

**ONGOING DEBATES ON CANADIAN  
MULTICULTURAL POLICY**

*Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University  
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**MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY**

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DECLARATION

I declare that the dissertation entitled “ONGOING DEBATES ON CANADIAN  
 ULTICULTURAL POLICY ”, submitted by me in partial fulfillment of the requirements for  
 the award of the degree of **MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY** of this university is my original work.  
 This dissertation has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this or any other  
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We recommend that the dissertation may be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

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**FOR ALL THE MINORITY GROUPS,  
WHERE JUSTICE HAS BEEN LONG NEGLECTED AND DENIED.....**

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CONTENTS

Certificates

Acknowledgements

PAGES

List of Abbreviations

iii

Preface

iv- vii

Chapter I:**Introducing Multiculturalism: from Liberalism towards Culturalism.**1-26

- **The Anatomy of Multiculturalism**
- **Liberal Values in Multiculturalism**
- **Multicultural Policy in Post-Modern Era**
- **Pluralism, Multiculturalism & Assimilation: Revealing the Differences**
- **Citizenship Rights & Cultural Rights within a Multicultural Framework**
- **Culturalism & Pluralism in Liberalism**

Chapter II:**Post World War II Canadian Immigration Policy & Political Economy approach****Towards the Understanding of Canadian Multicultural policy.**27-53

- **Specialization, Stereotypifications and Growth of Ethnic Diversity**
- **Ism of Multicultural Policy on Immigrant Ethnics**
- **Canadian Immigration Policies in Historical Periods**
- **Post World War II Canadian Immigration Policies & towards a Point System**
- **Business Immigration Programme & need of Canadian Economic Development**
- **Towards a Political Economy Approach for understanding Canadian Official Multicultural Policy**
- **Political Economy of Race, Ethnicity & Immigrants**
- **Immigrant: Toleration, Recognition**

**Chapter III:**

**Canadian Official Multicultural Policy: Whether Uniting or Multiplying the Nation. 54-81**

- **Implementation Variances of Multiculturalism Policy among the Provinces**
- **What Went Wrong? Some Don't Like it, a big Headache**
- **Critics Narrations of Multiculturalism**
- **Supporters Narratives of Multiculturalism**
- **Culture of Poverty & Multiculturalism**

**Chapter IV:**

**Canadian Multiculturalism at Contemporary Times: 1988-2001 82-103**

- **Interculturalism within Multiculturalism**
- **Reviewing Canadian Multicultural Policy: Brighton Report 1995-1996**
- **Examining Individualism within Multiculturalism**
- **What Do facts Tell?**
- **Canadian Identity: Whether Monoculturalism or Multiculturalism?**

**Chapter V:**

**Conclusion 104-108**

**Selected Bibliography 109-116**

- **Primary Sources**
- **Secondary Sources**
- **Articles**
- **Website**
- **Newspaper**

**Appendix**

- **Canadian Multiculturalism Act I-VII**

**List of Abbreviations**

- **Alberta Human Rights Commission - AHRC**
- **Biculturalism and Bilingualism policy - B&B**
- **Bloc Quebecois - BQ**
- **Business Immigration Policy – BIP**
- **Canadian Cultural Diversity - CCD**
- **Canadian Immigration Policy – CIP**
- **Canadian Ethno-cultural Council - CEC**
- **Canadian Multicultural Policy – CMP**
- **Department of Canadian Heritage - DCH**
- **Department of Multiculturalism and Citizenship - DMC**
- **Economic Council of Canada - ECC**
- **House of Common - HOC**
- **Human Capital Approach – HCP**
- **Parti Quebecois - PQ**
- **Reform Party of Canada - RPC**



## PREFACE

Canada provides a very nice example and a unique model for other nation state to formulate an official doctrine to deal with the issues of dissents and justice towards the minority groups. The so-called Canadian Multiculturalism Policy of 1971 initiated by P.E. Trudeau at the House of Common and later at 1988, which was enacted as Canadian Multicultural Act in the House of Common, provides a big field of knowledge to other nations towards the issues of governance in issues of minority rights and self-government rights to some minority groups. Such provisions serve as a model for other nation state in its process of nation building especially when a nations level of tolerance is being questioned. And, a state free from biasness towards its various ethnic groups and socio-cultural differences is being scaled and measured. Also the multicultural act of 1988 served as a model for proper integration of the minority ethnics towards the greater mainstream. The act also calls forth for greater participation of the minority groups towards the Canadian nation building, which are previously loosely grouped and improperly participated.

Canadian Official Multicultural Policy delineates the soft side of Canadian nation. Soft side in the sense that Canada recognized freedom and rights to practice those different ethnics beliefs and cultural expressions. Sometimes it becomes very essential for an individual that the individual can't separate oneself from its point of origin, i.e the attachments to its culture. Here, the point of origin is the cultural belongings and rights of the one self. In a broad sense one's self and one's existence provide a meaningful insight when a one self-nature and way of doing things are defined by attachment to its cultural belongings. It is in this sense that an individual or one self cannot escape or detach oneself from the point

of its origin, which is in length defined by the culture. An individual is always defined properly only when one is link up to its culture. An individual or a self, who had detached from its point of origin, led the self to the domain of cultural shock.

The main objectives of the study that has been tirelessly focused in this dissertation have been firstly on the factors that led to the evolution of Canadian multicultural policy of 1971. Factors such as want of immigrant laborers from non-traditional sources and shortages of laborers from traditional sources led to dump its racial based immigration policy. Such changes led to growth of cultural plurality and growth of ethnic diversity in Canada. Subsequently another important aspect has been to present that the enactment of multicultural policy creates a better environment for other ethno-racial groups to immigrate into Canada. The most persistent objective have been to present the nature of the multicultural debate; whether multicultural policy would lead Canada to ethnic ghettoisation, cultural apartheid, not much contributions from minority groups towards mainstream Canadian values, supports rise of ethnic cult and mutual hatred within the cultural groups due to extra emphasis on cultural tolerance. At the same time, such claims are compared and analyzed within the objective goals of the multicultural framework. Also, main objective of the study has been further added with official reports and analyze with certain sociological indicators like intermarriage, official language learning programmes etc to examine whether multicultural policy leads to division or towards unity.

Keeping the above-mentioned presented perspective the present dissertation is focuses on the ongoing debate of the Canadian Multiculturalism Act of 1988. In the first chapter, the chapter predicts a clear approach, which is needed towards the understanding of

the nature of multiculturalism. Besides culturalism as a terminology attempts to properly diagnosed multiculturalism, multicultural policy and its agenda are examined.

In the second chapter titled “post world war II Canadian immigration policy and the political economy approach towards the understanding of multicultural policy”, the history of immigration policies and process are being reconsidered which led to the emergence of Canada as a highly diverse nation of many cultural groups and other human races. Most importantly the chapter delineates the essential necessity of immigrant laborers who wanted to migrate to Canada has been at the same time absorbed due to the shortage of skilled or unskilled labor in the flourishing industries which may be fishing, agriculture, ship building, construction, timber, lumbering and plantation. The desired goal of such immigration policy is for the enhancement of its nations state economic and social development of Canada. Arguing such proposition, the chapter deals why enhancement of minority rights and ensuring guarantees to the minority groups is needed for the development of nation’s economic welfare.

In the third chapter titled “Debating Canadian Multicultural Policy: Whether Uniting or diving the nation” had been highlighted along with a specific ideology interculturalism so as to critically examined the ongoing debate whether multicultural policy has achieved good for all or to harm the nation state. The debates of the multicultural policy have been producing much fears rather than bringing happiness. That’s why multiculturalism scholar Will Kymlicka too emphasized that the recent debates produced much light than producing energy. Issues dealing with nations separatism mainly the Quebecois demand for sovereignty, cultural apartheid, bringing walls between cultures, animosity between the

minority group issues about separate Canadian identity, liberal tolerance on certain extreme cultural practices etc are all widely discussed here in this chapter.

The fourth chapter entitle “Canadian Multiculturalism at Contemporary times: From 1988-2001” examines the continuing debate. Simultaneously the nature of the multicultural policy from its enactment till the beginning of the millennium is being presented to clarify a stand as proposed in the third chapter.

Finally, the last chapter concludes with a stand that multicultural policy is an inclusive policy, which is different from the exclusionist doctrine like assimilationist process. Multicultural policy is also different from the affirmative action policy where the level of enhancement and empowering aspects are in a wider aspect from the reservation doctrines of affirmative action. Multiculturalism doesn't essentially relate to reservation. But to a large extent multicultural policy guarantees a more meaningful aspect by recognizing and ensuring individuals rights belonging to minority groups. At the same extent the policy also act as an agent for negotiating the integration to achieve the ultimate goal of awarding citizenship to different ethnic immigrants to Canada.

**N. William Singh**

**New Delhi**

## **Chapter I**

### **Introducing Multiculturalism: from Liberalism towards Culturalism.**

The origin of equality in terms of culture, to elaborate that all cultures are equal and there is no superiority or inferiority in culture can be widely examined behind the term, 'Cultural Relativism'. Ralph Linton had introduced the terminology in his study of the Polynesian indigenous people. On the Basis of the case study of Polynesian indigenous people, Linton was able to generalize the concept. It affirms that there is no scientific doctrine to prove that one culture is superior to another culture. Also, it affirms that there exists not at all a supreme culture.<sup>1</sup> Liberalism has upheld the notion that modern nation states ought to tolerate and respect every culture and preserve minority cultures. Very often states have integrated these under the formulation called Multicultural Policy. It becomes an essential that strong theme of modern governance towards ethnic diversity, cultural diversity and religious tolerances undertaken by some modern nation state; somehow inclined towards cultural tolerance and cultural recognition or widely upheld as multicultural policy. Culturally oriented approaches essentially delineate traditional liberal values of freedom, recognition, and tolerance. Moreover, levels of socio-cultural awareness and socio-religious tolerance critically look for more aspects beyond the level of *individual* values of freedom, recognition and tolerance. Therefore a parallel shift towards *groups* oriented approach receives a sensational importance of socio-cultural and socio-religious groups. That's why Patrice Pavis wrote, 'the world ....is in the process of moving from its nationalistic phase to its cultural phase, and it is preferable to distinguish cultural areas rather than nations'.<sup>2</sup> Likewise Chandran Kukathas believed '*we should trust more to groups than the state*'. It becomes essential to locate the parameters of culture in the doctrine of multiculturalism.

#### **The Anatomy of Multiculturalism:**

Multiculturalism helps to redefine the notion of cultural identity. It examines and relocates the level of political consciousness, the marginality of segregation, the level of

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<sup>1</sup> See Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man* (New York, 1936).

<sup>2</sup> Patrice Pavis, *Introduction: Towards a Theory of interculturalism in Theatre* (New York, 1996), p.5.

representation in public institutions, of negotiating and recognizing group rights. Multiculturalism engages with the particularity of cultural existence, attempts to demarcate the zone of the universal and explores the possibility of arriving at shared understanding and involvement.<sup>3</sup> Multiculturalism is a recent phenomenon in political and social theory, not even thirty years old<sup>4</sup>. As a word or as an idea, 'Multiculturalism' first appeared and initiated in Canada and Australia during the early 1970s. The policy has been to group together those loosely group under the heading of multiculturalism.<sup>5</sup> It appeals for inclusion of minority groups concerns, some form of group rights but not all group rights. Because Kymlicka mentioned for a common good; some forms of extreme, intolerable cultural practices or illiberal group rights and illiberal cultural practices should be discarded. One can label it as the project of *inclusionist* rather than an *exclusionist* policy. Multiculturalism concerned with the issue of equality: it asks whether the different communities, living peacefully together, co-exist as equals in the public arena.<sup>6</sup> The strongest stance multiculturalism is projecting is that the circumstances that render every civil society and political scheme is whether beneficial or noxious to every mankind. Multiculturalism refers to cultures in plural, not to culture in singular. Multiculturalism predicts to call for proper integration, which is also much a feature of representation of the marginalized subject. It provides a new framework to the concept of ethnicity, where a new cultural construction of the ethnic identities, its advantages and disadvantages are redefined in a modern nation state. Modern nation state consciously takes up the issue of level of recognition of minority ethnic and liberal forms of group rights, its level of integration with the mainstream cultural and the contestation for the marginalization.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Valerian Rodrigues, *Is there a case for Multiculturalism?* In Kushal Deb (Ed.), *Mapping Multiculturalism* (New Delhi, 2002), p. 107.

<sup>4</sup> Paul Kelly, *Multiculturalism Reconsidered: Culture and Equality and its Critiques* (London, 2003), p.1.

<sup>5</sup> Christian Joppke & Steven Lukes, *Multicultural Questions* (New Delhi, 1993), p. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Gurpreet Mahajan, *The Multicultural Path* (New Delhi, 2002), p. 11.

<sup>7</sup> Stuart Hall, *New Ethnicity's: Identities, Race, Class, Gender and Nationalism* (London, 2003), p. 89.

The term multiculturalism recalls a web of ideas and hypothesis. On politics, Multicultural policy questions the basic theme of modern democracy. Where, multicultural brings out the level of functioning of the modern democracy. Modern democracy, in the name of equality fails to recognize, what makes and constitutes identity. Furthermore, modern democracy fails to know the dyadic relation between making of identity and the basic constituents of community. Multicultural policy underscores the need to have a stable identity, emphasizes the contribution of cultural communities for the fulfillment of this need and brings out the link between identity and recognition. Multiculturalism stresses the importance of cultural belonging and legitimizes the desire to maintain differences. Multiculturalism directs the level of justice and fairness not in terms of the individual level. It tries to relocate justice and fairness within the cultural sphere of Communitarianism.

A new field of study, '*Culturalism*' is the gift of the multicultural policy, which gives a sensation of cultural groups and its significance in the wider socio-political and socio-economic of the social set-up. Brian Walker introduced the terminology *Culturalism* to describe the liberal culturalist argument for differentiated rights, which Kymlicka advances in his book *Liberalism, Community and Culture* and *Multicultural Citizenship*. In his essay, *Plural Cultures, contested territories*, Brian mentioned that the term Culturalism narrates the roles that culture plays as the foundation for human Capacities.<sup>8</sup> In consonant to that Multiculturalism becomes a pervasive theme in 1990s, the dramatic political development of freedom, to govern them, to develop their economies and quality of life.<sup>9</sup> Multiculturalism with its emphasis on cultural rights and religious tolerance gives a more weightage towards the understanding of culturalism.

### **Liberal Values in Multiculturalism:**

Classical liberalism views persons and citizenship in highly individualistic terms. All persons are equal in the sense that each person possesses an identical bundle of rights and are entitled to have their rights respected as part of the implied contract or bargain between each

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<sup>8</sup> Brian Walker, "*Plural Cultures, Contested Territories: A Critique of Kymlicka*" Canadian Journal of Political Science (New York), Vol.30, No.2, June/July 1997, P.215.

<sup>9</sup> Reginald W. Bibby, *Mosaic Madness* (Toronto, 1990), p.1.

person in society. It describes claims like 'equal status' and 'equal opportunity'. In short, an equal right to every individual to compete in the race of life, but not to a right for quality of condition, that is, a right to finish at the same place. J.H. Broome in his study of the thoughts of J. Rousseau wrote, 'Rousseau is much more concerned to deliver a moral criticism of reasons, on the grounds that its basic principles are opposed to the liberty of the individual, and therefore inimical both to happiness and to moral dignity..... what matters is that state should promote the happiness of all men and not merely that of clever or aesthetic men.'<sup>10</sup> Where is the question of group or community in such age-old writings? Even John Locke in his *Two Treatise of Government* explicitly wrote about the relation between god and individual. Also, the idea of rationality or morality that individuals hold is not only linked with their idea of god or good. And, their meaning must also derive in part from the nature of the specific activities in which they engage.<sup>11</sup> Thomas Hobbes in 'Leviathan' described the natural condition of mankind. He wrote, 'nature had made man so equal, in the faculties of body and mind.....yet when all reckoned together, the difference between man and man is not so considerable, as that are man can therefore claim to himself any benefit, to which another may not pretend as well as he'.<sup>12</sup> Such age-old classical liberalism philosophers wrote only about human, mankind and individual. They forgot to write about what racism means, what cultural discrimination means...or at the wider context, well being about cultural groups, community and the significance of cultures in a modern nation state. In short traditional liberals forgot the sophisticated term 'group', they forgot to mention what composed the essentials of group. The task now is to critically look at the traditional emphasis on individualism. Traditional liberal principles don't talk about Community or migration groups and their well-being. Liberalism traditional strengths, however is its ability to balance different and important values, between autonomy and pluralism, equality and tolerance.<sup>13</sup> Nevertheless liberalism responded to the phenomenon of diversity in three ways in an individual scale but not on the Ethno-Cultural group context. Namely, *toleration, non-*

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<sup>10</sup> See JH Broome, *Rousseau: A study of his thoughts* (London, 1963), Pp. 6-16.

<sup>11</sup> John Locke, *Two Treatise of Government* (London, 1987), p.38.

<sup>12</sup> Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan* (Oxford, 1967), p.94

<sup>13</sup> J. Spinner Halev, *Autonomy, Association & Pluralism*. (Cambridge, UK, 2005), p.169.



*discrimination* and existence of *various cultures*. A more justifiable approach, which can incorporate toleration, non-discrimination and existence of various cultures in a wider scale, has to be reconsidered.

Most of the common claims suggest, Multiculturalism is an attempt by liberalism to reach out to culture and nation building. Particularly, in a context where cultures and ethnicity become very palpable realities in the liberal world in which liberalism confronts in its march towards special provision or for recognition of cultural values. Here, the interesting feature is Multiculturalism rejects culture blind cosmopolitanism and calls for a culturally inclusive, rather than cosmopolitan liberalism. Equal recognition is a must and essential chapter for healthy democratic society. Don't forget its refusal can inflict damage. Like feminist movements, '*Politics of Recognition*' as termed by Charles Taylor or '*Polyethnic Rights*' as Will Kymlicka mentions in his book, "*Multicultural Citizenship*" or '*Recognition Rights*' mentioned by Joseph.H.Carens have extended to other minority ethnics position and conditions in the public sphere. So extension of liberal principles from individual values and freedom towards cultural groups and cultural values, cultural tolerance and cultural recognition has a bigger role to play in the process of contemporary nation building. Liberalism resorts very minutely to the principle of toleration, located in the conceptual spaces and distinction of rights within the private and public spheres. Today there are advocates who argue that liberalism cannot reach out to culture, ethnicity and group rights. Therefore liberalism remains indifferent to them.<sup>14</sup> Even, Will Kymlicka feels that if liberalism has to succeed, it must explicitly address the needs and aspirations of ethnic and national minorities. The move, the upliftment from honor to dignity has entered into the politics of universalism of recognizing rights and respecting other minority culture. It emphasizes the equal dignity of all citizens. The content of this politics has been the equalization of rights and entitlements towards cultural values and minority ethnic rights.

Official recognition of minority ethnic culture by dominant culture becomes an essential headache of every nation state, in recent times of nation building discourses. Multiculturalism entails us an effort or a direction to *recognize* the previously non-recognized cultural practices.

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<sup>14</sup> See Chandran Kukathas "*Liberalism and Multiculturalism: the politics of indifference*" *Political Theory* (New York), October, 1998, Vol. 26. No. 5, p.686.

Also, to value the cultural belonging that defines the social meanings of an individual and urges to maintain differences and preserve it. Multiculturalism is not just a policy; it is a form of medium for upbringing minority cultural forms and ways of doing things so as to prevent from cultural shock. It is also a form of ideology for respecting every culture. Multiculturalism calls for the evolution of a policy, which acknowledges differences, rather than erases them out or establishes the hegemony of a specific identity over the rest.

Every culture deserves equal recognition, in senses of everything. Whether identity formation, or its value system within the culture or certain community itself comes from culture.<sup>15</sup> Traditional liberalism provides an autonomy version of which people ought to have the freedom to organize association or leave according to their wishes. This issue has led towards reproducing struggles, raising voices and demands within a nation-state in the contemporary times. Witnessing political struggles and different ethnics yelling at each other which is not friendly, struggling for supremacy everywhere seems to be the major headache towards governance of a state.

Modern governance in general practice both exclusion and inclusive policy, state's governance also sometimes prefers group homogenization and heterogenization. Inclusion and participation of everyone in public discussion and decision-making requires mechanisms of group representation afresh; because in the past minority ethnic were not properly and unequally represented in the decision making body of a state. On the other hand, all groups have different capabilities; some cultures are privileged, some cultures remain oppressed. Multicultural policy aspects felt the need of adherence to principle of equal recognition and equal treatment tends to perpetuate oppression or for the upliftment of the disadvantages. There arises the need to argue and question the social contract theory of John Locke and other classical liberal philosophers, because they mention freedom of individuals only. Liberal emphasis on individualism and state regulation on the individual basis needs to be reshaped. Not only that republican fashion of freedom and autonomy came into question when we deal with equal citizenship and minority cultures, because equal citizenship rights doesn't have anything to do with the disadvantaged

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<sup>15</sup> Rajeev Bhargava, *Introducing Multiculturalism* in R. Bhargava, A.K. Bagchi & R. Sudharsan (Eds.), *Communitarianism, Liberalism & Democracy* (New Delhi, 1999), p. 36.

minorities. Citizenship rights are common right of every individual, which provides a bundle of identical rights, but not a special right for empowering and integrating the minorities.

It is in this context, idea of equal citizenship becomes essential to rope in the analyzation of multiculturalism. I.M.Young described it as 'Politics of Recognition'. Insistence on citizenship as an expression of the universality of human life, all citizens with equal recognition in terms of recognizing its cultural belongings have been mushrooming due to the pressure, felt by the minority ethnics. At the same time the rise of private interest group is a never-ending process.

I.M.Young believes the process of differentiating cultural groups for granting justice and the process of heterogenization through recognition of its distinct ways of living. He prefers a rainbow coalition instead of a universal citizenship, which is the dream for him. He claimed for group-differentiated rights to elevate group representation in certain public institutions. Even Chandan Kukathas writes somewhere, '*we should trust more to groups than the state*'. To stop discrimination and to follow principles of non-discrimination at a large extent can be resulted only by implementing ideology and principles for self-determination claims of minority cultures. Which, is unlike an assimilationist policy. Need of cultural institution arises so as to save from disappearance.<sup>16</sup> Group differentiated rights are meant to bridge between majority and minority cultures. At the same time culture is vulnerable. To save it, as a watchdog of preservation, multiculturalism is the only answer.

The basis of the 'community self' or its authority is not any kind of right of the culture to perpetuation or even existence, but the acquiescence of its member. In relation to this, demand of citizenship and the demands for cultural membership can pull in different direction. Because, firstly citizenship is narrated on individualistic concerns, where it silent the nature of disadvantaged citizens of the minority groups. Secondly, differential citizenship rights may be needed to protect a cultural community and to rescue those particular cultures from unwanted

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<sup>16</sup> Brian Walker, "*Plural Cultures, Contested Territories: a Critique of Kymlicka*" Canadian Journal of Political Science (New York), June/ July, 1997, Vol.30, No.2, p.217.

disintegration. So granting status and special rights to ethnic communities should extend justice by giving minority their due.

It is in this context; Will Kymlicka distinguishes three kinds of group-differentiated rights, which will grant some acknowledgement towards cultural tolerance in strengthening the traditional liberal values. Namely, *self-government rights* {exercise of authority over the group by members itself}, *Poly-ethnic rights* {dress code or cultural practices} and *Group Differentiated rights* and *Special Representation rights* {like affirmative action policy}.<sup>17</sup> Kymlicka initiates the meaning behind the term individual rights. He clearly defined that individual rights and way of doing or defining an individual always starts from the group and its cultural rights. Liberals like him worry about the inequalities in race and class, ethnics too. The key conceptual points of Kymlicka are about the nature of group rights and to provide a common culture. And supposedly the state as a 'top down model' has to pronounce the character of the state as culturally unbiased and culture-neutral. He also shares with other writers such as Chandran Kukathas, Charles Taylor and Joseph Raz in suggesting 'specific culture' and its recognition, mainly of the minority culture, where justice has been long denied. He suggest that societal culture provides encompassing sensibilities which gave the members the very basic narratives, maps and pictures they use to make sense of the world. *What defines one's self and one's identity is grounded and socialized by the community or the group that he/she belongs.*

Multiculturalism as an ideology is relatively a coherent set of ideas and ideals associated with the construction and maintenance of social reality. Multiculturalism ideology is supported with the philosophy to approach that all cultural systems must be approached equally, because all cultures are equally good and valid, when situated within their historical and environmental context. State support is needed to prevent misrecognition or mistreatment. That's why Kymlicka and other writers mention the need of state support. They prefer compensation for minority culture for being unchosen and neglected for an unmemorable span of time. Further Will Kymlicka in his essay, *The rights of Minority Cultures: Reply to Kukathas* mentioned the need

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<sup>17</sup> See Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship: a Liberal Theory of Minority Rights* (Oxford, 1995), Pp.12-17.

for protection of minority cultures from political or economic decisions of the minority cultures.<sup>18</sup>

Multiculturalism in a nutshell is a public policy and a cultural project of social management. A social management project by the state, the limitless power container, to keep in a fair balance of opportunity and non-segregation between the various socio-cultural and socio-economic differences for the various ethnies, socio-religious and socio-cultural groups that makes the demographic configuration of the state. It is totally in contrast with the financial management system. There is no gain or no profit in multicultural policy, rather it is a fair and needed policy. It directs state's business to maintain equal fair and opportunity for every cultural group and various ethno-religious groups. Multiculturalism relates the need for community, a sense of belonging to it, the importance of a secure sense of identity, for recognition of its status, of particularly cultural values and the need to recognize and judgements towards various social gaps. Multiculturalism is a social engineering initiative; multicultural policy concerns mainly the dilemma of maintaining social harmony.

The linkage between recognition and identity becomes the central question and the fundamental character that defines a human being. On the contrary, micro-recognition on a certain level suffers a real bad damage and real distortion. Discovering my own identity doesn't necessarily mean that I work out in isolation, but that I negotiate it through dialogue, partly overt, partly internal with others.<sup>19</sup> The process or projection of an inferior or demeaning image on another can actually distort and oppress other minority ethnic. The heart of liberalism on freedom, equality and autonomy was extended and borrowed to protect other minority cultures. The liberal emphasis on the individual precludes a proper theory of the state, which suggests in principle that liberalism cannot be treated to treat adequately with the question of status and rights for ethnic communities.<sup>20</sup> Liberalism always emphasizes on individual rights and it totally neglects the notion of communal interest. Liberalism gives no independent weight to our cultural

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<sup>18</sup> Will Kymlicka, "*The rights of Minority Cultures: Reply to Kukathas*" Political Theory (New York), Vol.20, No.1, February, 1992, Pp.140-146.

<sup>19</sup> Charles Taylor, *Multiculturalism and the Politics of Recognition* (Princeton, 1992), p.34.

<sup>20</sup> Chandran Kukathas, "*Are there any Cultural Rights?*" Political Theory (New York), February, 1992, Vol.20. No.1, p.108.

membership, and hence demands equal rights of citizenship w.r.t minority culture. Interestingly *Culturalism* steps in and reshapes the ideological connection between liberalism and culture.

The political force of culturalism lies in its justification for self-determination claims of minority cultures. According to Joseph H Carens such claims will bring forth beneficiaries in the Canadian contexts to the francophone and the aboriginal people of Canada.<sup>21</sup> But, Carens's propositions exclude the applicability of the rise of political force of culturalism to the other visible minorities in Canada. Culturalism, a slight extension from the traditional individualistic reductionism towards a cultural evaluation of social existentialism start out with a general concern about *maintaining the cultural backgrounds on which people rely, but their focus soon narrows to a more exclusive concentration on the needs and interests of minorities ethnic groups*. But, it is to be cautious that culturalism and cultural specificity should not be just narrowed down on ethnic and racial groups. It should be relocated within certain spheres so as not to bring forth a decentralized version towards a social mosaic.

Forms of equal recognition have been essential to democratic culture. Democracy had ushered in a politics of equal recognition, which demands for equal status of culture and of genders. The strong underlying theme behind multiculturalism is the 'principle of originality' to find, to model and live within myself not outside of myself. Being true to myself, being true to my own originality. This kind of authenticity is like the idea of dignity and offshoot towards to the declining forms of traditionalistic hierarchical society. Interestingly, at same time democratic principles accelerate this drive for being 'one of its own'.

### **Multicultural Policy in Post-Modern Era:**

*Culturalism*, a particular strong movement within nation-state has become a strong model of renaissance of the post-modern era. A strong sense of decentralization is becoming a model for the transformation of the state. To reshape nation-states and the revivalism of new cultural politics of difference, cultural recognition and cultural toleration become one of the

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<sup>21</sup> Joseph H. Carens, "Plural Cultures, Contested Territories: A Critique of Kymlicka" *Canadian Journal of Political Science* (New York), 1997, Vol.30. No.2. Pp. 212-213.

dominant modes of thought to give a heavier aspect towards governance. Late, twentieth century or so, the last few years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century witnessed an emerging significant shift in the sensibilities and outlook of critics and activism. The distinctive feature of the new cultural politics of difference is to trash the monolithic and homogenous. But to opt in the name of diversity, multiplicity and heterogeneity. Also, to reject the abstract, general and universal in the light of the concrete, specific and particular and to historicize, contextualize and pluralize by highlighting the contingent, provisional, variable, tentative, shifting and changing.<sup>22</sup> Further, Cornel West suggested that the new cultural revivalism and cultural politics of difference are neither simply oppositional in contesting the mainstream for inclusion, nor transgressive in the avant-gardist sense of shocking conventional bourgeoisie audiences. Rather they are distinct articulations of talented contributions ‘from’ and ‘to’ culture that desire to align themselves with demoralized, demobilized, depoliticized and disorganized people. So as to order to empower them and in order to enable a transparent social action. The celebration of differences and the commodification of otherness is the gift of the postmodernism. Post-modern age is the age of diversity, choice and the proliferation of different taste. Pluralism becomes the ‘ism’ of the post-modern times.<sup>23</sup> With the wake of postmodernism, theorizing differences has become a crucial issue in theorizing culture. Lets’ imagine ourselves, won’t we feel bored of doing the same thing every day, eating same food, speaking the same word,, so and so forth everyday? Unification of differences looks more compact and meaningful.

The postmodern attitude of new cultural consciousness faces mainly three basic dilemmas. Firstly, the intellectual shift from church and authoritarian towards democratic temper. Alex de Tocquivalle proposed that the wave of the future would be a new conception of culture, which will be secular, humanistic one in outlook that could play an integrative role in cementing and stability in the emerging bourgeoisie civil society. New voices from various the diverse cultural groups and visible minorities to create new forms of cultural legitimacy of fair authority and order is the gift of the post-modernism. This post modern sensibility and awareness

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<sup>22</sup> Cornel West, *The New Cultural Politics of Difference* in Simon During (Ed.), *Theorizing Culture: an Interdisciplinary Critique after Postmodernism* (London, 1999), p.207.

<sup>23</sup> G. Jordan & C. Weedon, *The Celebration of Difference and the Cultural Politics of Racism* in Barbara Adam & Stuart Allen (Eds.), *Theorizing Culture: an Interdisciplinary Critique after Postmodernism* (London, 1990), p.150.

fear seems that it can lead to a fusion of fervent neo-nationalism, rise of radical cultural values along with free market policies. Nevertheless, postmodernism doctrine of relocating other useful meanings, picking up the lack behinds and belongings, provides justification for proper treatment that eases the denial of the past intolerance towards the minority groups.

Secondly, existentialism blundered businesses of the colonized tradition. Postmodernism brings out the fallacy of the widespread modern European denial of the intelligence, ability, beauty and character of the people of color, other cultures and cultural values. It puts a tremendous burden on critics and activist to prove themselves in light of norms and models to inherit the heritage, development and the dehumanized. This new wave of cultural consciousness thereby interrogate the reason of wrong in which they are bound by certain cultural consciousness and to learn from and build very norms and models.<sup>24</sup> One hallmark of wisdom in the context of any politics of recognition is to avoid the knee-jerk rejection and uncritical acceptance. Also, new cultural consciousness directs other cultural minorities to temptation, which can helps to save some trustworthy allies within the system. It brings consciousness that tremendously need to rethink identity politics. It can also lead to talent seduction, which preserves one's sanity and sense of help as one copes with the mainstream. It doesn't necessarily leads to narrow racialist and chauvinistic attitude.

Other direction may be, go it alone option, which is an extreme rejectionist perspective that shows the mainstream and group insularity. This march of new cultural consciousness of politics can thrive only if communities, groups and other interest groups cultivate critical sensibilities and personal accountability without inhibiting individual expressions, curiosity and idiosyncrasies. It guides the moral and political ideals that guide the creative response to the political challenge.

Thirdly, it directs political sensitivity, which aims to dare to recast, redefines, revise the very notions of modernity, the mainstream, marginality, differences, otherness with claims and demands for special treatment and for dignity.

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<sup>24</sup> Cornel West, *The New Cultural Politics of Difference* in Simon During (Ed.), *Theorizing Culture: an Interdisciplinary Critique after Postmodernism* (London, 1999), Pp. 213-214.



### **Pluralism, Multiculturalism & Assimilation; Revealing the Differences:**

Plurality is essentially observed as basic to the human condition. Cultural plurality has been a hallmark of many societies for a very long time. The most important aspect of plurality is that plurality or pluralism is a natural endowment. As a result, the co-presence of different communities within the same polity is not a new occurrence. Humans are different from each other and often strive to distinguish themselves from each other. Seeing, the difference, with no proper treatment to the differences of nature in short is the pluralism way of locating the differences. Cultural pluralism, religious pluralism, pluralism of values and pluralistic associations are facts of life for most societies today. The interesting claim is: pluralism may lead towards an assimilationist policy. It is the emphasis on equality *and the provisions for empowerment and enhancement of its cultural values and cultural rights* that distinguishes multiculturalism from pluralism.<sup>25</sup> The central difference is that pluralism is a natural tendency and a natural character, but multicultural policy is not natural. It is Infact a policy to further tighten the natural tendency of maintaining differences to save it from the jaws of assimilationist or melting pot ideologues.

Furthermore pluralism enwraps strongly the theme, 'unity in diversity'. The foremost concern is on peaceful co-existence and amity between the diverse communities. But, pluralism had a slight negligence towards the notion of public sphere representation, justice, fairness and equality. Multiculturalism prefers the notion of marinating differences and as a directive principle for respecting certain liberal forms of group rights but not those extreme forms of illiberal cultural practices. This strengthens the rigidity between groups. Multiculturalism gives guarantees to different communities; the degree of freedom to live by their own religious and cultural practices, and their position with other groups and communities. Such provisions of freedom and space to live by, practice by also narrates the meaning behind the term *Interculturalism*.<sup>26</sup> Pluralism on the hand indicates the presence of differences and marks a departure from policies aimed at annihilating the other. Pluralism remains silent about the public status of these communities. Pluralism prevailed along with the backdrop of a widely accepted

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<sup>25</sup> Gurpreet Mahajan, *The Multicultural Path* (New Delhi, 2000), p.1. Italics mine, emphasis added.

<sup>26</sup> For more details see [Chapter 4 of this Dissertation](#).

hierarchy of cultures and communities. Moreover, pluralism focuses more strongly towards racial issues. But multiculturalism directs more on culture, communities and groups. It has its attitude towards as an irredeemably deracialised policy. Multiculturalism emphasized more on ethnic rights oriented, which reifies culture and cultural differences. The sadness is that multiculturalism neglects to address the central issue of racism within the diverse society.<sup>27</sup> Rather multicultural policy inclines more towards cultures and groups. Somehow multicultural and racial issues are brought in and analyzed only to a certain extent like in educational practices. Multicultural policy mentions lengthily about tolerance, equality and recognition about cultural practices. But it doesn't and forgot to delineate much about racial stigmas and racial segregation. Satya Mohanty too describes the racial negligence's in doctrine of multiculturalism. Further Mohanty claimed that within the rhetoric of respecting cultural differences, the liberalization of multicultural policies has merely succeeded in 'depoliticising race and substituting (a narrowly defined) culture for anti-racist consciousness'.<sup>28</sup>

Hierarchy and dominance forms the backbone of every plural society. In plural societies, dominance is often expressed and foreseen in the political and other spheres of life. Here, capturing and gaining exclusive control over public spaces that predicts structures of inequality are often exhibited in dominance and hierarchy. But multicultural policies on the contrary focus that granting group rights and civil rights can reduce inequalities in public representation. So the focus of contemporary multiculturalism is therefore radically different from earlier notions of pluralism and cultural difference. Multiculturalism enhances the path for attaining equal representation and in scaling down dominance and hierarchy. It simply asserts most importantly that many cultural communities that are present in our society must live as equals in the public domain. It probes areas of cultural discrimination that may even exist, even after legal equality has been established. It strengthens the notion of socially ascribed attitudes such as tribe, caste, race, religion or gender must be counted as a factor for the source of discrimination and disadvantage in the public domain. Pluralism instead didn't have a policy or a doctrine for making a fair treatment or just for all the differences. Rather, multicultural policy enhances in

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<sup>27</sup> Barry Troyna, *Racism & Education* (Buckingham, 1993), p. 89.

<sup>28</sup> Satya Mohanty, *Literary Theory and the Claims of History Post-modernism, objectivity, multicultural politics* (New Delhi, 1998), p.17.

making the differences fair and just. As explained above, Multicultural policy also brings us a new debate on the J.Habermas notion of *Public Sphere* and *Private Sphere*. Where previous conceptions that culture should be confine only in private sphere is now being negotiated to consider at public sphere too like the politics of feminism.

Humans are distinct form each other and often strive to distinguish themselves further. Here the issue that is directly affecting happens to be the rising of new waves of ethnic consciousness that confronts the notion of assimilationist policy or the melting pot concept. To prevent submission towards the dominant culture through assimilationist policy, multicultural policy inspires to go against the melting pot notion. Multiculturalism inspires to represent more at the social fabrics, participation at the institutional level, exercises its cultural identity and to save its cultural identity. The struggle to come into representation was predicated in on a critique of the degree of fetishistic, objectification and negative figuration, which is so much a feature of representation of the marginalized subject. A new concept of ethnicity, in a new cultural policy, which engages rather than suppresses differences and which depends on the cultural construction of the new ethnic identities becomes a modern state doctrine. Politics of identity takes no universal form, but all share common features of being constituted by people who previously felt marginalized from dominant political demands and more mainstream social movements. It has shifted from identity politics to interest norms towards identities and solidarity of the identity.<sup>29</sup> The rise of new ethnic politics and movements of identity stresses expressive goals of self-realization; while they attempt to positively restore previously de-valued differences. The process also manifests itself to the fundamental constituents of ethnic identity. Which are *myths, memories, symbols* and *values* that Anthony Smith described as '*permanent cultural attributes*'. The new politics and movements of identity stresses 'expressive' goals and desires for recognition rather than submission and assimilation towards the majority culture. Politics of identity takes no universal forms, but all shares the common features of being constituted by people who previously feel marginalized from dominant political demands towards more

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<sup>29</sup> M.R. Somers & D. Gloria Gibson, *Reclaiming the Epistemological order: Narrative and the social construction of reality* (London, 2004), p.52.

participation at the mainstream. But, multicultural policy shifted away the notion of identity furthermore, infact in a deeper sense about the necessity of identity, the relevance of individual vis-a-vis with the group or the community. From identity it has shifted towards *interests, norms* and *group solidarities*.

In general, redefining identity clearly explains re-analyzation towards the level of representation in the public sphere, at the level of political consciousness, at the level of marginality and segregation and also at the level of recognizing its group rights. This process of redefining identities had indeed challenges the notion of 'assimilationist policy' or 'the melting pot'. The main reason behind these is mainly due to conservationist way of cultural practices and protectionist way of group rights that is featured and highlighted in the multicultural policy. Because, melting pot results into complete assimilation within the dominant group, a merger of identity, a negation of the principle of ones identity, which is indeed shameful and ignorant at contemporary times.

Furthermore, the notion of citizenship can be recalled to elaborate multicultural policy meanings. Citizenship as a concept was essentially a matter of ensuring that everyone is treated as a full and equal member of society. What then to ensure that membership or citizenship through the level of representation leads us to the differences at the level of participation in all walks of governance or in public spheres? Also, citizenship requestions democracy practices, the level of justice at the level of basic institutional level and the qualities and attitudes of its citizens. For example, Michael Walzer, use to label the term 'hyphenated citizenship'<sup>30</sup>, to certain individuals that recognizes its citizenship, but not its cultural membership. Such instances occur in the 'Assimilationist policy', where submission towards the majority is the only option that leads to denial of its cultural belongings and its cultural membership.

In short, modern nation state dilemma mainly faces the problem of reconciling, recognizing, special treatment to the various and diverse political claims of the different groups and different ethnic. Here, a compelling aims between, civism and pluralism, state or community, or parochialism and universalism comes up again and again due to the crisis of

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<sup>30</sup> See Michael Walzer, *On Toleration* (New Haven, 1997), Pp. 29-34.

identity questions and tendency of identity representations. A. Schermerhorn had described these social and cultural forces as *centripetal* and *centrifugal* tendencies. Centripetal tendencies refers to the cultural tendencies such as acceptance of common values, styles of life, etc as well as structural features like increased participation in a common set of groups and institutions. *Centripetal* tendencies are synonymous with assimilationist doctrine. Where as *centrifugal* tendencies refers more towards the specific i.e. more parochial, towards group and communities. It refers for official recognition and granting of justice to the previously denied ethnic minorities and other cultural groups. *Centrifugal* tendencies create a more transparent space for the minority groups. *Centrifugal* tendencies are synonymous with which multicultural policy is endorsing. These countervailing tendencies are the main dilemmas that a nation state suffers in recognizing group and ethnic spaces.

### **Citizenship Rights & Cultural Rights within a liberal Framework:**

Whether citizenship rights do concern about cultural groups? Or, whether citizenship rights lead simply an individual to common claims of rights? The answer lies in recognizing that citizenship rights are just the outgrowth of liberal emphasis on individual concerns like individuals' status, freedom, protection and so on. Citizenship rights are common rights to every individual irrespective to its bloods and belongings, which were based on individual concerns but not on cultural concerns. Citizenship rights had a large void; it needs to concern on cultural values and some cultural expressions too, to mend up that void. This negligence was due to the fact that citizenship rights were delineated and taken for granted on issues relating to nation building seeing every individual as equal, where there is as if no hierarchy and dominance between the individuals. Will Kymlicka provides an answer to such negligence of citizenship rights. He mentions that citizenship is a common form of rights that is related deeply to the concept of national integration.<sup>31</sup> In modern days diverse cultures, cultural values questions liberalism. Liberalism has been question on several fronts. Sometimes, Liberalism has been questioned on such group issues like blacks, women, indigenous peoples, ethnic and religious rights, gays and lesbians, (expect more). These groups have their own way of doing things and lifestyles. Or, in short; their own particular cultures. These groups still feel marginalized or

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<sup>31</sup> See Will Kymlicka, *Contemporary Political Philosophy: An Introduction* (London, 2002), Pp.327-376.

stigmatized despite possessing the common rights of citizenship. They feel marginalized, uncomfortable and insecure not just because of their socio-economic status, but also because of their socio-cultural identity, resulted due to their identity difference. Concerns raised by the minority groups also predicted that citizenship rights are common rights. Citizenship rights defined the equal existence, which was only favorable for the white heterosexual and able-bodied men, where there is no special concern for the minority groups. Citizenship rights cannot accommodate and at the same are not favorable to minority groups. Due to such negligence, Iris Myron Young calls for *Differentiated rights* among the citizens. The issue here is because of the reason that liberalism lacks sensitivity to culture. So liberalism needed to look more beyond its traditional definition.

Chandran Kukathas in his article *Liberalism and Multiculturalism: the politics of indifference* strikingly mentions that in modern societies, particularly the societies of the liberal democratic West, cultural diversity poses a challenge not only to the makers of government policy, but also to the philosopher looking to understand how it might be possible in principle for people of different groups have demanded recognition.<sup>32</sup> The problem liberalism confronts is that liberal societies have to realize the conflict of two demands. *Firstly*, dignity of the individuals must concern along with certain fundamental rights. *Secondly*, claims of the groups or cultural communities to which individuals belong must be recognized. The latter emphasized simply the fact to points out liberalism needs to look beyond individualism levels. As Charles Taylor in his essay on *politics of recognition* too given us that no simple and absolute solution can be given as panacea to such issues. But the remedy lies only to the fact when state institutions and policies need to acknowledge and facilitate public deliberation for attitudes of openness and toleration. Here, the underlying emphasis need to be undertaken is liberalism and modern liberal societies are in such a crisis due to emerging claims of rights due to diversity in every sense. In such issues, states need to reconsider some of the claims by the minority groups, which are mainly along the cultural rights, and cultural practices. *Culturalism* emphasized states to reconsider claims by minority and to grants its claims so that culture as a medium can give some hopes rather than denying them. Culturalism may mean for the specific group or for the specific community, or it may mean more than that.

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<sup>32</sup> See Chandran Kukathas, "*Liberalism and Multiculturalism: The politics of Indifference*" *Political Theory* (New York), October, 1998, Vol. 26. No. 5, Pp.686-699.

Members of certain cultural groups need to be incorporated into the political community, not only as individuals, but also through the group. Their rights would be depending on in part on through their defined group membership. Diversity simply hinted to reject group specific forms of citizenship, the very idea that diversity should reject a single common national culture because they simply think that the best way to include people in such a common culture is through differentiated citizenship rights. An example to illustrate this: why Quebecois or other national minorities such as Catalans in Spain or Tamils in Sri Lanka who think of themselves as distinct nations within the larger state, fight to maintain themselves as distinct self governing societies with their own public institutions, operating in their own language and culture.

Differentiated citizenship brings forth a mode of differentiated rights that extend beyond emphasis from traditional individual concerns. Concerns like *Neo-Liberal Cultural Sensitivity* can tolerate diverse forms of territorial self-government and official language status in their self-governing region. Differentiated citizenship rights also led to establish a full set of public institutions in domains like legal, educational and political which can be operated in their own language is a critic towards the traditionalistic common version of citizenship which neglects cultural sensitivity. The most important caution is that such provisions and toleration might simply lead to downsizing of national sovereignty. But at the same time it is important to read it in different lines that power and sovereignty or national integration works at its fullest meaning only when different parts of the society or the parts that configures the diversity work at the best level of recognition or toleration not just on individual level. Also, when it concerns towards groups levels too.

Issues or claim that concerns the sadistic story of the indigenous peoples *and minority groups* in some nation-states remains a main concern in governance.<sup>33</sup> Is it a failure due to improper nation building? Or was it a fault due to mis-recognition or denial to maintain themselves as distinct nations and removal of age-old self-governing rights? Such concerns also leads us to critic the assimilationist doctrine. Why do indigenous reject the national integrationist doctrine? The simple answers to explore our further understanding were due to the fact that

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<sup>33</sup>Will Kymlicka, *Contemporary Political Philosophy: An Introduction* (London, 2002), p.330. Italics Mine, Emphasis added.

group's toleration or cultural recognition didn't belong to traditionalistic liberalism. But such awakening lies with an extension to individual emphasis on every humanistic attitude towards groups or for larger understanding.

Furthermore, gays and lesbians too claimed that the doctrine of what supposedly used to be the aspects of national culture, which stigmatized them, must be challenge. Gays cannot fully participate or fully integrate to the mainstream, not just because of any lack of education or material resources, but because of a status hierarchy within the national cultures which demeans and degrades them, treats them as less worthy of concern or respect. Even traditional Marxist notion like having lots of matter, materials and wealth or capital to exploit must be remain unusable and be hidden in the museums in issues of cultural rights and certain group rights. It is not the materialistic concern or wealth and poverty that leads to dis-satisfaction for identity. Non-Reflection and attachment of stigmas were the main concern to such groups. They remain invisible in school curricula, in mainstream media, public museums too. Also they are subject to increased risk of physical attack and high levels of private discrimination. So where is the question of individual freedom as traditional liberalism hinted in such group issues?

To provide a link between cultural tolerances, cultural recognition and politics of redistribution, *Culturalism* gave some aspects to focus on socio-economic injustices rooted in the socio-economic structure of society which also addresses exploitation of the minority cultures by the dominant ones. It also reveals the level of awareness on economic marginalization for exclusion from the competitive labor market and economic deprivation for lacking an adequate standard of living. The remedy appears to be a new consensus on cultural emphasis concerning economic restructuring such as income distribution, re-organizing the division of labor or regulating investment decisions. In short the public sphere needs a rechecking in all its spheres, institutions, work places or labor market too. Culturalism criticizes that cultures no longer remain silent within the private sphere. Culturalism directs us to a new definition of the private and public sphere. The most important questions that culturalism is confronting are whether, culturalism will reduce or increase the group differences?



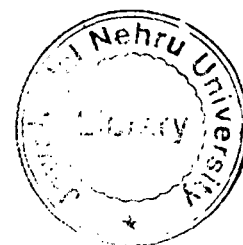
### Culturalism & Pluralism in Liberalism:

In *Anarchy, state & Utopia*, Robert Nozick proposes a libertarian vision of a pluralistic Utopia. Recognizing the fact of a potentiality of limitless diversity of preferred ways of living, Nozick's main proposition has been: what's required is a society in which each can best pursue their own way of life, one containing a wide and diverse range of communities which people can enter if they are admitted, leave if they wish to, shape according to their wishes. Nozick proposed a framework for utopia, which seeks to realize the liberal ideal of neutralist pluralism to the highest degree. But, the hope of such neutrality won't be fully realized unless if there is institutionalization on cultural tolerance. Indeed it will lead to insecurity of various cultural values. For example, one's cultural membership will not be fully explained if such neutrality exists without proper legitimacy and formal recognition. Nozick writes, "...in a free society people may contract into various restrictions, which the government may not legitimately impose upon them".<sup>34</sup>

Here, the main crisis in Nozick's libertarian framework on cultural diversity is his obsession with individual freedom and choice or as Jonathan Chaplin in his essay *How Much Cultural and Religious Pluralism* had predicted due to voluntarism. Voluntarism is still the gift of liberty. A formal or legitimate cultural tolerance can give much heavier meaning to voluntarism if culturalism is connoted or at least taken into account. Nozick's pluralistic utopia is likely to have a strong initial appeal to anyone wishing to maximize toleration towards cultural, religious and other kinds of communities. All free to exist, to transform themselves, to govern their own affairs even to the extent of adopting internally authorization or other illiberal procedures. Voluntarism will leads to negligence, disrespect towards the sovereign state that the individual belongs. Excessive state neutralism and state muteness will leads to crisis again. Indeed, it also assumed that particular communities whose internal structures differs from that of the framework of the nation state would be as a whole will have the capacity to sustain themselves.

<sup>34</sup> See Robert Nozick, *Anarchy, State and Utopia* (Oxford, 1974), Pp. 320.

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Without a culturalism perspective in liberalism, how can small communities overcome the whole trust of the society? Culturalism makes more sensible towards the foundational values like freedom, toleration and equality of traditional liberalism. Isolated and voluntaristic experiments without formal recognition doomed to assimilationist domain. A spirit of voluntaristic individualism will lead to insecurity among the Muslim community or to the Gandhian while struggling for Indian nation state or any minority ethnic in any nation state. Nozick's utopian individuals parachute into the world entirely unencumbered by moral, religious or cultural baggage, lacking any sense of obligation to whatever communities may have formed them. Indeed in some instances such communities would self-destructive simply by trying to reproduce themselves.

In *Liberalism, Community and Culture*, Will Kymlicka seeks to overcome the negligence of the overwhelming reality of cultural plurality in liberal framework. In doing so, he prefers for a communitarian conception of liberalism. Kymlicka also believes in an authentic liberal theory of cultural membership, which provides the grounding for a robust conception of the rights of minority cultures and an ambitious policy of cultural pluralism. Kymlicka points out that the traditional liberal framework, which focuses mainly on individual autonomy necessarily leads to the undermining of the very communities and associations, which alone can nurture freedom and flourishing of humans.

The core of liberal political morality is the idea of equal freedom, not just equality or freedom. Every individual might have equal interest in freedom and state can treat him/her equally when they accord everyone with equal freedom. Kymlicka's theory of cultural membership revises the notion of freedom in terms of beliefs that is valuable to life. It extends over civil and personal liberties but directs a perspective to freedom of certain cultural conditions, such as freedom of expression in cultural and religious domain, which conduce us to intelligent examination and re-examination of different views of the good life.<sup>35</sup> Kymlicka denies that an abstract individualism in traditional liberal framework as such described above in Nozick's framework supposes freedoms can revise beliefs. Also it led to the supposition that

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<sup>35</sup> Will Kymlicka, *Liberalism, Community & Culture* (Oxford, 1989), p.13.

freedom can be exercised within a social context, which is a necessary part of modern liberalism too.

Culturalism in such neo-liberal framework can provide an essential context of choice within which every culture can pursue and revise their conceptions about the good life. It is only through having a rich and secure cultural structures that people can become aware, in a vivid way, of the options available to them and intelligently examines their values. Culturalism also surprises to evaluate minority cultures because they enable people to relieve people of the constant need to choose how they should live. Being a member of culture means that we tacitly endorse a certain way of living. But such proposal should not be understood as such a guarantee for having a good life. Culturalism is just a doctrine to ensure the state, which opted liberal framework, should go along with the legitimating of every cultural toleration and cultural recognition.

Kymlicka accords to cultural membership the status of a Rawlsian 'primary Good'. Since it is an essential source of a person's self-respect, it guarantees meaningful options for individuals and judge the value of their lives. The primary good of cultural membership refers to the individual's confinement to its own cultural community. People are bound in an important way to the cultural community in which they have been born and raised. It remains a constitutive part of their social identity. They cannot be transplanted into another one without experiencing a disorienting and incapacitating loss of identity. The tenacity of such realization usually makes assimilationist policies into disastrous failures. Respecting people own cultural membership and facilitating their transition to another culture are not equally legitimate options. But culturalism emphasis on liberalism is to recheck the values of individual freedom and their cultural belongings.

At the other side, culturalism delineates the errors of the liberal conception of justice. Recalling the conception of primary good in John Rawls *Theory of Justice*. Rawls argument is that primary good is distributed and justified only when differential distribution of liberties and resources are distributed that readdressed the unequal circumstances. But, a *culture blind* egalitarianism distribution of primary goods would not be enough even for equal treatment. Kymlicka too, emphasized such toleration need to be uplifted with special rights and special

treatment for minority cultures and minority ethnics needs to be granted. The important question here to be noted is the balance participation in the *central pool* of the nation state. Culturalism here, gives an insight to grant special provisions for minority cultures so their members of cultural membership can be accorded equal respect with those of the majority culture. People finding themselves with various natural or social disadvantages can at least get some relief. Hence, liberal commitment to equality needs to be realized freshly. Traditional liberals should extend and demand for fair compensation of such unequal treatment to different ethnics and their cultural belongings in short for the visible minority ethnics. Special rights for minority cultures thus do not privilege the choices of their holders but correct an unfair disadvantage facing them before they begin to make any choice.<sup>36</sup>

Culturalism emphasis on neo-liberalism hints that minority cultural rights can be seen as spelling out what it means to treat members of minority as equals, given their special circumstances. It dispels that *Affirmative Action* programmes for members of indigenous need to be extended to other immigrant ethnics too in settler states. The disadvantaged cultural groups would aim such programmes at establishing a genuine equality of opportunity in the competition for scarce resources and positions within the dominant mode of state policies. Such realization and cultural tolerations would be aimed at establishing a genuine equality of opportunity not only for the individual itself but also for the whole minority culture itself.

But the suspicion that needs to be emphasized in special rights for ethnic minority is the notion between cultural membership and the demands of citizenship. As has been explained above, citizenship rights and cultural rights are diadically distanced. Respecting individuals as members of a particular cultural community may involve granting them special rights, while respecting individuals as citizens or members of the larger political context requires just to accord them with the fashionable term *equal rights*. Culturalism with its emphasis on recognizing a cultural membership would highlight the some special rights that had been unnoticed by citizenship rights.

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<sup>36</sup> Will Kymlicka, *Liberalism, Community & Culture* (Oxford, 1989), Pp. 189-190.

Joseph Raz in *The Morality of Freedom* presents a truthful nature of liberalism. He mentions liberalism is indeed a perfectionist theory of politics, a view Kymlicka is unwilling to concede. Because Kymlicka felt that liberalism values freedom, equality and tolerance were not gifted to minority cultures. But, Raz pointed out that liberal culture was already embodied in a distinctive cultural community. Raz also argues the moral superiority of liberal culture over other illiberal cultural practices. Also, liberal communities have the right to defend themselves against non-liberal cultures and indeed, if necessary to liberalize them from past intolerances.

Indeed, modern western society has been confusing itself too much of its societal values with individual choices. What about the individual belonging, i.e. one's own culture? Raz concedes that modern liberalism emphasizes too much on autonomy. For those who live in an autonomy-supporting environment there is no choice but to be autonomous: there is no other way to prosper in such a society.<sup>37</sup> Those individuals will forget the essential of cultural membership and it will necessarily lead to educate them for valuing autonomy of its own bloods and belongings. It may even discourage an individuals different lifestyles or cultural practices such as certain rites and rituals. Also, Raz mentioned that autonomy couldn't be obtained within societies, which support social forms. Autonomy also does not leave enough room for individual choices; rather it inclines more towards freedom and non-responsive state's idleness. The emphasis has been that liberal state has a duty to help create the conditions in which people can lead autonomous lives, to foster an autonomy enhancing public culture.

Interestingly, Raz claimed that such emphasis on autonomy could be achieved through 'viability' of cultural community. A cultural community is viable, if it offers its members a satisfying life. Where cultural communities are viable and do not harm non-members, then their existence in general should be tolerated. Besides Raz viability includes affirming the moral superiority of the dominant liberal culture over non-liberal minority cultures within becomes a resistible criterion. Hence, dominant liberal culture are in principle justified in taking action to assimilate the minority group at the cost of letting its culture die or at least change due to absorption. To Raz viability leads to such directions.

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<sup>37</sup> Joseph Raz, *The Morality of Freedom* (Oxford, 1986), p.107.

Raz also suggests that to ease out such cases of cultural wound, toleration of minority cultures need to be ascertaining as one aspect of the morality of freedom. To him a perfectionist moral pluralism is pluralism in which many conceptions of the good are recognized. Also many valuable expressions of people natures, with certain conceptions of the traditional liberal goods and political actions may and should be reconsidered. So certain emphasis on culturalism with a neo-liberal perspective can ease such issues. Hence, it could be observed that culturalism highlighted along the pluralistic ideal of cultural tolerance, can predicts a new version of liberalism that gives a new sense of certainty to diverse culture for cultural viability.

Another emphasis culturalism seeks to emphasize is to advance towards a societal culture. Will Kymlicka describe societal culture as a territorially concentrated culture, centered on a shared language, which is used in a wide range of societal institutions, in both public and private life.<sup>38</sup> What culturalism is pointing here is by emphasizing that societal culture involves a common language and common institutions, rather than common religious beliefs, family customs, personal lifestyles etc.

To summarize, the chapter describes that multiculturalism is a forward-looking, progressive process for minority groups. Culturalism can give a more sensible meaning to multiculturalism. Culturalism initiates progressive understanding of disadvantaged groups to endorse liberal values of freedom, equality and autonomy. At the same time, culturalism helps minority groups in realizing injustices and wanting to fight practices of exclusion and stigmatization that prevent members of minority groups from fully enjoying their liberal rights and fair share of resources. Culturalism also gives more sense to multicultural policy by realizing marginalized groups to challenge traditional status hierarchies and to attack the privileged position of a particular gender, religion, skin color, lifestyle, or sexual orientation in society. However culturalism had certain drawbacks. Culturalism had an illiberal stand on certain age-old cultural practices. For example cultural practices like wife battering commonly practices among the Muslim religions have been challenging by the feminist movements. Culturalism should also mean to discard certain illiberal or orthodox cultural practices for the greater common good.

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<sup>38</sup>Will Kymlicka, *Contemporary Political Philosophy: An Introduction* (London, 2002), p.346.

## Chapter 2

### **Post World War II Canadian Immigration Policy & Political Economy Approaches towards the Understanding of Canadian Multicultural Policy.**

Post World War II Canadian immigration policies (CIP, hereafter) had undergone change both in nature and content. The focus of the present chapter is to understand the change and relate the same within the framework of multiculturalism. Firstly, racial based immigrant intake came to an end in Canada by 1960s. Secondly, we need to ascertain the question why CIP undertook the human capital approach (HCA, hereafter), which subsequently explains the changing nature from racial towards the non-racial immigration policies. The latter approach delineates the questions regarding the development and expansion of its federal and provincial economies. Infact, it is also important to aware the fact that Canadian immigration policies also concerns about the protection of refugees, which is for humanitarianism exposition.<sup>1</sup> The main focus of the chapter is to analyze the dynamics of the Canadian immigration policy. Also the dynamics of the immigration policy creates a better condition for diverse ethnic groups to migrate into Canada. The chapter also focus that the Canadian multicultural policy provides a better environment for different immigrant ethnics to immigrate into Canada. Also at the same time the chapter focused that Canadian economic welfare and its development had been possible through the dynamics of immigration policies.

Robert Miles and Vic Satzewich argued that the intrinsic nature of the colonial or the pre-capitalist or early capitalist modes of production that reaped its fruit from indentured labor and slavery towards profit maximization for economic expansion and profits still inherits in such advanced capitalism, which can be witnessed with the co-existence of unfree labor along with the expansion of free and cheap labor through the immigration processes.<sup>2</sup> Peter Li also described, capitalist development and enlargement of provincial or regional economies had been possible only through the enlargement of wage labor market<sup>3</sup>. Such concepts need to be related

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<sup>1</sup> *Canada Gazette* part II, Vol.136, No.9, 2002, (Ottawa), Pp. 1-449. Also, see *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act*, Statistics Canada 2001, (Ottawa).

<sup>2</sup> See Robert Miles, *Capitalism and unfree labor: Anomaly or necessity?* (London, 1987). Also see Vic Satzewich, *Racism and the incorporation of foreign labor: Farm Labor migration to Canada since 1945* (London, 1991).

<sup>3</sup> Peter S. Li, *Destination Canada: Immigration Issues and Debates* (Toronto, 2003), p.1.

along with its enactment of multicultural policies in its state-policies by 1971. Because the debatable issue has been that multicultural policy guarantees equality of all immigrants.

The more people abroad view Canada as a 'diversity-friendly' country, the more likely they are to think Canada as attractive place to visit, sturdy to do business or even permanently settled. In a more globalized world Canada is competing with many other countries for tourists, skilled immigrants and foreign investor as to bring reputation for multicultural tolerance, which can give some advantage towards nation building.<sup>4</sup> However, at the same time the drive towards the Canadian developmental aspect disintegrates conventional production and displaces individuals and families from their traditional livelihood. Canadian society today has been the result of four centuries of exploration and settlement, cultural toleration, cultural values negotiation and for economic development to exploit its vast natural resources. An understanding of the nature of Canadian society can also be achieved through an examination of the cultural heritage of its founding groups.....and the immigrants that followed.<sup>5</sup> Generally people are compelled to move in search for betterment. Likewise, in Canada, traditional racial attitudes needed to be replaced by a newer non-racial and more culture friendly immigration policy, which can be helpful indeed in its provincial and federal economic expansion and development. The question, which, need to answer here is: does the trajectory from racial towards prejudice free non-racial immigration policy creates a better environment for diverse cultures incorporating races; leads to proper survival of all cultures?

Will Kymlicka in his essay "*Marketing Canadian pluralism in the international arena*" claimed one of the most crucial thing in understanding adoption of official multicultural policy is the *timing*. The *timing* what Kymlicka was referring was the adoption of race-neutral immigration admissions policy in 1960s and the subsequent adoption of the multiculturalism policy in 1971. So often, it implied that the latter was adopted in response to accommodate 'non-traditional immigrants from the third world.'<sup>6</sup> In relation, non-immigrant nations states like Sweden and Netherlands have adopted versions of immigrant multiculturalism too. The question need to be reconsidered is: why do even non-immigrant admission states like the above rely

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<sup>4</sup> Will Kymlicka, "*Marketing Canadian pluralism in the international arena*" International Journal (Toronto), Autumn, 2004, Vol.59, No.4, p.830.

<sup>5</sup> Warren E. Kalbach, *Ethnic Diversity: Canada's changing cultural Mosaic* (Toronto, 2000), p.59.

<sup>6</sup> Will Kymlicka, "*Marketing Canadian pluralism in the international arena*" (Toronto, 2004), p.840.



emphasization on race-neutral and granting of multicultural policy to its immigrants.

### **Specialization, Stereotypifications and Growth of Ethnic Diversity:**

Before going into Canadian immigration policy and rise of cultural diversity, it is important to take up how economic history and religious factor becomes important to analyze cultural diversity.<sup>7</sup> Harold Innis mentioned that Catholicism was an eminent factor that concentrates the strength of religion in early colonization phase of Canada. Religion played a strong significance in the growth of commerce and growth of civilization too. Max Weber, Arnold Toynbee and others have described the significance of religion in the growth of civilization too. During the historic phase of late 19<sup>th</sup> century colonization phase in Canada, Chinese laborers were devoid to practice their religion because there were socio-religious and socio-cultural differences. Moreover, language differences also ill handicapped the Chinese immigrant laborers.<sup>8</sup> During such times, the colonizers intention was for resource exploitation. On the other hand Labor shortages simply became the fact to the intake of Chinese immigrants. There were no justice and respects were not being granted to the early non-European immigrant laborers socio-cultural and socio-religious domains, like the Chinese, Japanese and Indians. It was just as Machiavelli in his book *Prince* had said, 'the government (read colonizers) content the people (read immigrant laborers) and manage the noble (read chartered groups).

The early 19<sup>th</sup> century Canadian represents a unique characteristic of civilization that each civilization believes in its uniqueness and its superiority to other civilizations.<sup>9</sup> Cultural significance was just kept aside and not accounted in dealing such differences. But, cultures that went beyond the place of its origin, which had led towards transnational have always socio-political and socio-economic narratives, why they become transnational. Such cultures become transnational due to the flow of immigrant into Canada. Later with the introduction of multicultural policy by 1971, concerns about the minorities were felt.

With the growth of industrialization in Canada, there witnessed a symptomatic relation between demand and specialization. Specialization connotes not only skills of the industrial

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<sup>7</sup> See Harold A Innis, *Staples Market and Cultural Change* (Montreal & Kingston, 1995), Pp. 297-315.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, p.305.

<sup>9</sup> Harold A Innis, *Staples Market and Cultural Change* (Montreal & Kingston, 1995), p.316.

laborers. Specialization also connotes stereotypifications among the immigrant laborers and workers. It is these stereotypifications that led to the growth of ethnic diversity in Canada during its early phase of industrialization. Greeks on ship building, Chinese on mining and railroad making, Indians on cutting down alpine trees and rail road making, Japanese on fishing sector, east Europeans on agriculture and farming. Industrialization is not generally just for commodities production. It also implies a demand of large number of labor for commodity output. Such typifications of particular ethnics being suitable for specific jobs led to focus on intake of different ethnics for the workforce in Canada during the early phase of its economic expansion and the growth of industry.

Karl Marx too observed, almost everything can be traced back directly or indirectly, to explore economic development and exploitation of working classes. Likewise, CIP during the 1880s too, brought in diverse ethnics. For example, 15000 Chinese immigrants arrived to complete the railroad through the Rockies.<sup>10</sup> In another economic phase especially during the recession phase of 1930s, Canadian state restricts number of immigrants to be allowed to enter Canada. Later, starting from 1960s human capital approach also came into the horizon to meet the demand of economic development by not having a racist immigration policy. The policy simply hints that growth of economic growth for Canadian state cannot be separated from CIP.

During the early twentieth century, advertisements to migrate people into the Canadian mainland had no idea about the effects of over-consumption, effects of more industry, about environmental pollution, environmental damages. The intention was just to migrate and recruit more skill and unskilled labor with those stereotypifications for better economic growth of Canada. The chartered groups criticized this mode of intake of large number of immigrants from other races. Mike Taylor mentioned that the chartered groups were against to such rate of immigration of other races. The reason had been for more homogeneous population of conscious builder's such as the libertarian conservatives who view the world as one giant marketplace in which borders should restrict the incoming flows of people any more than the flow of capital goods.<sup>11</sup> Such claims were simply over-sided with state's policy of better economic

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<sup>10</sup> Mike Taylor, *The Truth about Immigration: Exposing the Economic and Humanitarian Myths* (Coquitlam, BC, 1998),p.77.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid, Pp.8-9.

developmental aspects of the Canadian state.

Later during the 1960s the rate of immigrant intake was relatively high, when it opens its door to the third world immigrants along with its plentiful packages towards skill laborers, high labor intensive jobs, employment guarantees and needs. Indeed plentiful supply of cheap and compliant labor from the third world immigrant laborers led to rise of ethnic diversity and presence of cultural plurality. Such notions simply led to rise and growth other ethnic and cultural diversity to a large extent. As an example, number of immigrants to Canada increases from 15, 86,961 during 1911 to 20,59,911 during 1951. Later, with the enactment of racial free immigration programme from 1951-1971 number of immigrants increases from 20,59,911 to 32,95,530. Also, later from 1971 to 1996 number of immigrant increases from 32,95,953 to 49,71,070.<sup>12</sup> Such figures generally predict the rate of diverse ethnic conglomeration into Canada.

#### **Framework of Multicultural policy on Immigrant Ethnic:**

One of the strongest claims in Canadian immigration policy has been that it welcomes the process of integrating the immigrants. Integrating the immigrants for the creation of a desirable civic nationalism in Canada is also a proposition that is being predicted in the Canadian Multicultural policy. At the same perimeter, CIP enhances the immigrants to learn and behave like the dominant culture because of the likeliness for cultural homogeneity of nations survival and nations sovereignty, which will have a strong impact for the better performances of democratic goals. Robert miles also suggested that this option is also provided in the multicultural policy, as it is a necessary pre-condition for the survival of the nation.<sup>13</sup> Such claims like to learn and behave like the dominant culture became contrasted with recognition of immigrant ethnics cultural practices and their cultural preservations as prescribed by the multicultural policy. That's why Neil Bissoondath claimed, 'nor does the multicultural act address the question of limits'.<sup>14</sup> This itself led to the debate on Canadian multicultural policy. William Gairdner also mentioned the issue that the multiculturalism policy itself poses a number

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<sup>12</sup> Statistics Canada (Ottawa), 1996.

<sup>13</sup> Robert Miles, *Migration, Racism and the Nation-State in contemporary Europe* in Vic Satzewich (Ed.), *Deconstructing A Nation: Immigration, Multiculturalism & Racism in 90's Canada* (Nova Scotia, 1992), Pp. 31-32.

<sup>14</sup> Neil Bissoondath, *Selling Illusions: the cult of Multiculturalism in Canada* (Toronto, 1994), p. 43.

of pertinent questions. Gairdner posed the question, 'how far can cultural diversity be preserved and enhanced when the ultimate goal is, and must be, immigrant integration?'<sup>15</sup> Certain goals as prescribed within the multicultural framework need to be related with the goals that have been predicted in the Canadian immigration policies of the 1960s.

1960s Canadian public policies as embodied in immigration, electoral, legislation was non-racial and free of racial stigmas and racial biases. Such non-racial stigmas and unbiased nature was supplanted in Canadian multicultural policy (CMP, hereafter) of 1971. CMP desires for a new socio-cultural and socio-political transformation and injects realities so that visible minorities can be accommodated in a more justifiable and more transparent aspects of the public sphere.

Whether dynamics of immigration policies from racial towards a point system in 1967 had indeed enhance the introducing of CMP? This needs to be reframed within the debates on CMP. By 1960s, Canada introduced a new immigration policy that aims at improving the growth of the nation vis-à-vis for nation's economic development. The new policy was a shift from the racial towards the non-racial and finally towards the point system, which was passed on 1967. This policy entailed the fact that it is not only on race ground, but a more emphatic shift towards other ethno-racial and ethnic communities were also given the spaces to settle in Canada.

As mentioned above, during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century immigration process with selection criteria's like stereotypifications led to rise of ethnic diversity and cultural plurality in Canada. Later after the adoption of point system immigration policy of 1967, another 1.7 million immigrants were admitted during 1968-1978 mainly from non-European sources.<sup>16</sup> This led to growth of cultural plurality and cultural diversity within Canada by 1970s. By 1970s, there arises the need for the creation of a better environment for the immigrant to migrate and practice their traditional beliefs and cultural practices. Also, the demographic presence of visible minorities in Canadian society had been reflected in the special parliamentary committee debates on the

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<sup>15</sup> William Gairdner, as quoted in Neil Bissoondath, *Selling Illusions: the cult of Multiculturalism in Canada* (Toronto, 1994), p.71.

<sup>16</sup> Peter S. Li, *Destination Canada: Immigration Issues and Debates* (Toronto, 2003), p.22.

participation of visible minorities<sup>17</sup> in Canadian society. The need had been provided by the adoption of multicultural policy by 1971. The introducing of multicultural policy also reveals the needs of the hourly modification that Canadian state had been the cause of the group member's misery for a long time, which puts into question; legitimacy of the state intervening the different groups and the different ethnic; which was the Canadian state's past character.

However, one of the unfulfilling natures of CIP after 1970s signifies the flaws of the CMP. On certain issues like inequality of opportunity, often shamelessly results in the concentration of certain minority groups in certain jobs. This issue was discussed above in the previous chapter regarding specializations and stereotypifications of the immigrant laborers. John porter's work, *The Vertical Mosaic* reveals the nature of social inequality and social stratification among the ethnic groups in Canada during 1960s. For example, West-Indies immigrants take up domestic job or Italians in the construction industry etc. Also, realizing the fact that immigrants with lower educational levels need social assistance.

Further realizations due to special treatment towards the immigrants were also felt. Programs like immigrant's language training for integration towards the Canadian mainstream were also felt. On the contrary, W.Kalbach, points out high levels of education would lead to politicization of ethnic group identities.<sup>18</sup> This notion also provides a point to the nature of debate, which explains fears if the state becomes so innocent and fair. Such feelings of separatism can be grown out; if care and level of toleration were also provided obsessively within the framework of the multicultural policy. It can be read differently and analyzed differently too. Also studies have shown, for example W.Kalbach and Peter S Li studies shown us that new visible immigrant groups are much more politicized than the older and more established ethnic groups. This fear seems, it will stimulate controversies between the new migrants and the older immigrant population. CMP guarantees to provide the space to the new immigrants and the visible minorities to practice their cultural identity without interference by the Canadian state. At the same time, new roles of this visible minorities towards the mainstream are needed and to be granted by the public institutions across Canada for greater contributions in

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<sup>17</sup> Visible minorities is the term commonly used for the non-traditional sources of immigrants admitted into Canada. See Will Kymlicka, *Finding Our Way: Rethinking ethno-cultural relations in Canada* (Toronto, 1998), Pp.80-81. Also see page 14 of this chapter.

<sup>18</sup> Warren E Kalbach , *Ethnicity & labor Force: A discussion paper* (Ottawa, 1987), p.6.

the name of social welfare and social cohesion to avoid separatism.

Coming back to the CIP, the ongoing trend has been: new CIP of 1960s create new responsibilities for the state, whose role is to include not only restrictions on immigrants of the proletarianised workers from the peripheries, but also the facilitation of prompt movement of skilled movement of skilled personal when the need arises. On the contrary, Alan Simmons argued that contemporary CIP is characterized by neo-racist elements.<sup>19</sup> Such notion of criticism gives more reflexible attitudes towards social inequality among the minority ethnics. On the other hand the Canadian multicultural policy stands for equality, equal participation towards the mainstream Canadian values. Such contrasting nature was the main foundation that has to be realized when level of admitted immigrants into the Canadian society and their level of tolerance were considered.

### **Canadian Immigration Policies in Historical Periods:**

Immigration was a component of Prime Minister John McDonald's national policy during the 1867 confederation. Canada first passed its immigration legislation in 1869. Immigration agents were established in Britain, elsewhere in Europe and regions of other British colonies. But the act was silent on admissible classes.<sup>20</sup> Canada maintained a laissez-faire philosophy towards migration flows into Canada. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Canadian Immigration policy also involved increasing tariffs to encourage domestic production and completing the transportation infrastructure to open up the west for agricultural settlement. Essentially the CIP was specially an open door policy towards those of European origin.

What went unfulfilled? The desirable volume of immigration from Britain remains relatively low. The government later on, encouraged group settlement by setting aside land reserves for immigrant groups among those who were mainly Scandinavian and Hungarian immigrants. The motive behind the enlargement of this open door immigration policy is only to white racism not to other races like blacks and mongoloids faces. Reason was racial based attitude in the immigration policy during those times so as to expand its productivity level at the

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<sup>19</sup> See Alan Simmons, *Racism and Immigration Policy* (Toronto, 1998), Pp.88-89.

<sup>20</sup> Peter S. Li, *Destination Canada: Immigration Issues and Debates* (Toronto, 2003), p.18.

provinces. Also, initially the responsibility of immigration was placed under the department of agriculture. Where, the government suggests that immigration gives the primary task for agricultural development and land settlement. During this first phase of immigration from 1869-1895, about 1.5 million immigrants mostly from Europe came to Canada.<sup>21</sup> Most of them work not only on the land but also in factories, mines and other non-agricultural sectors.

The second phase of immigration extended from 1896, just before the wheat boom at the turn of the century till the beginning of the First World War. Canada received the highest level of immigration in its history during this phase. The main reasons of such immigration program contributed to an expansion of the economic activity and an unprecedented growth of immigration.<sup>22</sup> Improved agricultural expansion in the prairies, higher staple prices, declining transportation rates, and higher European demand of Canadian agricultural products led to rise of intensive industrialization in Canada during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Under Clifford Sifton, the interior minister responsible for land administration and immigration, Canada was in favor of massive immigration of agricultural settlement in the prairie region. When the supply of immigrants from Britain and Western Europe trailed behind the desirable demands of workers and settlers. Canadian state started bringing in, admitting eastern and southern Europe immigrants such as Poles, Ukrainians, Hutterites and Doukhobors.

Later in the middle of the twentieth century, Asians and other non-whites were seen as least favorable because of their superficial racial and cultural differences. So as to defend it, Canada levied head tax especially to Chinese coming to Canada. Even if acute labor shortage was a serious problem in the nation building and economic expansion, Canada maintained a strict racial basis to restrict non-whites who were deemed socially questionable and racially undesirable. The point, which needs to be emphasized here, is the difference in the process of nation building and economic expansion during this second phase of immigration along with the era after the enactment of multicultural policy, 1971. Why racial and Euro centric version of immigration and nation building was dispelled? This seems an important framework to explore the link of immigration policy, nations economic growth and the Canadian multicultural policy

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<sup>21</sup> Statistics Canada (Ottawa), 1983.

<sup>22</sup> Peter S. Li, *Destination Canada: Immigration Issues and Debates* (Toronto, 2003), p.18.

(CMP, hereafter) of recognition of diverse cultures.

One of the striking phenomenons towards this approach for understanding CMP seems unfulfilling, if we look at only on the cultural spheres. Reading the past trajectories of nation building from agricultural expansion to increasing labor market, intensification of corporate capitalism needs to be concern too. These developments increased the level of national production and in turn the demand of labor increased rapidly. Laborers didn't need to be only the whites, but labor can be by everyone that goes over race, cultures, and other communities. These foundations need to address if we want to understand the nature of nation building of Canada. The labor demand approach as initiated by Alan Simmons argues that labor demand approach felt that post war recovery in Europe eventually led to a drying up of Europe as a source of immigrant labor under conditions where labor demand in Canada, driven by profit seeking investment, remained high.<sup>23</sup> Later by 1950s such sources of immigrant laborers starts declining. By late 1950s the domestic workers program was operating and encouraging Caribbean women to come on fixed term employment visas to do such work. Also similar programs were done to Mexican immigrants for working in Canadian farms. Such programs were later on extended to all races and ethnics of people all around the world due to the shortage of labor.

The third phase of CIP from 1915-1945 was also characterized by a policy of accepting immigrants for land settlements. Still the desirable and preferable ones were given to people of white and European origin. Due to drastic events such as world war and the great depression, the level of immigration somehow went lesser. Here, return of war soldiers and the decline of war related industries strained Canada's capacity to place large numbers of workers in the growing economy.<sup>24</sup>

To summarize, the history of Canada's immigration policy during this period was well summarized by a government report in 1910. It gave the direction to the department of Interior policy to encourage the immigration of farmers, farm laborers and female domestic servants from the United States, the British Isles and certain northern European countries namely, France, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Germany, Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Iceland. On the other

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<sup>23</sup> Alan Simmons, *Racism and Immigration Policy* (Toronto, 1998), p. 94.

<sup>24</sup> Ninette Kelly & Michael Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic: A history of Canadian Immigration policy* (Toronto, 1998), p.183.



hand, it was the policy of the department to do all in its power to keep out of the country undesirable..... those belonging to nationalities unlikely to assimilate and who consequently prevent the building of a united nation of people of similar customs and ideals.<sup>25</sup> Where shall we put the question of *mosaic* or Canadian multicultural policy in such times? Is there any toleration towards other race and culture? The differences in the Canadian immigration policy subsequently along with the enactment of Canadian Multicultural policy indeed attempt to answer these questions. Such were the character of Canadian nation building process during the pre World War II times.

### **Post World War II Canadian Immigration Policies & towards a Point System:**

Even two decades after the end of the Second World War, Canada maintained an immigration policy that favors only from Britain, United States, other European Countries and subsequently, restricting the entry of those from non-traditional sources such as Asia and Africa to limited admission categories. By, 1960 Canada's nation building had a major shift. There was major change in the CIP. A moved away from national and racial origins as grounds for admission. Most importantly it emphasized educational and occupational skills as selection criteria for admitting immigrants. Also sponsored immigrants under family unification remained an important component in the immigration Programme.

Prime Minister Mackenzie King inspired this major shift in the post war Canadian immigration policy during the late 1940s. In his statement in the House of Common (HOC, hereafter), Mackenzie King favored the growth of population of Canada by encouraging immigration for the country's growth and development. Also, he favored to ensure careful selection and permanent settlement of immigrants so as to contribute in the national economy. But, initially he didn't want to make a fundamental alteration in the character of the Canadian population. So as to avoid large-scale immigration from the orient, who would change the fundamental composition of the Canadian population during the late nineteenth century? Later on, such game plan for nations growth should altered if such notions were side-stepped due to lack of immigrants.

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<sup>25</sup> *Manpower and Immigration Canada*, (Ottawa), 1974, Pp. 9-10.

After the enactment of 1952 *Immigration Act*, Canada's requirement of skilled labor was in big shortage. Also, the supreme court of Canada ordered the government to refine the categories of the admissible people that were listed in the order in council, which previously excluded the immigrant's from Asia. By, 1960s it had become clear that although Europe was still the main source of immigrants to Canada, desirable skill labor immigrants in terms of their occupational and educational qualifications has been diluted by the increased number of unskilled labor from Europe. Better realization was felt at such times. Realizations such as more tolerant and prejudiced free or non-stigmatization would be better options for the nations growth. Such options won over the previous preferable criterions. Hence, towards a more viable option rather than being a nation based labor immigrants not only from Europe rose into the limelight of nation building.

In 1962, a new CIP regulation was passed on the house of common. This new immigration regulation revoked the special provisions of admission that was previously applied to British, French, United States and other Europeans. It was replaced with a policy in favor of immigrants with educational and professional skills. Later on, immigration regulations in 1967 finally resulted in a *universal point system* of assessment that was to be applied to all prospective immigrants, irrespective of the country of origin or racial background.<sup>26</sup>

Under the point system, there was a much free-flowing and less scanning to immigrate in Canada, whether it is independent/non-sponsored or sponsored/family immigration. A much fairer and universalistic norm of recruitment of immigrants on the basis of skills such as education, occupational demand and age provide the founding pillars for the formation of the formation of Canadian cultural diversity in a mosaic form by the middle of the twentieth century. The main consequences of the changes in the 1967 CIP regulations was that Canada placed more emphasis on professional and educational qualifications as bases for immigration. Also, the immigration Programme gives a foundation to pursue the maximum towards social, cultural and economic benefits of immigrants and to strengthen the social and cultural fabric of Canadian society. An emphasis to frame the immigrants in terms of Canada's benefits and to maintained its social and cultural boundaries. The equation of skilled immigrants and economic benefits to Canada was at the same time implied to the level of awareness towards its origin was nurtured by

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<sup>26</sup> Peter S. Li, *Destination Canada: Immigration Issues and Debates* (Toronto, 2003), Pp.22-23.

the point system CIP. The possible long-term effects of this shift in policy have been a great factor on the cultural and racial composition especially for people of European descent.<sup>27</sup> Such claim by Mike Taylor implies the negative aspects to the intake of other non-white ethnic immigrants by the white ethno-cultural groups due to its racial prejudice. But, such claims were simply put into the dustbin and seem irrelevant due to the shortage of labor, especially when a country's need was felt towards development along with a more tolerable and better aspects of social welfarism.

Later, "Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2001" mentions Canada need young, dynamic, well-educated skill people. It needs innovation, ideas and talents. To put it simple it can be summarized that Canadian employers want advantage of opportunities offered by the fast moving pool of skilled workers. This trend can benefit Canadians through job creation and the transfer of skills. Immigration legislation must be adapted to enhance Canada's advantage in the global competition for skilled workers. What was going to be if Canada draws in people only the favorable immigrants of the same race between the two founding nations? Such issues essentially delineate the approach towards a HCA of immigrants towards better socio- economic perspectives.

### **Business Immigration Program & the need for Canadian Economic Development:**

In 1985, the policy of admitting business immigrants was expanded to include entrepreneurs; self-employed person and investors. These classes of people were taken as a favorable criterion for immigration in Canada. The government stated that the intent of the immigrant investor program was to provide a means for admitting to Canada of those classes of people who had business skills and experiences that would benefit Canada towards wider socio-economic paradigms of nation's economic welfare. Also desirables options were given to those who (the immigrants) were prepared to make an investment in business in Canada. Subsequently the programme also highlighted that developments among the provinces was considered very important for Canadian economic development. The result is to get benefit from the programme

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<sup>27</sup> Mike Taylor, *The Truth about Immigration: Exposing the Economic and Humanitarian Myths* (Coquitlam, BC, 1998), p.9.

that would create or maintain economic benefits and scale down unemployment opportunities.

Also, the development of the business Immigration program can be interpreted in those flashlights of the economic fluctuations of Canada in the early 1980s. Economic stagnation, high unemployment and mounting government debts made it difficult for the government to use fiscal policies to create industrial demand and stimulate the economy. Revised immigration policy with a business attitude in the 1980s allowed government to address and gives panaceas to the fundamental economic contradictions of the time.

Likewise during the 1960s, Peter S Li too mentioned that changes were needed in the 1960s to recruit skilled immigrants for industrial expansion.<sup>28</sup> The shifting tendencies of the 1960s had been on need of labor and recruitment of skill immigrants for industrial expansion. At the same extent, the shift during 1980s resulted due to hopes for better business dimensions. Also, recruitment of skill workers had not been only for economic expansion and industrial expansion, but also for better regional development through overall development in all spheres of Canadian nation state. Here, the multicultural framework can be explained: to accommodate the immigrant form business attitudes, Canadian government afforded them packages of socio-cultural and socio-political packages to practice their socio-religious and socio-cultural beliefs, which was granted exclusively by the CMP. Max Weber and Arnold Toynbee too had mentioned the importance of religion in promoting industrialism at the previous pages.

The inheriting nature from Canadian immigration policies towards the Canadian multicultural policy for the national welfare policies felt the need of recognition of other's origin, toleration and humanistic approach irrespective of race and culture. Because this inheriting nature became important to define the parameter of any immigrants who wanted to reside in Canada and retain its cultural identity and belongings. Denial of such cultural toleration and lack of recognition and special provisions will simply lead Canada to unreachable targets as far as its new shifting trends of immigration policy are concerned.

Such shifting tendencies in the immigration policy created most importantly the presence of visible minorities in Canada. The term *visible minority* received official recognition

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<sup>28</sup>Peter S. Li, *Destination Canada: Immigration Issues and Debates* (Toronto, 2003), p.29.

in 1984 on the Royal Commission Report on Equality in Employment. Later on, in 1986, Employment Equity Act included visible minority as one of the target groups for which contract compliance in government related businesses would be used to improve the employment opportunities of racial minorities.<sup>29</sup> The act defines the four designated groups as women, aboriginal peoples, and persons with disabilities and persons who because of their race or color in a visible minority in Canada were bound to be neglected generations after generations. Later on, in the 1986 census of Canada, Statistics Canada define visible minority importantly to ten main origins: Blacks, Indo-Pakistani, Chinese, Korean, Japanese, south East Asian, Filipino, other pacific Islanders, West Asian and Arab, and Latin Americans. Racially and Ethnically diverse ethnic intake in immigrant programmes was a boon for the Canadian state as it contributes to the ethno-cultural camouflage due to diversion from assimilationist and melting pot isms. It also helps the government to do a masterful job of keeping the immigrant and visible minorities in the dark side about class based distinctions between immigrants. Because multicultural policy simply avoid individuals to be categorized on the basis of class. Rather the Canadian state prefers people to be classified on the basis of its origin. The government doesn't think much about the average person's intelligence too. Rather the Canadian Multicultural policy has to offer freedom to practice its beneficiary skills for its contribution towards state's interest that can help in developmental aspects of the Canadian state.

Economic recession of the late 1980s and early 1990s led to downsizing of immigrant intake in Canada. Popular criticism broke out with a jinx. Ideas such as increasing population through immigrant absorption became a threat in increasing its gross domestic product. The aim for a better economy became a recalculating factor due to its domestic diseases like unemployment and income inequality. A report by the Economic Council of Canada (ECC, hereafter), *The Economic and Social Impacts of Immigration in 1991*, showed no suitable significance co-relation between immigration and economic prosperity. But such report remains valid during the times of economic recession only. However, to negotiate the ECC reports: the level of per-capita didn't decrease instead it was actually increasing relatively at a small rate.<sup>30</sup> Nevertheless, guarantees of social cohesion and Business Immigration Policy (BIP, hereafter)

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<sup>29</sup> Peter S. Li, *Destination Canada: Immigration Issues and Debates* (Toronto, 2003), p.33.

Also see, *Statistics Canada* (Ottawa), 1986.

<sup>30</sup> See Mike Taylor, *The Truth about Immigration: Exposing the Economic and Humanitarian Myths* (Coquitlam, BC, 1998), P.87.

through the prism of the multicultural act became an alterable option to counter domestic and internal affairs like unemployment. Canadian economic recession didn't happen all of a sudden due to rising immigrant population. Rather BIP happened due to its economic inequations in its trade and failures of other economic policies. More-Colorings of diverse ethnics simply grows rather than those periodical shocks.

**Towards a Political Economy Approach for Understanding Canadian Multicultural policy:**

*A country will be able to make full use of the skills and energy of all its citizens. Such a country will be more interesting, more stimulating and in many ways, richer than it has ever been. Such a country will be much better equipped to play a useful role in the world of today and tomorrow. How can we realize these aspirations?<sup>31</sup>*

*(Extract form Pierre.E.Trudeau. Speech at the House of Common, October 17, 1986).*

*....our multicultural nature gives us an edge in selling to the world. Canadians who have cultural links to other parts of the Globe, who have business contacts elsewhere are of utmost importance to our trade and investment strategy for economic renewal. We as a nation, need to grasp the opportunity afforded to us by our multicultural identity, to cement our prosperity with trade and investment links the world over and with a renewed entrepreneurial spirit at home.*

*(Extract form a Speech by Prime Minister Brian Mulroney to "Multiculturalism means Business Conference", Toronto, 12 April, 1986).*

Discourse on Canadian Immigrant policy sometimes leads us to a position that 'indeed, Canada is an immigrant society' or a 'settler state'. Immigration and nation building were two inseparable pairs in the discourse on nation-state especially in Canada. Also starting form 1970s due to Trudeau's emphasis on cultural toleration and cultural recognition of the diverse minority ethnics in Canada due to large-scale intake of immigrants, immigration policies have become an essential tool for nation building within Canada. It also leads towards an understanding that

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<sup>31</sup> P.E.Trudeau speech at the House of Common, (Ottawa), October 17, 1986.

multiculturalism act as an enhancing policy in the nation building process. Further Canadian Multicultural Policy strongly achieved some of its desired goals due to the packages of race-neutral and cultural friendly immigration policies. Peter S. Li also claimed that Canada's founding history and development are intimately linked to immigration. Secondly, he also wrote Canada's existing population is made up of the descendants of earlier immigrants and of current immigrant's programme. Therefore, immigration has been an integral part and component in the nation building and social development of Canada.

Further Peter Li mentioned throughout Canadian history, CIP had framed to address the economic needs and to regulate the socio-cultural and symbolic boundary of the nation. On the other side, Canadian Immigration Policies can be seen very lucidly from the functionalist perspective. Because, immigration policies constitute an essential ingredient for Canadian nation building. Canadian Immigration policies had changed the face of the nation from the two founding nations and the aborigines towards a predominant European settlement throughout the history of Canada. It had given a sense of strong European tradition, in ethnicity, identity, culture and ideology.

Later, by 1962 this face of the Canadian Immigration policy starts changing. The wrapping up of welcoming immigrants from Europe and United states were also extended to Asian and African immigrants. This was the phase of open immigration for shortages of human and manpower in the nation building process. It opens up a new debate, which is related to, cultural and racial diversity of immigrants and to implement how native-born Canadians reacting to such diversity. Economically, this debate can lead to the point that changing industrial demand of labor in Canada and country's shortage of professional and technical workers. By 1960s Canada abandoned its age-old racial system and shifted towards a universal point system in 1967 for selecting independent immigrants. The immigration policy of Canada in the last quarter can be properly understand by the socio-economic aspects i.e. the importance of occupational skills and educational credentials as important selection criteria for economic boost.

However, recent researches had argued that post 1960 Canadian immigration policy continued to re-inforce certain kind of stereotyping and discrimination. Researches done by Daiva Stasiulis, Vic Satzewich, Agnes Calliste, B.S Bolaria and Peter Li admit that non-

European and non-white mainly work with meager wages and also under certain contract. Such perspective leads us to undermine the framework of multicultural policy at the level of inclusion, toleration and recognition of ethno-cultural minorities. Further, such perspectives can direct us to the level of political manipulatives that plays a central role in recruiting immigrants. Alan Simmons claims that racism and signifiers of races for immigrant procedures have not been necessarily vanished, still. Such perspective undermines the Canadian Multicultural Policy. The most debatable theme here: is it considerable to claim that official recognition and cultural tolerances exist to create a better environment for labor exploitation of non-whites and politically to win their votes by the politicians. Also, Bolaria and Li too claimed that immigration programmes had resulted in some ethnic minorities being ghettoized and restricted to low wage jobs becomes a part of a systematic pattern of racial oppression.<sup>32</sup> Such attitudes of Canadian state arise when greater and broader discourse on nation building gives high priority to other objectives and ignore racist influences and outcomes.

Canadian state's policy has been sometimes labeled as 'Chameleons' that shows something and does something else, by changing its colors. This has been the part of the debate for the Canadian multicultural policy, where the policy already projected that racism was hidden. At some extent, Canadian state involved to other considerations, such as job skills of the potential immigrants in each region for its economic development. Such is the nature of political economic aspects. Politics promises and conveys something for economical welfare; at the same time politics creates tensions and social prejudices.

Traditionally, economists have focused on four factors of production: *land, labor, capital* and *enterprises*. At base, the recent focus on *Human Capital Approach* implies that the factor called 'labor' is far from homogenous. It has become increasingly common to distinguish between unskilled labors on the one hand and skilled labor on the other. Robert Reich focuses Human capital as routine workers <sup>33</sup>at one end of the spectrum and symbolic analysts or knowledge workers with skills at the other end. And, Thomas J. Courchene refers to human capital to the stock of skills and knowledge's embedded in people. He mentions that increase in

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<sup>32</sup> See S.S. Bolaria & Peter S Li, *Racial Oppression in Canada* (Toronto, 1988).

<sup>33</sup> See Robert Reich, *The Work of Nations* (New York, 1991).



human capital means an increase in the stock of skills and knowledge's.<sup>34</sup>

Simply put and ask why do Canadians need immigrants irrespective of race, culture and ethnic? The answer can be only found firstly by understanding the nature of the Canadian dependant economy. Secondly, to explore such nation's rich and plenty-bound economy for nations economic growth, Canadians age-old immigration policy can't fuel the growth due to the racial restrictions. Canadians need to open that barricade, which is unbiased in racial and ethnic nature to exploit and energize level of development. Hence, Canada introduced set of policies such as racial free and cultural tolerances of minority cultures starting by 1960s that were needed to ensure Canada that can attract lots of potential immigrants. On the other hand, the fear seems murky due to preferable skill labor and knowledge based selective procedure, which may convincingly have an impact on Canada's future on economic welfarism. If it goes on like this, it may become a knowledge based economy and society. However, at the same time family reunification factor also leads to addition on the non-skill labor domain towards economic developmental contributions. This factor is also another fear that may lead to overcrowding of unskilled labor within Canada in the future.

Economists place a lot of importance on the role of human capital in the growth process. Such approaches find considerable support in various growth and productivity studies. In general this approach serves to facilitate knowledge spillovers, which raises the productivity of all factors. Or read it in the immigration verse, being more skilled makes it more likely that you will be allowed. So, with such possession of skills make a human more likely to serve better in certain services of the social sectors. Also higher skill entry can further manipulate into the production of new activities like process innovation. Therefore, Canada places lots of emphasis on equality to access of opportunity for all immigrants and Canadians too, to develop and enhance human capital potential for the process of nation building and nation growths. Such nations fortunes are made in Canada through cultural tolerance and official recognition of its cultural and religious diversity.

As noted above, HCA is strongly related to the racial and cultural friendly post 1960s Canadian immigration policies. Also, this approach helps in the nations growth and nation-

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<sup>34</sup> See Thomas J. Courchene, *A State of Minds* (Montreal, 2001).

building process. Human capital approach as noted above relates to knowledge, skills, competencies and other attributes embodied in individuals. It enhances most importantly in the proper maintenance and growth of social capital too. Social capital according to Sociologist, James S. Coleman refers to set of norms that develop in communities with a high degree of closure, which gives rise to functional communities so as to follow conformity to norms for a particular interest. Social capital is generally defined in terms of trust and norms and the way; these allow agents and institutions to be more effective in achieving common objectives. The issue of social capital is not only a matter of search for better skills and productive capacity. It is also a process for enhancing understanding to participate in the ongoing social processes and cultural practices, perhaps particularly around risk perceptions. The issue of social capital is distinct from human capital and relates to the features of society which makes it possible to arrive at collective decisions which will stick, will be implemented and which will command continuing allegiance and hence see continuing compliances.<sup>35</sup> The desirable goal for search of human capital was provided by the racially and culturally unbiased Canadian immigration policy. More and more enlargement in availability of human capital can lead to attainment of efficient volume of social capital, which is an important part of social asset. Lots of the Bourgeoning literatures and fast growing researches recognize that an increase in human capital is generally associated with an increase in the social capital.

Canadian nation building of the middle twentieth century and post 1960s Canadian Immigration Policy recognizes: to design a sustainable, socially inclusive and internationally competitive infrastructure that ensures equal opportunity for all Canadians to develop, to enhance and to employ in Canada their skills and contribute its human Capital, thereby enabling them to become full citizens towards the future.

Post 1960s Canadian Immigration Policy gave realization for process of implementing cultural, ethnic and racial friendly choices to correct those mistakes of the past. This also gives us certain understanding for achieving economic growth, economic competitiveness and also for social cohesion. Here, social cohesion will lead us to a clear understanding of the Canadian Multicultural policy. The existence of universally accepted common goals or beacon may serve

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<sup>35</sup> Rod Dobell, *Contribution of Human and Social Capital to Sustained Economic Growth and well-being* as quoted in Thomas J.Courchene *A state of Minds* (Montreal, 2001), p 311.

as the catalyst for overcoming some of the myriad constraints that was troubling Canada.

Human capital approach (HCA) towards Canadian Immigration policy serves as the appropriate policy in certain key policy areas, especially socio-politically and socio-economically. Socio-economically, it ensures a freedom in designing to build up a competitive economic infrastructure. Incidentally, it will bring forth realizations in Canadian aspirations and goals.

Also, HCA led Canada to dump the age-old individualistic face of liberalism. It led to realization of collective and group recognition and toleration as an important factor in development in certain domestic policies like equality of opportunity, enhancement of minority groups etc.. Canadian vision of post-war embedded liberalism, namely an approach for embedding the pervasive openness and competitiveness of the new order within a citizen and *Culturally* related social infrastructure.<sup>36</sup>

Human Capital Approach ensures Canada's competitiveness by virtue of its commitments to an internationally competitive infrastructure and to employ or get job in Canadian aspects. Such aspect would resonate well the desires of ethno-cultural diversity and ethno-cultural tolerance to make Canada a better place to live and work and do business as well as to create a uniquely attractive home base for competitive and growing global enterprises.

Human Capital Approach in Canadian Immigration Policy brings forth an aspect on the social cohesion front. It emphasizes - the role and pursuit of human capital that exercises at the level of praxis in developing social cohesion among the various ethno-racial immigrants. Social cohesion is captured in a sustainable, socially inclusive infrastructure. Moreover, it enhances the level of recognition and tolerance.

### **Political Economy of Race, Ethnicity and Immigrants:**

Arrival of immigrants, recognizing socio-religious differences, socio-cultural toleration and making of Canadian Cultural Diversity (CCD, hereafter) has shaped Canadian development since European settlement and other immigrant settlers. On the contrary, infact historically, in

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<sup>36</sup> Thomas J.Courchene, *A state of Minds* (Montreal, 2001), p.155 [*emphasis added, italics mine*].

general it was the European newcomers who invested race and ethnicity with an immense power to exclude rank, order and subjugate the cultures and institutions of different populations.<sup>37</sup> Race and Ethnicity becomes a constituent concept in the nation building due to the rising level of diversity. Later, questions about immigration, racial and ethnic diversity had attained heightened importance in crucial debates regarding Canada's future. In the past, during the last quarter of the century, Canada occurred a major transformation in its ethnic, racial and religious composition.

Since the early 1970s non-Europeans such as the Caribbean's, south-central American, Africa, Middle East, the pacific and especially Asians have overtaken Europe as sources for Canadian immigration. The dominant discourses on Canada's racial and ethnic constitution of the two founding nations were demeaned indeed with the multicultural policy. The policy reconciled the ongoing diversity within the perimeter of Canada's changing attitudes to ethnic and cultural diversity.

Now, the class and occupational character of the immigrants is also changing due to the HCA of immigration and settlement policies. Those migrating with family class status; many of them provide precarious labor especially in the low wage service manufacturing jobs. Also, they were mainly visible in the declining sectors of the urban economies. Still they remain the largest component of the newcomers. This indeed contributed to the market utility and for exponential growth in certain sectors of the socio-economic set up. But the search for more immigrants is on addition to that. Recent policies have tried to reduce the proportion of family-class immigrants. While skilled, or independent class or job ready immigrants are being preferred<sup>38</sup>. Or the recent business oriented immigration had led to some critics to claim that increase particularly in the category of affluent investors immigrants reflects the fact that wealth has its privileges, including the purchase of immigrants and citizenship status. More recently targets have been modified. The proportion of economic immigrants, namely skilled workers and business investors has been currently targeted to increase gradually over the next few years. For example in the past ten years ago, in 1994 such migrants constituted 43% of the total. By the year 2000 it was estimated to constitute at 53% of the total.<sup>39</sup> At the same time the constituent of the sponsored or kin

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<sup>37</sup> Daiva Stasiulis, *The political Economy of Race, Ethnicity and Migration*. (Buffalo, 1997), p. 141.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid, Pp. 142-43.

<sup>39</sup> *Citizenship & Immigration Canada*, (Ottawa), 1994.

immigrants by 2000-01 declined sharply. Motives for creation of better economy of Canadian resource dependent economy can be guaranteed only when recognition and tolerance of ethno-cultural and ethno-religious were guaranteed by the state to every immigrant.

Canadian Immigration Policy initiatives arising over the past decade are promoted by the state largely as complements to general efforts to increase the competitiveness of the economy. Also, to make Canada more attractive to foreign investors by reducing public expenditures, budgetary deficits, the costs of immigration. It provides an insight with the clear message that nation building rests somehow on recruitment of eligible and desirable immigrants irrespective of race, culture and ethnic origin. A large volume of highly skilled, wealthy, entrepreneurial and self-financed immigrants represents the not-so-hidden objective of the current immigration policy.

However, immigrants from Asia have been met with racial stereotypes and historically based racial animosity. Because, historically Canada was built upon the basis of white settler society. Such issue had also initiated the debate on the nature of the Canadian Multicultural policy. Contemporary immigration patterns also reveal the complex reconfigurations of power based on ethnicity, race and class by the recent immigrants. Post 1960s CIP in Canadian nation building gave an insight to the cultural, economic and political forces shaping the character and differential rights of the immigrants. Also, granting of special rights for certain groups and differential rights to the immigrant's means recognition and toleration at certain level. Because, without toleration and recognition there won't be any guarantee or a driving force to receive immigrants in Canada.

Some of the important approaches in studying relation between race and economy were done mainly by the structuralist Marxist. They view racism as the ideological means by which ruling classes hegemonized the proletariat and justified colonialism and the exploitation of immigrants and non-white minority ethnics in Canada. Works on the political economy approaches of migration and racism done by B.S. Bolaria and Peter Li didn't touch the aspects of ethnic diversity and ethno-cultural significance in understanding racism, immigration and cultural diversity.<sup>40</sup> Also, researches done before by Robert Miles undermine aspects of ethnic

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<sup>40</sup> See B.S. Bolaria & Peter S Li, *Racial Oppression in Canada* (Toronto, 1994).

diversity due to immigration impacts in industrial society. Instead he describe lengthily on class heirarchisation among the immigrants.<sup>41</sup> To approach immigration policy and cultural diversity of immigrants systematically, it becomes important to look at the often-contradictory economic and cultural imperatives, which were cemented by the immigration policy. As Daiva Stasiulis had rightly pointed out to an extension that a political economy of migration, race and ethnicity and racism in Canada would be impoverished if it failed centrally to consider the cultural, ideological and moral implications of Canada's construction as a white settler society.<sup>42</sup> Likewise, an extension of political economy understanding of racial and ethnic diversity due to immigration impact need to be situated in locating the origin of ethno-cultural diversity of Canadian society. Known concepts such as exclusion, sub-ordination and unfreedom based on race and ethno-cultural articulation had been prominent features of the formation of Canadian capitalism. Unending research works done to analyze the 1960s Canadian social structure were based on radical view towards a structuralist neo-Marxist approach. As research done by Robert Miles, Peter Li & BS Bolaria, Daiva Stasiulis mainly undertook structuralist neo-Marxist approach. Where, they generally viewed the new immigrants as the means by which ruling classes in advanced capitalist economies procure cheap and exploitable foreign labor resources to reserve armies of labor extracted from third world economies. Later, by 1960s relaxation of racial discrimination leads to growth of inclusion of other ethno-cultural minorities into the Canadian mainstream in nation building and its growth and developmental spheres. Political Economy approach deals very uniquely for understanding the dynamics in the ethno-cultural relations among the immigrant settlers. Here, this approach doesn't need to see and locate socio-economic issues not just in racial or oppressive or the so-called exploitative viewpoint. Rather it also tries to diadically relate the changing momentums at the level of praxis of certain policies like the official multicultural policy within the contexts of its goals for nations development. At the same extent, political economy approach looks at the dyadic relation between various immigrant ethnics contribution towards the betterment of the nation state.

Political Economy approach on immigration significantly enriched the exploration of the racial and ethno-cultural minorities discourses in shaping the mode of incorporation of immigrants into the Canadian labor markets, which can be incorporated due to labor shortages

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<sup>41</sup> See Robert Miles, *Racism and Migrant Labor* (Boston, 1982).

<sup>42</sup> See Daiva Stasiulis, *The political Economy of Race, Ethnicity and Migration* (Buffalo, 1997), p.144.

within the boundaries of the Canadian nation state. Political Economy approach towards the understanding of ethno-cultural diversity also gives the differences and divergence in the nation building process of Pre-world war and post war phase of immigrant's level of tolerance and exclusion. Pre war phase of Immigrant labors were incorporated with production activities as unfree immigrant laborers. In the sense that they were defined as potential future settlers and citizens. Even some of the immigrants were permitted to bring in family members immediately during those times. Vic Satzewich also claimed: the correspondence between the racial and immigrants ethnics had been a prejudiced manner of incorporating them with production relations into the Canadian Nation Building. For example during 1966, due to labor shortages and due to Canada's zeal for nations growth and development led to call of Caribbean immigrant workers to work in the Ontario farms. Such changes realized firstly the level of inclusion of ethno-cultural minority into the Canadian society.

### **Immigrant's level of Toleration and Recognition:**

The census definition and the procedures for obtaining statistical data's for ethnic origin were essentially un-changed prior to 1971. Later, significant changes were made in both the definition of ethnic origin and census procedures.<sup>43</sup> Furthermore, legislatives acts and regulations governing the selection and admission of immigrants, in the 1960s started changing drastically. The aftermath of such dynamics had a social significance, which ultimately led to level of tolerance and degree of recognition of the new immigrants. Such changes also witnessed along with the decline in proportions of the founding populations, which was primarily due to the faster-growing population of other non-European origin, fed-in by the heavy immigration to Canada in response to it efforts to settle the west, develop its natural resources and transportation networks, industrialize and expand its economy, all without changing the basic nature of Canada's bicultural and bilingual society.<sup>44</sup> The number of other ethnic groups besides the charter groups had increased in size, which became enough to be recognized and counted by the time of 1971 census.

The demand of estimated immigrant intake calculation e.g. the targets for 1990-1995

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<sup>43</sup> *Statistics Canada* (Ottawa), 1971.

<sup>44</sup> Warren E. Kalbach, *Ethnic Diversity: Canada's Changing Cultural Mosaic* (Toronto, 2000), p. 63.

were initially set in 1989 by Brian Mulroney and subsequently by Jean Chretien had been in the range of 250,000 per year.<sup>45</sup> Incidentally, 1971 was also the year where Trudeau initiated the Canadian Multicultural policy. Lots of works need to be concerned in the future, how multicultural policy, which was initially introduced as a domestic policy somehow have viable influenced by the Canadian Immigration policy. Looking at the Great Britain context; acknowledgement of multiculturalism in Great Britain was due to the realities of immigration. For instance, in Great Britain the politics of multiculturalism is inextricably linked to the influx of immigrant labor from the ex-colonial countries in the late 1950s. Politics of multiculturalism is indeed a friendly and makes a better meaning of recognition and toleration for making the immigrants into compliant citizens. It engineered the most established agencies of the state and civil society for monitoring the systems of law, education, employment, language and social welfare packages. Realizations of such measures have been creating more recognizable and tolerable socio-cultural initiatives in the nation building process in Canada.

Later, in 1971 census it was for the first time 'no religion' had been offered as a possible option in the census.<sup>46</sup> Also serious obstacles to a better understanding of the socio-demographic nature of Canada's cultural Mosaic have been the changing in *Definitions* and *Procedures* by which information on ethnic and cultural origins of the population have been obtained. Later, by 1981 questions about multiple origin ancestry were also considered and accepted. Here, the implications of these changes and the nature of responses suggest that prior to 1971, Canada had been depicted as a society composed of a numerous presence of ethnic origin groups maintaining a relative degree of cultural homogeneity through ethnic endogamy and majorly from Canadian Immigration policy. Later on, after 1971 Canada's image and its proposition towards relative degree of cultural homogeneity have been changing with the enactment of Canadian Multicultural policy. With the rising level of cultural tolerance and denial of assimilationist policy, as reflected by the increasing intake of building a multifaceted ethnically compose nation, processes for nation building and immigration policy are at verge. Also through inter-related concept (as mentioned above); the process of nation building and immigration policy merge together. There is a rising consensus that the more different immigrants culture is perceived to be

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<sup>45</sup> 'Employment & Immigration Canada, 1992' as quoted in Alan Simmons, *Racism and Immigration Policy* (Toronto, 1998), p.96.

<sup>46</sup> Warren E. Kalbach, *Ethnic Diversity: Canada's Changing Cultural Mosaic* (Toronto, 2000), p. 67.



different from the charter groups, with the firm cultural recognition and socio-religious tolerance principle as guaranteed by the 1971 multicultural policy. There will be an ethnic connectedness to one's ethnic community in Canada. Also, the longer it may take to become sufficiently integrated through the Canadian public institutions and become a fully participating member of Canadian society on a basis of *equality*.

### Chapter 3

#### **Debates on Canadian Multicultural Policy: Whether Uniting or Dividing the State.**

In Canada, its history and facts have been reiterating in limelight, mainly under the conditions of charter groups, namely Anglophone and Francophone. Charter groups colonized the indigenous groups (original peoples), which have been there since time immemorial. The charter groups labeled the indigenous groups (anthropologically) as ‘tribe’ or ‘indigenous’ or ‘aborigines’ in the modern construction of knowledge. Later, starting from late 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards, many other ethno-racial groups started immigrating into Canada. It results Canada into a highly heterogeneous society. Such nature of heterogeneity in terms of culturally, ethnically, linguistically and socio-economically shapes the nature of nation building in Canada. How does Canada manage all these differences into unity or in a pluralistic way? State Mechanisms and means of achieving such nation building tasks, (what are the natures of state policies to unite the diverse, or what are the feedbacks of such state policies), or claims such as *‘Canadian Multicultural policy remains multiplicative in nature instead of uniting the diverse groups’* is going to be analyzed and attempted in this chapter.

This issue becomes one of the central themes in the discourse of multiculturalism in Canada. However, multiculturalism issues and multicultural policies remain an important doctrine in Canadian State domestic policies. Commonly, the central theme of maintaining unity in Canada can be brought under those terms ‘equality’ in every aspect and ‘to unite’ for sake of the sovereign nation state. Canadians are themselves proud of saying that we follow and practice multiculturalism. Common Canadian claim says “we celebrate diversity, living together as under Canadian citizenship (irrespective of its ethnic migrant), co-operative co-existence, building bridges between differences, constructing a constructive engagement” and so on. Logistically, it goes parallel to functionalism aspect of the functionalist school of thought. Functionalist school of thought explains the functionalism aspects so as to maintain peaceful co-existence and co-operation towards unity. The result is to yield a certain desired end or goals, effectively without any harbingers.

Contrary to that common Canadian claim; Canadian Multicultural policy can be observed as a policy that was portrayed and designed by the dominant ruling class of people. Or, is it an excuse to manage the diversity of differences or a policy to disintegrate the nation, (which is never the intent, but could be an unintended consequence)? Such are nature of doubts that is very anxious indeed. Such notion also led one to look critically at the Canadian Multicultural policy.

P.E.Trudeau in the late 1960s initiated the need to recognize full involvement plus equal participation of ethnic minorities in mainstream institutions. Idea was to rope in their cultural identity towards the larger mainstream public spaces and public institutions. Moreover, the idea was to project better cultural tolerance and to recognize their cultural values. Later on, concerns were started for other ethnic; mainly minority groups status and their conditions in certain spheres like employment, housing, education and discrimination, to recognize their language and culture at the same extent. Indeed, passing of the Canadian Multicultural policy that came into effect in July 21, 1988 can be analyzed from several factors.

According to P.E.Trudeau, the Prime Minister who introduced Canadian Multicultural policy in the House of Commons (HOC), 1971 October had four main aims:

- I. To support the cultural development of ethno cultural groups.
- II. To help members of ethno cultural groups overcome barriers for full participation in Canadian Society.
- III. To promote creative encounters and cultural interchange among all the ethno cultural groups.
- IV. To assist new Canadians in acquiring at least one of the official languages.

*(P.E.Trudeau speech at the House of Common, October 8, 1971.)*

Main character of the policy is to elevate it to the official government policy. It advocated a restructuring of symbolic order to incorporate all identities on an equal basis as an empowering agent. Later, concerns about employment, housing, education and discrimination were taken up which was not just, culture and language. Later, by 1980s, a sense had felt that the policy is

floundering. So, it needs a clear direction. Therefore, a new multicultural policy with a clearer sense of purpose and direction, which is also widely regarded as the Canadian Multiculturalism Act of 1988, came into effect on July 21, 1988.

### **Implementation Variances of Multicultural Policy among the Provinces:**

Looking at federal structures of Canada and at provinces apart from common claims like asymmetric in nature, different emphasisation were implemented to the provinces to achieve the desires of the multicultural policy and opted distinguishably too. To achieve those desired goals of multicultural policy; different levels of implementations and preferable domains are selected for implementation. Preferable domains of implementing multicultural policy are being practiced in different provinces. In Saskatchewan, too much emphasis is given towards role of education and employment equity as key instruments in working towards a just and equitable society. Common claim in general has been: ‘multiculturalism education can foster greater cultural interaction, interchange and harmony, both in schools and beyond, by burgeoning multicultural education industry in curriculum and resource development’. But as failure, no life chances of minority students, those racialized attitude of majority student, such attitudes remain an inherent multiculturalism school practices.<sup>1</sup> British Columbia emphasizes on institutional participation, cultural preservation, institutional responsiveness and equal treatment. But, Quebecois prefers the term ‘interculturalism’ instead of the terminology federal multiculturalism. They see multiculturalism as a manipulative ruse by federal interests to neutralize Quebec’s special rights as a founding nation and a distinct society.<sup>2</sup> Multiculturalism mainly concerns acceptance for better communication and interaction between culturally diverse groups in provinces however, without implying any intrinsic equality among them. Different municipalities across Canada are managing diversity of different races by supporting cultural expressions and fostering mutual respect between cultures.

Managing diversity, celebrating diversity comes only when, the policies implemented are successfully achieved. Rather it hasn’t been seen as a wholly successful fact. Canadians still

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<sup>1</sup> Stephen May, *Critical Multiculturalism: Rethinking Multicultural and Anti- Racist Education* (London, 1999), p.16.

<sup>2</sup> See Augie Fleras, & Jean Leonard Elliot, *Engaging Diversity: Multiculturalism in Canada* (Canada, 2002).

faces challenges to achieve fully what the official multicultural policy strives for. And, multicultural policy is on constant move with further additions and on constant state of negotiations and adjustments. The visible hands of both state apparatus and state officials rely on multiculturalism as a resource for coping differences and the Canadian diversity. So, plurality of people's values and interests, to expect that people will join a variety of groups within different sorts of structures to fulfill what multicultural policy actually promised remains needed in the Canadian multicultural experience.

### **Why Misbelieved? Some don't like it, a big headache:**

Its quite natural for people to criticize what someone says as a response. It has been the fashion for shaping knowledge's. New theories came up and new knowledge's are gift of response to the existing knowledge's. Theories and knowledge's grew up on that basis. Karl Popper once propagated his theory of falsifiability.<sup>3</sup> To Popper, in every theory, there is both truth content and false content. As long as the truth content dominates over the false content a particular social theory remains valid knowledge for all reason. Hence, particular knowledge and applicability of the theory remains a tool for exploring other valid knowledge's.

Focusing on Canadian multiculturalism, a nation that has been still in the process of reshaping it. Some nations were built, as an outcome of social revolution. Some nations have not witnessed any social upheavals too, like Canada, which was built without social upheavals. Canada was formed unlike USA, where USA was born as a result of a big social revolution during the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. Now, to submit Karl Marx trust on social upheavals and social revolution as a must for every steps of socialism remains invalid in some nations. Canada was built and still busying itself with a nation building towards remaking and reshaping its social systems, which hasn't witnessed any social upheavals and social revolutions. Sometimes rather than social revolutions and social upheavals, a proper dialogue and negotiations provides an upper edge in nation building in Canada. Demographically Canada has to be very proud of itself, for encompassing diverse ethnic immigrants and diverse ethnic groups.

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<sup>3</sup> See Karl Popper, *The Logic of Scientific Discovery* (Routledge publication, London, 1959).

Explaining such nature of nation building there awaits many explanations. What hurts people is when she/he is in the periphery, not at the center. Nation building is sometimes in crisis due to the presence of mistrust between the center and the periphery. Martin Luther King Jr. once mentioned that if we are to have peace on earth, then our loyalties must transcend our race, tribe, class and our nation. Call for recognition of cultural diversity, a rethinking of ways of knowing, a de-centration of old epistemologies and the concomitant demand that there be a transformation has been a necessary steps for nation state.<sup>4</sup> Such issues remain not a new issue at all. Such issues remain when some nation state objectively concerns those issues in a proper way or not.

Federal form of Canadian state formation arises questions of managing different ethnic's cultural values, on questions of racial discrimination, of gender and women's status too, on questions of elderly and young peoples or even children etc. On one side, such clarifications become the central themes that construct knowledge's and themes of multiculturalism. In short socio-cultural recognition, socio-religious tolerance or multicultural policy has been indoctrinated with several components that deals strongly in a protectionist's way too, so as to prevent from submission and loosing one's identity towards the dominant mainstream culture. Debatable factors always arise in the process of nation building due to the presence of diversity of values and rights.

For the first time in 1971, Prime Minister P.E.Trudeau passed Canadian Multicultural policy in the House of Commons. Its aims were to support the cultural development of ethno-cultural groups. To help members of ethno cultural groups overcome barriers, also for full participation in Canadian society. The policy promotes creation and interchange among all ethno-cultural groups. The policy also assists new Canadian into one of the official languages either French or English.<sup>5</sup> Later, Multiculturalism Act was passed in the House of Common in 1988.

Rather than happiness and smiles, negative responses towards the Canadian Multiculturalism policy became an important issue to be taken up. Happiness and sadness, smiles

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<sup>4</sup> Bell Hooks, *A Revolution of values: the promise of multicultural change* in Simon During (Ed.), *The Cultural Studies Reader* (London, 1999), p.237.

<sup>5</sup> See Will Kymlicka, *Finding Our Way: Rethinking ethno-cultural relations in Canada* (Toronto, 1998).

and worrisome faces are like the faces of the coins. A duality mode of thought is response to the multicultural act of 1988. That's why Will Kymlicka claimed, 'it is worth having a vigorous discussion about multiculturalism'.<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, Kymlicka submits that the debate has so far produced much heat rather than giving light.

There is always a presence of two mutually opposite modes of thought and way of knowing multiculturalism. Those are *firstly, who support the Multicultural Policy*. And, *secondly, who don't like at all the Multicultural Policy*.

### **Critics Narration of the Multicultural Act:**

*The cult of ethnicity exaggerates differences, intensifies resentments and antagonisms, drives ever deeper the awful wedges between races and nationalities. The endgame is self-pity and self-ghettoisation.<sup>7</sup>*

*(Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr.)*

The Above passage was the root for several critics to downsize the Canadian Multicultural policy. Several writers had critically looked at CMP. Writers such as Neil Bissoondath, William Gairdner, Michael Valpy, Richard Gwyn and several other columnists in Canada believe in pluralism of a different kind. They do believe in unification of a different way. They believe in a submissive kind of pluralism towards the majority (or read it as *assimilate* and follow the dominant, or forget your past). They want to unify the sheer diversity, nationally and globally. They don't like the saying: 'the whole is best served by contribution of its varied parts'. Just like adding fuel to them, another critical proponent of the policy Reginald W. Bibby in his book *Mosaic Madness* too believe cultural obliteration in the form of both intolerance and alleged enlightening is likewise an unacceptable violation of the norms of planetary pluralism. When he claims such lines, then why do they dislike the Canadian Multicultural policy? Such instant shows the double standards of such critical writers.

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid, p.15.

<sup>7</sup> Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., *The Disuniting of America* (New York, 1992), p.138.

Despite responses, these critical writers on multicultural policy believe in three themes. Namely: *freedom*, *individual* and *pluralism*. Often, these themes guided them to criticize the Canadian Multicultural policy. Bissoondath still claims: name of this new Canadian cultural (i.e. Multicultural policy) game sounds like the Caribbean ‘Sweet talk’<sup>8</sup>. He forgot to mention the central goal of Canadian life is for becoming harmonious co-existence, which carries the central theme ‘equality’ and ‘justice’ not just a sweet talk. Critics like him still believe to respect the ideas and lifestyles of others to be equitable. Also to him, the act is rather like a judgment to start activism within the state. Bissoondath still claims that the act determines to play a direct role in shaping not only the evolution of Canada but mainly to English Canadian society. Moreover, to him the act leads to *evolution of individuals* within the society, contrary to the wide understanding towards group rights, socio-cultural groups and socio-religious group. Individual has not been the interest of the policy, rather the act focused towards the group. He denied the notion that the act was passed for betterment of cultural groups and other minority. Rather, most often critics see the act as an enemy, manufacturing agents to hate others (which is totally the opposite as mentioned in the multicultural policy).

Moreover, most believers towards the policy realized it as an essential factor for enhancing their social status. Believers of the policy damned Neil Bissoondath as “*Coconut*”. Even one of the most outspoken Critic of Canadian Multicultural Policy like Richard Gwyn mentioned him as *Coconut* in his book *Nationalism without Walls*.<sup>9</sup> They labeled Neil as *Coconut*. Because, Neil is white from inside and brown from outside. Clearly such attitude is the mindset for Neil because he has been already well off, well fed and well clothed in the mainstream Canadian society. What about other people from his own ethnic group, who were being confined with those disadvantages that unable them to participate in the mainstream Canadian society?

If an individual from a minority feels insecure, acts like multicultural policy assures certain level of secure and insurance. The act was passed not just to please individuals (or read as for political opportunities by political leaders, by some critics like Richard W Gwyn), but as a larger whole to please towards group injustices and grant them justice. Also, the act redefines what makes up an individual. It doesn’t necessarily mean the rise of individualism will be the

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<sup>8</sup> Neil Bissoondath, *Selling Illusions: the cult of Multiculturalism in Canada* (Toronto, 1994), p. 41.

<sup>9</sup> See Richard W Gwyn, *Nationalism Without Walls: The unbearable lightness of being Canadian* (Toronto, 1995), p.198.



consequences of the multicultural act. Rather, rise or evolution of individual within the society is often associated with *achievements* over *ascriptive* values. Ascriptive values are fully associated with cultural attaches and socio-religious descriptions of norms and values. Critics like Neil didn't take up such notions of ascriptions values over achievements values, where it should be related when one is considering notions like evolution of individuals, instead of destroying hopes of multiculturalism.

A heavyweight form of negative response, which remains fearsome to these critical writers of multicultural policy has been 'greater pre-occupation within one's own group makes one *more alienated, more not necessarily distantiated, more antipathetic* towards other community and ethnies'. But, these writers forgot to mention that 'it's true only when my rights conflicts with another person's right, as is increasingly the case'. Excessive individualism and relativism may well be two of the most serious threats to social life in Canada. Bissoondath forgot to keep in mind that multiculturalism didn't waves the flame to ignite conflict of one's person's rights and another person's right. Rather of all, the most important doctrine of CMP is to *respect* and *recognize*, also to *tolerate* socio-cultural and socio-religious diversity of the Canadian social framework. Furthermore, multiculturalism opts inter-cultural exchanges for fluidity instead of solidifying cultural elements between communities and cultural groups. It doesn't necessarily mean that multiculturalism teaches cultural groups to hate others, but the policy most essentially and very seriously teaches different and diverse cultural groups for mutual respect with one another.

Bissoondath is a person of Indian origin, born in Trinidad who side-step cultural values or trying to loosen up universal knowledge about cultural respects, cultural recognition and socio-religious tolerance, but knows lengthily about hatred and conflict. He writes in his *Selling Illusions*, 'differences between people are already obvious enough without their being emphasized through multiculturalism policy.....'<sup>10</sup>. Multicultural policy was enacted not just to mark the differences within diverse ethnic group. But it was passed to empower them and give them due justice and offered them the delayed respect to one's identity.

However critics to multicultural policy produced a very valid point of worry. The point is that state can't at all recognize or legitimized every cultural element and cultural attaches of each and every ethno-cultural rights. Official doctrines of the multicultural policy do defy and un-

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<sup>10</sup> Neil Bissoondath, *Selling Illusions: the cult of Multiculturalism in Canada* (Toronto, 1994), p.122.

recognized some cultural elements.<sup>11</sup> Will Kymlicka described such extreme cultural practices as illiberal cultural practices. Bhikhu Parekh too emphasized that for a greater common good, state need to restrict some of those extreme or orthodox cultural practices. Very sadly, extreme cultural practices, which are mainly the issues about religious fundamentalism, have being narrated on a grand level. For example wife battering in Muslim religious has been sometimes blamed not on religious ground but mainly on the level of ethnicity's extreme cultural practices.

Bissoondath has been always certain that government or the state is there; but discrimination was either perpetuated or tolerated by the government well into the later half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Due to toleration of differences, critical writers like Neil headache and point of worrisome has been on the question of state or government's sovereignty. Critics to multicultural policy believe that state's sovereignty was shattered into pieces if mosaic comes over and win over melting pot. To elaborate simply, people's obsession within its own cultural identity may be seen as a destructive policy of the state's sovereignty and an aspect of negligence towards solidarity of citizenship of a nation state. On the other side, it is increasingly accepted that these common rights of citizenship are not sufficient enough to accommodate all in every sense and is unjust to all forms of ethno-cultural diversity. R C Almagor mentions this problem in liberalism. Almagor writes 'group rights involve restricting certain individual rights and hence threaten the basic democratic principles'.<sup>12</sup> Here, the points to be considered. Firstly, individual emphasis of freedom and choice needs to be negotiated at some extent in relation to group interest and group solidarity. Secondly, the self and the collective are linked each other very strongly with its beliefs, values, status of the self which are always defined by the nature of the collective. So, the fear in multicultural policy is if one is so obsessed within its own group. Then there won't be any response and service towards the nation state. In 'Political Realism' John Rawls too reiterates that some conceptions will die out in a constitutional regime, that is state's sovereignty is supreme and the state formulate laws fairly and rationally for the greater common good. He further elaborates some toleration doctrines. Namely, comprehensive doctrines and reasonable comprehensive doctrines. Liberal democratic values reject some reasonable comprehensive doctrines. The conception of reasonable comprehensive doctrines essentially underlines 'good',

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<sup>11</sup> See Bikhu Parekh, *Equality, Fairness and limits of Diversity* in Gurpreet Mahajan (Ed.), *Democracy, Difference & Social Justice* (London, 1994).

<sup>12</sup> R.C. Almagor "Liberalism and the limits of Multiculturalism" *Canadian Journal of Political Science* (New York), 2001, Vol. 36. No. 1., Pp. 81-94.

which meant a conception that encompasses both the personal values and social circumstance. In other words multiculturalism falls within the perimeter of reasonable comprehensive doctrines. Because, Canadian Multicultural policy propagates strong emphasized on greater responses and it guarantees for a better and more justifiable national interest. Some extreme conceptions of cultural practices should die out with the conception for the betterment of national good and national unity. Its main aim is to promote a better and justifiable national interest by breaking down social and cultural barriers at the same length. So as to wipe out further minority group's stigmatization, alienation, oppression and ostracization.

But the worst debatable theme in multicultural policy is that at the same time, most of the critics to multiculturalism don't believe and discuss about the relevance of concept and practices of melting pot vis-à-vis multiculturalism. Melting pot is also generally referred as a cultural assimilationist project. Critics to multicultural policy believe that cultural vulnerabilities are a natural stuff, which is not so. The reason is due to the unofficial recognition and improper treatment to all the minority cultures. At one angle, they simply discussed about assimilationist doctrines, or to be a better Canadian, which is mainly about for the projection of a unique Canadian society, by submerging into the big pool of Anglo and white supremative culture. It led Bissoondath to mentions issues about a unique Canadian identity, a unique national identity. On the other side, he writes 'homogeneous Canada, a reality only so long as its minorities could be ignored, is no more..... to assert Canada's essential Britishness is to ignore the culture and history of French Canada.'<sup>13</sup> What kind of Canadian identity does he prefer? At the same time Bissoondath is not ignoring diversity, doesn't like to forget about French Canadian too. The problem with Neil is he simply didn't write in detail, mis-understood the essential process of nation building process in Canada, how to incorporate all the diverse ethnic groups because Canada is a settler state. He forgot to mention that it is essential to link multiculturalism, how Canadian Immigration policy shapes towards the making of ethnic diversity remains a pivotal factor in the nation building process.

Neil Bissoondath in his, '*Selling Illusions: the cult of Multiculturalism in Canada*' points out the feedbacks and the loopholes of the multicultural act improperly. A writer, who still feels the importance of French identity in Canada, doesn't like a Canadian identity of just

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<sup>13</sup> Neil Bissoondath, *Selling Illusions: the cult of Multiculturalism in Canada* (Toronto, 1994), p. 60.

Britishness in nature. That means no to melting pot or no to assimilationist doctrine. Somehow the problem with him is the fear of unknown. He just feels bad about the multicultural act and narrates about the act in a very utopian way. Rather than observing the facts and consequences of the act, he submits funnily and in a very fearsome way that the act will divide the nation. To summarize his point of worrisome is that how a nation states will be undermined if there won't be unity among the citizens. Instead he assumes the principle of recognition by state in the multicultural policy will become the principle of classifying ethnics and their rights will harm the interchange ability and inter-dynamic relation within the nation state.

Critics like Neil & R.Gwyn claim Multiculturalism have instead of uniting differences had promoted a form of ethnic separation among immigrants. As against the ideology of building bridges, Multiculturalism will indeed lead to undeniable ghettoisation.<sup>14</sup> Rather, their belief is that it encourages immigration to form self-contained ghettos alienated from the mainstream. Critics also believed multicultural policy will yield negligence towards services of the nation-state, create a meaningless citizenship, which the person belongs as a citizen, instead the person will confine more towards its ethnic community. Such was the common fear. It will lead to ethnocentrism. This ghettoisation concept sounds ludicrous to multiculturalism. But its ideal, also guarantees a way of life that have been already transported. Where, a little outpost of exoticism is preserved and protected. Such narrative leads to more confusion and breed further debates. Critics common claim mentioned that Multiculturalism will exaggerate differences, intensifies resentments and antagonism, drive even deeper the awful demarcation between races and nationalities. It will produce patterns of self-pity and self-ghettoisation that leads to cultural and linguistic apartheid. To Bissoondath, Multiculturalism policy doesn't encourage immigrants to thrive themselves as Canadians, even the children of immigrants continue to see Canada with the eye of the foreigner, only citizenship as Canadians, but a greater leaning towards its own community.

Indeed, multiculturalism is very vulnerable to various criticisms. Politically Canadian Multicultural policy especially the leftist obsessed and the right wing dismisses multiculturalism as a capitalist ideology bent on dividing and distracting the disadvantaged. At the same side political right wing conservatives are unhappy too. Because, the policy dilutes core values and

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<sup>14</sup> Neil Bissoondath, *Selling Illusion: The cult of Multiculturalism in Canada* (Toronto, 1990), p.110.

fuels compromising national unity and diversity. Still it is important to take up the notion that multiculturalism is a strategy by the dominants over minorities by the majority. Power relations and sharing can be brought out to debate whether the official policy really promulgates such power exercisement. Or whether, the policy exactly means for better emancipation; of control and better participation, strong representation and legitimizing the existing order. A better definition should be laid out in order to reveal that politically multiculturalism provides a better framework for justifying government initiatives in diversity issues. So as to used as an empowering engine for the minority groups to advance their socio-political and socio-economic advancement.

Contrary to that Robert Gwyn submits official multiculturalism arose from the interplay between good intentions and political opportunism.<sup>15</sup> In general Canada has become a land of opportunity. Mainly, due to friendly and nation's developing immigration policy due to lack of human capital (as discussed in the previous chapter) fuels in enlarging diversity. Multicultural policy further guarantees and ensures equality to all in terms of cultural values. Such diversity may lead to culturally distinct ethnics to pursue self-interest ethnocentrism, which means to breed emergent nationalisms in times of political turmoil's. Dennis Helly opined to prevent such emergent nationalism. On the other hand Robert Gwyn's submits in his *Nationalism Without walls*, the Canadian Multicultural policy acts as a catalyst without actually redistributing power in any fundamental way.<sup>16</sup> Hence, the notion of state's sovereignty in terms exercisement of state's power remains intact and indivisible. Why an unnecessary fear?

Multiculturalism was actually downsized by critics. Critics main concern has been that it will encourages classification, building walls and forts rather than building bridges, encourages a form of ethnic apartheid that demarcates between several ethnics. The longer multiculturalism is functioning, the higher the cultural walls have gone up inside Canada. It encourages ethnic leaders to keep their members apart from the mainstream practicing mono-culturalism, instead of 'multi'. Canada encourages these gatekeepers to maintain at what amount, as worst to apartheid from the citizenship. There will be an outcome of no inter-cultural exchanges and relationships. The way they criticize the policy of multiculturalism stokes totally against what Kymlicka and

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<sup>15</sup> See Robert W Gwyn, *Nationalism Without Walls: The unbearable lightness of being Canadian* (Toronto, 1995).

<sup>16</sup> As qouted in Augie Fleras, & Jean Leonard Elliot *Engaging Diversity: Multiculturalism in Canada* (Canada, 2002), p.42.

others propounded. Critics like R. Hughes & A. Schlesinger mainly suggested that accommodation of the multicultural policy may result in immolation and balkanization of previously quiescent harmonious nation state. It necessarily hardens ethnic sentiments and boundaries in the issue of bringing differences and division, where one must desire was unity and common purpose.<sup>17</sup> Theoretically, *structuralism* approach as propounded by Levi-Strauss, which highlights the existences of opposites and the dualistic presence of binary opposites in our day-to-day life can also be roped into the debate on multiculturalism. Presence of supportive and non-supportive towards the Canadian Multicultural policy essentially echoes back to the structuralism approach on cultural diversity.

William Gairdner in his *The Trouble with Canada* also criticizes the states policy on multicultural act. His book delineates the nature of hatred towards homosexuality gave the status of normal behavior. He also criticized state financial support for single parents to subsidized illegitimacy. He believed bilingualism as the master plan for the organization of Canada. He disliked feminism as always radical, seeks nothing less than the radical restructuring of society through centralized social engineering of the most insidious kind... it aims to destroy much that is good in our society, and replace it with something that is not.<sup>18</sup> Gairdner also writes, 'Canada is in the process of endangering its very existence as a nation at the hands of successive governments that have willfully undermined our core values and traditions.'<sup>19</sup> Such a writer of right wing behaviors have misunderstood or disliked very much how to respect other minority groups. He also expresses his misunderstanding that the point system for selecting immigrants currently in use. He believed that point system has no criteria for culture, race or religion, where he was explicit in preferring immigrants who share our (read British) moral, legal, cultural and racial heritage.<sup>20</sup>

Michael Valpy, a frequent contributor columnist in *Globe and Mail* once wrote the fear of loosing the old Canada. No doubt, he is also one of the right wing obsessed critic towards the multicultural policy of Canada. The title of the piece he once wrote in *Globe and Mail*, dated march 11, 1994, was itself titled as *A Fear of loosing the old Canada*. He feared about loosing

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<sup>17</sup> See, R. Hughes & A. Schlesinger, *Cultures of Complaint: The Fraying of America* (New York. 1993).

<sup>18</sup> See William Gairdner, *The Trouble with Canada* (Toronto, 1991).

<sup>19</sup> *ibid*, p.78.

<sup>20</sup> *ibid*, Pp. 412-414.

the old (read primordial and archaic), conservative, racial nature of the old Canada. Where the olden Canadian mythologies are loosing away. That is the belief to which all levels of government in Canada contributed by demolishing historic Canadian.<sup>21</sup> Which was primarily the nature of the Euro centric Canadian character and symbols? He feels that too many immigrants feel no obligations to adapt to the pristine Canadian values and way of life. In other words, Ekos president Frank Greaves mentioned, cultural insecurity and the fear that an ill-defined Canadian way of life is disappearing due to the presence of too many immigrants. Such comments essentially delineate the nature of intolerable human beings who are with obsessive right wing attitude and conservative in nature. Such citizens and critics don't know the true essential character of the Canadian multicultural act, instead they promote "sense of hatred and ill feelings between the minorities to remain ruled like divide them and rule".

Furthermore in another column in *Globe and Mail*, November 30, 1993, titled "Haven't they got anything better to do?" Michael Valpy wrote, 'rightly or wrongly, many Canadians perceive multiculturalism to mean that there is no recognized or protected Canadian culture, a concern to which governments have not responded. If anything they have turned multiculturalism into a creed of state political correctness'.<sup>22</sup> Furthermore, he wrote, 'if we are determined to have multiculturalism, let's make clear that it does not mean neutron bombing into meaningless cultures that have fallen out of political favor. It means sharing everyone's cultures'. Such diadically-opposed views were different from the previously mentioned above again, which still favor multiculturalism. The problem with Valpy; he can't predict what kind of national identity or national culture Canada should have. He should keep in mind that multicultural values are the only answer with its most polite form remains essential for an immigrant nation like Canada.

Interestingly, Neil comments without appropriateness, what kind and type of void remain due to changes brought by the multicultural act. To him, the void, lacks a new and definable Centre or which can be read as distinct Canadian Identity. Neil submits, 'multiculturalism, the agent of that change and policy designed to be the agent of change and the

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<sup>21</sup> See Michael Valpy, "A Fear of loosing the old Canada" *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), March 11, 1994.

<sup>22</sup> See Michael Valpy, "Haven't they got anything better to do?" *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), November 30, 1993.

policy designed to be the face of the new Canada, has failed to acquire shape and shows no sign of doing so'.<sup>23</sup> Neil simply can't take a position of himself, whether he misunderstood multicultural policy or whether he is giving emotions for the French-Canadian (cause his wife is French-Canadian) or whether he goes against the right wing conservative wing, which is Euro-centric in character though. Better to submit to him, apart from the multicultural character, what exactly he wants for the Canadian mosaic character lets tell him, 'no room for individual's emotional feeling to multiculturalism'.

Not only that, Neil has a big problem with the "*Hyphen*". Example, French-Canadian, Ukraine-Canadian, Trinidad-Canadian, Indian-Canadian, Italian- Canadian, African -Canadian, Greek-Canadian & so on. The *Hyphen* according to him makes him a lot trouble, because he submits, 'the question of degree of race and ethnicity, and of that troublesome hyphen, unsettles me, it is because they strike close to home - as they strike close to home for the growing number of Canadians whose personal relationships entail a commingling of ethnicities. It is a realm that must be entered with care, for the very language we use is a mine-field of offence'.<sup>24</sup> He also admits such *Hyphen* should be removed because it remains a trouble for defining a pure nature of Canadian citizenship. Such *Hyphens*, does not define the word 'Canadian' but to mark a distance from it, the hyphen links them to a sign of an acceptable marginalization. He comments, 'this hyphen even when it is there in spirit only is a curious beast'.<sup>25</sup> That means he is insulting his own Indian origin and the place of his birthplace, Trinidad. In one sense he romanticized Trinidad, because of its beautiful seashores and the famous Caribbean sunshine. Isn't that double standard?

Such *hyphens*, according to him, links an immigrant to his exotic place of origin. To him the weight of the multicultural *hyphen*, can become onerous and instead of its being an anchoring definition, it can easily become a handy form of estrangement.<sup>26</sup> To him it functions as an institutional system for the marginalization of the individual. In other sense such comments have a problem with the understanding of the concept of assimilation or to the concept of melting pot. Neil prefers the notion of being a Canadian, a true Canadian that denies its place of origin.

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<sup>23</sup> Neil Bissoondath, *Selling Illusion: The cult of Multiculturalism in Canada* (Toronto, 1990), p. 77.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid, p.118.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid, p.117.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid, Pp.116-117.



That means he doesn't like people to call him Trinidad born brown color guy of Indian origin. He wants to hide that and not to disclose it officially.

Post-Marxian industrial world in Canada had the hierarchical and stratified society in terms of the work-culture as diagnosed and observed properly in John Porter monograph *The Vertical Mosaic*. Karl Marx imposition of the proletarian revolution can't be brought in and deported to a capitalist nation like Canada, because proletariat revolution has been wipe out due to certain special provisions and facilities. The adoption of official multiculturalism also came as a rescue for the working class people from the various immigrant ethnics in Canada. Granting special accommodation and special rights for the upliftment of the workers and provisions of special opportunities. Such diversion was the result for preventing a big social revolution in Canada. The nature of the work culture in Canada was the fundamental structural change, which had come with the establishment of the modern industry. This establishment has a greater differentiation and increasing functional specialization of social institutions.<sup>27</sup> At the same time the role of the government for ethnic concerns and issues is increasing day by day.

Back to the definition of culture what Neil had defined in his famous selling book *Selling Illusions*. To him, culture is life. It is a living, breathing, and multi-faceted entity in constant evolution. More very falsely, he defined that culture alters everyday; is never the same thing from one day to the next.<sup>28</sup> He wrote, a culture that grows from within inevitably becomes untrue to itself, inevitably descends into folklore. According to Edward Taylor defined the most classic definition of culture in 1871, he defined culture as a learned complex knowledge, belief, art, morals, law and custom that includes way of doing things. Culture defines the character of the organization of the society.<sup>29</sup> What is emphasized here in this definition is that culture is a social heritage; it is the gift of a society to an individual from generation to another generation. Canadian society tried to endorse such awareness through the Canadian Multicultural Act. It is simply due to the fact that Canadian society is a settler society a nation too diverse ethnically and culturally because Canadian nation building has a strong influence from the immigration policy. Bernard Williams in his *Ethics and the limits of Western Philosophy* suggests culture is a 'Social

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<sup>27</sup> John Porter *The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada* (Toronto, Buffalo. 1989), p.23.

<sup>28</sup> Neil Bissoondath, *Selling Illusion: The cult of Multiculturalism in Canada* (Toronto, 1990), p.81.

<sup>29</sup> See Edward Taylor, *Primitive Culture* Vol.2. (London, 1913).

World'. Bernard Williams comments that human beings cannot live without a culture and there are many cultures, we must see there are many social worlds in which human beings must find their way around.<sup>30</sup> Even Kymlicka defined it is important to account substantially that culture should be defined in terms of the existence of a viable community of individuals with a shared heritage like language, history, belief systems. Likewise, Edward Shils observed that economic and political integration rather than cultural forces have borne the primary responsibility for the integration of the masses into modern states.<sup>31</sup> In short culture is an undeniable tradition, which is a set of overarching symbols, beliefs and modes of thought with a recognizable patterns. Margaret S. Archer, predicts culture is a coherent and unified in its own terms, it doesn't merely call forth integration or (*disunify*) at the level of societal action.<sup>32</sup> Here, culture in relation to nation-state, may argue either can be an overinclusive or an underinclusive integration or they may be understood as alternative avenues of disintegration. Neil simply didn't take that account and misunderstood the heritage meaning of culture. Rather, he went straight to the latter hypothesis of underinclusive integration and criticizes that culture was understood as an alternative avenues of disintegration.

Further Neil anxiously mentioned that due to Canadian Multicultural policy; the ancestral land of the immigrants is making themselves marginal to the Canadian context. He writes, to consider the ancestral land as the true homeland is to risk engaging a dizzying absurdity, for it would mean that my homeland is India...where I never visited....so it would mean Lucien Bouchard would be neither Quebec nor Canada but France, Brian Mulroney would be Ireland.<sup>33</sup> In such expressions, one of the most serious flaws in Neil is that he mixed up citizenship and ethnicity or the place of origin just for the sake of criticizing multiculturalism. Bissoondath should attempt to link up the concept of nation state and ethnic sentiments whether in a settler or a non-settler state. It is indeed problematic, Eric Hobsbawm once wrote, ethnic nationalism sentiments are winning over the doctrines of nation-state. On contrary, in Canada, politically the nation state has a strong back-up support from the immigrants. Immigrants themselves have shown no inclinations to support ethnic based political parties like Parti/Bloc

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<sup>30</sup> Bernard Williams, *Ethics and the limits of Western Philosophy* (London, 1985), p.150.

<sup>31</sup> Edward Shils, *Center and Periphery: Essays in Macrosociology* (Chicago, 1975), p.14.

<sup>32</sup> See Margaret S. Archer, "The Myth of Cultural Unity" *British Journal of Sociology* (London), 1985, Vol.54. No.4 Pp. 333-353 & Italics mine.

<sup>33</sup> Neil Bissoondath, *Selling Illusion: The cult of Multiculturalism in Canada* (Toronto, 1990), p.120.

Quebecois which back-up was mostly from French ancestry or to confederations of Regions Party, whose support came almost entirely from English Loyalist ancestry, instead vote for the traditional national parties.<sup>34</sup> Politically, Kymlicka too claimed – immigrants are overwhelmingly supportive of and committed to protecting the country's basic political structure.<sup>35</sup> So, there is no sign that the Canadian national sovereignty is fragmenting due to the official granting of their cultural rights. It is still intact.

Neil's problem, what I would like to call as 'Misbeliever' led to such imaginative elliptical thinking like an immigrants would much more inclined to the ancestral land and their adopted homeland would be in real disarray is really not digestible. Such claims could lead us to one stand then Canada is not even for Britishers or French, but only for the first nations or the aborigines.

Due to his improper knowledge of cultural heritage and cultural affiliations in defining one's identity, Neil just want to encourage people to view (not understand) each other as simply Canadian, discouraging the use of marginalization. To him, multicultural would help in alienating fellow citizens of people.<sup>36</sup> The policy will further enrich differences between people and will enrich growing cult of racial and ethnic identity. In mentioning such statements, he should make certain referrals to or to some official reports on review at least of the Canadian Multicultural policy. He claims it just in a very uncertain imaginative way.

In the essay, *Ethnicity & the Altar*, Madeline.E. Kalbach claimed Ethnic intermarriage in the past 30 years starting by 1970s has been increasing.<sup>37</sup> Kymlicka too quoted Susan Donaldson & Morton Weinfeld in his book *Finding Our way*, their findings about ethnic intermarriage rates have consistently increased since 1971. Also, there have been an overall decline in endogamy..... moreover we see a dramatical increase in immigrants desire in social acceptance of mixed marriages.<sup>38</sup> (I will be coming to this in the next chapter in detail). Here, the most important

<sup>34</sup> See Geoffrey Martin, "The Confederation of Regions Party of New Brunswick as an Ethnic Party" *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism* (Toronto), 1996, Vol.23. No.1., Pp.1-8.

<sup>35</sup> Will Kymlicka, *Finding our Way: Rethinking Ethnocultural Relations in Canada* (Toronto, 1998), p.19.

<sup>36</sup> Neil Bissoondath, *Selling Illusion: The cult of Multiculturalism in Canada* (Toronto, 1990), p.122.

<sup>37</sup> Madeline.E.Kalbach, *Ethnicity & the Altar* (Toronto, 2000), p.119.

<sup>38</sup> Will Kymlicka, *Finding our Way: Rethinking Ethnocultural Relations in Canada* (Toronto, 1998), Pp.19-20.

thing is that multiculturalism is indeed increasing fluidity and inter-change rather than making rise of ethnic cult or ethnic ghetto.

Furthermore, Neil claimed - multiculturalism encourages the wholesome retention of the past, has done nothing to address what is a serious and has at times been a violent-problem.<sup>39</sup> Also, he stressed a little bit more very imaginatively, the policy just stresses differences within groups. Bissoondath adds, it also failed to emphasize this country with its own traditions, ideals and attitudes that demands respect and adherence, and the policy has instead aided in hardening of hatreds. Indeed he is just following Arthur Schlesinger's ideal of melting pot (or read as die-hard believer of assimilationist doctrine). Without any data's and back-up philosophy, his submission of the multicultural policy understanding is just a case of insistent vision of historical resentment, passed down to the next generation. It will lead to suspicion, estrangement, vandalism, physical attack and death threats. Firstly, he forgot to digest the basic ideal of multicultural establishment. The ideal of the policy is to establish a new Canadian Identity *i.e. Canada's national identity is a multicultural nation-state*. Also, to bring forth equality in the several institutional derivatives of the state's apparatus. To brings forth and enhance empowerment through equality. The word *hatred, difference, cult & Ghettoisation* were not the aims of the multicultural policy at all. Also, Neil forgot to mention that the policy is an extension of age-old notion of public's importance in private life too. It directs the Canadian state to re-examine the notion of private (i.e. culture) in public life. Kymlicka very astonishingly replied that Canadian identity remains evaluative. The Canadian identity remains evaluative on Canadian institutions rather than participating solely in ethnic-specific institutions; or learning an official language rather than clinging to mother-tongue; having inter-ethnic relations or even mixed marriages rather than socializing entirely within one's ethnic group.<sup>40</sup> Or in other words Will Kymlicka claimed those groups who were mainly new generation immigrants show the highest rate of naturalization and the desire to become Canadian.

To Neil, multiculturalism with its emphasis on the importance of holding on to the former or ancestral homeland, with its insistence that 'there' is more important then 'here creates a tension'. Let me argue why ghettoisation here when there is no ghettoisation even at the place of

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<sup>39</sup> Neil Bissoondath, *Selling Illusion: The cult of Multiculturalism in Canada* (Toronto, 1990), p.124.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid, Pp.17-18.

origin, instead talking about past and ancestral homeland when they have already departed from there. It is a way of looking at the policy in a double standard perspective.

Some suspicions like official multiculturalism was enacted simply a ploy by the liberal party to win ethnic votes.<sup>41</sup> Also Kymlicka reveals the general believe of multicultural policy – it is important to remember that multiculturalism was not initially intended for non-European immigrants. It was initially demanded by, designed for, white ethnic groups- particularly, ethnic white groups - Ukrainians, Poles, Finns, Germans, Dutch and Jews. Kymlicka further stressed under very specific conditions: namely as reaction to the rise of Quebec nationalism and the political reforms adopted to accommodate it. Such sentiments for Quebecois was on over with bilingualism and bicultural act due to its legacy as one of the founding nations in Canada.

The most valuable critic to official multiculturalism lies firstly *language*. Why only two languages, what about other minority ethnic languages? Only French and English as the official language. In Canada, ethnic solidarities are directly linked with the help of these two official languages. Avoiding ghettoisation; with a wider perspective towards smooth interchange of key social-religious, socio-cultural concerns and ideas, other minority ethnic languages were not practiced and officially recognized in institutions and other public social conducts.

Secondly, *limits to cultural tolerance* and towards *limits of diversity*. Bhikhu Parekh, arguing John Gray notion of cultural laissez-faire, mention that state should not be neutral in cultural sensitivity. Every state has a specific structure of authority or constitution, and it makes laws and policies. State can't be morally neutral, it can be constituted in several different ways, each embodying a specific conceptions of good life.<sup>42</sup> Parekh outlined, certain limits and value of cultural diversity. No societies can tolerate every practice. Bhikhu Parekh raised the question as how a liberal state should determine the range of permissible diversity. Practices such as polygamy, polyandry, incest, genital mutilations, arranged marriage, withdrawals from school before the statutory age. Parekh, introduced the concept 'operative public values' which

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<sup>41</sup> Will Kymlicka, "Marketing Canadian pluralism in the International Arena" International Journal, (Toronto), Autumn, 2004, Vol.59, No.4, p.835.

<sup>42</sup> Bhikhu Parekh, Cultural Diversity and Liberal Democracy in Gurpreet Mahajan (Ed.), Democracy, Difference & Social Justice (New Delhi, 1998), p.211.

essentially means 'values' society collectively cherishes and seeks to live by them.<sup>43</sup> Operative public values are operative because they are not abstract ideals and they guard against understandable temptations and pressures. The task of operative public values is to avoid certain extreme forms of cultural practices, which a modern liberal nation can't tolerate at all.

Thirdly, post September 11, 2001 consequences in manufacturing suspicion towards religious culture had created islamphobia. It is true particularly for stereotyping the religious culture of Islam that creates Islam phobia. Other countries have suffered a backlash, partial retreats towards multicultural policy. Multiculturalism in some countries has been reviewing due to certain insecureness and uncertainties due to a kind of fear. Generally the fear is multiculturalism enables terrorist organizations to use Canada as a base for their activities.<sup>44</sup> Yet terrorist organizations often set up terror shops in Germany, Spain or Italy that do not have official multicultural policies. Such, fears and phobias will be valid, only when members of ethnic/religious communities in those countries are less integrated into the larger society and less connected to the state. But the debatable issue is when Kymlicka often claims that official multicultural policy by contrast encourage immigrant groups to engage with the state.

### **Supporter's Narratives of Multiculturalism:**

Indeed, when Canadian politicians and diplomats act on the international stage, they often emphasize that diversity is a defining characteristic of Canadian society and of Canadian identity.<sup>45</sup> The doctrine of Canadian Multicultural policy is for unique understanding of the benefits that diversity can bring. The policy needs to manage diversity in a non-violent and co-operative way. Sharing is one of Canada's major contributions to the international arena.<sup>46</sup> Canadian government hopes that international organizations and experts can be encouraged to describe Canada as a successful model of accommodating diversity within Canada. The motto is for humanitarian concern. So do other nations to adopt the official and formal recognition for the differences. Recent most 2004 United Nations Human Development report, entitled '*Cultural*

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid, Pp.220-221.

<sup>44</sup> For more details, See Stewart Bell, *Cold Terror: How Canada Nurtures and Exports Terror around the World* (Toronto, 2004).

<sup>45</sup> See Will Kymlicka, "Marketing Canadian pluralism in the international arena" (Toronto, 2004), Pp829-852.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid, p.829.

*liberty in today's diverse world*', claims which champion's multiculturalism as a crucial component of successful development for diverse societies. In this report, it repeatedly cites Canadian examples.<sup>47</sup> Homi K. Bhabha in *Cultures in Between* predicts one of the successful message multicultural defines is the *floating Signifier* whose enigma lies less (or critical) in itself than in the discursive uses of it to mark social processes where differentiation and condensation seem to happen almost synchronically.<sup>48</sup> Jurgen Habermas in his book, *The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity* writes, 'Rationalization of the life world means differentiation and condensation at once: a thickening of the floating web of inter-subjective threads that simultaneously holds together the ever more sharply differentiated components of culture, society and person.'<sup>49</sup> In short, multicultural policy as discussed in the first chapter essentially stands for commitment by the state towards the instantiation of social and cultural differences within a democratic society to deal with a structure of the identity differences (which is racial, ethnically too) within the projective field of socio-political in-equations, socio-economic disadvantages. Charles Taylor summarizes succinctly in his *Multiculturalism and the Politics of Recognition*, liberal values stands for racial and sexual abuse, it have been the forefront in struggles everywhere. Now, one of the aspects it has to touch is with the recurrent notion of *Equality*. Equality here should refer to cultural equality in terms of representation as discussed above in the first chapter. The fallacy of the pristine liberal values lies in its forgetfulness to normalize cultural respect into the recognition of equal cultural worth. Liberalism fails to recognize the disjunctive, borderline essentials of minority cultures. Needs of recognition of cultural elements and different cultural practices or sharing of equality is a genuine claimed that is provided by the multiculturalism doctrine. Taylor puts it, 'the logic behind multicultural demands seems to depend upon a premise that we owe equal respect to all cultures....true judgements of value of different works would place all cultures more or less on the same footing..... merely on the human level, one could argue that it is reasonable to support cultures

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<sup>47</sup> See United Nations Development Programme, 'Cultural liberty in today's diverse world: Human development report Card'. (New York, 2004).

<sup>48</sup> Homi K Bhabha, *Cultures in Between* in David Bennnett (Ed.), *Multicultural States: Rethinking Difference and Identity*, (London, 1998), p.31.

<sup>49</sup> Jurgen Habermas, *The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity* (Cambridge, Massachussetts, 1987), p.348.

that have provided the horizon of meaning for large meaning for other minority ethnics of diverse characters and temperaments.<sup>50</sup>

Will Kymlicka in his writings called those who criticize the Canadian multiculturalism as 'ill-informed'. Or the critics can be labeled as "Misbelievers". Critics declare the policy as divisive, worst and dangerous are xenophobic demagogues. Will Kymlicka claimed, official multicultural policies have been more successful in Canada than in any other countries such as Netherlands, Sweden, Australia and New Zealand.<sup>51</sup> The success is attested by higher level of public support for immigration and for multiculturalism in Canada compared with other countries. Non existence of virtual far-right backlash against immigrants, high rate of naturalization of immigrants and also the perception that ethnic groups 'get along well' have led to forget the early fears that the policy would led to ghettoization and increase ethnic tensions have been largely disapprove.<sup>52</sup> Nathan Glazer too claims, even in immigrant countries like Australia, New Zealand, Canada and United states, in these states policies have shifted from an assimilationist to more multicultural conception of integration.<sup>53</sup> Yes, it is true to admit, when multiculturalism was first debated and adopted in Canada during 1963-1971, the process was mainly driven by white ethnics. It was only latter in late 1970s and 1980s; non-white immigrant groups became active players in the multiculturalism scene. Such is a simple example that one should realized what official recognition and cultural tolerance means for active participation of its diverse citizens and its various ethnic groups in Canada.

Going back to history, response towards multicultural policy was first made prominent in Canada in a 1990 book by Reginald Bibby, *Mosaic Madness* and then pick up in subsequent critical books of multicultural policy by Robert Gwyn and Neil Bissoondath. Interestingly, the books look critical when analyzing the limits of liberalism value of tolerance. Supporters of the multicultural policy too were also aware of the fact of some illiberal cultural practices. Where the supporters also believed that state shouldn't tolerate such cultural practices. The main periodic

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<sup>50</sup> Charles Taylor, *Multiculturalism and the Politics of Recognition* (New Jersey, 1992), Pp. 66-67.

<sup>51</sup> Will Kymlicka, "Marketing Canadian pluralism in the international arena" (Toronto, 2004), p.838.

<sup>52</sup> See Yasmeeen Abu Laban & Daiva Stasiulis, "Ethnic Pluralism under siege: popular and partisan opposition to multiculturalism" *Canadian Public Policy* (Toronto), December, 2002. Vol.18, Pp. 365-386.

<sup>53</sup> See Nathan Glazer, *We are all Multiculturalists Now* (Cambridge, 1997).



shocks of certain issues in multiculturalism is re-examining it, along with the liberal foundations and its limits of tolerance in the internal affairs of cultural extremes of religious fundamentalism. The problem goes with ideological obsession in terms of religious fundamentalism in legitimizing what 'ought to do' and what ought to be 'forbidden'.

Proponents of multicultural policy also agree that state had a problem with the liberal ideology of tolerance becomes a major domain of confusion in dealing with religious fundamentalism. Such confusions are again encountered when one look at certain fundamentalisms of ethno-cultural practices. At the same length, claims such as state should whether reject stronger claims that a religious body should be prohibited from acting in its own doctrine towards a fair and rational governance becomes a problematic area at the level of *freedom, recognition and tolerance* in the official multicultural policy. Bhikhu Parekh too claims that liberalism should have an epistemological foundation for valuing cultural diversity and pluralism.<sup>54</sup> It brings us out whether liberal state should consistently privilege and protect the way of life. Kymlicka has a different stand on a more rational way. Kymlicka believes liberal principles entails non-liberal minorities are precluded by liberal principles from imposing internal restrictions which limit the right of individuals within the group to revise their conceptions of the good.<sup>55</sup> Moreover, critical writers of official multicultural policy succinctly claimed that Canadian state should response towards illiberal cultural practices such as female genital mutilation, wife beating, arranged marriages etc. predominantly practice among the Muslim community, which is a part of religious culture.

Iris Myron Young in his book *Justice and the politics of difference* explained that hatred and cultural xenophobia are abjection to ethnic minorities identities and anxieties. It leads aversion to members of these groups because it represents a threat to identify itself.<sup>56</sup> The above mentioned debate leads to improper confusion and invaluable fear due to cultural extremes. A recent article, *How Islam has killed Multiculturalism* by Rod Liddle mentions that it is Islamic cultural fanaticism, not ethnic fanaticism that gives a gasp to the official multicultural policy.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Bhikhu Parekh, *Cultural Diversity and Liberal Democracy* in Gurpreet Mahajan (Ed.), *Democracy, Difference & Social Justice* (New Delhi, 1998), p. 207.

<sup>55</sup> Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship: A liberal Theory of Minority Rights* (Oxford, 1995), p.161.

<sup>56</sup> Iris Myron Young, *Justice and the politics of difference* (New Jersey, 1990), p.145.

<sup>57</sup> See Rod Liddle, "How Islam has killed Multiculturalism" *Spectator*, Hamilton, (2004).

Further he claimed it is Islam, not islamphobia that killed the spirit of multiculturalism. Such clarifications need to be addressed whether religion or ethnicity is harming multicultural policy spirits.

It is sometimes necessary to relate multiculturalism that was grounded in the idea of cultural relativism and hence requires tolerating whatever practices immigrant groups bring with them to Canada. Questions arises such as Canadians state should respond to illiberal cultural practices or whether courts should defend such cultural differences in the name of official cultural recognition and cultural toleration. Joseph Raz provides a fine answer to look at the concept of liberal multicultural society should mean. Raz blueprint a model in which a plurality of cultural groups in terms of ethnicity levels resolves into a commonality.<sup>58</sup> A level of tolerance towards its illiberal cultural perspectives should submit under the name of liberal values of culturalism. Raz submits, nation requires the existence of common culture, which is a procedural one where minority cultures despite of its recognition should negotiate some of its illiberal cultural elements as it were. Edward shills too commented that a society should have a cultural center with powerful radiating influences. The cultural center also implies the periphery. Center is the center of the order of symbols of values and beliefs, which govern the society, main function is to integrate and maintenance of a strong solidarity among groups and to prevent breakages from sovereignty. As different ethnics are oriented to a center, then it reminds *how far from it they live*.

Three reasons for resolving such confusion were given by Will Kymlicka. First of all, such issues of cultural practices as mentioned in Canadian multicultural policy were written in mandates and meant for public institutional embedment such as in schools, social services and in particular federal government department. But such issues were not mention in its inclusion in the constitution in 1982. Idea of the policy is to become comfortable as a part of the Canadian identity, not to promote such illiberal practices. Secondly, visible minority ethnic organizations by 1970s had begun to take a seat at the table, and got an idea about what sorts of demands they would make in the name of multiculturalism. And, the reality is that no major immigrant organization had demanded the right to maintain illiberal practices. Non-white immigrant groups

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<sup>58</sup> Joseph Raz, "Multiculturalism: a Liberal Perspective" *Dissent*, Foundation for the study of independent social idea, IC (New York), Winter, 1994, p.77.

didn't in fact contest the basic principles of liberal democracy in the name of multiculturalism. And, thirdly in the west today, Muslims are seen as most likely seen to be culturally and religiously committed to illiberal practices particularly after the 9/11, but it probably dates back to the Islamic revolution in Iran. As a result, the fears have been generalized towards multiculturalism just from the religious culture perspective. Racism in one sense and Islamophobia combine to generate a disarray illusion of some non-white immigrants as illiberal as a threat to western cultural values seems obsolete in the essentials preaching's and doctrines of Canadian multicultural policy. Also, in a paper presented by Will Kymlicka, '*Multiculturalism in Canada: Ethical dimensions*', he claimed immigrant groups are less likely to maintain illiberal practices than immigrants in other western countries.<sup>59</sup> Isaiah Berlin in his book *The Crooked Timber of Humanity* also submitted - fundamental differences in values can lead to clash. As a result civilizations are incompatible at some point.<sup>60</sup> If his hypothesis is true, it can be narrated without fear- such crucial acts of fundamentalism mainly happen in the hemisphere of cultural intolerance and misrecognition of other sub-ordinate cultures in a multi-ethnic and multi-religious nation state. Multicultural policy's main task is to negotiate fundamental differences between religious differences at a large extent towards differences in religious spheres. So in a sense, hypothetically multicultural policy too incorporates secularist doctrines. Furthermore, multicultural policy eases the cultural wound. It eases cultural wounds when there is a possibility of domination of one religious culture and ethnic culture by another religious or ethnic culture that subverts moral reasons and cultural sentiments.

### **Culture of Poverty & Multiculturalism:**

Multiculturalism debate also enwraps the notion of *Culture of Poverty* at some length. The terminology came out as an introduction by an American Anthropologist Oscar Lewis in his book *Five Families: Mexican Case Studies in the Culture of Poverty*.<sup>61</sup> The book came out as a result of a case study by Lewis on the poor families, which were mainly concentrated on the peripheries of urban life. Lewis argued correctly that some poor people remain poor because they lack opportunities; also because nobody dares to share their culture which is *the culture of*

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<sup>59</sup> Quoted in Will Kymlicka, "Marketing Canadian pluralism in the International Arena" (2004), p.844.

<sup>60</sup> Isaiah Berlin, *The Crooked Timber of Humanity* (New York, 1992), Pp. 8-12.

<sup>61</sup> See Oscar Lewis, *Five Families: Mexican Case Studies in the Culture of Poverty* (New York, 1959).

*poverty*. The culture of poverty keeps them poor. Lewis mentioned that some of the poor have a specific culture that helps to keep them poor. And these poor were mainly the minority groups. Mainly the minorities groups and minority communities subjugated by the dominant mainstream remained poor because of their cultural values and cultural attitudes, which remained segregated and un-noticed. It also implies the reality that poor lack of instruction is also an important part of the reason why so few of them rise out of their class. Like Neil, who rises and escape from its domain. Surprisingly Neil fits into this category of *escaped class*. Here *culture of poverty* domain is the periphery space or the minority's demographical space where individual identities have a different economic and cultural reality from which the dominant culture is trained and brought up.

The identifiable difference is the level of upliftment. Special provisions, tolerance, official recognition and granting justifiable justice for empowerment to benefit such groups were almost stripped off and scaled off. Therefore, a culture of poverty identifies a class of poor people and tries to explain their behavior in terms of their way of life which can be read as ghettoized or sub-class culture. Indeed multicultural policy emphasis attempts to bring them out of this subdued and disadvantage situation. So as to leave for them a roadmap for greater participation towards mainstream public institutions and public organizations. Also, to escape from their culture of poverty. Isn't it wrong to think like Neil that Multiculturalism will lead to rise of ethnic ghettoization in such disadvantaged situation?

Conceptually, it is important to link the culture of poverty with poverty, disadvantages and other negative attaches as per se. Poverty in literary terminological meaning can be narrated as having a little money and meeting few of the material conditions for a comfortable life. But, Culture of Poverty is an extension from the literary meaning behind poverty. It also incorporate the existential reality of having certain disadvantage, certain barrier and bound to reproduce its own present towards the future in the next generation. What hurts most to people is when their claims and voices are being denied, when these groups of people are kept aside at the periphery. That is also a kind of poverty in its knowledge system and in its existence. Even if these groups of people have wealth they are still denied with their poverty in terms of its cultural rights negligence and so forth. Oscar Lewis had a different view. Lewis mentions culture of poverty

differs from poverty.<sup>62</sup> Where, Lewis standpoint was on the economic sphere only. Interestingly Lewis admits culture of poverty will tend to perpetuate poverty.

Also, it is clear that those with a culture of poverty have certain aspects in relation to the multicultural policy. Culture of poverty delineates the relation between those with a culture of poverty and the larger society and the distinctive values and attitudes of those with a culture of poverty. Those groups with a culture of poverty fail to participate in most of the major institutions of the society. Either they are chronically disadvantaged or under-inclusively participated. Their role in the public sphere is irritatingly annoying. Either these groups are labeled with certain stigmatizations. Most of these groups will be familiar with certain illegal activities or even familiar with jails and asylums. Living and grown up in that kind of atmosphere would be dangerous because of the state's doctrines is for betterment or not. So the structures of culture of poverty directly reflects the attitudes, values and in shaping its character. In one strong sense, multicultural with its deal on socio-cultural enhancement gives a remedial panacea to further prevent these groups and guarantees them to participate in wider social aspects. Corollary to that the policy also assures them of no further stigmatization and calls to actively involved in constructive and other legal activities.

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<sup>62</sup> As quoted in Bernard Boxil, *The Culture of poverty* (New York, 1994), p.253.

## Chapter 4

### **Canadian Multiculturalism at Contemporary times: From 1988-2001.**

On 21<sup>st</sup> July 1988, Canadian Multicultural Act was enacted under the progressive Conservative government of Brian Mulroney in the House of Common. Within a year, the conservatives of Brian Mulroney further strengthen the multiculturalism programme by introducing legislation that resulted into the creation of a separate department called Department of Multiculturalism and Citizenship (DMC, hereafter) within the federal Bureaucracy. Before July 1988, a Multicultural Directorate within the department of the Secretary of state handled issues regarding ethnic and racial diversity. The Multicultural Act of 1988 served to replace Trudeau's desires for proper treatment to minority ethno-cultural groups and to give due-justice to the minority cultures. The blueprint of the act was initially introduced in October 1971 at the House of Commons. Another aspect of the act was *funding* apart from elevating and giving justice towards the minority ethnics in the mainstream public sphere of Canada. *Funding* for the support of minority ethnics folklore have been look upon by the DMC, where initially it was handled by the Directorate of Multiculturalism at the Department of the Secretary of State. But nature of the State's support had been just towards the Folklore activities, which was mainly to dance troupes, or to theatre groups. For a variety of reasons, some kinds of group cannot maintain activity without some sponsorship by the local state, at however a level. And, it is true for any minority ethnic within the context of the dominant ethno-cultural groups. Such groups need to avoid prejudice from the larger community. Further, Gargi Bhattacharya claims, such minority ethnic doesn't have the capacity at all for forming self-organization.<sup>1</sup> The nature of the minority ethnic, its agenda and sense of itself have to be a dyadic relation of dependency towards the state. At the same time their contribution has been the essential factor for the state to be successfully operated within its diverse culture.

No much support has been given towards heritage aspects mainly in the sphere of language. In one sense, Canadian multiculturalism doesn't do any justice to minority ethnic's languages. The sole purpose and the reason are due to the fear and breakages of national unity and for maintaining a distinct Canadian identity. A common language serves the common

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<sup>1</sup> See Gargi Bhattacharya, *Riding Multiculturalism* in David Bennett (Ed.) *Multicultural Sates: Rethinking Difference and Identity* (London, 1998), Pp.252-266.

platform of sharing and existence of a distinct Canadian identity. Moreover a common language assures the citizens of Canada to provide a better understanding between its different socio-cultural and socio-religious beliefs. Such propositions serve for a better nation state existence in every aspect by and along with the provision of common laws to live as a Multiculturalized Canadian citizen. Besides giving cultural recognition, cultural tolerance and more participation of minority ethnics in the states power apparatus; multiculturalism also guarantees a space and freedom to their point of origin towards its belongings and bloods. Most importantly Canadian state acts as a regulator for achieving unity through the Canadian Multicultural policy and through its official bilingual doctrines.

During the early phase of the Canadian Multicultural policy, the Reform Party of Canada (RPC, hereafter) criticized the policy introduced by Trudeau. From 1989 onwards the RPC criticized both the federal immigration policy and the federal policy of Bilingualism, which provided the background that resulted into the creation of official multicultural programme. The party included multiculturalism to its list of policy critiques, calling for an end to the funding of multiculturalism support.<sup>2</sup> Because to Abu Laban and Daiva Stasiulis, Reform Party believes preservation of cultural background was only a matter of personal choice and the state should promote and encourage minorities to integrate into the national culture. The above reason is just an interpretation along the liberalism ethics and along liberal values. There is no touch of justification towards cultural values in the policies of Reform Party. Culturalism as mentioned above can at length deal with national integration by giving due justice to the minority culture along the mainstream culture. It also calls forth national integration as individual per se along its cultural values.

Reform Party also criticized on individual rights and the formal equality of people and provinces, which demands that every person should have the same rights and every province should have the same rights too. Such ideology didn't please at all to the ethnic minorities because it fails to recognize some essential group values and group sentiments. That was one of the reasons why Reform Party didn't win much vote from the minority ethnics region. Such ideology didn't take up the issue of minority ethnic segregation and it always pushes aside to the pit of disadvantages. The Reform Party should also at least take into account the level of

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<sup>2</sup> Yasmeen Abu Laban & Christina Gabriel, *Selling Diversity: Immigration, Multiculturalism, Employment Equity and Globalization* (Toronto, 2002), p.111.

representation of minority ethnics in the mainstream public sphere. The Reform Party simply tried to keep at bay the notion of special treatment to the disadvantaged section of the Canadian society.

During the Charlottetown accord of 1992, one of the reasons why the Accord didn't mention the multiculturalism principles was due to the fact that there arises series of criticism towards the multiculturalism act. Simply because including several members of parliament including Liberal Members of Parliament all from minority backgrounds including John Nunziata were overshadowed with the fear that it will create Ethnic Ghettoization. Laban too, observed that it was due to the Public Mood. In such situations Canadian masses were simply swallowed with the utopian fears due to the improper understanding of public representation themes. The popular notion was that instead of elevating and participating the minority groups towards the mainstream, the policy would lead further to imperfect equation of minority ethnic representation in the public spheres of Canadian mainstream due to ghettoisation. Also, ghettoisation will lead to improper and inadequate contribution by the different minority ethnic individuals in the name of national development. On the issue of national unity as discussed above in the previous chapter's, early phase of multiculturalism was not so ripening and it was almost swallowed by the fears and criticism rather than praises.

The issue of national unity further deepened the issue of multiculturalism. Because some critics like Bissoondath claimed that it is a divisive, encourages stereotyping and encouraging national divisiveness. Apart from those critical claims with a utopian style. The issue of national unity was also brought into the foray of national dailies, to the politicians and to the academia that the policy was also debated along the lines of Quebec nationalistic claims. Where in one line of critic, mainly the Quebecois felt that Multiculturalism Act was enacted to bring down the nationalistic feelings of Quebecois.

One of the substantial reasons for the failure of the Meech Lake Accord of 1987 and the Charlottetown Accord was due to the crisis within the Canadian federalism. Where the asymmetrical Canadian federalism doesn't do any justice and pleased the land rights and self-government rights demanded by the Aborigines and also to the Quebecois. Will Kymlicka too observed the failure of the Charlottetown Accord and The Meech Lake Accord was due to the



strategy of the form of Canadian Federalism.<sup>3</sup> The strategy such as the clause 'distinct society' which was originally demanded by the Quebecois to affirm its special status of distinctness within Canada was wounded literally by the equal recognition and extra privileges that is encrypted in the official multicultural act of 1988. Also one of the main factors through the Kaleidoscope of Trudeau Multiculturalism was to create the Trudeau dream of creating a pan-Canadian nationalism. Where, Trudeau hoped that having a single document or policies expressing the aspirations of Canadians would focus people's allegiance on Canada as a whole, rather than any province or region. Trudeau hoped that multiculturalism would be an upgrade model of the Biculturalism and Bilingualism policy (B&B, hereafter) initiated by his predecessor Lester Pearson in 1963. Also, the policy of affirming and emphasizing a shared value between the various ethno-cultural groups kept the Aborigines and Quebecois in equal league along the minority ethnics. Robert Gwyn also observed the Charlottetown Accord as the expanded version of Meech Lake Accord of 1987.<sup>4</sup> On the problematic side towards Quebecois, Guy Rocher, a well-known Professor of Sociology in Quebec had also commented and wrote about the negative aspects of the tabled Trudeau multiculturalism policy in the mid 1970s:

This new concept of Canadian society seriously jeopardizes the future of Bilingualism.....Canadians wherever they live must be able to deal with their government in their own language....the Trudeau government defines it, no longer has a clearly identifiable cultural nucleus... the new multicultural policy represents a retrograde step as far as French Canadians are concerned, although they have not realized it...by separating bilingualism from biculturalism.<sup>5</sup>

Early phase of the Canadian Multicultural Act, was indeed downplayed by the bunch of critical views such as, by the question on sovereignty of Quebecois and Francophones sentiments, also it was downsized whether on the question of federalism, on the question of national unity, too. Interestingly ethnic and language conscious Franco phones not only from Quebec but also from a sizeable amount of Franco phonic origins of New Brunswick and Manitoba felt those greedy idea that it is going to underestimate one of its founding nations in Canada. Exaggerating Differences, intensifying resentments and antagonisms was not a friendly

<sup>3</sup> See Will Kymlicka, *Finding Our Way: Rethinking ethno-cultural relations in Canada* (Toronto, 1998), Pp.147-148.

<sup>4</sup> See Richard Gwyn, *Nationalism Without Walls: The Unbearable Lightness of being Canadian* (Toronto, 1995), p. 135.

<sup>5</sup> Guy Rocher, *Multiculturalism: The Doubts of a Francophone* (Ottawa, 1976), Pp. 47-53.

term for the Canadian Multicultural policy. Rather than looking at the good side, the early phase of multiculturalism was seen as an object to criticize rather than evaluating the good sides. Critics hardly mentioned the importance of multicultural policy in the making of the nation building process of Canada.

To go back to the history of resentments towards the 1963 Royal Commission on B&B, also the released Book IV and its report '*The Cultural Contribution of Other Ethnic Groups* in 1971 subsequently led Trudeau to Tabled the Governments response to its recommendations. Equally important notions like the claims of resentment especially by the Ukrainian-Canadians or other non-British or non-French in short *The Third Force* led to the formulation and consideration of official Multiculturalism by the then Prime Minister P.E. Trudeau. It would be wrong to assume such considerations of *The Third Force* as a factor for gaining popularity and for banking votes by the liberal party. The commission with its emphasis on two languages and two cultures provoked a counter response from what has been variously termed as 'third force'. Abu Laban mentioned that the multicultural movement by the third force, especially Canadian of non-British, non-French and non-aboriginal origin especially second generation Ukrainians vociferously objected to the symbolism of the commission's mandate.<sup>6</sup> Such notions have to be counted when we look at the form of the Canadian Multicultural policy starting from the early 1970s till the present.

### **Interculturalism and Multiculturalism:**

In the name of cultural diversity, apart from the first principle of cultural tolerance, giving justice to minority ethno-cultural and socio-religious beliefs towards the minority ethnics, secondary principles like interculturalism, which is a much preferable options for the Quebecois, is also an important aspect of the multicultural policy. Since, 1970s another essential and significant principle of Canadian state's nation building scheme was provisos of funding for the preservation of folklore and cultural interchanges between the different minority ethnics of Canada. Leslie Pal too observed, during the wartime and post-war policies in Canada, the main feature of multiculturalism programme was the funding given to support ethnic minority

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<sup>6</sup>Yasmeen Abu Laban & Christina Gabriel, *Selling Diversity: Immigration, Multiculturalism, Employment Equity and Globalization* (Toronto, 2002), p.107.

associations.<sup>7</sup> The second principle is that within the official multiculturalism, the policy can't deny aspects of interculturalism. Most of the critics like Gwyn, Bissoondath, Reginald Bibby and others didn't forecast such aspects of intercultural exchanges and the wider understanding of multiculturalism. Critics of the multicultural simply didn't taste the real aspects of interculturalism within the sphere of multiculturalism. To them, multiculturalism will help built ethnic consciousness, rise of ethnic's ghettos but forgot to mention that it wouldn't dis-unify or disintegrate the nation. Simply because, intercultural exchanges is also one of the aspects which will help build bridges between the different ethnics for a wider and greater sharing for the national unity.

Some critics like Rustam Bharucha who countered the terminology multiculturalism with interculturalism in terms of cultural performance like dramas and festivals instead of liberating, was essentially co-opted by central authorities is simply an architect to strengthen the majority dominance over the minority.<sup>8</sup> Interculturalism and critical multiculturalism challenges the ongoing traditional heirarchisation and traditional authority. It rejects any form of pluralism that was based on the traditionalistic beliefs of hierarchy and dominance. Interculturalism within the sphere of Multiculturalism involves rethinking of society's power relations. Interculturalism also extends multiculturalism beyond just tolerance and recognition of minority groups and communities. Moreover it proposes to yield better ideas of empowerment along with mobilization of the minority groups. Interculturalism also led to a better politicization of the marginal groups. It also helps in the transformation of institutions, the dismantling of cultural hierarchies and structures. It helps in the promotion of diversity within the context of equality and justice.

Interculturalism within the multiculturalism helps to fulfill the Government's endorsements of diversity. It also strengthens the citizens to tolerate newcomers, as theirs own identities are secured. Interculturalism also guarantees the various public institutions to accommodate immigrant groups or to reflect the ethnic diversity of the population. As a result dominant ethnics won't be expected to make any changes in their own habits, practices or their

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<sup>7</sup> Leslie Pal, *Interests of State: The Politics of Language, Multiculturalism and Feminism in Canada* (Montreal & Kingston, 1993), p.115.

<sup>8</sup> See Rustam Bharucha, *Interculturalism and its Discrimination: Shifting the Agendas of the Nation, Multiculturalism and the Globe* (Toronto, 2000).

identities. Without inter-reliability or without engaging the various ethno-cultural groups in terms of sharing and caring, a society will be almost an abnormal state.

Who wants to manufacture resentments and internal or domestic turmoil's of periodic shocks? Or should someone avoid turmoil's? Interculturalism within the official doctrine of multicultural policy releases some effective hopes to escape manufacturing hatreds and turmoil's between the various minority and majority ethnic groups through their cultural exchanges. Understanding between cultures is made possible only when strong flavor of inter-cultural practices are shared. Such notions won't help to build ethnic ghettos or self-contained units. 'Because no man can live alone. Sharing caring and togetherness are the key factors of nations development and growth. Conceptions like questioning towards intercultural domain can protrude a new insight, infact it will be a new way of reading in countering the cultural hegemony by the dominant and the mainstream culture. Interculturalism with its emphasis on equal footing of every minute or influential culture can help in exchanging more transparent nature between cultures. Interculturalism within the multicultural framework can also be considered as the critical inquiry so that one's search for cultural survival and cultural values within and across the national boundaries will be deepened through a renewed respect for the intercontextuality that underlies any process of exchange.<sup>9</sup>

### **Reviewing Canadian Multicultural Policy: Brighton Report 1995-1996.**

After seven years, the official Canadian Multicultural policy of 1988 was again re-examined in 1995. The federal liberals under the Prime Minister Jean Chretien initiated to evaluate the effectiveness of multiculturalism programs. The proposed idea was to plan the direction for future programming. A private company known as Brighton Research was commissioned to evaluate the nature of the policy after seven years since its enactment in the House of Commons. Brighton Research was commissioned by the Department of Canadian Heritage to reveal the flagship of Canadian identity just to foster the attachment to Canadian Values so as to counter the misguides of the multicultural policy which was mainly developed by the critical columnists and scholars of Canada.

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<sup>9</sup> See Rustam Bharucha, "*Politics of Culturalisms in an age of Globalization: Discrimination, Discontent and Dialogue*" *Economic and Political Weekly* (Mumbai), February, 1999, Vol.34, No.8, (Mumbai, 1999), Pp.477-489.

The task assigned to the Brighton Research was to perform an evaluation of reviewing the official multicultural program, literature and media coverage related to multiculturalism, as well as to conduct interviews with relevant individuals in government and non-governmental organizations and to calculate a statistical analysis of the program's funding patterns.<sup>10</sup> The report of that official review came out to be known as Brighton Report. It was released in 1996.

One of the most influential notion the Brighton Report revealed was that it's report was so affirmed and emphatic in stressing that many recent critics of multiculturalism in particular Neil Bissoondath "misunderstood and misrepresent Canada's multicultural policy".<sup>11</sup> Indeed for critics, one of the most uni-linear points of criticizing the official multicultural policy is towards the functioning of the multicultural policy. In many ways they criticized it on the *ism* of multiculturalism where critics unnecessarily relate with the worrisome feelings and emotions about the national unity. Where the critics simply misread the doctrine of the policy. Where the doctrine is for all Canadian's welfare and integration towards the Canadian mainstream. But the critics simply submitted that the policy would (why not *will*) lead to erection of walls and deviate from the proper participation by the ethnic minorities.

Moreover, the report also reveals the changing nature of the Canadian Multicultural Policy. It also relates the standpoint – Canadian Multicultural Policy is also one of the essential elements in the Canadian Nation Building process. Brighton Recommendations made it clear - "*multiculturalism is unfinished business*". It also reveals what Abu Laban had submitted that the position of multicultural policy was not carved on stone. Indeed, the Brighton Report made it evident that changes will be needed. Like Bob Dylan singing 'as times are changing things have changed'".

The Brighton Report also clarifies the terminology of *Identity, Participation* and *Justice*. To critics, the above noted terminology were the point of worrisome and misbelievers, which led them to mis-interpretation of the official multicultural policy. The Report revealed the primary objective of multiculturalism policy should be *Identity, Participation* and *Justice* towards a more broader and wider aspects, which will act as a catalyst to enhance and empower the various ethnics that made the colorful intricate patterns of the Canadian fabric. The Report also directed

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<sup>10</sup> Canada, Department of Canadian Heritage, Strategic Evaluation of Multiculturalism Programs, (Ottawa, 1997), Pp.4-5. As Quoted in Yasmeen Abu Laban and Christina Gabriel, Selling Diversity: Immigration, Multiculturalism, employment Equity and Globalization.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid, p.8.

and hinted the Department of Canadian Heritage (DCH, hereafter) that the DCH should eschew initiatives unrelated to identity, participation and justice. Because, such initiatives simply appeared to many Canadians so as to weaken the Canadian Fabric. Abu Laban and Christina Gabriel read the Report as a counter by the state to clarify the misinterpretation and misunderstanding towards the confused critics of the Canadian Multicultural Policy. The Report revealed evident that grapples the argument of critics that multiculturalism weakens Canadian unity. Such notions, pre-occupied the nature of Brighton Report and multicultural motivations formed the backbone behind the Report Recommendations.

The Report also submits clearly that the current program aims to inculcate an attachment to Canadian state's values, not only for cultural maintenance and cultural preservations. Promotion to create active citizenship of Canada is also one of the significant point to be noted when we analyzed the functioning of the multicultural programme. This notion is one of the most significant aspects that the Brighton Report revealed for the interest of multicultural policy. The official policy was meant and enacted not just to grant justice and pleased the interest of the minority ethno-cultural groups. But the policy was enacted with a view for a nation building process so as to encompass all the various ethno-cultural groups for proper and equal participations in the various organizations, institutions and other branches of the modern liberal nation states.

Another significant recommendation was to change the nature of the state funding system towards the minority ethno-cultural groups. The report revealed direct funding towards ethno-cultural organizations becomes problematic at some extent. It creates prejudices and negative feelings between the various ethno-cultural groups. This became the most critical point taken up by other critics to the nature of state funding. Because of the fact that *unequal* state funding was the character at the early phase of the Canadian multicultural policy.

Notwithstanding the desires of some community members, the funding of ethno-specific organizations should not continue in its present form....the minister of the Department of Canadian Heritage should make it clear that all Canadians rather

than the sub-groupings of Canadians are the recipients of the benefits of multiculturalism.<sup>12</sup>

The shifting nature, which the Report seeks essentially for including not just ethno-cultural groups towards a more viable and agreeable terms. The Report reveals to recommend other like-minded cultural groups like Gays and Lesbians, gender groups like Women, which were not just ethno-cultural groups, also serving the interest for certain groups. The idea is to reveal the terminology 'special interest' towards a more open-ended notion of groups irrespective of those minority ethno-cultural groups. Delivery of public goods services traditionally associated with the federal states has been move towards the Canadian provinces, communities, families or individuals. As a result the liberals under Jean Chretien announced for the redesignment of state's funding system. The liberals wanted to stop funding towards a more ethno-cultural specific funding system so as to restrict deviations from the mainstream Canadian values. Considering funding for projects addresses those priorities and objectives of the multiculturalism programmes towards all groups. Priorities and objectives are mainly the non-profit organizations, educational institutions, non-governmental organizations, individuals and private sector companies that work hand in hand for enhancement of the various cultural groups within the Canada. On a project-by-project basis the Brighton Report reshaped the State funding system. Truly and frankly such activities resulted the visible minorities to be even more dependent on the federal government. Such service delivery by the state towards the visible minorities led into the formation of strong bond between the ethno-cultural groups and the state.

Where should critical questions and worrisome issues pointed out by critics of the official multiculturalism policy be placed? The only panacea for those critics against the multicultural policy should be aware to official reports and other surveys, rather than bringing confusions. Attempts like referring to official reports rather than manufacturing confusions is going to serve a better purpose. Will Kymlicka too have mentioned in his book *Finding Our Way* that most of the critics never referred to official reports. Most of the critics rather refer and they quote some voices from the streets and markets. Correcting their misinterpretation and misreading of the

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<sup>12</sup> Canada, Department of Canadian Heritage, *Strategic Evaluation of Multiculturalism Programs*, (Ottawa, 1997), p. 76. As Quoted in Yasmeen Abu Laban and Christina Gabriel, *Selling Diversity: Immigration, Multiculturalism, employment Equity and Globalization*.

Canadian Multicultural policy is needed in a short while so as to avoid further confusions and misbelieves.

For obvious reason, ethno-cultural organizations across Canada unlikely resist such changes in the state funding policy. The Canadian Ethno-cultural Council (CEC, hereafter), which is the national coalition of Thirty-three umbrella organizations for ethno-cultural minorities. CEC had a stand against the Brighton Report . Because, the Report didn't submit any reasons for diminishing the funding levels to certain minority ethno-cultural groups. CEC pointed out that if multiculturalism means just for cultural recognition and cultural tolerance. CEC claimed that Brighton Report undermine the essence of multiculturalism in the sphere of state funding.

The Brighton Report of 1996 necessarily submits the point of clarification to the contemporary debates on multiculturalism. It challenges the critics of multiculturalism from a variety of sources. The report counters to quote, the speech of the chairperson of the Alberta Human Rights Commission (AHRC, hereafter) negative comment, "far from uniting us in our diversity, is divisive". Notions like creation of Ethnic Ghettos are a plain notion, but in reality there is not at all ethnic Ghettos in the metropolitan cities of Canada. Nor is there nativism and birth of the sons of soils in Canada. The answer that blows in the wind is to live with a strong bond between the diverse groups. The binding factor is of course the Canadian Multicultural policy. Also, the Brighton Report made it clear that multiculturalism has both the soul easing factors for both the ethnic minorities and for the good of the mainstream Canadian values. The official policy is not just for the ethnic minority, but also for the Canadian national good.

The influence of the Brighton Report was so immense. Within a year, in response to the Report, the Federal Liberals announced their redesigned programme in 1997-98 to give a clear picture of Canadian Identity, for Civic Participation and Social Justice. To give a clearer concept of Canadian Identity, federal liberals mentioned Canadian identity as to foster a society that recognizes, respects and reflects a diversity of cultures such that people of all backgrounds feel a sense of belonging and attachment to Canada. Further, the Federal Liberals mentioned civic participation as an essential characteristic for developing among the Canada's diverse people, active citizens with both the opportunity and capacity to contribute for shaping the future of their



communities as well as for the nation. The federal liberals ensure social justice is of immense importance for multi-ethnic and multi-cultural groups. That the state's main task is to give a justice to the domestic concerns for a proper functioning and maintenance of the nation. To build a society that ensures fair and equitable treatment and that respects the dignity of and accommodates people of all origin.

### **Examining Individualism within Multiculturalism:**

No doubt, the idea of cultural Mosaic was being spilled over in every domains of one's existence in Canada. Be it to areas such as relationships with family life, educational institutions, media, so and so forth. At the same perimeter individuals options are being guaranteed whether in a specific group sphere or to certain other references and stereotypes by the Multicultural policy in Canada. It becomes important to examine the nature of individual response and commitment towards the groups. At the same length individual choices and individual freedom to choose a preferable way of living and doing things have been provided in the Canadian Multicultural policy. In a broad theme multicultural policy serve as a medium for both the individual and group enhancement. Such analyzation can help to clarify whether any notions like Multicultural policy is of immense necessity or not?

Trudeau once wrote in his memoirs in 1968, " the oldest problem of political philosophy is to justify authority without destroying the independence of human beings in the process...how can an individual be reconciled with society? The need for privacy with the need to live in groups? Love for Freedom with need for other?"<sup>13</sup> Further, Trudeau believed that Canada was tied together by two convictions. Firstly, the need for a national uniformity. Secondly, the value of tolerating the differences that would otherwise divide us. A functionalist approach succinctly narrates those believes of Trudeau. The importance of the various parts to co-ordinate and interdependency among the parts is an essential factor, which the state should promote. Just for successful functioning of the Canadian state. At the same time, Reginald Bibby claims the application of such principle means that Canadians find their togetherness in accepting each other's rights to be different.

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<sup>13</sup> Peirre Trudeau, *Memoirs of Peirre Trudeau* as quoted in Reginald W Bibby, *Mosaic Madness: The poverty and potential of life in Canada* (Toronto, 1990), P.91.

Multiculturalism in Canada addressed a centrally important question in the context of both as a state vis-à-vis with individuals relating to each other in various spheres of life. Critics in general look multiculturalism with the expense of individual freedom and choices, which are an independent factor in determining one's existence. For critics towards the multicultural policy, they easily guess on a plain idea that excessive individualism will threaten the existence of the group life. Sociologically and culturally, critic's hardly submits that excessive individualism will undermine love and marriage, community involvement and national identification in the domain of group life; instead they built up an elliptical array towards state apparatuses. That was just a whip of guess. Moreover, those critics claim 'what has failed at every level from local to the national, to the community, and to the family is integration. So critics like Reginald W Bibby and Richard Gwyn mentioned that negation as individuals, as groups, as a nation, ahead of the common good will be witnessing due to the evolution of excessive individualism.

Excessive individualism have been witnessing in the American Society than the Canadian Society. Berkley Sociologist Robert Bellah and his associates submit that in Canada and United States, excessive individualism have been witnessing more in the American society than the Canadian society.<sup>14</sup> Bellah mentions that Canadian Society has tended to be far less individualistic, remaining more respectful towards the authority, more willing to use the state and more supportive of the group based rights. However, in American Society excessive individualism has been co-existed with an intense commitment to group life in terms of group interest. For example in the crowds and fans of some games like Basketball and Baseball, group's loyalty is exemplified empirically. In other words it can also be read as a symbol of group fortification or group ghettoisation. The binding factor in the American society is due to the intense commitment to ideological consensus, which originates irrespective of ethno-cultural differences.

But in Canadian society such cases for group supports are at every spheres of one's existence either towards one's community or towards one's group life. Such notions narrate excessive individualism won't be a threatening factor in undermining the multicultural policy. It

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<sup>14</sup> As Quoted in Reginald W Bibby, *Mosaic Madness: The poverty and potential of life in Canada* (Toronto, 1990), P.93.

also reveals loyalty to a particular group is not an empirical situation in Canadian society. Where shall we place the notion of ethnic ghettoisation and rise of ethnic cult within the Canadian society? Most students, graduates and residents could not care less about the big upcoming game like Ice hockey of the university of Toronto Blues or University of Manitoba Bisons or soccer. Loyalty towards the nation state commitments like big support by the Canadian masses in peacekeeping in the name of welfare and development is what Canadians support. Individuals from minority ethnics are given freedom to choose in the name for welfare of the state, not just for the individual's ethnic. Such are some of the significant factors, which prove that excessive individualism has no domain to persuade. Reginald W Bibby defined the central character that binds the various diversities are due to tenuous willingness to co-exist together. It is not just the shared commitment or the shared ideology.

### **What Do Facts Tell?**

Since 1971 after being tabled by Trudeau in the House of Commons. Multiculturalism in Canada was worried for the first time with some doubts. Doubts like whether the policy will affect the process of integration. Will Kymlicka too countered the critical way of looking at the multicultural policy by Neil Bissoondath and Richard W Gwyn. Where both the critics forgot to mention what integration involves. Both the critics didn't succinctly define what exactly integration means. Kymlicka look at integration in terms of the level of commitment and participation. Adopting a Canadian identity rather than clinging tirelessly to one's ancestral identity.<sup>15</sup> Participating in some broader Canadian institutions rather than solely participating in ethnic specific institutions, learning official languages rather than pre-occupied with mother's tongue. Interdependency between inter-ethnic for friendships, or even mixed marriages rather than socializing entirely within one's ethnic group. The above-mentioned factors have been occurring in day-to-day life within the Canadian Society. Empirically we observed it. Go the bye-lanes and go to the mall all such evidences will be happening. Where shall the un-agreeable space for dis-integration of the Canadian identity due to the official multiculturalism policy?

Significantly the debate on national integration has been narrated on immigrant becoming a Canadian citizenship. Infact, rates of naturalization, which is also a process of

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<sup>15</sup> Will Kymlicka, *Finding Our Way: Rethinking Ethnocultural relations in Canada* (Toronto, 1998), p.18.

integration, have been increasing since 1971.<sup>16</sup> After the enactment of the Canadian Multicultural Policy in 1988; it is a need to examine the proposition as mentioned by critics like Gwyn and Bissoondath is true. Infact, the rates of naturalization will be declining instead. Kymlicka too submit, to examine which groups are most likely to naturalize, it is the 'multicultural groups'-immigrants from non-traditional sources countries for whom the multiculturalism policy is most relevant- have the highest rate of naturalization.<sup>17</sup> Contrary to that immigrant from traditional sources have the lowest rate of naturalization. Those immigrants from non-traditional sources integrate through the process of acquiring Canadian Citizenship. So as to get a major advantage by allowing themselves to practice their rights and duties as a citizen of the adopted state. The only major legal advantage is obtained and integrates through right to vote. Such evidences were so high within the dominant ideology of the mainstream immigrants in any province of Canada. The most important reason to obtain Canadian Citizenship is to identify them as Canadian, where they want to formalize their membership in Canadian society and to participate in the political life of the country. To position against the arguments by Gwyn and Bissoondath, where will the question of cultural apartheid be placed?

In the question of political participation, facts do easily clarify the misunderstandings of Gwyn and Bissoondath. Will Kymlicka claims if the thesis of cultural apartheid due to the Canadian Multicultural policy propounded by Gwyn and Bissoondath is Infact true.<sup>18</sup> Then, it is obvious the degree of political participation of ethno-cultural minorities will have been declining tremendously. On the contrary, since the adoption of the Multicultural Programme starting from 1971 and followed by enactment in 1988. The degree of minority ethno-cultural groups in the Canadian politics has been increasing since the adoption from 1971. Before the 1971, i.e. prior to 1971 the level of minority ethnic representation in the Canadian parliament was indeed very low. Daiva Stasiulis and Abu Laban too claimed, since 1971 the trend has been ....so that today they have nearly as many Member of Parliament as one of would expect, given their percentage of the population. The rate of political participation is a symbolic affirmation of citizenship and reflects an interest in the political life of the larger society. There are no signs in decline of such acts and commitments. It simply tells minority ethno-cultural groups benefiting themselves from the

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<sup>16</sup> Citizenship and Immigration Canada, *Citizenship and Immigration Statistics* (Ottawa, 1997), Table G2 & Table I.

<sup>17</sup> Will Kymlicka, *Finding Our Way: Rethinking Ethnocultural relations in Canada* (Toronto, 1998), p.18.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid, p.18.

empowering gifts of the official multicultural policy, which didn't do at all the selfish and egoistic acts for themselves. Rather they contribute more for the development of the Canadian nation-state in a much wider context.

Moreover, minority ethno-cultural groups do not form an ethnic based and culturally motivated political parties for the benefit of their own. Also, they do not participate either as individual groups or as coalitions, but they participate overwhelmingly within the pan Canadian parties. Immigrants of the non-traditional sources do not attach themselves to the regional and ethno-based political parties like Parti Quebecois of French Canadians especially strong at Quebec and the confederation of Regions party of New Brunswick, which is loyal very much to the English loyalist ancestry. Instead they show support to ethnic based political parties and vote at a large account to the traditional Canadian political Parties mainly the Liberals.

Immigrants are mainly supportive and committed to protecting the country's traditional political structure. Certain indicators like opinion polls suggest - immigrants quickly absorb and accept Canada's basic liberal democratic values and constitutional principles. Will Kymlicka too stressed further Freda Hawkins submission, ' the truth is that there have been no riots, no breakaway political parties, no Charismatic immigrant leaders, no real militancy in international causes, no internal political terrorism...immigrants recognized a good, stable political system when they see one.'<sup>19</sup> It becomes obvious for a nation and in the name of Canadian values 'unity' and free from dissents were the most primary values that is being witnessed day after days. Since after the enactment of the official multicultural policy, ethnic immigrants are more likely to become a permanent Canadian citizenship. And, immigrants were willing to participate politically because they wanted to achieve their own good and for the better side of Canadian nation too.

Language necessity and its reliability is one of the most significant agents, in analyzing integration factor for a nation state. A common language becomes the essential factor to reach understanding and desires for a multi-ethnic nation. To link and to bring awareness between the different ethnics, a common language guarantees mutual understandings to reach a common

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<sup>19</sup> as quoted in Will Kymlicka, *Finding Our Way: Rethinking Ethnocultural relations in Canada* (Toronto, 1998), p.19.

objectives and opinions. Because various ethnics and cultural communities have a language or a mode of communication of their own. Likewise, the significance of legitimizing two Languages within a bilingual framework also acts as the essential tools for participation and integration in wider perspectives of the Canadian society. That seems to be the main reason; why? In Canadian social network, immigrants always had a dream to practice and preach their own contributions as a Canadian citizenship realizes the need of knowing either one of the official languages so as to participate practically and actively as a citizen of the adopted nation.

Richard Gwyn and Neil Bissoondath thesis's of criticisizing the Canadian Multicultural policy is not considerable and reliable at such issues about language and integration. In short, if the above comments regarding formation of ethnic ghettos and cultural apartheid due to the multicultural act is true. Then, there won't be a rising awareness and eagerness to learn either one of the official languages. Also, one would be expecting, decline of acquiring either one of the official languages since after the enactment of 1988. Infact the demand for introducing language classes actually exceeds than calculated by the government officials. According to the 1991 census, 98.6 % of Canadians report that they can speak either one of the two official languages, either French or English.<sup>20</sup> Interestingly, during the early times such as 1970s, immigrants with a poor knowledge of either of the two languages were the elderly immigrants, which were permitted to migrate in Canada through the family re-unification programme in the official immigration system of 1960s. Empirically there is a sizeable volume of Canadian minority ethnics who is adapted to either of the official languages. Indeed, the official bilingual language policy is an inseparable factor for the successful promotion of Canadian Multicultural policy.

What about other sociological determinants that can counter those Criticisms towards the official multicultural policy? Infact if the already mentioned Gwyn and Bissoondath thesis is true. Then, focus to sociological determinants like kinship and marriage or to inter-marriages rates between the ethnic communities. One would expect, intermarriages would come down drastically after the adoption of the official multicultural policy. There won't be any intermarriage if we simply believe those critical and vague arguments by the critics. If their

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<sup>20</sup> As quoted in Will Kymlicka, *Finding Our Way: Rethinking Ethnocultural relations in Canada* (Toronto, 1998), p.19.

thesis is true, there will be awful wedges between races and nationalities and to have encouraged groups to retreat into their own miniscule world to practice mono-culturalism, not multiculturalism.

Then why do rates of intermarriages increases rather than decreasing? In fact, intermarriage rates have been consistently increasing since after its adoption and initiation of 1971 by Trudeau.<sup>21</sup> Furthermore, Kymlicka too mentioned, there have been an overall decline in endogamy, both for immigrants and their native born children. Also, Morton Weinfield submits there is also a dramatic increase in social acceptance of mixed marriages. Most importantly research done by Leo Driedger also revealed during 1968, a majority of Canadians i.e.52% disapproved the phenomenon of black and white intermarriages. The situation after the 1971 was the opposite of the above mentioned. There is an increasing tendency of intermarriages between races and between ethnic backgrounds. By 1995, an overwhelming majority i.e. 81 % approved of such marriage form.<sup>22</sup>

Here, interestingly increase in the rates of intermarriages indicates – infact, Multiculturalism is not a divisive policy, or it hindrances the process of national integration and the formation of ethnic ghettos or cultural apartheid. Nevertheless, Canadian government doesn't promote or formalize inter-marriages or bans intermarriages. Rather inter-marriage is just an outcome of the official multicultural policy, which shows not only its empowerment policies. The Canadian Multicultural policy gives momentum to other social indicators, which confronts the racial prejudices. The fact is that intermarriage rates have gone up is an important factor to conclude that Canadians are more accepting the adoption of multicultural policy. Facts and events as mentioned above deny the thesis of those critical writings towards multiculturalism.

Not only that, if the critical thesis of those writers is true, then there will be demands and formation of schools or institutions that is based either on racial or ethnic backgrounds. Say there will be a separate high school where only polish immigrants or Indian immigrants in Toronto and other provinces. Not at all, there is an institutions which is only provides education to the blacks or to Arabs. Such empirical evidences also gives us a certain understanding- Infact multicultural

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<sup>21</sup> Will Kymlicka, *Finding Our Way: Rethinking Ethnocultural relations in Canada* (Toronto, 1998), p.20.

<sup>22</sup> Leo Driedger, *Multi-Ethnic Canada: Identities and Inequalities* (Toronto, 1996), p. 277.

is promote integration and increases the rate of inter-cultural exchanges. Furthermore, Canadians today are much more willing to accept members of other ethnic groups as co-workers, neighbors or friends than they were before 1971 for creating multiculturalism as the pan-Canadian Identity for the projection of national Culture.<sup>23</sup>

Critical concerns like ethnic ghettos and cultural enclaves are almost an absurd hypothesis. If we go for a survey we can be damn sure that indeed it is other socio- illegal factors like drug trade and other informal labor jobs that leads to ghettoisation and formation of ethnic enclaves. Studies done on residential concentration by John Mercer submitted- permanent ethnic ghettos is scarcely sensible in Canadian cities.<sup>24</sup> Furthermore, John Mercer revealed little concentration of ethnic ghettos are more likely found to be among older immigrant groups, like the Jews and Italians, whose arrival preceded the multiculturalism policy. Derrick Thomas in his Essay, *The Social Integration of Immigrants* revealed- ethnic groups that arrived primarily after the 1971 adoption of the official multicultural policy such as Asians and Afro-Caribbean's exhibit the least residential concentration.<sup>25</sup> Will Kymlicka Submits without fear, 'In short, whether we look at naturalization, political participation, official language competence, or intermarriage rates, or other socio-indicators like educational schools and institutional aspects we see the same story. There is no evidence to support the claim by the Critics that multiculturalism has decrease the rates of integration of immigration, or increased the separatism or mutual hostility of ethnic groups'.<sup>26</sup> Jack Jedwab in his essay *Neither Finding nor Losing Our Way: The Debate over Canadian Multiculturalism* sums up in a clear fashion. To quote Jedwab, 'debates over multiculturalism have therefore been more pervasive in Canadian policy circles with some arguing that too much emphasis is being put on the things that make us different and not enough on the things that the population shares'.<sup>27</sup> Such misconception is the root over the ongoing debate. Further Jedwab submits the once popular idea that Canadian multiculturalism

<sup>23</sup>Leo Driedger, *Multi-Ethnic Canada: Identities and Inequalities* (Toronto, 1996), p. 263. (Italics Mine, emphasis added).

<sup>24</sup> As quoted in Will Kymlicka, *Finding Our Way: Rethinking Ethnocultural relations in Canada* (Toronto, 1998), p.20.

<sup>25</sup> Derrick Thomas, *The Social Integration of Immigrants* in Steven Goldberg (Ed.), *The Immigration Dilemma* (Vancouver, 1992), p.224.

<sup>26</sup> Will Kymlicka, *Finding Our Way: Rethinking Ethnocultural relations in Canada* (Toronto, 1998), Pp.20-21. (Italics Mine, emphasis added).

<sup>27</sup> Jack Jedwab, "Neither Finding nor Losing Our Way: The Debate over Canadian Multiculturalism" *Canadian Diversity*, (Toronto), Winter, 2005, Vol.4. No.1, p.95.



weakened national identity no longer represents a strong argument in the arsenal of the policy's detractors faced with abundant empirical evidence that did not support the claims of being weakening or multiplying the Canadian nation.

Will Kymlicka mentioned that as the government's documents make clear; multiculturalism policy essentially delineates to promote civic participation in the larger society and to increase mutual understanding and co-operation between the members of different ethnic groups. Kymlicka described the nature of criticizing the official multicultural policy as vague. Since, neither Gwyn nor Bissoondath quotes or cites a single document published by the multiculturalism unit of the federal government, also not even one of its annual reports, *rather with some personal Quotations in Television Channels and Newspaper Quotations, which is subjective indeed, not a fair knowledge.*<sup>28</sup> Instead of critically looking at the multicultural policy on notions like Pan Canadian character without even quoting a single document, it is important to mention that the pan Canadian Character is indeed revealed by the Canadian Multicultural policy. Because in one angle both the critics and supporters of multiculturalism agree upon on shared citizenship or perhaps more specifically define shared values of civic norms in the name of democratic form of governance at the same time by giving special rights to the diverse minority ethnics.

### **Canadian Identity: Whether Monoculturalism or Multiculturalism?**

Anthony D. Smith in his book *The Origins of Nations*, mentions Ethnic rudiments of the modern nation state are an essential, though not enough and fulfilled components in the formation of nation-state, which is of multi-ethnicity in character. In his thesis, Anthony D. Smith revealed that ethnic components should not be neglected and be submissive or dismissed. Hence, impediments towards an official Monoculturalism (if adopted) are a feature and an essential headache for multi-ethnic nation states.

At the other extreme lies the adoption of monocultural attitude denying the diverse fact can be rephrase like the liberalistic attitude of 'right to exit'. A right to exit altitude has led one's fate has to be determined by one's own choice, so as to escape the ascription of one's fate and

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<sup>28</sup> See Will Kymlicka, *Finding Our Way: Rethinking Ethnocultural relations in Canada* (Toronto, 1998), p.22. (Italics Mine, Emphasis Added).

destiny which was determined by the cultural practices of diverse communities. In such line of belief monocultural attitude heavily influenced by liberalism emphasis on individual freedom and autonomy wins over the historical based readings of multicultural Communitarianism.

On the other hand some of the drawbacks of Monoculturalism still persist. Monoculturalism as a project of constructing the nation state is going to be totally redrawn and architect only by the elites. This favors only to the elites and the dominant groups. So nation building with a monocultural attitude can be considered as injustice and it sometimes neglects several cause and concerns for other minority groups within the nation. To a great extent, Monoculturalism leads to cause and concerns only for the dominant group because it is inherent in nature to go in favor for the dominant cultural group only.

Rather, nation buildings have to be shaped by many of the varying facts that fill up the social spaces of the society. Social spaces are the domains that help to legitimize varying ideals and political Fabrics of the society.

On the contrary, many Canadians due to confusion towards multiculturalism were countering the problem of defining the so-called “Pan-Canadian Value”. Canadians too feel that practicing multiculturalism fails to predict a monocultural cultural practice within the Canadian Nation State. Indeed it is true to realize at a certain extent what defines a true “National culture of Canada”. Questions like “What is a Canadian Value”? Indeed there is no single direct shot answer that defines a solid differential nature of Canada. The only comment that can be given to those above questions can be just in a form of console or relief for avoiding mistrust to the true Canadian value. The most significant comment to such arguments would be to comment that even most of the nations have been able to find the true nature or character of a particular nation. What would define the true value of India. One can’t simply say that it is a Hindu nation. Because it is so diverse that many religions too like Buddhism or Jainism too were flourished from India. The only entity that defines the true character of a nation in a modern day world is the emblem like National Flags and national emblems. Like wise, Australians were recognized as Kangaroos. Like wise in a settler nation like Canada, the most foremost significant entity that defines his/her identity is through the recognition of the Canadian Flag of maple leaf.

Furthermore, in modern days world affairs, state’s citizens and state’s values were at some length confined and recognized by the domestic policies and the foreign policies of the state. That was the main reason why Pierre Trudeau cautioned to have an official monoculture in

Canada would be of severe aftermaths. He mentioned in his speech at the House of Commons on the adoption of multiculturalism 'there is no such things as an official culture.....nor does any ethnic groups takes precedence over others'. Such comments were the main reason why there is no solid entity that would help a pan-Canadian national identity. On the other side a pan-Canadian identity is carried forward through it's national flag of maple leaves (Children, Every Peace Keeping forces from Canada always waves their waves at least very frequently on certain occasions to reveal a pan-Canadian identity). Also a pan-Canadian identity is revealed and realized world-wide through its domestic concerns, most significantly the official multicultural policy. To sum up the nature of Pan Canadian Identity, R. Breton in essay *Multiculturalism and Nation Building*, claimed 'multiculturalism was set up as a national symbol for Canadians and fulfilled the need for a distinctive Canadian identity'.<sup>29</sup> Furthermore, the emerging nature of Multiculturalism in Canada is to negotiate the dominant British cultural presence in Canada. At the same length, it also helps to cope with the emerging cultural diversity so as to get away from the increasing American experience of loss of identity. Reginald Bibby and R Breton too claimed that one of the goals of the official multicultural policy was to establish Canada as a unique nation, unlike any other nation. The main result may be to differentiate Canadians from Americans.

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<sup>29</sup> R Breton, *Multiculturalism and nation building* in A.Cairns & C.Williams (Eds.), *The Politics of Gender, Ethnicity and language in Canada* (Toronto, 1986), p.29.

## Chapter 5

### Conclusion

Much of the debate has been forecasted and re-echoed again and again due to lack of proper negotiation of certain concepts. Concepts such as some forms of illiberal cultural practices, community rights, individual rights and certain group rights need to be addressed properly. Also those terminologies should be negotiated within the context of culture, ethnicity and nation building. After all rights are defined sometimes lucidly and sometimes murkily according to the level of consideration. In most of the cases, multiculturalism debates have been initiated mainly due to improper conceptualization between what defines individual and what defines groups; i.e. the inter-connectivity between the terms need to be settled. Whether individual should be deemed, neglected or strongly emphasized within its group for the interest of the nation state? Such clarification is also the crisis in liberalism itself. That's why Kymlicka claimed that liberalism is not a complete project. It depends entirely on the level of individual emphasis; whether one's faith and one's existence has to be made freely or under certain constraints. In other words, it is on the level of individualistic tolerance that confronts a big obstacle towards multiculturalism. After all as mentioned in the first chapter, to understand multiculturalism aspects properly, one should always relate it to the differences between the traditionalistic liberalism doctrines of individualistic emphasis and the essentials of group emphasis that has been lucidly defined by the terminology, culturalism. Most importantly Multiculturalism is also a gift from the liberalism principles of recognition, freedom, equality and tolerance. A slight upper edge that was being protruded in multiculturalism is to reconsider liberalism principles at the level of group; not at the level of individualistic levels.

The most important aspect in multiculturalism is that notions such as freedom, tolerance, equality and recognition are again solidified not only at the spheres of one's existence or towards individualistic concerns. Rather such notions are being upheld towards a wider aspect i.e. towards a group's existence. It may be towards one's interest groups or towards one's community of origin. Subsequently which has a sole purpose of acting as a catalyst for better integration or for better representation of minority ethnics and its individuals to an equal extent with other majority ethnics. Such understandings and clarifications need to be concerned before any critics of multiculturalism tried to downsize the Canadian Multicultural policy.

Debates on multicultural policy also analyzed individual as a site of discrimination can be further attempted not only at the particular individual. To a large extent, the group or the communities, to which the individual belongs, are in general being discriminated in modern day forms of stratification. There is always a great chance and possibility in common that an individual being born into well-fed, well-read, well clothed will again reproduce a next generation of well-fed, well-clothed, well-read offspring's. Why not for an individual who was born, as opposite to the above mention qualities will again reproduce its own kind of disadvantaged offspring's? Here, the most important aspects multiculturalism defines has been that multicultural aspects cover up more hopes than the so-called affirmative actions for the disadvantaged sections of people, because it provides a platform for the minority ethnics to secure themselves. Affirmative actions are in short culture blind, or to a certain extent didn't ask the root cause; why such disadvantaged sections reproduced its own lost hope class of peoples? Instead affirmative actions are being confined only towards the *achievement* aspects not much at the *ascriptive* aspects of individual existence. Multiculturalism covers up both the ascriptive and achievement aspects of individual existence and grant more due-justice to the disadvantaged sections of society, which subsequently deals with its group too, not only at the level of individual existence. Affirmative actions are more towards race-based or group based criterions. On the other hand multiculturalism is not only race-based or group based, it has more to do with community and culture based aspects of an individual existence.

Indeed, debates on multiculturalism also initiates due to certain failures to realize the empowerment aspects of the policy, which have been, distributed both at the level of individual choices and group rights options. As mentioned above, multiculturalism is an extension form of liberalism values and its principles, where individual's choices and concerns are also vividly reconsidered. The upper edge of multiculturalism has been that it concerns to empower communities and cultural groups for better representation in the mainstream institutions. Elements for better group representation and better claims for justices by minority groups were being assured by the official multiculturalism policy. Not only that, even at the level of individual choices for better claims and justices for assuring empowerment and better recognition, it seems there is no other better policy that has yet to side-step official multicultural policy.

The only fear that is reconsiderable on official multicultural policy as predicted by the critics on official multicultural policy is only on the grounds of possible concerns on competing nationalism as largely looming in Quebec province, which becomes hard to digest contemporarily as it were during the 1970s. It was only after the enactment of Multicultural Act even during the conservative government of Mulroney that such claims for competing nationalism becomes dormant. Such impossible fears should have to be negotiated with the level of Canadian federal structures where sovereignty is unevenly distributed and the core of the power to battle such breakages are confronted with the center of the sovereignty at Ottawa. Doesn't Ottawa exist as a stable and coherent core to such demands? Such claims of competing nationalism will be downsized nor expand infinitely to other minority ethnics. On the other hand as clarified above critic's concerns about cultural apartheid, ethnic ghettoisation etc were not considerable when diagnosed with the sociological indicators like inter-marriage, Canadian naturalization, acquirement of official languages and other data's, surveys and official reports were indeed non-important factors to understand the official multicultural policy.<sup>1</sup>

Debates on multicultural policy need to be diagnosed along with the origin of ethnic diversification, racism, discrimination, and contempt for immigrants from other than British cultures. Combining differential legal treatment to the immigrants including the denial or removal of the right to vote has been transformed by the official multicultural policy that resulted Canada into a large-scale contribution by the waves of immigrants for the development of Canadian values, institutions and policies. One of the most important notions, which has to be kept in mind as, (mentioned lengthily in the second chapter of this dissertation to understand the requirements for) adoption of multicultural as a domestic policy that concerns Canada's image on its state policies towards its affairs to other nation was its preferences for the shortages of white labors. Subsequently such shortage was mended by the influx of other ethnic immigrant laborers not only from the White centered approach of its immigration policy. The official Multicultural policy promotes exactly the targets and wants of immigrants. No doubt Canadian immigration policy won't be fruitful without the help of the official multicultural policy. Isn't there a linkage between the Canadian immigration policy and the official multicultural policy?

Political participation, institutional representations and distribution of Canadian public goods were better awarded due to the official Multicultural policy. A better participation by the

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<sup>1</sup> For more details see [Chapter 4 of this Dissertation](#).

minority ethnics rather than re-echoing again and again by the two founding chartered Groups was the nature of Canadian participation due to the multicultural policy. A better and significant participation by the minority ethnic of Canada was the nature of multicultural policy of enhancement and empowerment in both the public and private sphere of Canada. That's the reason why culture need to be reconsidered not only confined to private spheres and domestic spheres of family or group. Culture needs to be further understood at the level of public sphere. The principle of multiculturalism by recognizing and granting rights of cultural heritage to the minority ethnics assures a secure principle of freedom from discrimination and stereotypifications of individual's vis-à-vis with the groups or the community, which the individual belongs. Such assurance of cultural rights grants minority ethnics to avoid unwanted cultural assimilation towards the dominant cultures.

Nevertheless, one of the most significant debatable themes in the Canadian official multicultural policy is that extreme and orthodox cultural practices would be kept alive due to the policy of Cultural heritage. Practices such as suppression of women by men, women to be confined within the private sphere, no space for women in the public affairs were some of the worrisome claims by feminist who concern about women's cause and women's exclusion. Here, proper treatment of the principle of exclusion is also provided in the multiculturalism principle. To a large extent multiculturalism deals with an act of rescue for exclusionist practices towards a more inclusive practices. In short multiculturalism inclines much towards inclusive principles, which may be for women, gays, homosexual or for any minority that have been suffering from exclusionist practices. Also, claims such as fundamentalistic practices of Islam will be kept alive due to granting of cultural rights remains debatable whether options for such causes will be alive due to provision of special rights and cultural rights.. But, point to remember is official multicultural policy too responds to such orthodox practices as un-acceptable by the state's doctrine towards its governance. After all the state is a limitless power container, the state too denies some orthodox cultural practices and labeled them as *impermissible diversity*.

No matter how skeptical view's are about the official multicultural policy, it becomes obvious to submit that origin of multiculturalism is not just a policy to maintain and enhance the heritage, language and culture of the immigrant ethnics in Canada. Rather the policy has an upper edge above the policy on minority ethnics or the newcomers. It is the projection for all Canadians, which may be for dominant or for the minority whoever is Canadians that becomes a

part of the Canadian Identity. Abu Laban also mentioned that Multiculturalism becomes an essential ingredient in the nation building process. Canadians whether blind or deaf or minority or whatever should not feel out of the mainstream because multiculturalism as a policy eases such mental wounds and cures inquisitive feelings about being left behind in the mainstream.



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# Appendix

# Canadian Multiculturalism Act

R.S., 1985, c. 24 (4th Supp.)

[1988, c. 31, assented to 21st July, 1988]

An Act for the preservation and enhancement of multiculturalism in Canada

Preamble

WHEREAS the Constitution of Canada provides that every individual is equal before and under the law and has the right to the equal protection and benefit of the law without discrimination and that everyone has the freedom of conscience, religion, thought, belief, opinion, expression, peaceful assembly and association and guarantees those rights and freedoms equally to male and female persons;

AND WHEREAS the Constitution of Canada recognizes the importance of preserving and enhancing the multicultural heritage of Canadians;

AND WHEREAS the Constitution of Canada recognizes rights of the aboriginal peoples of Canada;

AND WHEREAS the Constitution of Canada and the *Official Languages Act* provide that English and French are the official languages of Canada and neither abrogates nor derogates from any rights or privileges acquired or enjoyed with respect to any other language;

AND WHEREAS the *Citizenship Act* provides that all Canadians, whether by birth or by choice, enjoy equal status, are entitled to the same rights, powers and privileges and are subject to the same obligations, duties and liabilities;

AND WHEREAS the *Canadian Human Rights Act* provides that every individual should have an equal opportunity with other individuals to make the life that the individual is able and wishes to have, consistent with the duties and obligations of that individual as a member of society, and, in order to secure that opportunity, establishes the Canadian Human Rights Commission to redress any proscribed discrimination, including discrimination on the basis of race, national or ethnic origin or colour;

AND WHEREAS Canada is a party

to the *International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination*, which Convention recognizes that all human beings are equal before the law and are entitled to equal protection of the law against any discrimination and against any incitement to discrimination, and to the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*, which Covenant provides that persons belonging to ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities shall not be denied the right to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practise their own religion or to use their own language;

AND WHEREAS the Government of Canada recognizes the diversity of Canadians as regards race, national or ethnic origin, colour and religion as a fundamental characteristic of Canadian society and is committed to a policy of multiculturalism designed to preserve and enhance the multicultural heritage of Canadians while working to achieve the equality of all Canadians in the economic, social, cultural and political life of Canada;

NOW, THEREFORE, Her Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and House of Commons of Canada, enacts as follows:

## SHORT TITLE

1. This Act may be cited as the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act*.

## INTERPRETATION

2. In this Act,

"federal institution" means any of the following institutions of the Government of Canada:

(a) a department, board, commission or council, or other body or office, established to perform a governmental function by or pursuant to an Act of Parliament or by or under the authority of the Governor in Council, and

(b) a departmental corporation or

### Short title

### Definitions

"federal institution"  
« *institutions fédérales* »

Crown corporation as defined in section 2 of the *Financial Administration Act*,

but does not include

(c) any institution of the Council or government of the Northwest Territories or of the Legislative Assembly or government of Yukon or Nunavut, or

(d) any Indian band, band council or other body established to perform a governmental function in relation to an Indian band or other group of aboriginal people;

“Minister”  
« *ministre* »

“Minister” means such member of the Queen’s Privy Council for Canada as is designated by the Governor in Council as the Minister for the purposes of this Act.

R.S., 1985, c. 24 (4th Supp.), s. 2; 1993, c. 28, s. 78; 2002, c. 7, s. 129.

## MULTICULTURALISM POLICY OF CANADA

### Multiculturalism policy

3. (1) It is hereby declared to be the policy of the Government of Canada to

(a) recognize and promote the understanding that multiculturalism reflects the cultural and racial diversity of Canadian society and acknowledges the freedom of all members of Canadian society to preserve, enhance and share their cultural heritage;

(b) recognize and promote the understanding that multiculturalism is a fundamental characteristic of the Canadian heritage and identity and that it provides an invaluable resource in the shaping of Canada’s future;

(c) promote the full and equitable participation of individuals and communities of all origins in the continuing evolution and shaping of all aspects of Canadian society and assist them in the elimination of any barrier to that participation;

(d) recognize the existence of communities whose members share a common origin and their historic contribution to Canadian society, and enhance their development;

(e) ensure that all individuals

receive equal treatment and equal protection under the law, while respecting and valuing their diversity;

(f) encourage and assist the social, cultural, economic and political institutions of Canada to be both respectful and inclusive of Canada's multicultural character;

(g) promote the understanding and creativity that arise from the interaction between individuals and communities of different origins;

(h) foster the recognition and appreciation of the diverse cultures of Canadian society and promote the reflection and the evolving expressions of those cultures;

(i) preserve and enhance the use of languages other than English and French, while strengthening the status and use of the official languages of Canada; and

(j) advance multiculturalism throughout Canada in harmony with the national commitment to the official languages of Canada.

Federal institutions

(2) It is further declared to be the policy of the Government of Canada that all federal institutions shall

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

(b) promote policies, programs and practices that enhance the ability of individuals and communities of all origins to contribute to the continuing evolution of Canada;

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

(d) 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;

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

(f) generally, carry on their activities in a manner that is sensitive and responsive to the multicultural reality of Canada.

## IMPLEMENTATION OF THE MULTICULTURALISM POLICY OF CANADA

### General responsibility for coordination

4. The Minister, in consultation with other ministers of the Crown, shall encourage and promote a coordinated approach to the implementation of the multiculturalism policy of Canada and may provide advice and assistance in the development and implementation of programs and practices in support of the policy.

### Specific mandate

5. (1) The Minister shall take such measures as the Minister considers appropriate to implement the multiculturalism policy of Canada and, without limiting the generality of the foregoing, may

(a) encourage and assist individuals, organizations and institutions to project the multicultural reality of Canada in their activities in Canada and abroad;

(b) undertake and assist research relating to Canadian multiculturalism and foster scholarship in the field;

(c) encourage and promote exchanges and cooperation among the diverse communities of Canada;

(d) encourage and assist the business community, labour organizations, voluntary and other private organizations, as well as public institutions, in ensuring full participation in Canadian society, including the social and economic aspects, of individuals of all origins and their communities, and in promoting respect and appreciation for the multicultural reality of Canada;

(e) encourage the preservation, enhancement, sharing and evolving expression of the multicultural heritage of Canada;

(f) facilitate the acquisition, retention and use of all languages that contribute to the multicultural heritage of Canada;

(g) assist ethno-cultural minority communities to conduct activities with a view to overcoming any discriminatory barrier and, in

particular, discrimination based on race or national or ethnic origin;

(h) provide support to individuals, groups or organizations for the purpose of preserving, enhancing and promoting multiculturalism in Canada; and

(i) undertake such other projects or programs in respect of multiculturalism, not by law assigned to any other federal institution, as are designed to promote the multiculturalism policy of Canada.

#### Provincial agreements

(2) The Minister may enter into an agreement or arrangement with any province respecting the implementation of the multiculturalism policy of Canada.

#### International agreements

(3) The Minister may, with the approval of the Governor in Council, enter into an agreement or arrangement with the government of any foreign state in order to foster the multicultural character of Canada.

#### Responsibilities of other Ministers

6. (1) The ministers of the Crown, other than the Minister, shall, in the execution of their respective mandates, take such measures as they consider appropriate to implement the multiculturalism policy of Canada.

#### Provincial agreements

(2) A minister of the Crown, other than the Minister, may enter into an agreement or arrangement with any province respecting the implementation of the multiculturalism policy of Canada.

#### Canadian multiculturalism advisory committee

7. (1) The Minister may establish an advisory committee to advise and assist the Minister on the implementation of this Act and any other matter relating to multiculturalism and, in consultation with such organizations representing multicultural interests as the Minister deems appropriate, may appoint the members and designate the chairman and other officers of the committee.

#### Remuneration and expenses

(2) Each member of the advisory committee shall be paid such remuneration for the member's services as may be fixed by the Minister and is entitled to be paid the reasonable travel and living expenses incurred by the member while absent from the member's

ordinary place of residence in connection with the work of the committee.

Annual report

(3) The chairman of the advisory committee shall, within four months after the end of each fiscal year, submit to the Minister a report on the activities of the committee for that year and on any other matter relating to the implementation of the multiculturalism policy of Canada that the chairman considers appropriate.

## GENERAL

Annual report

8. The Minister shall cause to be laid before each House of Parliament, not later than the fifth sitting day of that House after January 31 next following the end of each fiscal year, a report on the operation of this Act for that fiscal year.

Permanent review by a Parliamentary committee

9. The operation of this Act and any report made pursuant to section 8 shall be reviewed on a permanent basis by such committee of the House, of the Senate or of both Houses of Parliament as may be designated or established for the purpose.

## Schedule B Constitution Act, 1982

Enacted as Schedule B to the *Canada Act 1982* (U.K.) 1982, c. 11, which came into force on April 17, 1982

### PART I Canadian charter of rights and freedoms

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

#### Guarantee of Rights and Freedoms

