



CANADIAN MULTICULTURALISM

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CANADA

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INTRODUCTION

The concept of Canada as a “multicultural society” can be interpreted in different ways: descriptively (as a sociological fact), prescriptively (as ideology), from a political perspective (as policy), or as a set of intergroup dynamics (as process).

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

This study focuses on an analysis of Canadian multiculturalism both as a demographic reality and as a public policy.

BACKGROUND AND ANALYSIS

A. Multiculturalism as a Sociological Fact of Canadian Life

Canada’s history of settlement and colonization has resulted in a multicultural society made up of three founding peoples – Aboriginal, French, and British – and of many other racial and ethnic groups.

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The Aboriginal peoples include status Indians, non-status Indians, Métis and Inuit. Their proportion of Canada's total population is increasing. In the 2006 census, just over 1.2 million people reported having some Aboriginal ancestry, representing 3.8% of the total population. By comparison, in 1996, people with Aboriginal ancestry represented 2.8% of the population.

French and British colonizers began arriving in the early 1600s, and at the time of Confederation, Canada's population was chiefly British (60%) and French (30%). At the turn of the 20th century, immigrants from other European countries were allowed entry into Canada. In percentage terms, the influx peaked in 1912 and 1913, when annual arrivals exceeded 5% of the total population. The proportion of the population born outside the country dropped during the Depression and the Second World War, but has been rising since the early 1950s. The sources of immigration have also shifted toward locations such as Asia, the Caribbean, and South and Central America.

By 1981, the combination of declining birth rate and infusion of non-European immigrants saw the British and French total decline to 40% and 27%, respectively. At the beginning of the 21st century, the proportion of people with British, French, and/or Canadian ethnic origins had dropped to below one-half of the total population (46%). (The term "Canadian" ethnic origin was first introduced in the 1996 census.) An ethnic diversity survey published by Statistics Canada in 2003 showed that 21% of the population aged 15 years and older was of British-only ancestry, while 10% reported only French origins, 8% were Canadian only, and 7% were a mix of these three origins.

This increased diversity was evident in the 2001 and 2006 censuses, in which more than 200 different ethnic origins were reported. After Canadian, British, and French ethnic origins, the most common ancestries were German, Italian, Chinese, Ukrainian, and North American Indian. The 2006 census also found that 19.8% of the population was born outside Canada – the highest proportion in 75 years – and that immigrants were increasingly from Asia. The visible minority population accounted for 16.2% of the population, up from 4.7% in 1981.

Language diversity is also at the core of Canadian pluralism. In 2006, according to census data, English was the first language (mother tongue) for 57.8% of the population. French came next at 22.1%, while the allophone category (having a mother tongue other than English or French or an Aboriginal language) was 20.1%. The number of allophones has risen substantially in recent years – between 1996 and 2006 it increased by 18%. With respect to the

other languages, Chinese was the third most common mother tongue, followed by Punjabi. The three largest Aboriginal language groups were Cree, Inuktitut, and Ojibway.

B. Multiculturalism as a Public Policy at the Federal Level

Analysts generally agree that the nature and characteristics of federal multiculturalism have evolved through three developmental phases: the incipient stage (pre-1971), the formative period (1971–1981), and institutionalization (1982 to the present).

1. The Incipient Stage (Pre-1971)

The era preceding 1971 can best be interpreted as a time of gradual movement toward acceptance of ethnic diversity as legitimate and integral to Canadian society. Nation-building in the symbolic and cultural sense was oriented toward the replication of a British type of society in Canada. Culturally, this was reflected in Canada's political, economic and social institutions. All Canadians were defined as British subjects until the passage of the *Canadian Citizenship Act* in 1947, and a variety of cultural symbols legitimized the British underpinnings of English-speaking Canada. For the most part, central authorities dismissed the value of cultural heterogeneity, considering racial and ethnic differences as inimical to national interests and detrimental to Canada's character and integrity. Only the massive influx of post-World War II immigrants from Europe prompted central authorities to rethink the role and status of "other ethnics" within the evolving dynamic of Canadian society.

Events and developments during the 1960s paved the way for the eventual demise of assimilation as government policy and the subsequent appearance of multiculturalism. Pressures for change stemmed from the growing assertiveness of Canada's Aboriginal peoples, the force of Québécois nationalism, and the increasing resentment of ethnic minorities towards their place in society.

2. The Formative Period (1971–1981)

In 1969, the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism published Book Four of its report, which dealt with the contribution of non-Aboriginal, non-French and non-English ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada. The Commission recommended the "integration" (not assimilation) into Canadian society of those ethnic groups with full citizenship rights and equal participation in Canada's institutional structure. These

recommendations hastened the introduction of an innovative ethnocultural policy. The key objectives of the policy announced in October 1971 and elaborated upon over the years, were these:

- to assist cultural groups to retain and foster their identity;
- to assist cultural groups to overcome barriers to their full participation in Canadian society; (thus, the multiculturalism policy advocated the full involvement and equal participation of ethnic minorities in mainstream institutions, without denying them the right to identify with select elements of their cultural past if they so chose);
- to promote creative exchanges among all Canadian cultural groups; and
- to assist immigrants in acquiring at least one of the official languages.

Implementation of these policy objectives depended on government funding. Nearly \$200 million was set aside in the first decade of the policy for special initiatives in language and cultural maintenance. A Multicultural Directorate within the Department of Secretary of State was approved in 1972 to assist in the implementation of multicultural policies and programs. The directorate sponsored activities aimed at assisting ethnic minorities in the areas of human rights, freedom from racial discrimination, citizenship, immigration and cultural diversity. A Ministry of Multiculturalism was created in 1973 to monitor the implementation of multicultural initiatives within government departments. In addition, formal linkages between the government and ethnic organizations were established to provide ongoing input into the decision-making process. An example was the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism, established in 1973 and later renamed the Canadian Ethnocultural Council.

The architects of the 1971 policy had perceived barriers to social adaptation and economic success largely in linguistic or cultural terms. The marked increase in the arrival of visible minority immigrants whose main concerns were obtaining employment, housing and education, and fighting discrimination, required a shift in policy thinking. Equality through the removal of racially discriminatory barriers became the main focus of multicultural programs, and race relations policies and programs were put in place to uncover, isolate and combat racial discrimination at personal and institutional levels. Particular emphasis was given to encouraging and facilitating the ways in which cultural minority groups can fully participate in Canadian society.

3. Institutionalization (1982 to the Present)

The 1980s witnessed a growing institutionalization of multicultural policy. Shifts in this policy coincided with a period of difficulties for race relations in Canada. In large cities, immigration had, over a short period of time, noticeably changed the composition of the population. Canada also began to see the emergence of a few individuals and groups promoting racist ideas. The government first concentrated on promoting institutional change in order to help Canadian institutions adapt to the presence of the new immigrant groups. Another shift was the introduction of anti-discrimination programs designed to help remove social and cultural barriers separating minority and majority groups in Canada.

Multiculturalism was referred to in the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, adopted in 1982. Section 27 of the Charter states:

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

This clause is critical in placing multiculturalism within the wider framework of Canadian society. It empowers the courts to take Canada's multicultural reality into account at the highest levels of decision-making. In the words of a former Human Rights Commissioner, it provides a useful "interpretative prism" to assist the courts when balancing individual and multicultural (and often collective) rights. A relevant example is the issue of freedom of individual expression, which must take account of the prohibition against racial slurs or circulation of racially based hate propaganda. Hence, the principle underlying the freedom of individual expression does not extend to absolute free speech.

Moreover, the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* addresses the elimination of expressions of discrimination by guaranteeing both equality and fairness to all under the law, regardless of race or ethnicity. Section 15(1) states:

Every individual is equal before and under the law and has the right to equal protection and equal benefit of the law without discrimination and, in particular, without discrimination based on race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, sex, age, or mental or physical disability.

In addition, subsection 15(2) establishes entitlement to non-discriminatory benefits without denying the need for additional measures to assist disadvantaged sectors.

In 1984, the Special Parliamentary Committee on Visible Minorities produced its well-known report *Equality Now!* and in 1985 a House of Commons Standing Committee on Multiculturalism was created. In 1987, the committee issued an extensive report that called for the enactment of a new policy on multiculturalism and the creation of the Department of Multiculturalism.

A new multiculturalism policy with a clearer sense of purpose and direction came into effect in July 1988 when the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act* was adopted by Parliament. Canada was the first country in the world to pass a national multiculturalism law. The Act acknowledged multiculturalism as a fundamental characteristic of Canadian society with an integral role in the decision-making process of the federal government. Directed toward the preservation and enhancement of multiculturalism in Canada, the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act* sought to assist in the preservation of culture and language, to reduce discrimination, to enhance cultural awareness and understanding, and to promote culturally sensitive institutional change at the federal level.

In seeking a balance between cultural distinctiveness and equality, the Act specified the right of all to identify with the cultural heritage of their choice, yet retain “full and equitable participation ... in all aspects of Canadian society.” In effect, the Act sought to preserve, enhance and incorporate cultural differences into the functioning of Canadian society, while ensuring equal access and full participation for all Canadians in the social, political, and economic spheres. It also focused on the eradication of racism and the removal of discriminatory barriers as ways to fulfill Canada’s human rights commitments.

Moreover, the Act presented multiculturalism as a positive instrument of change aimed at the removal of barriers that precluded the involvement, equity, and representation of all citizens in Canada’s institutions, as well as their access to those institutions. The Act recognized the need to increase minority participation in Canada’s major institutions by bringing diversity into these institutions as a natural, normal, and positive component of decision-making, resource allocation, and the setting of priorities. Under the Act, all government agencies, departments and Crown corporations – not just the ministry responsible for multiculturalism – were expected to provide leadership in advancing Canada’s multicultural mix and to take part in the design and implementation of plans, programs, procedures and decision-making strategies that enhance the full and equal participation of minorities within institutional structures.

In September 1988, the Government of Canada formally apologized for the wrongful incarceration, seizure of property and the disenfranchisement of Japanese Canadians during World War II and offered compensation. The Government of Canada and the National Association of Japanese Canadians signed the Japanese Canadian Redress Agreement, and the federal government promised to create the Canadian Race Relations Foundation.

Legislation creating a full-fledged Department of Multiculturalism and Citizenship was introduced in Parliament in the fall of 1989 and was adopted in its final form in early 1991. The institutionalized programs established under the newly created department were:

- Race Relations and Cross-Cultural Understanding “to promote among Canadians and in Canadian institutions appreciation, acceptance and implementation of the principles of racial equality and multiculturalism”;
- Heritage Cultures and Languages “to assist Canadians to preserve, enhance and share their cultures, languages and ethnocultural group identities”;
- Community Support and Participation “to support the full and equitable participation in Canadian life of individuals and communities from Canada’s racial and ethnocultural minorities.”

Where early multicultural policies concentrated on cultural preservation and intercultural sharing through promotion of ethnic presses and festivals, the rejuvenated multiculturalism program emphasized cross-cultural understanding and the attainment of social and economic integration through institutional change, affirmative action to equalize opportunity, and the removal of discriminating barriers.

The new department was short-lived, however. In the fall of 1993 it was dismantled and the multiculturalism programs were integrated into the new and larger Department of Canadian Heritage, which also combined responsibility for official languages, arts and culture, broadcasting, national parks and historic sites, voluntary action, human rights, amateur sports, state ceremonial affairs and the National Capital Commission. A Secretary of State for Multiculturalism was appointed within the portfolio of the minister of Canadian Heritage. The citizenship activity (citizenship registration and promotion) was subsumed in the newly established Department of Citizenship and Immigration.

Following increased criticisms of the multiculturalism program voiced by various groups and individuals from different parts of Canadian society, the Department of Canadian Heritage launched a comprehensive review of its multiculturalism programming activities in

1995. In 1997, the Secretary of State for Multiculturalism announced a renewed program that focused on three objectives: social justice (building a fair and equitable society); civic participation (ensuring that Canadians of all origins participate in the shaping of our communities and country); and identity (fostering a society that recognizes, respects and reflects a diversity of cultures so that people of all backgrounds feel a sense of belonging to Canada).

The renewed program prioritized proposals that:

- assist in the development of strategies to facilitate the full and active participation of ethnic, racial, religious and cultural communities in Canada;
- support collective community initiatives and responses to ethnic, racial, religious and cultural conflict and hate-motivated activities;
- improve the ability of public institutions to respond to ethnic, racial, religious and cultural diversity;
- encourage and assist in the development of inclusive policies, programs and practices within federal departments and agencies; and
- increase public awareness, understanding and public dialogue with respect to multiculturalism, racism and cultural diversity in Canada.

At the same time, the Secretary of State announced the official establishment of the Canadian Race Relations Foundation, whose mandate includes undertaking research, collecting data, and developing a national information base to further understanding of racism and racial discrimination; providing information to support effective race relations training and the development of professional standards; and disseminating information to increase public awareness of the importance of eliminating racism. The foundation, which has its headquarters in Toronto, was initially funded by a one-time endowment of \$24 million from the federal government and operated thereafter on income derived from investments, donations and fundraising.

In November 2002, the government announced that Canadian Multiculturalism Day would be held every year on 27 June.

In the February 2005 budget, the government announced a five-year investment of \$56 million for Canada's Action Plan Against Racism. The budget also allocated \$25 million over the following three years for an Acknowledgement, Commemoration, and Education (ACE) Program that would undertake commemorative and educational initiatives to highlight the

contributions of groups that have troubling memories as a result of historical events during times of war, or as a result of immigration policies of the day. In August and November 2005, as part of that program, the government announced agreements-in-principle with the Ukrainian-Canadian, Italian-Canadian, and Chinese-Canadian communities. However, the government was defeated before these agreements could be put in place.

Meanwhile, in March 2005, the government released *A Canada for All: Canada's Action Plan Against Racism*. The Action Plan's objectives were to strengthen social cohesion, further Canada's human rights framework, and demonstrate federal leadership in the fight against racism and hate-motivated crime.

At the international level, on 23 November 2005 Canada accepted the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions. The convention recognizes that books, films, television programs, and other cultural goods and services have a distinctive nature that goes beyond their commercial value. It also reaffirms the right of countries to take measures to foster diverse cultural expressions.

In 2006, the Government of Canada offered a full apology to Chinese-Canadians for the head tax that was imposed on Chinese immigrants until 1923 and Canada's subsequent refusal, until 1947, to accept Chinese immigrants. The government also replaced the ACE program, described above, with the Community Historical Recognition Program and the National Historical Recognition Program to commemorate the historical experiences and contributions of ethno-cultural communities.

In October 2008, responsibility for multiculturalism was transferred from the Department of Canadian Heritage to the Department of Citizenship and Immigration. The program was modified to stress the following priorities:

- support for the economic, social, and cultural integration of new Canadians and cultural communities;
- facilitation of programs that promote mentorship, volunteerism, leadership, and civic education among at-risk youth of different cultural backgrounds;
- promotion of intercultural understanding and Canadian values (democracy, freedom, human rights, and the rule of law) through community initiatives, with the objective of addressing issues of cultural social exclusion (parallel communities) and radicalization.

In 2009, Canada became a full member of the Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance and Research.

C. Attitudes to Multiculturalism

Various publications and polls suggest that Canadians are generally supportive of a multicultural society, at least in principle if not always in practice. Yet many Canadians are unsure of what multiculturalism is, what it is trying to do and why, and what it can realistically accomplish in a liberal-democratic society such as ours. Multiculturalism can encompass folk songs, dance, food festivals, arts and crafts, museums, heritage languages, ethnic studies, ethnic presses, race relations, culture sharing and human rights. Much of the confusion results from the indiscriminate application of the term to a wide range of situations, practices, expectations, and goals.

Québécois have expressed uneasiness about, or even resistance to, federal multiculturalism policy since its inception. This uneasiness is largely explained in terms of their perception of it as another intrusion by federal authorities into their province's internal affairs. Many are inclined to view multiculturalism as a ploy to downgrade the distinct society status of Québécois to the level of an ethnic minority culture under the domination of English-speaking Canada. Multiculturalism is thus seen as an attempt to dilute the French fact in Canada, weakening francophone status and threatening the dual partnership of English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians. For many Québécois, the idea of reducing the rights of French-speaking Canadians to the same level as those of other ethno-racial minorities in the name of multicultural equality is inconsistent with the special compact between the two founding peoples of Canada.

The Citizens' Forum on Canada's Future established in 1991 also reported an uneasiness about the Canadian public's attitude to multiculturalism policy. It uncovered a wide gap between a largely positive reaction to the growing ethnic diversity of Canada on the one hand and opposition to what was considered to be official multiculturalism on the other. The strong attachment to cultural diversity was balanced by an even stronger belief that if the country was to remain united, citizens must learn to be Canadians first.

Overwhelmingly participants told us that reminding us of our different origins is less useful in building a unified country than emphasizing the things we have in common. ... While Canadians accept and value

Canada's cultural diversity, they do not value many of the activities of the multicultural program of the federal government. These are seen as expensive and divisive in that they remind Canadians of their different origins rather than their shared symbols, society and future.

The fear that the multiculturalism policy is promoting too much diversity at the expense of unity has been voiced increasingly in recent years. Critics say the policy is divisive because it emphasizes what is different, rather than the values that are Canadian. Canadian culture and symbols, it is felt, are being discarded in the effort to accommodate other cultures. On the other hand, defenders of Canada's approach to multiculturalism argue that it encourages integration by telling immigrants they do not have to choose between preserving their cultural heritage and participating in Canadian society. Rather, they can do both.

In his book *Selling Illusions: The Cult of Multiculturalism in Canada*, published in 1994, Trinidad-born novelist Neil Bissoondath leads the charge against the government's multiculturalism policy. His book reiterates his concern over the potential divisiveness inherent in government promotion of cultural diversity. In Bissoondath's opinion, the government's encouragement of ethnic differences leads immigrants to adopt a "psychology of separation" from the mainstream culture. Multiculturalism is blamed for isolating ethno-racial groups in distinct enclaves by fostering an inward-focused mentality that drives a wedge between Canadians of different ethnic backgrounds. The author argues that unity and cohesion are being sacrificed for a philosophy that separates, intensifies misunderstanding and hostility, and pits one group against another in the competition for power and resources.

Other prominent authors, such as Richard Gwyn, in his 1997 book *Nationalism Without Walls*, and Jack Granatstein, in his 1998 book *Who Killed Canadian History?* have criticized what they see as the negative impacts of the multiculturalism policy. Gwyn argues that the political elite was mistaken in rationalizing that the backlash against multiculturalism was caused by temporary "employment anxiety" in the early 1990s, rather than a widespread fear that Canadians were becoming "strangers in their own land." Granatstein implicates official multiculturalism and political correctness in the death of Canadian history in the schools and among Canadian youth in general. He claims that a number of studies in schools and at post-secondary levels of education show that Canadians are learning less and less about their history and cannot pass relatively basic tests about historical events or personalities. Granatstein also argues that multiculturalism policies have helped spread the idea among immigrants and even

native-born Canadians that Canada, particularly English-speaking Canada, has no culture and identity of its own.

In response to these arguments, in 1998 philosopher Will Kymlicka published *Finding Our Way: Rethinking Ethnocultural Relations in Canada*. He says the evidence does not support claims that multiculturalism has decreased the rate of integration of immigrants. Using statistics on naturalization rates among immigrants, levels of political participation among ethnocultural groups, rates at which new Canadians can speak an official language, and rates of intermarriage, Kymlicka argues that the multiculturalism program has worked and that there is no evidence that it has promoted ethnic separateness.

Recent polls show that acceptance of diversity is becoming the norm in Canada. A survey published by the Centre for Research and Information on Canada (CRIC) in October 2003 found that 54% of those surveyed said that multiculturalism made them feel very proud to be Canadian. This figure rose to 66% among those between the ages of 18 and 30.

Support for multiculturalism does not appear to have weakened in the wake of the terrorist attacks in the United States in September 2001. A CRIC survey published in October 2005 found that two thirds of Canadians see multiculturalism as guarding against extremism rather than leading to it.

D. Provincial Multiculturalism Policies

All provincial governments have adopted some form of multiculturalism policy. At present, six of the ten provinces – British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Quebec, and Nova Scotia – have enacted multiculturalism legislation. In eight provinces – British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Quebec, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and Nova Scotia – a multiculturalism advisory council reports to the minister responsible for multiculturalism. In Alberta, the Alberta Human Rights Commission performs the role of multiculturalism advisory council. In Nova Scotia, the Act is implemented by both a Cabinet committee on multiculturalism and advisory councils. Ontario has an official multicultural policy and the Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration is responsible for promoting social inclusion, civic and community engagement and recognition. The Government of Newfoundland and Labrador launched the province's policy on multiculturalism in 2008 and the minister of Human Resources, Labour and Employment was directed to lead its implementation.

1. British Columbia

British Columbia adopted the *Multiculturalism Act* in 1993. It requires the government to “generally, carry on government services and programs in a manner that is sensitive and responsive to the multicultural reality of British Columbia.” Each ministry and Crown corporation makes an annual report describing its efforts to promote multiculturalism. The Minister Responsible for Multiculturalism submits an omnibus report, *Report on Multiculturalism: Government of British Columbia*, to the legislature. The Multicultural Advisory Council advises the Minister Responsible for Multiculturalism on issues related to anti-racism and multiculturalism. It consists of people from across British Columbia who are dedicated to promoting multiculturalism.

2. Alberta

Alberta first adopted multiculturalism legislation in 1984 with the passage of the *Alberta Cultural Heritage Act*. The Act defined multiculturalism as a fundamental characteristic of Alberta society which confers economic as well as social and cultural benefits on all Albertans. It was replaced in 1990 by the *Alberta Multiculturalism Act*, of which the main objectives were to encourage respect for and promote an awareness of the multicultural heritage of Alberta and to foster an environment in which all Albertans could participate and contribute to the cultural, social, economic and political life of their province. The Act established a Multiculturalism Commission to advise the government on policy and programs respecting multiculturalism, as well as a Multiculturalism Advisory Council to advise the Commission on policy matters. A Multicultural Fund was also set up to finance programs and services related to its objectives and to provide grants to eligible persons and organizations.

In 1996, the government merged the human rights and multiculturalism programs. The *Human Rights, Citizenship and Multiculturalism Act* retained the main objectives of the *Alberta Multiculturalism Act*, but the Alberta Human Rights Commission took over the duties of the former Multiculturalism Commission and now operates under the name Alberta Human Rights and Citizenship Commission. Similarly, the Multiculturalism Fund continues as the Human Rights, Citizenship and Multiculturalism Fund.

3. Saskatchewan

Saskatchewan was the first province to adopt legislation on multiculturalism. The *Saskatchewan Multiculturalism Act* was first passed in 1974. In 1997, a new *Multiculturalism Act* was enacted, which reaches beyond the traditional definition to reflect the social justice issues of society today, such as racism and discrimination. The purposes of the Act (s. 3) are:

- a) to recognize that the diversity of Saskatchewan people with respect to race, cultural heritage, religion, ethnicity, ancestry and place of origin is a fundamental characteristic of Saskatchewan society that enriches the lives of all Saskatchewan people;
- b) to encourage respect for the multicultural heritage of Saskatchewan;
- c) to foster a climate for harmonious relations among people of diverse cultural and ethnic backgrounds without sacrificing their distinctive cultural and ethnic identities;
- d) to encourage the continuation of a multicultural society.

The Government of Saskatchewan supports multicultural activity primarily through the Saskatchewan Lotteries Trust Fund for Sport, Culture and Recreation. Lottery funding directly supports the activities of over 1,200 volunteer-driven organizations.

4. Manitoba

Manitoba adopted the *Manitoba Intercultural Council Act* in 1984. Under the Act, the Council's mandate is to advise the government, through the minister responsible for ethnocultural matters in the province, on education, human rights, immigrant settlement, media and communication, and cultural heritage. In the summer of 1992 the Manitoba legislature adopted a new provincial *Multiculturalism Act*, the preamble of which states:

Manitoba's multicultural society is not a collection of many separate societies, divided by language and culture, but is a single society united by shared laws, values, aspirations and responsibilities.

A Multiculturalism Secretariat was established under the direction and control of the minister, through which the minister administers and carries out the provisions of this Act. The Secretariat is to "identify, prioritize and implement actions to contribute to the achievement of a successful multicultural society."

5. Ontario

Although Ontario inaugurated an official multicultural policy in 1977 that promoted the cultural activities of the various ethnic groups, formal legislation establishing a Ministry of Citizenship and Culture (now the Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration) came into force only in 1982. Under the *Ministry of Citizenship and Culture Act*, the Ministry is responsible for “recognizing the pluralistic nature of Ontario society, to stress the full participation of all Ontarians as equal members of the community, encouraging the sharing of cultural heritage while affirming those elements held in common by all residents.”

6. Quebec

Quebec designates its policy as “interculturalism.” It is mainly concerned with the acceptance of, and communication and interaction between, culturally diverse groups (cultural communities) without, however, implying any intrinsic equality among them. Diversity is tolerated and encouraged, but only within a framework that establishes the unquestioned supremacy of French in the language and culture of Quebec.

In 1981, the Ministry of Cultural Communities and Integration set out its intercultural objectives by publishing a plan of action entitled *Autant de façons d’être Québécois* (Québécois – Each and Every One). The plan talked about the development of a strategy to:

- develop cultural communities and ensure that their uniqueness is maintained;
- sensitize francophones to the contribution of cultural communities to Quebec’s heritage and cultural development; and
- facilitate the integration of cultural communities into Quebec society, especially those sectors historically excluded or underrepresented within institutional settings.

In 1984, the National Assembly passed legislation creating the Conseil des communautés culturelles et de l’immigration (Council of Cultural Communities and Immigration), now known as the Conseil des relations interculturelles (Council of Intercultural Relations). The Council advises the minister on the planning and implementation of government policies relating to cultural communities and immigration. It also commissions studies and undertakes research on relevant issues.

Quebec’s intercultural orientation toward immigrants and diversity was further confirmed with the release at the end of 1990 of a White Paper entitled *Let’s Build Quebec*

Together: A Policy Statement on Immigration and Integration. Three principles were reinforced in the government's policy:

- Quebec is a French-speaking society.
- Quebec is a democratic society in which everyone is expected to contribute to public life.
- Quebec is a pluralistic society that respects the diversity of various cultures from within a democratic framework.

To meet these obligations, the White Paper proposed a formal “moral contract” between immigrants and native-born Québécois. Quebec would declare itself a Francophone, pluralistic society, yet one that is mindful of cultural differences. Immigrants would subscribe to Quebec's *Charter of Rights* and contribute to Quebec nation-building in cooperation with native-born Québécois.

In 2005, the National Assembly passed legislation creating the Ministry of Immigration and Cultural Communities, which replaced the former Ministry of Cultural Communities and Integration. The main functions of the Ministry of Immigration and Cultural Communities with regard to cultural communities are:

- to support cultural communities in order to facilitate their full participation in Quebec society;
- to foster openness to pluralism; and
- to foster closer intercultural relations among the people of Quebec.

In 2007, the Government of Quebec established the Consultation Commission on Accommodation Practices Related to Cultural Differences, headed by co-chairs Gérard Bouchard and Charles Taylor. The Commission was established in response to a number of cases that gave rise to a public debate over the accommodation of religious practices and the broader question of the integration of immigrants and minorities. The Commission's report, published in May 2008, concluded that while “the foundations of collective life in Québec are not in a critical situation,” there was a crisis of perception regarding reasonable accommodation. Bouchard and Taylor said the policies of interculturalism and secularism should be clearly defined. The Commission also made a number of recommendations on integrating immigrants, improving public understanding of intercultural practices, and fighting inequality and discrimination.

7. New Brunswick

New Brunswick introduced its policy on multiculturalism in 1986. It is guided by the principles of equality, appreciation, preservation of cultural heritages, and participation. The minister of Business in New Brunswick is responsible for the Population Growth Secretariat, which in turn is responsible for settlement and multicultural communities. In the late 1980s, the provincial government established a Ministerial Advisory Committee to provide advice to the minister.

8. Nova Scotia

Nova Scotia adopted its multiculturalism legislation in 1989. The *Act to Promote and Preserve Multiculturalism* recognizes multiculturalism as an inherent feature of Nova Scotia society and pledges the government to the maintenance of good relations between cultural communities. The Act created two administrative structures to manage its implementation: a Cabinet Committee on Multiculturalism oversees the application of the policy on a government-wide basis and a Multicultural Advisory Committee advises the Cabinet committee and reviews the programs.

9. Prince Edward Island

Prince Edward Island adopted a Provincial Multicultural Policy in 1988. Its purpose is to “promote cultural survival and expression, further cross-cultural expression, further cross-cultural understanding, acknowledge the contribution of cultural diversity and ensure the equal treatment of all people living in Prince Edward Island.” The Policy is built on four principles: equality, appreciation, preservation, and participation. A Ministerial Advisory Committee advises the minister of Community, Cultural Affairs and Labour, who is responsible for multiculturalism.

10. Newfoundland and Labrador

In 2008, the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador launched the Policy on Multiculturalism for the province. It sets out the provincial government’s commitment to “the promotion of multiculturalism and cross-cultural understanding where the cultural diversity of all people is valued, supported and enhanced to collectively build a self-reliant, prosperous Province.” The policy is designed to guide government programs and services, and the minister of Human Resources, Labour and Employment was directed to lead its implementation.

PARLIAMENTARY ACTION

A. *Canadian Multiculturalism Act (Bill C-93)*

Bill C-93, which provided a statutory framework for the existing policy, was adopted by Parliament in July 1988 and immediately given Royal Assent. Passage of this legislation has imbued the principle of racial and cultural equality with the force of law.

The Act recognizes the need to increase minority participation in society by ensuring that federal institutions are responsive to the multicultural reality of Canada. Moreover, all government agencies, departments and Crown corporations – not just the ministry responsible for multiculturalism – are expected to provide leadership in advancing Canada's multicultural mix.

It is also noteworthy that the Act makes the government accountable to both Parliament and the public for ensuring compliance with its provisions by requiring annual reports. A multiculturalism secretariat was established to support the government in implementing improved delivery of government services in federal institutions.

B. *Canadian Heritage Languages Institute Act (Bill C-37)*

Bill C-37, introduced in the House in September 1989 and adopted by Parliament in January 1991, provided for the establishment of a Heritage Languages Institute in Edmonton, with the purpose of developing national standards for teacher training and curriculum content for ethnic minority languages classes in Canada. The February 1992 Budget, however, deferred the Institute's establishment until further notice. The Act is not in force.

C. *Canadian Race Relations Foundation Act (Bill C-63)*

Introduced in the House in February 1990, this legislation was adopted by Parliament in January 1991. It established a Race Relations Foundation in Toronto, with the purpose of helping to eliminate racism and racial discrimination through public education. Funding for the establishment of the Foundation was, however, deferred by the federal government in the budgets tabled in subsequent years.

At the end of October 1996, the Secretary of State for Multiculturalism announced the establishment of the Foundation with a one-time endowment of \$24 million from the federal government. The Foundation undertakes research, acts as a clearing house for

information on race relations, supports initiatives to raise awareness, promotes race relations training, and supports the development of effective policies.

**D. Report of the Standing Committee on Multiculturalism and Citizenship,
June 1993**

The Standing Committee on Multiculturalism and Citizenship released its last report in June 1993, shortly before it ceased to exist when the Department of Multiculturalism and Citizenship was disbanded that year. Entitled *Study of the Implementation of the Canadian Multiculturalism Act in Federal Institutions*, the report included among its major recommendations several suggestions for improving the evaluation of federal institutions' progress in implementing the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act*. Other key recommendations identified specific measures whereby government departments and agencies could strengthen their commitment to the principles of the Act.

CHRONOLOGY OF FEDERAL POLICY ON MULTICULTURALISM

- 1948** – Canada adhered to the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, which applies to all human beings, regardless of sex, race, religion, culture or ideology.
- 1960** – Parliament passed the *Canadian Bill of Rights*, which prohibits discrimination for reasons of race, national origin, colour, religion or sex.
- 1967** – Racial discrimination provisions that had existed in Canadian immigration law since the early 20th century were abolished.
- 1969** – The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism released Book Four of its report, on the contribution of other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada.
- 1970** – Canada ratified the *International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination*, which had entered into force in January 1969.
- 1971** – The federal government announced a multiculturalism policy within a bilingual framework.
- 1972** – First appointment of a (junior) minister for Multiculturalism.
- 1973** – The Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism (later renamed the Canadian Multiculturalism Council) was established as an advisory body to the minister.
- 1974** – Saskatchewan became the first province to adopt legislation regarding multiculturalism.

- 1977** – Parliament adopted the *Canadian Human Rights Act*, which established the Canadian Human Rights Commission to monitor and mediate disputes over human rights in Canada.
- 1982** – The *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* enshrined equality rights in the Constitution and acknowledged Canada's multicultural heritage.
- 1984** – The House of Commons Special Committee on Visible Minorities in Canadian Society issued its *Equality Now!* report.
- 1985** – Establishment of the House of Commons Standing Committee on Multiculturalism.
- 1988** – Royal Assent was given on 21 July to the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act* after Parliament had adopted the legislation with all-party support.
- The federal government formally apologized for the wrongful incarceration and the disenfranchisement of Japanese Canadians and the seizure of their property during World War II and offered compensation.
- 1990** – Multiculturalism Canada tabled its first annual report on the implementation of the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act* by the Government of Canada.
- 1991** – Royal Assent was given to the *Department of Multiculturalism and Citizenship Act* on 17 January. On 21 April, the new Department was officially established, with Gerry Wiener appointed as the first full-time minister.
- 1993** – The Liberal government elected in October announced that Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada would be split along its two main components: the multiculturalism programs would be merged with the Department of Canadian Heritage established by the previous administration, and the citizenship programs would be amalgamated with the newly established Department of Citizenship and Immigration.
- 1994** – The federal government announced that it would not pay out any compensation to national ethnic groups to redress past indignities meted out by the Canadian government. This decision contrasted with the precedent set by the previous Conservative government, which paid out millions of dollars in compensation to the families of Japanese Canadians interned during World War II.
- 1996** – The federal government established the Canadian Race Relations Foundation.
- 1997** – The minister of State for Multiculturalism announced a renewed multiculturalism program.
- 2002** – The federal government announced that Canadian Multiculturalism Day will be held on 27 June each year.
- 2005** – In the February budget, the federal government announced commemorative and educational initiatives to highlight the contributions of groups that have troubling

memories as a result of historical events during times of war, or as a result of immigration policies of the day.

In March, the federal government released *A Canada for All: Canada's Action Plan Against Racism*.

Between August and November, the federal government announced agreements-in-principle with the Ukrainian-Canadian, Italian-Canadian, and Chinese-Canadian communities as part of the Acknowledgement, Commemoration, and Education Program announced in the February 2005 budget.

2006 – The federal government offered a full apology to Chinese-Canadians for the head tax that was imposed on Chinese immigrants until 1923 and the subsequent exclusion of Chinese immigrants until 1947.

The federal government announced the Community Historical Recognition Program and the National Historical Recognition Program to commemorate the historical experiences and contributions of ethno-cultural communities.

2008 – Responsibility for multiculturalism transferred from the Department of Canadian Heritage to the Department of Citizenship and Immigration.

2009 – Canada became a full member of the Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance and Research.

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