable individuals to become citizens of the state" (Reese, 1980). The communitarianism perspective provides the central position to community. Formulation of values and order within the community are favoured above the formulation of such aspects on an individual level. Slightly different from some Liberal communitarians highlights the importance of cultural identity as opposed to individual rights. This idea is clearly expressed in the work of Charles Taylor (2002) who made analysis of citizenship issues within liberal communitarian debate.

Moreover, developments of 'concept of citizenship' and 'citizenship discourse' revolves around the notion of three generations of rights. Ideological developments in this regard enhanced the dimensions of 'citizenship rights'. T.H Marshall (1973) conceptualised a wider citizenship as a series of historical-logical developments, each necessary to later stages, by which legal rights such as habeas corpus were gradually extended to rights of political participation and later social rights such a rights to receive health care and education. These developments have a long process of centuries involved a history of political struggles. It has been argued that "through egalitarian

movements such as the politics of difference is seen in emergence of demands for cultural rights or multicultural rights" (Roche 1992 cited in Modood 2013: 116)

2.3.1 Notion of three Generations of rights

Marshall (1973) explores "three elements having independent histories and institutional bases which could be traced back to the eighteenth Century when civic rights were acquired, through to the nineteenth Century in which Political rights were acquired, through to the twentieth Century which marked the acquisition of social and economic rights (Heater 2004). Marshall postulates the accumulative chronological pathway of rights acquisition in which citizenship as a concept has evolved (Delanty 2000).

The dimension of rights is also a central part of the United Nations Declaration of Human rights: here, no sharp distinction is drawn between civil rights such as freedom from coercion and assault, political rights such as a right to vote and to political participation, rights to health, education and welfare Civil and Political rights alone were central to the status of citizenship. Some argued that civil and political citizenship could not be attained despite the inequalities in social and economic status in nation-states. The idea of a right to welfare and to resources is a fundamental challenge to the idea that citizenship is only a civil and political status, and to capitalist idea that a person's status in economic and social terms is to be determined by the market. The idea of rights to welfare and resources links with the idea of social justice and demands direct involvement of state and its institutions (Franklin 1998).

2.3.2 Differentiated Citizenship and Multiculturalism

The latter half of twentieth century witnessed developments in the path of rights of citizens noted as a fourth stage of rights as cultural rights specifically multicultural rights. Many called it multicultural citizenship that emphasizes on the rights of minorities whether they are national or ethnic. Some argues that liberal ideal through universal citizenship serves only the interest of dominant community and leaves others to be excluded and subordinated despite the fact that they have equal citizenship status (Young 1989,1990).

According to Young (1989) there is a need for group rights that will enable the

marginalized and minority groups to uphold their autonomy in the face of dominant groups. The citizenship ideal here is one which accommodates and respects the diverse ethno-cultural identities of individuals enabling the formation of group differentiated citizenship. In liberal democracy, all citizens are equal before and under the law, how come certain groups remain unequal across time and generations. Group inequality and denial of access to resources and representation to certain groups on grounds of ethnicity, race, religion or gender is a challenge before liberal democracy and democratic theory.

Taylor (2002) argues that the struggles for recognition in the nation-states were, in a first moment about equal access to citizenship by bringing excluded minority groups in it. Many liberal theorists believe that the universal rights accorded through citizenship safeguards to cultural membership of individuals; theorists within this school of thought envisage the need for additional rights for vulnerable minority groups in order to sustain their culture identity amidst the dominant culture (Kymlicka 1995). Within this perspective, there are two general versions that reflect different conceptualizations of the relationship between multicultural citizenship (differentiate citizenship) and universal citizenship. On the one hand, feminists and post-marxists perceive a critical and antagonistic relationship between both concepts; they clearly see to both as opposites of each other. In this view, universal citizenship facilitates the prevalence of oppression whilst multicultural citizenship allows for marginalized voices to be heard. At the centre of the feminist contribution to the multicultural citizenship debate is the theme of 'oppression' (Janoski and Gran, 2002).

According to Young (1989, 1990), society is formed of different groups which are either dominant or oppressed. Group differentiated citizenship denounce the universal rights, and have the provisions of special rights for oppressed groups On the other hand, this notion of 'oppression' is hardly featured in Kymlicka's liberal version of multicultural citizenship. Within this viewpoint the notion of universal rights is still an acceptable one. Kymlicka (1995) defends the establishment of group differentiated rights for particular minority cultures in addition to the universal rights bestowed upon all. The central concept here is 'societal culture' which national minorities constitutes in Canada. Within a culturally plural society, this evokes issues of equality and justice which can only be confronted through the according of special rights to aid in the

recognition and protection of minority cultures.

Unlike many other post-war liberals, Kymlicka (1995) argues that universal human rights cannot replace or subsume minority group rights, as these are unable to adequately confront important questions relating to cultural minority groups. This ultimately results in cultural minorities being left vulnerable to injustice at the hands of the dominant group, thus aggravating ethno-cultural conflicts. It is for this reason that Kymlicka advocates for supplementing traditional human rights with special minority rights in order to minimize or avoid altogether such disputes, which too often result in bloodshed and loss of lives.

In fact, Kymlicka demonstrates that many of the demands of such groups correspond with liberal principles of social justice and freedom. Whilst the allocation of minority group rights to particular groups, may seem discriminatory, he argues that it does in fact correspond with the liberal principle of equality. Instead of giving these groups an unfair advantage, these rights are seen to compensate for the experienced of disadvantage existing within multinational societies.

Within Multicultural citizenship, minorities are differentiated from others on the ground that they are marginalized and discriminated against. This requires not only special consideration for marginalized minorities but also special rights for them. Special rights enable them to maintain their resistance pressures coming from the hegemony of majority and to preserve their cultures. Special rights for marginalized minority communities are located and defended within the framework of differentiated citizenship. Apart from universal citizenship, this is considered a need and true justification for ensuring equal citizenship.

Differentiated citizenship generally implies that people should be included not merely as citizens but also as members of diverse communities. These diverse communities should be brought into state by extending special category of rights to them. Fourth notion of citizenship and rights secures within the framework of group-differentiated citizenship. Under the concept of universal, equality is commonly associated with identical and uniform treatment with all the citizens. From the times of Aristotle it connects with the idea that 'like a should be treated alike'. However, Aristotle believed

that men were by nature different. They needed to to be treated differently. He made a difference between masters, slaves, children and parents, and assigned different the duties and obligations to them (Mahajan 2002).

In logic of Multiculturalism, a main problem with the idea of universal citizenship is that it speaks only one membership that is of the state, rejects all other belongings, affiliations and loyalties. Consequently, it makes no attempt to recognize and accommodate the latter. Individuals only recognized as a citizen and member of the state within this. It gives no value to cultural ties and shared experiences. In this model of citizenship, value of particular cultural communities remains largely unattended and discrimination at various levels remain untouched (Carens 2000). Their points of view and perspectives get gradually silenced and excluded from the 'common culture of the state' (Kymlicka and Norman 1994).

To consonant with differentiated citizenship, multiculturalism includes the people of all cultures and communities as equals within nation-state because it advocates a heterogeneous public culture instead of homogeneous society. It includes multiple identities of individuals as a member of cultural communities. Moreover, concept of differentiated citizenship few named it multicultural citizenship that identifies individuals both as a members of political community as well as members of cultural community.

Within the framework of this multicultural citizenship, collective rights are given to the communities; they can continue their cultural practices and maintain their cultural heritage in public and private domain. Collective rights are needed to protect the community from exclusion and being marginalized. Collective rights provide a space in a kind of easy accommodation with the mainstream culture. Absence of these collective rights or cultural rights can create havoc in the lives of the individuals and leave them very vulnerable and marginalized. In other words, Multiculturalism has a concern with the welfare of the marginalized and suppressed communities. It provides such a space to minorities communities in which individuals can live a life of dignity (Mahajan 2002).

In addition, the concept of differentiated citizenship is often justified on the grounds of

enhancing democratic citizenship and fair treatment for all, including all the people of groups into polity. It supports some special rights as an addition above the basic rights. It allows minorities to protect their culture and enables them to resist to assimilation pressure coming from dominant communities within the wider society and polity. Within polity and society, it provides the secure platform to enhancing and preserving cultural diversity.

Poly-ethnic Rights

Poly-ethnic rights or sometimes called cultural rights are often demanded by ethnic minorities in western democracies. Demands of ethnic groups have expanded in important directions. It became clear that positive steps were required to root out the discrimination and prejudices against 'visible minorities' (Kymlicka 1995). For this Anti-racism policies are considered part of the multiculturalism policy particularly in Canada and Australia. Some changes to the education curriculum to recognize the history and contribution of minorities.

However, these policies are primarily directed at ensuring the effective practice of common rights of citizenship, and so do not really qualify as group differentiated citizenship rights. Some ethnic minorities demanded various forms of public funding for their cultural practices. Some people defended this funding as a way of ensuring that ethnic groups are not discriminated against state funding to art and culture. Some demands the provision for immigrant language education in schools. Sikhs in Canada and Britain sought exemptions from laws prescribing wearing helmets by motorcycle riders, miners and polices personnel on the plea that they restrict minority practices (Ibid). Sikhs community in Canada demanded the exemptions to wear religious symbols like *Kirpan* and Turban at schools, workplaces, parliament house as well as acquiring public offices. Muslims have sought exemptions from Sunday closing and school dress codes; they demanded freedom to wear *hijab* or *chador or* headscarf in schools. Recently Muslims women sought exemptions from not allowing to wear *burqa* at citizenship oath ceremony in Canada. They argued that these laws violate the cultural and religious practices of community. They sought exemptions to rectify the existing modes of culture based discrimination (Mahajan 2002).

However, poly-ethnic rights are provided in the kind of exemptions. Exemptions are

desired to correct the bias of majority in existing laws and to provide a space for minorities where they can live by their culturally distinct way of life. Exemptions are, in this sense, a double-edged weapon. On the one hand, they correct the biases that emanate from the cultural orientation of nation-state, and on the other, they provide equal opportunity to minorities to live in accordance with their own cultural and religious practices. Thus, exemptions have been demanded, and often granted, for the objective of minimizing majoritarian cultural biases, incorporating group differences into public domain and giving minorities an opportunity to continue their customary religious practices. But, these exemptions can not be easily achieved; this needs a strong struggle by concerning minority groups to settling their claims. Minorities have had to mobilize themselves and struggle for each of these exemptions.

However, today there are a number of exemptions that have been granted to minorities in each state. Exemptions have been granted to minorities so that their religious and cultural norms related to worship, promotion ceremonies, dress codes, food habits and religious symbols, etc., can be accommodated in public arena. For instance, some special provisions have been made to allow Sikhs to wear their turban, Muslim girls to wear chador to school and Asian people to wear their traditional dress to their workplace. The list of claims for exemption and granted exemptions is continuously increasing in western liberal democracies. Exemptions granting varies to communities; these are granted through the calculation of their contribution and view of history. Exemptions also have been given on variety of issues. In most of cases, these have been a product of political negotiations. Sometimes these are granted through the constant struggle. But there is no one rule that is applied to consider the minority claims while it depends on the necessity to solve the issue and any political benefits like to achieve ethnic votes. It also varies community to community and issue to issue (ibid).

Consequently, these exemptions or poly-ethnic rights are intended to help ethno-cultural groups and religious minorities express their cultural particularity and pride without it hampering their success in the economic and political institutions of dominant society. Unlike the two other categories of rights: self- government rights and special representation rights, Poly-ethnic rights are usually intended to promote integration into larger society (Kymlicka 2000).

2.4 Discourses on Citizenship and Multiculturalism

Enters the debate on differentiated citizenship that largely circles around the issues of the rights of minority communities. Responds to this, theories of multiculturalism have welcomed this debate and tried to justify the shift from individual rights to collective or group rights (Mahajan 2002). Citizenship is 'an inherently group differentiated notion' while liberal countries do not open the door to all (Kymlicka 1995). They control their immigration procedure as a manner to restrict the number of applications of immigration seekers; they refuse the right of people to enter their country and participate in the affairs of state on the basis that they are not born in that country. With the logic, Most Liberal countries restrict the citizenship to people born in specific territory. They design their immigration policies to bring those people who can easily conform with their polity and larger society. Even they make the laws and domestic policies favourable in their cultural conformity. Once people get the universal membership of state as citizens, they all are entitled to the same rights and treatment by their existing laws; these laws do not represent ethnic minorities in terms of their cultural and religious distinction as well.

However, the notion of differentiated citizenship challenges these treatments. It argues in support of different treatment for different type of citizens within the nation-state (Mahajan 2002). Coherently multiculturalism concentrates on discrimination that takes place through state policies. State policies often support the cultural of majority to be subordinated the other minorities' culture while multiculturalism addresses the issues related to this discrimination. Some communities remain vulnerable in spite their good economic status; they could remain marginalized while they are economically prosperous and well educated as well. Consequently, their good education and improved economic status is not enough to overcome the issues related to their cultural subordination within the nation-state. Therefore, cultural identity is viewed in crucial condition rather than economic status. Group differentiated citizenship provides a suitable space to construct, protect and retain their cultural identity by which they can enjoy their life with dignity as per their cultural norms.

Debate on citizenship warmly started few decades back when political theorists and other academics turned their attention towards to it. Taylor (1994) holds the view that

the struggles for 'recognition' in the modern state are about access to equal citizenship. Groups excluded from citizenship, or discriminated against in terms of 'rights of citizenship', demand to be included. This argument applies to ethnic and national groups, as well as to other kinds of marginalized identities like women. Taylor calls this "the politics of equal dignity". Besides being recognized as holders of the same rights, the members of different cultural communities want to be recognized in their specificity and to see the collective ends of their communities protected by differentiated rights.

Kymlicka (1995) accepts human rights and equal rights of citizenship for all, but he adds other rights – namely multicultural rights – are needed in order to protect the societal culture of minorities, whether they are national or ethnic. He enters into details by pointing out different kinds of multicultural rights – self-government rights, poly-ethnic rights, special representation rights – and establishing that not all those rights, or kinds of rights, are required to protect all kinds of cultural minorities.

Unlike Taylor, Kymlicka details to deal with the difficulties that arise at the sociological and practical level." He observes that "some of the demands of cultural groups enter in conflict with the baseline of equality defined by general and universal fundamental rights or human rights." He adds that anti- multiculturalists always bring into discussion some multiculturalists demand that are difficult to accept, such as female genital mutilation and arranged marriages. So, he has drawn the line between 'good' multicultural rights and 'bad' multicultural rights. To do that, he distinguishes between 'external protections' and 'internal restrictions'. Multicultural rights are always protections against external pressures coming from the majority's culture, against the minorities. As 'external protections', multicultural rights allow the minorities to maintain their societal culture by protecting the changes in context of choice of their members.

However, multicultural rights, in the sense of Kymlicka (1995;38), "should not be 'internal restrictions' to the fundamental rights and freedoms of minority cultures; and further, multicultural rights should be added to human rights, but without endangering the latter." This situation is possible by adopting group differentiated citizenship. Universal citizenship provides equality to its members before law but advocates the

voices of majority. Citizenship rights and criteria to attain and loss to the citizenship are being set in the consideration of the majority by neglecting minority groups. Universal citizenship gives common idea for every member of the state while it stigmatized some groups to be marginalized. Common set of citizenship values imposed on less advantaged further marginalizes them. Universal citizenship creates inequality. it treats equal with unequal members (minority groups or weaker sections) in the society, consequently some groups rest away from equality.

Another debate on 'citizenship' is a 'Multinational Citizenship' within the contemporary citizenship debate. Some claims that a multinational citizenship enables national minorities not to immigrants (ethnic minorities) to establishment of a sub-state citizen community with the freedom to elect political representatives and with the autonomy to make decisions without interference from external authorities. It enables those who are national minorities through appropriate institutional designs to incorporate the equal consideration of national identities. This would accord greater autonomy to national minorities whilst safeguarding the political and territorial elements of citizenship and fulfilling the traditional demands of the state (Harty and Murphy 2005). In case of ethnic minorities in Canada, they do not have claim for 'national minority status' because they are considered as 'de-territorialized' and lack of 'societal culture'. Ethnic minorities can not be brought under this debate still. But if some ethnic minorities build their 'distinct' societal culture at any stage then the possibility remains to eligible to make their claims for national minority status (Kymlicka 1995).

In Canada, about 85 percent of immigrants take the oath of citizenship (Kymlicka 2003). Canadian citizenship entitles its bearer not only to rights and privileges, but also to membership of Canada as a nation-state. Until the citizenship Act of 1947, citizenship was not existed apart from a Commonwealth context. Under this, Canadians were defined as British subjects with the obligations to conduct themselves in a manner that reflected the identity of Britain. Since Citizenship Act passed, Canadians were no longer remained as direct British subject. With the Citizenship Act, a new kind of belonging came into existence according to the ground realities of Canada rather than United Kingdom.

The aim of citizenship was to integrate all Canadians in the hope of coherent community. Universal nature of citizenship committed to embrace all Canadians equally. But growing population diversity due to liberalize immigration policies enhanced the scope of citizenship, thus citizenship act conferred the inclusion to all citizens regardless of who they were or where they were from. The Act also redefined what it meant to be a Canadian, secured the right to full and equal participation for all Canadian citizens, and specified a citizen's commitment and obligations to Canada (Fleras 2010).

In addition, Citizenship confers rights and freedoms to individuals that include equality rights, democratic rights, legal rights, mobility rights, language rights, a right of return to Canada from overseas travel, freedom of religion, freedom of expression, and freedom of assembly and association. In return, Canadian citizens are obliged to obey Canadian laws, participate in the democratic process, respect the rights and freedoms of other, and recognize Canadian's linguistic duality and multicultural heritage (ibid 2010).

A universal citizenship can be defined as such that all citizens treated in the same way. Each citizen is entitled to the same benefit, rights and same relation to the state regardless of their race or ethnicity. Entitlements because of difference are ignored under the concept of universal citizenship. Universal citizenship also rejects any type of entitlement rooted in collective or group rights as contrary to the principal of individual equality before the law. Promotion of group differences on racial or ethnic grounds can only undermine bonds of loyalty, unity, and identity. For these reasons the concept of universal citizenship has come under attack (Harty and Murphy 2005). Frameworks that may have worked in the past have faced difficulty in addressing the highly politicized and collective claims of national minorities and ethnic minorities as well. In a world of migration and of multiple identities, the idea of a universal citizenship comes across as increasingly old-fashion and counterproductive (Kymlicka 2003).

Facing challenges from difference, the concept of citizenship in Canada is seeking to balance particularistic entitlements and belonging with the framework of universal citizenship rights. Debates over the recognition of differences and special treatment for

the historically disadvantaged reached at levels still where it is temporary recognition, specific to the problem, and based on need rather than race or ethnic grounds. For others, unitary citizenship no longer resonates with relevance within the context of Canada's highly diverse society (Wilkinson 2004).

In the same vein, entitlements under a "universal" citizenship often fail certain marginalized minorities because they privilege formal equality rights (equal treatment) over substantive equity rights (treatment as equals) thus ranking all individuals as similar for political or economic purposes regardless of their circumstances or commitments (Schouls 1997 cited in Fleras 2010). Those demands more inclusive citizenship that incorporates both the universal and differentiated (Kymlicka 1995).

Within discourses on citizenship and multiculturalism, it has been an attempt to find answers of some questions;

- How do societies that are long accustomed to the virtues of homogeneity create a citizenship in which differences are taken seriously without sacrificing equality before the law?

- Should Canada's citizenship be customized to reflect its deep differences, or will this differentiation run the risk of rupturing national unity? Should citizenship rights be restricted to individual citizens only, or be extended to include politically/culturally defined groups?

- Can a dual-type citizenship be established that incorporate different identities without fostering confusion or dividing loyalties (Kent 2008)?

- Is it possible to create a citizenship in response to global transnational communities and diasporic migrants (Harty and Murphy 2005)? Or is Canada destined to become a space of travelling cultures and people with varying degrees of attachment and commitment (Sandercock 2003) - a restaurant of convenience in which people come and go as they please without obligations or duty (Kent 2008)?

On one side is the need to define and differentiate citizenship rights that reflects group specific experiences and collective aspirations without preventing belonging to Canada. On the other side is an equally important imperative involving the universal rights of all individuals to equal participation. Over this, responses are mixed; some supporting to one side and some are other side, and some others are struggling for a compromise. This paradox is brought under debate over the politics of citizenship. Proponents of a universal citizenship stand with the advocates of differentiated citizenship in defining a preferred style for belonging in Canada.

Some liberal thinkers argue that if citizenship splits people into 'this' and 'that' thus it is impossible to fulfil its basic function of creating shared loyalty, common identity, patriotic commitment, and those unifying symbols for bonding and citizens into a single framework. Without the shared values of a universal citizenship for bonding and bridging, the danger is that society can split into a number of fractured pieces. Moreover, according to them, differentiated citizenship is deemed as un-canadian for three reasons; firstly, some individuals are treated more equally than others, secondly special rights are elevated over individual rights, and thirdly the legitimacy of the political community at large is compromised.

However, for others, it is unfair and unjustifiable to live longer in a society that can be defined in terms of singularity in terms of one nation, one identity, one culture and one belonging (Wilkinson 2004). Each person belongs to different groups and defining themselves in terms of these multiple affiliations. Young (1990) has argued, a universal conception of citizenship is unfair when applied to unequal contexts; treating all citizens regardless of race, class, or gender - as disembodied individuals in the abstract rather than as disadvantaged minorities. In this context, the new emergence of inclusive citizenship model that incorporates the differentiated entitlements of aboriginal peoples, national communities, and ethnic minorities (Harty and Murphy 2005).

According to this, both aboriginal peoples and minority nations like the Quebecois have different group-specific needs, aspirations, status and experience; as a result, citizenship entitlements must be customized accordingly. Similarly, those immigrants and descendants of immigrants who have been historically disadvantaged because of their differences may also require a different set of entitlements to ensure full

citizenship rights. Finally, the emergent realities of globalization with increased mobility and new communication technologies may define yet another pattern of entitlement and belonging.

2.5 Citizenship in Canada: Sikhs and Muslims

Citizenship provides equal status to ethnic minorities to fully express themselves in Canadian life and preserve their traditions and ethnic belongings by making balance with Canadian way of life. In theory as well as practice, above mentioned special multicultural rights simply are not provided to ethnic minorities, these are for national minorities. Immigrants in Canada especially in case of Sikh and Muslim communities, are not provided any special rights whether they constitute 'visible minority' community in Canada; they can not claim for special rights or group rights (cultural and religious rights) because of having their 'distinct identity'. The idea of not giving special status to ethnic minorities is strongly advocated by leading political and social thinkers of multiculturalism. Historically, specified ethnic minorities were excluded even from equal rights under citizenship (Mahajan 2002). They asserted, protested and fought legal battles against racial, cultural and religious discrimination. In case of Sikhs, their migration is century old, since then they started asserting to transplant or construct their identity on Canadian soil. During early twentieth century, working conditions, social and political environment was not suitable to them. To make it adequate, Sikhs went to courts and won the cases in regard to establish their own identity.

They built first *Gurudwara* in Vancouver and started practicing some cultural and religious simultaneously. Until today even after close to five decades of introducing the multiculturalism policy in Canada, Sikh continues their resistance to 'Canadian existing laws' about dress code in military and police forces, and other public offices. They won the legal battle to some extent, they allowed to join in wearing turban in RCMP and some such positions. Another issues were about wearing religious symbols that was also resolved many parts of Canada. Irrespective of this, many work places 'hard hat' over the turban matter is not still resolved. The issue of recognition of Punjabi language and making it compulsory at the school level where the Sikh having considerable number of population, is still hanging.

To resolving these issues, Sikhs were being united and worked at ground level to aggregate and articulate their demands and claims. Community tried lobbying federal and provincial governments through active participation in Canadian politics; many have occupied prestigious political positions that facilitated to the extent to resolve ethnic, race-based and religious issues.

On the other hand, Community established numerous civil society associations, affiliations with political parties and pressure groups, separated media and did literary activities along with that together brought the Sikh issues on forefront. Many Sikh community associations have international nature that assist in building a strong public opinion and to putting pressure from rest of the world and from 'home territory' as well. Being homogeneous community migrated from same roots in the state Punjab (India), they are well organized in compare to other ethnic minorities in Canada. Whereas Sikh community sometimes tried to leverage their home state 'India' for settling their issues in Canada either through diplomatic means or direct intervention of Indian Government. Sikh community established religious and cultural community research study centers and own schools to teach their children for having strong attachment with their ancestral culture and religion as well as Punjabi language and history. Cultural practices and, other religious and social celebrations they are organizing and performing (Nayar 2008).

Whenever and whereas the state or mainstream or any other group object, then they assert and protest to retention of their distinct cultural identity against those forces. They adhere the strategy to do dialogue, negotiations and mediations, and sometimes tried to do compromise with Canadian state of law. Consequently, Sikh community in Canada has only some accommodations in society and some exemptions from state laws but these are on *adhoc* basis for the facilitation of enhancing the level of integration. In fact, they do not have any legal group right. Canadian citizenship provides them only individual rights within the framework of western values. Under this, only few multicultural adjustments made above the individual rights for selected communities for approaching to the end of integration.

While in case of Muslim ethnic minorities, their population is heterogeneous in nature and came from diverse areas of different countries, and thus are not well organized.

They have only one thing same that is religious affiliation to Islam. Otherwise there is strong diversity within the community, language, cultural traditions and customs, no common history and ethnicity. This is one of the prominent reasons that they were not well politically and socially organized and have not succeeded to get the state interest in favour of their community. Strategically they have been unsuccessful to lobby and convince the state. Their civil society associations are divided on distinct geographical guidelines from where they migrated.

Mostly their associations are on the name of their home countries. Their associations are working differently and also divided in Canada politically and geographically. They are not succeeded to come together on a platform on any community issue. They are asserting differently sometimes on a same issue. In comparison to others, their integration level is low with the larger society and polity, even mainstream too is not recognizing and accommodating them as a part of wider society.

After 9/11, Canadian situation became serious in regard to Muslims. As earlier they all are tagged with passiveness and orthodoxy but after 9/11, they are more targeted and stigmatized (Kazimpuri 2014). Consequently, they are more becoming segregated. In the aftermath, few strict security laws directly challenged the whole community. They were tagged with terrorism and hate in mainstreams was started against Muslims, they considered as danger to the country's peace and harmony. Their liberty checked and limited by enacting and enforcing new legislations. Muslim community was being understood as a challenge to national security. Their multicultural rights again have gone back. Some liberal second generational Muslim youngsters were who understood himself being Canadian were also gone back to religion and community as they were targeted by stereotypes and *islamophobia* from mainstreams. They were considered second class Citizens despite of equal citizens under the same law. Security laws put the dominance over their multicultural rights and equal citizenship rights (Ibid).

Consequently, like the Sikhs, Muslims have some accommodations and relaxations from existing laws in Canada, not rights. Muslims situation went worse than provided accommodations after 9/11 events. They were victimized by anger and hate waves coming from larger society in daily lives; their equal individual rights under Citizenship

were also challenged. They were treated as second class citizens.

2.5.1 Citizenship and New Immigrants

Canadian Charter of rights and freedoms protects the rights and freedoms of Canadian citizens and non-citizens who are new immigrants and did not receive citizenship. It also covers the rights of those who wants to be citizen and those who are in process of acquiring citizenship, and those who are not willing to get citizenship. Specifically, multicultural rights are mentioned in the charter.

Some argues that ethnic minorities in Canada have no specific constitutional identity as a religious minority. Ethnic minorities are protected by general rights to freedom of religion and the right not to suffer discrimination on the basis of religion in Sections 2 and 15 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms and from Section 27 of the Charter which provides that the Charter should be interpreted "in a manner consistent with the preservation and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canadians" (CIC 2000).

The federal act provides vague commitments to multiculturalism, but does not establish enforceable rights or concrete institutional structures that involve minority communities in Canada (Moghisi 2009). Charter enlists and guarantees the rights of citizens in the wake of prevailing the Canadian laws. Charter of rights and freedoms strengthens to the Citizens to have equality before law and enjoy equal rights and freedoms in larger society irrespective of any discrimination on any basis of race, ethnicity, colour, religion and region.

These enactments faced strong protest from ethnic minorities. Conservatives enacted it to polarize the white mainstream vote in wake of federal elections. On the other hand, it has been a prime agenda of other political parties to dissolve this Act if come into power, in interest of securing ethnic votes. Besides, this act has challenged in federal court on the basis of discriminatory grounds against immigrants (The Global & Mail 2015)

New immigrants whose status is permanent residents but still not citizens, cannot claim

for political rights (voting rights). They have to spent four years without any political status. Until or unless they get the citizenship, they can not cast votes. Lack of political participation tends to their awareness and mobilization go down. Consequently, their integration level too remains slow. They remain separate from polity for long period. Besides, Lack of political status, they are being discriminated socially as well as economically. They cannot easily get the well unionized jobs and somewhere equal pay like others - temporary workers and overseas students are doing.

Canadian nationality law determines the eligibility to be a citizen of Canada which subjected to change with course of time. Citizenship is obtained by birth in Canada, birth abroad when at least one parent is a Canadian citizen or by adoption by at least one Canadian citizen. Besides it is also granted to permanent resident who has lived Canada for a period of time. In case of immigrants of particular ethnic minorities or countries, new citizenship act affects them. Citizenship act amendments in 2015 (bill C-24) grants citizenship after four years' physical presence in Canada out of past six years with fair record. Till that rights of permanent residents or immigrants are protected by Canadian law or Canadian charters of rights and freedoms 1982. They hold many of the similar rights and obligations as a Canadian citizen except of political rights and some public offices.

New citizenship Act (Bill C-24) was being protested by ethnic minority groups and also challenged in federal court of Canada by calling it as anti-immigrant, anti democratic and unconstitutional. It has been burning among immigrants and among political parties during federal elections 2015. Liberal party and others set the agenda to abolish new citizenship Act after coming into power. Liberals and new democrats raised some issues of immigrants related to citizenship during election campaigns. All Canadian citizens have the same citizenship rights, no matter what their origins but this law has divided them into class of citizens-those who can lose their citizenship and those can't" says Josh Paterson, Executive Director of BCCLA (BC civil liberties association). Hence, this bill C-24 is criticized in terms of anti immigrants and anti democratic (Black 2015).

Moreover, debate on 'citizenship' is going on the crucial questions how citizenship is adequate in globalized world and how it is compatible with collective rights of ethnic minorities. What kind of citizenship protect the interests of ethno-cultural minorities?

Are they secured under universal citizenship or Are they justifiably required differentiated citizenship? These kinds of questions raised more than two decades back, but still seeking satisfactory answers. While nature of Canadian society is becoming more diverse in influence of neo-liberal policies. This constantly growing diversity creates challenges to universal nature of citizenship that entitles 'individual rights' in interest of majority and in accordance of their liberal values that do not suit to different cultural practices of many ethnic minorities. On the other hand, liberals think that cultural practices of 'visible minorities' are illiberal; those are not compatible with liberal values. Here, the question arise should Canadian state respond to illiberal cultural practices; by and large Muslims are seen as most likely to be culturally and religiously committed to illiberal practices after the 9/11. As a result, multiculturalism faced blames as it facilitates to the immigration of such ethnic minorities.

2.6 Post -9/11 situation

9/11 incident largely undermined the policies and progammes running under multiculturalism in Canada. Canada identified this as a national security threat from blacks and brown immigrants particularly coming from Arab and Asian countries. Multicultural practices are seen as threat in future to national security; they are supporting to such associations that are connected with international terrorist networks.

To curb this terrorist threat, Canada passed two strict laws, Anti Terrorist Act (C-36 - October 2001) and immigration refugee protection Act (IPRA – June 2002) which controlled the immigration and multicultural policies by imposing many security measures on suspected ethnic groups. Security to Canadian citizens prioritized in order installing checks on 'visible minorities'. On the other side, state institutions, security forces enforced the laws wrongfully and began profiling of numerous innocent youngsters belongs to such ethnic groups.

This situation continues the fear to new government of conservatives. Even it is seen, until 2015, when conservatives passed New Citizenship Act despite the strong criticism of ethnic minorities. Current citizenship Act makes a consonance with another simultaneously passed act, titled as 'Zero Tolerance for Barbaric Cultural Practices' in the same year. However, many ethnic minorities strongly opposed to the both with a

view that these two new Acts lead to minimize the scope and space of ethnic minorities.

2.7 Conclusion

The last two decades have witnessed a remarkable upsurge of interest in two topics amongst political philosophers; rights of ethno-cultural minorities and   practices of citizenship in multicultural societies.

The concept of citizenship has been historically very dynamic as it evolved with the passage of time according to nature of world. It provided a fundamental understanding to debates on citizenship over the years. However, that earlier citizenship debates are often deemed to be inadequately equipped to accommodate issues inherent to the nature of late-modern society (Delanty 2000). It is on this premise that many of the more contemporary theories have arisen.

It has widely accepted that citizenship is indeed a complex and multifaceted notion which has been constructed and reconstructed on a number of different levels and dimensions. As demography of the world changed with the course of time that has a greater influence over the nature and position of citizenship. Within the contemporary advanced industrial society, citizenship is a negotiated and constructed, and is in this sense reflective of the continually shifting diverse and ultimately uncertain social climate. Within this climate, individuals are able to shape their own histories and piece together multi-layered identities. In the era of globalization, the phenomena of considerable migration form developing countries to developed, citizenship rights are under pressure to extend to level where it recognizes the difference and accommodate to diverse minority population in western world. Many theorists and supporters of multiculturalism stand with this idea. Theories of Multiculturalism is supporting the idea of differentiated citizenship.

After 9/11, the idea was challenged in the sense that multiculturalism became responsible to accommodate illiberal practices in liberal countries; it is responsible to give unnecessary freedom to cultural and religious minorities as well. Above both specified minorities are stigmatised and targeted in terms of their involvement in terrorism activities after 9/11. They are treated as second class citizens; idea of differentiated citizenship and multiculturalism are distrusted. However, It is important

in the real world of diversity, particularly in Canada, accommodation demands differentiated citizenship that embodies a broad outlook, thus allowing greater scope for inclusion and genuinely engaged involvement.

Now that it has provided the conceptual basis for the analysis, the next chapter will turn to Multiculturalism in Canada including its policies and programmes.

CHAPTER 3

Multiculturalism at Operational level: Sikh and Muslim Communities

3.1 Introduction

3.2 Multiculturalism Policy Debates

3.3 Dimensions of Multiculturalism

3.4 Chronology of Multiculturalism

3.5 Multiculturalism Policy Structure

      3.5.1 Parliamentary Actions

3.6 Multiculturalism in Practice

      3.6.1 Racial Discrimination

      3.6.2 Multicultural Programmes to address racism

      3.6.3 Multicultural Programmes to foster Integration

3.7 Issues and Assertion of Sikh and Muslim Communities

      3.7.1 Sikh Communities

      3.7.2 Muslim Communities

3.8 Conclusion

Multiculturalism can be defined in many ways, one definition is (Willet, 1998: 1) "A political, social, and cultural movement which aimed to respect a multiplicity of diverging perspectives outside of dominant traditions." or "Multiculturalism is the way to describe how social structures create and maintain different cultures in a society."

After study the conceptual framework in last chapter, this chapter primarily focuses on multiculturalism policy structure and its dimensions, and practices in Canada. This entire work revolves around the multiculturalism policies and programmes in Canada to address the issues of specified ethno-cultural minorities (Sikh and Muslim) and to increase their integration with the larger society and the state institutions as well.

3.1 Introduction

Multiculturalism demographically existed in Canadian society during confederation in 1867 at the time when the country was reorganised. The contemporary situation refers

to confederation and colonial periods as having initially three founding ethnic groups–British, French and Aboriginals. The British and French were considered as 'charter' groups because of their power and dominance during the pre-confederation period since the early 1600s to 1867 first, beginning with the French regime which was followed by the British. The ethnic diversity started to grow as many European immigrants arrived after the confederation around the late 1800s to the early 1900s. Some non-European immigrants also arrived such as the Sikhs (lumber workers), Chinese (railway workers), Japanese (agricultural workers) and the Blacks (as workers for underground railway).

According to 1901 Census Canada, French and British (88%) and 25 ethnic communities from different origins were existed in Canada (Wong and Guo 2015). Over a century later up till 2001 Census, the British and French constituted the majority but listed were less, e.g. only 63% of single Canada's population, and over 200 multiple ethnic communities from origins. As Figure: 7 shows the facts of growing diversity in Canada since 1871 to until the Canada project 2031.

Figure 7: Changing Diversity in Canada: Past and Future Projections
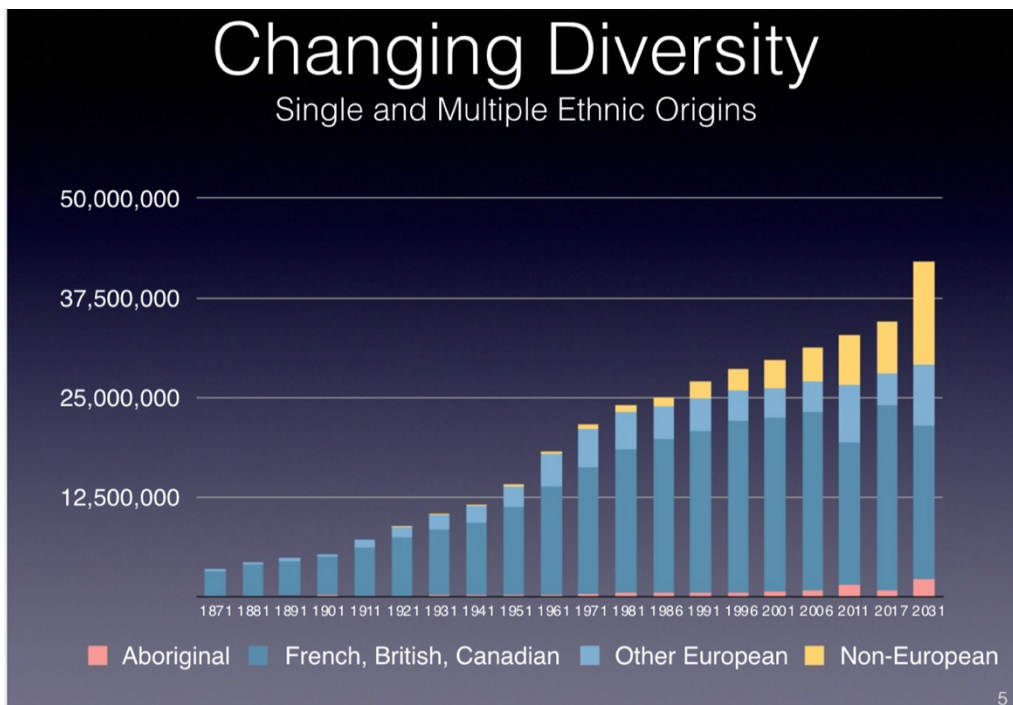
Source: Griffith, Andrew (2015), *Multiculturalism in Canada: Evidence and Anecdote.*

Therefore, the dramatic increase in numbers and proportions of the multiple non-European ethnic origins was noticed due to liberalization of Canadian immigration policy since 1960s. Since 1980 and later, it witnessed in a huge immigration from Asia, Africa, and South and Central American continents that increased the diversity in Canadian society. Consequently, Canada became a 'racialized' country. In 1981 Censes Canada first time started to count the 'visible minority' population that constituted 4.7% of the population. The above mentioned proportion increased "from 9.4% in 1991, to 13.4% in 2001 and to 19.1% in 2011" (Statistics Canada 1981; 1991; 2001; 2011). At present, approximately one in five persons in Canada is 'racialized' person (visible minority), while the proportions are very high in metropolitan cities like (47%) in Toronto, (45.2%) in Vancouver and (28.1%) in Calgary (Statistics Canada, 2013). As a result, demographically, Canada has evolved as a multicultural nation, whereas racial diversity grew over the time. While multiculturalism was introduced as a public policy in Canada in 1971.

The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (B and B Commission) in Canada in 1963, set up by Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson that aimed to deal with the political discontent which was growing alarmingly and the unrest among the French province against the assimilation policies of Anglo-Saxon conformity in Quebec. The 'Quiet Revolution' had surfaced in the early 1960s in Quebec and violent activities started in early 1963 soon after the founding of the 'Front de Liberation du Quebec' (FLQ) as a revolutionary organization. The FLQ began a campaign of bombings in Montreal including the places like- the military barracks, government buildings, railways and other residential mailboxes etc. Thus, Bilingualism and Biculturalism Commission was formed to examine the role played by Quebec in Canada.

However, it was noticed during the hearing of B and B Commission across Canada, the voices coming from number of non-British and non-French groups rejected the idea of 'biculturalism'. As they argued that "Canada was more than two cultures - French and English" (Guo and Wong 2015; 2). This argument was acknowledged later by the Commission that resulted in the final report, entitled "The Cultural Contribution of the Other Ethnic Groups" published in the year 1969. Thereafter, Prime Minister P. Trudeau introduced a multiculturalism policy in Canada, within a bilingual framework in 1971. Then Canada became 'the first nation in the world with an official

multiculturalism policy' that aims to protect the culture of different ethnic groups through the establishment of new institutional structure (Marger 2015 cited in Guo and Wong 2015).

Subsequently, Canadian multiculturalism policy was included into *Canadian Charter of Rights and freedoms* in 1982. A half decade later, in 1988, policy achieved a full fledge constitutional and legal status when '*Multiculturalism Act*' was passed in the Parliament which was led by the Prime Minister of the day Brian Mulroney. To follow the federal policy, many provinces passed legislations with little variations. It was Saskatchewan that registered first in 1974, then followed a series of registration by Ontario in 1977, then Alberta, Manitoba, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and P.E.I. in the 1980s, British Columbia in 1993 and Newfoundland in 2008.

However, Quebec accepted different model termed 'interculturalism' instead of 'multiculturalism'. To continue the study, this chapter tries to examine the policy structure of Canadian multiculturalism and its programmes with special focus on two specified groups - Sikh and Muslims in Canada. First part goes to highlight a chronology of Canadian multiculturalism policy while second segment discusses the dimensions of multiculturalism policy in Canada. Third throws the light on debates over Canadian multiculturalism. Fourth part analyses the key issues of Sikh and Muslim communities in Canada. Final is the concluding part of the entire chapter.

3.2 Multiculturalism Policy Debates

Since the beginning of Canadian multiculturalism policy in 1971, its advocates and critics produced a discourse to examine the role and impact of the integration of various ethnic groups specially immigrants which are termed as ethno-cultural, racial or religious communities. The competing arguments are quite often base upon different conceptions of multiculturalism which stand either in favour of or against the multiculturalism policy in Canada.

According to Angus Reid (2010) poll survey, 55% among Canadians responded that the policy of multiculturalism has been good while 30% opinion regarded it as bad. The data reveals that more than half of the respondents (54%) are of the opinion that Canada should be a melting pot, while one third of the respondents (33%) supported the cultural mosaic. This shows a contradiction that both, the acceptance of the diversity that is the

upper most characteristic of Canada today, and a hidden desire of all ethnic groups to be assimilated in mainstream culture of the nation (Hyman 2011).

Kymlicka argues that "multiculturalism policy promotes integration by removing barriers to participation in Canadian life. There is strong evidence that multiculturalism policy has played a positive role in the successful integration of immigrants; ethnic, racial and religious communities in Canada as compared to many other countries that lack an official multiculturalism policy" (Hyman 2011; 8). As Kymlicka (2010;7) provides the examples of success that "shows the high level of mutual identification and acceptance among immigrants and native-born Canadians, the high likelihood of immigrants in Canada becoming citizens, high rates of inter-racial marriages, high levels of proficiency in 'official' languages, and the fact that Canadian immigrants are more likely to participate in the political process, as voters, party members, or even candidates for political office than U.S., Australia, or any European country."

The findings of OECD (2006) suggest that "the children of immigrants have better educational outcomes in Canada than other western countries." Focus Canada survey (2006) shows that "83% Canadians agree on Muslims make a positive contribution to Canada, suggesting that Canada has been less affected by the global surge in anti-Muslim sentiments and by resulting polarization of ethnic relations experienced in many European countries" (Kymlicka 2010: 7).

Sharing values and sense of belonging to a nation are two most cherished values that are considered to be significant effective indicators of multiculturalism policy in Canada. In accordance of General Social Survey (2003), "the 84% of immigrants have a strong sense of belonging to Canada, compared to 85% of the Canadian born population" (Statistics Canada, 2003). Ethnic Diversity Survey (EDS) 2002 suggests that "Canadians identifying as 'visible minorities' express a stronger sense of belonging than other Canadians" (Ethnic Diversity Survey 2002). These show to strong evidences that ethnic groups in Canada regard a sense of Canadian identity irrespective of their different religious affiliations. They share more and more Canada's liberal-democratic norms or 'Charter values' including western freedom of choice and gender equality.

However, the common view of critics is that multiculturalism gives threat to national integration and, contributes to Ghettoisation and Balkanisation (Bissoondath 2002;

Wong 2010). As Public Research Initiative (PRI) data shows that "Canadians widely agreed that Canada should not promote cultural differences at the expense of shared Canadian value by the reason that it has never been the objective of Canadian multiculturalism" (PRI 2009). Gregg (2006; 4) argued that "as is the case in England, France, and other advanced liberal democracies, national unity in Canada is increasingly threatened by the growing atomization of our society along ethnic lines." As Canadian Senator, Donald Oliver (2006) believes "these critiques of multiculturalism policy have contributed to the erosion of its funding and mandate over the last couple of decades and, its move to citizenship, identity and race relations at the expense of heritage culture and language preservation" (Oliver 2006 cited in Hyman 2011; 9).

However, many social groups and associations have criticized the Canadian policy of multiculturalism. These social groups and associations who are marginalized and treated as second-class citizens as Muslims, they posed a challenge to dominant groups in Canada (Li 2003; Bannerji 2000). Others are of the opinion that the policy of multiculturalism can act as a hurdle to immigrant's cohesion and social inclusion. In accordance with Hansen & Pikkov (2008), "policies and programmes for economic and educational integration are more effective than preservation of ethno-cultural and religious identity of 'visible minorities'. It witnessed that some racialized groups are not integrating successfully like Muslims as compared to other groups as Sikhs, Chinese and others" (Hayman 2011; 9). Richmond and Saloojee (2005) made an observation that "a core idea of multiculturalism policy is the recognition of differences that is not the same as valued recognition" (ibid). In addition, the new emerging idea of 'inclusive citizenship'[2] is believed to support the policy of multiculturalism in Canada.

More recently in the context of growing terrorist activities about a decade or two, a backlash against the policy of multiculturalism that has emerged in many western

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[2] 'Inclusive citizenship' is concerned with values of participation, recognition and belonging, wherein citizens are nurtured to their fullest capacities. However, inclusive citizenship is at risk when a society fails to develop the talents and capacities of all its members (Saloojee, 2001). In the real sense, Canada has not yet achieved inclusive citizenship, as economic, social, and political inequities that disenfranchise certain groups from full participation still exist.

countries. As the criticism of multiculturalism has grown fast in Europe and Canada after the 9/11 terrorist attacks on United States.

The terrorist attacks in Europe have been seen from the lens of anti-multiculturalism both in academics and in public discourse, which has led to the Madrid train bombings in 2004, the London bombings in 2005, and a series of terrorist attacks, more recently in France, the firebombing of the Paris offices of Charlie Hebdo in 2012 and the shootings in the Charlie Hebdo offices in early 2015, and two suicide bomb blasts in Belgium in 2016. After 9/11, by 2011, ten years later, multiculturalism as a social and public policy came under severe criticism by the contemporary three major political leaders of Europe; David Cameron (United Kingdom), Nicolas Sarkozy (France) and Angela Merkel (Germany) who openly make public speeches about the failure of the policy. Cameron went to the point of saying that multiculturalism was fostering Islamic extremism.

Moreover, academic works that criticised the policy of multiculturalism in Europe has been equally prolific from both sectors, the right and the left. Vertovec and Wessendorf (2010) have analysed "the backlash against multiculturalism in the public debates, policies and practices, associated with the European Continent. The public debate regarding multiculturalism has produced the term like 'post-multiculturalism' or end of multiculturalism the scholars used to suggest the need to move beyond current policies and practices of multiculturalism and to explore other approaches to immigration and ethnic integration" (Guo and Wong 2015; 5). The term itself 'post-multiculturalism' has been particularly popularized in Europe by Vertovec (2010) who meant it to be "a call for alternatives to multiculturalism that includes a search for new models that foster social cohesion and promote assimilation and a common identity" (ibid; 5). Consequently, the dominant discourse in Europe see multiculturalism as a failed project both academically and publically.

The discourses in Canada, in contrast to the dominant anti-multiculturalism discourse of Europe, is both critical and favourable to multiculturalism. As current public opinion poll conducted by Environics Institute (2015; 2) holds the opinion that "An increasing majority of Canadians identify multiculturalism as one of the most important symbols of the country's national identity. But mainstream politicians in Canada are not speaking much, for or against the Canadian multiculturalism."

Fleras and Elliott (2002;108) typically sum up the various ongoing critiques of Canadian multiculturalism policy. They maintain that "there are five distinct but related types of critiques of multiculturalism:

- Multiculturalism is *divisive*: it undermines Canadian society (identity and coherence) by promoting cultural diversity at the expense of national unity;
- Multiculturalism is *marginalising*: it ghettoizes minorities, their aspirations, and commodifies culture by invoking cultural solutions to structural problems;
- Multiculturalism is *essentialising*: it fossilizes differences and envisions Canada as a collection of autonomous ethnic groups that are self- contained, determining, and controlling;
- Multiculturalism is a *hoax*: it does not address the root cause of inequality as it is a symbol without substance that promises much but delivers little except to delude, conceal, evade, or distort;
- Multiculturalism is *hegemonic*: it does not empower minorities but rather contains them as it is an instrument of control that achieves consensus by manipulating people's consent without their awareness."

The critiques like Fleras and Elliott "summarize the opposing beneficial position where multiculturalism is praised as;

- *Unifying*: promotes unity by depoliticizing diversity without eroding a commitment to participation and equity;
- *Inclusive*: an instrument that challenges the exclusion of minority minority women and men to ensure integration and full participation;
- *Hybridizing*: promotes the rights of individuals to choose their level of involvement without being locked into an ethnic- culture;
- *Catalyst*: symbols can 'move mountains' by legitimizing diversity as integral while furnishing a platform for minority grievances
- *Counter-hegemony*: a lever for advancing minority interests by challenging and transforming the social contract."

However, Multiculturalism in Canada and elsewhere continues to be heavily debated, while some academics tried to theorized multiculturalism with vested interests of Canada, others made efforts to broaden the dimensions of multiculturalism in Canada.

3.3 Dimensions of Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism as a concept has many different layers of meaning. These dimensions are further clarified, defined and elaborated by several scholars. Garcea (2008) makes distinction between multicultural public philosophy (ideology) and multicultural public policy (official state policy) in his analysis of the fragmentary effects of multiculturalism in Canada. But descriptively, Fleras and Elliott (2002; 4) made the distinctions regarding the dimensions of multiculturalism by stating that "Canadian multiculturalism is: 1) an empirical fact; 2) ideology; 3) practice; 4) critique; and 5) state policy. Multiculturalism as an empirical fact and state policy, refer to demographic diversity and corporate pluralism. Multiculturalism as ideology (or public philosophy) reflects the ideal of multiculturalism or what ought to be. Multiculturalism as practice reflects on what actually happens on the ground in terms of the commodification of diversity as a 'resource' and the political, commercial, and minority interests in its utilization. Multiculturalism as critique, challenges to traditional authority and multiculturalism, as official policy in the interest of minority that disguises as assimilationist or mono-cultural policy." In addition, it also challenged multiculturalism policy where it failed to address the issues of minorities properly.

According to Guo and Wong (2015; 5) "Multiculturalism as official state policy and as practice on the ground is distinguished by the terms as multiculturalism 'from above' vs. 'from below.' Multiculturalism 'from below' means multiculturalism as a discourse with political dimensions played out in local communities and 'from above' implies, where the state engineers multiculturalism through policy and engages in the management of diversity. Thus multiculturalism 'from below' is the everyday experiences of the multiculturalism which pertains to the daily life-experiences and political struggles of ethno-cultural and racialized peoples" (Guo and Wong 2015; 5).

3.4 Chronology of Multiculturalism

Dewing (2013; 3) has summarized the federal level, "chronology of multiculturalism as state policy through three developmental stages: 1) incipient stage (pre-1971); 2) formative stage (1971-1981); and 3) institutionalization stage (1982-present).

The three stages are elaborated as the following. In the incipient stage (pre-1971) the multiculturalism policy in Canada was set in the post-WW II period, as an influx of

European immigrants and refugees increased from the Baltic states, like- the Netherlands, Italy, and Hungary. The immigration from the Baltic states supplemented the earlier generation of Europeans who basically came from Germany, Sweden, Ukrain France, Iceland, Norway and Russia, who migrated to Canada in the early mass influx period of early 1900s. It becomes clear through the works of Clifford Sifton, Minister of the Interior, and author of Canada's first *Immigration Act* in 1896. Also, in 1947 the *Canadian Citizenship Act* was passed and Canadians were no longer seen as British subjects that facilitated many Canadian ethnic groups to question the legitimacy of British cultural hegemony. Thus the social and political events of the 1960s in Quebec and the establishment and report of B and B Commission (as earlier mentioned) resulted the 'official' end of assimilationist policy and the introduction of multiculturalism policy."

The following is the formative stage (1971-1981) that "began with the adoption of Multiculturalism Policy in 1971 by the government of Prime Minister Trudeau. This policy had identified numerous programs; multicultural grants, culture development, ethnic histories, Canadian ethnic studies, teaching of official languages, and federal cultural agencies, as well as fourteen specific recommendations including the teaching of languages other than English or French and cultural programs in public elementary schools." In general, the key objectives of the policy were added " to assist cultural groups to retain and foster their identity; to assist cultural groups to overcome barriers to their full participation in Canadian society; to promote exchanges amongst cultural groups; to assist immigrants to learn an official language" (ibid; 4).

Thus in this stage, "federal funds of approximately $200 million during ten years, were distributed to implement multiculturalism policy goals." Another development was the "establishment of a Multicultural Directorate within the Department of Secretary of State and then of a Ministry of Multiculturalism to facilitate the programs and recommendations of the policy" (ibid; 4). This also insists to communicate and cooperate with ethnic organizations in Canada.

During the third stage called as "the institutionalization stage (1982 onwards), multiculturalism policy became formalized and codified as 'official legislation' with the passing of the Canadian Multiculturalism Act in 1988. However, even prior to 1988

institutionalization of multiculturalism policy was enhancing a corporate pluralism model in Canada." Institutionalization before the Act itself includes the recognition of "multicultural heritage and the inclusion of different ethnic origins along with race, colour, religion, sex, age, and mental and physical disability under equality rights in Section 15 (1) in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms of Canada in 1982" (ibid; 5). Thereafter, Canada passed the *Employment Equity Act* in 1986, and established the 'Canadian Race Relations Foundation in 1996'.

More recently, in the continuation of institutionalization stage, multiculturalism includes other developments like the celebration of 'Canadian Multiculturalism Day' of 27 June in 2002, Asian Heritage Month, 'May', Canada's Action Plan Against Racism in 2005, and in 2010 new objectives for Canada's Multiculturalism Program were implemented.

Table 1: Multiculturalism Policy shifts in Canada

	Ethnicity Multiculturalism (1970s)	Equity Multiculturalism (1980s-early 1990s)	Civic Multiculturalism (1995s-2005)	Integrative Multiculturalism (2006-present)
Dimension	Cultural	Structural	Social	Societal
Focus	Respecting differences	Fostering equality	Living Together	Integration
Mandate	Ethnicity	Race relations	Civic culture	citizenship
Magnitude	Individual adjustment	Institutional accommodation	Full engagement	National Safety/Security
Problem	Prejudice	Racism/discrimination	Exclusion	Segregation/extremism
Solution	Cultural interactivity	Remove barriers	inclusion	Shared Canadian values

Outcomes	Cultural capital	Human capital	Social capital	National community/unity
Key Metaphor	"Mosaic"	"Level playing field"	"Bridging the bonds"	"Strangers becoming neighbours"

Source: Fleras, Augie (2009), *The Politics of Multiculturalism*, p 70

Table 1 shows the another approach to multiculturalism policy in Canada that focuses on its shifts with respect to its policy objectives over the last four decades. Kunz and Sykes (2007), building on the analysis of Fleras and Kunz (2001), summarize "the changing focus, reference point and mandate of Canadian multiculturalism policy for each of the decades of the 1970s, 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s. In the decade of 1970s, multiculturalism policy primarily started its focus on 'ethnicity multiculturalism' that promotes to 'celebrating differences,' with reference of 'culture' and the 'mandate of ethnicity.' During the decade of the 1980s multiculturalism policy shifted towards 'equity multiculturalism' with the focus on 'managing diversity', the reference point being 'structure' and the 'mandate of race relations'.

During the 1990s it was 'civic multiculturalism' that emphases on constructive engagement, society building and citizenship. And in the 2000s, multiculturalism policy shifted towards 'integrative multiculturalism' focusing on 'inclusive citizenship'; with a reference point 'Canadian identity' and the 'mandate of integration'. Canada has used more colloquial terminology in multiculturalism policy that has evolved from 'song and dance' in the 1970s, to 'anti-racism' in the 1980s, to 'civic participation' in the 1990s, and to 'fitting in' in the 2000s" (Guo and Wong 2015; 4).

3.5 Multiculturalism Policy Structure

In the beginning, the multiculturalism Policy mainly secured the rights of Aboriginal peoples and provided an 'official' status to English and French as national languages (Kymlicka, 2010). In 1970s, multiculturalism policy recognized the ethno-cultural distinctions of white immigrants, mainly from European backgrounds. Later, in beginning of 1980s, other non-white groups (visible minorities) brought under the

policy. During 1980s, Policy was recognized as a vision that Canada has the values of equality and mutual respect with regard to race, national or ethnic origin, colour and religion.

Objectives of Multiculturalism Policy (1971)

- "Enhance the understanding that multiculturalism reflects the cultural and racial diversity of Canadian society, and values the freedom of all members of Canadian society to preserve, promote and share their cultural heritage;
- promote the understanding that multiculturalism is a fundamental characteristic of the Canadian heritage and identity, and it provides an invaluable resource in the shaping of Canada's future;
- promote the equitable participation of individuals and groups of every origin in development and shaping all the aspects of Canadian society, and assist them in the elimination of any barrier to such participation;
- recognize the existence of communities whose members share a common origin and historic contribution to Canadian society, and promote their development;
- ensure that all individuals receive equal treatment and equal protection under Canadian law, while respecting and valuing the diversity;
- encourage and support the social, cultural, economic and political institutions of Canada to be respectful and inclusive of Canada's multicultural character;
- promote the understanding and creativity that arise from the interaction between individuals and communities of different origins;
- foster the recognition and appreciation of the diverse cultures of Canadian society and promote the reflection and the evolving expressions of those cultures;
- preserve and enhance the use of languages other than English and French, while strengthening the status and use of the official languages of Canada;
- advance the multiculturalism throughout Canada in harmony with the national commitment to the official languages of Canada" (Hyman 2011; 4).

In the beginning of 1980s, Canada's racial diversity started growing due to huge immigration from Asian, Arab and African countries, thus the more focus was shifted

ethnic to racial discrimination; it resulted to adopt new mechanisms to deal with race based discrimination. In 1982, when Canadian constitution was reformed, multiculturalism policies were firmly entrenched in the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms*; equal protection and benefit of the law, and freedom from discrimination on the basis of gender, religion and racial or ethnic origin which were not existed ever before the announcement of multiculturalism policy in 1971, since the 'assimilation model' was working.

Multiculturalism policy originally emphasized on the retention of culture and sharing cultural values which were supported by some founding initiatives to preserve the language and culture of diverse groups (Fleras & Kunz 2001). With the passage of time, the racial makeup of new immigrants was shifting from European Christian to Asian non-Christian population. As the number of new comers was growing in Canada they started facing multiple forms of exclusion and discrimination at various levels of Canadian society and institutions (Omidvar & Richmond 2005).

In 1988, the Canadian Parliament passed the *Multiculturalism Act*, in order to provide a legal framework to direct the activities of federal structures regarding multiculturalism in Canada. This *Act* somehow considered beyond bottom line as equal individual rights for all Canadians, irrespective of their origin. The *Act* stressed on the Canada's ethnic, racial and religious minorities rights to preserve and share its unique cultural heritage. It eliminates all systemic inequalities emerged from race relations. It required all federal institutions to carry out their actions in a manner that responds to the multicultural reality of Canada on the basis of annual report on how institutions fulfilled the requirements. The *Act* made a provision to fund for mainstream institutions such as police forces, schools and hospitals to implement the policies and programs of multiculturalism for the purpose of reducing barriers to access and increasing integration. (Kunz & Sykes 2007; Policy Research Initiative 2009).

Through the *Multiculturalism Act of Canada, "*the government of Canada recognized that diversity as regards race, national or ethnic origin, colour and religion as a fact of Canadian society that was primarily committed to a policy of multiculturalism designed to preserve and enhance the multicultural heritage and equality of opportunity in political, economic, social, cultural life of Canada. Under the *Act*, all federal institutions shall:

(1) ensure that Canadians of all origins have an equal opportunity to obtain employment in those institutions;

(2) promote policies, programs and practices that enhance the ability of individuals and ethnic communities of all origins to contribute to the development of Canada;

(3) promote policies, programs and practices that enhance the understanding of and respect for the diversity of the members of Canadian society;

(4) collect statistical data in order to enable the development of policies, programs and practices that are sensitive and responsive to the multicultural reality of Canada;

(5) make use, as appropriate, of the language skills and cultural understanding of individuals of all origins;

(6) and, generally, carry on their activities in a manner that is sensitive and responsive to the multicultural reality of Canada"[3]

It is also worth noting that the government is made accountable through the *Act* to both Parliament and the public to make sure that it complies with the provisions of the *Act* by ensuring annual reports. In order to support the government, a multiculturalism secretariat was established which would ensure improved delivery of government services in federal institutions.

3.5.1 Other Parliamentary Actions

Another *Act* that is supplement to Multiculturalism is the *Canadian Heritage Languages Institute Act* (Bill C-37) that "provided for the establishment of a Heritage Languages Institute in Edmonton, with the purpose of developing national standards for teacher training and curriculum content for ethnic minority languages classes in Canada" (Dewing 2013;15).

Further legislative proceeding during 1990s, *Canadian Race Relations Foundation Act* (Bill C-63) that "provided a legal ground for the establishment of Race Relations Foundation in Toronto, with an aim of assisting public education to eradicate racism

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[3] http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/publications/multi- report2010/part2.asp

and racial discrimination. However, the Funding for establishment of the Foundation was further deferred by federal government for coming subsequent years. In October 1996, the Secretary of State for Multiculturalism announced the funds $24 million for establishing the Foundation. The Foundation started carrying research, acts as a checking the information on race relations, initiatives and supports to raise awareness, promotes race relations training, and supports the development of effective policies" (Dewing 2013: 15).

3.6 Multiculturalism Policy in Practice

Canada is widely accepted as first country that announced a policy of multiculturalism. But since its inception in 1971, debating the theory and practice of multiculturalism has become part of the country's history. At the first, several Quebec supporters and leaders insisted that multiculturalism unjustly placed the French culture on an equal footing with the country's other minority ethnic cultures. Such concerns were not eased when, in 1969, the liberal government of P.E. Trudeau recognized French and English as country's two official languages. The acknowledgment of the French language without official recognition of the French culture has been a source of persistent opposition to multiculturalism amongst many francophone Quebecers. On the contrary, leaders of some minority ethnic groups expressed their opposition to multiculturalism in somewhat inverse terms; they contended that the government recognition to different cultures was meaningless without a official acknowledgement of languages others than English or French (Jedwab 2014).

Despite criticism, multiculturalism was embraced by many Canadians as fundamental step of Canadian identity during the 1970s and 1980s. But, on the one hand, Francophone Quebecers have a nominal enthusiasm towards multiculturalism, on the other, non-francophone communities of the province, strongly supported it. Sykes and Kunz (2007) believe that proceeding decades have been marked by important changes in the direction of multicultural policy. During the 1970s, the policy promoted the values of minority-ethnic identities and the celebration of cultural differences, which described as 'ethnicity multiculturalism'. In the 1980s, the primary concern was removing institutional barriers to the economic participation of ethnic and racial minorities, which referred as 'equity multiculturalism' (as earlier mentioned). This

objective was reinforced by introducing Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms Act in 1982, Employment Equity Act in 1986, and Canadian Multiculturalism Act in 1988.

The *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* 1982 added a provision stating that "it should be interpreted in a manner consistent with the preservation and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canadians" (Section 27, Charter of Rights and Freedom 1982). Although this provision did not come with a promise of a suitable financial support for minority ethnic groups; it nonetheless offered a symbolic victory for supporters of the notion of multiculturalism. Political support for multiculturalism initially transcended federal party lines as, similar to the previous liberal government, the federal conservative government under prime minister Brian Mulroney continued to support multiculturalism by introducing the Canadian multiculturalism act of 1988.

In the era of 'civic multiculturalism' during 1990s, the sense of shared citizenship and a sense of belonging to Canada were promoted and prioritized. By 1991, as the country faced serious challenges to national unity, *the citizens' forum on Canada's future* concluded that while Canadians valued cultural diversity, citizen wanted a definition of being Canadian that encompassed many different origins. They called for a refocusing of official multiculturalism that welcomed all Canadians into an evolving mainstream. *The citizen' forum* recommended that future government funding of multiculturalism be confined to immigrant integration, fighting racism, and promoting equality. Therefore, the funds were no longer to be directed towards minority ethnic organisations engaged in the preservation and enhancement of specific cultures.

As noted, Canada was the first country in the world to introduce an 'official' multicultural policy, and shortly thereafter, a number of countries followed this as a pattern. While Canada consistently used the term multiculturalism to describe its approach to managing the relationship between diversity and identities, over time the meaning of multiculturalism evolved, and, by the end of the 20th century, much of immigrant- receiving Europe began abandoning the term. Gradually, debate in Canada became a microcosm of a broader global discussion on how immigrant receiving countries could best deal with issues of newcomer integration and its impact on national identity. National discourse about multiculturalism increasingly touched upon integration and, encouraging immigrants and their children to preserve customs and

traditions was detrimental to building a common or shared national cultural. This led to the first decade of the 20th century to describe Canadian multiculturalism as 'integrative multiculturalism'.

Policy-makers and intellectuals increasingly warned from societies facing problems of social cohesion and appearance of fault lines between majority and minority groups. The problems of cohesion morphed into warnings about the erosion of shared values that were presumably under siege by the persistence of immigrant cultures. These values frequently get defined in abstract ways, such as 'sharing,' 'democracy' and 'dialogue.' When values are defined as such, sharing them is relatively uncomplicated. Yet the perceived need to reconcile those values purportedly held by immigrants with those presumably held by members of the host society sometimes encompasses a harmful 'us versus them' stereotype.

Ethnic and religious—based conflicts in Europe and North America have seen increased government attention directed at immigrant integration. Popular American political scientist Robert Putnam argued in his essay that "the United States redefine its 'We' more broadly and renew shared identity and social solidarity" (Jedwab 2014; 3). Detractors of multiculturalism in Canada and elsewhere were quick in seize upon Putnam's conclusions, although, paradoxically, the United States describe itself as a melting pot (ibid).

Since the beginning of the 21st century, globalization and security have undoubtedly influenced public opinion and policy—making on multiculturalism, notably after the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001. Surveys conducted by the firm Leger marketing in 2012 and 2013 reveal that some 54 percent of Canadians agree that there is an irreconcilable conflict between western societies and Muslim societies (33 percent disagree, and 12 percent do not know). Similar views are quite certainly held in other immigrant-receiving countries. Security concerns are increasingly evoked in public debates about immigration. The 1st decade of the 21st century has witnessed a growing perception that multiculturalism will offer certain individuals justification for practices that are contrary to the laws of the country. Raising this spectre has been effective in fostering attacks on multiculturalism, even though the same criticism might be directed at the freedom-of-religion provisions of the charter (ibid).

As regards public opinion in Canada, since the 1990s, perhaps the most commonly asked question touching on multiculturalism included in public opinion surveys asks some variation of whether Canadians agree or disagree that immigrants or minority groups should preserve their culture and/or customs and traditions or become more like us, the majority, or most Canadians. It is worth nothing that the question does not include the word multiculturalism. However, the question reflects the way several opinion leaders have constructed the debate, and it attempts to capture the thought process that tends to underlie the national integration/identity paradigm.

Canadians are generally divided in their response to such a question, with Quebec francophone and the country's baby boomers somewhat more likely to agree that immigrants and minorities should become more like the majority. This suggests that societal choice confronting immigrants is between preserving culture and customs and becoming like the majority. Yet some observers see both paths as viable, and, indeed, when the two propositions are submitted separately to the population, a majority of Canadians agree that it is legitimate to preserve one's culture and also agree that it is important to encourage immigrants to become more like the majority.

Is the perceived need for greater cohesion a euphemism for a desire for cultural assimilation of newcomers and their children? It is difficult to assess a number of the more painful periods in country's history involve efforts at assimilating aboriginals and French Canadians. Hence the term assimilation resonates negatively with many Canadians. Paradoxically, many Quebec francophone opinion leaders who strongly oppose multiculturalism and also abhor the idea of cultural assimilation and go so far as to describe themselves as global advocates of cultural diversity (ibid).

In the absence of a shift of orientation, the dominant paradigm in this second decade of the 21st century might be described as socially cohesive multiculturalism. In 2009, then immigration minister Jason Kenney made the following statement: "we have shifted our program of multiculturalism to focus precisely on integration toward liberal democratic values to remove any confusion that may have exited that our approach to multiculturalism justifies abhorrent cultural practices and the practices of hatred" (Jedwab 2014: 4).

Criticism of multiculturalism has increasingly moved on from the policy and instead targets its presumed message. This is probably a good thing since relatively few Canadians are familiar with the substance of the policy. A survey conducted by Leger Marketing for the association for Canadian studies in 2010 revealed that 64 percent of Canadians said they 'didn't know' (the figure was 90 percent in Quebec, the home for its biggest distracters) when asked, "what are actions taken by the government of Canada to promote multiculturalism?" indeed those who claimed that they did know what actions were taken by the federal government often incorrectly identified such things as direct funding of ethnic groups, a measure that had been dropped two decades earlier (Leger and Marketing Survey 2010).

The term multiculturalism was considered sufficiently evocative that in October 2010, a leading globe and mail editorial went so far as to suggest a form of self censorship by calling for its banning from our national vocabulary. That Canadian's leading national newspaper thought it necessary to suggest such a radical stand is not to be taken lightly even if surveys reveal that some three in four Canadians react positively to the word multiculturalism (amongst others, a survey done by Leger Marketing in June 2010). Prominent Canadian scholars Keith Banting and Will Kymlicka point out that while the 'M word' is now virtually taboo in some countries and may be irretrievable, the underlying principles and policies of a liberal—democratic multicultural citizenship are still in place in western democracies, irrespective of the vocabulary used to describe them (Banting and Kymlicka 2013).

A considerable number of Canadian researcher exports knowledge to many countries, share experiences, and vaunt our practices in immigrant integration and diversity management. In a February 2008 carried out by Leger Marketing, 68 percent of Canadians stated "let the rest of the world should learn from the Canada's multicultural policy, while some 52 percent agreed that Canada could also learn a lot from the way other countries deal with cultural diversity" (Leger and Marketing 2008 cited in Jedwab 2014; 5).

Despite all the domestic wrangling over the limits of multiculturalism and problem of cohesion, Canada consistently ranks near the top in global assessments of integration

policies. It finished third in 2010 in the migrant integrant policy index when compared with the countries in the European Union and with the united stated.

Today, public debates about multiculturalism in Canada tend to invite participants to say whether they are far and against it. Yet despite this apparent polarization, there is a broader spectrum of opinion in debates amongst academics and policy makers. Yes, there are unconditional supporters of multiculturalism and unconditional critics. Between these two ends of the spectrum is what might be described as soft supporters of multiculturalism, who raise questions about its meaning and impact, and soft critics, who have serious concerns about multiculturalism but do not reject it outright.

Multiple meanings are attributed to multiculturalism in Canada and abroad. Very often, the attributed meaning determines whether multiculturalism elicits favourable or unfavourable views. Its critics continue to insist that government are simply not doing enough to discourage immigrants from preserving their cultures of origin; others believe that immigrants should determine the pace and process of culture retention; and a relatively smaller group of thinkers wants government to actively support the preservation of minority cultures, which they claim was the original intent. In some ways, the multicultural policy might be described as a "project in the works" as its direction was never firmly established. Underlying all this is a debate about what it means to be Canadian.

3.6.1 Racial Discrimination

Racism[4] and its related other various kinds of discrimination undermines the success of inclusive citizenship like inequities are growing in Canada and that they are increasingly along racialized lines (PRI 2009). "Racism is usually understood in the interpersonal sense—that is, discriminatory interactions, both conscious and unconscious, between individuals" (Hyman 2011;9).

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[4] "Racism may be defined as the belief that race is the primary determinant of human traits and capacities, and that racial differences produce an inherent superiority of a particular race (Merriam-Webster Dictionary 2008). However, the Canadian Race Relations Foundation defines *racism* not only as an attitude, but also as the specific actions resulting from this attitude that marginalize and oppress certain people" (Abella 1984).

There exists a less visible form of racism known as systemic or institutional racism. This refers to "the collective failure of an organization or social structure to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture, or ethnic origin… It… can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes, and behaviour that amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness, and racist stereotyping which disadvantages people in ethnic minority groups" (Macpherson 1999 cited in Hyman 2011;10). Another related concept of 'racialization' refers to "the social process by which certain groups come to be designated as different and consequently subjected to differential and unequal treatment" (ibid). Discrimination, marginalization and exclusion among ethno-cultural groups is perceived as their collective experience in shaping them 'racialized'. Unlike the term 'visible minorities,' which Canada's *Employment Equity Act* defines as "non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour." Racialized groups make clear that race is not an objective biological fact, but rather a social and cultural construct that exposes individuals to racism (ibid).

However, the right to equal treatment is a fundamental right as defined in *Canadian Human Rights Act* (Department of Justice 1985). Despite, it has been a failure to fully recognize the ethno-cultural and religious minorities that persists across the Canadian society (CRRF 2008). Historically, discrimination and racism in the context of Canada reflects in discriminatory immigration provisions and denial of right vote to Asians and others.

Recent research shows that "there exists a perceived racism in Canada despite the claim of equal treatment to all as fundamental human rights.

- Approximately 20% of 'visible minorities', compared with 5% of non –'visible minorities', reported having experienced discrimination or unfair treatment in the five years preceding the survey conducted by Canadian Ethnic Diversity. Significant differences in experiences and perceptions of racism were noted between dominant groups with European heritage and racialized groups.
- Immigrants were twice as likely as non-immigrants to experience discrimination (job or promotions, in a store, on the street), and racialized groups were twice as likely as non-racialized groups to experience discrimination.
- Police reports on hate crimes in 2006 showed that the majority of hate crimes

were motivated by race/ethnicity (61%) followed by religion (27%) and sexual orientation (10%). Half of all the racially-motivated crimes targeted people who were in Black racialized groups. Nearly two-thirds of religiously-motivated hate crimes were directed at the Jewish faith.

- According to the International Youth Survey, immigrant and second generation youth were significantly more likely than Canadian-born (third or more generation) youth to report that they had been discriminated against at least once in their lifetime because of race, religion or spoken language.

- Public opinion polls, student surveys and other research indicate that people of the Islamic faith and those with Muslim or Arab-sounding names experienced significant discrimination beyond the immediate backlash after the events of September 11, 2001" (PRI 2009; Kymlicka 2010; Hyman 2011; 11).

While on the one hand the most people object to direct expressions of racism, but they remain often unaware from fundamental ways in which society's political, economic and social institutions contribute to enhance the level of discrimination like the lack of recognition of international credentials on the other. The lack of policies to ensure the accessibility of public services for all and the lack of policies to ensure greater representation in decision making may disrupt the systems. The experiences of racialized groups in Canada show "some facts of systemic racism at institutional level;

- Racialized people are two or three times as likely to be poor than other Canadians. According to Pendakur (1998), the earning differential between racialized and non-racialized Canadians is an indicator of economic discrimination.

- Despite higher levels of education, racialized groups in Canada are more likely to be unemployed or employed in precarious work (defined as atypical employment contracts, limited social benefits, poor statutory entitlements, job insecurity, short tenure and low wages) than non-racialized Canadians (Galabuzi 2006).

- The 2001 unemployment rates for the total labour force, at 6.7%, in comparison to 12.1% for recent immigrants and 12.6% for 'visible minorities', indicates a clear differential in access to the labour market (Teeluck singh & Galabuzi, 2005). It is taking much longer for racialized immigrants to catch up with other

Canadians, in comparison to past European immigrants. Poverty rates among recent immigrants have increased substantially since 1980 (Statistics Canada, 2003). Racialized men and women are more likely than other groups, except non racialized women, to be working in insecure part time, low wage work (Lightman, Mitchell & Wilson 2008).

- Muslim Canadians face major obstacles to integration, and experience high unemployment despite high levels of education (PRI Horizons 2009).

- Recent studies on the diversity of decision-making bodies in all three sectors indicate a massive under-representation of Canada's 'visible minorities' (Cukier & Yap, 2009). Racialized Canadians are routinely marginalized, misrepresented, or rendered invisible in the Canadian press and in other vehicles of cultural production - radio, theatre, and museum exhibits" (Henry & Tator 2003; Hyman 2011; 12).

The 2004 United Nations Mission on contemporary racism concluded that "racial discrimination in Canada was tangible as reflected in the high incidence of poverty, overrepresentation in the prison population, racial profiling and under representation of ethnic and racial minorities in the upper and middle layers of political, administrative, economic, cultural and media institutions and mechanisms" (Diene 2004; 21 cited in Cassin et al. 2007). It also has the impact on health like physical and mental health problems are associated with the experience of racism. Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada (LSIC) shows that perceived discrimination has a negative impact on immigrants' life satisfaction and health.

Racism remains a major obstacle to full integration and citizenship (Reitz & Bannerjee 2007). The consequences of social exclusion for racialized groups include a lack of recognition and acceptance, feelings of powerlessness, economic vulnerability, diminished life experiences and limited life prospects (Omidvar & Richmond 2005).

3.6.2 Multiculturalism Program to address (Combat) Racism

Despite some success of multiculturalism policy, *racism* has been one of the major obstacles to social cohesion and inclusive citizenship. Some scholars provided few recommendations that "broad national policies and programs to be more effective at

reducing discrimination and making equality. One of the major barriers to full inclusion is institutional systemic racism. Many believe that laws and policies aimed at eliminating institutional racism in all sectors (public, non-profit, private) may be more effective than other types of anti-racism initiatives or programs such as those that attempt to foster relationships across various ethnic, religious and racialized communities or act to change public attitudes. Examples of promising institutional policies include (Hyman 2011; 12).

- increasing equitable representation of racialized groups throughout an organization,
- ensuring decision-making processes do not exclude or marginalize racialized groups,
- recruiting and retaining professional staff and employees that reflect the diversity of Canadian society,
- understanding the ethnic and cultural backgrounds of the populations they serve,
- integrating cultural competence and anti-racism perspectives into governance, organizational policy, service planning, and staff recruitment within all institutions" (ibid).

However, there is a lack of uniformity as far as the implementation of anti-racism policies at various levels is concerned. As Reitz and Banerjee (2007; 39) note that "current policies are …weakened by their failure to present clear objectives, reflecting a lack of interracial consensus on the significance of the problem of discrimination and a lack of will to create such a consensus and these policies also lack the means to ensure effective implementation, intergovernmental coordination or evaluation."

Some suggest that Racial Impact Analysis (RIA) is considered a significant tool for identifying, reducing and eliminating long-standing institutional and structural access barriers that contribute to inequalities and inequities. Racial impact analyses on all legislations, policies, programmes and practices that previously passed, and yet to be considered, to determine their impact, on racial equity and justice. It is also observed that "some of the national and provincial policies regarding human rights, economic immigration, criminal justice, health etc. have had disproportionately negative impacts

on racialized groups." (Cassin 2007 cited in Hyman 2011; 13).

Some instances, like, various constitutional provisions provide arbitrary power to the current and future Ministers of Citizenship and Immigration who own power to decide what type of immigrants will be permitted to enter Canada; and the three month waiting period for universal health coverage. Like across public and private sectors, multiculturalism policy may not be specific enough nor sufficiently coordinated to address racial inequities in Canada that result from institutional barriers including existing immigration and settlement, human rights, and employment policies (Reitz & Bannerjee, 2007).

Racism at the level of Institutions increase the immigrant's sense of alienation that is more harmful than interpersonal discrimination. At the level of municipality, multiculturalism policy seems to be more consistent with sustainable cities in terms of integrating diverse groups in justifiable and equitable way. Polese and Stren (2000) define social sustainable cities in terms of the compatibility of culturally and socially diverse groups, and the reduction in levels of discrimination and social exclusion of marginalized or disadvantaged groups. Round table participants in the PRI discussions also agreed on the need of policy with clear objectives, addressing multiple sectors and levels of government with coordination. (Kunz & Sykes, 2007).

Saloojee (2005) has suggested that "government policy should take a leadership role in adopting an inclusion framework that incorporates an anti-racist perspective. In this way multiculturalism policy could be integrated with social inclusion policy aimed at ensuring equitable outcomes and the full and valued participation of all Canadians regardless of their race, ethnicity, religion, socio-economic status, disability, gender, sexual orientation and language proficiency" (Hyman 2011; 14).

3.6.3 Multicultural Programs to foster integration

Figure 8: Canada's Multiculturalism Programme.

Source: (CIC 2015) http://www.cic.gc.ca
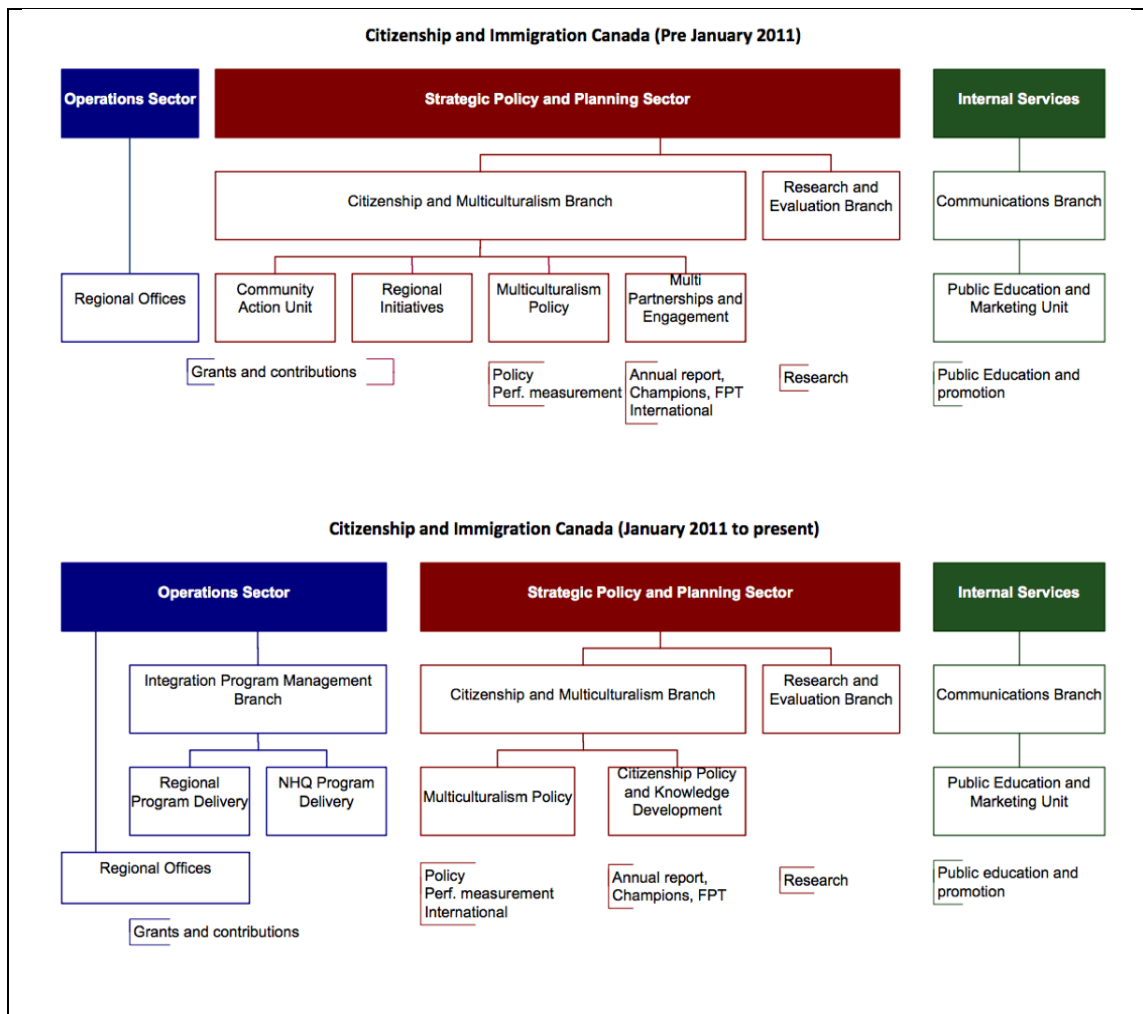
From the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act* (1988), current Multiculturalism Program was derived. "The Multiculturalism Act 1988 reaffirmed the *Multiculturalism Policy* of 1971. Since 1988, the Multiculturalism Program has received continued funding for programming aimed at fostering social cohesion and building an inclusive society that is open to, and respectful of, all Canadians.

The Government of Canada conducted a policy review of the program in 2007. The review team identified a number of gaps in programming and some key challenges related to Canada's increasing ethno-cultural diversity. The review pointed towards a need to adjust multiculturalism programming in order to focus more on integration and link the program to broader notions of citizenship and Canadian identity. The

Multiculturalism Program was the responsibility of the Department of Canadian Heritage (DCH) until October 2008, when it was transferred to the department of Canadian Immigration and Citizenship (CIC). At that time, the four objectives of the program were- "ethno-cultural/racial minorities participate in public decision-making (civic participation); communities and the broad public engage in informed dialogue and sustained action to combat racism (anti-racism/anti-hate/cross-cultural understanding); public institutions eliminate systemic barriers (institutional change); and federal polices, programs and services respond to diversity."[5]

In July 2009, Cabinet approved three new objectives for the Multiculturalism Program, which came into effect on April 1, 2010. "They were- to build an integrated, socially cohesive society; to improve the responsiveness of institutions to meet the needs of a diverse population; and to actively engage in discussions on multiculturalism and diversity at an international level.

The Multiculturalism Program is comprised of four key components: They are- provide funding to organizations to undertake multiculturalism projects and events (called Inter-Action); undertake public education and promotion initiatives; provide support to federal and other targeted public institutions; and conduct international engagement activities (ibid).

Multiculturalism program includes within itself a number of branches, like the citizenship and Multiculturalism Branch (CMB), the integration Program Management Branch (IPMB), and the Communications Branch (CB). The department also undertakes some activities, like those associated with the international engagement, public education and promotion, and institutional components etc. The program also administers inter-action, a grants and contributions component, which provides organizations with funding to undertake projects and events that support the three program objectives. The program is also supported by CIC's Research and Evaluation Branch (R & E), which works to ensure that the program's research needs are met" (ibid).

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[5] Evaluating of the multiculturalism program see online,
http://www.cic.gc.ca/ENGLISH/resources/evaluation/multi/section1.asp

Moreover, multicultural programs have set up for providing settlement information and for boosting integration of new comers like SUCCESS, CANN, CIIS, AEIP and SEED etc. Many of these are set at international airports where the function of them is to provide free counselling to new landed immigrants including free booklets. These programs aimed to provide necessary services like, what to do after landing, from accommodation to official language training to job finding. It also assists how to make government documents like social insurance number (SIN), Canada service card, health care card and driving license etc. Outside the airport, many Government funded offices are set up for community counseling in their own languages like PICS for Punjabi community. For learning any official language either English or Punjabi, free training classes are arranged in public schools under adult education programme.

CANN is a program funded by Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada and a major settlement community service organization, S.U.C.C.E.S.S., provides its services which has over 20 locations in British Columbia and overseas. Since 1992, "CANN has provided services to more than 750,000 newcomers who arrived in Canada through the Vancouver International Airport. CANN has also provided services to refugees either assisted by the government or sponsored by private agencies in 1997.

CANN services:

- Welcome reception and orientation to landing procedures.
- Information and orientation on settlement in Canada, including medical insurance, education for adults and children, employment, accreditation, business, housing and more.
- Quick linking of newcomers to national settlement and integration resources.
- Additional assistance based on need for government-assisted and privately-sponsored refugees."[6]

However, multiculturalism programs exercises restrain on ethnic communities from interacting with each other by emphasizing ethnic or religious differences (PRI, 2009). In other words, national, ethnic, racial and religious communities may focus on what

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[6] http://www.cannyvr.ca/site/info/273/about-cann

divides, rather than what they have in common for example, combating racism (Bannerji, 2000). Mock (2002) further suggests that the politicization of issues related to equality and shared power coupled with a lack of government funding and/or support for innovative organizational models result in diverse communities competing for power, rather than working collectively.

In brief, it is a common experience that the ethnic groups have access to close networks of people of the same cultural origin as well as to programs that support these networks. According to the Canadian Ethnic Diversity Survey (2003), "immigrants are more likely than the Canadian-born population to report a strong sense of belonging to their ethnic or cultural group and are more likely to participate in ethnic or immigrant associations (6% vs. 1%). Networks of friends and family for new immigrants in Canada provides very remarkable support, specifically during early stages of settlement." Social networks in any human community enhance the feelings of belonging and show social connectedness (Schellenberg, 2004). Economic activities are the best means to high levels of bridging and bonding of social capital among the immigrants (visible minorities) (Li 2004; Berger 2005).

3.7 Issues and Assertion of Sikh and Muslim Communities

3.7.1 Sikh Community

Though Canada has more than century long immigration history of Sikhs and its various issues, while the year 1967 became a milestone in bringing a major change in Canadian immigration policy. Canadian immigration policy which was strongly followed the racial lines, shifted towards the point system that is on skill basis by removing quota system. This change further resulted to huge immigration of educated and skilled youths from Punjab in early 1970s. The prime motive behind to shape this new immigration policy was to bring more skilled and young immigrants who can contribute better to Canadian economy instead of old fashioned illiterate and unskilled or aged immigrants.

With the effect of new immigration policy, the three years (1972-1974) witnessed to a greater number of Sikh youths landed in Canada on the basis of point system. These new kind of immigrants had quite different experiences in terms of integration with the larger society. Unlike the earlier immigrants, these young Immigrants began resisting

to tolerate the racial discrimination, coming from many decades in Canada. Earlier Sikh immigrants protested against racial barriers, but with the time, they tried to adjust themselves in such a racial environment and become habitual of racial discrimination in their daily lives. Usually they ignored racial discriminations with two main reasons-one is for securing their economic interests, other is the dependency over mainstream institutions. Mainstreams had the full control over its institutions, resources like jobs - immigrants remained under fear to loose their jobs.

However, these new immigrants strongly asserted and effectively started fighting against racism. During this time, some instances of violent incidents were reported; Sikh youths were often assembled and beats that person who speaks 'racial' words and performs racial activities against them. Besides, this is considered as a different phase in immigration history with few reasons;

- These Sikh immigrants had expressed themselves in radical way in Canada due to their quite young age.
- Most of them were well educated that assisted to easy understand how Canadian system works.
- They had work and language skills that helped much to establish their own business and to create new jobs for other Sikhs.
- They were born in independent India and had the experiences of democracy and freedom.
- This group of immigrants had strong religious faith Sikhism and its values and practices, i.e, wearing *kirpan*, turban and other symbols, banned wearing hat entry in *Gurudwara* as old one often do so. Consequently, they formed their different *Gurudwara* in Vancouver and Surrey.
- These Sikh immigrants were influenced from *Khalistan* movement in Punjab that led to be more radical.
- Unlike earlier Sikh immigrants, new immigrants were more prosperous because of their immigration to Canada during green revolution in Punjab.
- Another important reason is Canada introduced the policy of multiculturalism that legitimised their struggle against racism and other kind of discrimination (Binning 2016; interview).

During 1980, the circumstances helped Sikh community to construct their different identity as they were earlier called Hindus particularly and East Indians generally in Canada. Two significant incidents caused to establish different Sikh identity in Canada – one was the operation blue star in 1984, and another was the Air India crash in 1985. Both incidents shaped distinct Sikh identity and set a different image of the community at global level as they were treated as Sikhs and as terrorists. Judge (2003) believes that Sikhs constructed their new identity after 1984 'Operation Blue Star'- *Khalsa* as a military force and *Khalistan* as terrorism. After *Kanishka* air India crash, a new image of Sikhs set and spread at international level.

Simultaneously, Sikhs started asserting against the existed rules of wearing helmet and sought exemptions from those laws. They claimed first religious accommodation to wear turban for riding motorcycles in late 1970s. After few years of continuous struggle, Sikhs were relaxed from helmet ruling in 1982 at Canada.

Secondly, in 1990s, along with ethno-cultural claims, Sikhs as religious community made many claims for religious accommodations at various places in Canada. Debate began as to which of the minority religious practices are fine with Canadian multiculturalism. Several cultural and religious practices including wearing of turbans or headscarf came to be conceived as 'illiberal'. For the purpose, they demanded exemptions from existing laws to allow wear some religious symbols and turban also in public life like acquisition of some public offices with turban and *kirpan* (dagger). Government viewed the claims in historical perspectives at the cost of balancing with the larger society on the one hand, and viewed the social economic and political contribution of community to Canada on the other. As figure 9 shows the survey that Sikh is one of the most trusted religious community in Canada. Moreover, the following figure 10 shows the opinion of neighbours of religious communities where Sikhs are relatively more trusted than Muslims and others.

Moreover, Government tried to bring somehow limited religious accommodation under multiculturalism policy. Consequently, Sikhs were allowed wearing turban, having a long beard in RCMP in 1990 and to wear *Kirpan* in parliament,

Figure 9: Proportion of Population who think "most people can be trusted" by religion
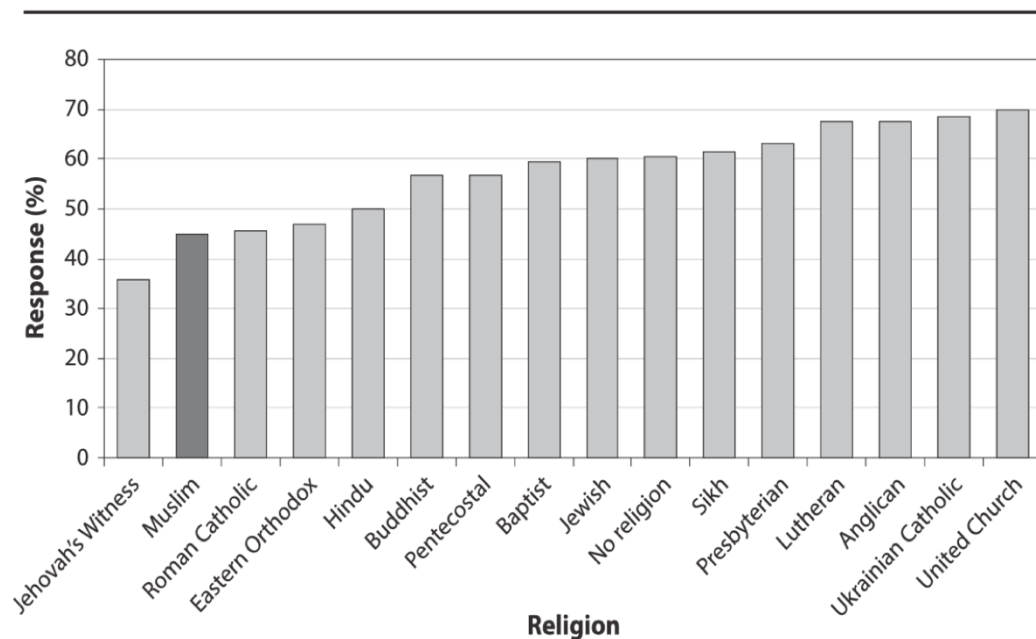
Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian General Social Survey, 2003

in courtrooms, other Governmental and official positions later in 2013. Sikh children are also allowed to wear small size of *Kirpan* in schools in British Columbia. However, Sikhs won this battle after a long struggle by filing court cases, building political pressure, strong push and pressure by worldwide Sikh associations including India; Indian Government also interfered in such issues on the timely appeals of people from Punjab.

In addition, Sikhs also highlighted these issues at global level by unifying themselves on these issues, and protested from other countries - France, Germany, Australia, Britain and US. Consequently, Sikhs were somehow relaxed from existing rules in response to decisions made by the Supreme Court of Canada – finally, on 10 April 2013, Sikhs were allowed to wear *Kirpan* at earlier said places (CBC News 2014).

However, Sikh as a cultural community is consistently making claim to provide official status to Punjabi language at all levels in Canadian society- from educational institutions to other public and private institutions including all work places. Secondly, Sikh community in general demands exemption form hard hat at work places. Still both

claims are not recognized by Canadian Government. Sikh are continuously asserting for the fulfilment of those claims.

Nevertheless, Sikhs have more successfully worked on their strategies to mobilize and leverage the official multiculturalism of Canada. However, in many cases, Muslims have not been able to do so. Comparatively, Sikh as ethnic minority took more benefits from multiculturalism policy of Canada than any other ethnic group in terms of collective rights.

However, the situation became inadequate after 9/11, Sikhs were targeted by mainstream in confusion of identity with Muslims in US and Canada. Hate wave was started among mainstream against the Muslims, Sikhs became victimized of that wave due to their similar features with Muslims. Multiculturalism was blamed for this situation from both sides – from larger society and, from specified 'visible minorities' or ethno-cultural groups. National security became the primary concern. State actions were altered from liberty towards maintaining the security of nation.

Figure 10: Trust in Neighbours (proportion who reported the highest degrees- (4/5 and 5/5), by religion, 2005
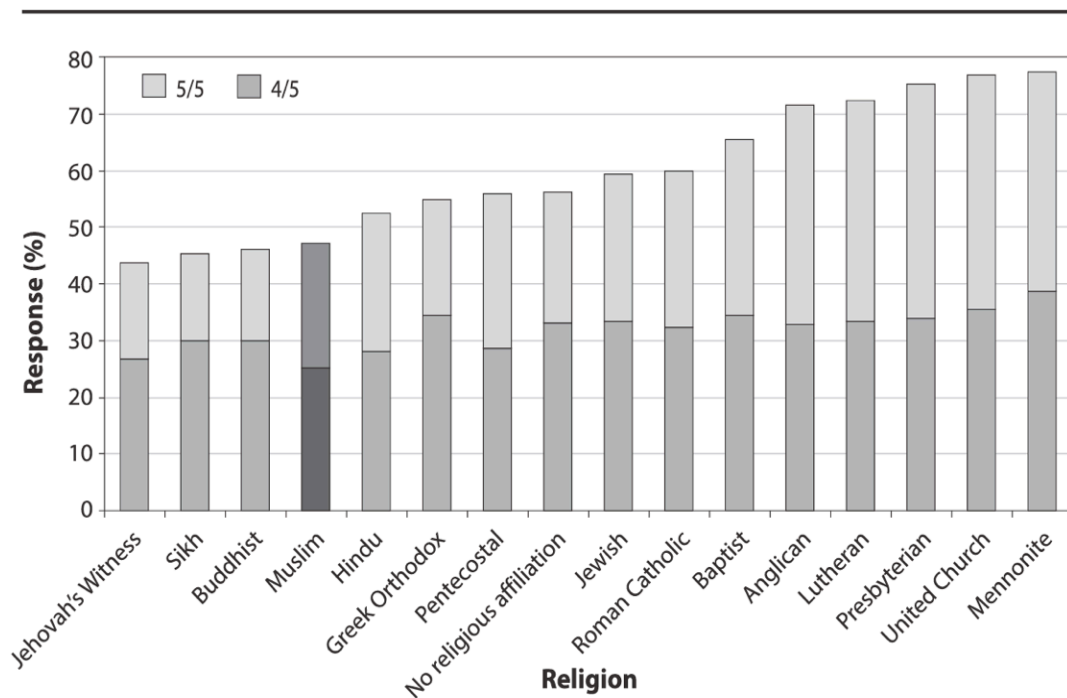
Source: Statistics Canada, Ethnic Diversity Survey, 2005

3.7.2 Muslim Communities

Muslim began immigrating to Canada in late 1960s and their number has steadily grown. The Muslim population in Canada in 2001 numbered 579,640 of whom majority, as many as 70 per cent population resided in the three cities, i.e. Toronto (254,110), Montreal (100,185) and Vancouver (52,590). By 2011, this figure had crossed one million; and according to the *Statistics Canada, 2011* the Muslims constitute the largest non-Christian religious group in Canada.

Decades back in 1980s, Like Sikhs, the Muslim community also treated as a 'visible minority' because of their colour of skin (brown & black skin). As a 'visible minority', they faced similar type of racial discrimination at various levels in Canadian society. Some Muslim people spoke against racism, but were not effective, because their number was not enough that time in Canada. Simultaneously, Canadian constitution of 1982, employment equity act 1985 and multiculturalism act 1988 passed, and endorsed many measures to curb racial and any type of discrimination.

Until 1990, Muslim constituted a sizable minority community, but heterogeneous, because they migrated from diverse geographical locations. Canadian geography also adds to this problem more as it ensures that Muslim population is spread across vast distances. Heterogeneity in terms of geography, and of community in Canada weaken their mobilization strategies. Like other ethnic groups, Muslims tried to make claims for group differentiated rights (religious and cultural rights) in Canada. Many Muslim groups raised sectorial demands for the recognition of their different cultural or religious practices in public sphere and, others not supported to them. In compare to other ethnic groups, in general, Muslim integration experience level is very low, But in particular, some Muslim sects are well integrated like *Ismailis* (Maclean 2016; Interview).

In fact, like Sikhs and others, Muslim as a religious minority in Canada have no specific constitutional status. Religious minorities in Canada are protected by general rights to freedom of religion and according to Section 2 and 15 of *the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* the right not to suffer discrimination on the basis of religion and

from Section 27 of the Charter which provides that the Charter should be interpreted "in a manner consistent with the preservation and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canadians". The federal act provides vague commitments to multiculturalism that does not establish enforceable rights or concrete institutional structures that involve minority communities in Canada (Moghisi 2009).

A recent survey of CBC News, Environics Research Group, 2007, shows that obstacles to integration, inclusion, and participation of immigrants in Canada still remain prevalent. The survey shows that 45 per cent of Canadian Muslims have at least one university degree; yet Muslims have the second-highest unemployment rate in Canada; 14.4 per cent of Muslims are jobless which amounts to twice the national rate (Statistics Canada 2001; Mujahid & Egab 2004). As Figure 11 and 12 show the average income, work and poverty among Muslims in Canada. Thus it indicates that the Canadian society does not yet appear to embrace Muslims as full citizens.

Figure 11: Average income and number of weeks in 2000, by religion
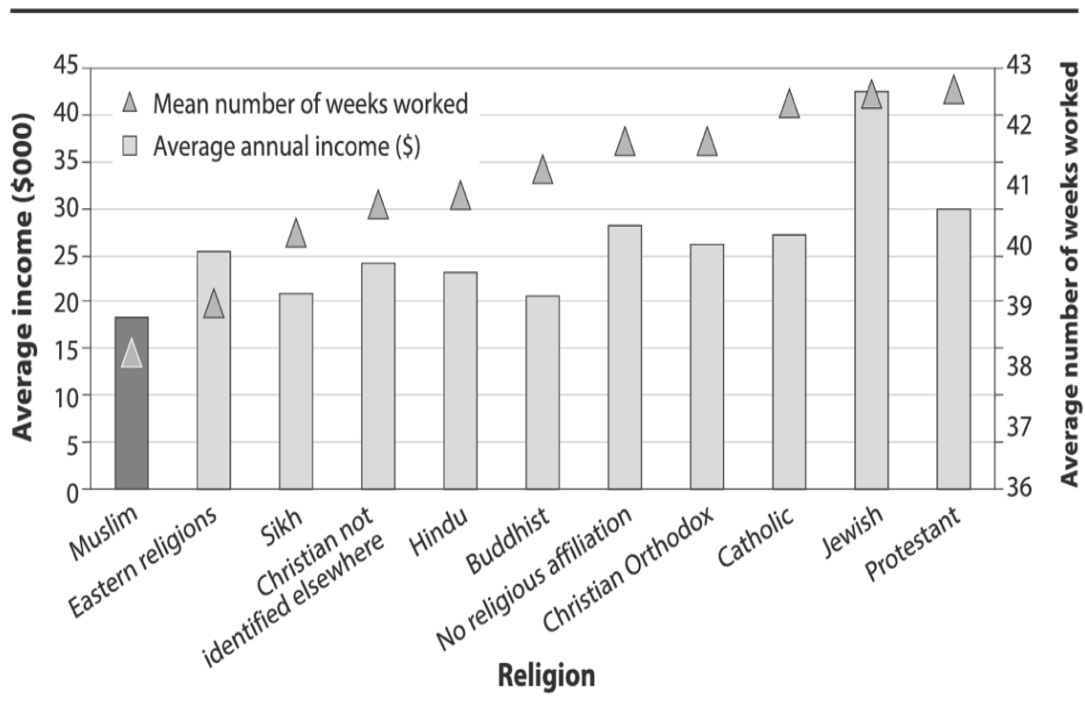
Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Census, 2001

Figure 12: Poverty rate (%below LICOs), by religion and immigration status, 2001
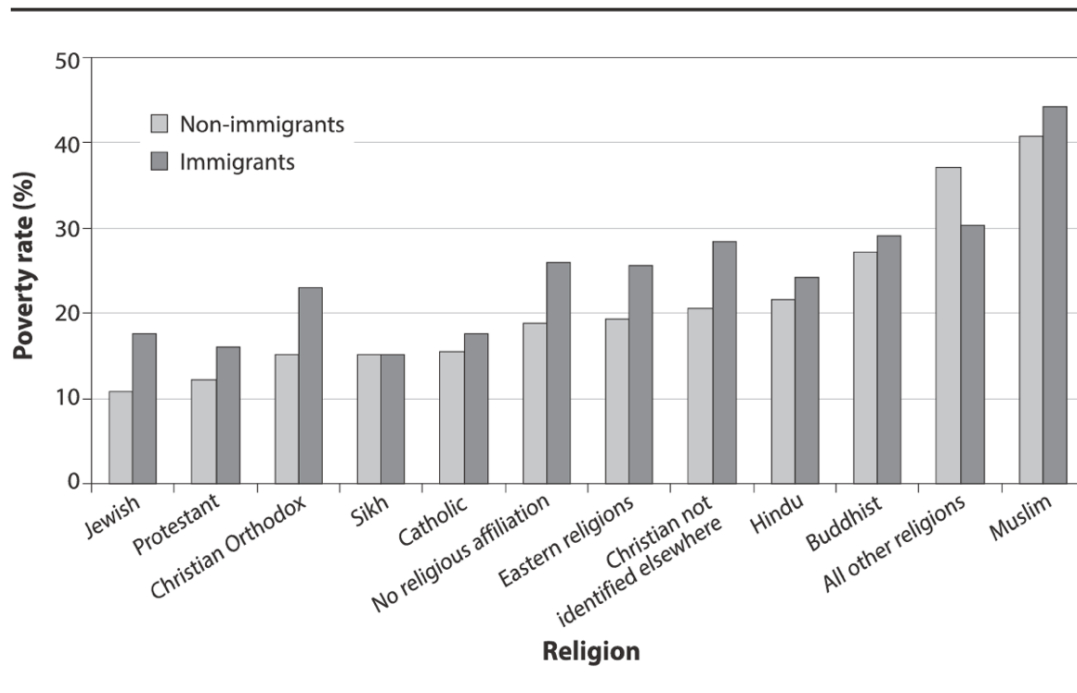
Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Census, 2001

Moreover, in 1990s, religion increasingly became a big challenge for multiculturalism in Canada. Kymlicka (1996) believed that religion was putting pressure on multiculturalism as a third track after ethnicity and racism respectively. Muslims raised more claims as a religious minority than ethno-cultural minority. In this regard, school is believed the best site to test how multiculturalism responds to their religious issues. The requests of Muslim community for religious accommodation in Ontario public schools tested the limits of Canadian multiculturalism by challenging the division of sacred and secular space in mainstream society.

The lawsuit against former Ottawa Board of Education over the recognition of Islamic holydays, requests for the provision of prayer rooms in schools, and the demand for public funding for Islamic schools were all contentious issues in Ontario during 1990s. In the year of 2000, the controversy over religious accommodation was observed when Toronto area Muslims petitioned the Toronto district school board for changes in its curriculum and administrative policies to accommodate Muslim students attending Toronto area public schools.

Besides, the demand for different *Sharia* courts created a controversy in Ontario during 1990s. Canadian state or family law operates within western values that is sharp opposite to Islamic values and its arbitrary or family laws. Pressure for the demand was not effective because of fraction within the community. This arbitrary Act itself was not acceptable to other faith groups. So, other Muslim sects refused to have faith in arbitrary Act.

About a decade later, in the mid- 2000s, a similar controversy surfaced over the issue of 'reasonable accommodation' in Quebec province. It was concerned with the extent to which such accommodation should be granted to religious and cultural minorities in the province. While this issue was not exclusively focused on Muslims, and included other minorities such as Jews and Sikhs, the majority of the controversial cases involved Muslims. At the core of the issue, the deep concern was on the part of native-born population that accommodating immigrants and minorities, particularly Muslims, might lead to the loss of crucial elements of the 'distinct society' of Quebecois. The reaction against the formation of 'Buchard-Taylor Commission' and its report caused to emerge this conflict (Kazeempuri 2014: 97). However, Muslims problems are more contentious in French Canada instead of English Canada. As Figure 13 shows the main concerns of Muslims in Quebec compared to the rest of Canada.

Figure 13 : Muslims' major concerns, comparing Quebec and the rest of the Canada.
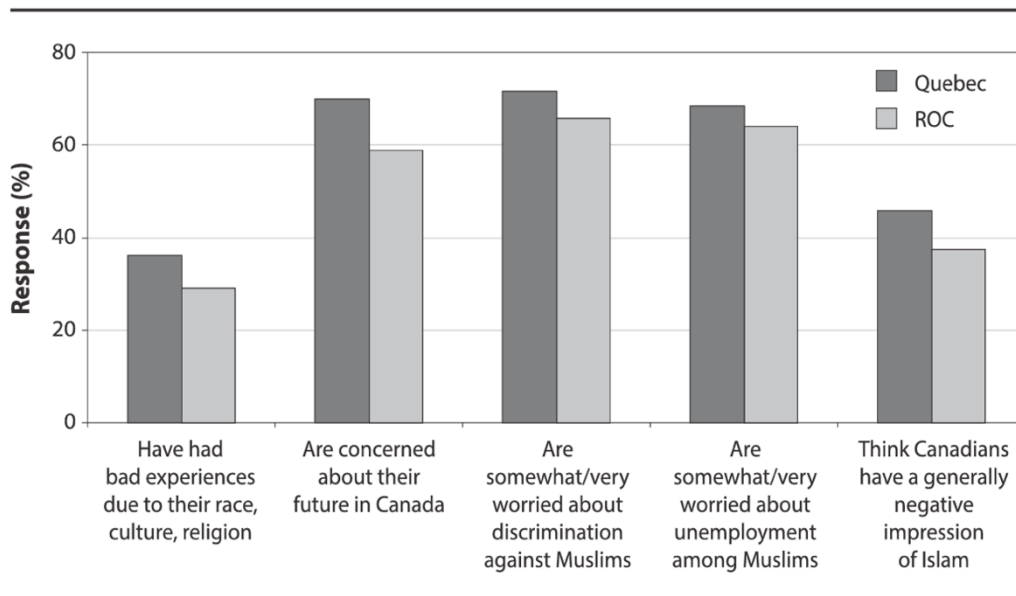
Source: Environics Institute, Survey of Canadian Muslims, 2006

Further, the declaration of 'Herouxville Town Charter' which was signed by six municipalities that meant to codify the "social life and habits and customs of all residents" of those municipalities in order to inform potential newcomers of the lifestyles and behaviours expected of them. One clause of the charter indicates, "we would especially like to inform the new arrivals that the life style that they left behind in their birth country can not be brought here with them and they would have to adapt to their new social identity" (ibid 97). Though the document does not mention Muslims, the discussion of some of the practices that were perceived to be dominant in the Muslim societies shows that charter was particularly directed at them.

Therefore, a debate on *sharia* law in Ontario and the "reasonable accommodation" controversy in Quebec are just two very visible cases that point to the possibility of a tense relationship between Muslim immigrants and native-born Canadians. These controversies further led to increase "exceptionalism" in Canada (Ibid: 98).

Overall the Muslim community remained under-representation in the Canadian legislature or in the civil services. Some argues that two major political parties namely the Liberals and the Progressive Conservatives however have not made any conscious and systematic efforts to enroll Muslims as party members or field them as candidates in elections.

It is noticed that the diversity of the Canadian Muslim community in terms of their national origin, sect, political and religious orientations affected its political involvement in Canada. Though the Canadian Muslims were encouraged to vote by the Voluntary Canadian Islamic Congress that prepared report cards about the candidates who contested the election from most significant Muslim population ridings. However, voting percentage of Canadian Muslims is comparatively less than Sikhs and others as following Figure 14 shows.

Figure 14: Proportion of population who voted in 2005 federal election, by religion, 2005
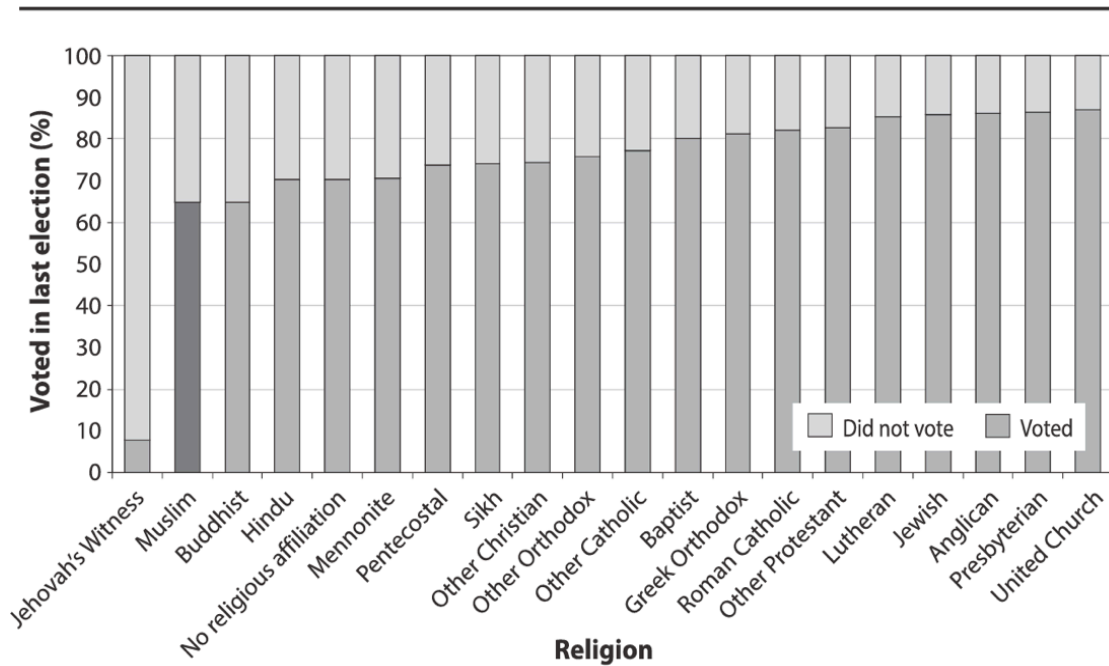
Source: Source: Statistics Canada, Ethnic Diversity Survey, 2005

A survey of recent research on "Religious Diversity and Implications for Multiculturalism Policy" was published in *Horizon* (2007) shows that "religious identity is central to the lives of many individuals, and the intensity and public manifestation of those identities is increasing in many countries including Canada." Here it is important to bring religion under multiculturalism debate. "Even predominantly secular societies must address challenges associated with growing religious diversity. Significant public discourse on the place of religion in Canadian society has been going on for several decades. In recent years, long-standing approach to accommodating religious differences must adapt to the increasing religious diversity in Canada. Uncertainty over whether and how to adapt private and public practice to this new reality has been evident in the significant attention that the media and the general public have paid to visible religious markers in clothing (e.g. head covers for Muslim women, turbans for Sikh men), faith based arbitration, and incidents that have been perceived as signs of increased anti-Semitism and *Islamophobia"* (Horizon, 2007).

Interest in research on religious diversity has increased despite the scarcity of basic information on religious identity, its relevance to public policy, its potential effects and the policy responses to it. The question "What is this person's religion?" was last asked in the Census of Canada in 2001 and 2011. Statistics Canada asked more questions on religious identity in recent surveys. Ethnic Diversity Survey (Statistics Canada, 2002) counts the change in the attitudes of ethnic minorities about its religion after 9/11.

Generally, at the level of theory and practice, ethno-cultural groups have not any group specific rights in Canada, even can not claim for community specific rights, with the reason that they were de-territorialized from their home state and not have any distinct "social cultural" in Canada. They are widely spread on Canadian earth. Even they can not claim for 'minority status' whether they actually are minority or disadvantaged community in the context of larger society (Kymlicka 2001). Each ethnic minority group is often treated under the state laws that reflected in western values. Hence, ethnic minorities neither willing to assimilate in it nor adopt to western values. They are continuously asserting to protect and preserve their own 'distinct culture'''. Multiculturalism in Canada provides some limited accommodations to these communities that are beyond the individual rights. Individual rights are at the bottom line in Canada while multicultural rights are something beyond them, in kind of some exemptions from existing laws. Exemptions are only for the purpose of facilitating to enhance the level of integration.

However, in the aftermath of 9/11 and the US-led 'Global War on Terrorism' (GWOT), there have come to fore the question of religious diversity, mainly of the Muslim immigrant community. Post 9/11 situation gave serious challenges to Muslim community and, heightened the level of discrimination. Consequently, Multiculturalism was blamed for the whole situation in Canada and other European countries.

3.8 Conclusion

History of Canada had witnessed many 'official' discriminatory policies and practices as the influx of immigrants increased diversity and plurality in Canadian society. Consequently, the policy of multiculturalism was introduced in 1971 that officially provided recognition to celebrate the diversity. It also recognized the contribution of

ethnic immigrant minorities for nation-building, and helped them to preserve and celebrate their particular cultural heritage. The policy welcomed to newcomers to take part in Canadian cultural mosaic. Since then the Multiculturalism Act passed in 1988, official discrimination had been contained to some extent.

In the near past, new immigrants, mostly came from non-European countries, are facing different kinds of challenges in Canada that were not encountered by the immigrants who came earlier. Due to changing global circumstances or prevailing prejudices in western societies, now immigrants are having a hard time to integrate into social, political and economic life with the Canadian mainstream society. The recent challenge for the policy of multiculturalism is not only to recognize and celebrate the diversity in Canadian society, but also to be creating an inclusive society.

However, Canadian multiculturalism policy has served the nation well in providing an adequate platform upon which to build a country that reflects not only the diversity within, but also the growing transnational nature of global society. It has demonstrated sensitivity to the changing needs of the country and its immigrants. These ideals were transformed into formal policies, programs, and practices at federal, provincial, and municipal levels. With the adoption of multiculturalism as formal government policy in 1971, followed by its constitutional entrenchment in the charter of 1982 and passage of multicultural act in 1988, coupled with a federal department of multiculturalism and citizenship, Canada has moved further to the forefront among the countries that dealing with ethno racial diversity.

Multiculturalism as a policy has shown to embody a specific set of government directives for redefining minority relations with the Canadian state, as well as a broader ideological framework for legitimizing specific programs and practices in the management of race and ethnic relations. Multiculturalism policies examined in their evolution over the time, from an initial concern with "culture" and inter group harmony to growing emphasis on 'race relations' and institutional changes to fostering "integration". Inclusion of multiculturalism in the charter of 1982 has created a crucial debate over the controversy between the principles and practice of collective and individual rights in liberal democracies, particularly in Canada. Multicultural Policy ideals have gone under various interpretations and open to manipulation by diverse interests.

Alongside, numerous controversies arose, when religious communities started to make claims for exemptions from statutory legislations on religious lines. Sikh demands the right to be allowed to wear turbans and not being subject to safety helmet regulations, are issues which are difficult to be left as private affairs. It necessarily becomes a matter of general public concern and safety. Such issues become sensitive and difficult to resolve. Often a debate arises as to how far religious precepts can or cannot allow wearing safety helmets? Another question that greatly excites public debate in such context is whether a practice is religious or cultural; that is whether the universality of the religion ordains it or it is a same community-specific practice?

Governments have often acted in an *ad hoc* fashion as issues have arisen - Muslim girl students wearing veils and Sikh students wearing *Kirpan* and 'Turban' in Government schools as well as Catholic schools, but there has been no concerted and systematic attempt to think through moral and legal implication of the right to religious freedom.

The demands and assertions of both co-existing communities (Sikh and Muslim) for cultural and religious accommodations in public spheres are testing the limits of state-sanctioned multiculturalism in Canada. By challenging the division of sacred and secular space in mainstream society, they reveal inherent contradictions in Canada's multicultural promise. The controversies surrounding these requests or demands signal that Anglo-Canadian Christian hegemony continues to assume a normative position in Canada's cultural discourse.

Several issues are emerging from rising number of 'visible' communities on grounds of their colour, dress etc. ; recognition of community or group rights has been a subject of serious scholarly debates in the Western world. Discourses on religious diversity have often been subsumed under the broader aspects of cultural diversity and multiculturalism. Yet in a series of roundtable consultations jointly conducted in 2007 in Canada by the Policy Research Initiative and the Multiculturalism programme (Department of Canadian Heritage), many participants observed that religion is increasingly emerging as a topic on its own. Specifically, after the 9/11 events, Ethnic Diversity Survey (2002) counts the change in the attitudes of ethnic minorities about its religion.

The present chapter has examined various aspects multiculturalism including shifting

of policies and programmes with the special reference to Sikh and Muslim communities in Canada. Next chapter turns to explore the impacts of 9/11 events on two specified ethno-cultural minority communities- Sikhs and Muslims.

CHAPTER 4

Impact of Post-9/11 Anti- terror and Immigration laws:

4.1 Introduction

4.2 Canada's Response to 9/11: ATA and IRPA

4.3 Liberty v/s Security debate

    4.3.1 Cross Cultural Roundtable on Security

    4.3.2 Call for More Laws against Incitement

4.4 Impact on Ethnic Minorities; Muslims and Sikhs

    4.4.1 Security Certificates

    4.4.2 Profiling and Surveillances

    4.4.3 Torture and Deportation

    4.4.4 Media Bias

    4.4.5 Case Studies: Mehar Arar and Sunera Thobani

    4.4.6 Air India Inquiry

    4.4.7 Impacts on Sikh Community

4.5 Conclusions

Rudolph (2008; 188) notes that "Aftermath of 9/11, Canadian security intelligence service (CSIS) has confirmed the presence of about 50 active terrorist organizations operating in Canada. From an American point of view, this represents a potential threat to United States security as terrorist could exploit Canada's lax immigration policy and then use their Canadian base as a potential staging ground for terrorist attacks."

As last chapter focused on the framework of multiculturalism in Canada and two specified ethno-cultural and religious minority groups, this chapter highlights the Canadian response to 9/11 and its impact on 'visible minorities.' Using two case studies of Sikh and Muslim 'visible minorities' this work in Canadian context, explores the complex relationship between national security and multiculturalism after the 9/11 situation, and how Canada made a balance between liberty and national security. The work mainly focuses on Muslim minorities that reflects the context of post 9/11 terrorism concerns. The other focus that would have been directed at another group, is

Sikh, in 1980s, because of the Canadian-based terrorist activity that led to bombings in two Air India flights in 1985 that caused deaths of 331 passengers. This work also signifies the identity confusion among mainstream and its dominated institutions about the appearances of Muslim and Sikh people as they have some similarities - brown skin, face appearances, turban, and other physical features. This confusion resulted Sikhs to be treated as terrorist and targeted by mainstream in US and Canada.

4.1 Introduction

The 9/11 terrorist attacks occurred on US soil while it left serious impacts on Canada and the whole world. Canada much effected because it shares the long geographical borders and longstanding social, economic and political ties with the United States. As Prof. Raj noted that within 45 minutes of the terrorist attacks on US, Canada started accepting the 224 diverted flights, more than 33,000 passengers and crews in airports across the country. The Canadian Prime Minister Jean Chretien immediately responded through his office and referred the act as "horror and cowardly deprave assault" against the "freedom and rights of all civilized nations" (Raj 2007; 156).

Subsequently, a week later, on 17 September the Canadian foreign minister John Paul Manley expressed the solidarity with US during his address to special session of the parliament at Ottawa. He affirmed that "our commitment is total and we will give undivided support to the united states now." Manley further points out that "the terrorist in the US had profound implications for Canada's security and prosperity; for the way that we govern ourselves and for how Canadians will lead their lives from now on." It seems that Manley was aware of the possible debate and decision of Canada that would have to address: balancing between liberty and security. For Manley, observed: "A fundamental for our democracy will be the question of how under these new circumstance, do we achieve the right balance between individual freedom- the hallmark of our democratic society- and duty to protect our citizen…nation" (Raj 2007; 156).

However, Chretien denied the existence of terrorist cells in Canada, Canadian security intelligence service (CSIS) reported that "there were 50 terrorist cells existed in Canada." CSIS report indicated the terrorist groups who were presented in Canada and had their "origins in regional, ethnic and nationalist conflicts, including the Israeli-

Palestinian, as well as those in Egypt, Algeria, Sudan, Afganistan, Lebanon, Northan Ireland, the Punjab, Sri Lanka, turkey and former Yugoslavia." CSIS also remarked that "there has been a change in the nature of activities of the terrorist groups from supporting roles such as fundraising and procurement, to actually planning and preparing terrorist acts from Canadian territory" (Canada and Terrorism Cited in Raj 2007; 157). They abuse Canada's immigration system, passport, welfare and charity regulations.

Responding to the situation, Canada introduced a new bill namely *Anti-Terrorism Act* (ATA) in Parliament that was passed on 15 October 2001 to deal with terrorist threat to Canada. The another development was the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* (IRPA) 2002 that adds new provisions to allow the Immigration and Public Safety Ministers to sign 'security certificates' to view immigrants as possible 'threats' to national security on many grounds as they are members those communities which are engaged, engages now or will engage at any stage in terrorist activities in any corner of the world. It adds the provisions for mandatory detention of non-citizens or citizens until they are deported (Welchman 2002). These two laws were connected with each other at internal and international level to deal with two major concerns - security threat and fraudulent immigration.

Moreover, these new legislations (ATA and IRPA) targeted the 'visible minority' groups especially Muslims by enforcing visa restrictions or embargoes for specific countries – almost all those countries which have predominantly Muslim population (Warwick, 2005). These laws undermined the lives of Muslim Canadians as they come under greater scrutiny and suspicion, by virtue of their ethnic and religious affiliations. Meanwhile, post-9/11 situation resulted to increase hate crimes, job discriminations, racism in education institutions and work places, accusations of racial profiling by enforcement of the law, and exercising restrictions on certain communities' travelling within and outside of Canada (Hagopian, 2004; Khan & Saloojee, 2003). However, the fact is that most victims did not prefer to report such actions or discriminations because of the fear of reprisal, or fear of attracting any unwanted attention, or fear of economic loss - losing current jobs and future job opportunities (Parry 2004).

To continue the study, this chapter examines the evolution of Canada's National

Security Policy since 9/11. The first part provides the outline of Canada's quick response to 9/11. Second pays special attention on debates between multiculturalism and national security (liberty v/s Security) in Canada. Third analyzes the post-9/11 situation and its impact on the freedom of two specified 'visible minority' groups - Sikh and Muslims, and it includes the adopted ways to arrest or detention of suspected terrorists concerned with specified communities. Last sub-section deeply studies the case of Mehar Arar, and the specific threats to academic and expressive freedoms like the case of Professor Sunera Thobani who was subjected to a brief and publicly announced investigation by the RCMP for hate propaganda, in relation to her strongly worded and widely publicized the criticism of American foreign policy in October 2001.

Similar to the extent of Arar Case, Thobani case has contemporary significance because it reveals some of the dangers of laws against speech, including new laws against the incitement of terrorism as requested by the UN Security Council. The Thobani case also demonstrates how risks to freedom in post-9/11 Canada are unevenly distributed. Both the police and the media paid unwarranted attention to the fact that Professor Thobani immigrated to Canada and is a 'visible minority'. Finally, the Thobani case provides a case study of the process currently in place for reviewing complaints against the RCMP, the police force that in Canada has primary responsibility for national security policing. The chapter concludes with a brief discussion of how Canada balanced national security policy with multiculturalism policy.

4.2 Canada's Response to 9/11

In quick response to 9/11, like the US Patriot Act, Canadian Parliament passed *Anti-Terrorism Act* in less than two weeks on 24 October 2001. Chrétien Government introduced 175-page bill C-36 -*Anti Terrorism Act* (ATA) that passed by parliament, and secured royal assent by 18 December 2001. This new *Act* was subject to heated debate and controversy as the liberals fast-tracked it through the 'house of commons' and liberal dominated 'senate'. This *Act* has enhanced the powers of security agencies to use the new *Immigration Act* as supplement to *Anti-Terrorism Act*. These two laws were connected with each other to deal with security threats and to curb immigration related frauds. This new *Anti-Terrorism Act* extended the definition of 'crimes' first time in Canada's criminal code that is based on "terrorism". This has enhanced the

powers of police for preventive detentions, investigative hearings, listing of terrorist groups and individuals by the executive. Moreover, the *Act* has revived the provisions to protect national security information and made a new procedure for de-registration of charities and terminate funding to religious associations.

However, Muslims, Sikhs and others such as lawyers, civil society associations and human rights organizations had strongly opposed the enactment on various grounds (Daniels & Maclem 2001). To reduce the opposition, Canadian government amended the bill with minor changes to place a five- year "sunset clause" on new police powers for preventive arrest and investigative hearings. Some argues that it is a controversial *Act* that follows British law which defines 'terrorism' or terrorist activities in regard to the pursuit of some political or religious goals. Responding to argument, it is considered separately from ordinary criminal law that unlikely concerning with religious or ideological profiling (ibid).

Secondly, owing to the pressure of opposite political parties and civil society associations, Government somehow agreed to add an interpretative clause that provides the expression of political or religious opinion or belief would not normally come within the broad definition of terrorist activities (Criminal code of Canada 1985). Canada's Minister of Justice has indicated the possible changes to remove the requirement for proof of political and religious motives (Special Senate Committee on ATA 2006).

The definition of the "terrorist threat" as foreigners concerned with the problem that Canadian citizens could be engaged in terrorist activities, as the case of 1985 Canadian-based bombings of two Air India flights that led to death of 331 people; that was considered the worst act of terrorism in aviation before 9/11.

Many citizens those who were suspected involving in terrorism and has been under court trial and imprisonment. In 2004, Canadian citizen was arrested under *Anti-Terrorism Act* that alleged to have intention of terrorist acts in London, Britain (Toronto Star 30 may 2006). After that 17 people were arrested and charged to several offences related to terrorism in Toronto, those were associated with the mosque in Toronto, that alleged to be a home-grown terrorists lived in Canada that have managed three tons of ammonium nitrate to make bombs and other acts of terrorism in Ottawa and Toronto

(Toronto Star, 6 June 2006). Like the bombings in London in 2005, these arrests raised questions about Canadian citizens as terrorist threats to Canada.

Under the *IRPA*, the measure had the two general purposes: one is to redefine the criteria that what kind of immigrants would be accepted and the other is to prepare a mechanism for denying the entry of potential terrorists or deporting them when located in Canadian territory. Consequently, Canadian government emphasized on national security and public safety concerns. In June 2002, the government tightened the landing requirements of those who applied for visa on humanitarian and compassionate grounds, stating that "the decision-makers or immigration officers are sufficient to take into account a range of factors, including an individual's possible risk to Canada. At the same time, the Government agreed with recommendations to make changes in immigration classes - investor, entrepreneur and self-employed, and strongly defended its decision to accept and speed up the entry of economic immigrants" (preferred immigrants) (Russo 2008: 881).

The discourses on *IRPA* raised many issues like Canada needed to re-examine the 'security threats' associated with the processing of immigration and refugee cases and also further can arise from those immigrants, new citizens and next generation who do not integrate with Canadian values. It is considered a dangerous nexus that there is large scale of immigration and low level of integration among immigrant communities particularly Muslims in Canada. Secondly, for refugees, Canadian practice was very lenient in comparison other countries like U.K, Australia and USA. Thirdly the Canadian politicians are under fear of losing votes from immigrant groups. In this ethnic vote-seeking politics, multiculturalism and liberal immigration & refugee policies have become very intertwined, and staying away from fact that some ethnic communities having the deep roots with terrorist groups. Fourthly, to authorize the government to fix the border first before launching the any program of commerce and trade. Fifthly, balancing the liberty with security in the new environment is needed. Domestic human rights issues must overwhelm the international human rights issues. Moreover, the debate over the enforcement of the *IRPA* involved portraying issues such as human trafficking as a threat to Canadian national security.

Moreover, these two pieces of legislations set the framework for changing practices related to national security. The first is the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* which proposes to be "tough on those who pose a threat to Canadian security, but maintain Canada's humanitarian tradition" (Kruger 2004;77). With a notable emphasis on security measures directed at foreign nationals, "this legislation expedites the removal of people who are deemed to be security threats. The second is the *Anti-Terrorism Act* that addresses 'terrorism' generally and the terrorist specifically. It includes measures to prosecute, convict, and punish terrorists by defining and designating terrorist groups and activities, strict sentences for terrorism offences; making it a crime to knowingly collect or give funds in order to carry out terrorism; making it easier to use electronic surveillance against terrorist groups; and allowing the arrest and detention of suspected terrorists to prevent terrorist acts and save lives" (ibid).

Though both the acts address security, the *Immigrant and Refugee Protection Act* focuses on the "foreign nationals", and the *Anti-Terrorism Act* focuses on the "terrorist", thus causing the foreign national and the terrorist to be understood as one and the same in governmental discourse. In the post 9/11 political climate, "governmental discourses increasingly relate foreign nationals to terrorists and threats to national security. While the foreign national or immigrants who were once preferred as contributors to Canadian multiculturalism are now seen as possible threats to security." Another series of practices concerns about the Canada's points of entry. "At borders, airports, and marine ports, refugee claimants were interviewed, fingerprinted, and photographed, and their original travel documents were seized. New technologies, such as ultraviolet-light testing and digital finger printing, gave regulatory agencies access to information about individuals. For example, an Individual's fingerprints are immediately transferred to the RCMP for further security clearance" (ibid; 79).

Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) has implemented a "direct-back policy" as part of the "Smart Border Declaration" for refugee claimants arriving from the United States. "This newly created Department of Citizenship and Immigration (CIC) became more of an enforcement agency, cooperating with the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) in developing risk profiles of international airline passengers entering Canada, although such activity expanded after the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001"

(Russo 2008: 881). "This policy requires immigration officers to complete full examinations, thus ensuring an extremely stringent screening process even when there are many refugee claimants at borders" (CIC 2003).

In this addition, these measures were adopted for protecting Canadian citizens by closing the entry of terrorists. Under new national security paradigms, the "foreign nationals" perceived as an object of security to be tracked, assessed, and monitored. Moreover, the people who are resident of Canada but suspected involving in "organized crimes" or "international rights abuses" or pose a "security threat" to Canada, also are newly installed objects of surveillance, and it enables the CIC minister to issue "danger opinions" and "security certificates". "Danger opinions" are ordered if a person pose a threat to national security as well as to Canadian public. Similarly, "security certificate" sought to eradicate the potential threats in Canada by initiating the procedures for removal orders (ibid). However, the federal court reviews the "security certificates" and other immigration procedures and, makes a decision on the certificates' reasonableness.

Although, individuals were the direct target of such law practices, but the Canada-US border has been the largest physical space that strictly scanned under new security provisions. Incidents of 9/11 led to a shift from border security to national security and focused in broad efforts to identify threats. The nation became the prime focus and the government shifted its focus from protecting only the border to protecting the nation. This shift perceived that all spaces are vulnerable along with borders - air cargoes, ports, and railways are vulnerable to exploitation by terrorists and organized criminals.

In addition, concerning with border security and national security, various collaborations have emerged. Within the "Canadian Security Intelligence Service" (CSIS), a new branch "Integrated National Security Assessment Centre" (INSAC) has "developed to assist in disrupting and preventing national security threats at the beginning stages. This newly formed agency is the central premises of information-sharing through multiple partnerships considered to be the effective response to terrorism and national security threats. The aim has been to reduce terrorism through accurate, relevant, and timely information-sharing partnerships between CIC and the Canadian intelligence community as well as among departments involved in defense, immigration, transportation, communications, customs, critical infrastructure, foreign

affairs, and law enforcement" (www.csis.scrs.gc.ca).

Besides, *IRPA* replaced the previous race based *Immigration Act* (1978) to class based. This act requires carefully monitor the flow of immigration by "establishment of 'Immigration and Refugee Board' (IRB) as an independent, quasi-judicial administrative tribunal with a mandate to make well-reasoned decisions on immigration and refugee matters efficiently, fairly and in accordance with the law" (Kruger 2004; 79). The main objective of *IRPA* was to protect Canadians against potentially hostile immigrants.

Moreover, the *Act* provided a mechanism that all new permanent residents would receive permanent resident cards after October 15, 2002, and it would require for re-entry of permanent residents who had traveled outside Canada. The act also provided for the removal of anyone involved in "organized crime, espionage, acts of subversion, terrorism, war crimes, human or international rights violations, and serious criminality" (ibid). In addition, the mechanism facilitated to immigration officials to detain people on "reasonable suspicion" of failing to appear for possible deportation proceedings, of posing a risk to the public, or of refusing to give information to the immigration service.

Moreover, the *Act* was framed to attract younger workers who may have higher levels of education but fewer years of experience, for the purpose of easy and fast integration with Canadian values. In this connection, some migration scholars argue that political elitism works as a vehicle for protecting expansionist immigration policy. Political elitism in Canada became the vehicle for adhering to US interests in increasing immigration restrictions in the short run. Political leaders in Canada were playing a two-level game with a changing trade environment that demanded increasing attention to security issues, and their framing of immigration reflects the two-level accommodation. Immigration became vulnerable to the nexus of Canadian trade and US demands for heightened security.

Extensively, the ultimate goal of this new act beyond the liberty is to make a balance between economy and security, but in practice security overwhelmed economy in short run. In fact, there was no direct terrorist threat to Canada, ultimately immigration policy remained the same to secure the economic interests more.

The second, *Anti-Terrorism Act* first times defined the "crimes of terrorism" under Canada's Criminal Code. "The act's definition of terrorism was clearly inspired by the United Kingdom's *Terrorism Act* (2000) in requiring proof of religious, ideological or political motive and the commission of a broad range of harms that went well beyond violence against civilians. As first introduced, it would have defined as acts of terrorism politically motivated acts that intentionally caused a serious disruption of a public or private essential service. Such acts had to be designed to intimidate a segment of the public with regard to its security, but this could include its economic security" (Roach 2007; 125).

The *ATA* was enacted in the reason that ordinary criminal law of Canada was inadequate to deal with terrorism threats after September 11, 2001. In respect to both incidents, the murder of a cabinet minister during October Crisis in 1970s and terrorist activity of Air India crash (1985), "Canada had the ordinary criminal law which prohibited the participation in crimes such as murders and bombings as well as conspiracies and attempts to commit such crimes. The ordinary criminal law functioned under the traditional principle and its motive was not relevant to a crime; a political or religious motive could not excuse to commit the crime." Evidence of political and religious was introduced in the trial of two Sikh men for the bombing of Air India, but in acquitting the two men, the trial judge held that "the motive evidence was not particularly helpful, because many Sikhs at the time held similar views about the state of India" (Roach 2007; 126). While "*ATA* requires the religion and politics of terrorist suspects to be investigated by the police, and to become a central issue in any terrorist trials" (ibid; 126).

The *ATA* was defended as "a crucial legislation for preventing terrorism including the provision of finances, property, and other forms of assistance to terrorist groups; participation in the activities of a terrorist group and instructing to carry out of activities for a terrorist group (Roach 2007: 123). In addition, offences under the previous *Official Secrets Act* were extended its jurisdiction that, if any person is giving information to terrorist groups, as well as to the governments of other countries. The financing provisions were required to implement Canada's obligations under the "Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism in 1999", but the non-financing offences

concerning with participation, preparation and sheltering terrorists, were not required to arrest and punish before the enactment of *ATA*. The main concern after 9/11 was the enforcement of law, gathering intelligence information and coordination, not criminal law. Under *ATA*, people were subjected to be prosecuted in Canada for sending finance and providing other support to the struggles fought in foreign territories (ibid).

Another significant defense of the *ATA* is its application to a broad range of activities committed inside or outside of Canada. As Canada has made the commitments to various international conventions related to specific forms of terrorism. In the difficulty of defining terrorism, Supreme Court of Canada has noted that "Nelson Mandela's African National Congress was, during the apartheid era, routinely labeled as a terrorist organization, not only by the South African government but by much of the international community (Suresh v Canada 2002)[7]. Many difficult issues emerged on a question - Should people in Canada be charged with sending financial or other forms of support to liberation struggles of foreign lands?" (ibid).

Besides, under *IRPA,* people who engage in terrorism or being a member of an organization that believes in the acts of terrorism are considered inadmissible in Canada. "Terrorism is not, however, defined under *IRPA*. In the 2002 case of Suresh v. Canada, the Supreme Court rejected the definition of terrorism even of *ATA.*

> The court defined terrorism for the purpose of the immigration law as any act intended to cause death or serious injury to a civilian, or to any person not taking an active part in the hostilities in a situation of armed conflict, when the purpose of such act by its nature or context is to intimidate a population or to compel a government or an international organization to do or abstain from doing any act" (Roach, 2007; 133-134)

After 9/11, Supreme Court has decided that this term must be interpreted broadly that "detention or removal under IRPA can be achieved without the need to prove beyond a reasonable doubt that a person has committed a crime. Under IRPA, non-citizen can be found to be inadmissible on security grounds on the basis of facts that may lead to occur the incidents in future" (ibid).

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[7] Suresh v Canada cited in Netherton A. (eds.) (2005), In/ Security: Canada in the Post-9/11 World, Burnaby: SFU, Centre for Canadian Studies: 220

Another important counter terrorism legislature measure that received the royal assent on 6th may 2004, was the *Public Safety Act* (Bill C-7). The objectives and key features of the public safety act included:

- For transportation security purposes
- Allowing for collection of passenger information by specified federal department and agencies for the purpose of transportation and national security while ensuring that the privacy rights of Canadian are protected.
- Deterring hoaxes that endanger the public or heighten public anxiety
- National security investigations relating to terrorism;
- Situations of immediate threat to the life or safety of a person;
- The enforcement of arrest warrants for offences punishable by five years or more imprisonment and that are specified in the regulations;
- And arrest warrants under the immigration and refugee protection act and the extradition act.

In brief, the two acts (ATA and IRPA) have been formulated on the principle of security drive regulatory measures primarily "to prevent and deter outsiders from entering Canada. both rationales of terrorist prevention and deterrence depend on the fundamental notion of inadmissibility. Public safety and emergency preparedness Canada reinforces this idea by stating that the best way to stop terrorists from entering Canada is to stop them before they get here and that many of the real and direct threats to Canada originate from far beyond our borders. These visions apply of threat imply foreign nationals want to enter Canada for terrorist purposes; they also create the outsider as target" (Kruger 2004; 78). On the other side, practices of these two acts observed as discriminatory to certain ethnic groups. Numerous cases of wrong profiling, innocent's arrests and detention under suspicion as well as hate-related crimes were noted to target the specified ethnic minorities in Canada.

4.3 Liberty v/s Security debate:

The anti- terrorism act was subject to heated debate and controversy as the liberals fast-

tracked it through the house of commons and liberal dominated senate. The basic question raised by the legislators was that the act crushed "on civil liberties because it gave police sweeping powers including the ability or legitimacy to arrest and detain them without charge for up to 72 hours if they are suspected of planning any terrorist activity." Some questions were raised by the opposition party members especially NDP about special investigative and prosecutorial powers especially "a new police power to compel the testimony from anyone they believe, had information that pertinent to terrorism investigation; closed trials; secret arrest; long detention; a right of the prosecution with a judge's approval; and to deny an accused and counsel full knowledge of the evidence against him" (Raj, 2007; 159). It was also made a point that the definition of terrorism was so broad that they could be used against the people who participate in demonstrations, strikes, political or institutional dissent. However, most of the opposition amendment proposals were rejected by liberals through majority of the house except of considering on a major demand that had also a strong public support concerning to providing five-year sunset clause on law, at that time the government will review it to determine whether it should be softened or amended according the prevailing threat of the terrorist activities (ibid).

Moreover, Professor Wesley Pue, Department of legal studies of University of British Columbia observes that "Canada's definition of terrorism leaves much room for confusion of moths and warms." On the definition of terrorism as it appears in the act, Professor Pue comments that "many demonstrators would become terrorists…just as the boundary between dissent and terrorism is unclear, so too the legislation confuses more or less ordinarily thuggish, violent behavior with terrorism" (ibid).

During the debate on the *ATA*, the concept of human security was massaged first into human right and into political trump card. Liberal member of the parliament Irwin Cotler described "Canada's *Anti Terrorism Act* as; …human security legislation, which seeks to protect both national security…and civil liberties. As the united nations put it, terrorism constitutes a fundamental assault on human rights…while counter-terrorism law involves a protection of the most fundamental of rights, right to life, liberty, and the security of the person, as well as the collective rights of peace." Therefore Prof. Pue remarks on Cotlers' statement of security could be balanced in mix of human rights. But security wins always. He concludes that "Canada's new law violates the very

constitutional values that render our society 'civil' while simultaneously failing to protect us from terrorism. The misleading freedom versus security dichotomy distorts dangerously, reinforcing our cultural obsession with the notoriously blunt instrument of coercive law…" (Roach, 2001 cited in Raj, 2007; 160).

Moreover, the Canadian Association of University Teachers (CAUT) (2001) also protested the possibility that unions, first nations, and anti-globalization protesters could be caught up in the broad definition of terrorism activity but, in addition, it argued that "the *Anti- Terrorist Act* could create a climate that would suppress dissent and the exchange of ideas, criminalize those who fought against oppressive regimes, and weaken concepts of natural justice by open trials, admitting secret evidence, and basing policy decisions on unknown, thus unchallengeable, confidential information from foreign governments." The subsequent protests were filed by the Canadian Civil Liberties Association (CCLA) (2003), which suggested that "the new powers respecting compulsory testimony, preventive detention, and governments ability to brand groups as terrorist in nature on the basis of secret evidence were a dangerous limitation on civil rights requiring special safeguards to prevent abuse by those in power" (Smith 2005; 187).

For Amnesty International Canada, "the only protection that bill provides for peaceful protest is that excludes 'Lawful' acts of the dissent that don't endanger lives or cause a serious risk to public health or safety. Yet, even unlawful forms of dissent should not be characterized as 'terrorism' unless they endanger lives or public safety. The line between lawful and unlawful is too fine and often too arbitrary to say that one is acceptable, perhaps even commendable, and the other is terrorism" (ibid; 188).

However, Anne McLellan, Justice Minister of Canada, defended the Act on basis that terror attacks in north America were a new phenomenon and as a result the "balance between individual rights and collective security shifted after attacks (Globe and mail 2001; Magnusson 2009; 85), implying that any challenge of the law under the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* (1982) would be defeated, as the courts would place new emphasis on security rather than individual rights." Irwin Cotler (2002) went on to suggest that "the act was really designed to protect the most important rights of individuals - those of life, liberty, and the security of the person." In the defense of new legislation, government argued that "they needed to coordinate their response with that

of other governments and considered prevention to be greater significance than punishment." Despite the government assurances that the ATA is designed to have least impact on Canadian residents who have no connections to terrorism, researchers such as Kent Roach have argued that "while the government may have met the minimum legal standard to protect or 'Charter Proof' the Act from attack by courts on a constitution basis, it does not logically follow that this approach was one that had to taken" (Roach 2001; 133). Roach suggests that "while the attack of September 11 was a terrible crime and that all who participated should be brought to justice and prevented from causing further harm, there was no need to weaken the rights of Canadians, strengthen police powers, and create new crimes when the acts of terrorism were already crimes before the attack" (Magnusson, 2009; 85).

Roach (2003) notes several of these types of incidents that have occurred in Canada since 9/11. For example, for speaking out against American foreign policy as a cause of the September 11, 2001 attacks, and Canadian participation in the war in Afghanistan, Prof. Sunera Thobani was denounced by the prime minister, the premier of British Columbia, and the media, and was placed under police investigation for promoting hatred of Americans. In an incident of immediate reaction rather than investigation, a Muslim Canadian was fired as a security risk from his position in a nuclear power plant and only reinstated after it was shown that his name was coincidentally the same as one of the 9/11 terrorists. In other cases of unfortunate mistakes, a copy shop operated by a family of middle eastern descent was almost put of business by publicity surrounding a mistaken raid by Toronto police; and Canadian businessman named Liban Hussein was mistakenly listed as terrorist, as arrested, had his assets frozen, was almost deported before the error was discovered. The Mehar Arar arrest and long time detention and torture was noted as heightened error at various levels made by intelligence and police (Pue 2003).

However, under the pressure from public and stark criticism of Anti Terrorism Act made by many academics, lawyer and civil society associations, Canadian government announced the cross-cultural roundtable for understanding and discussing the real threats of terrorism and issues of 'visible minorities'.

4.3.1 Cross Cultural Roundtable on Security

The roundtable was declared as a part of Canada's first official national security policy, "Securing an Open Society" that was released, a few weeks after the Madrid bombings in April 2004. The Cross-Cultural Roundtable was described as;

- "The Government needs the help and support of all Canadians to make its approach to security effective. Therefore, it will introduce new measures to reach out to communities in Canada that was victimized due to struggle against terrorism;
- Cross-Cultural Roundtable on Security will be comprised of members of ethno-cultural and religious communities from across Canada;
- It was an attempt to engage in a long term dialogue to improve understanding on how to manage security interests in a diverse society and will provide advice to maintain and promote of civil order, mutual respect and common under-standing;
- It will be a partnership with all communities to work to ensure that there is zero tolerance for terrorism or crimes of hate in Canada;
- The roundtable will work with the Minister of Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness, and the Minister of Justice;
- Canada's Cross-Cultural Roundtable focuses on security issues and not other issues such as employment, discrimination and religious freedom in interest to minority groups in Canada;
- On the one hand Roundtable's goal of promoting 'zero tolerance for terrorism and crimes of hate' reflects to Canada's post 9/11 Anti-Terrorism Act which added many new crimes of terrorism to Canada's Criminal Code, and on the other, recognizing the rising in hate crimes;
- new crime of hate-motivated mischief to religious property and provided enhanced provisions for the deletion of hate propaganda from the internet" (Roach 2006; 411).

It was observed that "some ethno-cultural minority communities had genuine concerns about hate crimes in the wake of 9/11. Muslim and Sikh communities have expressed concerns about discriminatory law enforcement practices in state's anti-terrorism efforts. Canada's Cross-Cultural Roundtable focuses on security issues and not other issues such as employment, discrimination and religious freedom that may also be of

interest to minority groups in Canada" (Roach 2002; 122).

The goal of Roundtable to promote "zero tolerance for terrorism and crimes of hate" reflects the orientation of Canada's post 9/11 *Anti-Terrorism Act* which added "many new crimes of terrorism to Canada's *Criminal Code*. but also, in recognition of post 9/11 rises in hate crimes, added a new crime of hate-motivated mischief to religious property and provided enhanced provisions for the deletion of hate propaganda from the internet" (Roach 2006; 411). However, Roach observed that "many minority communities had genuine concerns about hate crimes in the wake of 9/11, but the focus on terrorism and hate crimes is a partial focus even from a security perspective because Canada's Muslim communities and others have expressed concerns about discriminatory law enforcement practices in the state's anti-terrorism efforts" (Roach 2002). Indeed, proposals were made by Irwin Cotler to add a clause of anti-discrimination in *ATA* (Cotler, 2001).

It is important to note that Cotler was the 'Minister of Justice' when National Security Policy was released in 2004, but it is interesting that the "focus of the Cross-Cultural Roundtable remained on achieving 'zero-tolerance of terrorism and hate crimes', but not 'zero tolerance' of the use of racial or religious profiling or other discriminatory law enforcement practices by state officials. It is unlikely that outreach to minority communities on security issues will be successful if it does not engage all of the concerns that these communities may have about Canada's security policy" (Roach 2006; 412).

The Ministers of Public Safety and Justice gave a public call for nominations from hate victim communities and appointed 15 members to the Cross-Cultural Roundtable in February, 2005. The Roundtable was chaired by Dr. Zaneer Lakhani, a medical doctor and a member of Edmonton's *Ismaili* community, and included representatives from many other minority communities and different regions of Canada's vast geographical area.

However, anti-voices have been raised against Roundtable that it did not include Muslim representatives from three main metropolitan centers - Toronto, Montreal and Ottawa where the large number of Muslim population concentrated and have been the focus of several high profile and controversial national security investigations. It was

criticized for not giving adequate representation to those communities who are most or directly affected by national security practices of the government. It has only conducted a few formal meetings and released few statements deploring the bombings in London on 7 July, 2005 and condemning terrorism after seventeen people were arrested in Toronto in June 2006 under various charges of terrorism.

Some problems confronted in "Cross-Cultural Roundtable" when the concerned Minister appeared in October 2005 before a Senate Committee conducting a mandated three years review of *ATA*. Some of the Senators raised concerns that the mandate of the Roundtable was conflicting because it required the Roundtable to act both as an advocate for those who may "be wrongfully profiled and subject to the anti-terrorism legislation" and as "disseminators of information" from the government to minority communities (Special Senate Committee *ATA* 2005: 28). Another Senator raised concerns about the lack of independence of the Roundtable from the Department of Public Safety.

The Assistant Deputy Minister responded that "the Roundtable had an annual budget of $600,000 that included three full time staff and the Roundtable members. A number of Senators expressed concerns that there were no Muslim representatives from Ottawa, Toronto and Montreal on the Committee. The Chair of the Committee also indicated that a number of civil society groups that had appeared before the Committee had expressed concerns that they do not know what the round table is doing and the kinds of discussions you are having" (Roach 2006; 413).

Although the establishment of the Roundtable makes a positive sign of outreach to minority communities by the government, ultimately the work of the Roundtable has been in doubt. Like in England, the Home Office itself seemed to recognize that "it was preparing a heavy-handed approach that might not be rationally connected to stopping extremism and terrorism and that might be unfair to innocent people" (ibid). The experience of the preventing extremism proposal underlines "the dangers of heavy-handed approaches to security and multiculturalism that are not based on established outreach with the affected communities. It also demonstrates the importance of other groups allying with Muslim minorities when governments overreach" (ibid).

However, various 'visible minority' groups - Muslim minorities and other civil society

groups including religious and refugee groups made the voices against those laws (Roach 2003). Ethnic minority groups faced many dangers in viewing inter-community relations in a multicultural society through the narrow and intense prism of security. These dangers include unfair stereotyping and hate, mainly against Muslim immigrants and assumptions that all 'visible minorities' or immigrants held responsible for the violent actions as well security threat in Canada.

Like other western countries, Canada has not established the "effective institutional and interpersonal relations between the Muslim ethnic community and the government long before 9/11. Such pre-existing institutional and interpersonal relations are relevant to engagement on security issues because the state is the only one institution which can recognize the aspirations and grievances of the minority community, apart from her own security interests" (Roach 2006; 411). After 9/11, Canada tried to establish coherent relationships between ethnic minorities and wider society; Cross cultural roundtable was the result of that.

Moreover, in April 2004, the government of Canada released its first "official national security policy", which endorsed an all-risk approach. Canada's policy includes commitments to better emergency preparedness, better public health, better transport security and better peacekeeping, as well as terrorist-specific proposals relating to better intelligence and better border security.

4.3.2 Call for More Laws against Incitement

United Nations Security Council Resolution 1624 adopted on September 14, 2005 that calls upon "all states to take steps to prevent incitement to commit terrorist acts". "The resolution declares that states have obligations under international law to counter incitement of terrorist acts motivated by extremism and intolerance and to prevent the subversion of educational, cultural and religious institutions by terrorists and their supporters" (Roach 2007; 135). This resolution, in its focus on speech and extremism, this resolution seems to be motivated by Karl Lowenstein's theory of militant democracy, which "suggests that democracies need to be more aggressive towards those who do not believe in democracy. Resolution 1624 also calls on states "to continue dialogue and broaden understanding among civilizations, in an effort to prevent the indiscriminate targeting of different religions and cultures" (ibid ;136).

In response to the concerns of political or religious motives as part of the 'definition' of terrorist activities would target those who may share religious and political opinions with terrorists, Canada amended the *Anti-terrorism Bill* to provide that "for greater certainty, the expression of a political, religious, or ideological thought, belief or opinion" will not constitute a terrorist activity unless the expression satisfies the other content of 'definition' of terrorist activities. Canada did, however, create the ability of the state to seize and remove hate propaganda from the internet and created a new offence of mischief to religious property, both on the basis of concerns about the connection between hate speech and terrorism. "Although Canada accepts the criminalization of hate speech as a reasonable limit on freedom of expression, it has not yet focused on targeting 'speech' relating to terrorism. As it considers amendments arising from the three-year review, the federal government will be under pressure to enact new offences against the incitement of terrorism as requested by Resolution 1624" (Roach 2001; 157-158).

Recent developments such as the creation of a Cross-Cultural Round-table on Security and then Prime Minister Martin's meetings with a group of *imams* who issued a statement condemning 'terrorism' after the London bombings are positive instances of the necessary cross-cultural dialogue about terrorism. After the closed meeting, then prime minister Martin said, "it is very important that his government respond to show that we recognize the truth of their statement so we can build on that statement: *Imams* promise to PM to help root out extremism," (Globe and Mail, 2005). Prime Minister Harper also spoke out against attempts to blame multiculturalism for terrorism in the aftermath of the Toronto arrests. He contrasted "Canada's diversity and openness with terrorists who want societies that are closed, homogeneous and dogmatic" (Globe and Mail, 2006).

4.4 Impacts on Ethnic Minorities: Muslims and Sikhs

4.4.1 Security Certificates

The most controversial part of *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA)* that includes the provisions that allows the Immigration and Public Safety Minister to sign "security certificates" to view immigrants as threats to national security on various grounds as they are members of a group that is concerned at any stage with terrorism in any part of the world. It makes the provisions for mandatory detention of suspected

immigrants until the inquiry completed or deported to their root country (Welchman 2002).

In contrast, in 2002, the Supreme Court of Canada ruled that "the Canadian Charter will prohibit deportation of a non-citizen held under a security certificate if there is a fear of torture, but the Court also held that courts should defer to the government's determinations about the risk of torture unless they are patently unreasonable and there may be exceptional circumstances in which it would be constitutional for Canada to deport a non-citizen to torture" (Suresh v. Canada 2002).

> The standard of proof under security certificates is lower than that used in civil and criminal cases. The detainee is prohibited by law from seeing evidence that is presented to the judge to determine the reasonableness of the certificate if the judge determines that its release would be dangerous to national security. There is no provision for adversarial challenge of this secret evidence, as there is in the United Kingdom with respect to the use of security cleared special advocates. There is no limit on the period of detention under security certificates. Security certificates have been used in Canada as a form of de facto indeterminate detention (Stewart 2005).

In practice, five Muslim men were suspected involving in terrorist activities and detained in Canada under "security certificates". A 45 years old Egyptian man Mohamad Mahjoub detained for longest period while he has been detained before 9/11, since June 26, 2000, and alleged to have associated with Osama bin Laden and "vanguards of conquest" a group that aims to overthrow the Egyptian government. Another was the Mahmoud Jaballah who also alleged to have terrorist links with the "Egyptian Al- Jihad" and has been detained since August, 2001 on a "security certificate" ordering his deportation to Egypt. Hassan Almrei who was from Syria, has been detained from October 19, 2001. Mohammed Harkat was detained on December 10, 2002 with allegations that he has connections with "Algerian Islamic Army Group", but in May, 2006, court gave releasing orders on bail. Adil Charkaoui, also from Algeria was detained from May, 2003 but in February 2005, was released on strict conditions on his fourth detention review (Roach 2006).

In these cases, Canadian government has made two arguments, one is "the detainee will not face torture if returned to Egypt or Syria or Algeria despite the known cases of torture of terrorist suspects in those countries." Second is that "each case constitutes an

exceptional case in which deportation to torture would be constitutional under Canada's Charter, even though in violation of Canada's international law obligations with respect to torture". However, the ruling to determinate detention under 'security certificates' and the use of evidence not to be disclosed to the detainee that have been challenged under the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* in Supreme Court of Canada (Charkaoui v/s. Canada 2007 cited in Roach 2006).

"Security certificates have not been only controversial use of Canadian immigration law as anti-terrorism law, but in August, 2003, the government of Canada broadly used the powers of investigative detention under Canadian immigration law to detain 23 non-citizens from Pakistan. This operation is called as 'Project Thread' alleged that men appear to reside in clusters of 4 or 5 young males and appear to change residences in clusters and/or interchange addresses with other clusters" (Project Thread Backgrounder cited in Roach 2006).

Further the detention of 19 men in Canada was highlighted and raised many security concerns. "The men were entitled to induce administrative hearings while mostly were detained under s.58(1) (C) of IRPA on the basis that the Minister is taking necessary steps to inquire into a reasonable suspicion that they are inadmissible on grounds of security or for violating human and international rights" (Roach 2006; 424).

Both the RCMP and immigration officials subsequently withdraw the claims of a security threat. Many of them were deported because of immigration offences related to fraud in taking visas, but not as a threat to national security. However, after 9/11 terrorist threat to Canada has been defined much more danger from foreigners. The "security certificates" and "Operation Thread" were all directed against foreigners and immigrants. Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS) emphases on "foreign" activities as threat from homegrown terrorism.

Most of the terrorist activities in Canada are linked to homeland conflicts. These activities observed for providing an easy and safe base (Canadian earth) for terrorist supporters, making refugee claims to enter Canada and immigrant smuggling. Recently, terrorists who have connections to different international terrorist organizations entered in Canada as refugee claimants.

However, this picture of incidents caused to unfair treatment among Muslim ethno-

cultural and religious community in Canada. Some criticized it due to the anxiety in the minds of 'visible minorities' about the actions of police and about profiling and victimizing the innocent people. On the other hand, many leading national newspapers of Canada, denied to condemn the situation. Some argued that "preventive detention may be necessary in some cases while the case against the men would be laughed out of a criminal-court bail hearing, smacking of preventive detention and guilt by association" (Roach 2006; 425). These comments posed a recurring theme in post 9/11 security policies in Canada; how Muslims are specifically vulnerable to strict anti-terrorism legislations that would not be accepted for many Canadian citizens. The government of Canadian has not made much efforts to reform either 'security certificates' or 'investigative detention' measures under the immigration laws.

4.4.2 Profiling and Surveillances

The *Anti-Terrorism Act (ATA)* included "a new offence of hate and mischief against religious property on campaign basis and expanded powers to eliminate hate literature from the Internet. These provisions were defended by showing links between racial and religious hatred and terrorism. On the one hand while the government was prepared to proclaim its commitment to the anti-discrimination principle but when it extended the criminal law, it was not prepared to introduce an anti-discrimination clause in the *ATA* on the other. The statement of the clause runs as the following, that would bind state officials such a clause might provide symbolic reassurance to those in Canada's multicultural community who have expressed concerns that they will be subject to heightened scrutiny because they may have the same origins and religion as some terrorists" (Cotler 2001& Bahdi 2003: 293). However, the Concern was raised about "over-inclusive targeting of people by officials or financial institutions, because of factors such as an Arabic name. The remedies available for discriminatory profiling of an innocent person are very limited" (Choudhry & Roach 2003:1).

For many Canadian Muslim population, the case of Maher Arar stands as an example of the most vulnerable position of Muslims in Canada. The Arar Commission has found later that "RCMP wrongly labelled both Mr. Arar and his wife 'Islamic extremists' suspected of being linked to the al Qaeda terrorist movement, in lookouts issued to

Canadian and American customs officials in October, 2001" (Roach 2002; Arar commission, report: 83).

In addition, Roach observed that "the Cross-Cultural Roundtable on National Security made response to these concerns, but that body has been criticized for insufficient engagement with Muslim communities in Canada. There have been some proposals to add non-discrimination principles to the eight-paragraph preamble to the *Anti-Terrorism Act*, but this will only have a limited symbolic effect" (Roach 2001: 129).

He suggested that "The government could take the opportunity of the three years review to consider a Criminal Code amendment that would define improper profiling and provide remedies and monitoring for these practices, agreement and codification of what constitutes improper profiling could be a useful tool in the training of law enforcement officials. An anti-profiling amendment could continue the trend already started in the *Anti-Terrorism Act* of imposing reporting requirements on both federal and provincial law enforcement officials. A profiling amendment could also build a gateway between law enforcement and various statutory review mechanisms, including human rights commissions. There is a need for tangible efforts not symbolic rhetoric on the issue of non-discrimination in Canadian anti-terrorism law" (Roach 2005: 308).

The most visible inequality is in the differences between the way citizens and non-citizens who are suspected of terrorism are treated under Canadian law. According to the Canada Evidence Act, "Citizens have their right to a fair criminal trial protected, whereas, non-citizens can be subject to investigative and indeterminate detention under immigration law on the basis of allegations that they are members of a terrorist group, even though membership alone is not a crime in Canada. Moreover, the government can keep evidence secret in immigration law and has a burden of proof far short of proof of guild beyond a reasonable doubt" (Canada Evidence Act 1985 amended 2001 cited in Roach 2006).

Moreover, *ATA* expanded the powers of police force. One provision provides for preventive arrests when they find reasonable grounds to believe that "a terrorist activity will be carried out and reasonable suspicion to believe that detention or the imposition of conditions is necessary to prevent that carrying out of the terrorist activity. The

previous preventive arrest under the Canadian law is limited to seventy-two hours. At the same time, the effects of a preventive arrest can last much longer. The suspect can be required by a judge to enter into a recognizance or peace bond for up to a year with breach of the bond being punishable by up to two years' imprisonment. Refusal to agree to a peace bond is punishable by a years' imprisonment. Governments are required to prepare reports on the use of the measure. So far, no reports have been made use of preventive arrests. This may represent restraint on the part of Canadian police, a preference for keeping terrorist suspects under close surveillance or difficulties in identifying terrorist suspects in everyday life" (Roach 2007;129).

Secondly, the police endowed with a new investigative power to compel a person to answer questions relating to terrorist activities in past or future. The subject cannot refuse to answer on the grounds of self-incrimination, but the statements and evidences derived from the compulsion, thereby cannot be used in subsequent proceedings against the person compelled.

There is additional judicial supervision of the questions and a right to counsel. For an example, in the first attempt to use investigative hearings was during the Air India trial. The application for hearing was held in top secret without prior notice to the media or to the accused. The person compelled to testify in the case challenged the constitutionality of the procedure. The Supreme Court interpreted the charter that "the Charter would prevent the use of an investigative hearing if the predominant purpose was to determine penal liability and would prevent the use of compelled testimony and evidence in subsequent extradition and deportation proceedings, even though this was not specifically provided for in the impugned statute in almost every case, the government will be able to show that its predominant purpose was investigative, but the court's extension of immunity to deportation and extradition hearings add protections that are especially important in the context of international terrorism" (Roach 2007; 107).

4.4.3 Torture and Deportation

In the year 2002, in Suresh v. Canada case decision, the Supreme Court ruled that "the right not to be deprived of life, liberty or security of the person except in accordance

with the principles of fundamental justice in s. 7 of the Canadian Charter will in most cases prohibit the deportation of a person to a country where there is a substantial risk of torture" (Suresh v. Canada, 2002). The court, however, "refused to articulate an absolute rule against torture under the 'Charter' despite finding that it is an absolute rule under international law. The court also did not indicate what exceptional circumstances might justify deportation to torture or address the situation of those who may be subject to continued detention because their removal would not be constitutional. The Canadian courts have also refused to stay deportations to allow the United Nations Human Rights Committee or its Committee Against Torture to hear complaints from individuals who argue that they will be tortured if deported from Canada" (Roach 2003; 143).

The idea of Canada's possible deport a 'security threat' to face a substantial risk of torture and harassment is rightly something of an international embarrassment. "The United Nations Human Rights Committee" and its "Committee against Torture" both have pointedly reminded Canada of its stringent obligation not to participate in any kind of torture. The House of Lords has given some relaxation in the law by affirming that democracies should not be complicit in torture. "The American Congress under the leadership of Senator John McCain, himself a torture victim, has also proclaimed its commitment not to be involved with torture" (Ibid).

The case of Maher Arar and other Canadian citizens held in Syria have reminded Canadians of the reality of torture in some foreign prisons. Although Canada has not enacted legislation specifically derogating from rights guaranteed in 'charter' while "it actually has derogated from the spirit of those rights by allowing the indefinite detention of suspected terrorists under 'security certificates' and by having the possibility of deporting a person to torture" (ibid).

4.4.4 Media Bias

Some Muslim ethnic minority groups have objected to media's unfair coverage while Canadian officials went to "explain the arrests to various leaders of the Muslim communities even before the media for making awareness of arrests" (Globe and Mail, 9 June 2006). Meanwhile these arrests "increased the tensions in Canadian society and resulted to immediate increase the hate crimes against mosques in Canada, including

an assault of a well-known *Imam* in Montreal" (New York Times, 10 June 2006). Prime Minister Stephen Harper responded to arrests to blame the multiculturalism and immigration by arguing that "terrorism will be rejected most strongly by those men and women living in the very communities that the terrorists claim to represent, as we have already seen in Canada" (Globe and Mail, 20 June 2006). On the other hand, a conservative *Imam* of Toronto*,* Ally Hindy has alleged that "the role of media was not just to inform what was happening, he was making things happen" (Toronto Star, 14 July 2006).

4.4.5 Case Studies: Mehar Arar and Thobani

Mehar Arar Case

To face the criticism of national security policies, Canada was holding public inquiries in some cases. "Public inquiries often headed by sitting or retired judges, have broad powers both to compel testimony and the production of evidence and to conduct research. They can call individuals, organizations, government and even society in general to account for misconduct or failures" (Roach 2006; 429).

In Canada, there are presently two major, multi-million dollar public inquiries being held on national security matters. The first inquiry headed by Justice Dennis O'Connor of the Ontario Court of Appeal, examined the actions of Canadian officials in relation to the rendition of Maher Arar, a Canadian citizen born in Syria. Mr. Arar was returning to Canada when he was detained in the United States and transported to Jordan and then onto to Syria where he was detained almost a year. An independent fact finder appointed by the commission of inquiry has confirmed Mr. Arar's claims of torture while in Syria and has also found that three other Canadians of Arab origins were tortured while detained in Syria. Maher Arar case is crucial for Canadians (Muslims) that innocent people can be harmed in anti-terrorism investigations (Roach 2007).

At first, "Arar case had not a major concern in Canada, but when public pressure mounted then government decided to appoint the inquiry in early 2004. The inquiry required to investigate and report on the actions of Canadian officials in relation to Arar's detention in the United States, his deportation to Syria, his treatment in Syria and his return to Canada. Both the governments of Syria and the United States declined invitations to participate in the inquiry because of its concern for national security

matters. Large portions of the inquiry have been conducted in camera without Mr. Arar or his lawyers being present because of concerns about national security confidentiality. Witnesses from the Royal Canadian Mounted Police ('RCMP'), CSIS, Canadian Customs and Canada's department of Foreign Affairs have proven as public testimony. The fact is such a large scale inquiry was called to enhance awareness in Canada about those Canadians who are from Middle East and who have dual citizenship may face when they travel abroad" (Roach 2007; 120).

In September 2006, the Arar Commission released its first report. It concluded that "the RCMP had provided inaccurate and unfair information about Maher Arar to American officials including a description of both Mr. Arar and his wife as 'Islamic Extremist individuals suspected of being linked to the Al Qaeda terrorist movement'". Some of the Commission's twenty-three recommendations touched on issues which were relating to multiculturalism. It was recommended that "national security investigators receive better training including social context training about Canada's Arab and Muslim communities in order to avoid relying on stereotypes about race, religion or ethnicity in investigations and to improve relations and outreach with those visible communities. Justice O'Connor also recommended that Canadian agencies have 'clear written policies' stating that national security investigations must not be based on racial, religious or ethnic profiling" (Arar Commission Report 2006). In this sense, the ethnicity, race and religion of individuals may not be exposed them before investigation. Profiling in this sense has been considered wrong step because every citizen has equal rights and citizenship status without any discrimination and more importantly Canada has a commitment of multiculturalism. Profiling that relies on stereotypes is also contrary to the equality and liberty.

The Arar Commission has the legitimacy to independent review the mechanism adopted by RCMP under national security. This context of inquiry recognizes that RCMP has special powers in jurisdiction of national security due to the enactment of *Anti-terrorism Act* 2001.

In addition, the *Commission for Public Complaints* (CPC) against RCMP which has jurisdiction to review how the RCMP handles public complaints against individual officers, but it has acknowledged that CPC does not have sufficient powers to review the increased national security activities of the RCMP (Heafey 2002). Moreover, it

recommended "to review of the national security activities of customs, immigration and terrorist financing officials" (Arar commission Report 2006).

Review of national security activities are mostly concerned with those Muslims who "may be suspect but not aware that they are subject to scrutiny from the state and who may be reluctant to complain about the treatment they receive from police or security intelligence agents, for various reasons relating to employment, social stigma and lack of citizenship. The targeting of wrong people not only threatens the civil rights and freedom, but also wastes the limited resources. Similarly, the alienation of Muslim minority Communities by insensitive or heavy handed tactics, create the fear and distrust that further gives the effects to state running multicultural policies and programs working for increasing the level of integration. State tactics such as racial and religious profiling destroy the values of equality and liberty" (Roach 2006; 431).

Arar case reveals the inadequacies in Canadian system for making the review of state's national security activities. In the Arar case, "review by both, CPC (that has jurisdiction with respect to complaints against the RCMP), and SIRC (that reviews the activities of Canada's security intelligence agency commenced investigations) were suspended in favour of the Arar inquiry that has the broader jurisdiction to examine the activities of all Canadian officials, whether from the police, security intelligence agency, customs, foreign affairs or elsewhere who were involved in the case. The Arar case is an example of how a person's reputation can be damaged if one is associated in any way with a terrorism investigation. Though, Maher Arar was released by Syria and has not been charged with an offence since his return to Canada, but could not find any employment despite being a computer engineer. Arar Commission has found that the state of affairs has caused and given much pain to innocent Mehar Arar" (Report of fact finder 2005 cited in Roach 2006).

Sunera Thobani Case

A few weeks after 9/11, Sunera Thobani, a Professor of University of British Columbia (UBC) made headlines and ignited a national controversy with respect to remarks as she made in conference that;

> "from Chile to El Salvador to Nicarugua to Iraq, the path of U.S. foreign policy is soaked in blood…. And other countries of the West, including shamefully Canada, cannot line up fast enough…. The American nation that Bush is invoking is a people which is bloodthirsty, vengeful and calling for blood" (Roach 2003:19).

However, the premier of British Columbia, Gordon Campbell responded that "these comments were 'hateful'", and then Prime Minister of Canada, Jean Chretien told Parliament that Professor Thobani had made "a terrible speech that we condemn 100 percent." While the University of British Columbia correctly stood by Professor Thobani's academic freedom stating that "freedom of speech is the cornerstone of university culture. This is the stuff of democracy, a core value that our society seeks to protect in its struggle with terrorism" (Roach 2003:19).

The chill on "freedom of expression" in Thobani case came when an RCMP officer stated before media on October 9, 2001 that "Professor Thobani made comments that willfully promoted hatred against the Americans. There is a fine line between free speech and the willful promotion of hatred. This statement contravened the usual and correct police practice of remaining silent about their investigations. Although police investigations of some politicians have been made public, there was no public interest in such a disclosure in this case." In addition, the idea that "Thobani's harsh criticism of American foreign policy could constitute 'hate propaganda', was legally unsound, given the law requires willful promotion against a group distinguished by "colour, race, religion or ethnic origin" (Roach 2007 ;145).

The above comments by the officer were subsequently found to be inappropriate by both RCMP and Commission for Public Complaints against the RCMP. Then, Shirley Heafey, the chair of commission concluded that "public disclosure of police information and the officer's personal comments were clearly unjustified and contrary to s. 8 of the Privacy Act, the RCMP Protocol on disclosure of personal information, and the RCMP policy on RCMP and media relations" (ibid;143). She added that "the officer in question had implied that Thobani was guilty of an offence when in fact the matter was only at the investigation stage" (ibid; 144). Although both RCMP and Commission for Public Complaints recognized that "police should not comment about

ongoing investigations, the commission also upheld the RCMP's remedy of an apology and counselling for the officer" (ibid; 144).

To the above comments, the same officer on October 10, 2001, in the course of apologizing for his earlier remarks, stated;

> "we have a complaint against someone who is obviously from a 'visible minority', whom the   complainant feels is promoting hate. Normally, people think it's a white supremacist or Caucasians promoting hate against 'visible minorities'…. We want to get out the message that it's wrong, all around" (Smith 2005; 113).

The Commission for Public Complaints subsequently concluded that "in making these comments, the officer inappropriately made a racial distinction in his decision to go public with this information. These comments unfortunately failed to place the officer's reference to Professor Thobani's race in its full context. Numerous negative media responses to her 'comments' had already focused on the fact that Professor Thobani had immigrated to Canada, as newspapers in British Columbia were asking, 'Why is she here, in the west she apparently loathes?'" (Roach 2005;13). In the examination of this case, both police and the media made the references to Thobani's race and national origins that suggest an undercurrent in which the foreign born are seen as 'others' who may be disloyal or dangerous (commission for public complaints Against RCMP report 2004).

The eventual resolution of the Thobani complaint also raises questions about the adequacy of review and discipline of the RCMP. Although the prior consent of a provincial or federal Attorney General is required before prosecutions for terrorism offences are commenced or the new powers of preventive arrest or investigative hearings are used, the ATA will be administered by police officers throughout Canada who are often subject to inadequate complaints measures.

Another, the McDonald Commission concluded that "the RCMP had engaged in illegalities and had trouble distinguishing radical dissent from terrorism in the wake of the 1970 October Crisis. In 1984, Canada created a new civilian security intelligence agency that was subject to a special review body with broad powers, not only to respond

to complaints, but to audit the activities of the agency to ensure that it did not stray beyond its legitimate mandate or engage in unlawful activities." Shirley Heafey, the former Chair of the CPC against the RCMP, has expressed concerns that "she was not given additional resources and powers to deal with the new mandate of the RCMP to administer the ATA." In the Thobani case, Heafey complained that "she had initially been denied access to documents relevant to the complaint." This underlines the importance of the public mandate of the Arar Commission, which is to make recommendations about the appropriate independent arm's-length review mechanism for the RCMP's national security activities (Roach 2005; Smith 2007).

4.4.6 Air India Inquiry

The third major public inquiry on national security matters being held in Canada concerning with the 1985 terrorist bombings of Air India Flight 182. "The inquiry was being conducted by retired Supreme Court Judge, John Major. The Air India Inquiry was appointed in 2006 after the controversial acquittals in 2005 of two Sikh- Canadians charged with conspiring to commit the bombings which killed 331 people in what was the world's worse act of aviation terrorism before 9/11" (Bolan 2005; Kashmiri & Brian 1989 cited in Roach 2006: 432). However, Both Sikhs have demanded compensation from the Canadian government for wrongful prosecution in their arrest and trial. Malik owes the government $6.4 million and Bagri owes $9.7 million in legal fees (World Sikh Organization). "In 1985, CSIS was a new security intelligence agency that had a number of suspected Sikh separatists under close surveillance, but this surveillance was unable to stop the placing of the bombs on two airplanes that originated from Canada. There have been many concerns about a lack of co-operation between CSIS and the RCMP in the investigations and about CSIS's subsequent destruction of audio-tapes of wiretaps that it had on the prime suspect in the case" (Roach 2006; 432).

Some security experts also serious concerns that Air India bombings is equivalent of 9/11 in Canada. However, India commissioned a judicial inquiry into the bombing in 1986, whereas Canada only took this step twenty year later. The investigation completed in late 2005 by a fact finder appointed by Canadian government. Although some have criticized the calling of the Air India's inquiry by Canada's new

Conservative government to appeal to the 'ethnic vote' (Globe and Mail 2006). The Commissioner, retired Supreme Court of Canada Justice John Major, has already stated that;

> "the families of the victims "are owed some form of explanation for a letter of condolence going to India" and has indicated that a prime objective of the inquiry is to give the victims "a sense that they are really Canadians..."(National Post 2006 Cited in Roach 2006).

These statements underline how issues of multiculturalism and integration may play an important role with respect to an inquiry examining Canada's most serious security failure.

4.4.7 Impacts on Sikh Community

As literature showing the post-9/11 Sikh discrimination in US, but there is very limited information available about the Sikh discrimination experiences in Canada. This section explores the 9/11 impacts on Sikhs in Canada.

After 9/11, several security measures were adopted in Canada and, although they were implemented for the safety of Canadians, certain elements have caused concern about discrimination and unfair profiling (Jamil & Rousseau 2012) under *Anti-Terrorism Act* which has been described in earlier segments. Its purpose is to "prosecute, convict, and punish terrorists and terrorism-related activities" (Jamil & Rousseau 2012; 371), but the potential for discrimination is present because police and other bodies get to determine what terrorist activities mean, which can result in racial and religious profiling (Jamil & Rousseau, 2008). A survey conducted in Canada nine months after the 9/11 attacks found that 56% of Muslim respondents had encountered anti-Muslim incidents in some form (ibid).

A 2011 study reported that Canada has a higher rate of hate crime (3.5/100,000) than in the US (2.9/100,000), with a hate crime being defined as "involving acts of violence and intimidation, usually directed toward already stigmatized and marginalized groups...it is a mechanism of power, intended to reaffirm the precarious hierarchies that characterize a given social order" (Perry & Alvi 2012; 58).

Above study of hate crimes sampled seven 'vulnerable' communities in Canada,

including Aboriginal people, African Canadians, people of Muslim faith, and South Asians. More than 75% of respondents said they feared such hate crime incidents could happen to them or members of their community (Perry & Alvi 2012; 63).

Members of many of these vulnerable communities spoke of behavioral changes they implemented for their safety. "They expressed the necessity to alter their performance of identity in accordance with what they recognize as the socially established rules (Perry & Alvi 2012; 67) which included routine activities and habits such as always carrying a cell phone and never walking alone." Many Canadians Muslims and Sikhs especially second-generation are trying to negotiate where and how they fit within larger society and own community. (Stroink 2007; 298).

After 9/11, citizens in Canada and US came under fear from those people who behind the attacks and those who resembled them (Ball 2008). Images of terrorists, particularly of Osama Bin Laden, were plastered across all television stations, showing men of Eastern Indian descent wearing turbans and having long beards. The fear of and anger at the terrorists was palpable in North-American society, and that fear quickly spread to anyone resembling these terrorists (Ball 2008; Park-Taylor et al. 2008). Arabs and Muslims were viewed as suspicious, and many started to live in fear of their neighbours and friends (Bhatia 2008). Another group of immigrants was also attacked, called Sikhs. Due to the presence of their turbans, beards, hair color, and skin color, Sikhs across the North-America began to get targeted or attacked. (Ahluwalia & Pellettiere 2010).

Little research has been done on the experiences of Sikhs after 9/11, looking at their shared experiences and their reactions to the personal attacks on them due to the events. Many have spoken about feeling discriminated against and hated due to their appearance and the lack of knowledge from mainstream society on who exactly Sikhs are and how they are an entirely different entity from Muslims (Ahluwalia & Pellettiere 2010; Bhatia 2008; Vyas 2008). The cultural identities of Sikhs and other Eastern communities living in US and Canada have been intensely challenged post-9/11. Under fear of discrimination many tried to fit into the country where they live in while holding on to the culture and traditions of their personal religions. As experience of Sikhs currently living in America, many who have chosen to cut their hair and distance themselves visibly from the religion as a direct result of reactions from 9/11. Studies in

the past have looked at the reactions of Sikhs, but there is limited research exploring the long-term effects of 9/11 on the Sikh population. The main focus of attention and research post-9/11 has been the effect it has had on Islam and Muslims, with Sikhs rarely included (Verraich 2014).

Due to the physical similarities, it can be concluded that Sikhs have also encountered discriminatory behaviors against them, and their experiences should not be ignored. Sikhs have been innocent bystanders to the terrorist attacks on 9/11, yet they have faced negative repercussions for maintaining their religious identity. Entire Sikh community were affected without any connection to the terrorist attacks (ibid).

The media also played a role in how the American people reacted to the terrorist attacks, and people who met certain physical characteristics were targeted. The "Other" was portrayed as brown skinned, usually male, and wearing a turban. Although this is the appearance of Osama bin Laden and other extremist terrorists who were actual threat to country, this is also what Sikhs look like. The hate crimes and discrimination that followed the attacks occurred also to people who only 'resembled' terrorists, so Sikhs were attacked and victimized after 9/11. The racial profiling has directly affected the Sikh population, especially those Sikhs who are baptized and those who wear turbans and have long beards. Morgen observed that "many responded to 9/11 by putting into place programs to educate people about the tenets of Islam and to encourage tolerance" (Morgan et al. 2011; 449). Sikhs appealed to mainstream society to learn about Sikh religion and about their differentiation from Islam and they own tried to inform the society about who they are?

With images of turban-wearing men being shown on various media outlets, suddenly Sikhs were being misidentified as terrorists and followers of Islam (Ahluwalia 2011; Bhatia 2008; Singh 2009; Verma 2006, 2010). Although the images that the media was showing (and continue to show) were of known terrorists and not pictures of Sikhs. Sikhs have large number of the turban-wearing population in Canada and United States (Ahluwalia 2011). Between 2001 and 2006, approximately 800 hate crimes were reported against Sikhs, and 83% of Sikhs living in US said they had either personally experienced a hate crime, or knew someone else who had (Ahluwalia & Pellettiere 2010; Verma 2010). The most publicized incident was the murder of Balbir Singh Sodhi in Arizona. On September 15, 2001, Mr. Sodhi was shot at a gas station by Frank

Silva Roque, who said he killed Sodhi because Roque "stood for America" (Singh 2009; 21). Sodhi became "the first murder victim of the 9/11-related hate crime backlash in America" (Gohil & Sidhu, 2008; 23). Avatar Cheira was another Sikh man who was murdered in the months after 9/11, with the shooters telling him to "go back to where you belong" before they shot him (Singh, 2009; 76). There have been many other incidents reported in USA.

Discrimination against Sikhs following 9/11 has been widespread and crosses into many domains, with much of the prejudice stemming from the image of the turban-wearing Sikh who is seen as the "Other". Sikhs have reported being harassed, verbally and physically, both in educational institutions as well as work Places (Gohil & Sidhu 2008). Sikhs have also been denied entry into public buildings and places open to the public, such as courthouses, postsecondary education institutions, and political events. Employment discrimination also became more prevalent following the terrorist attacks. Companies such as Disney and Subway "refused to employ Sikhs...apparently because turbaned Sikhs did not conform to their conception of what a presentable employee looks like" (Gohil & Sidhu 2008; 29).

As interviews conducted by Simrat Verraich (2014) shows that Sikh community in Canada is victimized of hate wave at various levels of society and institutions. While Sikhs are less affected in those areas where they constitute majority of population like Surrey (BC) and Brampton (Ontario). However, they face racism and hate when they move to other areas for work or any other purpose as well as educational institutions where the majority of the white pupil. Hate based discrimination was concerned mostly with baptized Sikhs who required to bear turban as per norms of Sikhism and those who usually bear turban as cultural practice or as hobby.

Verraich (2014) observed that "American participants also spoke generally about knowing Sikhs, mainly in British Columbia and Ontario where the Sikh population is high, and acknowledged that they must have it easier because they are more 'visible' in the communities and not considered a minority. Canadian participants spoke of their challenges as being more practically based, such as two participants' feeling that gaining employment was more difficult based on their Sikh appearance" (Verraich 2014; 83).

According to the interviews conducted by Verraich, Canadian participant's views over crossing the border, "Personally, I immediately felt just a ridiculous amount of more scrutiny crossing the border...all you're thinking through your head is they are going to think I'm a terrorist, terrorist, terrorist, racial profiling, racial profiling, racial profiling." Another "Participant similarly expressed that, after 9/11, I stopped wearing a white turban going out anywhere in America. I think that immediate connotation was you're bin Laden or Taliban...also, I would seldom wear traditional robes in public" (ibid; 84).

As survey conducted by Elizabeth Nayar, Professor at Kwantlen University in Canada by interviewing Sikh participants and observed that "in effect, a backlash of racist activities occurred toward ethnic minorities, especially Muslims and/or Arabs. While the backlash was a fearful reaction against the terrorist network that has as its alleged objectives the overthrow of the West, there was also the conflation of turban-wearers with terrorists. This linkage of turban-wearers with terrorists resulted in attacks on Sikhs living in North America, including the killing of Balbir Singh Sodhi in Phoenix, Arizona" (Nayar 2008; 29). She interviewed many those Sikhs who had also been mistaken for Muslims in Vancouver, after 9/11 as following mentioned. However, according to her first interviewee, "the Vancouver mainstream is aware of Sikhs as a separate community and knows the difference between Sikhs and Muslims" (ibid ; 29):

> Her interviewee 2 responds that "In Vancouver Lower Mainland I did not feel a difference after Sept. 11th. People here know who the Sikhs are, but as soon as you move out of this area into other parts of B.C. [British Columbia] you feel the prejudice" (ibid; 29)

> And Interviewee 3 responded that "I had several experiences of digs about being Osama bin Laden. At the check-out counter at a grocery, three guys around 20 –21 years (1 Hispanic, 2 Caucasians). One goes 'Hey that's Bin Laden'. I turned around and looked up to him and started talking to him: 'That's not very nice. You are probably surprised that I am speaking in English [without an accent] to you . . . and it may surprise you even more that I am not even Muslim. . . Let me give you some advice. Go to the library. Library cards are free. Take out a book and read about other people. Get your head out of your – and learn about other people. You're lucky that I am a nice guy because I would not be talking to you right now. If I was a nut head I would have knocked you right out" (ibid; 29).

Similarly, another interviewee 1 "an orthodox Sikh who had experienced prejudice post-September 11, stated: There are always ignorant people in society who use Sept. 11th as an opportunity to vent their racist attitudes towards a 'legitimate target'. ... This co-worker said in a discussion that Bin laden was a Sikh before. It was a subtle dig at me because everyone knows his background. It made me feel irritated because it puts me in a corner, I can't confront her because I will look like the bad guy" (ibid; 30).

On the basis of interviewees, Nayar (2008) concluded that "Sikhs needed to take more initiative in educating the mainstream about the Sikh religion, Sikhs not only to correct the media's distorted portrayal of the Sikhs, but also to teach people about who the Sikhs are. The lack of Sikh leadership in Canada who are not educating the masses" (ibid; 30).

4.5 Conclusion

Post 9/11, Canada followed US and enacted two major laws by modifying 33 existing laws. Both laws enhanced the powers of police and intelligence to arrest and detain the suspected terrorists. In operationalizing these laws, innocent immigrants (Canadian citizens or non-citizens) particularly Muslims were wrongfully profiled, arrested, detained in Canada or deported to other countries and left to be tortured. These laws were strongly criticized and even the 'definition' of terrorism considered a vague definition by many academicians, lawyers and civil society association as well as Muslim organizations.

The Debate on the question how to make the balance between security and liberty took place at various academic institutions and in parliament house by oppositions particularly members of NDP. To face the criticism, Canada has tried to make an adequate approach in developing an effective and sustainable anti-terrorism policies in response to provide adequate recognition of various multicultural groups. Canada tried to recognize the importance of transparent and open review of national security activities especially in order to determine whether there has been misconduct with 'visible minorities'. However, the setbacks of Canada's new Cross-Cultural Roundtable on Security underlines the dangers of attempts to reach out to minority groups for security reasons.

There are reasons to doubt the effectiveness of the *ATA* as an instrument to deter acts to terrorism. Some argued that "there was no need of this act because even before its enactment, most acts of terrorism were already punished as serious crimes such as murder, hijacking and the use of explosives. The *ATA* may marginally increase the severity and certainty of punishment, but determined terrorists are not rational actors amenable to deterrence. While others view is that *ATA* will probably be most useful when it is directed at third parties, such as financial institutions, that could provide services to terrorists. These entities may well be encouraged to cease dealing with suspected terrorists. However, at the same time, there may be problems of over-deterrence and inflicting harm on the innocent if errors are made in determining who is a 'terrorist'. Numerous people from Muslim community were wrongfully profiled and detained as Mehar Arar and Thobani remained the extreme cases.

The London bombings in 2005 have confirmed that the terrorist threat is not limited to non-citizens and the people charged with a variety of terrorist offences in Toronto in 2006 are Canadian citizens. It may be dangerous from a security perspective to rely on the shortcuts of the (*IRPA*) immigration law as a means to detain suspected terrorists. At the same time, it is unfair to non-citizens to target all of them as potential terrorists. The type of long term and preventive detention that is allowed under Canadian immigration law (*IRPA*) may be successful in incapacitating suspected terrorists, albeit without a clear finding of guilt. Nevertheless, many of those detained will eventually be deported from Canada. Given the international nature of terrorism, it is not clear that deflection or deportation of suspected terrorists to other countries will actually increase security. It may simply displace the problem of global terrorism.

Hate waves and crimes actually was against the Arabs or Muslims while due to some physical similarities, Sikhs have encountered discriminatory behaviors against them. While the study investigated many facets of Sikh experiences of discrimination in society and workplaces. Though Sikh had the experience of racism since their early immigration but 9/11 events led to be heightened it. Sikhs faced the 'mistaken' identity after the attacks in America on September 11, 2001, where they started to be viewed as the "Other." In fact, the immediate backlash against Arabs or Muslims occurred in North-America based upon the background of the terrorists responsible for the attacks, and this attitude resulted in discriminatory behavior against anyone who resembled

Arabs or Muslims (Ahluwalia & Pellettiere 2010).

The experiences of 'visible minorities' in Canada also reveal the inherent tensions and contradictions within multiculturalism. Many members of Muslim and Sikh communities live daily with contradictions of a national rhetoric that expounds of the multicultural citizenship rights on the one hand, and the reality of racial and ethnic discriminations at workplace, institutions, and public spaces on the other. The intensity of harassment and discriminations experienced by these Canadian Muslims raised the questions to multiculturalism policy in Canada. However, if the ultimate goal of multiculturalism is assimilation to the dominant culture, then perhaps it is 'failing', as Canadian Muslims do resist pressures of assimilation and instead work hard to retain their Muslim identities.

The chapter highlighted the Canada's response after 9/11 and explored it impacts on the lives of two specified 'visible minorities'- Sikhs and Muslims. The next chapter would trace and evaluate the political participation of the same specified ethnic groups in Canada.

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CHAPTER 5

Political Participation of Sikhs and Muslims

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5.1 Introduction

5.2 Political Representation: Theories and Debates

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      5.4.1 Mobilization Strategies

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5.5 Immigrants / Visible Minorities in Canadian Federal Politics

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5.8 Conclusion

"Political participation consists of those voluntary activities by citizens that are intended to influence the selection of government leaders or decisions they make. Voting and contesting elections are considered as active participation in political process. Voting in elections is a crucial aspect of democracy and most common form of political participation in Canada. For this purpose, political parties play significant role in the election process" (Rand Dyck 2011;149).

5.1 Introduction

The primary function of Political parties during elections is to nominate the candidates for contesting elections on specific ridings or constituencies, and Secondary is the campaigning to encourage and convince to listed voters for casting their votes on different party lines, in accordance with ideology, agendas and promises for the future. Parties also demonstrate their works which already done. Political parties always seek active involvement of all sections of the society in politics.

Canada is a country of representative democracy, and "its citizens select or elect, through the electoral process, those whom they would like to represent them in the

decisions that are taken in legislatures, on city counsels, on school boards, and in house of commons. This model is firmly rooted in the franchise- one's right to vote and those with the right to vote ultimately decide who will have the legitimize authority to make decisions" (Andrew et al. 2008; 11).

The politics of Canada functions within a framework of parliamentary democracy and a federal system of parliamentary government with strong democratic traditions, and a constitutional monarchy, in which the Monarch (British Queen) is head of the state. The political system operates through the political parties as state has a multi-party system. While two political parties- liberal party and Conservative party (or its predecessors), have been historically dominant in Canada. Others like New Democratic Party (NDP) has risen to prominence as well, smaller parties like the Quebec nationalist Bloc Québécois, and the Green Party of Canada have also been able to exert their own influence over the political process.

In Canada, like mainstream population, immigrants also constitute a political community while some ethnic minority groups were proportionally excluded from political process despite the fact that Canada is a country of significant immigration, with the world's highest per capita rate of naturalizations; about 6,700 new citizenships per million people each year and increasingly the admission of approximately 200,000 to 250,000 newcomers in every year. Canada mainly opened its doors to immigrants in the mid-1960s, with introducing a skills-based 'point system' for economic migrants that made applicants' race and country of 'origin' irrelevant. 'Visible minorities'[8] represent more than 80 per cent of all newcomers arriving in Canada. Currently, they constitute the 19 per cent of the total population of Canada (Bird 2005).

As "statistics Canada projects that by 2017, roughly one in five persons living in Canada will be a 'visible minority'; in cities like Toronto, the number will be more than one in two. In addition, Canada makes it clear that cultural diversity is welcomed and supported, through funding for significant employment equity standards. Is all this ethnic diversity reflected in Canada's elected and governing bodies? The answer depends on where we look" (Bird 2005; 450). 'Visible minority' representation in

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[8] According to Employment Equity Act (EEA) 1985, "'visible minorities' are persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-white in colour or non-Caucasian in race. The concept of 'visible minority' was coined in the early 1970s. It is now widely used in Canadian public discourse, and the term has been entrenched in affirmative action, employment equity, and multiculturalism legislation, including the Charter of Rights and Freedoms" (Synnott and Howes 1996: 138).

Canadian national politics has increased steadily over the past two decades. In the current House of Commons, 'visible minorities' occupy 46 of 322 seats, up from 5 in 1988, 13 in 1993, 19 in 1997, 22 in 2004, 24 in 2006 and 28 in 2011 while number relatively declined to 17 in 2000 and 21 in 2008 elections.

According to Bird, "visible minorities are far less numerous in local politics in Canada. Most notably, this is the case in Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal, Canada's three most multicultural cities. In Toronto, for example, just 11.1 per cent of seats on city council are held by 'visible minorities', though 36.8 per cent of the population in the metropolitan area identify as 'visible minorities'. A number of world cities do far better than Canadian cities at producing ethnically representative governing councils, including many of the larger cities in Britain, Belgium, and Denmark." Bird further comments that "the low level of representation of 'visible minorities' in Canada's cities is puzzling. It is generally assumed that local politics is more accessible to groups such as minorities and women. Factors such as smaller electoral districts, cheaper electoral campaigns, a more flexible party structure, and residential concentration among some ethnic groups, are assumed to make it easier for members of disadvantaged groups to get elected. Yet these features do not appear to have helped 'visible minorities' achieve anything close to proportional representation in Canada's largest immigrant-receiving cities" (p 450).

While a noted academician Will Kymlicka pointed out that "ethno-cultural groups participate in Canadian politics. They do not form separate ethnic-based parties, either as individual groups or coalitions, but participate overwhelmingly in pan- Canadian parties (cited in Biles 2014; 29). This is in stark contrast to many other immigrant-receiving societies, such as Israel, where ethno-specific parties have become established."

To connect political participation with Multiculturalism, Will Kymlicka states that "we can not simply declare Canadian Multiculturalism to be either a 'success' or 'failure'. Nevertheless, he claims that multiculturalism policies in Canada are having a 'positive effect' and observes that "Canadian Multiculturalism has enhanced the overall political participation, equal opportunity and social acceptance of immigrants" (cited in Reitz 2014; 112).

The work of noted writers like Iris Young, Will Kymlicka, Anne Phillips, Melissa Williams, and Jane Mansbridge focused on 'visible minorities' inclusion in Canadian politics, each of whom argue that "there are certain groups who have been largely absent from elected political bodies, and that we need to develop mechanisms to ensure that they are adequately included in representative assemblies" (Karen Bird 2003; 5).

This chapter seeks to address some of these questions: why ethnic minorities need to be politically active and participate in it?; What is the status of participation minorities in Canada?; How they participated in politics; why some groups in Canada are successful and others not?

Specifically, the chapter explores the political participation of 'visible minorities' - Sikh and Muslims, prior and post-9/11. The core argument behind the chapter is that political participation of ethnic minorities somehow increased after 9/11. So this chapter revolves around the period of before and after 9/11 events. This mainly focus on the national level politics or federal elections, because at the provincial and local level, ethnic minorities are less effective (as earlier mentioned).

Besides, lack of an adequate data is the another limitation in conducting the research on political participation of 'specified minorities' at local or provincial level. After the brief introduction of Canadian Political system as well as political culture, the chapter proceeds towards political participation of Sikhs and Muslims in Canada, and safeguards and deterrence of participation of ethnic minorities, particularly two groups-Sikh and Muslims. Secondly this chapter examines to mobilization strategies of both communities and political parties. Thirdly finds the nuances how Sikhs are more successful than Muslims in Canadian Politics. Fourth is the concluding part.

This chapter explores the representation of 'visible minorities' or immigrants in Canadian politics. When Canadian researchers, policymakers, and civil society organizations think about integration or inclusion, much of their attention tends to focus on and social and economic indicators, with far less attention being paid to other indicators, including those related to political participation, electoral involvement, and civic engagement. This is unfortunate, and perhaps misguided, given that it is elected bodies and other decision making structures that largely regulate social and labour market policies and thus have the potential to shape economic outcomes. Therefore, the stress given and encourage to the study of political participation of ethnic minorities

can help to balance the research gaps. It is about the diversity in decision making institutions along with social and economic. It is also about the reflection of various identities and to the extent to which certain identities are included and others excluded in Canadian democratic institutions.

5.2 Political Representation: Theories and Debates.

Discourses about the nature of political representation have surfaced for centuries, but their tenor and fervour fluctuates. The discourse in Canada appears to be changing, driven by worries about growing political disaffection, particularly among young Canadians and, also by rapid changes in the country's demographic landscape, particularly in larger urban centres due to arrival of immigrant population in significant numbers from third world countries. These changes raise questions about the extent of representation, its quality, and whether or not the presence of particular groups in elected offices is proportionate to their presence in the population.

As the literature on representation makes clear, there are a number of ways to conceive of 'representation' and the relationship between the citizenry and its decision makers (Pitkin & Phillips cited in Andrew et al. 2008). Andrew notes that "one's conception of representation will influence not just the decisions that are made, but also how they are made. If we look, for example, at the ancient Greek city-states, direct democracy was favoured, and this was a model that saw no need for representatives. Rather, with this approach, decisions were taken directly by citizens; they were the decision makers. Although we have now largely moved to models of representative democracy, elements of direct democracy remain" (Andrew et.al 2008; 11). He provides the example that "the participatory budget processes in Porto Alegre and other Brazilian cities contain an element of this model in that all citizens participate in initial meetings where decisions on neighbourhood budget priorities are taken. There is also space for some forms of direct democracy within a system of representative democracy. One example is the referendum. In a referendum, a question is posed by elected representatives to voters who then choose their preferred option. The results are binding, and representatives must act according to the will of the people. Although referenda have been used from time to time in Canada – referenda on Quebec's secession are perhaps

the examples that come most immediately to mind – decisions are generally taken by representatives" (ibid).

In representative democracy, through electoral process, citizens select or elect to those whom they would like to represent them in the decisions that are taken in legislatures, and in other democratic institutions. The model of representative democracy is firmly rooted in franchise – in one's right to vote that ultimately decides those who will have the legitimize authority or power to take decisions. The parameters of the franchise, and particularly the criteria that determine who has the right to vote, are contested, and the criteria used to either include or exclude have varied depending on the period in history, the jurisdiction, and one's background. How one defines the franchise ultimately determines who votes, and this may have a marked impact on decisions taken. Moreover, many of the groups that remain under-represented in the electoral arena today are those who were historically excluded from their voting right.

According to the Report of Elections Canada, a historical study of the franchise in Canada reveals many such exclusions. The report shows that "the exclusion has been based on race, with Chinese, Japanese, Aboriginal, and Indo-Canadians having all faced at various points in history" (Elections Canada 1997). For example, if look just at federal elections, "Chinese and Indo-Canadians were not granted the right to vote until 1947, while Japanese Canadians were not allowed to cast vote federally until 1948. The Inuit population did not attain the right to vote in federal elections until 1950, and while 'Status Indians' were given the right to vote in 1920, the condition that they would need to give up their 'status' and other treaty rights to do so was not removed until 1960.

Moreover, some other ethnic groups have also been excluded as a result of their religion. As Catholics were denied the right to vote in pre-Confederation Canada unless they swore to uphold the king and denounce Catholicism and the authority of the pope" (ibid). Although the exclusion was intended to ensure loyalty towards Canada, it discriminated against Catholics, and also against Jews and Quakers who were prevented by their religions from swearing oaths.

However, "women were given the right to vote in most provinces in 1918, while in Quebec, they were not allowed until 1940." Meanwhile, it is significant to note that "the franchise status can be changed for some people those who may have at one time been allowed to vote can suddenly find themselves excluded. Like in pre-Confederation

period of Canada, the property ownership has, at various points in time, been used to define one's right to vote, excluding those who did not own property. Women who owned property could have the right to vote at this time, but when gender became the explicit criterion for exclusion, they could not cast vote in spite of their property ownership" (ibid).

However, inclusion, thus, is not necessarily a constant; it can be reversed or altered in historical perspectives. "While ethnic, racial, religious and gender exclusions have now been detached from the electoral process, questions about who should have the right to vote continue. The age at which one should be permitted to vote remains a perennial question. The voting age was lowered to eighteen from twenty-one in 1970, and there are currently some debates on lowering it further to sixteen years of age" (ibid). Significantly, there are also other ways in which the franchise could be expanded. As some question exclusion based on citizenship and suggest that "residency status should be the criteria for voting, at least in municipal elections. Yet others question the extension of the franchise to all prison inmates, which was mandated by the Supreme Court in 2002" (Andrew et.al 2008; 13). In brief, while the right to vote is fundamental in a representative system of government, there are a variety of ways to define that right, and the definition has evolved over time.

Moreover, there are several perspectives on the nature of the relationship between voters and candidates those they choose as their representatives; this is believed a core of representative democracy. In the delegate model, "representatives are viewed as the 'voice of the people' and are elected to bring the aspirations or demands of their constituents to the decision-making arena. They are not autonomous actors, but rather agents of the people. This is a fairly rigid conception, and it presumes that representatives will have the means and the ability to accurately gauge and bring forward the views of their constituents or voters" (ibid). Moreover, it ignores the existence of party discipline, which can often pull representatives to vote according to their party ideology or party line rather than according to their voters or constituents' actual demands. Nonetheless, this model is employed from time to time, often on questions of conscience. As, in 2005, when Parliament considered changes to the *Civil Marriage Act*, which would allow same-sex partners to legally marry. Many Members of Parliament (MPs) stated that "they would canvass their constituents and vote

according to their wishes. Some were even more rigorous. Like, Jay Hill, the MP for Prince George-Peace River in British Columbia, commissioned a poll of his constituents in advance of the vote on same-sex marriage. He voted based on his findings, although, admittedly, the poll results were a confirmation of his own personal view and the stance of his party; he was thus not forced to confront a clash between his constituents' views and competing perspectives, a situation that can emerge in this model of representation" (ibid).

However, this model is not just employed on questions of conscience, but also because MPs believe that they are there to represent their constituents. This was the explanation given by the late Chuck Cadman, an independent MP for Surrey-North in British Columbia (BC), when he voted for the minority Liberal government's 2005 budget, a vote that prevented the government from falling. He polled six hundred of his constituents before the budget vote and, finding that two-thirds did not want an election, decided to vote with the government.

The delegate model of representation can be contrasted with the trustee model, in which representatives are not viewed as agents but rather as trustees who have some autonomy to make decisions on the basis of the "common good", even when this might clash with the aspirations or interests of their constituents. In this model, "representatives are entrusted with weighing the various perspectives, the impact of the decisions, and the interests of those beyond their constituency". In this model, "voters may even try to influence representatives other than 'their own' and representatives may feel a sense of loyalty not just to their own constituents, but also to voters from other constituencies" (ibid). This often arises when representatives belong to traditionally marginalized groups. Like some 'visible minorities' or immigrants and women, are frequently entrusted with the responsibility of representing not just their constituents, but also the views of all 'visible minority' groups and all women. For instance, after the 9/11 terrorist attacks, Rahim Jaffer, the MP for Edmonton North and also a Muslim, became an unofficial voice for Canada's Muslim community and was viewed as a representative of whole Muslim community.

This raises questions about whom elected representatives are responsible to, and whether the representation of one's constituency should take priority over the representation of one's 'group' or 'groups.' Moreover, sometimes elected

representatives have soundly refuted the idea that they represent particular groups outside of their constituents, whether they are 'visible minorities', immigrants, women, aboriginals, youths, gays or lesbians, religious, linguistic, or ethnic minorities, or, significantly, combinations of any of these.

Although the symbolic representation of these groups is important, representation must go beyond tokenism and the 'famous firsts'. Representation depends not just on electing the first Muslim MP, but rather, on working toward greater inclusion and having elected officials who are able to reflect the characteristics and the perspectives of their constituents or voters. Therefore, it finds here different understandings of what types of representation matter; "Should representatives merely 'look like' their constituents (sometimes called 'mirror representation')? Or should they also make decisions that are in the interests of those they represent, whether those are their constituents or the individuals who belong to their group (sometimes called substantive representation)" (Andrew 2008; 14)?

The literature on 'mirror', or 'numerical', representation suggests that "in order to be 'representative', the characteristics of elected officials must be similar to those of the population." This form of representation is primarily concerned with what elected officials look like or, as Hanna Pitkin might suggest, "with who you are and not necessarily what you do" (Pitkin 1967; 61-72). Moreover, the concept of 'mirror representation' does raise a series of complex questions; "Can someone represent other people simply because they share some common characteristics? Who decides about the representation – do 'visible minority' voters decide whether they feel represented by an elected representative who is a 'visible minority', or does the elected representative decide that she or he will represent 'visible minority' voters? What is the process by which groups to be represented are constituted? How does one represent 'visible minority' voters, and does this imply that 'visible minority' women have the same interests as 'visible minority' men" (ibid)?

Indeed, there is always heterogeneity within any defined group. Francophone racial minority voters may sometimes see their interests represented by an Anglo-phone racial minority candidate and sometimes by a francophone candidate, yet, in both cases, those voters can be defined as part of the francophone group.

There is, however, a body of literature that moves beyond 'how many' and looks in addition at what elected officials do (Andrew et.al 2008). This is often referred to as 'substantive representation', where the focus is on the results or the impact of elected officials on policies or programs. Research on 'substantive representation' asks "whether or not having more ethnic minority candidates in politics, and minority MPs will affect policy outcomes or lead to legislation that is more favourable to these groups" (p15). Although some segments in this chapter look at the 'substantive representation' of two specified ethnic groups- Sikhs and Muslims, the emphasis is on creating a portrait of elected officials in the House of Commons explores with a focus on determining just 'how many' or, perhaps more appropriately, 'how few'. Several theories or perspectives provide the ways of thinking about the degree of representation that is adequate or optimal.

However, the notion of 'symbolic representation' suggests that "it is not the exact number of young elected representatives that determines whether youth are, or feel, represented, but rather that some youth are elected so that they can act to symbolically represent youth. In this perspective, one elected representative is perhaps not enough – think of the negative connotation of a 'token' – but the symbolic representation of various politically salient categories is important. It is not necessarily the exact replication of the general population that is needed but certainly a mixture of individuals from the group that comprise the general population."

On the other hand, arguments about 'critical mass' do depend on numbers (Trimble and Arscott 2003; Bystydzienski 1992; Skjeie 1991). There are many kinds in which the idea of 'critical mass' is used in this chapter. In some cases, it is used to describe the needed 'residential concentration' for some specific minority groups to have a chance to elect one of its own members. Others use the idea of 'critical mass' to suggest that "minority groups must have a certain number of elected representatives if they are to have real influence. It is argued that below a 'critical mass' the representation of minorities is ineffective, as the representatives are not able to effectively represent the groups they belong to or wish to represent" (Andrew et.al 2008; 15).

The notion of a 'critical mass' suggests that "simply being elected with certain characteristics does not necessarily mean that one can be effective in acting for people who share those characteristics, but an understanding of just how a critical mass

operates is more elusive" (p16). Moreover, this notion assumes that "all the representatives sharing some characteristics would want to represent that shared characteristic" (ibid). Likewise, the former British prime minister of Britain, Margaret Thatcher, is an example that not all female candidates want to represent to all females in society. Although Thatcher was the first female PM of Britain, critics here argue that "she undermined women's position in society, in part because of cuts to social programs and services.

It is therefore not easy to apply the idea of a 'critical mass', although again it can recognize in a common-sense way that being the only woman on a twenty-person municipal council would make it harder to promote the interests of women than being one among a group of eight women on the same council" (ibid). There has been a subject of research (Tremblay 1992, 1998; Erickson 1997) examining the degree to which female elected candidates look themselves as representing women and whether they are more likely to espouse positions those favourable to women's equality or feminism than are male candidate representatives.

Now question rises about the representatives of immigrant and minority back-grounds. Are they more likely to espouse pro-immigrant or pro-multicultural perspectives? However, the research here is not much developed, if as preliminary research by Karen Bird (2007; 13) suggests that "'visible minority' MPs are more likely than other MPs to address ethnic- related issues in debates in the House of Commons, then the number elected can have an impact on the attention given to particular issues."

"If one is interested in the overall composition of the collective group of elected representatives of some particular city, questions relating to the electoral system are also important. For some, a system involving some element of proportional representation is the remedy" (Milner 1999; 38). Besides, it is argued that "Party slates, would be more likely to include minorities than the present system of single-member constituencies. There are a multitude of different versions of proportional representation, and it is not the purpose of this introduction to discuss them, but it is important to note that the question of the electoral system takes on greater pertinence given our current preoccupation with the representation of under-represented groups" (Andrew et. al 2008; 16-17). In this context, the standard model is based on geographically distributed wards. Each ward elects one candidate to sit in city council,

while a mayor is elected at large across the municipality. The process for electing mayors does mean, for instance, that the mayor of Toronto has more people's voting than any other elected official in municipality.

However, there are some variations on this pattern, from the entire council being elected on an at-large basis in Vancouver, to wards where two representatives are voted for in Edmonton, to councils and mayors being elected at both the borough and city levels in Montreal. "Some of the representatives voted for within the ward sit on city council, but some sit only at the ward level. These different systems provide a background against which to think about the relative receptivity of different electoral systems to representing diversity." Some argues that "If people are voting for more than one representative, for example, does this make it more or less likely that they will choose diverse candidates? This kind of reflection is also true for questions of quotas, an issue that relates primarily, although not exclusively, to the representation of ethnic minorities and women" (p17).

5.2.1 Canadian Political Science and Ethnicity

The opening up of access in political institutions to the growing numbers of 'visible minorities' in the Canadian population is an important topic. Yet, it is not immediately obvious how to address this topic. There has been a surprising negligence in the literature, of how particular social groups have been politically incorporated. Jerome Black (1997; 2) comments that "the current literature on the intersection of citizenship, immigration and political engagement is a nascent one with many gaps, largely characterized by uneven theoretical development and limited empirical examination. These gaps in our knowledge provide the opportunities to contribute to an underdeveloped academic area - the topic of political participation of newcomers and minorities in Canada."

Cairns (1993) remarks that "Canadian political science's traditional concentration on the institutional forms of federalism distorts our view of ethnicity by directing our attention to territorially concentrated ethnic or national groups that can be accommodated by 'provincehood or a third order of government'" (Cairns 1993; 61). As Wilson (1993) acknowledges that "this bias has led us to pay too little attention to

dispersed metropolitan ethnicity, and emerging demographic reality destined to have important implications for Canadian social and political life" (Wilson 1993; 647).

Figure 15: Political Opportunity Structure for 'Visible Minority' Representation
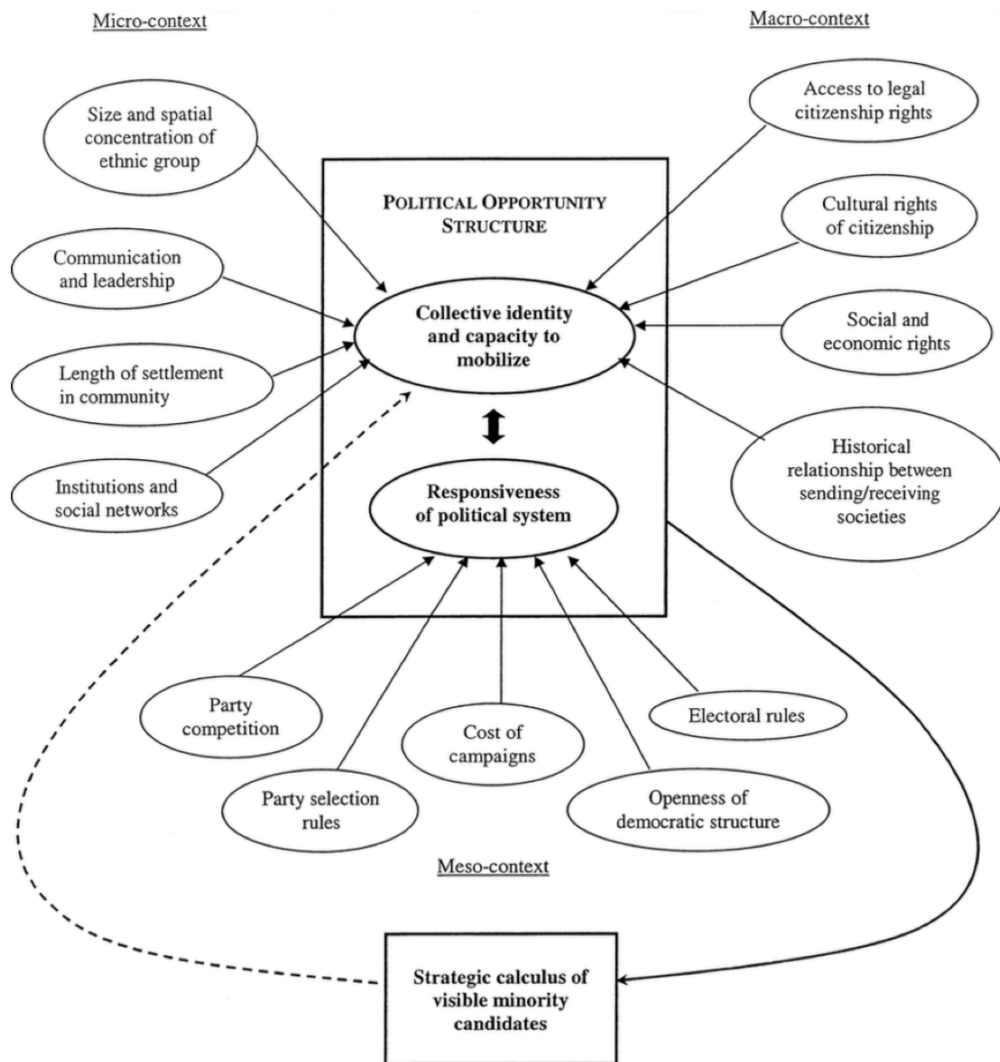
Source: Karen Bird 2005, Nationalism and Ethnic Politics, 11: 425–465.

A model of the political opportunity structure (Figure 5.1) for 'visible minority' representation is described by Karen Bird. Through this model Bird highlights the role of collective identity and limit with respect to political activation inside, ethnic groups, and additionally the responsiveness of the groups and political framework. Besides, the model suggests that distinctions in levels of ethnic representation are dependably the consequence of a complex setup of causal components. In one hand a specific component may create larger amounts of noticeable minority representation, while on

the other hand, it might discourage it or demonstrate irrelevant in different levels. These components can be decreased into three variables: *citizenship regimes*, *interest constellations*, and *institutions*. A nation's citizenship regimes incorporate its guidelines on access to citizenship (legal rights), and the cultural rights of citizenship (cultural assimilation or cultural pluralism). For e.g. in a few nations where immigrants appreciate simple access to citizenship and voting rights, and where ethnic minorities are perceived as having a particular culture and set of interests, they ought to will probably prepare and accomplish political representation as a gathering. The nations which are authoritatively multicultural may even have formal measures set up to advance ethnic minority's cooperation and representation in governmental issues. However, examples of political activation and representation change fundamentally for various gatherings, notwithstanding when they are liable to a similar formal guidelines and privileges of citizenship. One critical thought is the authentic relationship amongst accepting and sending social orders (Bird 2005).

For instance, post- colonial minorities might be liable to old colonial stereotypes, and might be seen by the greater part populace and by gathering pioneers as less met all requirements to partake in the assignment of the government. Another vital component of a citizenship administration is the degree to which it produces measure up to social and monetary rights. Where vast parts of the ethnic minority in a nation are unemployed and sectioned inside the work compel and lodging market, on the off chance that they are poor, or ailing in essential instructive and wellbeing administrations, they are less inclined to appreciate the assets important to accomplish political representation.

Ethnic groups may likewise vary, generally to their greatest advantage in political investment (as found in the comparison of East Asians and Chinese Canadians in the Toronto range). These distinctions may spring from the level of (dis)similarity between the political societies of the sending and accepting social orders, and from a gathering's length of settlement with a group. The potential for political assembly of an ethnic gathering is additionally identified with its size and spatial thickness, the fulfillment of its social establishments, and assets, for example, correspondence systems and initiative. Ethnic groups may do particularly well as far as representation if their spatial area compares with constituent limits, in the event that they can be assembled to vote as an alliance, and on the off chance that they are situated in a focused voting

demographic where they can convey situates for one gathering to the detriment of another.

Collective mobilization of ethnic groups is well and great, however, its belongings as far as representation will be quieted if the political framework is not receptive to such activity. The responsiveness of the political framework to ethnic assembly is controlled by various components. Nations with a more participatory majority rule culture might will probably draw upon the initiative assets of ethnic groups, while those with a more inflexible political first class might be impervious to advancing political outcasts as competitors. Standard ties with popularity based applicant choice tenets might will probably assign noticeable minorities in areas where they are numerous, yet on the other hand more averse to select them in regions where their numbers are fewer. Variables, for example, solid gathering rivalry, a high level of administrative turnover, and open financing for political crusades may likewise make political frameworks more open to ethnic minority candidates.

Notwithstanding exogenous elements influencing the inclination to choose obvious minority agents, we should not disregard the part of individual competitors. Noticeable minority applicants utilize ethnicity in a specific and entrepreneurial mode. Undoubtedly, impression administration of one's character might be an especially critical component of a political system for noticeable minority applicants.

As conceptualized inside Figure 5.1 candidates are required to build up a discretionary procedure based upon the political open door structure in their nation or potentially nearby group. Particularly on the off chance that they deliver themselves to the ethnic minority group, these candidates may rarely turn into a calculate the political personality and activation of those gatherings. Be that as it may, ethnic applications are once in a while pitched solely to ethnic voters. A standout amongst the most fascinating qualities of fruitful obvious minority competitors is the way they deal with the various and in some cases conflicting requests of their political gathering, their own ethnic group, and larger part voters. As talked about underneath, obvious minority applicants may receive diverse assembly methodologies and appreciate distinctive designs of voter support, contingent upon such elements as their age, gender and financial status. Those elements that shift at the level of the nation named macro level, and are required to effect open doors for minority representation in all purviews and areas inside a

nation. Smaller scale logical elements are required to deliver contrasts in ethnic minority representation at the exceptionally nearby level—depending, for instance, on the attributes and settlement patterns of a specific ethnic gathering in a specific city— even where full scale relevant impacts stay steady. Meso-level components lie at the center range. A decent illustration is discretionary tenets, which shift at various locales inside a nation and in this way may deliver altogether different examples of minority representation for a similar gathering in city legislative issues contrasted with national governmental issues. Micro scale relevant variables have a tendency to be especially unequivocal in deciding the constituent accomplishment of ethnic minority applicants, and contemplating them requires profound commonality with both national and local race governmental issues (Bird 2005).

5.3 Political Rights of Immigrants

According to Canadian Immigration and Citizenship (CIC), immigrants in Canada, regardless of their country of 'origin' or ethnicity, acquire their right to vote after getting citizenship status through fulfilling a legal requirement of physical presence in Canada for three consecutive years. As citizenship provides access to political rights – voting rights to new immigrants of Canada. Canada relatively admits a subsequent number of family-class immigrants and refugees, while the large number of newcomers are economic immigrants those selected on the grounds of their education, job skills and experiences, and their competency in one of the 'official' languages of Canada. Such immigrants are expected to integrate well in job market, relatively and quickly, and are seen as significant contributors to growth of Canadian economy. In average, such new immigrants enjoy their jobs and wealth compared to new immigrants of the most of European countries, and these resources can be expected to increase their involvement in politics. Moreover, Canada's multiculturalism policy provides a constitutional and legislative framework that facilitates to cultural and religious minorities in taking part in Canadian political life. As a result, some immigrant groups' participation at the federal level is noticed at least as high in Canada as other western countries (CIC, Canada).

5.4 Mobilization Strategies and Candidate Selection Process

5.4.1 Mobilization Strategies

There are a many reasons behind the stronger political participation of 'visible minority' immigrants at federal level, compared to grass-root level. Immigrants' dense concentration in ethnic enclaves, electoral and nomination procedures at the federal level produce strong incentives for individual candidates, and parties to mobilize 'visible minority' immigrant voters. This kind of configuration of incentives is often absent at the grass root politics level, where national political parties often pay a little attention in such elections (Bird 2005).

Some argues that active Political participation or integration is a two-way process in which political parties play important role to encourage voters and seek more support for winning the elections on the one side, and ethnic groups' awareness and interest in politics determines their level of political integration on the other. This tendency varies on ideology of each political party and interest of each group that often determine their level of success or integration in Politics. It is interesting to note that political parties always seek to make easy contacts with "critical mass", to whom, parties can easily speak about their current agendas along with future goals that adequately address the issues of any ethnic group. As a result, Canadian political parties always pay much attention to organized or territorialized groups like Sikh immigrant group in Canada.

In contrast, Political parties pay little attention to dispersed or de-territorialized groups like Muslims in Canada. Consequently, political parties shift their focus towards highly concentrated population in particular area where they can make easy or regular contact with voters, as it helps to know the aspirations of those people, and also to recruit those peoples as party members. On the contrary, contacting with dispersed ethnic or immigrant group is believed as a time consuming or a difficult task, as Canadian major political parties often hesitate to do that. In addition, Muslim immigrant groups in Canada are dispersed, therefore, they are far from active links with Canadian political parties and political system. As a result, Muslims are politically marginalized as compared to Sikhs in Canada. Even though Muslims constituted twice the population

of Sikh community in Canada, but proportionately their participation in Canadian politics is very low compared to Sikhs. Muslim constitute 3.6% of total Canadian population while their participation is less than 1 %. However, Sikh shares 1.7 % of Canada's total population while their participation is above 6 % in Parliament and 10% in Cabinet of federal government.

It is interesting to note here that no ethnic minority of Canada established its own political party. Ethno-cultural minorities in Canada often try to make the contacts with pan- Canadian political parties- Liberal, Conservative and New Democratic. On the other hand, political participation of ethnic minority groups varies– few groups are well organized and territorialized, and politically conscious about political culture of the host country, and comparatively are more successful in politics than others those who are not organized effectively.

Few immigrant groups integrate fasten and easily into political system of Canada like Sikhs, *Ismilie* Muslims and Chinese. If the community limited in unity and dispersed into various geographical locations, then it would be less benefit politically. Consequently, less participation in decision making process lead to further marginalizing them economically as well as socially. In case of Muslims, the key features of the community determine their integration level in Canadian politics because of lack of liberal attitude, experience of democracy, political consciousness and history, political culture and socialization. However, Sikh usually discuss politics in daily conversation or dialogue even at religious place, in ethnic and religious associations, in labour unions and civil society associations.

5.4.2 Candidate Selection Process

The candidate selection process is a key factor in accounting for the social biases of a representative assembly. According to Bird, "Parties face 'supply-side' problems in attracting sufficient numbers of female and ethnic minority candidates. But there are also significant 'demand-side' problems in failing to select as candidates qualified women and minorities who do come forward. Candidates suffer in particular from 'imputed prejudice' wherein the party selectorate argue that the voters are not ready to elect a woman or a minority. Where women or ethnic minorities are absent from the selectorate, parties will continue to nominate mainly white males as political

candidates. One of the explanations for the fairly high level of ethnic minority representation in Canada is that the candidate selection process among the major Canadian parties allows for the participation of resident non-citizens" (Bird 2003; 15).

In this regard, Bird notes that "Candidates for national election run in single member districts (SMD), and are typically selected through a local nomination contest, in which members of the party's local riding association cast ballots on who should be the party's candidate for that riding. In most cases, incumbents go unchallenged in the nomination; however, in open ridings the nomination is hotly contested" (Bird 2005; 452). The nomination of candidates in federal elections reflects the constituency based character of the Canadian electoral system. Political parties within ridings prescribe their many rules and practices to choose their nominee, and practices may vary to constituencies. According to Williams (1981; 89), "there are party variations on such questions as who calls and controls the nomination meetings, and who is eligible to vote at these meetings." Qualifications for party membership may be open to local alterations, in terms of membership fees, and cut-off dates for purchasing a membership to be eligible to participate in a nomination contest.

Though the primary centre of decision-making for party nominations in Canada remains localized, national party organizations have started to assume a major role in the process, and the system as a whole appears to have become more institutionalized. For instance, Erickson (1997) comments that by 1993, a shift in the selectors from local associations to the national leader began occurring in some parties. As She found that the greatest interference with local associations' autonomy in selecting candidates in the1993 campaign occurred in the Liberal Party, whereby the leader, Prime Minister Jean Chretien, appointed 14 candidates of which 10 were women. As well, in 1993, parties were more active overall in determining the supply of prospective candidates, by using nomination committees in constituencies without incumbents. Again, in 2004, Prime Minister Paul Martin followed the practices of appointing "star" candidates to run uncontested in particular ridings - Vancouver South being one that was highly criticized.

The candidate selection or nomination process leads parties to begin the mass recruitment drives to sign up new party members as much as possible, with every wing

of a party efforts to recruit members for supporting their nominee. "It is common for nominees in these contests to focus on recruiting party members within ethnic communities—especially communities with tightly knit social networks, where it is easier to mobilize and turn out large numbers of supporters on nomination day. This strategy is facilitated by party rules that allow legally resident non-citizens to become party members, and to vote in the candidate selection process. Party membership levels are usually highest in those ridings with the largest 'visible minority' populations" (Bird 2005; 452).

As Carty and Erickson (1991;341) found that "less than 20% of local party associations required participants at nomination meetings to have been members for more than one month. This evidence suggests that, if length of membership is an indicator of party commitment, party rules generally do not restrict participation in the candidate selection process to committed partisans."

As Bird notes that "the candidate selection process provides ample opportunity for 'visible minority' mobilization and influence within political parties. Yet it can also produce a certain degree of manipulation by party elites and ethnic power brokers. Typical practices of nominees include hiring people within the ethnic community to sign up members, delivering busloads of instant party members from mosques, temples and other ethnic/religious centers, and paying the dues of new members. Nomination battles are internal party matters and as such, there has often been little oversight of these practices" (Bird 2005; 452).

While this open and decentralized candidate selection process tends to facilitate the nomination of 'visible minority' candidates, the extreme incumbency factor remains a significant barrier in electing 'visible minority' candidates. The Liberal Party takes the advantage of the incumbency factor. This incumbency advantage has tended to create a pattern of relationships between ethnic leaders and Liberal MPs. Historically, in last few federal elections, Liberals had done it successfully in metropolitan areas with large number of immigrant and 'visible minority' populations, but run only few minority candidates from 'Visible minority' population. Despite of the comprising over 50 per cent of the population in these ridings, 'visible minorities' are proportionately less represented at Greater Toronto Area (GTA) than rest of Canada (Bird 2007).

On the other side, the Conservative Party has also recognized the significance role of this 'critical mass' of immigrant voters, and endorsed an ethnic outreach strategy to make inroads into these Liberal strongholds. Conservatives have run more 'visible minority' candidates as compared with liberals and other parties. They have courted minority voters through publicity campaigns in the 'ethnic press'. For instance, the issue of homosexual marriage, a significant number of the 'visible minority' community holds views that are congruous with Conservative positions. The another is the Tax relief that remains important among economic immigrants and their children (Tolley 2008).

The membership pattern has remained high in numbers of minority candidacies among center- right and right wing parties during past federal elections. For instance, during 2004 federal elections, the Conservatives nominated the highest percentage of 'visible minority' candidates compared to other Canadian political party. To select candidates from minority communities may be an effective strategy for right-wing parties to court 'minority voters', as well as counter the criticism that they are immigrant unfriendly.

However, the left-wing New Democratic Party (NDP), has stipulated an affirmative-action guideline for nominating 'visible minorities' as candidates. The NDP has set a target that 50 per cent of their party nominated candidates must be from marginalized communities, including 'visible minorities', youth, women, handicapped persons, gays and lesbians. The NDP also maintains an affirmative-action fund that is intended to assist the nominated candidates from marginalized minority communities. This is only party that have established the formal guidelines in recruiting more 'visible minority' candidates.

For example, during the 1996 British Columbia provincial election campaign, in order to target two of B.C.'s largest ethnic constituencies, for the first time, the NDP included two ethnic group branches - South Asian and Chinese, as part of a concerted mobilization strategy. During the 1997 federal election, two new ridings in Greater Vancouver: Vancouver-Kingsway and Surrey Central contained high levels of Chinese and South Asian populations respectively. In the case of Vancouver-Kingsway, in what has been called, "British Columbia's most multicultural and the Liberal Party's most safe riding", six out of ten of the various parties' challengers for the nomination were of Chinese descent (Yaffe 1997: A3). The Prime Minister, Jean Chretien used special

powers to appoint a woman of Chinese descent - Sophia Leung, who eventually won this seat. In the case of Surrey Central, the riding with the largest South Asian population, mainly Sikhs four South Asian candidates were nominated.

However, it is significant to note the fact that all ethnic minority groups (visible minorities) have not equally participated in Canadian politics. The patterns of political participation among Canada's largest 'visible minority' group is the South Asians, mainly Sikhs or Punjabis. The South Asian community has had an impressive performance in federal politics, as seen since federal elections of 1993. As Bird claims that "by all accounts, the South Asian community is extraordinarily active politically, and their support tends to be highly sought after through the nomination and campaign process in many ridings" (Bird 2005; 452). Campaign chairs describe "South Asians (Sikhs and *Ismaili* Muslims, in particular) as 'legendary organizers', whose geographic clustering, dense and overlapping networks of religious, social and business memberships, and strong elder-centric culture make them a key community for political mobilization. In addition, they enjoy a tradition of democratic participation in their countries of origin, strong English language skills, and a high degree of economic security—all important resources for political participation that other 'visible minorities' often lack" (ibid). He further adds that "this brief portrait of South Asian political involvement should help to dispel the traditional notion that 'visible minorities' tend to be politically passive, or that recent immigrants must go through a fairly long transition phase before becoming involved in politics in their new country. In fact, political activism among 'visible minorities' varies widely according to community-linked differences" (ibid).

It is obvious that domestic conditions create or constrain opportunities for 'visible minority' participation in politics while international events as Bird (2005;456) claims that "such events may also have impacts on political participation of immigrant groups in Canada. For instance, in countries with significant numbers of Muslim immigrants-Arab and Islamic lobby groups have made a concerted effort to consolidate the Muslim vote by pointing out the electoral weight of Muslim voters, calling attention to the presence of Muslim candidates, and evaluating the record of sitting legislators on a set of foreign and domestic issues deemed critical to the Muslim community." However, the scope of transnational mobilization is limited while there are many anti-racist

associations addressing the issue of minority under-representation within particular countries, there has been virtually no attempt made anywhere to organize across ethnic lines.

In brief, through their capacity for political mobilization, "some groups have clearly caught the attention of political parties and candidates who (to varying degrees) have sought to make politics more responsive to minority group interests" (ibid). The pull and push factors inherent in each ethnic community that produce (or constrain) its autonomous capacity for political mobilization. "Clearly these matter in accounting for why some groups may be relatively well represented while others within the same political system remain excluded" (Bird 2005; 457).

5.5 Immigrants / Visible Minorities in Canadian Federal Politics

Canada is a plural society and is likely to become more socially diverse due to continuing demographic changes. Within Canada, a key route to integration into "the dominant society" is through the political system. Wood states that "Participation in electoral politics in particular serves as an important indicator of the emergence of recent immigrants from 'social isolation into the mainstream of Canadian political life'" (Wood 1981: 178). Issues such as the democratic political institutions and traditions in place from the country of departure, time of arrival, existing length of time in Canada, can all affect the patterns of ethnic political participation. Some of the barriers to participation that are associated with immigrants 'status' in the new country disappear of grow smaller for second and further generations after an adaptation period.

This segment examines the issue of diversity as it relates to "visible minorities", particularly Sikhs and Muslims in Canada. The dynamics of ethnicity, immigration and access to candidacy within political parties in Canada enriches the understanding in Canadian Politics on political participation and new immigrants.

Immigrant visible minorities constitute a 19.1 of the total population of Canada. The 1962 and 1967 changes in the 'Immigration Act' have granted for a more open and non-discriminatory immigration policy. These acts have generated changes in the composition of the immigrant population of Canada. A shift in immigration away from European to non-European sources has ensured that Canadian society has increasingly become not only ethnically diverse, but also relatively recently, racially diverse. As

well "metropolitan ethnicity" has emerged as a demographic reality, with the majority of new immigrants going to Canada's largest cities (Wilson 1993: 647).

The fact is that there are variations in the levels of citizenship status, unemployment, education, income and occupational distribution of 'visible minority' immigrant population in Canada. There are variations in political participation and community maturation both between and within groups, as well as variations in regional and constituency concentration. Synnott and Howes criticize the use of "visibility" as a social category. They see it "as inappropriate because it homogenizes specificities by ignoring differences in power, status, history, culture and even visibility" (1996: 145). In their examination of the 1993 House of Commons, Black and Lakhani (1997) comment that while Members of Parliament of the British-only and French-only origins exceeded their proportions of the general population, racial minorities were distinctly underrepresented in Parliament with only 13 elected. In his later study, Black (2001) found that in the 1997 election, 19 'visible minority' candidates were elected, and after the 2000 election there were only 17 'visible minority' candidates elected to Parliament. Andrew (2008; 16) states that "in my own sketch compilation of the results of the 2004 federal election, taking the redistricting and addition of new seats, I came up with total of 21, using party biographies of candidates and a content analysis of newspaper articles."

Table: 2

Visible Minority MPs, 1993-2011							
	1993	1997	2000	2004	2006	2008	2011
All MPs							
Number	13	19	17	22	24	21	28
%	4.4	6.3	5.6	7.1	7.8	6.8	9.1
% of Visible Minorities in population	9.4	11.2	13.4	14.9	16.2	17.3	19.1
ratio MP % to pop. %	.47	.56	.42	.48	.48	.39	.48
By Party*							
BQ	--	--	--	9.1	16.7	14.3	3.6
CPC	7.7	26.3	29.4	31.8	25.0	38.1	42.9
Lib	92.3	68.4	70.6	59.1	54.2	42.9	7.1
NDP	--	5.3	--	--	4.2	4.8	46.4
(N)	(13)	(19)	(17)	(22)	(24)	(21)	(28)

Source: Black, Jerome H. (2011), "Visible Minority Candidates and MPs," *Canadian Parliamentary Review*, 34(1), PP: 30-34.

Table: 3

Sikh and Muslim MPs, 1993-2011								
	1993	1997	2000	2004	2006	2008	2011	2015
Sikh MPs Number	3	3	3	6	6	7	7	17
% with seats	1.31	0.96	0.95	1.94	1.89	2.22	2.16	5.02
% by population	.60	.73	.90	1.03	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.4
Muslim MPs Number	1	1	1	3	4	1	1	11
% with seats	0.3	0.3	0.3	1.1	1.2	0.3	0.3	3.25
% by population	1.07	1.4	1.8	2.1	2.4	2.6	3.0	3.6

Source: Data extracted from Canadian parliament website and Statistics Canada and assembled by self.

5.6 Sikh Participation in Canadian Politics

Sikh participation in Canadian politics has been noteworthy. Their access to various influential political positions as premiers, ministers and legislators both at federal and state level has been notable. For instance, Ujjal Dosanjh became the first Sikh who was elected as premier of British Columbia and he has been also a federal minister. A fairly notable number of Sikhs have been elected to federal parliament on the tickets of the two main parties particularly; in due course, also joining cabinet as ministers. Besides, one, Hardial Bains was a founder and leader of the Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada from 1970-1997. Most of the Sikh politicians have grown from municipal levels and religious associations and retain grass-roots support among their electorates and the community as a whole.

Particularly in British Columbia province, the growing 'visible minority' number is proportionately the largest in Canada. According to McMartin (2004; 3) "Visible minorities in British Columbia are residentially concentrated at the Lower Mainland, which covers the Vancouver city, nearby suburbs like Richmond and Surrey, and the area of Fraser Valley. In this region, one in every three residents is a member of a

'visible minority'. Chinese and South Asians mainly Sikhs are the top two 'visible minority' groups in this area. Chinese represent over 9 percent of the total population, and South Asians over 5 percent as a residence of this area."

Of the South Asian members, mostly Sikhs, elected (including those with original South Asian heritage), five were elected- Conservative members Nina Grewal (the newly created riding of Fleetwood-Port Kells) and her husband, incumbent Gurmant Grewal (Newton-North Delta); and Liberal members Keith Martin (formerly of Canadian Alliance and whose grandmother is of South Asian origin, from the Esquimalt-Juan de Fuca riding), Hedy Fry and former NDP Premier of B.C. and now federal Health Minister, Ujjal Dosanjh (Vancouver South). These ridings have a high density of the South Asian population.

In the 2000 election, two Members of Parliament were elected in the Lower Mainland, already mentioned Conservative Gurmant Grewal, and the Liberal Herb Dhaliwal (Vancouver South Burnaby) who went on to become a cabinet minister of natural resources. There seems to be a tight correlation between the percentage of the riding's population that hail from one of the 'visible minority' immigrant groups and the successful candidacy and election of one of their members in the case of South Asians in particular. In its July 26, 2004, issue, *The Hill Times,* observes that "the Punjabi language is now the fourth language in the House of Commons, after English, French and Italian, now that 8 Punjabi-speaking MPs, (mainly Sikhs) have been elected." A decade later, in 2015, Punjabi is the third language after English and French in Canadian parliament.

This observation follows result of entry of the 20 Punjabi-speaking MPs (mainly Sikhs) in the House of Commons out of total 23 MPs of South Asian-origins were elected in October 2015 parliamentary elections. About half million Sikhs make up about 1.4 per cent of Canada's population. The 17 Sikh MPs represent almost 6 per cent of the House of Commons. Of the 20 elected candidates who speak Punjabi, 18 are Liberals and two are Conservatives. Of the four are taken as cabinet ministers representing 13 percent of the 29 cabinet members (Globe and Mail, November 2015).

It is viewed that, Sikh community may appear to be homogeneous on the basis of its shared ethnicity, history, and language. However, with the ethnic or pan-ethnic boundaries emerging with migration and settlement in ethnic enclaves, intra-group relations sometimes predominate. Moreover, the pan ethnic communities being used by political parties as potential voting blocs outside a shared Canadian public sphere.

Sikhs mainly come from India, which is not only the world's largest democracy, but also a hybrid political system that holds the modern state and traditional society together. Moreover, given the geographical location of Punjab and its long-standing history of foreign invasions, it is inevitable that Sikhs would be a strong political ethos. Sikhs have therefore brought this aspect of their culture to Canada. the geographical settlement in Canada enhanced their political culture and practices of multiculturalism. Sikhs involvement in politics depends on their mobilization strategies. Sikh managed to mobilize political influence via labour unions. Secondly, Sikh population concentrated in specific parts of Canada, mainly in suburbs- earlier in Skeena and shifted to Surrey, and in other suburbs like Abbotsford, Brampton, Calgary, Edmonton and later in Winnipeg., political parties sought the Sikh or Punjabi vote through various religious places of worship in *Gurudwaras* (Sikh Temple).

In line with Sikh concern over political matters in the secular sphere, the *Gurudwaras* in British Columbia have been centres for mobilizing political power over issues especially relevant to the Sikh community. Sikhs mainly used political leverage primarily through the unions. For example, the president of the Pulp, paper and Woodworkers local from 1995 to 1997 was Kal Sandhu, a Sikh. Likewise, in Terrace, Sikhs mobilized political influence through the International Woodworkers of America (Nayar 2012).

Besides, Sikhs involvement in labour in the governance of labour unions, a couple of Punjabi men also ran for election as alderman in city council. Dave Jatana, a Sikh who was actively involved with the NDP from 1978 to 1995, ran twice, unsuccessfully, as an independent. Another Sikh, Mohinder Singh Takhar ran for municipal office and won and served as alderman in Terrace for ten years. This man provided an account first by entry into municipal politics. Sikh people believed that parties approached the east Indian community mostly Sikhs for vote.

In Skeena region, politicians often went to Sikh *Gurudwaras* to canvass for election support just as they went to churches. Their platform was centered mainly on the demands of the region's labour and needs of the resource- based economy. Although the Sikh community in this region was relatively small, Sikh involvement in local politics is a testament to the Sikh Political ethos that they had brought with them to their adopted country. With the vanish of forestry and fishery industries, Sikhs migrated to lower mainland and other parts of Canada where they choose their economic and political career (ibid).

During the first half of the twentieth century, the Vancouver Punjabi community predominantly Sikh with some Hindus and Muslims- pioneers mobilized for their franchise rights, primarily through the *Khalsa Diwan* Society *Gurudwara*. At that Sikh temple was a common space irrespective of one's religious affiliation. With the right to become Canadian citizens and right to vote being granted to east Indians in 1947, the *Gurudwara*'s function as a focus for mobilizing political power in Canadian society expanded. Initially, as early as the 1940s and with greater vigour from mid-1960s onwards, Canadian Sikhs had been politically active through labour unions. With the increasing size of the Sikh community, politicians began to canvass the Sikh vote at *Gurudwara*. In turn, the ethnic vote became a valuable political resource for the established Sikh community in mobilizing support at the federal, provincial, and municipal levels in an effort to influence mainstream politics.

By the 1980, having observed non-Sikh politicians appeal for the Sikh vote, Sikhs had started to assert themselves more directly in mainstream politics. The NDP and the liberal party were the first Canadian parties to include Sikhs on their electoral slate. In the late 1990s, Sikh political figures emerged in other parties, such as the reform party and later the conservative party. Since 1990s Canadian political parties have sought out or encouraged 'visible minority' candidates on the premise that such candidates will attract votes in designated ethno-racially mixed ridings. Here it can be noted that Sikhs embrace the democratic process even through they tend to vote according to kinship or clan loyalties rather than according to the different parties' political platforms or ideologies.

In much the way Sikh leaders use Sikh temples for political purposes in India, Sikhs in Canada participate in temple management as a means to engage with the larger polity. Perhaps it is the traditional political role of the temples that has made it easier for Sikhs to adapt Canadian politics. Temple administrators involved in Canadian *Gurudwara* politics are able to attain political status and derive economic benefits. However, there is growing concern of political divisions of temples are having a negative impact on Sikh Political Community. In line with the political culture of the Punjab politics within the ethnic boundaries of the Sikh community have become very factional (Johnston 2016 and Nayar 2012).

However, despite the factions, the large Sikh congregations have come to be viewed as political voting blocs for political parties, and prayer halls of the Sikh *Gurudwaras* have simultaneously become forums for mainstreams politicians- both Sikh and non Sikh and of all political stripes- to give campaign speeches (Johnston   ). While the appeal for the Sikh vote has generally been associated with the liberal party and its multicultural policy, this association has been weakening, however, since all political parties now promise political influence to ethnic vote blocs. Politicians appear to have misused multiculturalism by wooing the ethnic vote with the promises of funding to immigrant and ethnic groups that live in large concentrations in metropolitan areas such Vancouver, Surrey, Abbotsford, Toronto, Brampton and Calgary.

It appears that politicians – with the hope of winning the ethnic vote- have a greater interest in issues of ethnicity and immigration within the ethnic enclave context. An example of a blatant effort to canvass for the electoral support of south Asians can be found in the federal conservative party's 2011 'ethnic paid media strategy,' in which both the south Asians and the Chinese communities were discussed as 'markets' in which to garner electoral support. Since immigrants often gravitate towards their respective communities as a means of coping with social and economic challenges, multiculturalism can be misused in the political arena (Tolley 2008).

The misuse of multiculturalism is more salient where there are appeals for ethnic vote and for the mobilization of support from ethnic organizations and communities. Multiculturalism funds for ethnic communities are generally provided in areas where ethnic groups live in high concentrations, not in the smaller towns. Indeed, politicians

tend to promise such funds to organizations that can seemingly garner electoral support in an ethnically concentrated area. The most example of "vote buying" as voiced by many members of the Sikh community- is the *Kamagata Maru* incident. Following Liberal MP, Sukh Dhaliwal's motion brought before the house of commons on 17 May 2007 that the conservative government make a formal apology for, and provide compensation to those affected by, the *Kamagata Maru* incident, the federal government made an informal apology to the Indo-Canadian community, but outside the parliament, at bear creek park in Surrey shorty before the 2008 federal election (Nayar 2012).

In addition, the conservative government promised funding for commemorative and educational initiatives through the Community Historical Recognition Programme (CHRP) of the ministry of citizenship and immigration. As part of the CHRP "multicultural initiative," the government allotted a million dollars to the *Khalsa Diwan* society to build a museum in commemoration of the *Kamagata Maru* incident. The announcement of the funds for the society, which is located in the ridings of Vancouver south, was made several months prior to the 2011 federal election. However, some community members, especially of the Canadian born generation, demanded that funds be used for mainstream multicultural initiatives, such as a permanent exhibition in the national museum in Ottawa; they also asked that a formal apology be made in the house of commons, over and above the earlier declaration made in an ethnic neighbourhood (ibid).

Subsequently, from 2008 to 2011, federal conservative government made great efforts to win the 'Indo-Canadian Vote,' such as granting to the *Khalsa Diwan* society to build a museum and having Jason Kenney (minister of citizenship and immigration) make regular visits to the area. In the same vein, liberals also make such efforts to win the ethnic vote in 2015 federal elections, as unlike the conservatives, liberals promised to make formal apology before Canadian parliament. Liberals also made another promise to revoke the New Citizenship Act (Bill C-51) that was passed by conservatives in 2015 just before the elections (News paper). Here it is to be note that this bill was considered anti- immigrant, and was strongly protested by many ethnic associations, the Sikh voices were against this Act. Thirdly they promised to increase the immigration intake and expedite the procedure of sponsorship applicants. Therefore, liberals made promise

on the appeals of Sikhs to win the Sikh ethnic vote. Fourthly, strategically liberals nominated Sikh candidates on Sikh concentrated ridings. Consequently, liberals successfully mobilized the ethnic vote in 2015 federal elections, and it witnessed a wonderful victory of 20 Indo- Canadian Punjabi candidates while 17 were Sikhs (Globe and Mail 2015).

It is usual trend in Canadian federal politics, in wooing the ethnic vote, mainstream politicians attend cultural centres and places of worship, validating the celebration of particularistic cultures in socially alienated enclaves. Validation in the ethnic enclave context is made evident in the speeches made by politicians. For example, in 2008, during the federal election campaigns, several politicians gave their campaign speeches at *Gurudwara* and they talked about the more funding to bigger cultural celebrations and expediting the family sponsorship application process. Indeed, the speeches at that places mainly focus on immigration, citizenship, the celebration of one's culture in the enclave context, and promises about improving the family sponsorship process. In sum, political parties view large Sikh congregations and residential concentrations/ enclaves as potential voting blocs. These resulted to bring Sikhs in mainstream politics and successfully participate in federal politics and its decision making process. Besides, their length of stay in Canada, and continuous political activities, dynamic liberal nature determined their success in Canadian politics and also recently the involvement of kin and relatives from home state Punjab in Canadian politics has seen significant emerging trend in Canadian politics (Nayar 2012).

As Canadian Sikh leaders tied with Punjab government take political benefits like resolving the property dispute cases of Canadians in Punjab, Canadian politicians made conciliation with Punjab ruling party for solving their ancestral property cases and disputes as property have higher rates in Punjab than equivalent to the extent of Canada. Canadians through their kin residing in Punjab by visiting them sought canvasing for them in Canadian elections. Their economic prosperity also has been an important variable to think about politics. Some argues that If community becomes economically prosperous, then it begins to think about political recognition. Length of stay tends to give greater social and economic set up tended to increase the political socialization and involvement in decision making process. Learning political culture (how the system actually works) of adapted country makes community more active in politics as Sikhs

have done. The Sikh community's nature to do political conversation and dialogue whenever assembled at Gurudwara, parks and any other places contributed in pursuing political socialization to new comers and new generation even at *Gurudwara.* After 9/11, the issue of identity brought closer to Sikh community religiously that tended to be more political active.

Historically, the series of events in Punjab made the community active like invasions in Punjab, Freedom movement and partisan of Punjab, reorganization of Punjab state, green revolution and prosperity, and later *Khalistan* movement and operation blue star made Sikhs aware about the working of political institutions and process.

5.7 Muslim participation in Canadian Politics

From Marginalization to Empowerment

Historically, Muslim Canadians participated at a lower rate in the political process. However, certain seminal events forced the community to the centre of the political stage and as a result, it became more socially and politically active. The main catalyst for new found activism was 9/11, the ensuing war on terrorism and the subsequent anti-terrorism legislation. This coupled with the release of the Statistics Canada census that confirmed that Muslims are the fastest growing religious community in the country, with the youngest median age of any religious group, resulted in an awareness of potential political clout. This clout manifested itself in the June 2004 federal election where 80% of the Muslim population voted - one of the highest turnouts for any Canadian religious community in history.

Until early 1990s, as Hamdani notes that "the Muslim community in Canada played a marginal role in society and politics as a distinct group. The early immigrants believed their sojourn in Canada would be a temporary one and did not take much interest in Canadian politics. The bulk of Muslims are fairly recent immigrants, still with roots in their countries of decent. The majority seemed to take more interest in the affairs of those 'home countries' than in Canada. As a result of these and many other complex factors, the Muslim community was significantly outside the margins on many indices, including political and social participation. It is partly because of this realization of a sense of marginalization that the community began to function as a coherent force in

national politics and voice demands in the name of the community as a whole. Earlier, Muslim activism was fragmented. It tended to be restricted to agitation for specific national or regional causes (Kashmir, Palestine, etc.). Political involvement took place within the general context of racial and ethnic polarization, and did not define the participants as specifically Muslim" (Hamdani 2005; 27).

During the last decade, a number of seminal events catapulted Muslims to the centre of the political stage. The 9/11 terrorist attacks on America and the 2004 invasion of Iraq brought whole Muslim community on forefront at national and international level. "Muslims found themselves, intentionally or not, at the very centre of Canadian politics. It seemed that all of a sudden, everyone was talking about *Islam* and Arabs or Muslims. The media microscope resulted in a growing political activism and evolving sense of identity-formation" (Hamdani & Munawar 2005; 28).

Another significant factor is that the prominent Canadian Muslim associations organized the meetings and conferences to discuss 'what it meant to be a Canadian Muslim'. The idea of 'back home' was quickly fading in these discussions and debate sprang about the formation of a new Canadian Muslim 'Identity'. At the level of academics, numerous papers and articles were presented and published on this topic.

The evolving role of Muslim community in Canadian politics raised many significant questions about the future of Canadian democracy. It has also raises questions about the limits of tolerance and the paradoxes of democracy. The impacts of 9/11 episode and anti-terrorism laws contributed to set such environment in which Muslims felt themselves harassed and went under suspicion. Consequently, Muslims were labelled as terrorists. Discrimination began against Muslims at level of Mainstream society and state institutions. State's security agencies (CSIS and RCMP) wrongfully profiled Muslims youths, and brought whole community under surveillance, questioned, arrested, tortured and deported to their origins. In Addition, Muslim portrayed as an 'enemy' by mainstream media that led to be heightened the racism or racial crimes (see detail in Chapter 4). Consequently, "Muslims became the primary victims of an erosion of civil and political liberties that threaten to undermine Canadian democratic values and freedom. Interestingly, the newfound Muslim political activism came at a juncture when their civil liberties were the most threatened" (Hamdani 2005; 29).

However, historically Canada had denied political enfranchisement to ethnic, racial and religious minorities (earlier mentioned). The effects of the past exclusions have implications today. Many minority groups may not feel comfortable or welcome participating in Canadian politics due to these historical barriers. Like other communities– the Chinese, Japanese and South Asian Canadian communities, Muslims were being excluded from franchise, and experienced infringement on their civil liberties at one time or another. Such race based exclusions to the franchise were not eliminated until 1947 when citizenship was conferred to all groups, while in practice, exclusion remained continue until the right to vote and to be a candidate for 'office' was enshrined in *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* of 1982.

As Hamdani (2005; 28) notes that "besides these and other systemic barriers to Muslim political participation, the immigrant condition was also a barrier to increased political participation. The vast majority of Canada's Muslims arrived in Canada in the last three decades. Being transplanted from one social milieu to another is, for most immigrants, a very disruptive experience. It requires transformations in their identity, their social relations, their cultural habits, their linguistic capabilities and their institutional knowledge and skills. The longer that one lives in one's new country, the easier the transformation becomes."

Unlike Sikhs, Muslims are a heterogeneous community in Canada, migrated from diverse world locations having with different history, culture and languages, even some religious practices. There is nothing common in Canadian Muslims rather than their religious affiliation to *Islam*. Second important factor is that Muslim immigrants again dispersed at various locations in Canada. They are geographically dispersed group in Canada. These two variables- diverse and disperse of Muslim population in Canada are accountable for their less political participation. Lack of communication among diverse Muslim sects and lack of residential concentration in Canada had left the negative impact on political involvement of community as a whole. Nowhere they constitute a significant of voting bloc where political parties can easily approach them. However, some other factors that worked positive to enhance the political activism in Muslims is discussed in following segment.

Emergence of Muslim Political Consciousness

As Hamdani and Munawar (2005; 28) notes that "a number of seminal events starting with the Islamic Revolution in 1979, Israel's invasion of Lebanon in 1982, the Palestinian Intifada in 1987 and the first Gulf war catapulted Muslims into the centre of the political stage in Canada. Years later came the tragedy of September 11, the war on terrorism, the attack on Afghanistan, the passing of terrorism related legislation, the Maher Arar controversy and the second invasion of Iraq." These events and the anti-Islamic culture surrounding them intensified Muslim activism and a definable Muslim political consciousness emerged. The single greatest motivation for increased Muslim political activism seems to be September 11, the ensuing anti-terrorism legislation and the 'war on terrorism'. The *Anti-Terrorism Act* outrages many Muslims, and motivates them to engage in the social discourse.

In addition to the broad and ambiguous definitions, "this Act gave the government the power to arrest people 'preventatively' to impose conditions without laying criminal charges, to tap telephones more easily, and to detain persons under a security certificates without publicly revealing the evidence against them. It gave cabinet the power to decide what organizations were labeled 'terrorist'; with minimal due process, and to impose penalties for supporting or facilitating such organizations and their members, even if the person in question knew of no specific terrorist acts. The legislation also allows cabinet the power to involve the military more easily in enforcing domestic order, to keep information secret that would previously have been public" (Hamdani 2005; 28).

A joint brief by a coalition of Muslim organizations and Toronto's Urban Alliance on Race Relations was particularly concerned with the use of "religious, ideological and political" motivations in the Act's definition of terrorism this inherently meant that "those whose religion or politics differ from the institutionalized norm are more likely to be targeted under this Act. Currently, there are six Muslim men who are held under these security certificates. Neither the accused nor their lawyers have had the opportunity to examine the government's evidence against them. These certificates are seen by many Canadian citizens as legal abominations. Muslims around Canada were outraged and felt the need to organize and address these problems" (Ihya Toronto). One of the such associations is Ihya Foundation.

Ihya Foundation is an Islam-inspired, Toronto-based, non-profit organization that stands for social justice of the whole Muslim community. Ihya has held several events to address the issues of Muslim Canadian political landscape. For instance, within weeks after 9/11, Ihya foundation organized an event titled "Healing the Wounds: Uniting in the Aftermath of September 11". At this event, former mayor Barbara Hall, as well as many leaders of the Canadian Muslim community discussed the ways of healing and building bridges between the various minorities in Canada.

In September 2003, Ihya organized the Muslim communities first "Toronto Muslim Summit" where a broad, cross section of the community gathered to discuss the most important issues affecting the community. The subsequent document was sent to all area politicians. In December 2003, Ihya organized a lecture with North America's leading Islamic scholar, Hamza Yusuf and one of the Americans responsible for drafting the new Iraqi constitution, Dr. Noah Feldman titled "Islam and Democracy: A clash of Civilizations?" In this event, over I,500 Muslim and non-Muslim attendees listened as the two speakers discussed how to foster a Muslim political identity in Canada. These are just a few of the many events that Ihya organized to facilitate the emergence of a Canadian Muslim identity and community empowerment.

Mobilization for the 2004 Federal Elections

As Munawar notes that "Canadian Muslim community recognized its political power when it exercised its right to vote. In a system that gives one person, one vote, numbers count. According to the Census, no other religious community has increased its numbers in Canada in the last 10 years like the Muslim community." The 2004 federal elections were unique because it was the first opportunity after 9/11 for Muslims to express themselves at the ballot box about their issues. According to Hamdani, "in the past, only 49% of Muslims participated in casting a ballot during elections. However, all signs indicated that these elections would be different" (Hamdani 2005; 28).

Journalists and political scientists began commenting on the potential impact of the Muslim community on the 2004 Election. An Ottawa Citizen article's headline declared "City Muslims awaken to emerging power" (Ottawa Citizen 2004). This article reported that "the Ottawa Muslim population is the second largest voting bloc in the city - nearly

double the combined strength of Jews, Hindus and Sikhs. Their sheer numbers make Muslims a potential force to be reckoned with, a veritable power block in certain ridings" (ibid).

Muslim Canadians recognized their new found political clout. Nearly two months prior to the declaration of the federal elections, the Canadian Islamic Congress (CIC) published a report called "Elections 2004: Towards Informed and Committed Voting:" Based on an analysis of public statements, electoral objectives and legislative voting records of each of Canada's 301 elected parliamentarians, "the CIC evaluated each one's record on 20 different domestic and international issues, including promotion of closer ties to Muslim countries and support for domestic civil liberties." The report also highlighted, much to the surprise of many, that "Canadian Muslims represent a swing vote in IOI electoral districts, nearly one third of all ridings, where they hold anywhere from I .8% to 13.5% of the vote" (CIC 2004).

Others were not so surprised. Riad Saloojee, the executive director of the Council of American-Islamic Relations-Canada (Cair-Can) wrote an opinion piece in the *Ottawa Citizen,* just three weeks before the elections. In the piece, "he gave notice to the various candidates (perhaps directly to the 101 districts where Muslims held the swing vote) what the Muslims may be looking for in their elected representatives." He stated that "Muslims want: a review of the anti-terrorism legislation; more thorough scrutiny of the *Public Safety Act* and its unprecedented executive power in collecting and sharing information on Canadian citizens; an overhaul of the non-transparent security certificate process; oversight of our security agencies to ensure that racial profiling-which does exist in Canada - stops; and the need for increased debate and participation in policies on security and safety" (Ottawa Citizen 2004).

As Hamdani further notes that "the 2004 Elections were extremely exciting for Muslims. A record number of ten Muslim candidates ran. As a community, for the first time they felt that their vote represented something of value. As well, it was clear that the usual Liberal monopoly on the Muslim vote was in jeopardy. Alliances began shifting. Approximately 10 year ago, Muslims would not have voted for the New Democratic Party, because of its support for abortion rights. However, in the 2004 Elections, there were 6 NDP Muslim candidates - the most candidates for any party.

The most prominent NDP candidate was Monia Mazigh, the wife of Maher Arar, the Canadian who was detained and tortured in Syria" (p29).

The results of the 2004 Elections were excellent for Muslims. Three Muslims were elected, including the first ever Muslim woman, Yasmin Ratansi. Perhaps more importantly, the CIC proclaimed that "over 80% of the Muslims who could vote, did so - surpassing the national average by nearly 20%. Such a strong showing made international recognition as many dailies in the Arab world mentioned the impressive electoral showing" (CIC 2004). As well, the Jerusalem Post recognized "the new awakening of the political influence of the Canadian Muslim community" in an article dated August 17, 2004, titled "Muslim Power in Canada" (Jerusalem Post 2004). Nevertheless, the discrimination issues became a mobilization factor for the Muslims to organize themselves politically in 2004 and 2015 general elections by winning 3 seats and 11 seats respectively. In 2015 federal elections, number of Muslim seats increased to a total of 11 members of parliament primarily as a result of discriminatory Acts and citizenship laws passed in June 2015 by the Conservative Harper Government and promises to repeal these acts by the liberal party. In contrast, there were one seat since 1993 to 2000 general elections.

However, a little improvement can be seen in participation of Muslims in Canadian politics after 9/11. Some gives suggestions to enhance the involvement of Muslims in Canadian politics. Although the 2004 Elections proved to be a banner year for Muslim Canadians, there needs to be a sustained effort by the community and the respective governments to maintain political participation. In a paper titled, "Inclusion and Exclusion;" Anver Saloojee argues that "the government has a responsibility to actively encourage the widest possible political participation by members of racialized and newcomer communities. It can do this by working with community-based organizations to reverse the trend towards voter apathy and declining voter turnouts" (Saloojee 2004;46). Secondly, "the government should assist in the viability of organizations representing the interests of the Muslim community" as Saloojee posits that "there is a mutually reinforcing relationship between formal political participation and the strengths of community organizations. The financial and organizational well-being of the latter is essential prerequisites for a healthy democracy" (ibid; 46).

In brief, the Muslim community is maturing socially as well as politically in Canada. They are developing a sense of confidence. This confidence is a catalyst for empowering them politically. More transparent lines of communication must be established within Muslim community and between Muslims and the respective governments. English language also developed the communication among heterogeneous Muslim population, and assisted to be homogenized in focusing on Muslim issues- post 9/11. After 9/11, heightened discrimination brought the Muslim community more close to resist against. Besides French in Quebec also worked as positive indicator to unite Muslims on their issues. Therefore, it may be positive sign for the enhancement of Muslim participation in Canadian politics.

5.6 Conclusion

It appears that the access of ethnic groups, in this case, 'visible minorities', specifically, Sikhs and Muslim immigrants, to candidacy depends on the percentage of ethnic groups in the population of a constituency. As well, access of ethnic groups depends on their political apprenticeship (party membership, running at lower levels of government, interest group involvement, and community associations); however, the speed may vary with the amount of mobilization of the community.

As the ethnic composition of the electorate changes, parties modify their recruitment practices. While some visible minorities, mainly South Asians appear to make gains in terms of participation in political parties and representation (no longer limited only the Liberal Party of Canada) in the federal House of Commons. Some groups are lagging behind but their participation to political parties as access and to House of commons is slowly improving. In fact, ethnic minorities are not proportionally representing in Canadian politics. Some communities continue to be marginalized in Canadian decision making institutions. On the other hand, some communities are well represented in Canadian political process.

As Multiculturalism in Canada provides an equal platform to ethnic minorities to retain their cultural and religious identity in the wider Canadian society by representing themselves economically, socially as well as politically. The minorities those are included or excluded from political processes or decision making due to few reasons as

this study revealed- Sikhs are successful with some reasons – homogeneity, residential concentration, role of religious place, their length of stay, economic prosperity, and their pre-migration experiences of democracy in India. While Muslims are not successful because of diverse and disperse the community in Canada, economic marginalization and lack of political awareness could not gain.

However, after 9/11 situation began to change, Muslim became politically conscious due to their struggle for securing Canadian Muslim community from unlawful treatments under the prism of 'security'. Consequently, Muslim became aware and unified by improving their communication between each other through English or French. Muslim sought political support for preserving their community interests. They created associations that worked as political associations. They started articulating their demands and resisting against the increasing discrimination in post 9/11. In the federal elections after 9/11, their participation relatively increased but proportionally still under-represented group, and less represented compared to the Sikh community.

Chapter VI: Conclusion

Theories and debates

During the last two decades, the emergence of two topics has been prominent within debates in political philosophy; rights and status of ethno-cultural minorities in multiethnic and multicultural societies (the 'minority rights-multiculturalism' debate), and the virtues, practices, and responsibilities of democratic citizenship (the 'citizenship-civic virtue' debate) (Kymlicka & Norman 2000). These two debates have developed independently from one another, with little discussion of their interconnections. However, immigration puts the fuel to these two debates to be heated. Therefore, immigration became the major concern in the beginning of 1990s, and mainly aftermath the 9/11 events. As Kymlicka makes a relationship among three-immigration, citizenship and multiculturalism by creating a wonderful example "as we can think of immigration, citizenship and multiculturalism as three leg stool, each leg of which supports (or weakens) the other two. Where one leg is weak, people begin to worry about the motives and consequences of the other two legs as well. Conversely, confidence in one leg can help generate optimism and trust in the other two" (Kymlicka 2003;195).

While the connection between two concepts –multiculturalism and citizenship, there are some incompatibilities and nuances in regard to the claims or group-differentiated rights of ethno-cultural minorities. The western notion of 'universal citizenship' advocates the rights of 'individuals' especially their right to freedom of choice and expression, in accordance with 'defined' values and choices by the Christianity. In contrast, ethnic minorities are not adequately fitted into the concept of 'universal citizenship' that protects 'individuals' not 'groups'. This results the ethnic groups to be be marginalized. Critics raises the question: how state can treat unequal's equally, if does so, then it assists to dominant groups to be grown and subordinates to be marginalized. It is justified in many social theories that minorities or marginalized groups needed to 'unequal' treatment like 'special' rights to be grown at internal of group, and to be reduced external pressure coming from dominant group, until they become equal.

Immigrants groups in western world, particularly in Canada are not willing to abandon their native cultural and religious practices. Such groups are gradually resisting against the assimilation forces and pressure coming from larger society. On the other side, the true ideal of Multiculturalism is to provide a 'special' protection to minority groups mainly to groups those who are marginalized or becoming marginalized. It is believed that Multiculturalism justifies to group-differentiated citizenship. Some argues that Multiculturalism is the extension of liberalism while others view that Multiculturalism is distinct from liberalism, considers it communitarian idea that stands for community rights, and that supplements to the concept of differentiated citizenship not universal citizenship. Unlike the universal citizenship, differentiated citizenship goes to particularism, and protect the 'difference' or 'specificity' of multiple identities those are growing in present globalized world as predicted in Huntington's thesis of Clash between civilizations in mid 1990s.

The modern era of migration resulted to create a huge diversity in developed countries and to become a land of multiple identities. The diverse ethnic groups maintained their own culture, loyalties towards their mother country. They are not willing to integrate with the society of the receiving state. However, the host state and society imposed their state-sanctioned norms, then minorities feel discriminated, and begin to be marginalized with the course of time.

However, the rights of ethnic minorities can be protected through group- differentiated citizenship that supports or legitimizes to the idea of multiculturalism, and its policies and programmes. In Canada, all the rights of 'individuals' are protected by 'universal citizenship'. Immigrant groups had not any special recognition for their group rights. Immigrants began resisting against mainstream and started making claims for 'special' recognition to their cultural and religious practices. These groups were not ready to abandon their culture as they strongly resisted against 'assimilation model', coming from centuries in Canada. As a result, Canada announced the multiculturalism policy in 1971 to adjust the demands of such ethnic groups on the one hand and to deal with the growing diversity in long run on the other.

Immigration and Multiculturalism

Countries such as Canada, Australia and US are described as 'settlers' societies – as countries which welcome immigrants. Thus societies could be of two types: those which are immigrants i,e., where all can claim equality and where none is perceived primordial; and no social hierarchy is deemed to be sacrosanct and preordained. Then there are societies where hierarchies have got formed over long historical material processes. Canada has a growing and diverse immigrant population due to various immigration acts since 1967 and it has ever since remained in an ascending order. Canadian immigration policy has been shaped by two principal imperatives: demography and economics: felt-need to populate the vast empty geographical expanse and/ or need for young and preferably educated and skilled immigrants to work the economy. In the period after the Second World War, economic needs have largely determined 'official' policy towards immigration. As Canada is becoming an aging society, in the last several decades, both economics and demography influenced leading to liberalised immigration policies.

Canada has growing diverse racial or "visible minority" population due to immigration from Asian and African countries and fertility. Canada adopted liberal immigration policy by replacing its racial immigration policy in 1967. Secondly, the birth rate of "visible minority" immigrants is high compared to mainstream society in Canada. Therefore, to deal with this growing diversity due to huge arrival of visible or racial minority population, Canada introduced multiculturalism policy in 1971 by Prime Minister Trudeau. Primarily the policy was aimed to incorporate the white ethnic groups those who migrated from European countries and to reduce the antagonism of Quebec nationalists. Since its inception as policy in 1971, debating the theory and practice of multiculturalism has become part of the country's history. At the first, several Quebec supporting leaders insisted that multiculturalism unjustly placed French culture on an equal footing with the country's minority ethnic cultures. Such concerns were not allayed when, in 1969, the liberal government of P.E. Trudeau recognized French and English as country's two official languages, and the acknowledgment of the French language without official recognition of the French culture has been a source of persistent opposition to multiculturalism amongst many francophone Quebecers. On

the contrary, leaders of some minority ethnic groups expressed their opposition to multiculturalism in somewhat inverse terms; they contended that the government recognition to different cultures was meaningless without a official acknowledgement of languages others than English or French.

Despite the criticism, during the 1970s and 1980s, multiculturalism was embraced by many Canadians as fundamental step of Canadian identity. But, on the one hand, Francophone Quebecers have a nominal enthusiasm towards multiculturalism, on the other, non-francophone communities of the province, strongly supported it. Sykes and Kunz believe that proceeding decades have been marked by important changes in the direction of multicultural policy.

In beginning of 1980s, policy had faced new challenges from increasing racial discrimination because of growing racial or visible minority population in Canada. As a result, policy included such racial or visible minority groups by creating institutional mechanism to minimize race based discrimination and to maximize the integration. As Kymlicka termed it – second track of multiculturalism in Canada. Overall in this track, policy was evolved, and extended its dimensions to reduce the racial discrimination generated from interaction between racial groups and mainstream society. During this decade, few developments had taken place like *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms 1982* that guarantees the rights of 'individuals' while only two of its sections– 15(1) and 27 support to multiculturalism as it was mentioned in section 27 that "this charter shall be interpreted in a manner consistent with the preservation and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canadians"; another is the *Employment Equity Act* 1985 that assists to curb discrimination at work places i.e. fixed wage rate and define work standards aims to incorporate immigrants as labour force; and last is the *Multiculturalism Act* 1988 that provides the constitutional and legal status to previous announced Multiculturalism policy in 1971.

Although that relevant section of the charter did not come with a promise of meaningful financial support for minority ethnic groups; it nonetheless offered a symbolic victory for supporters of the idea of multiculturalism. Political support for multiculturalism initially transcended federal party lines as, similar to the previous liberal government, the federal conservatives under prime minister Brian Mulroney continued to endorse

multiculturalism as a pillar of Canadian identity by introducing the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act.*

The philosophical debates that ensued following 1971 were significant as it led to extension of liberal principles from individual values and freedom towards groups and cultural values, cultural tolerance and cultural recognition essentially for the bigger role to play in the process of contemporary Canada building. In reasons including perhaps to include the excluded white non-Anglo Saxon or non- French ethnic groups. This framework was a significant opening in Canada building which made possible for enlarging it over the years to include the other black and Asian ethnic group with the passage of *Multiculturalism Act* in 1988.

Ethnic Minorities: Sikh and Muslims

During 1990s, while the policy was still struggling to deal with racial discrimination, many ethnic groups started making religious claims for accommodating their religious practices at public spheres in Canada. Many such religious claims made by Sikhs and Muslims– Sikhs for wearing turban, *Kirpan* (dagger) at public institutions, recognizing Punjabi as 'official' language, implementing Punjabi in public schools and state funding to their religious schools, while Muslims claimed for setting up *sharia* courts, permitting *hijab* (veil) at public institutions, and changing in school curriculum i.e. make special prayer rooms and special holidays for Muslim children, and public funding for their religious schools. Therefore, this was the difficult time for Canadian Multiculturalism to deal with the increasing claims of two specified religious groups, while many of the religious practices of them were contentious with Canadian State laws.

During the decade, Multiculturalism had faced many challenges, and policy was criticized by different groups in Canada. A number of scholars began working on Multiculturalism. Simultaneously, the debates surfaced on which minority religious practices are accommodated with Canadian multiculturalism and Canadian laws? Literature on Multiculturalism came to existence for defining the boundaries of Canadian Multiculturalism. Few leading scholars argued that multiculturalism policy in Canada evolved in *adhoc* way, it needs to be theorized.

However, ethnic minorities were asserting for religious accommodation on the one hand, and mainstream's antagonism was growing against specified ethnic groups on the other, while state sanctioned Multiculturalism stood in between for making balance among them. As multiculturalism tried to adjust those communities whose claims were genuine, reasonable and not clashing with Canadian laws. While these adjustments made through the assessment of different ethnic groups on the basis of their history, and their social and economic contribution to Canadian society.

Numerous controversies in this regard occurred across the Canada while these are more contentious in Quebec. Controversies over 'reasonable accommodation' and over demand for *Sharia* courts surfaced in Quebec and Ontario respectively. To deal with this situation, academic work, debates and statistical or opinion surveys had taken place to find the answers of such questions; how this clash can be overcome? How and which practices or which community needs to be accommodate under Canadian multiculturalism? On the other side, questions on; how much multiculturalism can be expanded or extended to deal or overcome such emerging issues of ethnic minorities?

However, the 1990s decade has been remarkable for multiculturalism in Canada. Canadian State was trying to accommodate to some of claims of religious minorities on reasonable basis. Besides these accommodations are restrictive and limited, and the *adhoc* adjustments which would be expected not to harm the Canadian laws, public institutions and the larger society, equally not harmful to individuals' freedom or choice of Canadian citizens. To Groups, the accommodation provided in public sphere to the extent where they are not clashed with Canadian laws, if they do, then laws of Canada prevails. In context of private matter, the 'arbitrary laws', community can follow them in their private life and within particular community. Groups can do peacefully activities or negotiations to settle their personal or community disputes in accordance with the norms of their arbitrary laws, if any case of violence and danger to individuals' freedom reported, then state law prevails over arbitrary laws, even it entered in the private matters of group members or citizens anywhere it happened in world. Canadian law is the end while arbitrary laws work at level of negotiation and peaceful settlement of disputes. Meanwhile if once their dispute come before the Canadian law, then settled through the judgments made by courts. These judgments follow to Canadian liberal individualistic values not according groups history and community norms. Judiciary is

dominated by mainstream, immigrants don't have special reservation in Canadian judicial system, where their community judges can entertain their community norms during the judgments. In this context, groups further feel this as injustice and discriminated.

Debate on balancing the individual rights with group rights or citizenship or multicultural rights in Canada concluded that Citizenship rights are basic rights at the bottom and multicultural rights are set something beyond that only for the purpose of easy integration of ethnic groups whether they are marginalized or not. While the true ideal of multiculturalism goes to protect the marginalized sections of society. In Canada, theoretically, Kymlicka classified three kind of rights – self government rights, special representation rights and poly-ethnic rights. Immigrant groups can claim for poly-ethnic rights but these are not rights in the sense that these are only limited accommodations and exemptions from existing state laws. In practice in Canada, ethnic groups allowed such accommodations. While they can not claim for group-specific rights and nowhere in Canadian law specially mentioned the group differentiated rights for immigrants in Canada, only multiculturalism provides some relaxations to them not guarantees the rights. Constitutionally, they all are covered under 'individual rights' defined in Charter of Rights of Freedoms in 1982.

Since the time in the end of 1990s, in its third track, Multiculturalism was accommodating some religious practices of ethnic groups - Sikh and Muslims and others. But, September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on US changed the entire world situation mainly Canada. Immigrants were being considered enemy of north America, particularly Muslims. Multiculturalism that protects the rights of immigrants was strictly blamed for attacks. US blamed Canadian liberal immigration policy and Multiculturalism. The US ceased US- Canada border immediate after the attacks. US claimed that terrorists entered first in Canada and easily crossed the open border for fulfilling terrorist motives.

Consequently, under the pressure of US, like the US Patriot Act 2001, Canada passed two legislations – *ATA* and *IRPA*. Two tried to control immigration related frauds and check on immigrants' involvement in terrorist activities in and outside the Canada, and supporting activities to the conflicts of their home country or other countries. During

the period, Multiculturalism went failure in many western countries, some argued that it increased segregation, balkanization and ghettoization in spite of integration. Multiculturalism was rejected as a philosophy and policy by many European countries, mainly by Britain after 7/7 and Spain after Madrid bombing and others. In Canada, many aspects of Multiculturalism policies and programmes undergone a massive changes and many came under attack. Mainstream questioned multiculturalism and state toward on security and withdrawn its support of multiculturalism policy initiatives. Consequently, National security became the primary concern and liberty went back and some rights were suspended for immigrants, particularly of Arabs/ Muslims.

However, Kymlicka believes that Canadian multiculturalism is still working but policy shifted its core objective of cultural protection to boosting integration of immigration by various settlement and language training progammes. As Kymlicka claims that time has come to shift the funding from cultural activities to integration or immigrant settlement programmes. Such programmes includes mechanism that assists immigrants since they entered into Canada to until find the job. As Kymlicka observed that "Canadian have come to realize that institutional adaptation and civic participation are more successful integration than ethnic festivals" (Biles 2014: 26).

This was the situation before 9/11 as study explored. As this study finds the nuances among immigration, multiculturalism, citizenship and status two specified communities –Sikhs and Muslims, before and after 9/11. Now after 9/11, study finds that Canadian Immigration policy and its process was changed after 9/11 by adopting new strict measures under new legislation – *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* 2002 to curb immigration related frauds before they entered in Canada. During the migration process some measures like retina test, finger prints, travel information clearance form, and after landing in Canada, *IRPA* hands over the security concerns to *Anti Terrorism Act* 2001 that proceeds with installing surveillance over immigrants, and other security measures if necessary, like profiling, questioning, making arrest if suspected, putting under detention, torturing and deporting to their countries of origin. In the process of immigration, Canada sought immigration from 'preferred' countries as Canada made unnecessary delays in the cases of Arab/Muslim source countries. Therefore, *Anti Terrorism Act* was linked to *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act*

for making efficiency to trace and control the terrorist activities of immigrants particularly Muslims.

Secondly, Canadian Multiculturalism policies, programmes and its discourse shifted from its original objectives and practices. Multiculturalism turned into integrative policy by adopting new immigration settlement programmes. As a result, funding was shifted from promoting cultural activities to settlement or integration services. Canadian government withdrawn its support from many running multicultural programmes like shifting funding of cultural activities; stopped funding to religious associations and banned on charity status or on community fund raising that suspected to use for terrorist activities in home countries; and using Canadian land for terrorism master plans for activities exercising in other countries. The 9/11 incidents gave a set back to Canadian multiculturalism. Discrimination reached new peak. Government withdrew its support from multiculturalism and also withdraw some exemptions that already given to some ethnic groups like charity status.

Thirdly citizenship as 'concept' evolved in this modern era of migration. Constant and fast Migration resulted in tremendous growth in diversity. The existence of multiple identities or nationalities within one nation has challenged the centuries old concept of universalism or 'universal citizenship', and supported particularism or differentiated citizenship. In Canada, immigrants not allowed 'differentiated' citizenship while they allowed 'dual' citizenship if they want to maintain the connection with their home lands. After 9/11, Canada turned to 'inclusive' citizenship that aims to enhance the loyalties and belongings to Canada by becoming true Canadian. Canadian government started strictly following the activities of not only immigrants but also its citizens. Citizenship acquiring procedure became relatively tough. Canada tried to make strong the civic values. During the Harper government, citizenship was limited to domestic context with strict residential requirements, 'official' languages test of English and French, and payment of tax. However, the diversity consonants to global citizenship. Besides Canada also tried to control the abuse of citizenship like its related frauds, crimes and engaging in terrorist activities within or outside Canada.

Fourthly, in the case of two specified immigrant groups, it had seen a significant change in Canada aftermath of the 9/11 episode. These communities were venerable to

discrimination and fear due to hostile environment. Particularly Muslims, they were targeted and stigmatized by the state institutions and the larger society. At social level, they were stigmatized by larger society, hate wave and crimes, stereotypes, otherness, distance was made and created by mainstream, media bias. Increased racism. Discrimination at Social and educational institutions. At the economic level, they lost jobs and faced job related discrimination that put them to further marginalization. Politically they were marginalized. Nevertheless, the discrimination issues became a mobilization factor for the Muslims to organize themselves politically in 2004 and 2015 general elections by winning 3 seats and 11 seats respectively. In 2015 federal elections, number of Muslim seats increased to a total of 11 members of parliament primarily as a result of discriminatory Acts and citizenship laws passed in June 2015 by the Conservative Harper Government and promises to repeal these acts by the liberal party. In contrast, there were one seat since 1993 to 2000 general elections.

After 9/11, multiculturalism was accounted for supporting communities who are linked with terrorism. It is blamed that Multiculturalism makes easy for terrorists to fulfill their master plans as its allowed to raise the funds and issue the public State funds to many religious associations as they misused those funds for assisting home-grown conflicts or terrorism. Besides Canada immigration policy was blamed by US and Canadian critics and wider society that state mechanism failed to check and control over the entry of terrorists as they easily enter in Canada.

The 9/11 episode in its wake is posing a serious challenge to the practice of multiculturalism as it undermines the effective implementation of the federal governments multiculturalism policy initiatives in Canada. With Canada proclaiming and identifying the terrorism and terrorist a national and global threat, the Arab and Asian immigrants who were part of the inclusive policy of multiculturalism have become a 'visible threat' to the Canadian state and a target of suspicion. Immigrants who in the past were deemed as positive input to Canadian multiculturalism are now often seen as possible threat to national security as some community organizations are viewed as safe enclaves for international terrorist networks.

Therefore, provided opportunity structure by Canadian Multiculturalism were taken away by security concerns. Atmosphere in Canada became hostile and hate wave

originated against some ethnic groups, specifically Muslims. Mainstream also blamed immigration and multiculturalism for security threats.

Hence, some changes came into force in immigration, multicultural and citizenship after 9/11 incidents. But, the major change can be noticed in regard to the rights of ethno-cultural/religious minorities – Sikh and Muslims after 9/11, particularly Muslims. Racism and racial discrimination was increased regarding these two specified minority groups- Sikh and Muslims in Canada. Muslims were the direct target of society, media and state institutions, mainly state security agencies that wrongfully profiled, codified surveillance, questioned, arrested, made detention and tortured deported or handover to other countries or home countries that led them to multiple torture. While Sikhs were targeted indirectly by mistaken identity as Muslims due to the appearance, turban, skin colour and other similar physical features. In case of Muslims, the situation was worse in Quebec, in French Canada than in English Canada. that they feel they are not part of larger society, they are different groups.

Moreover, after 9/11, when racial discrimination was increased against Muslims, a great awakening to injustice ensued and there was a mobilization of Muslims to overcome their divisions. Moreover, their immigration from different parts of the world with different languages which handicapped them was reduced when they mutually communicated between themselves with the help of official languages -English and French. French in Quebec and English in Canada worked well to homogenise the heterogeneous Muslim community and necessitated them to raise the voices and discuss the community issues irrespective of their various differences. Consequently, community started to find political space and became politically active after 9/11. In Canadian Parliament, Muslims number did not exceed from one, since their arrivals in Canada, while in 2004 federal elections Muslims number in parliament reached at three.

Lastly, along with social and economic inclusion or exclusion, the minorities those are included or excluded from political processes or decision making due to few reasons as this study revealed- Sikhs are successful with some reasons – homogeneity, residential concentration, role of religious place, their length of stay, economic prosperity, and their pre-migration experiences of democracy in India. While Muslims are not successful because of their diverse and disperse as a community in Canada; economic

marginalization; and lack of political awareness especially democracy could not gain. However, after 9/11 situation began to change, Muslim became politically conscious due to their struggle for securing Canadian Muslim community from unlawful treatments under the prism of 'security'. Consequently, Muslim became aware and unified by improving their communication between each other through English or French. Muslim sought political support for preserving their community interests. They created associations that worked as political associations. They started articulating their demands and resisting against the increasing discrimination in post 9/11. In the federal elections 2004, after 9/11, their participation relatively increased but proportionally still under-represented group, and less represented compared to the Sikh community.

In brief, Multiculturalism in Canada is still working but quite different from its original goals through the integration model, through preferred immigration, immigration settlement programmes, language trainings, job assistance and counselling about health care and other civil services. Currently there is continuous of immigration and increasing its intake is showing that Canada did not still reject multiculturalism but is silent on it despite the fact of growing diversity by the years.

Annexure: 1

Centre for Public Opinion and Political Representation

SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

Department of Political Science
8888 University Drive
Burnaby, BC Canada
V5A 1S6
778-782-4293 (Tel)
778-782-4786 (Fax)

June 27, 2016

To whom it may concern:

This is to confirm that Inderjeet Singh was a visiting scholar with the *Centre for Public Opinion and Political Representation* in the Department of Political Science at Simon Fraser University from 31 March 2016 to 28 June 2016. As an official guest of the university, Inder was provided an office, internet access, and online library access during his stay.

While here he met regularly with myself and Dr. Remi Leger to discuss his dissertation research on *Integration and Discrimination under Canadian Multiculturalism: A Study of Sikh and Muslim Communities, post-9/11*. Dr. Leger and I both provided feedback on his dissertation research generally and more specific comments on the first two chapters of his dissertation. He recently completed a new draft of Chapter 3 of his dissertation on *Citizenship and Multiculturalism* and seems to have made solid progress toward completing his study.

In addition to meeting regularly with myself and Dr. Leger, Inder also met with several other faculty members at SFU and surrounding universities who specialize in research related to his dissertation. This includes Dr. Alex Moens (SFU), Eline de Rooij (SFU), Daryl Maclean (SFU), Antje Ellerman (UBC), Richard Johnston (UBC), and several others. He also integrated well with the doctoral students in the Department of Political Science.

If you have any further questions, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Sincerely,

Steven Weldon

Director, Centre for Public Opinion and Political Representation
Associate Professor and Undergraduate Chair, Political Science
Simon Fraser University
E-mail: sweldon@sfu.ca

Annexure: 2

Field Trip at Canada: A Report submitted to ICSSR

This is my immense pleasure to inform you that I have just finished my field trip at abroad (Canada) sponsored by ICCSR for the purpose of data collection in continuation of my Ph.D. thesis work.

Duration my trip since 30th March 2016 until 29 July 2016, major destination was the province - British Columbia in Canada where I have been affiliated with the department of Political Science of Simon Fraser University at its main Campus in Burnaby near Vancouver. At SFU, I started working under the consultation of Prof. Steve Weldon, Department of Political Science. The department provided me an office space and online library access, and other research facilities. There, I have conducted a series of meeting with other faculty members like Prof. Alexander Moens, Dr. Remi Leger, Prof. Eline De Rooij of the same department, and Prof. Maclean of Centre for Study of Muslim Cultures. Besides, the university has a very resourceful library that I visited regularly. I also visited another library of the same university at Surrey Campus. I shared my research and discussed it with several doctoral and master students of the University.

Meanwhile, I also made multiple visits at University of British Columbia (UBC) and conducted meetings with the experts of minority issues like Prof. Anny Murphy, department of Asian Studies, Prof. Richard Johnston, and Prof. Baum Bruce of Department of Political Science UBC, for the purpose of consulting data and taking their valuable comments on my work. In the same institution, I also accessed data from its main library.

I also visited Kwantlen Polytechnic University (KPU) and its library several times and here, I met to Prof. Elizabeth Nayar who is a well renowned expert of Sikh studies in Canada. I discussed Sikh issues with her. Besides, I went to University of Fraser Valley (UFV), where I had a meeting with Prof. Satwinder Bains. She provided me relevant material about multicultural programmes in Canada. Later, I visited to Prof. Sadhu Binning, an expert of Punjabi cultural issues, and with him, I discussed various issues of Punjabis and Sikhs in Canada. Lastly, I also conducted a meeting with Anju Gill, the

secretary of Conservatives, Abbottsford. She gave a relevant information about the political participation of Sikh community in Canada.

Mainly, the focus of my field trip in Canada has revolved around the issues of Sikh and Muslim communities in Canada. It is interesting to note that both communities constitute a sizeable population (more than one million Muslims and about five lac Sikhs) in Canada. Muslims population is more than double from Sikhs while their political representation is very less compared with Sikhs. Sikh community in Canada constitutes the 1.4 % of Canada's total population while their representation in Canadian parliament is 5.2 %.

In Canada, there is no systematic research done about participation of Sikhs and Muslims in Canadian politics. Much of scholarly work has found about political participation of visible minorities in Canada, there is still a gaps of information regarding the political involvement of Sikh and Muslim communities in Canada. To fill these gaps, I collected statistical data related to the political participation of all communities since 1990s onwards. At that stage, it was required to extract data from Elections Canada, and other surveys done by government and research associations.

During the trip, I found that Muslims are less successful compared to Sikhs in terms social economic and political integration under Canadian Multiculturalism. Moreover, Sikhs are much benefited from Canadian Multiculturalism than Muslims. The interview with Prof. Maclean in Centre for the Study Muslim Cultures at SFU clarified that there is the problem from both sides; Muslims don't want to integrate with the system and the larger society, on the other hand wider society is not accepting them. Consequently, this situation has remained a question of debate until the 9/11 incidents occurred. The 9/11 was considered a turning point in the path of Canadian multiculturalism especially for Muslims. Moreover, I interviewed Prof. Alexander Moens, a noted expert of 9/11 security concerns, as he believed that the 9/11 episode has triggered the issues and problems of Muslims in Canada. He also believes that the problem of integration of Muslims in Canada was continuously growing since 1990s, but gone heightened after 9/11, and still going upward. While the problem of integration of Sikhs was gone downward since last 1990s, about a decade after Air India crash (1985).

The interview with Prof. Richard Johnston, Chair of Election Studies Canada, concluded that Muslims in Canada constitute a diverse population due to their different nationalities, cultures, history and languages. He noted that nothing is common in Canadian Muslim community rather than Islam.

He argued that Muslims have not experience of democracy because of their migration from authoritarian countries, therefore they are not well fitted with Canadian liberal democratic values. On the other hand, Sikhs had the experiences of democracy from India as they are politically more active. Secondly, Sikh community uses Sikh religious place in engaging in Canadian politics. Sikhs in Canada successfully converted their religious gatherings into political motives. Mostly Sikhs discuss politics in their religious gatherings in *Gurudwaras,* whether it is in Punjab or elsewhere in the world.

However, from collective opinion of few others, I found that the prime aim of political parties is to make easy access of mobilizing the ethnic minority voters. Political parties seek the places where they easily can recruit ethnic minorities as members and where they can make promises to take minority support in elections. Sikhs are successful in this regard. The homogeneity in Sikh community is the main reason behind the success of Sikhs in Canadian politics.

During my trip, most of the time, I have been engaged with my host institution – Simon Fraser University. Rest of the time, I reserved for meeting with Sikh and Muslim immigrant groups in the city of Surrey and its surrounding areas, where Sikhs are residentially concentrated. Besides, it was the logic to stay there to spend maximum time with them to understand the ground realities and problems what they are facing in daily lives. It was pertinent to know about their life experiences. For the purpose, I conducted interviews with the members of both communities. Lastly, I reserved the time to meet with politicians and civil society associations for going deeper to understand Canadian Multiculturalism.

Therefore, I stayed at Surrey that is 40 km from the Vancouver where the accommodation was easily available on reasonable costs. Secondly the population of this City has much concern to my area of research like a huge Sikh and Muslim immigrant concentrated in this Area.

So for this purpose, I hired a taxi from Vancouver international Airport to Surrey where I took a room on rent at the address # 12651, 70 Ave 126a street Surrey, BC Canada. For visiting other places – universities and libraries, I used taxi, bus as well as metro service.

So, I successfully finished my field trip in Canada, and I sincerely thankful to the ICSSR for providing me the financial assistance to visit Canada without which it was really difficult to continue my research.

Inderjeet Singh
Doctoral Scholar
Centre for Canadian, US and Latin American Studies
School of International Studies, JNU, New Delhi.
Email: inder.maan18@gmail.com

Annexure: 3

Multicultural Policy Experiences Survey in Canada

(July, 2014)

Name _____ Age _____ Sex _____

Religion _____ Language _____ City _____ Province _____

Country of Origin _____ Present Address _____

Email_____

1. Are you educated?

   a. Yes   b. No

2. What is your level of education?

   a. Secondary b. Higher Secondary c. Bachelor d. Masters e. Doctoral

3. Are you working?

   a. Yes   b. No

4. Are you working according to your education standard and skill?

   a. Yes   b. No

5. What is the nature of your work?

   a.   Public   b. Private

6. Do you get the same wages for same work?

   a. Yes   b. No

7. Do you see the wage difference between male and female?

   a. Yes   b. No_____if yes, how much_____

8. Are you associated with any labour Union?

   a. Yes   b. No_____if yes, name of union/association_____

9. Are you aware about your multicultural rights and your rights as a worker?

   a. Yes   b. No

10. Are you aware towards your citizenship rights?

   a. Yes   b. No_____if yes, from where you got the information_____

   _____

11. Has any Govt. official given you counselling about Multicultural Policies and Programmes?

    a. Yes   b. No_____ if yes, name of the person/ department_____

12. Are you involved with any pressure group and political party?

    a. Yes   b. No_____ if yes, mention the name_____

14. Which culture do you like?

    a. mainstream/white culture   b. your community culture

15. Are you doing something to promote your culture?

    a. Yes   b. No_____ if yes, specify activity_____

16. Did Canadian Govt. take any action to protect and promote your culture?

    a. Yes   b. No_____if yes, write activity_____

17. Do you feel culturally safe in Canadian Society?

    a. Yes   b. No_____if no, why_____

18. Which language do you prefer to speak?

    a. English b. French c. Mother tongue d. Any other

    If mother tongue, please give the name_____

19. Can you freely express your religious feelings in Canadian society?

    a. Yes   b. No____if no, why_____

20. Do you have all religious rights?
    a. Yes   b. No

21. Do you freely celebrate your religious rituals, traditions and ceremonies?

    a. Yes   b. No____if no, why_____

22. Which food do you like to eat?

    a. Indian b. Canadian c. any other, please specify_____

23. Which dress would you like to wear?

a. Western b. Indian c. Any other, please specify_____

24. Do you have any restriction to wear the dress what you like?

a. Yes   b.   No___if no, give the reason_____

25. Do you have the feeling regarding your home country?

a. Yes b.   No

26. Are you interested to do investment in home country?

a. Yes b.   No

27. Do you want to protect your own culture or assimilate in western culture?

a.   Home culture   b. Western culture

28. Do you like the cultural celebration styles in Canada?

a. Yes   b. No

29. Do you have any membership of Social Associations?

a. Yes   b. No___if yes, give name_____

30. Do you have any health problem?

a. Yes   b. No

31. Do you agree with the present health system in Canada?

a. Yes   b. No____if no, specify_____

Sign_____   **Date_____**

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