

**The Federal Policy of Multiculturalism in Canada
(1971 - 1988)**

by

Beate Schiffer-Graham

**A thesis
presented to the University of Manitoba
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
in the
Department of Political Studies**

Winnipeg, Manitoba

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of
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ABSTRACT

The thesis traces the evolutionary forces that led to the October 8, 1971 announcement of an official policy of multiculturalism in Canada. The examination of the subsequent implementation of that policy between 1971 and 1988 explores some of the underlying assumptions that have facilitated Canada's unique policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework. As well, the examination of the implementation process provides sufficient evidence to substantiate the argument that, although the concept of multiculturalism ought to be part of the Canadian identity in view of immigration trends, the policy of multiculturalism has been a largely symbolic policy which has remained on the fringe of government agendas.

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

On July 21, 1988, the Parliament of Canada proclaimed the Canadian Multiculturalism Act. The Act has been described as unique and unprecedented in the world. The whole concept of multiculturalism is rather unique and unprecedented. However, due to technological advances that have enabled more proximity of the world's different regions, the reality of multiculturalism in nation states is increasing.

In the Canadian context, the concept of multiculturalism was first made government policy under the then Liberal Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau. On October 8, 1971, Prime Minister Trudeau announced Canada's multiculturalism policy in the House of Commons:

It was the view of the royal commission, shared by the government, and I am sure, by all Canadians, that there cannot be one cultural policy for Canadians of British and French origin, another for the original peoples and yet a third for all others. For although there are two official languages, there is no official culture, nor does any ethnic group take precedence over any other. No citizen or group of citizens is other than Canadian, and all should be treated fairly....

A policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework commends itself to the government as the most suitable means of assuring the cultural freedom of Canadians.... National unity if it is to mean anything in the deeply personal sense, must be founded on confidence in one's own individual identity; out of this can grow respect for that of others and a willingness to share ideas, attitudes

and assumptions. A vigorous policy of multiculturalism will help create this initial confidence. It can form the base of a society which is based on fair play for all....

The policy I am announcing today accepts the contention of the other cultural communities that they, too, are essential elements in Canada and deserve government assistance in order to contribute to regional and national life in ways that derive from their heritage yet are distinctively Canadian.¹

These excerpts of the policy statement allude to some of the key issues that have accompanied Canada's unique experimental policy of multiculturalism.

To begin with, the origins of the policy were twofold. The conflict between the British and the French components of Canadian society, which peaked in the 1960's on a provincial level in Quebec as well as the federal level, resulted in the announcement of the Official Languages Act (1969). This piece of federal legislation, one of the recommendations made by the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, in some respect ratified the status of the French-Canadian population as well as the English-Canadian population as Canada's two 'founding nations'. However, already prior to this piece of legislation, the appointment of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism had caused some status disorientation and anxiety among the many ethno-cultural communities of non-British, non-French heritage. The formation of an increasingly vocal ethnocultural community demanded a reassurance of its relative sta-

¹ Canada, House of Commons, Official Report of Debates, 28th Parliament, 3rd Session, 1971. pp. 8545-8546.

tus in Canadian society. Hence, the policy of multiculturalism was to serve as a mechanism to reassure the equal status of those 'other ethnics'² while maintaining the charter-group status of Canada's Anglo-Franco population. This delicate balancing act by the federal government has resulted in the policy's most ambiguous and controversial aspect: multiculturalism within a bilingual framework.

Multiculturalism was to be a factor in Canada's continuing nation-building. Values associated with multiculturalism such as tolerance, pluralism and egalitarianism were hoped to become synonymous with Canada. Whereas the United States of America had chosen the 'melting pot'(i.e., the assimilationist) approach to nation building, the Government of Canada had opted for the 'mosaic approach'(i.e., the encouragement of maintaining one's ethnocultural heritage). Yet, the latter was not to the extent of facilitating the transplanting of complete cultures.

The inherent problem of the Canadian mosaic is the aspect of equality among all of its pieces be it political, economic or social. Much dispute with regards to the Canadian multiculturalism policy has centered on this aspect. Some argue that the concept of multiculturalism, in its encouragement of maintaining one's ethnocultural heritage, perpetuates a ghettoization which has limiting effects on one's economic,

² The term 'other ethnics' shall refer to those individuals of ethnic heritage other than British, French or Native Indian.

social and political mobility. Others, including the government, argue that a successful policy of multiculturalism would lead to the "breakdown of discriminatory attitudes and cultural jealousies".³

Reviewing the federal government's policy of multiculturalism since its announcement in 1971, this thesis will argue that the policy of multiculturalism has been a largely symbolic policy which has remained on the fringe of government agendas. The symbolic aspect may be analyzed as being twofold. First, the nature of the policy has to be explored against the background of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism as well as the process of Canadian nation building, both of which addressed themselves to the need for common symbols of identity. As Breton argues more convincingly in the case of the linguistic field than the ethnocultural field in Canada, we have undergone a significant change in those symbols that enable individuals to identify themselves with the society at large.⁴ However, in the case of the Official Languages Act (1969) there was also an underlying shift which may be, at least in part, accountable for the substantial role of the government in undertaking this particular reorientation of Canada's symbolic order. Resistance to this reorientation from a unilingual

³ Debates, 28th Parliament, 3rd Session, 1971. pp.

⁴ Raymond Breton, "The production and allocation of symbolic resources: an analysis of the linguistic and ethnocultural fields in Canada", Canadian Review of Sociology & Anthropology, 21 (1984), No.2, pp. 123-124.

English to a bilingual English-French national identity would have been compounded by the prospect of material loss.

However, in the ethnocultural field, this thesis will argue that the symbolic order is of equal importance for the non-British-non-French segments of the Canadian population and hence needs to be reflected in order for those segments not to feel alienated. Breton states that

The main significance of that policy [multiculturalism] derives from its integral contribution to the reconstruction of the symbolic system and to the redistribution of social status among linguistic and ethnocultural groups in Canadian society....⁵

However, this thesis will argue that redistribution of social status has remained the policy's potential as opposed to actual significance for the past seventeen years.

Hence, the policy of multiculturalism can be described as a symbolic policy in the sense that Murray Edelman and others⁶ attempted to alert social scientists to the symbolic aspects of government action. Adapting the basic premises of those who have developed the notion of symbolic politics, it is possible to view the symbolic qualities of multicultural-

⁵ Ibid., p. 134.

⁶ Murray Edelman, Politics as Symbolic Action: Mass Arousal and Quiescence (Chicago: Markham Publishing Company, 1971). Michael Hill, Christopher Ham, The Policy Process in The Modern Capitalist State (Brighton: Wheatsheaf Books Ltd., 1984). Michael Hill, Glen Bramley, Analyzing Social Policy (New York: Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1986). Gunnel Gustafsson, "Symbolic and Pseudo Policies as Responses to Diffusion of Power", Policy Sciences, 1982, pp. 269-287. Doris Graber, Verbal Behaviour and Politics (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1976).

ism as those consisting of a government's ability to signal an importance to an issue that has not been followed up by government action. This reality becomes abundantly clear in a comparison of government action such as legislation and budgetary allocations between the linguistic and the ethno-cultural fields. In his works, Edelman refers to research that demonstrates the influence of political action and public policy on perceptions and expectations of relative status.⁷ Thus he argues that

[p]olitical activity and formally proclaimed policy therefore amount to authoritative signals and assurances, in ambiguous and anxiety-producing situations, that particular group interests will be taken into account, or, alternatively, that they will be ignored or suppressed.⁸

Hence, symbolic policies have been defined as policies whereby politicians seek merely to give the impression that they are aware of problems and engaged in action.⁹ Although it is difficult to identify and analyze symbolic policy ingredients, it seems that the use of such policies is more prevalent in political systems that contain a division between levels of governments which serves as a means of separation between policy-making and policy-implementation.¹⁰ In the Canadian context, jurisdictional overlap

⁷ Murray Edelman, Politics as Symbolic Action, p. 9.

⁸ Ibid., p. 10.

⁹ Michael Hill, Glen Bramley, Analyzing Social Policy, p. 138.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 103. Gunnel Gustafsson, "Symbolic and Pseudo Policies as Responses to Diffusion of Power", pp. 269-287.

between federal and provincial levels of governments has served as a source for lack of implementation that parallels the difficulties alluded to by Hill and Gustafsson. The advantage of employing a largely symbolic policy lies in its maintenance of political support without altering the social or economic structure that may be necessary in solving a given problem.¹¹ Hence, "a crucial political process is the development and restructuring of expectations, rather than working for their satisfaction."¹²

Skepticism as to the actual strength of Canada's multiculturalism policy has existed from its very beginnings. In fact, there are several reasons for this skepticism that will be demonstrated. One of the reasons is the lack of a definition. The Liberal government of P.E. Trudeau as well as subsequent governments have chosen not to identify the essential qualities of the policy of multiculturalism. The only delineation of the policy has been its placement within a bilingual framework. Since its inception, placing the policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework has led to uncertainty as to the intent and scope of the policy. At the root of this uncertainty is the nature of the relationship between language and culture. The policy of multiculturalism seems to contradict an institutionalized bilingual

¹¹ Michael Hill, Christopher Ham, p. 15.

¹² Marc Howard Ross, "Book Review of Politics as Symbolic Action: Mass Arousal and Quiescence" in: The American Political Science Review, 68 (March 1974), No. 1, pp. 257-258.

(English-French) framework, especially if language is considered crucial for cultural maintenance.

Linkage of the policy of multiculturalism to bilingualism has shaped a uniquely Canadian brand of multiculturalism and in fact continues to do so. The policy of multiculturalism has been described as the obverse of Canada's official bilingualism policy and governments to this day continue to deal with the two policies in connection.¹³ Yet, it will be contended here that in comparison to the policy of bilingualism, the policy of multiculturalism has remained a fringe policy.

Another factor that can be identified as the object of skepticism as to the federal government's degree of commitment to a firm multiculturalism policy is the chosen administrative structure. Although there is the position of a Minister of State for Multiculturalism,¹⁴ it is that of a junior minister with little political clout in cabinet. The implementation branch of the policy is housed in the Department of Secretary of State which has its own minister to whom civil servants are responsible. This cumbersome admin-

¹³ See the latest developments of Bill C-72, an Act to amend the Official Bilingualism Act (1969) and Bill C-93 an Act for the preservation and enhancement of multiculturalism in Canada.

¹⁴ It is important to note that, as of September 16, 1988, the then Prime Minister Brian Mulroney announced the intent for the creation of a new department of Multiculturalism and Citizenship which would alter the administrative structure of the policy. See: Globe & Mail, September 16, 1988.

istrative structure has led to confusion and has contributed to a hesitant policy development that has had to be approved by the Secretary of State as well as the Minister of State responsible for Multiculturalism.

A third factor that has provided evidence of justified skepticism with regards to the nature of the multiculturalism policy is the meagre financial expenditure provided by subsequent governments, particularly when compared with expenditure for the official bilingualism policy. The initial announcement of the multiculturalism policy on October 8, 1971 was followed with the monetary allocation of some \$3 million for January 1972 to March 31, 1973. The Bilingualism Development Program, administered through the Department of Secretary of State, received some \$73 million for the fiscal year 1972-73. This disparity continued to the present day whereby the total expenditure for education, promotion and services programs for the Official Languages amounted to \$327,588,000 compared to \$23,615,000 for multiculturalism in the fiscal year 1986-87.¹⁵ Thus the level of financial commitment by the federal government towards the policy of multiculturalism does not even amount to \$1.00 for every man, woman and child in this country. If the allocation of financial resources can be considered as an indicator of government priority, then one has to conclude that the policy of multiculturalism is best described as a fringe policy since

¹⁵ Canada, Department of Secretary of State, Annual Report, 1986-87.

it does not rank high on governments' agendas. Also, an examination of the programs administered by the multiculturalism directorate/sector within the department of Secretary of State reveals that, for most of the policy's history, initiatives financed with the budgetary allotments were frequently visible, public relations events such as conferences, studies and reports, and the support of visible manifestations of ethnicity, most commonly ethnic festivals. This was in contrast with long term programs with the objective of incorporating the concept of multiculturalism into operational aspects of Canadian identity.

Lastly, it appears that the division of powers between the federal and provincial levels of governments in Canada according to the B.N.A. Act and the 1982 Constitution Act has served to keep the policy of multiculturalism at the symbolic level. The most striking example that has been raised continuously by ethnocultural communities throughout the policy's existence is that of heritage language programs. Although the provinces have jurisdiction over educational matters, it seems that the pattern has been a lack of a concerted effort by the federal government to consult with provincial governments on issues relating to the implementation of multicultural programs in this and other areas, with the possible exception of the recent federal-provincial Conference on Multiculturalism that took place from May 13-15, 1985. Yet, as skeptics have pointed out, jurisdictional

matters did not hinder the implementation of Bilingual Development Programs.

These most prominent reasons for the skepticism as to the policy's substantial scope, a lack of a definition of multiculturalism, an awkward administrative structure, negligible financial allocations towards highly visible short term program initiatives and even less long-term programs as well as an absence of federal-provincial cooperation regarding the various aspects of the policy's implementation support classifying the policy of multiculturalism as a symbolic policy that has largely remained on the fringe of subsequent government agendas.

However, this classification does not imply that the policy of multiculturalism, just as any other policy, is free from being subjected to political pressures. On the contrary, the exerted political pressures are manifold and will be exemplified by tracing the identifiable shift within the policy from a cultural emphasis to a race relations emphasis and the retrenchment from this development since 1984.

Indeed, the history of the multiculturalism policy has been characterized by a pattern of policy development that intensifies in scope and speed as federal elections approach and experiences a state of near stagnation during the intervening time period. This highly politicized pattern can be clearly demonstrated throughout the policy's history. The

result has been a precedent of short term directions that have been responsive to immediate pressures but have failed to develop a long term objective and implementation strategy for the policy. In the absence of a clear definition of the policy, this situation has been compounded by frequently changing Ministers of State for Multiculturalism. In terms of policy development it is significant to note that most of these frequently changing ministers have been junior ministers. The importance of this observation is evident when one considers the bolder and broader sweeping policy initiatives taken by the few senior ministers who have occupied the portfolio. As will be demonstrated, besides the influences on the policy developments by virtue of the particular administrative structure, it has been the personalities and personal enthusiasm or lack thereof on the part of individual ministers that has significantly shaped the content of the policy.

Much of the political pressure exerted on political actors in the context of multiculturalism has been due to the changing demographic composition of Canada's population. The early composition of Canada's population was predominantly of Anglo-Franco heritage. This changed to a mix of northern Europeans and subsequently southern and eastern Europeans by the 1960's, whereby Canada's 'other ethnics' made up some 25 per cent of the total population by 1961. Since the liberalization of Canada's immigration policy in

1967, a rapid new shift has occurred consisting of increased immigration from non-traditional, i.e. non-European source countries. Although one may argue as to the numerical significance of immigration since the 1970's, it is indisputable that the new shift in demographic composition has crossed racial lines as opposed to mere ethnic lines, and hence the effects of the liberalization have become very visible. This aspect is accentuated by the fact that immigrants to Canada tend to cluster in their settlement pattern into major urban centres, the most significant being Toronto.

Due to these new trends and the rapidity of their happenings, by the late 1970's and early 1980's, increased racial incidents have occurred, particularly in Toronto, Calgary and Vancouver. The highly visible nature of racial incidents and their interpretation as symptoms of seriously appalling tendencies, especially in a society that prides itself on being tolerant, accepting and understanding, has led to a need for speedy high profile action at the political levels. Hence one can observe a shift within the policy of multiculturalism in the early 1980's from a predominant focus on cultural heritage retention to the establishment of a race relations branch within the multiculturalism directorate of the Secretary of State.

The clustering of the recent immigrants in urban centres and the documentation of racially motivated incidents have

led, to some extent, to increased political benefits to be derived from the policy of multiculturalism for particular M.P.s. Thus policy developments in the 1980's have given the policy of multiculturalism a heightened significance in key urban centres.

Changes over the last decade in the newly arriving immigrants with differing concerns from those of the earlier arrivals have found reflection in the ethnocultural lobby groups which, over the years, have evolved into increasingly politically sophisticated organizations which exert political pressure on the shaping of multiculturalism policy. Much of the institutionalized ethnocultural lobby can be identified as representing the interests of the 'established ethnics' which have, from the very beginning of the policy and indeed prior to 1971, been synonymous with the demand for government assistance in the preservation of non-British, non-French ethnic heritages. Unlike the 'established ethnics', consisting mostly of second and third generation Canadians with European ethnic heritages, the newly arriving visible immigrants are concerned with the struggle for economic security and social integration. Hence, Canada's ethnocultural community has become divided on the interpretation of the objectives of the policy of multiculturalism. In an era of fiscal restraint these differing interpretations have resulted in a competition for the limited budgetary allocations available under the policy, which in the early

1980's caused a level of insecurity among the 'established ethnics'. Since then, this insecurity among the numerically more significant 'established ethnic' groups has been translated into political pressure and, among other factors, has led to a deemphasis on race relations.

One of the remaining factors shaping Canada's multiculturalism policy has been the overall government priority. Whereas the Liberal administrations under P.E. Trudeau were concerned with national unity and the creation of a 'just society', the latest P.C. government's primary focus lies with economic recovery. Hence, the years of the Liberal governments witnessed a symbolic accommodation of the 'established ethnic groups' and later, in the early 1980's, an equally symbolic accommodation of the recent immigrant arrivals in an attempt to foster national harmony. In contrast, the P.C. government under Brian Mulroney, emphasizing economic recovery, has attempted to exploit the multiculturalism policy as an economically beneficial policy, exemplified most strongly during Otto Jelinek's term in office as Minister of State for Multiculturalism.

The thesis is organized historically. Chapter 1 describes and analyses the emergence of Canada's official policy of multiculturalism against a background of the changing pattern of immigration until 1971 as well as the apparent dislocation of minority status in Canadian society through the acknowledgement of 'founding nation status' of the French-

Canadian population. The announcement of the policy of multiculturalism will be placed in the theoretical discussions as to the essence of its anticipated and expected objectives in the first part of Chapter 2. The various interpretations of multiculturalism are then used as analytical tools in examining the Liberal government's administrative blueprint. Chapters 3 and 4 trace the varying emphasis within the administration of multiculturalism by those involved and documents some of the above mentioned patterns which are summarized in the concluding Chapter.

The main findings of this thesis are a classification of the policy of multiculturalism as a largely symbolic policy in substance and scope which has remained on the fringe of government agendas. Nevertheless, the policy of multiculturalism has been subjected to political pressures and has been able to respond to changing political circumstances. As the thesis demonstrates, this political responsiveness can be traced through the policy's emphasis on the concerns of Canada's established ethnics, to one on the concerns of more recently arriving immigrants and subsequently back to the concerns of established ethnics as a result of a backlash to the previous shift.

Chapter II

EVOLUTION OF THE POLICY OF MULTICULTURALISM

The policy of multiculturalism has been described as the other side of the coin of the policy of bilingualism. No doubt, the two are intrinsically linked in their evolution. However, in considering the events that led to the 1971 announcement of the multiculturalism policy, two factors seem of primary importance in establishing the environment in which the policy was introduced. On the one hand, Canada's immigration since Confederation had altered the composition of Canada's population. On the other hand, the relation of the people of the province of Quebec to the rest of Canada had a significant influence on the society as a whole. The exploration of both these factors will contribute to the clarification of the events as they unfolded during the 1960's and early 1970's.

In the Canadian context immigration has played a fundamental part in shaping the ethnically diverse Canadian population. Since the first Canadian Immigration Act of 1869, a total of 9,832,226 immigrants had arrived by 1971. Successive governments have attempted to identify attributes that would constitute the immigration policy's characteristic of 'selectivity'. This selectivity has been strongly linked to

Canada's economic and social needs and wants. The economic consideration, in the past, has often been the primary factor in dictating the number of immigrants per annum that could be absorbed advantageously, hence immigration experienced enormous numerical fluctuations from a high of 400,870 in 1913 to a low of 7,576 in 1942.¹⁶ The type of immigrant welcomed to Canada in the past has been determined by his/her social acceptability, often referred to as the immigrant's ability to be assimilated.¹⁷ A review of Canada's immigration policy from 1869 to 1945 and a more detailed examination of the policy and its effects in the post World War II era¹⁸ illustrates a firm immigrant pecking order which is a reflection of underlying assumptions and attitudes towards culturally and racially differing immigrants. As well, such a review demonstrates the significant alteration of Canada's demographic composition which ultimately required some level of political attention.

¹⁶ Canada, Department of Employment and Immigration, Immigration Statistics, 1984, p. 3.

¹⁷ Canada, Department of Manpower and Immigration, A Report of the Canadian Immigration and Population Study. Part 2 The immigration program (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1974), p. 14.

¹⁸ Immigration legislation and regulations will be examined to illustrate the shift of immigrant population by country of birth. In most instances data by country of birth was available, except for 1897-1926; 1952-1961. In those cases the most comparable data was chosen, i.e. nationality or ethnic origin. The data for the years 1897-1908 does not clearly indicate the category employed; it states: British Immigration, Immigration from the U.S., Continental Immigration. The assumption will be made that those figures refer to country of birth or country of citizenship. All alternate categories are assumed to be sufficiently comparable so as to allow their usage.

2.1 CANADA'S IMMIGRATION POLICY (1869 TO 1945)

Although the initial Immigration Act (1869) was characterized by a 'laissez-faire' approach, Clifford Sifton (Minister of the Interior) had already begun to develop the concept of selective immigration.¹⁹ The extensive use of regulations as a mechanism of controlling the composition of immigrant movements and thereby implementing the selective immigration criteria has remained since. However, prior to World War I, Canadian immigration recruitment efforts expanded beyond the traditionally preferred immigrant source countries of Great Britain and the U.S. to include the various regions of continental Europe.²⁰ Whereas British and U.S. immigration to Canada had made up 76.54 per cent of the total immigration to Canada in 1905/06, it had dropped to 59.36 per cent by 1916/17.²¹

Most of the regulatory measures designed to provide the Canadian government with a mechanism for selectivity were directed against Asian immigrants to Canada. Indeed, Whitaker has described Canadian immigration legislation as reflecting a fundamental racism:

¹⁹ For a detailed review of Canada's immigration policy up to 1971 see: Canada, Department of Manpower and Immigration, A Report of the Canadian Immigration and Population Study, Part 2.

²⁰ Ibid., p.6.

²¹ Canada, Immigration: Facts and Figures (Ottawa: 1908), pp. 3 to 7. Canada, Department of the Interior, Annual Report, 1916/17, pp. 12, 13.

Asians - by which was generally meant non-Europeans and non-whites - had been overtly discriminated against for generations, sometimes excluded altogether, sometimes admitted only under the most demeaning and invidious conditions. British immigrants and other white, English speaking applicants were favoured and offered the most generous terms.²²

Although certain British subjects and U.S. citizens were still the most favoured immigrants and still made up the largest proportion of immigration during the period 1914-1945, by then northern Europeans were readily accepted as immigrants. Other Europeans were welcomed as alternates "... if no one else was available" and non-whites still clearly ranked at the bottom of the immigrant pecking order.²³

However, it is of interest to note that the percentage for non-white immigrants did experience a steady, if marginal, growth, which was only interrupted in 1945-46. Based on the assumption that Great Britain, the U.S., Europe, Australasia, Newfoundland, and St. Pierre and Miquelon produced white immigrants, and the assumption that Africa, Asia, South-America produced non-white immigrants, one can document the trend as demonstrated in Table 1.1.

²² Reg Whitaker, Double Standard: The Secret History Of Canadian Immigration (Toronto: Lester & Orpen Dennys Ltd., 1987), p. 12.

²³ Canada, Dept. of Manpower and Immigration, A Report on the Canadian Immigration and Population Study, Part 2, p. 17.

TABLE 1.1**COMPARISON OF WHITE VERSUS NONWHITE IMMIGRATION TO CANADA FOR 1930 TO 1946**

	1930-31	%	1935-36	%	1940-41	%	1945-46	%
White	87,053	98.67	10,700	96.53	10,868	94.53	30,220	97.22
Non-White	1,127	1.27	368	3.31	588	5.11	818	2.63
Total	88,180		11,068		11,456		31,038	

Source: Canada, Department of Immigration and Colonization, Annual Report, 1930-31, 1935-36.
Canada, Department of Mines and Resources, Annual Report, 1940-41, 1945-46.

2.2 THE SECOND FLOWERING (1946 TO 1961)

Following World War II, the Canadian economy experienced an unprecedented economic boom that required a massive labour force. This economic situation, combined with the availability of thousands of 'displaced persons' led Prime Minister MacKenzie King's government to aggressively pursue immigration, however, ensuring "...the careful selection and permanent settlement of such numbers of immigrants as can advantageously be absorbed in our national economy".²⁴ Although one can trace a level of relaxed measures of the formal immigration regulations such as the extension of the admissible classes and the expediting of the landing procedures,²⁵ there remained sufficient discretionary powers to maintain the established immigrant pecking order. The discretionary aspects of the immigration policy were firmly entrenched in the MacKenzie King government's view that:

Large-scale immigration from the orient would change the fundamental composition of the Canadian population. Any considerable oriental immigration would, moreover, be certain to give rise to social and economic problems in the field of international relations ..., the government has no intention of removing the existing regulations respecting Asian immigration unless and until alternative measures of effective control have been worked out.²⁶

²⁴ Debates, 20th Parliament, 3rd Session, 1947, p. 2644 ff.

²⁵ W. E. Kalbach, Impact, p. 18.

²⁶ Debates, 20th Parliament, 3rd Session, 1947, p. 2644 ff.

In spite of the extension of the admissible classes and the resettlement of thousands of displaced persons, the demands of the Canadian labour market could not be met. In June 1950, the government responded by allowing the Minister of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration, which had been established in January 1950, considerable freedom as to the admissibility of immigrants.²⁷ The criteria to be applied in the determination of admissible immigrants were as follows:

(I) nationality, citizenship, ethnic group, occupation class, or geographic area of origin (II) peculiar customs, habits, modes of life or methods of holding property, (III) unsuitability having regard to the climatic, economic, social, industrial, educational, labour, health, or other conditions or requirements existing temporary or otherwise, in Canada or in the area or country from or through which such persons come to Canada, or (IV) probable inability to become readily assimilated or to assume the duties and responsibilities of Canadian citizenship within a reasonable time after their admission.²⁸

This provision strengthened immigration from certain European source countries but continued discrimination against non-European source countries and in effect allowed the Minister to set quotas prohibiting or limiting immigration from specific source countries.²⁹

²⁷ Canada, Dept. of Manpower and Immigration, A Report of the Canadian Immigration and Population Study, Part 2, p. 21.

²⁸ W. E. Kalbach, Impact, p. 22.

²⁹ P. Marchand, "Admission Restricted", Saturday Night, 96 (1981), p. 34.

Due to the many new regulations and revoking of former regulations, a new Immigration Act was introduced in 1952. The main object of the Act, besides clarifying the complex immigration regulations, was to provide a sharper instrument for control and enforcement.³⁰ The Act left the June 1950 regulation providing extensive flexibility to the Minister unchanged. Although a regulation made in 1953 required all immigrants to have passports and visas, in practice, due to the ministerial powers, the old exemptions in favour of preferred nationalities remained in effect.³¹ However, subsequent regulations were much more specific and had the effect of distinguishing between admissibility and inadmissibility to the point that the flexibility of what constituted an inadmissible class was virtually non-existent.³² Between 1958 and 1964 the class of sponsored relatives' occupations increasingly did not match the Canadian labour market requirements and seemed to contribute to the rising of unemployment. The government made attempts at redefining the sponsored relative class into several categories which were attributed graded desirability and were designed to regain control over the immigration population.³³

³⁰ Canada, Dept. of Manpower and Immigration, A Report on the Canadian Immigration and Population Study, Part 2, p. 23.

³¹ Ibid., p. 23.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid., p. 26.

Although there was growing objection to restrictions on non-white immigrants in light of the employment situation, the government did not attempt any changes. However, Canada did relax its requirements for refugees.³⁴

During this period, 2,076,919 immigrants came to Canada, averaging 138,461 people per year. However, due to the fluctuation of the "tap-on-tap-off" approach of the government's policy, annual figures vary drastically from year to year.³⁵ In terms of source countries, Britain and the U.S. continued to be important, however, they ceased to be the predominant source countries. Other European countries such as Germany, Italy and the Netherlands were now supplying the majority of Canada's immigrants. In the fiscal year 1950/51, 40 per cent of immigration from Europe came from these three countries alone. By 1950/51 European emigration made up 69.56 per cent of Canada's immigration level, reducing Britain and the U.S. to a combined 24.01 per cent, leaving 4.50 per cent for the rest of the World.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 27.

³⁵ For example, whereas in 1950 only 73,912 people landed in Canada, in 1951 the number was 194,391 from the peak of 282,164 in 1957 to 124,851 in the following year. See Canada, Dept. of Employment and Immigration, Immigration Statistics, 1984, Table G2.

2.3 IMMIGRATION LIBERALIZATION (1961 TO 1971)

The period from 1961 to 1976 consisted of mounting public pressure to liberalize Canada's immigration policy so as to facilitate equal access for all prospective immigrants, regardless of racial background. The government responded; however, the real impact of the response was not as far-reaching as the measures would have led one to believe. One of the most important amendments to the existing regulations in the context of source country composition occurred on February 1, 1962. The amendment consisted of the governments' delayed response to pressure against a discriminatory immigration policy while maintaining a level of immigration that was still advantageously absorptive. The amendment specified that

anyone, regardless of origin, citizenship, country of residence, or religious belief, who is personally qualified by reason of education, training, skills, or other special qualifications³⁶

is eligible to apply for permanent admission. However, the full range of sponsorable relatives was retained with respect to nationals of the 'traditional source countries'. Therefore,

nationals of the previously preferred countries lost nothing; nationals of Asian and African countries gained several degrees of sponsorable relatives; and nationals of Asian, African, Latin American and Caribbean countries gained access as unsponsored immigrants for the first time.³⁷

³⁶ W.E. Kalbach, Impact, p. 24.

³⁷ Canada, Dept. of Manpower and Immigration, A Report of the Canadian Immigration and Population Study, Part 2, p. 28.

Although, due to the economic situation, preference was to be given to immigrants with technical and skilled occupations in the needed in the Canadian labour market, which in effect excluded many unsponsored immigrants from developing countries,³⁸ the amendment presented a milestone in the liberalization of Canada's immigration policy.³⁹

During the early 1960's, the government had to contend with the problem of visitors-turned-immigrants which had escalated to unmanageable proportions.⁴⁰ Although the government issued a general amnesty, a review of the immigration procedures and regulations as they related to those illegally in Canada was needed.⁴¹

In 1964, the government commissioned an inquiry under the direction of Joseph Sedgewick which resulted in the establishment of an Immigration Appeal Board which became operative in November 1967.⁴² Almost simultaneously, the immigra-

³⁸ Ibid., p. 29.

³⁹ Canada's refugee provisions were liberalized as well. In 1962, the government admitted 100 Chinese refugee families from Hong Kong, and the special provision for the admission of orphans for adoption was extended to non-white children. See Ibid.

⁴⁰ Prior to the implementation of the Immigration Act (1976) it was possible for visitors to Canada to apply for immigrants visas within Canada. This created large backlogs in the inland processing system as visitors and students made application in Canada, thus avoiding overseas visa offices.

⁴¹ Reg Whitaker, Double Standard, p. 219.

⁴² Canada, Dept. of Manpower and Immigration, A Report on the Canadian Immigration and Population Study, Part 2, p. 31.

tion bureaucracy prepared a White Paper, called Canadian Immigration Policy, reviewing all aspects of immigration which was completed in 1966. The thrust of the White Paper was expansionist and "...unambiguously heralded the total end to racial discrimination in immigration policy."⁴³ However, it also expressed reservations about unselective immigration, "... emphasizing the upgrading of the employability and productivity of the labour force".⁴⁴ Discussion of the White Paper resulted in the 1967 regulations which introduced the following four elements to immigration law:

1. Discrimination on the basis of race or nationality was eliminated for all classes of immigrants.
2. The criteria for unsponsored immigrants, renamed independent applicants, were set out in detail in the regulations for the first time, in the form of nine factors against which the applicants were to be judged.
3. The sponsored class was reduced to the dependent relatives proposed in the White Paper, with a few minor additions. However, a totally new class - nominated relatives- was created.
4. Specific provision was made for visitors to apply for landing while in Canada.

The means with which to implement this non-discriminatory policy was the replacement of the quota system with the point system which allots points depending on such aspects as job experience, education, proficiency in one of the

⁴³ Ibid., p. 32.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

official languages, age and so forth. In the early 1970's the result of the new point system had become evident. As Boris Celovsky, special assistant to deputy minister Tom Kent stated:

Immigration was steamrolling, and many people were getting sponsored as family members. Of these sponsored immigrants, it seemed that ninety per cent or so were non-white. Once you got a segment of non-whites in as independents they sponsored relatives more often than the Germans or Slavs or whatever.⁴⁵

Between 1961 and 1976, 2,292,156 people came to Canada. The European share of those immigrants declined steadily from 60.42 per cent in 1961 to 48.68 per cent in 1965; 34.73 per cent in 1970⁴⁶ in favour of a steadily increasing share of non-white immigration, as is exemplified in Table 1.2.

The strongest increase within the category of non-white has been experienced by Asia. Whereas the number of immigrants born in Asia was 2,225 in 1961 it was 23,097 in 1970, which presents a 10 fold increase in less than a decade.

The review of Canada's immigration policy from its first legislative base in 1869 to the announcement of the 1971 multiculturalism policy demonstrates the numerical importance of immigration to Canada. As well, it provides evidence of the Canadian government's perceived economic and

⁴⁵ Boris Celovsky (Special Assistant to Tom Kent) quoted in: P. Marchand, "Admission Restricted", p. 34.

⁴⁶ Canada, Dept. of Employment and Immigration, Annual Report, 1961, 1965, 1970.

TABLE 1.2**DISTRIBUTION OF NON-WHITE IMMIGRANTS TO CANADA BY REGION OF ORIGIN FOR 1961 TO 1970
(BY AMOUNT AND PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL IMMIGRATION INTAKE)**

SOURCE REGION	1961	%	1965	%	1970	%
Africa	1,114	1.5	4,253	2.8	4,017	2.7
South/Central America	758	1.0	1,928	1.3	5,162	3.4
Asia	2,225	3.1	11,988	8.1	23,097	15.6
Caribbean	372	1.9	4,124	2.8	13,371	9.0
Total	5,469	7.6	22,293	15.1	45,647	30.9

Source: Canada, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Annual Report, 1961.
Canada, Department of Employment and Immigration, Immigration Statistics. ISSN. 0576-2285.

social pressures that maintained a highly selective immigrant population to Canada. However, increasing relaxation of the selection criteria in the immediate post World War II era to satisfy the urgent labour requirements allowed significant numbers of central and southern Europeans to immigrate. Following this increasingly culturally diverse immigration pattern, in 1967 the government finally liberalized its policy to a non-discriminatory policy with regards to source countries. Already, by 1971 the effects of this milestone in liberalization could be traced in the actual immigration population.

2.4 ASPECTS OF THE OTHER ETHNICS

Having established the significant shifts in immigration source countries to Canada up to 1971 due to changes in immigration policy, it is now important to examine two aspects relating to Canada's other ethnics, the immigration settlement pattern and subsequently the distribution of Canada's population by ethnic groups. The examination of those two aspects will enable a better appreciation of the regionalization of the multiculturalism policy. On the one hand, the unevenness of the distribution of Canada's other ethnic population is accompanied by different political sensitivities and may provide some broader indication as to the locus of Canadian political power. As well, in terms of program

contents, the uneven distribution will accentuate the regional benefits of the policy which vary drastically from province to province.

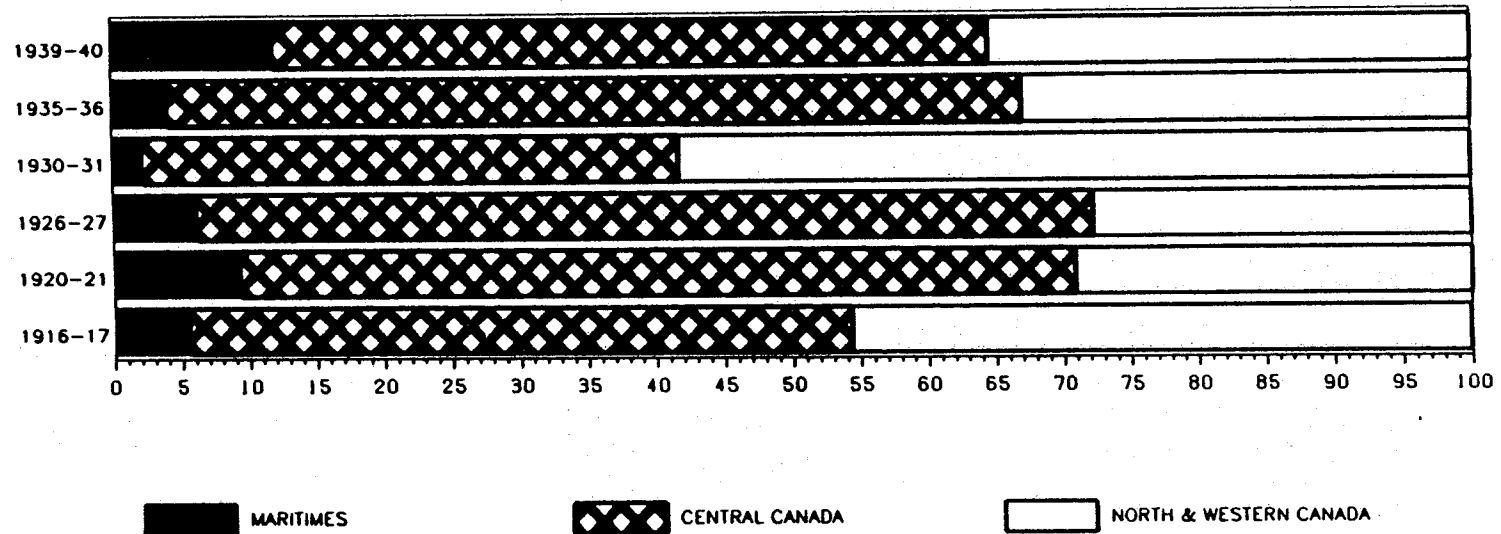
2.4.1 Immigrant Settlement Pattern

By 1971, Canada's population make-up had evolved from a dualistic population, Anglo-Francophone, to a population characterized by its diversity. However, this reality was not so evenly throughout the country. The immigrant settlement pattern historically favoured certain regions of Canada.

Since one can identify different broad patterns regarding the immigrants' intended destination, it seems most useful to divide immigration periods into two sections: the pre World War II and the post World War II period. During the pre World War II period it was the Western region of Canada that continuously attracted an increase of immigrants. The relatively heavy concentration of pre World War II immigration in Western Canada has been documented in the 1961 census.⁴⁷ As Figure 1.1 illustrates, by 1939-40 the Western region of Canada attracted almost the same number of immigrants as did Central Canada (Western region: 45.60 per cent; Central Canada: 48.72 per cent). Atlantic Canada, however, declined by about 50 per cent in its ability to attract immigrants between 1916 and 1940.

⁴⁷ W. E. Kalbach, Impact, Chart 3.8. p. 126,

FIGURE 11
IMMIGRANT SETTLEMENT PATTERN BY REGION OF INTENDED DESTINATION
(1916-1940) AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL CANADIAN IMMIGRATION INTAKE



Source: Department of Citizenship and Immigration. Annual Report, 1917. For the years 1920 to 1940 see Department of Employment and Immigration. Immigration Statistics.

According to Figure 1.2 Ontario was the province where the majority of immigrants intended to settle within Central Canada.

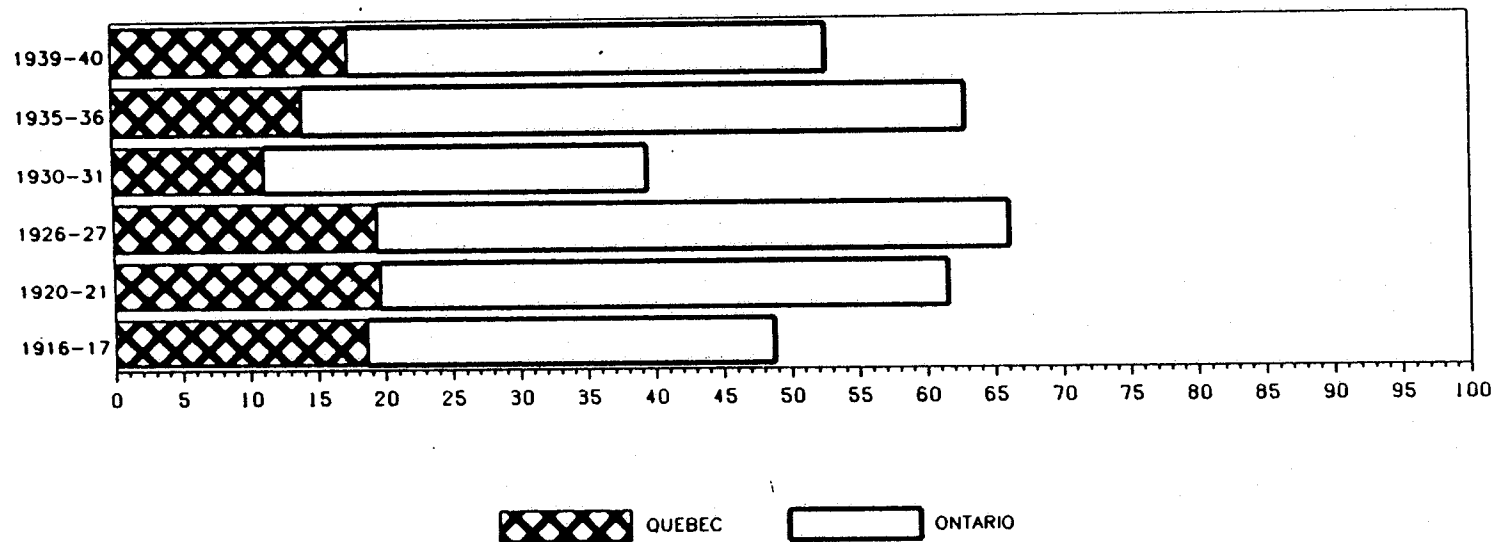
During the post World War II era, the Maritimes have consistently absorbed an insignificant amount, between 2 per cent and 2.5 per cent of the total immigration intake. In actual numbers, these amounted to a low of 2,105 in 1961 and a high of 3,892 in 1970. Conversely, Central Canada's intake has ranged in the 70 percentile for 1961 to 1970. Western Canada, although it did decline as a region of intended destination, still attracted between 22 per cent and 27 per cent of the immigrant intake as can be seen in Figure 1.3.

The uneven spread of immigrants gains in significance when it is compared with the rest of the Canadian population, as has been done by Anthony Richmond. In his article "Immigration and Pluralism in Canada", Richmond observed that by February 1967, Ontario contained only one third of Canada's population, however, Ontario contained 57 per cent of all postwar immigrants.⁴⁸ The other province that has attracted a large proportion of postwar immigrants has been British Columbia.⁴⁹ Figure 1.4 clearly illustrates the discrepancy of regional distribution between the native born Canadian population and the post-war immigrants up to February 1967.

⁴⁸ Anthony Richmond, "Immigration And Pluralism In Canada", International Migration Review, IV (1969), no. 10, p. 12.

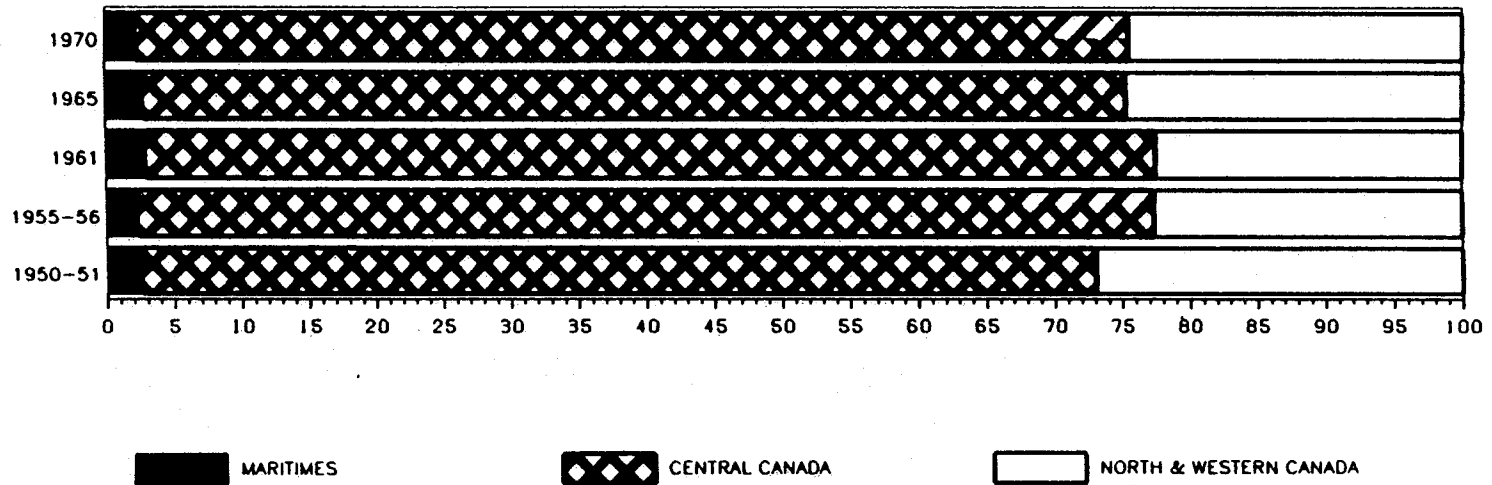
⁴⁹ W.E. Kalbach, The Impact, p. 123.

FIGURE 12
IMMIGRANT SETTLEMENT PATTERN FOR QUEBEC AND ONTARIO BY INTENDED
DESTINATION (1916-1940) AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL CANADIAN
IMMIGRATION INTAKE



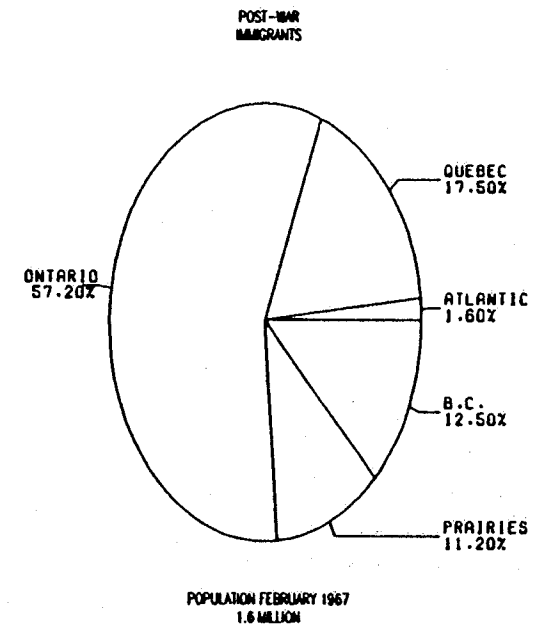
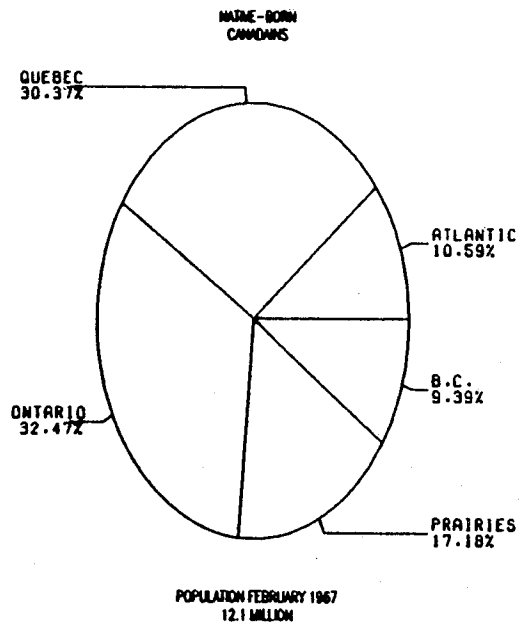
Source: Department of Citizenship and Immigration. Annual Report, 1917. For the years 1920 to 1940 see Department of Employment and Immigration. Immigration Statistics.

FIGURE 13
 IMMIGRANT SETTLEMENT PATTERN BY REGION OF INTENDED
 DESTINATION (1950-70) AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL
 CANADIAN IMMIGRATION INTAKE



Source: Department of Mines and Resources. Annual Report, 1950-1965. Department of Citizenship and Immigration. Annual Report, 1965-1970.

FIGURE 14
REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE CANADIAN POPULATION 14 YEARS AND OVER



Source: Anthony Richmond, "Immigration and Pluralism In Canada", International Migration Review, 4 (1969), no.10, p.13.

Also, it is noteworthy that postwar immigrants in comparison to native born Canadians show a greater degree of urbanization. In 1961, only 4 per cent of the Canadian born lived in urban areas with populations over 100,000 compared to 68 per cent of immigrants.⁵⁰

The effect of this apparent discrepancy was related to the disproportionate growth of particular regions. Most strikingly, it was the province of Ontario that expanded disproportionately in its economic base after the second World War. Within the province of Ontario it was metropolitan Toronto that grew disproportionately; one third of all postwar immigrants up to 1971 settled in Toronto.

2.4.2 Distribution Of Population By Ethnic Groups

The broad immigrant settlement patterns are naturally reflected in the actual ethnic makeup of the individual regions of Canada. When one examines the ethnic fabric of Canada's provinces, it is useful to examine both the numerical component of a given ethnic group within a province and also its percentage of a province's population. The latter demonstrates more clearly the potential political force of the ethnic groups. Since the major turning point in terms of political action is the 1971 announcement of the multicultural policy, it may be of most use to present, as is done in Table 1.3, an overview of the Canadian ethnic fabric in 1971.

⁵⁰ A. Richmond, "Immigration And Pluralism", p. 12.

TABLE 1.3

The Largest and Second Largest Contingent of Provincial Populations, in Numerical vs. Percentage Terms, by Specified Ethnic Groups, 1971

Largest				
Ethnic Group	Province	#	Province	%
British Isles	Ontario	4,576,010	Nfld.	93.8
French	Quebec	4,759,360	Quebec	79.0
German	Ontario	473,315	Sask.	19.4
Hungarian	Ontario	65,690	Sask.	1.5
Italian	Ontario	463,095	Ontario	6.0
Jewish	Ontario	135,190	Manitoba	2.0
Netherlands	Ontario	206,940	Man./Alta.	3.6
Polish	Ontario	144,115	Manitoba	4.3
Russian	B.C.	22,990	Sask./ Ykn. & N.W.T.	1.1
Scandinavian	B.C.	112,125	Sask.	6.4
Ukrainian	Ontario	159,880	Manitoba	11.6
Asian	Ontario	112,780	B.C.	3.7
Other/Unknown	Ontario	491,500	Ykn. & N.W.T.	35.6
2nd Largest				
Ethnic Group	Province	#	Province	%
British Isles	B.C.	1,265,460	P.E.I.	82.7
French	Ontario	737,360	N.B.	37.0
German	Alberta	231,010		
Hungarian	B.C.	16,600	Ykn. & N.W.T.	1.1
Italian	Quebec	169,650	Quebec	2.8
Jewish	Quebec	115,990	Quebec	1.9
Netherlands	B.C.	70,535	B.C.	3.2
Polish	Alberta	44,325	Sask.	2.9
Russian	Ontario	12,580	Alberta	0.6
Scandinavian	Alberta	98,430	Alberta	6.0
Ukrainian	Alberta	135,510	Sask.	9.3
Asian	B.C.	79,760	Alberta	1.6
Other/Unknown	Quebec	132,985	Ontario	6.4

Source: Statistics Canada Catalogue 92-774 (Sp-4) 1971
Census of Canada. Population: Specified Ethnic Groups.

The numerical cluster of the largest contingent of the population by specified ethnic groups in 1971 was in Ontario; eleven out of fourteen specified ethnic groups have their largest numerical contingent in that province. The second largest numerical contingent of specified ethnic groups in 1971 was mostly distributed in the following three provinces: Quebec (3 out of 14 ethnic groups had their second largest contingent in Quebec); Alberta (4 out of 14); and B.C. (5 out of 14), leaving Ontario with 2 out of 14. However, examining the percentage distribution of the population by specified ethnic groups for the same year, the regional distribution of the largest and second largest percentage share is as illustrated in Table 1.3. Whereas for example the Russian largest and second largest percentage contingent in 1971 was located in Saskatchewan, Territories and British Columbia, their largest and second largest numerical contingent for the same year was located in Ontario and British Columbia.

Because of these variations, a comparative analysis of Table 3.1 demonstrates that the regional distribution as a percentage share of the provincial population involves all ten provinces and the two territories, whereas the numerical share had centered in only four of the ten provinces and territories. Besides the relatively broad spread of largest and second largest percentage contingents, Table 3.1 reveals the geographical distribution of the ethnic groups, with the

Atlantic provinces and the province of Quebec housing the largest and second largest percentage share of the two founding nations, whereas the other specified ethnic groups have their largest and second largest percentage share in the provinces West of Quebec, including the two territories. This observation has significant political ramifications and in the course of this part of the thesis may be viewed as an explanatory factor of the evolution of Canada's multiculturalism policy.

In the twenty years between 1951 and 1971, the 'other ethnics' increased from 2,980,577 in 1951 (in which they constituted 21.1 per cent of the total population) to 5,764,075 in 1971 (in which they constituted 26.7 per cent of the total population),⁵¹ almost the size of the French speaking group. In 1971 the 5,468,885 members of the 'other ethnics' were distributed in their order of number as indicated in Table 1.4.

2.5 ECONOMIC POSITION OF THE OTHER ETHNICS

An analysis of the 'other ethnics' place in Canadian society would be incomplete without locating their economic position. Tension and conflict within societies frequently originate with economic disparity between easily identifiable groups. In order to assess the economic position of the 'other ethnics', a closer

⁵¹ Statistics Canada. Catalogue 92-723 Vol:1 Part:3 1971 Census of Canada. Population: Ethnic Groups. Table 1 Population by Ethnic Groups, for Canada, 1921-1971.

TABLE 1.4

NUMERICAL AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE CANADIAN
POPULATION BY SPECIFIED ETHNIC GROUPS, 1971

	NUMBER	%
German	1,317,195	6.1
Others	934,170	4.3
Italian	730,820	3.4
Ukrainian	580,655	2.7
Netherlands	425,945	2.0
Scandinavian	384,790	1.8
Polish	316,425	1.5
Jewish	296,945	1.4
Asian	285,535	1.3
Hungarian	131,890	0.6
Russian	64,475	0.3

Source: Statistics Canada. Catalogue 92-774 (Sp-4) 1971
Census of Canada Population: Specified Ethnic Groups
"Table 1. Numerical and Percentage Distribution of
the Population by Specified Ethnic Groups, for Canada
and the Provinces, 1971."

look will be taken at the distribution of the Canadian populations' occupational status by ethnicity.

Much work has been done in the exploration of the relationship between ethnicity and economic or social status in Canada. Most notably, John Porter, in his book The Vertical

Mosaic,⁵² as well as Wallace Clement in The Canadian Corporate Elite⁵³ have presented extensive evidence in support of such a relationship. The results arrived at by Porter and Clement have subsequently received a more critical review which has led to more modest results regarding the relationship between the two factors of ethnicity and occupational status.⁵⁴ However, even more recently, Lautard and Loree, in their endeavour to re-examine Porter's evidence as to the relationship between ethnicity and occupation, have confirmed Porter's initial results.⁵⁵ For the purpose of this thesis it is of interest to look at the distribution of ethnic groups in the occupational classes so as to locate the economic position of the Canadian population by ethnicity for the time span 1961 to 1971.

⁵² John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis Of Social Class And Power In Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965).

⁵³ Wallace Clement, The Canadian Corporate Elite: an analysis of economic power (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975).

⁵⁴ Gordon A. Darroch, "Another look at ethnicity, stratification and social mobility in Canada", Journal of Sociology, 4, 1(1979), pp. 1-25. Peter Pineo, "Social mobility in Canada: the current picture", Sociological Focus, 9 (1976), pp. 109-123. C. Michael Lanphier, N. Raymond Morris, "Structural aspects of differences in income between anglophones and francophones", Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, 11 (1974), pp. 53-66. Lorne Teperman, "A practitioner's perspective on the index of dissimilarity: Comment on Cortese, Falk and Cohen", American Sociological Review, 41 (1976), pp. 884-889.

⁵⁵ E. Hugh Lautard, Donald J. Loree. "Ethnic stratification in Canada, 1931-1971. Canadian Journal of Sociology, 9, 1(1984), pp. 333-343.

From the Second World War to 1970, the Canadian economy underwent rapid economic expansion and industrialization. This general shift is reflected in the statistics for the total labour force and the distribution according to occupational class. The comparison between 1931 and 1961 established in Table 1.5 documents the increase in the total labour force for these male occupational classes. The most significant decline occurred in the agricultural occupational class, followed by the primary and unskilled occupational

TABLE 1.5
TOTAL LABOUR FORCE BY OCCUPATIONAL CLASS
1931, 1951, 1961

	1931	1951	1961	
Prof./Financial	4.8	5.9	8.6	+ 3.8
Clerical	3.8	5.9	6.9	+ 3.1
Personal Services	3.5	3.4	4.3	+ 0.8
All Others	36.2	52.1	58.0	+22.2

Source: John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic, Appendix I, Table 1,3,5, 'Ethnic Origin And Selected Male Occupational Classes (by Percentage), 1931, 1951, 1961'.

class.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic, Appendix I, Table 1,5, 'Ethnic Origin And Selected Male Occupational Classes (by percentage), 1931, 1961'.

Of particular interest for our purpose are the statistics for 1961 which provide a rough outline of the ethnic distribution within occupational classes and of the social status within Canadian society. For this purpose Table 1.6 presents the highest overrepresentation and underrepresentation of ethnic population groups by occupational classes for the male labour force,⁵⁷ and Table 1.7 lists the highest overrepresentation and underrepresentations for each occupational class within the particular ethnic group. The combination of the two tables should not only provide an overview of the ethnic distribution within those occupational classes but also the distribution of the occupational classes within particular ethnic groups.

What is striking about the following table, Table 1.7, is the overrepresentation of the Italian group in the primary and unskilled occupational class and the level of underrepresentation in the top occupational classes, i.e. professional and financial as well as clerical. Similarly noticeable is the overrepresentation of the Jewish ethnic group in the professional financial class and the persistent underrepresentation in the lower level occupational classes, such as personal service, primary and unskilled as well as agriculture. The highest deviation from the total male labour force is that of the Asian ethnic population in their over-

⁵⁷ The terms over- and underrepresentation are taken to mean that "the quantities shown are the percentage points that each group is either over or under the labour force distribution at the various occupational levels". See: John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic, p. 86.

TABLE 1.6

**OVER-REPRESENTATION OF THE ETHNIC POPULATION GROUPS FOR THE MALE LABOUR FORCE, 1961
(BY PERCENTAGE)**

%	OVER REPRESENTED	OCCUPATIONAL CLASS	UNDER REPRESENTED	%
+ 7.4	Jewish	PROF./FINANCIAL	Italian Native	- 5.2 - 7.5
+ 1.3	British	CLERICAL	Italian Native	- 3.2 - 5.9
+ 19.1	Asian	PERSONAL SERVICE	Jewish	- 2.4
+ 11.5 + 34.7	Italian Native	PRIMARY/UNSKILLED	Jewish	- 8.9
+ 10.6	Scandinavian	AGRICULTURE	Jewish	- 11.7
+ 15.7	Jewish	ALL OTHERS	Asian Native	- 9.1 - 29.5

Source: John Porter. The Vertical Mosaic, Table 1. Ethnic Origin And Selected Male Occupational Classes, (By Percentage), 1961, p. 87.

TABLE 1.7

OVER-REPRESENTATION OF OCCUPATIONAL CLASSES FOR THE MALE LABOUR FORCE BY ETHNIC POPULATION GROUP, 1961
(BY PERCENTAGE)

ETHNIC GROUP	OVER-REPRESENTATION		UNDER-REPRESENTATION	
British	Prof./Financial	+ 2.0	Primary/Unskilled	- 2.3
French	Primary/Unskilled	+ 2.8	Prof./Financial	- 1.9
German	Agriculture	+ 8.8	All Others	- 2.4
Italian	Primary/Unskilled	+ 11.5	Agriculture	- 9.5
Jewish	All Others	+ 15.7	Agriculture	- 11.7
Dutch	Agriculture	+ 10.3	All Others	- 5.2
Scandinavian	Agriculture	+ 10.6	All Others	- 5.0
Eastern Europe	Agriculture	+ 6.9	All Others	- 4.9
Other Europe	Personal Service	+ 5.1	All Others	- 4.4
Asian	Personal Service	+ 19.1	All Others	- 9.1
Native	Primary/Unskilled	+ 34.7	All Others	- 29.5

Source: John Porter. The Vertical Mosaic, Table 1. Ethnic Origin And Selected Male Occupational Classes, (By Percentage), 1961, p. 87.

representation in personal service (+19.1).

In terms of the category of overrepresentation one may infer a pattern regarding the ethnic origin. It seems that of the 'other ethnics', the northern and eastern Europeans are overrepresented in the agricultural class (German 8.8 per cent; Dutch 10.3 per cent; Scandinavian 10.6 per cent; and the eastern Europeans 6.9 per cent). In light of the list of 'ethnic origins' contained in Table 6 it seems fair to assume that 'other Europeans' mostly refers to southern Europeans, who, except for the Italians, are overrepresented in personal service (5.1 per cent), together with the Asians (19.1 per cent).

Turning to the charter groups, it is significant to note the complete reversal of over- and underrepresentation for the same occupational classes. Within the British ethnic group, the highest overrepresentation occurs in the professional and financial occupational class, whereas this represents the highest underrepresentation within the French ethnic group. Conversely, the British ethnic group is mostly underrepresented in the primary and unskilled occupational class, whereas the French populations' highest overrepresentation occurs here.

2.6 IMMIGRANT SETTLEMENT PATTERN AND ECONOMIC POSITION OF THE ETHNICS UP TO 1971 FOR THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC

Quebec, in many ways is a unique province within the Canadian Confederation. Since Quebec's role in the developing national crisis of the 1960's was central, it deserves a brief exploration as to the effects of immigration on that province. As well, in order to appreciate the position expressed by many francophones leading up to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism and throughout the 1960's, attention has to be given to the occupational ranking of francophones vis a vis the ranking of 'other ethnics', including the British. This brief exploration will facilitate a better understanding of the French-Canadian attitude towards immigration policy and ultimately multiculturalism policy.

In 1961, almost 30 per cent of the Canadian population was of French origin and was concentrated in the province of Quebec.⁵⁸ According to the 1961 census, 80.6 per cent of Quebec's population was French-speaking, hence, one may have expected postwar immigrants to Quebec to be absorbed into the French speaking majority. However, evidence put forward by various sources documents the contrary.⁵⁹ A. Richmond

⁵⁸ Statistics Canada Catalogue 92-723 Part: 3 1971 Census of Canada. Population: Ethnic Groups. Table 1. Population by Ethnic Group for Canada, 1921-1971.

⁵⁹ Kenneth McRoberts and Dale Posgate, Quebec: Social Change and Political Crisis, revised ed. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart), 1981, pp. 132-134. Ronald Wardaugh, Language & Nationhood: The Canadian Experience (Vancouver: New Star Books Ltd.), 1983, pp. 66,74,88. Freda Hawkins, Canada and Immigration: Public Policy And Public Concern

estimates that only one third of the postwar immigrants to Quebec up to 1961, were able to speak French; the vast majority, two thirds, "...are either absorbed into the English-speaking population, or remain within their own linguistic group".⁶⁰

The result of this massive assimilation of postwar immigrants to the English minority in Quebec, combined with a significant decline in the birth rate, as well as steady emigration of Quebecers, altered the historic Anglo-franco-phone balance in that province. In fact it was during the 1960's that French-Quebeckers became aware of the threatening possibility that the existing comfortable French-Canadian majority in that province was endangered.⁶¹

Another significant aspect contributing to the tension as it manifested itself during the 1960's was the occupational ranking of the French-Canadian group vis a vis the ranking of 'other ethnic' groups, as well as the British on the national level. The main patterns can be identified when examining Table 1.8 which provides statistics for Canada's total male labour force. One pattern that is very noticeable was that the French-Canadians were never at the very top or very bottom of an occupational class, in terms of

(Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press), 1972, pp. 219ff.

⁶⁰ A. Richmond, "Immigration And Pluralism", p. 12.

⁶¹ J.D. Gagnon, "Le Part Quebecois et les immigrants", Immigration and the Rise of Multiculturalism, ed. H. Palmer, (Toronto: Copp Clark Publishing, 1975), p. 154.

TABLE 1.8

RANKING OF ETHNIC GROUPS BY OCCUPATIONAL CLASS
BY OVER-REPRESENTATION FOR CANADA, 1961 (BY PERCENTAGE)

Prof.&Fin. TMLF = 8.6%		Clerical TMLF = 6.9		Personal Serv. TMLF = 4.3	
Jewish	+ 7.4	British	+ 1.3	Asian	+ 19.1
British	+ 2.0	Jewish	- 0.1	Other E	+ 5.1
Asian	+ 1.7	FRENCH	- 0.2	Italian	+ 2.9
Dutch	- 0.9	Asian	- 1.5	Natives	+ 1.3
Other E	- 1.1	Dutch	- 1.7	East E	+ 0.9
East E	- 1.2	East E	- 1.7	FRENCH	- 0.2
German	- 1.8	German	- 1.8	Dutch	- 0.5
FRENCH	- 1.9	Other E	- 2.0	German	- 0.7
Scand	- 1.9	Scand	- 2.4	British	- 0.9
Italian	- 5.2	Italian	- 3.2	Scand	- 1.1
Native I	- 7.5	Native I	- 5.9	Jewish	- 2.4
Prim.&Unskilled TMLF = 10.0		Agriculture TMLF = 12.2		All Others TMLF = 58.0	
Native I	+ 34.7	Scand	+ 10.6	Jewish	+ 15.7
Italian	+ 11.5	Dutch	+ 10.3	Italian	+ 3.5
Other E	+ 1.8	German	+ 8.8	British	+ 1.4
FRENCH	+ 2.8	East E	+ 6.9	FRENCH	+ 0.9
East E	0.0	Native I	+ 6.9	German	- 2.4
Scand	- 0.2	Other E	+ 0.6	Other E	- 4.4
Dutch	- 2.0	FRENCH	- 1.4	East E	- 4.9
German	- 2.1	British	- 1.5	Scand	- 5.0
British	- 2.3	Asian	- 6.5	Dutch	- 5.2
Asian	- 3.6	Italian	- 9.5	Asian	- 9.1
Jewish	- 8.9	Jewish	- 11.7	Native I	- 29.5

TMLF refers to Total Male Labor Force.

Source: John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic, Table I, Ethnic Origin And Selected Male Occupational Classes, (By Percentage), 1961, p. 87.

over-underrepresentation. However, in the top occupational classes the French-Canadians were persistently under-repre-

sented, as well, they are under-represented in agriculture, whereas they were over-represented in the areas of 'primary and unskilled' as well as 'all others'. Simultaneously, however, they were frequently surpassed by members of the same 'other ethnic' groups in their ranking. In the top level classes, they were surpassed by the Jewish and British groups in three out of three classes (the classes being: Professional & Financial, Clerical and all Others); Asian and East Europeans in two out of three classes (Professional & Financial, Personal Services); and by the Dutch, Other Europeans, Germans, Italians and Natives in one out of the three occupational classes (Professional & Financial). In the primary and unskilled occupational classes, the French ethnic group ranked fourth, leaving seven other ethnic groups with a lower percentage of primary and unskilled labour.

The 1961 distribution of occupational classes by specified ethnic group indicates that the other ethnics were to be found in all occupational classes, however, they were not evenly distributed. The statistics almost parallel the ranking of favorable immigrant source countries, favouring the British, the northern and eastern continental Europeans, followed by the southern Europeans and the Asians. This pattern may suggest that the occupational class of a specified ethnic population group improves with time. However, the distribution of the Francophone and the Native population

group for the occupational classes seems to contradict such an implication. Hence, it may be possible that, among other factors, attitudes towards specified ethnic groups are such that they limit occupational mobility.

2.7 ATTITUDES TOWARDS OTHER ETHNICS

Historically, attitudes of Canadians towards specific ethnic groups have been marked by some form of prejudice, most noticeable against non-white minorities, such as the Native Indian and the Black Canadian population, as well as Asian immigrants and their descendants.⁶² Attitudes towards specified groups, however, have to be evaluated within the proper context of their time. One of the most illustrative examples of the importance of the contemporary context is Canadians' attitudes towards the Japanese. In October 1946, 60 per cent of Canadians wanted to keep Japanese nationals out of Canada, "... whereas today the different world political alignment would mean that such anti-Japanese feeling probably would be minimal by comparison".⁶³

⁶² Anthony H. Richmond, Aspect of the absorption and adaptation of immigrants. Canadian immigration and population study (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1974), p. 7. For a sample of attributes associated with particular ethnic groups which, in the early 1900's were seen as biological qualities, can be found in James S. Woodsworth, Strangers Within Our Gates (Winnipeg: Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, 1909), pp. 132 ff.

⁶³ Nancy Tienhaara, Canadian views on immigration and population: An analysis of post-war Gallup polls. Canadian immigration and population study (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1974), p. 42.

As early as 1948, the University of Toronto psychology department conducted a study, involving 500 Canadian university students, to measure their racial and religious prejudices.⁶⁴ In its result the test bore out that

Fifty-one per cent of the group showed what the psychologists call 'negative attitudes' toward various religious and color groups, in the first part of the test and in the second part 92 per cent of the same group were revealed to have prejudices.⁶⁵

The reality of the existing discrimination in Canada at the time was also manifested in the demands for more protective and corrective measures. In 1950, the Ontario government was asked by a "...very large and influential delegation..." to enact legislation "... to deal with the problem of discrimination as it affects people in employment, in public places, in housing and ownership of property".⁶⁶ Another such example of the need to end discrimination is to be found in the 1968 article by G. Engstrom, "Youth speaks! Canada for all Canadians". In the article Engstrom encourages

to start anew and build firm foundations and tear down the walls restricting and depriving all minority groups in Canada until they cease to exist.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Eva Lis, "Are Canadians Intolerant?" Maclean's Magazine, (March 15, 1948). pp. 12 and 53.

⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 12.

⁶⁶ "Discrimination Problem ", Saturday Night, 65 (1950), No. 7.

⁶⁷ G. Engstrom, World Affairs, 33 (May-June 1968), pp. 2 and 5.

Focusing on the attitudes of Canadians towards specific ethnic groups during the 1960's, Anthony Richmond's study of the Aspects of the absorption and adaptation of immigrants suggests that attitudes toward racial and ethnic minorities in Canada seem to have improved.⁶⁸ Richmond sites a 1970 Metropolitan Toronto study which employs a Bogardus social-distance scale⁶⁹ in order to identify the degree of acceptability of specified ethnic population groups. The result, listed in order of acceptability, is as follows:

1. American
2. French-Canadian
3. Polish

⁶⁸ Anthony Richmond, Aspects, p. 7.

⁶⁹ The Bogardus social distance scale was devised by E. Bogardus in 1925 and measures the degree to which individual representatives of various racial and national groups are accepted or rejected. The scale on which subjects are asked to indicate the degree of social intimacy to which they would admit each of a large number of ethnic, religious and political groups is as follows:

1. Would exclude from my country
2. As visitors only to my country
3. To citizenship in my country
4. To employment in my occupation in my country
5. To school as my classmates
6. To my street as neighbours
7. To my club as personal chums
8. To close kinship by marriage

4. German
5. Italian
6. Canadian Indian
7. Jewish
8. Japanese
9. Hindu
10. Negro.⁷⁰

A more detailed examination of the respondents' characteristics suggested that Francophone Canadians were somewhat more inclined to be anti-semitic as well as to express other types of ethnic prejudice.⁷¹ Anglophone, Italians, Portuguese, Greek and Polish immigrants tended to score higher on the Bogardus scale, whereas Canadians whose mother tongue was neither English nor French, and immigrants from Britain, Germany and the U.S.A. were characterized by low prejudice.

Another aspect of the Metropolitan Toronto Study dealt with the perception and experience of ethnic discrimination in Canada. According to the results, Italian, Greek and Portuguese immigrants were those most likely to perceive no discrimination in Canada.⁷² The ones most likely to recognize the existence of discrimination without considering their own group to be subjected to it, were those born in

Solomon E. Asch, Social Psychology (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1955), pp. 526, 534.

⁷⁰ A. Richmond, Aspects, p.4.

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 9.

⁷² Ibid., p. 12.

Canada irrespective of generation and immigrants whose mother tongue was English.⁷³ Individuals least likely to report personal experience of discrimination were immigrants whose mother tongue was English. As Richmond observes:

A slightly higher proportion of those born in Canada reported personal experience of discrimination and this reflects the experience of those Jewish, Black, Asian, French and other minorities. By far the largest proportion claiming personal experience of discrimination were Black and Asian immigrants.⁷⁴

This is illustrated in Table 1.9. The discrimination is worst in the areas of employment and housing in the combined Canada and foreign-survey sample. Whereas ten per cent of all Toronto householders reported personal experiences of discrimination in employment, the Black population reported 36 per cent and the Asian population reported 25 per cent. Similarly, the Black population reported 13 per cent of personal discriminatory encounters in housing, compared to four per cent experienced by all Toronto householders.

Although it is impossible to reconstruct the attitudes of Canadians towards immigrants specifically or ethnic groups in particular, up to 1971, discrimination towards specified

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

TABLE 1.9

DISCRIMINATION BY TYPE OF DISCRIMINATION AND RACE
(AS A PERCENTAGE)

Type of Discrimination	Black	Asian	White	Total
Employment	36%	25%	9%	10%
Housing	38%	13%	3%	4%
Hotels, etc.	7%	8%	1%	2%
Police	6%	7%	2%	3%
Other types	16%	6%	3%	3%

Source: Anthony Richmond. Aspects of the absorption and adaptation of immigrants. p. 12. (Canadian and foreign-born)

ethnic groups did exist. Those discriminatory attitudes have been reflected in immigration policy, and although it has favoured certain population groups, it has clearly disadvantaged others.

2.8 THE QUIET REVOLUTION

Besides the alteration of Canada's population through immigration, it was the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism that was instrumental in shaping Canada's multicultural policy. In order to understand the recommendations of Vol. IV of the Commission as well as the subsequent government response, it is necessary to place the origin of

the Commission in its historical context which will identify the uniquely Canadian brand of multiculturalism. An analysis of this historical situation, as well as the perception of the key individuals involved, support the view that the policy of multiculturalism is characterized mainly as being an unintended by-product of the attempt to find a solution to a different problem. The unintentional nature of the policy's creation is one of the reasons why multiculturalism, at least in its early history, has remained a fringe policy. The unintendedness also explains to some extent the limited substantial scope of the policy.

The different problem with which Canadians were dealing with was that of English-French relations. Although the 'Quiet Revolution' and the subsequent separatist sentiments manifested themselves during the 1960's and 1970's, the roots of those manifestations had existed since Confederation. In the view of some, there was no basis in the 1867 Confederation text that established an equal partnership of the two founding races, rather, it was argued that

If they were honest with themselves, and the Canadian people, who have had to put up with enough nonsense on this subject, they would admit candidly that there is no evidence for their [bicultural compact] theory at all.⁷⁵

Others such as Ramsay Cook argued that the Fathers of Confederation's concept of Canada "was of a community based on political and juridical unity, but also on cultural and

⁷⁵ Donald Creighton. "The Myth of Biculturalism". Saturday Night, (September 1966), p. 38.

religious duality".⁷⁶

Yet others argued that the resolution of the crisis did not depend on establishing whether there was "general declaration of principle that Canada was to be a bilingual and a bicultural nation", but rather that the focus should be on the present,⁷⁷ i.e. what Canada ought to be in order to survive this national crisis.

2.8.1 Reaction, Self-Awareness, Position of the Ethnics.

Very little consideration in the debate regarding national unity had been given to Canadians of non-Anglo-non Francophone descent. The French Canadian minority's point of view was that they were a different kind of minority and therefore had a right to special treatment.⁷⁸ It was argued that

we must realize that, when they [the non-Anglo-non-Francophone minorities] came here, they knew that they would have to give up their own language and adopt one of the two official languages of Canada.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ Ramsay Cook, Canada and the French-Canadian Question (Toronto: MacMillan Company of Canada., 1966). p. 173-174.

⁷⁷ Jaques Cotnam, "Are Bilingualism And Biculturalism Nothing But A Lure?" Culture, 28 (Jan 1967), p. 139.

⁷⁸ Ramsay Cook, Canada and the French-Canadian Question, pp. 23-24.

⁷⁹ Jaques Cotnam, "Are Bilingualism And Biculturalism Nothing But A Lure?" p. 147.

On the other hand, English Canadians, reluctant to accept the two-nations theory of Confederation, argued that to recognize French culture and language would compel them to give similar recognition to the cultures and languages of other minorities.⁸⁰ The argument was that such recognition of the Francophone minority would upset the Canadian order of social status of other minorities which would then have to be accommodated as well. Although this concern was valid it has to be recognized that the aspect of Canada's non-Anglo-non-Francophone population was not in itself under consideration. Rather, it seemed that this aspect regarding Canada's diverse population composition was used as a tool by those resisting advocates of the two-nations theory of Confederation, whenever suitable.

2.8.2 Government Action

In his December 17, 1962 address to the House of Commons, Lester B. Pearson, then leader of the opposition, suggested a joint federal-provincial inquiry in the form of a Royal Commission, enabling all Canadians to express their views in order to "seriously and collectively ... review the bicultural and bilingual situation...."⁸¹ Such a joint inquiry, in his view, would also have the "additional advantage ...[of showing] the importance of the contribution to our national development made by Canadians other than the two

⁸⁰ Donald Creighton, "The Myth of Biculturalism", p. 38.

⁸¹ Debates, 25th Parliament, 1st Session, p. 2725.

founding races."⁸² The way in which Canadians other than the founding races were introduced in the line of argument gives some indication of the low priority attributed to this aspect of the crisis. This is not surprising since the existing national crisis, at the time, did not involve any obvious sign of discontent among Canadians other than the two founding races. The discussion following Mr. Pearson's address also focused exclusively on the Anglo-Franco relations and the need "for a better understanding between the two great racial groups founding this country".⁸³

The government felt that the appointment of a Royal Commission would result in a time consuming inquiry in order to establish facts that were already all too well known. Instead, the government announced a federal-provincial conference which would enable the elected representatives to come to a solution of the national crisis. Prime Minister Diefenbaker's announcement, just as Mr. Pearson's suggestion, only dealt with the contribution of the many Canadians of other origin in a marginal and rather general manner.⁸⁴

⁸² Ibid., p. 2725.

⁸³ Debates, 25th Parliament, 1st Session, p. 2726.

⁸⁴ Debates, 27th Parliament, 1st Session, p. 3379.

2.8.3 Announcement of Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism

On May 15, 1963, the newly elected Liberal Prime Minister of Canada, Lester B. Pearson, issued a letter to all the premiers, requesting their position regarding the establishment of a Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism.⁸⁵ The letter provided the basic terms of reference for the Commission prefaced by its intended purpose:

To inquire into and report upon the existing state of bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada and to recommend what steps should be taken to develop the Canadian confederation on the basis of an equal partnership between the two founding races, taking into account the contribution made by the other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada and the measure that should be taken to safeguard that contribution...⁸⁶

The only other reference made to minority ethnic groups of other than English or French origin involved the inquiry into support mechanisms for "better cultural relations and a more widespread appreciation of the basically bicultural character of our country and of the subsequent contribution made by the other cultures".⁸⁷ From the letter's terms of reference for such a Royal Commission, it seems obvious that the government's concern with the other ethnics, as far as it existed, lay on a purely 'cultural' level.

⁸⁵ Debates, Appendix, 26th Parliament, 1st Session, p. 75.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

Between May 20, 1963, the tabling of the letter, and July 22, 1963, the announcement of the personnel of the Royal Commission, there were several instances in which the opposition raised the issue of ethnic representation and consideration of the Royal Commission.⁸⁸ As well, some of the more established groups, such as the Ukrainian community, expressed concern over having adequate representation. The Ukrainian Self-Reliance League of Canada had approached Prime Minister Pearson as well as the President of the Privy Council, Mr. Lamontagne, requesting that the Royal Commission ensure adequate representation of the other ethnics.⁸⁹

It is not clear what, if any, influence these instances had on the choice of the Commission's membership. The personnel of the Commission, as announced to the House on July 22, 1963, contained two members of the 'other ethnic groups', namely: J.B. Rudnycky, chairman of the department of Slavic Studies at the University of Manitoba and of Ukrainian descent, and P. Wyczynski, director of the French Canadian Literature research center and associate professor of French Canadian literature at the University of Ottawa and of Polish descent.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ Debates, Ibid., p. 271.

⁸⁹ Winnipeg Tribune, June 26, 1963.

⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 2240.

The announcement was immediately criticized by Mr. Diefenbaker on the basis that the Royal Commission would not be sufficiently representative in terms of provincial representation. Diefenbaker argued that British Columbia did not have a member, and in terms of ethnic representation, there were bigger ethnic groups than the Polish and the Ukrainian communities.⁹¹ A similar comment was made on December 16, 1963 by Mr. Reynold Rapp (Humboldt-Melfort-Tisdale), when asking the Prime Minister if he would give "...consideration to increasing the membership of the Commission so as to have representation from some of the larger groups in Canada".⁹² As indicated, the personnel of the Commission was of concern to the 'other ethnics', but it seemed much less troublesome than the terms of reference of the Commission. Concern, criticism and anger centered largely around the phrase "...equal partnership between the two founding races".⁹³

A working paper issued by the Royal Commission for the use by those preparing briefs for the Commission went into some detail as to the Commission's understanding of the terms of reference. Bilingualism and biculturalism, the focus of the Commission, were interpreted restrictively to encompass Anglo-Franco concerns only. "However, the 'other' groups are also mentioned. We must therefore define the

⁹¹ Ibid., p. 2441.

⁹² Ibid., p. 2503.

⁹³ "Group seeks equal citizenship for all". Winnipeg Tribune, October 3, 1963.

nature of the relationship between these two questions".⁹⁴ The underlying assumption regarding the 'other' groups was that "...Canadians of other backgrounds have opted for one of the two official languages and cultures",⁹⁵ meaning that what was really meant was equality of English-speaking and French-speaking persons, whatever their ethnic origin might be.⁹⁶

Many leaders of ethnic groups expressed concern with the term 'bicultural' contained in the Commission's title. "There appears to be an implication of a division of Canadian citizens into two categories, or as the common saying goes, into first and second class Canadians".⁹⁷ The Canadian Jewish Congress objected strongly to the terms of reference which alluded to an "...equal partnership between the two founding races", which implied a kind of racial superiority for the founding groups".⁹⁸ Dr. Hlynka, committee member of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee and president of the Taras Shevchenko Foundation, argued on the grounds of historical contributions that besides the well documented contributions

⁹⁴ Canada, Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Working Paper. p. 5.

⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 6.

⁹⁶ As suggested by the Commission in response to concerns expressed, among others by the Canadian Jewish Congress. see: A.J. Arnold, "How Far Do We Go With Multiculturalism?" Canadian ethnic studies. II (Dec. 1970), No. 2, p. 7.

⁹⁷ Winnipeg Tribune, November 8, 1963.

⁹⁸ A.J. Arnold, "How Far Do We Go With Multiculturalism?" p.7.

of the English and the French, it was also to be recognized that the 'others' had a significant role in the development of this country, particularly in the West.⁹⁹

Another aspect to consider was the constitutional development of the Dominion of Canada to the independent, democratic state of Canada. Canada's colonial status was officially changed to that of an independent state in 1931 through the Statute of Westminster. "In 1947 the Canadian Citizenship act was passed, recognizing only one class of citizenship for all Canadians".¹⁰⁰ The Bill of Rights of 1961 seemed to further entrench the equality of rights of the Canadian people.¹⁰¹ Following this line of development, Dr. Hlynka concluded that

it may safely be stated that all Canadians regardless of color, racial origin, religion or the time their ancestors arrived in Canada should be fully equal before the law. There is now a full constitutional basis for this view.¹⁰²

'Other ethnics' strongly encouraged reinterpretation of the term bilingualism so as to mean English and your mother tongue or any second language of your own choice.¹⁰³ This

⁹⁹ Dr. I. Hlynka, "Thoughts On The Eve Of Canada's Centenary", Summer Evening Course at the YMCA, Winnipeg, n.d. p. 3.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Ibid., p.4.

¹⁰³ Ibid., p. 5. see also J.B. Rudnycky in Book I of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, p. 161, providing the following definitions: a) official bilingualism, meaning English-French or French-English and b) regional bilingualism, meaning knowledge and use

interpretation would enhance the status of heritage languages and enable the 'other ethnics' to be more readily bilingual in this sense.

The basic difference between the two positions, i.e. biculturalism and the restrictive interpretation of bilingualism versus multiculturalism and the above suggested interpretation of bilingualism, seemed to result from a different perception of the meaning of Confederation which ironically was also at the root of the Anglo-Francophone dispute, as has been pointed out earlier. Overall, the argument of the French Canadian population rested on a historical interpretation of Confederation as granting equal rights to the two founding nations. The general argument of the 'other ethnics' rested on a historical interpretation since Confederation which had to reflect the massive influx of people from all over the world and their contribution to this country.¹⁰⁴ It was from these roots of thinking that the 'other ethnics' denounced the Royal Commission's terms of reference as "threatening the democratic rights by distinguishing according to ethnic origin".¹⁰⁵ This perceived threat was forcefully expressed in the brief of the Ukrainian Association of Victims of Russian-Communist Terror when stating

of one of the official languages (English or French) along with another mother tongue.

¹⁰⁴ Winnipeg Free Press, Sept. 5, 1963.

¹⁰⁵ Ukrainian Canadian Association of Victims of Russian-Communist Terror, Brief presented to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism & Biculturalism, (Toronto, 1964).

that it was

against this kind of discriminatory, antidemocratic and anti-Christian thinking and manner of expression, which is in complete contradiction not only with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights but also with the Canadian Bill of Rights.¹⁰⁶

As developments unfolded, it was the focus of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, and the phrasing of the terms of reference, that provoked a reaction of the 'other ethnics'. In turn, this reaction served as a catalyst for the development of an awareness that could not be overlooked by the government. Even though it would be difficult to establish a quantitative causal relationship, there is sufficient evidence to agree with the statement made by Jean Burnet that the "briefs submitted to the Commission and stormy discussions at its hearings revealed that there was a host of ethnic interest groups who would not be satisfied by off-hand treatment".¹⁰⁷

2.9 BOOK IV OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION'S REPORT

Book IV of the Royal Commission's Report, The Cultural Contributions of the Other Ethnic Groups was submitted to the government on October 23, 1969. In the introduction, the commissioners clearly stated that their interpretation of the terms of reference as they related to the 'other eth-

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Jean Burnet, "Multiculturalism Ten Years Later", ed. J.E. Elliot, Two Nations, Many Cultures, Second Edition. (Scarborough: Prentice Hall, 1983), p. 236.

nic's' would be dealt with

in relation to the basic problem of bilingualism and biculturalism, from which they were inseparable, and in the context of the coexistence of the Francophone and Anglophone communities. Also, the terms of reference " ... call ... for an examination of the way they [the other ethnics] have taken their place within the two societies [English and French]¹⁰⁸

Hence, as the volume's title indicates, major emphasis was placed on the cultural contributions "... by examining the patterns of their integration, as groups or individuals, into the life of the country".¹⁰⁹ In many ways, the book was more descriptive than analytical in nature, taking into account such aspects as : immigrant settlement patterns; economic, political and social patterns of ethnic groups; as well as the maintenance of language and culture. Yet, it was a milestone in that it presented the first manifestation of the "other ethnics'" presence on the federal horizon.

Book IV of the Commission's Report contained an appeal for further research on ethnic questions and more importantly made 16 recommendations.¹¹⁰ Those recommendations addressed matters of federal as well as provincial jurisdiction. Within provincial jurisdiction, the Commission urged that all provinces enact legislation prohibiting discrimination on the basis of race, creed, color, nationality, ances-

¹⁰⁸ Canada, Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, book 4, The Cultural Contribution of the other Ethnic Groups, (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1970), Introduction pp. 3 and 4.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., Foreword, p. XXVI.

¹¹⁰ See Appendix A for full text of the recommendations.

try or place of origin. The remaining recommendations outside federal jurisdiction were all in the area of education.

It was the Commission's majority position on bilingualism, and its limited support for languages other than English and French, that led commissioner J. B. Rudnycky to issue a separate statement advocating the concept of 'regional languages'.¹¹¹ 'Regional languages' in the Canadian context would either be indigenous or immigrant languages, not colonial languages. Although regional languages would not acquire the same status as the colonial languages, in Canada, i.e. English and French, there would be "... some extra privileges for the languages of ethnic groups in regions where there is a concentration of speakers of a particular mother tongue".¹¹² Those privileges should include the constitutionally entrenched recognition of these languages since such recognition in J.B. Rudnycky's opinion would be "... vital for the retention and further development of the other ethnic languages in this country. It is also essential for diminishing the discriminatory attitudes of some Canadians towards 'non-Canadian languages

The other ten recommendations falling within the federal government's jurisdiction were mostly directed at the CBC, National Film Board, and National Museum of Man, as agencies

¹¹¹ Canada, Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. Book 1. pp. 155ff.

¹¹² Ibid., p. 158.

¹¹³ Ibid., p. 163.

that would be instrumental in the maintenance of languages and cultures. With the exception of recommendation 11, those recommendations focused exclusively either on language or on culture. Recommendation 11 requested research "... concerning the nature and effects of the portrayal of other cultural groups on both publicly-and privately-owned English- and French-language radio and television stations"¹¹⁴

Book IV of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism was a reflection of the terms of reference and their restrictive interpretation vis a vis the other ethnics. The volume, although not initially intended and considering the immediate focus on the Anglo-Francophone crisis, was a major achievement in that it recognized a substantial segment of the Canadian population that did not view itself as falling purely into a bicultural framework. The most outspoken ethnic groups during the lengthy process of the Royal Commission were the established groups, which wished to be considered as equals in Canadian society without negating their cultural identity. The restrictive interpretation of the terms of reference that negated the acknowledgement of Canada's diverse cultural population make-up had sparked a concern in the established ethnic groups for cultural retention. It was a matter of social status maintenance vis a vis the Anglo-Francophone dispute that led to the Royal Commission's study of the contribution of the other ethnics and the subsequent recommendations'

¹¹⁴ Ibid., Book 4, p. 229.

emphasis on cultural matters.

On the political level dissatisfaction with the parameters of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism by the 'other ethnics', was reflected by 1968, when the government began to refer to 'bilingualism' so far as language was concerned, but 'pluralism' when cultural matters were under consideration.¹¹⁵ The timing as well as the substance of the multiculturalism policy have to be considered within their historical context. By 1971 the Liberal government of P.E. Trudeau had been in power for three years with a strong majority.¹¹⁶ It had introduced the Official Languages Act in 1969, following the tabling of Book I of the Royal Commission's Report on October 8, 1967, which was received with mixed feelings among members of the 'other ethnic' groups. Book IV of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism had not received a government response, although extensive consultation took place between government representatives and members of the 'other ethnics' over its findings.

Among the several factors that pressured the government to respond to Book IV of the Royal Commission, two conferences warrant mentioning. Prior to the tabling of Book IV, attendants at the "Thinker's Conference on Cultural Rights"

¹¹⁵ Ronald Wardaugh, Language & Nationhood. p. 198.

¹¹⁶ John Jaworsky, A Case Study Of The Canadian federal Government's Multiculturalism Policy, M.A. Thesis, (Ottawa: Carleton University, 1979). p. 56.

held in Toronto in December 1968 and organized by the outspoken Senator Paul Yuzyk, and the Cultural Rights Committee, had strongly signaled their unequivocal rejection of the concept of bilingualism as incompatible with the 'government's ideal of a just society'. Hence this conference demanded the government's recognition of Canada as a multicultural nation. The conference also recommended the establishment of a meaningful representative advisory body that would advise policy makers on the "needs and interests of Canada's ethnic groups".¹¹⁷ The Manitoba Mosaic Congress, held in Winnipeg from October 7 to 13, 1970 also demonstrated the strength and enthusiasm of members of the 'other ethnics' in their determination to accomplish some level of support for cultural heritage maintenance.¹¹⁸

As well, developments on the provincial level must have exerted some pressure on the federal level. The Alberta Social Credit government of Harry Strom announced its multiculturalism policy on July 16, 1971¹¹⁹ and Premier William Davis of Ontario announced in September 1971 an 'Ontario Heritage Conference' for April 1972 in order to consider the concept of multiculturalism and its implications in Ontario.¹²⁰

¹¹⁷ Ibid., pp. 54-56.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Harry Strom, "A New Cultural Policy for the Province of Alberta", remarks to the Alberta Multiculturalism Conference, July 16, 1971.

¹²⁰ William Davis, "Statement Announcing the Convening of

Another possible influence were the public hearings of the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons on the Constitution of Canada held during 1970 and 1971. By the fall of 1971 the Senate already expressed its favourable inclination to declare Canada a multicultural nation.¹²¹ The federal response to Book IV of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism would well have been produced earlier, had it not been for the October 1970 crisis, which required much of the government's immediate attention.

The substance of the response to Book IV of the Royal Commission's Report, as well as the announcement of the multiculturalism policy can be interpreted as the Liberal government's strategy to counteract a restrictive interpretation of biculturalism, an interpretation which might have supported the 'two nations concept'.¹²² The multiculturalism policy, by providing a greater recognition of the role of the 'other ethnics', seems to have been intended to divert the negative attention to the Official Languages Act and

the Ontario Heritage Congress", Toronto, Sept. 9, 1971.

¹²¹ Bohdan Bociurkiw, "The federal Policy of Multiculturalism", in Ukrainian Canadians, Multiculturalism, and Separatism. An Assessment, Ed. Manoly R. Lupul, (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1978), pp. 104, 124 refers to Mr. Marc MacGuigan, who served as chairman of the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and The House of Commons on the Constitution of Canada as saying: "although the Committee's final report was not presented until March 1972, its recommendations in favour of multiculturalism were generally known by the fall of 1971".

¹²² Jaworsky, p. 59.

other concessions to the French.¹²³ Hence, before examining the government's response it has clearly been established that in their origins, bilingualism and multiculturalism are closely intertwined in many ways. The documentation of the various political pressures have remained throughout the multiculturalism policy's existence and the delicate balancing act has continued to be at the centre of policy developments in the area of multiculturalism.

¹²³ Bohdan Bociurkiw. "The Federal Policy of Multiculturalism and the Ukrainian-Canadian community", pp. 108, 109.

Chapter III

ANNOUNCEMENT AND IMPLEMENTATION OF MULTICULTURALISM

3.1 GOVERNMENT POSITION

Close to two years after the tabling of Book IV of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, the government announced its response on October 8, 1971, which consisted of the policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework.¹²⁴ Besides accepting all of the Royal Commission's recommendations of Book IV in principle, the government committed itself to work cooperatively with the provincial governments so as to implement the remaining recommendations. The policy was based on a number of assumptions which were also reflected in the policy's objectives and programs. First of all, the government clearly stated its emphasis on the principle of individual freedom of choice, regardless of ethnic origin.¹²⁵ The recommendations were based on the premise that "...adherence to one's ethnic group is influenced not so much by one's origin or mother tongue as by one's sense of belonging to the group", and by what the commission called the "collective will to exist".¹²⁶

¹²⁴ Debates, 28th Parliament, 3rd Session, 1971, pp. 8545ff.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 8546.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

Secondly, the policy of multiculturalism was expected to counteract trends such as the homogenization and de-personalization of mass society by maintaining and encouraging cultural pluralism.¹²⁷ It was assumed that cultural pluralism would enable the individual to develop a sense of belonging, which, once acquired, would cause the individual to develop a profound sense of appreciation and respect for other cultures accompanied with a more tolerant attitude. Thus, the government believed "that cultural pluralism is the very essence of Canadian identity"¹²⁸ and thirdly would be the basis for national unity.¹²⁹

An intrinsic component of the multiculturalism policy related to integration of members of cultural groups by means of "...giving [them] a chance to learn at least one of the two official languages in which this country conducts its official business and its politics".¹³⁰ Hence, the objectives which, according to the government, could best be met through this announced multiculturalism policy focused on

¹²⁷ Ibid., p. 8580.

¹²⁸ Ibid., p. 8580.

¹²⁹ Ibid., p. 8545. see also: Canadian Minister of State for Multiculturalism, Stanley Haidasz, quoted in Alan B. Anderson, James S. Frideres, Ethnicity in Canada: Theoretical Perspectives (Toronto: Butterworth, 1981) from an address to the first Canadian Conference on Multiculturalism, "asserting that a flexible, universal multiculturalism policy can serve to break down prejudices that Canadians might have toward ethnic minorities, thus Canada will become more, not less unified".

¹³⁰ Ibid., pp. 8545ff.

preserving human rights, developing a Canadian identity, strengthening citizenship participation, reinforcing Canadian unity and encouraging cultural diversification within a bilingual framework.¹³¹

Governmental support, resources permitting, was to be given first to all Canadian cultural groups demonstrating a desire to exist; secondly to dismantle cultural barriers to full participation in Canadian society; thirdly to promote creative encounters among cultural groups; and fourthly to provide opportunities for immigrants to acquire one of the official languages.¹³² In order to provide support in those four areas, the government announced six program components of the multiculturalism policy:

Program 1: Multicultural Grants fostering intercultural activities as well as granting support programs that assisted in the adjustment of new immigrants to Canadian life.

Program 2: Culture Development Program consisting of a one year study of such aspects as the relationship between culture and language; an assessment of the organizational infrastructure of existing ethnic groups; a needs assessment of suitable materials for the teaching of ancestral languages in the Canadian context; an investigation into the role of the ethnic press.

¹³¹ Ibid., p. 8545.

¹³² Ibid., p. 8546.

Program 3: Ethnic Histories the compilation of twenty histories of ethnic groups with the purpose of promoting knowledge and respect for the cultural heritage of the groups concerned.

Program 4: Canadian Ethnic Studies consisting of a detailed investigation of the problems concerned with the development of a Canadian ethnic studies program or centre(s) and the preparation of a plan for implementation.

Program 5: Teaching of Official Languages consisting of the proposal to undertake discussions with the provinces to find a mutually acceptable form of federal assistance towards the teaching of official languages to children.

Program 6: Programs of the Federal Cultural Agencies focusing on historical aspects of ethnic groups and their contribution to the development of Canadian society.¹³³

Most of these six program components dealt with the issue of recognizing the "other ethnics" contribution to Canada. It is noteworthy that the majority of those components specified provisions for "... studies... investigation... discussions" which did not particularly confirm a route of immediate action or direction and can be interpreted as an indicator of the policy's fringe priority.

¹³³ Ibid., pp. 8582 and 8583.

3.2 UNDERLYING ASSUMPTIONS OF THE POLICY ANNOUNCEMENT

The underlying assumptions and therefore the announced policy objectives quickly became subject of rather academic debate. One of the continued aspects for intense discussion with regards to the multiculturalism policy was its placement within a bilingual framework. This placement has been interpreted by some as a measure to curtail the meaning of multiculturalism to a private matter that should be available to individuals but not on an institutionalized level. According to Jean Burnet,

Multiculturalism in a bilingual framework can work, if it is interpreted as is intended - that is, as encouraging those members of ethnic groups who want to do so to maintain a proud sense of the contribution of their group to Canadian society, i.e. ... voluntary marginal differentiation among peoples who are equal participants in the society.¹³⁴

Within this view the equality that the multiculturalism policy seeks to establish is "...on an entirely different level than the equal partnership between French and English, aimed at by the policy of bilingualism".¹³⁵ Peter C. Findlay concurs with this interpretation of multiculturalism, assessing it as an "... attempt to deal with the simultaneous facts of polyethnicity and a dual institutional system".¹³⁶ This

¹³⁴ Jean Burnet, "The Policy of Multiculturalism within a Bilingual Framework: An Interpretation", in: Aaron Wolfgang ed. Education of Immigrant Students, (Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education), pp. 205-214.

¹³⁵ Ibid., p. 211.

¹³⁶ Peter C. Findlay, "Multiculturalism in Canada: Ethnic Pluralism and Social Policies", in Aaron Wolfgang ed. Education of Immigrant Students (Toronto: Ontario Insti-

interpretation, applied in its most minimalizing way was criticized as likely to have limited consequences "... beyond maintaining surface variety and diversity".¹³⁷

From the outset, then, the scope of the 1971 announcement of a multiculturalism policy was questionable as a result of its being placed in a bilingual framework. Particularly to advocates of multiculturalism who viewed language as an instrumental part of culture and cultural maintenance, the government's implicit lack of recognition of the role language plays in culture signalled a largely symbolic accommodation of pressures exerted by some of the established groups. Academics such as Manoly Lupul challenged those underlying assumptions of a "restrictive" interpretation of the policy of multiculturalism by asking:

If all cultures are equal, are not all languages also equal for cultural purposes, language being an integral part of each culture?¹³⁸

The other interpretation of the policy of multiculturalism would view it as a mechanism to gain substantial support for a genuine cultural pluralism which would have to encompass an institutional base by allowing the transplant of complete functional aspects of many cultures. Naturally, such an interpretation would have far reaching consequences

tute for Studies in Education), pp. 219

¹³⁷ Ibid., p. 223.

¹³⁸ Manoly R. Lupul, "The Tragedy of Canada's White Ethnics: A Constitutional Post-Mortem", Journal of Ukrainian Studies, 7 (Spring 1982), No. 1, p. 7.

for Canadian society¹³⁹. One of the more outspoken advocates of a modified view of this interpretation was Manoly Lupul. In his view, multiculturalism could not be a seriously viable policy, as long as it would be tied to the policy of bilingualism. According to Lupul and others¹⁴⁰ culture and language are inseparably linked in that language is the means of culture and the one without the other is not viable in a long term.¹⁴¹ Yet a multiculturalism policy that does not recognize the integral relationship of culture and language is a clever political response "feigning to give all while withholding language - the most essential cultural prop".¹⁴²

Although the Government of Canada never defined the term 'multiculturalism' it seems more plausible, on the evolutionary background as well as on the basis of the government's strong concern with the Official Languages Act (1969), that multiculturalism was not intended to be interpreted in such a way that would encourage and facilitate the transplantation of complete cultures. This is confirmed by the absence of any substantial, official recognition of heritage languages and the policy program aspect of providing

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Jean Burnet, "The Policy of Multiculturalism within a Bilingual Framework", pp. 207-208.

¹⁴¹ Ronald Wardaugh, Language & Nationhood, p. 219. Note that this has also been a significant aspect in J.B. Rudnycky's dissenting opinion.

¹⁴² Manoly Lupul, "The Tragedy of Canada's White Ethnics", p.7.

new immigrants with language educational opportunities in either one of the two official languages and the explicit statement that the recognition of the cultural value of many languages should not weaken the position of Canada's two official languages.¹⁴³

Another aspect of debate with regards to the policy of multiculturalism centered on its ability to provide social and economic equality. Some have interpreted the statement in the policy announcement by the then Prime Minister Trudeau that "[the] individual's freedom would be hampered if he were locked for life within a particular cultural compartment by the accident of birth or language" as a recognition of the concern expressed by John Porter in his book The Vertical Mosaic, as well as subsequent works.¹⁴⁴ This concern centered on statistical evidence that pointed to a negative relation between ethnicity and social and economic mobility. Hence, the policy's emphasis on ethnicity was seen as counterproductive in that "... the development of ethnic communities as psychic shelters can perpetuate ethnic stratification".¹⁴⁵

SUSK, a Ukrainian Student organization, concerned with the relationship between ethnicity and social and economic mobility, questioned the credibility of the multicultural-

¹⁴³ Debates, 28th Parliament, 3rd Session, 1971, p. 8581.

¹⁴⁴ Ronald Wardaugh, Language & Nationhood, p. 222.

¹⁴⁵ Porter quoted in Peter C. Findlay, "Multiculturalism in Canada: Ethnic Pluralism and Social Policies", p. 221.

ism policy and its effect and intent on Canadian society by asking provocatively "does not multiculturalism by strengthening ethnic group maintenance, solidify and perpetuate the inequality of opportunity?"¹⁴⁶ The alternative presented by Porter and others was that of assimilation. "Only by assimilating into either 'charter culture' or 'nation' would 'ethnics' attain 'real' equality of opportunity and socio-economic advancement with other Canadians".¹⁴⁷ The government's response to those concerns was twofold: first, to ensure that every Canadian be provided with the opportunity to learn one of the two official languages; second, to pursue a vigorous policy of multiculturalism that should help to break down discriminatory attitudes.¹⁴⁸

Although the problematical aspects of the relationship between ethnicity and social and economic mobility had been recognized by the government as well as the 'other ethnics', it seemed more agreeable to the latter to favour the cure prescribed by the government. Assimilation seems not to have been considered as a viable option of resolving social and economic inequalities. In fact, adherents to the norm of multicultural equality such as Bociurkiw, Semotiuk and Lupul argued that the sacrifice of ethnocultural distinctiveness

¹⁴⁶ Yury Boshyk cited in Bohdan Bociurkiw, "The Federal Policy of Multiculturalism and the Ukrainian-Canadian Community", in ed. Manoly Lupul, Ukrainian Canadians, Multiculturalism and Separatism, p. 111.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 99. See John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic,

¹⁴⁸ Debates, p. 8546.

to personal upward mobility would be too great a price to pay in terms of the loss to Canada's uniqueness. Also, there was doubt as to the guarantee of access to the narrowing apex of Canada's power pyramid for the 'homogenized' Canadians of non-charter descent via linguistic-cultural assimilation.¹⁴⁹ The choice of the Liberal government with regards to its multiculturalism policy was evident. Insofar as any social and economic equality was to be accomplished, it would be based on strengthening one's individual ethnic identity which would result in a more tolerant attitude towards others. As well, the provision of necessary language skills to newly arriving immigrants was seen as enabling ethnic groups to fully participate in the economic and social life of Canada.

3.2.1 Party Positions

The announcement of the policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework was welcomed by the other three parties represented in the House of Commons. The then leader of the opposition, Robert Stanfield, expressed support for the intent of "preserving and enhancing the many cultural traditions which exist within our country".¹⁵⁰ Similarly, David Lewis (NDP) as well as Real Caouette (Creditiste) stated

¹⁴⁹ Bohdan Bociurkiw, "The Federal Policy of Multiculturalism and the Ukrainian-Canadian Community", p. 99. citing A. J. Semotiuk, "Multiculturalism: A Three-Dimensional Approach to Canada". Manoly Lupul, "Bilingualism And Multiculturalism: What Do The Ukrainians Want And Why?" Svoboda(Liberty), Nov. 20, 26; Dec. 4, 1971.

¹⁵⁰ *ibid.*, p. 8546.

their support for the new policy.¹⁵¹ Concern was expressed, however, about the policy announcement's reservation of "resources permitting" and the possibly limiting effect of this condition on the policy's implementation.¹⁵² Robert Stanfield alluded to the statements of high principle with regard to Canada's native people and the disillusioning results the Liberal government had produced, as a possible scenario for the policy of multiculturalism.¹⁵³

3.2.2 Francophone Position

Based on the Commission's restrictive interpretation of the terms of reference the government's response constituted, in the mind of some, an unnecessary and misleading extension of the notion of biculturalism to multiculturalism.¹⁵⁴ The Francophone community's reaction seemed particularly characterized by frustration and confusion as to the government position, particularly in light of the recent emphasis on bilingualism with the Official Languages Act (1969).

¹⁵¹ Ibid., p. 8547.

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ Ibid., pp. 8546 and 8547.

¹⁵⁴ R.H.H, "In the Bosom of a Single State", Journal of Canadian Studies, 6 (1971), No. 4, pp. 1,2,63,64. Robert Bourassa, "Objections to Multiculturalism", letter to P.M. Trudeau, Le Devoir. Nov. 17, 1971, reprinted in Howard Palmer, Immigration and the Rise of Multiculturalism, pp. 151, 152.

The Francophone position on multiculturalism varied depending on whether the Francophones were resident inside or outside of Quebec. The Francophone population inside Quebec, as far as one can generalize, expressed concern with the policy of multiculturalism. In their minds, the policy was yet another attempt at weakening their position and would in effect lead to a threat for the dual partnership of English and French Canadians,¹⁵⁵ which alluded to the need for a delicate balance between dualism and multiculturalism. Many Francophones assumed an incompatibility between bilingualism and multiculturalism as mutually exclusive policies.¹⁵⁶ On the other hand Robert Painchaud, a Manitoba French-Canadian historian, argued for viewing multiculturalism as a complementary policy to bilingualism. Francophone opinion leaders outside Quebec interpreted multiculturalism as placing French-Canadians on the same level with the 'other ethnics'¹⁵⁷ which would ultimately lead to their assimilation into a pan-Canadian national culture. Numerically often smaller than 'other ethnic' groups and without a territory, those communities feared a weakening of the official

¹⁵⁵ Guy Rocher (1973) in Jean Burnet, "The policy of Multiculturalism within a Bilingual Framework", p. 207.

¹⁵⁶ Robert Painchaud, "The Franco-Canadians of Western Canada and Multiculturalism", in Multiculturalism As State Policy, p. 39.

¹⁵⁷ The term 'ethnic' alone or accompanied by its prefixes and suffixes had taken on a somewhat derogatory flavour. "Members of the two charter groups ... did not appreciate to be associated with the 'ethnics'". Alan B. Anderson, James S. Frideres, Ethnicity in Canada: Theoretical Perspectives, p. 99

bilingualism in their regions.¹⁵⁸ Thus, French-Canadians outside Quebec increasingly appealed to 'other ethnics' to support them, the French-Canadians, in their efforts to preserve their language and culture since this was "... the only real guarantee they [the 'other ethnics'] have that they will be able to preserve their own languages and cultures".¹⁵⁹

Evolving largely out of the reasoning and experience with regard to immigration, members of the Francophone community inside Quebec, such as Guy Rocher, a leading French-Canadian sociologist, argued for the idea of "two cultural communities [English and French], serving as poles around which the other ethnic groups could gather and from which they could gain support", a concept that seemed to have been rejected with the announcement of the federal government's multiculturalism policy.¹⁶⁰ Since most members of the 'other ethnic' groups opted for the English language, it appeared to the Francophone Quebecers that multiculturalism "... was another way of referring to the Canadian Anglophone community".¹⁶¹ The greater recognition of ancestral languages would

¹⁵⁸ Ronald Wardaugh, Language & Nationhood, pp. 109-110.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid. A similar attitude was expressed by the editor of La Liberte et le Patriot, "La mosaic culturelle du Manitoba", Oct. 7, 1970 cited in Robert Painchaud, "The Franco-Canadians of Western Canada and Multiculturalism", pp.29-46. p. 34.

¹⁶⁰ Guy Rocher, (1973) "Les ambiguites d'un Canada bilingue et multiculturel", cited in Jean Burnet, "The Policy of Multiculturalism within a Bilingual Framework", p. 207.

¹⁶¹ Guy Rocher, "Multiculturalism: The Doubt of a Franco-

constitute a form of status dislocation for Canada's Franco-
phone community and would weaken the Official Languages Act
(1969) and its intent.

In the view of some Francophone opinion leaders, the multiculturalism policy was designed to appease the 'other ethnics' and to attract their votes. For many Francophones, culture and language were inseparable and the federal government's separation of the two with the policy of multiculturalism could only be interpreted as either an empty gesture to the 'other ethnics' or as an implication of greater recognition of ancestral languages which would represent a devastating threat to bilingualism and hence to the Franco-
phone position.¹⁶² This view was shared by at least some prominent English Canadians. As Gregory Baum, a theologian and faculty member at St. Michael's College, University of Toronto, concluded "... that the promotion of multiculturalism on the part of the government and the leaders of public opinion is not without ideological overtones. It can be used to relativize the French demand for a dual Canada by an English insistence on a plural nation and, second, to define a much-needed self-image of Canada, making it different from and superior to the United States".¹⁶³

phone", Multiculturalism as a State Policy, p. 49.

¹⁶² Guy Rocher, "Multiculturalism: The Doubt of a Franco-
phone", pp. 48-51.

¹⁶³ Gregory Baum, "The Canadian Mosaic: An asset- or a
trap?" Toronto Star, Nov. 15, 1977.

Almost six weeks after the multiculturalism announcement, Premier Robert Bourassa of Quebec, responded on Nov 17, 1971 to this new policy. Bourassa expressed concern with regard to the federal multiculturalism policy. In his view it "...clearly contradicts the mandate of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism". Separating culture from language he indicated "... seems to me to be a questionable basis on which to found a policy".¹⁶⁴ Bourassa's major concern seemed to focus on the new policy's implication of infringing on provincial jurisdiction. Thus he vowed

to safeguard Quebec's jurisdictional rights which are involved in most of the projects you are putting forth [With] the federal government assuming responsibility for all the cultures which are to be found in Canada, Quebec must take on within its own territory the role of prime defender of French language and culture.¹⁶⁵

Since many aspects of culture are within provincial jurisdiction according to the B.N.A. Act, the federal government's announcement of multiculturalism could easily be seen as infringing on provincial jurisdiction which would compromise particularly the province of Quebec to an intolerable extent. The Quebec government never used the term "multiculturalism" in its policies or statements but substituted it with the term "cultural pluralism" which relates to the Quebec government's policies for the preservation of some of the characteristics of ethnic groups in Quebec. According to Wardaugh, however, there is a deliberate insistence in all

¹⁶⁴ Robert Bourassa, "Objections to Multiculturalism".

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

statements made on the topic of cultural pluralism that the overall framework will be one of French language and culture.¹⁶⁶

The reaction of Quebeckers to the policy of multiculturalism had largely been characterized by a defensive tone. Much of the focus had been in exploring the federal government's motivation for adopting such a policy initiative, ranging from the cynical to the conspiratorial, without giving sufficient consideration as to the reality of aspirations of the 'other ethnics' as they had developed since the early 1960's. The regionality of the national crisis and its solution in form of the Official Languages Act (1969) necessitated a two tier approach involving remaining regions. In 1971 the policy of multiculturalism sought to do this.

3.3 IMPLEMENTATION

The Liberal government's announcement of the multiculturalism policy on Oct. 8, 1971 was accompanied by a blueprint for the administrative arrangements that would facilitate the program implementation. The principal responsibility for the implementation of the policy components was allocated to the Citizenship Branch of the Department of the Secretary of State.¹⁶⁷ However, since the policy components involved numerous departments and federal cultural agencies as well, the government had decided to establish an Inter-Agency

¹⁶⁶ R. Wardaugh, Language & Nationhood, pp. 100-101.

¹⁶⁷ Debates, 28th Parliament, 3rd Session, 1971, p. 8546.

Coordinating Committee, chaired by the Assistant Under Secretary of State for Citizenship, which would be responsible for the administration of programs proposed by federal cultural agencies. The other administrative arm was the establishment of an Inter-Departmental Committee in order to "... undertake an ongoing review of federal government policies and programmes to ensure that they reflect the cultural groups in our society".¹⁶⁸ The government, expressing a firm belief in the cultural communities' right to "... influence the decision-making process", announced that it would make continued use of the consultative process with the various cultural communities through conferences, private meetings, confidential consultation session, seminars and the like.¹⁶⁹ Lastly, since many of the sixteen recommendations of the Royal Commission dealt with matters within provincial jurisdiction, the government announced its proposal of inviting the provinces to participate in a federal-provincial meeting at the senior official level, in preparation for a possible ministerial meeting, upon completion of the research of the cultural development program.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 8583.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

3.3.1 Reality of the Early Years

Realization of the government's blueprint in its initial stages up to 1974 was mainly characterized by its modest speed and hampered effectiveness in part due to the complexity of the administrative structure involved.¹⁷¹ Although the then Secretary of State, Gerard Pelletier, in cooperation with the then Under Secretary of State, Jules Leger, and Assistant Under Secretary of State for Citizenship, Bernard Ostry, worked enthusiastically towards the implementation of some of the new policy's programs,¹⁷² difficulties were experienced on several fronts.

The government's financial commitment of some \$ 3 million between January 1972 and March 31, 1973, disappointed the expectations of some as to the profile of the multiculturalism policy.¹⁷³ As well, the research of the cultural program did not begin until the spring of 1973, some one and a half years after the announcement of the policy although large aspects of federal-provincial cooperation had been linked in the policy announcement to the completion of the research. Another significant setback was the CRTC's and the CBC's seeming unwillingness to address the issue of third-language broadcasting.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷¹ Manoly Lupul, "Canada's Options in a Time of Political Crisis", p. 157.

¹⁷² Bernard Ostry, The Cultural Connection (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1978), pp. 114-119.

¹⁷³ R. Wardaugh, Language & Nationhood, pp. 208 ff.

¹⁷⁴ Jaworsky, pp. 95 ff.

Overall, it seems that the commitment of the government to its announced multiculturalism policy was rather weak, particularly at the Prime Ministerial level. It seems that the then Prime Minister Trudeau was much more sensitive to the erosion of the French language and culture than to the concerns of Canada's 'other ethnics'. James Fleming (York West) described Trudeau as "rather reticence at first to the policy of multiculturalism".¹⁷⁵

The 1972 election and subsequent events as they relate to multiculturalism policy's development are in many ways representative of a pattern alluded to earlier. In this particular case, the Liberal majority had been reduced to a minority government following the October 1972 federal election. In part, the result of the Liberal government's analysis of the 1972 federal election suggested that in Toronto as much as fifteen per cent of the traditionally Liberal ethnic vote may have switched to other parties.¹⁷⁶ What followed was a series of announcements ranging from the establishment of the position of a Minister of State for Multiculturalism to increased budgetary allocations, expanded programs and the establishment of the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism. However, as a closer examination will highlight, all these measures focused on appearance rather than substance and in several cases bore no significant results

¹⁷⁵ Personal interview with James S. Fleming, August 29, 1988.

¹⁷⁶ Sandra Gwyn, "Multiculturalism: a threat and a promise", Saturday Night, Feb. 14, 1974, p. 17.

for actual policy development or enhancement.

Following the October 1972 federal election, the government appointed the first Minister of State for Multiculturalism on November 27, 1972, Dr. Stanley Haidasz (Parkdale). It has been suggested that the appointment of a Minister of State for Multiculturalism was a direct result of the near loss by the Liberal government in the 1972 election. According to James Fleming, "Trudeau was going to have to focus on it [multiculturalism] a lot more and a lot of the political planners and orchestrators ... said that you now have to do something significant, so they appointed a Minister of State for Multiculturalism".¹⁷⁷

The appointment of a Minister of State for Multiculturalism created an ambiguous relationship with the Secretary of State and his department. Dr. Haidasz had difficulty when attempting to clarify this relationship:

I report to ... rather I deal with, the Under Secretary of State, Jules Leger, and him (Bernard Ostry). Or rather they report to me. I mean they report to me and I deal through them with my officials here in Ottawa and the regions.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁷ Personal interview with James S. Fleming, August 29, 1988.

¹⁷⁸ Globe and Mail, Dec 22, 1972. It also seems that the Minister of State for Multiculturalism, Dr Haidasz, and the Assistant Under Secretary of State for Citizenship, Ostry, had public disagreements. see: Rae Murphy, "The Unmaking of the Minister of Culture" The Last Post, Sept. 1973, pp. 27-31.

In actual practice it was the Minister of State for Multiculturalism who was answerable to the Secretary of State, Hugh Faulkner.¹⁷⁹ On May 17, 1973, Stanley Haidasz informed the House of Commons as to the Government's emphasis within the various components of the multiculturalism policy. If budgetary allotments can be employed as a measure of priority within the various program components of the multiculturalism policy, it was the multiculturalism grants program that received an increase of \$1.1 million as well as the multiculturalism centres program which was allotted an additional \$500,000. As well, the government announced its intention to increase the usage of the ethnic press in communicating government programs relevant to ethnic communities.¹⁸⁰ The Minister of State for Multiculturalism, Stanley Haidasz also introduced a seventh program, the Canadian Identities program. This component was "... designed to increase an awareness on the part of all Canadians of the cultural richness within our society".¹⁸¹ The budgetary allocation for the new program amounted to \$3,823,500 for the fiscal year 1973.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁹ Globe and Mail, Nov. 9, 1974.

¹⁸⁰ Debates, 29th Parliament, 1st Session, p. 3863. This particular aspect led to public disagreement between Ostry and Haidasz in the summer of 1973. see: Rae Murphy, "The Unmaking of the Minister of Culture", pp. 27-31. For further information as to the assessment of this public dispute see: Canadian Ethnic Press Review, Dept. of Secretary of State, Citizenship Branch, 1 (July, 1973), No. 10, p. 4.

¹⁸¹ Canada, House of Commons, Debates, 29th Parliament, 1st Session, p. 3863.

In addition to the limited sums allocated for aspects of the multiculturalism programs further evidence of the Liberal government's emphasis on appearance versus substance was the announcement of the formation of the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism (CCCM). The Council consisted of 101 members from forty-seven ethnocultural groups, appointed by the government. The purpose of the Council was to serve as an active advisory body to the Minister of State for Multiculturalism,¹⁸³ providing a communication channel between the ethnocultural groups and the government. Although the concept of an advisory body had been advocated by some of the more vocal ethnic groups, the size and the composition, as well as the fact that its members were appointed by the government, was troublesome for some of the ethnic groups. They argued that the effectiveness of the Council was hampered by the inflated size as well as the potential politicization of the Council which could easily compromise the quality of advice given to the federal government.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸² Ibid.

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ re: On this see: Bohdan Bociurkiw, "The Federal Policy of Multiculturalism", p. 115. Re: size of CCCM see: Freda Hawkins cited in Jaworsky p. 104. Re: composition of CCCM see: Globe & Mail, Nov. 9, 1974. also: M. Lupul, "The Political Implementation of Multiculturalism" Journal of Canadian Studies, 17 (Spring 1982), p. 101.

Mr. Haidasz announced that the new multiculturalism programs were to entail an increase in budgetary allocation from \$4 million in 1972-73 to over \$10 million in 1973-74.¹⁸⁵ Although the budgetary increases were significant as announced, in reality it seems that the actual expenditure regarding multiculturalism programs for the fiscal year 1973-74 amounted to only \$6,928,000 according to the Public Accounts as opposed to the allocated \$10 million,¹⁸⁶ but nevertheless an almost 100 per cent increase of the 1972-73 actual expenditure level.

The increase in the financial resource allocation may be interpreted as having been motivated by the realization that multiculturalism, from a pragmatic point of view, was to be judged as more important than initially anticipated by the Liberal government. This development may have best been captured by Bernard Ostry when he stated that "of all things we've done here, this one is the sleeper".¹⁸⁷

Nevertheless, the budgetary increase has to remain in perspective.¹⁸⁸ One of the comparative programs employed to maintain that perspective has been the government's budget-

¹⁸⁵ Canada, House of Commons, Debates, 29th Parliament, 1st Session, p. 3864.

¹⁸⁶ Globe & Mail, Nov. 12, 1974.

¹⁸⁷ Sandra Gwyn, "Multiculturalism: a threat and a promise", pp. 16-18.

¹⁸⁸ For a listing of Multiculturalism Expenditures by Province for Transfer Payments see Appendix B; For a Summary of Expenditures, Grants and Contributions by Ethnic Group see Appendix C.

ary allotments for the implementation of the Official Languages Act (1969). Table 2.1 provides the comparative data on the total cost for both programs. The comparison demonstrates that the multiculturalism policy was on the fringe of the Liberal government's agenda based on the assumption that budgetary allocations are indicative of the level of priority given to a policy.

TABLE 2.1

BUDGET FOR MULTICULTURALISM AND BILINGUALISM, SECRETARY OF STATE, GOVERNMENT OF CANADA 1971-1988
(IN MILLIONS OF DOLLARS)

FISCAL YEAR	(1) TOTAL COST OF MULTICULTURALISM	(2) TOTAL COST OF BILINGUALISM	(1) AS A % OF (2)
1971-72	1,828	78,642	2
1972-73	3,147	73,154	4
1973-74	6,928	92,883	7
1974-75	6,776	114,527	6
1975-76	7,005	93,640	7
1976-77	5,172	166,104	3
1977-78	6,130	234,005	3
1978-79	7,640	224,074	3
1979-80	9,011	190,384	5
1980-81	11,375	191,633	6
1981-82	14,143	195,976	7
1982-83	13,785	267,046	5
1983-84	20,241	290,972	7
1984-85	26,163	321,575	8
1985-86	22,683	333,232	7
1986-87	23,615	327,588	7
1987-88	25,038	376,334	7
1988-89	24,798		

Source: David Stasiulis, "The Symbolic Mosaic Reaffirmed: Multiculturalism Policy", How Ottawa Spends (Toronto: J. Lorimer, 1986-87), Table 1.4

3.3.2 Reorientation of Multiculturalism

Following the July, 1974 federal election which returned a Liberal majority government, Dr. Haidasz was removed from the Cabinet, and the responsibility for multiculturalism was transferred to John Munro, Minister of Labour, in August 1974.

There was mixed reaction to this post election move. Ethnic groups interpreted this move of terminating the separate position of Minister of State for Multiculturalism and adding its responsibilities to the demanding labour portfolio as an indication of the reduced importance of an already low priority policy.¹⁸⁹ When asked in the House of Commons by Steve Paproski (Edmonton Centre) as to when the Prime Minister intended to reinstate the previous administrative arrangement, the then Prime Minister Trudeau responded: "I think the hon. member should not be pressing the government to set up a ministry for every special interest group in Canada".¹⁹⁰ This response by the Prime Minister once again provides evidence of his fundamental lack of appreciation of the nature of the multiculturalism policy as well as some of its programs. As can be seen throughout the policy's history, the issue of 'mainstreaming', i.e. taking multiculturalism out of the isolated category of the 'other ethnics' to make it a policy of relevance to all Canadians has been one

¹⁸⁹ Bohdan Bociurkiw, "The Federal Policy of Multiculturalism", p. 116.

¹⁹⁰ Debates, 30th Parliament, 1st Session, p. 6386.

of the most persistent problems with the policy. Some of these concerns with regards to the structural arrangements were echoed in the First Annual Report of the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism which was presented to John Munro on Dec. 14, 1974.¹⁹¹

However, others argued that having an experienced cabinet minister with an important portfolio responsible for multiculturalism would provide the issues surrounding multiculturalism with more adequate visibility and profile.¹⁹² Also, the fact that John Munro was of British origin had been interpreted by some as a significant symbolic gesture to Canadians, underlining that the multiculturalism programs were not only for Canada's 'other ethnic' population but that it was intended for all Canadians.¹⁹³

J. Koteles, chairman of the CCCM expressed respect for Munro, describing him as "... an exceptionally strong minister, fully committed to multiculturalism".¹⁹⁴ The recommendations of the CCCM contained in Appendix A provided the government with clear direction. The two issues of long term

¹⁹¹ Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism, First annual report of the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1975). p. 50.

¹⁹² Ibid.

¹⁹³ Ibid.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., re: Munro's reputation as hardworking, committed to issues and people also see: Lawrence Martin, "The Social Conscience of John Munro", Maclean's. May 1972. pp. 36-39.

priority for the multiculturalism policy were the retention of language and culture and the overcoming of inequalities.¹⁹⁵ With regard to the overcoming of inequalities, the Council conveyed its satisfaction with the federal government's January 10, 1973 decision of announcing the introduction of a Human Rights Act at the earliest opportunity and recommended the entrenchment of such an Act into the Constitution.¹⁹⁶ With regard to the recommendations for the four identified short-term priorities in the areas of community cultural centres, ethnic press and mass media, the arts in a multilingual society, and the immigrant in a multicultural society it is of interest to note the central theme of preserving cultures through the medium of language, emphasising the performing arts and other visible manifestations of ethnic cultures as they relate to individual groups.¹⁹⁷

3.3.3 Policy Review

During the summer and fall of 1975, the policy of multiculturalism was reviewed internally. It is not quite clear what prompted the major policy review. One may speculate that this review was always intended in the initial announcement of 1971,¹⁹⁸ that it was the result of pressure

¹⁹⁵ CCCM. First annual report of the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism. p. 45.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., pp. 46-49. For example community cultural centres versus multicultural centres, the council stated: multicultural centres should be the exception rather than the rule.

within the Liberal caucus and the inner circles of government that had been building up for some time,¹⁹⁹ that it was an effect of the more liberalized immigration policy and the increasingly visible change in Canada's population composition²⁰⁰ or a combination of the above.

The result of the internal review was a significant shift in the winter of 1975 of the focus of the multiculturalism programs. The shift involved reorientation away from the emphasis on ethnic cultures to one on intercultural understanding and the overcoming of inequalities and discrimination.²⁰¹

According to John Munro, the shift from "cultural survival and development of ethnic groups" to "group understanding" would serve as a means of mainstreaming the policy of multiculturalism.²⁰² In his estimation the past emphasis on the development of the folkloric aspects of culture had not enabled cultural groups to overcome cultural barriers, neither had it served to promote intercultural encounters regarded as an important step in nation building, as had been set out by Prime Minister Trudeau in 1971 in element

¹⁹⁸ Jaworsky, p. 113.

¹⁹⁹ Bohdan Bociurkiw, p. 118.

²⁰⁰ Debates, 30th Parliament, 1st Session, p. 9828.

²⁰¹ Bohdan Bociurkiw, "The Federal Policy of Multiculturalism", p. 118. E. Kallen, "Multiculturalism: Ideology, Policy and Reality", p. 59.

²⁰² Globe & Mail, Nov. 26, 1975.

two and three of the original policy announcement.²⁰³

Unlike the established ethnic groups which were frequently characterized by an organizational structure, Munro felt that it was the smaller, less established groups that required assistance "to get their message across".²⁰⁴ In Munro's estimation, this repriorization of programs and the consequent reallocation of funds would be more beneficial in assisting the less established groups in forming organizational infrastructures which were to be helpful for the 'grassroots' and for Canadian society as a whole.²⁰⁵

An increase of intercultural encounters and the combat of discrimination were to be the substantial benefit of the multiculturalism policy to all Canadians, rather than the narrow cultural focus that seemed to have had a tendency to 'ghettoize' the policy itself as only relevant to the 'other ethnics'. However, in Munro's expectation, this reorientation also relied on a joint effort of the various government departments to be coordinated through the Multiculturalism Directorate.²⁰⁶ Although the 1971 policy announcement had

²⁰³ Globe & Mail, Nov. 26, 1975. John Munro, Address to CCCM. in: Multiculturalism as state policy, Conference Report of the Second Conference on Multiculturalism (Ottawa, Feb. 13-15, 1976).

²⁰⁴ Globe & Mail, Nov 26, 1975. It is stated that "As the program now operates, the better-structured language groups receive the lion's share of the grants".

²⁰⁵ John Munro, Address to CCCM.

²⁰⁶ Globe & Mail, Nov. 26, 1975. Munro expected government departments such as the department of justice to earmark a portion of their budget to this end.

envisaged the establishment of an Inter-Agency Coordinating Committee as well as an Interdepartmental Coordinating Committee with the same purpose, they had never been seriously realized.²⁰⁷ Hence, Munro suggested the establishment of a new Interdepartmental Coordinating structure which included the creation of an appointed position within the Privy Council Office (PCO) to facilitate an awareness of multicultural issues and concerns that would find its reflection in forthcoming policy initiatives throughout the federal government.²⁰⁸

In view of the increasing pressure on the government to limit its spending, Munro's reorientation necessitated an internal reallocation of funds. Therefore, the folkloric activities, although considered important, were to receive less funding from the government in the future and were expected to find alternative financial sources in the private sector.²⁰⁹

Although the combination of this new structure as well as the reorientation of the program emphasis within multiculturalism should have provided for more relevance of the policy to all Canadians it seems that the internal budgetary reallocation was a major stumbling bloc for Munro's initiatives. Overall, Munro's efforts towards mainstreaming the

²⁰⁷ Jaworsky, p. 116.

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

²⁰⁹ Globe & Mail, Nov. 26, 1975. John Munro, Address to CCCM.

policy proved largely ineffectual.

3.3.4 Other Ethnics Reaction To Repriorization

Reaction by members of ethnic organizations to the shift in multiculturalism policy was generally negative, but there was also an apparent split within the ethnic communities based on the perception that the new approach favoured the more recently arrived, smaller, and more visible minority ethnic groups over the established groups.

The CCCM's national chairman, Koteles expressed shock at the proposed plans of the Minister in an interview with the Globe & Mail on Nov. 26, 1975. In Koteles' estimation the proposed plan was "...incompatible with the multiculturalism programs".²¹⁰ It appeared to Koteles that Munro was abandoning his portfolio. The main thrust of the criticism focused on the repriorization and proposed internal reallocation of funds for such activities highlighting the visible manifestations of culture such as folk dances or celebration of traditional customs to activities that would increase 'group understanding'.²¹¹ Members of the established ethnic groups whose concept of multiculturalism was largely premised on cultural maintenance through the means of language, felt threatened by the proposed changes. In their view it was of more importance to expand the existing program activities and to increase funding available under those programs.

²¹⁰ Globe & Mail, Nov. 26, 1975.

²¹¹ Ibid.

Indeed, as the government commissioned Majority Attitudes Study had born out, Canadians showed great acceptance of folkloric related multiculturalism programs.²¹² The issue of immigrant settlement and issues relating to the visible minority groups in Canada would in the view of the established groups best be dealt with by the various departments and not be served by an effort of coordination through the Multiculturalism Directorate.²¹³

Another consistent concern expressed frequently by members of the established ethnic groups was that of heritage language retention. The federally commissioned Non-Official Languages Study confirmed reasons to be concerned about the viability of those languages without a more concerted effort of assistance in their preservation.²¹⁴ The establishment of appropriate programs and the allocation of funds had been conditioned by the completion of this study which had been part of the 1971 policy announcement. Naturally, expectations had been built up and the results of NOL seemed to substantiate those expectations.²¹⁵ However, the proposed reorientation's emphasis and the lack of additional funding

²¹² John W. Berry, Rudolf Kalin, Donald M. Taylor, Multiculturalism and Ethnic Attitudes in Canada (Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, 1977), pp. 240ff.

²¹³ Globe & Mail, 12 Dec. 1975.

²¹⁴ K.G. O'Bryan, J.G. Reitz, O.M. Kuplowska, Non-Official Languages Study: A Study in Canadian Multiculturalism, (Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, 1976), pp. 130-133.

²¹⁵ NOL results showed strong support among established ethnic groups for heritage language training.

in effect meant a severe shortage in fulfilling those expectations. Mr. Munro's suggestion with regards to this issue envisaged that "...any money [be] provided on a small basis for third-language instruction" and it would be outside the institutional structure, which meant in effect that the provinces or school boards were not to receive any money for heritage language instruction.²¹⁶

Despite the negative reaction to this by established 'other ethnic' groups, issues such as ethnic language retention and indeed heritage maintenance seemed less important to members of recent immigrant groups who increasingly were also members of visible minority groups struggling to establish themselves. The situation of existing and increasing racial discrimination in Canada placed visible minority groups in the reality of coping with the basic necessities of existence.²¹⁷ This preoccupation with economic need led to a different interpretation of the term multiculturalism. In the interpretation of Rosemary Brown (M.L.A. for Vancouver-Burrard) and others, the government's multiculturalism policy was to be a means of ensuring the fundamental principle of equality of all Canadians.²¹⁸ This role of the policy would have to focus on the basic social issues of an

²¹⁶ Globe & Mail, Nov.26,1975.

²¹⁷ Gloria Montero, "Facing up to Multiculturalism", Canadian Forum. May 1976. pp. 12-13.

²¹⁸ Rosemary Brown, "Presentation by R. Brown", Conference Report, Second Canadian Conference on Multiculturalism pp.7-10.

advanced class society. Intercultural group activities and programs would have to focus on the vertical rather than the horizontal dimension if a resolution of the basic issues confronting recent immigrants and visible minority groups were to be accomplished.²¹⁹ Consequently, in the mind of some, the proposed reorientation did not contribute sufficiently to a comprehensive approach that would specifically address the needs of the newly arrived and visible minority members but rather maintained the status quo of a symbolic policy that was mainly geared to the needs of the established ethnic groups.²²⁰

3.3.5 Reaction of the Opposition Parties

The opposition parties' reaction to the proposed reorientation of the multiculturalism policy mostly consisted of expressing concerns voiced by the CCCM as well as the established ethnic groups. Focussing on the implied internal reallocation of financial resources, the opposition parties argued that the proposed reorientation by Munro represented a downgrading of the concept of multiculturalism which, in the past, provided "positive encouragement of folkloric activities".²²¹

²¹⁹ Ibid.

²²⁰ Ibid., Gloria Montero, "Facing Up To Multiculturalism" pp. 13-15. In her article Montero concluded: "The way in which the CCCM has been set up and the manner in which this Second National Conference on Multiculturalism has been conducted show only too clearly that no one in government is yet prepared to face the serious human questions of multiculturalism in our society".

In the final outcome, Munro's attempt to reorient the programs within the multiculturalism directorate was largely shaped by a delicate balancing act between concerns and vested interests of Canada's Francophone community as well as concerns and vested interests of Canada's established 'other ethnics'. Although, as Jaworsky states, Munro's reorientation proposal had found acceptance by the appropriate Cabinet Committee by early 1976, he also documents the concerns expressed by officials of the Privy Council Office.²²² In their estimation, the reorientation of multiculturalism policy assumed too great a role in the social policy field, i.e. assisting newly arrived immigrants in their settlement. Consequently, those officials argued for the maintenance of a policy that would be defined via a more restrictive interpretation of "culture". This position, which surfaced at a crucial time of reorientation in the policy's history, was also politically pragmatic in that it seemed more in tune with the established 'other ethnics' interpretation of the policy's focus, the same groups that happened to be the most vocal.

This political pragmatism may also provide the explanation as to why the Cabinet's only approval of any new financial resources was for the maintenance and development of non-official languages outside the institutional struc-

²²¹ Debates, 30th Parliament, 1st Session, p. 9456. also see: pp. 9542, 9804, 9828.

²²² John Jaworsky, p. 125ff.

ture.²²³ The financial assistance granted for this purpose amounted to \$1,200,000 for the fiscal year 1977-78 which, as Jaworsky pointed out, included the already existent program for the development of teaching aids for non-official languages.²²⁴ The fact that the approved financial resources towards non-official languages were rather limited is most likely due to the documented opposition from some franco-phone Cabinet ministers as well as some of the senior franco-phone civil servants at the time.²²⁵

One of Munro's final initiatives was the proposal of several new programs in 1977, most of which contained the ideas expressed in the original reorientation proposal. However, the phrasing of the new programs was much more vague and ambiguous and hence less offensive to those who had expressed concerns.

J. Munro's involvement as the Minister of State for Multiculturalism during the period 1974 to 1977 was significant in demonstrating the ambiguities of the policy. These ambiguities were to surface whenever the policy's direction was to be altered in any way. His initiatives of attempting to broaden the scope of the policy by suggesting its involve-

²²³ Ibid., p. 126.

²²⁴ Ibid., Jaworsky notes the interesting observation that the funds allocated for the purpose of developing non-official languages was carefully termed "Cultural Enrichment", so as to disassociate any possible negative inference to official bilingualism.

²²⁵ Jaworsky, p. 126.

ment in various aspects of social policy was, in the mind of some, a radical shift into expanding the policy to an undesirable extent; in the minds of others it was no more than the rightful interpretation of the policy's objective. These reactions can be viewed as symptomatic indicators of the fundamental diversity of interests among the 'other ethnics'. It seems that the two opposition parties' criticism of the reorientation proposal favoured the more restrictive interpretation of multiculturalism which benefitted the established groups. Hence this observation is of interest in providing some suggestive evidence of the comparative effectiveness of the established ethnic groups vis a vis the more recent ethnocultural groups in the political process. Extrapolating from those opposition members that asked questions on the direction of the policy's reorientation, they were predominantly from the western provinces where most of the established other ethnics are to be found, and the majority happened to be members of the established other ethnic groups, for example Steve Paproski (Edmonton Centre), David Orlikow (Winnipeg North), Jake Epp (Beausejour) and Ray Hnatyshyn (Saskatoon West).

3.3.6 Increased Politicization of Multiculturalism

In April 1977, Joseph Philippe Guay (St. Boniface, Manitoba) was appointed Minister of State for Multiculturalism. His initial appointment as Minister without Portfolio in Nov. 1976 had been directly related to the resignation from the

Cabinet by the only other Manitoba Liberal MP, James Richardson.²²⁶ The new minister had little prior involvement or knowledge of multiculturalism and indicated shortly after his appointment that he was not able to discuss the policy.²²⁷ In his time as Minister of State for Multiculturalism, Guay seemed mostly impressed with the possibility of utilizing the "other ethnics'" commitment to Canada as a unifying force and hence viewing the multicultural programs as a support mechanism in this process.²²⁸ Although Guay pledged to increase the funds for his portfolio, no significant increases were made and no initiatives were launched in the area of multiculturalism during his short term in office which was only to last until September 1977.

Guay's pledged approach was in part a product of its time. On Nov. 15, 1976, the Parti Quebecois had been elected in Quebec, which to some extent, made for a more unified English-Canada.²²⁹ In July 1977, the federal government had appointed the Pepin-Robarts Task Force on Canadian Unity.²³⁰ Again, the need for unity within a Canada that was threatened to be torn apart appeared like a theme that was

²²⁶ Globe & Mail, March 24, 1978; Globe & Mail, May 16, 1977: "Guay ... who got into the Cabinet because he came from Manitoba".

²²⁷ Globe & Mail, May 16, 1977.

²²⁸ Winnipeg Free Press, July 14, 1977.

²²⁹ Keith G. Banting, Richard Simeon, Redesigning the State: The Politics of Constitutional Change (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985). p. 102.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 137.

reflected in other government policies at the time.

3.3.7 Pre-election hype, 1977 to 1979

On September 16, 1977, Prime Minister P.E. Trudeau appointed Norman Cafik as Minister of State for Multiculturalism. Cafik, with a nine year background as an elected politician, seemed very enthusiastic in taking on his first ministerial responsibilities. However, the initiatives launched during his term in office as Minister of State for Multiculturalism signalled a clear change of direction and approach from the earlier Munro period, going back to the previous emphasis on cultural maintenance.

At a Conference on October 8, 1977 of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, Cafik presented his interpretation of the multiculturalism policy and signalled his priorities within the programs.²³¹ Although, recognizing the importance of the grants program within the Directorate, Cafik expressed support for more emphasis on ensuring that all government policies reflect the interests of Canada's ethnic groups.²³² In his view this would encompass appointments of members of 'ethno origins' to government boards and crown corporations.²³³ In Cafik's words, the essence of the policy was

²³¹ Address by the Hon. N. Cafik, Minister of State for Multiculturalism to the 12th Ukrainian Canadian Congress, Report of the 12th Ukrainian Canadian Congress, Winnipeg, October 8, 1977 pp. 124ff.

²³² Ibid., p. 125.

²³³ Ibid. also see: Winnipeg Free Press, October 11, 1977.

"...to guarantee that all people of this country are treated fairly, are treated equally, and that recognition is given them for their tremendous contributions that they have made in all walks of life".²³⁴ In this sense Cafik described himself as the advocate on behalf of the ethnocultural communities.²³⁵ The profile of multiculturalism was not only to be raised nationally but Cafik managed to expand it into the realm of international affairs.²³⁶ Arguing that the violation of basic human rights in foreign countries was of deep concern to large segments of the ethnocultural communities in Canada, it was Cafik who attended the Belgrade Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.²³⁷

On March 21, 1978 Cafik announced a new program which was not really all that new, within the Multiculturalism Directorate. The "unity through human understanding" program, was intended to encourage equal opportunities for all cultural groups in sharing their cultural traditions. The program was to receive \$50 million over five years.²³⁸ As far as federal government agencies were concerned, Cafik announced the allocation of an additional \$2.4 million in order to promote

²³⁴ Ibid.

²³⁵ Address by the Hon. N. Cafik, Report of the 12th Ukrainian Canadian Congress, p. 128.

²³⁶ Ibid., p. 124; Winnipeg Free Press, October 11, 1977.

²³⁷ Winnipeg Free Press, March 16, 1978, particularly to members of ethnic groups whose origins were from Eastern bloc countries and happened to form large segments of the 'established other ethnics' in the Canadian context.

²³⁸ Debates, 30th Parliament, 3rd Session, p. 3979.

Canada's cultural heritage.²³⁹ Although Cafik paid verbal tribute to the "... problems of visible minorities, the human rights question, equal opportunities for Canadians of all background ...", there was no financial commitment on behalf of the government, nor was there any program initiative put forth in this direction.²⁴⁰

In their analysis of Cafik's announcement, opposition members pointed out that the financial increase of \$50 million over five years really only amounted to an increase of \$2 million per year, thereby raising the annual budget of the Directorate to \$10 million per annum as promised by the government back in 1974.²⁴¹ Hence, the symbolic nature of the "new" program was clearly indicated by the meagre financial resources accorded to it by the Government. The only novel initiative by Cafik related to the federal government's efforts to repatriate the Constitution. In this context, Cafik vowed in the House of Commons that he would enshrine multiculturalism in the Constitution of Canada.²⁴²

As far as the internal coordinating mechanisms were concerned, it had become obvious that the provinces had not been approached by the federal government for cooperation in the implementation of the multiculturalism policy.²⁴³ Yet

²³⁹ Ibid.

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

²⁴¹ Ibid., p. 3980.

²⁴² Ibid., p. 2837.

this cooperation had been seen as absolutely essential from the very beginning of the policy's existence. Hence, on the substantive as well as procedural side, the policy did not receive the much needed boost.

The timing of the March 21, 1978 announcement could have been linked to the upcoming federal election. Members of the opposition parties claimed that the timing of the announcement was pure 'electioneering' on the government's part.²⁴⁴ Cafik, with a reputation of a "... highly dynamic platform speaker and a bit of a maverick within his own party"²⁴⁵ was a suitable instrument of communication for the Liberal government. His rapport with the ethnic communities seemed comfortable and because his statements were often seen as containing a strong partisan political element,²⁴⁶ it was recognized that Cafik "...will probably do a lot of good for the prime minister and the Liberal party But it is highly questionable if this is synonymous with doing what is best for the country".²⁴⁷ Introduction of a program that would reassure the most vocal established groups of their relative priority within the multiculturalism policy shortly before the approaching 1978 election provides evidence of the higher political profile of the policy. As

²⁴³ Ibid., p. 2942.

²⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 3980.

²⁴⁵ Globe & Mail, Sept. 17, 1977.

²⁴⁶ Winnipeg Free Press, March 16, 1978.

²⁴⁷ Winnipeg Free Press, March 16, 1978.

well, this occurrence confirms once again the identifiable pattern of intensified policy development and upcoming federal elections.

3.4 CONCLUSION

The early phase of the policy of multiculturalism and its implementation had largely been reflective of the demands made by the most vocal ethnic groups during the proceedings of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in the 1960's. The programs established within the multiculturalism directorate focused mostly on heritage language retention as well as acquisition of one of the two official languages and provided, resources permitting, funds for projects emphasizing the visible, artistic manifestations of Canada's diverse cultures. Even though the programs, in nature, corresponded to the demands of the established other ethnics, the scope, (i.e. the allocation of funds that would allow the achievement of basic political change), was blatantly inadequate. Although the policy, as announced on October 8, 1971, was to be for all Canadians, in reality it was a policy for the 'other ethnics'. The reluctance of the Francophone and Anglophone community as well as the native community to consider themselves as an ethnic group by participating in the multiculturalism programs was indicative of the 'ghettoizing' effects of the policy as well as the persistent 'class structure' of Canadian society. On the other hand, the annual budget of the policy never exceeded

\$6,130,000 and hence, the effectiveness of any of the programs was questionable.

Was the multiculturalism policy to be an act of pure political symbolism? Aside from the emergence of a pattern that one can establish between policy development and upcoming federal elections the underlying premises of the policy have been genuinely criticized. As Karl Peter eloquently expressed: "What multiculturalism offered to the ethnic individual was the liberal illusion of 'cultural freedom' where the acquisition of one of the two official languages was regarded as sufficient to assure the individual's full participation in the dominant cultures".²⁴⁸ Yet, towards the end of the 1970's this premise became blatantly obsolete due to the changing Canadian reality. For ethnic groups that had been most demanding during the 1960's, the premise of the multiculturalism policy had in part fulfilled their demands, albeit often unsatisfactorily. Due to the 1967 liberalization of the Immigration Act and the subsequent result of a rapidly changing nature of Canada's immigration, full participation in Canadian society required more than a symbolic encouragement of visible manifestations of cultural differences - it increasingly necessitated structural changes so as to accommodate the multiracial character of Canadian society.

²⁴⁸ Karl Peter, "The Myth of Multiculturalism And Other Political Fables", in ed. Jorgen Dahlie, Tissa Fernando, Ethnicity, Power and Politics in Canada (Toronto: Methuen Publishing Co., 1981), p. 64.

Chapter IV

FROM MULTICULTURALISM TO MULTIRACIALISM

4.1 IMMIGRATION 1971 TO THE PRESENT

In the early 1970's the immigration appeal mechanism had proven itself cumbersome and easily open to abuse. Although the government attempted to alleviate the problem through partial amnesty in October 1972 and amendments to the Immigration Appeal Board Act in 1973,²⁴⁹ this aspect of the department's activity has remained problematic. As well, the makeup of immigrants to Canada had changed drastically since the liberalization of 1967. As Table 3.1 indicates, a rapidly increasing number of Canadian immigrants came from non-traditional, non-white, source countries.

Between 1970 and 1984, as Table 3.2 shows, the percentile share of non-white immigrants had doubled. The make-up of the increasing non-white immigrant population is listed in Table 3.2. From this Table it is evident that the most significant increase of non-white immigrants derived from Asia. By 1984, the Asian component of immigration to Canada amounted to almost 50 per cent of the total intake. Within this component, the four major source countries were Vietnam (10,950=12.4%); Hong Kong (7,696=8.7%); India (5,502=6.2%);

²⁴⁹ Canada, Dept. of Manpower and Immigration, The immigration program, p. 37.

TABLE 3.1

COMPARISON OF WHITE VERSUS NONWHITE IMMIGRATION TO CANADA FOR 1970 TO 1984
(BY NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL IMMIGRATION INTAKE)

	1970	%	1975	%	1980	%	1984	%
White	100,468	68.0	87,067	46.3	50,132	35.0	27,002	30.7
Non-White	47,245	31.9	100,819	53.3	93,001	64.9	60,697	69.2
Total	147,713		187,881		143,133		87,699	

Source: Canada, Department of Employment and Immigration. Annual Reports. 1970, 1975, 1980, 1984.

TABLE 3.2

DISTRIBUTION OF NON-WHITE IMMIGRANTS TO CANADA BY REGION OF ORIGIN FOR 1970 TO 1984
(BY NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL IMMIGRATION INTAKE)

SOURCE REGION	1970	%	1975	%	1980	%	1984	%
Africa	4,017	2.7	11,715	6.2	38,383	3.7	3,851	4.3
South/Central America	5,162	3.4	15,610	8.3	6,132	4.2	8,143	9.2
Asia	23,097	15.6	52,024	27.6	73,026	51.0	42,730	48.4
Caribbean	13,371	9.0	18,790	10.0	7,515	5.2	5,696	6.4
Total	45,647	30.8	98,139	54.2	92,056	64.4	60,420	68.4

Source: Canada, Department of Employment and Immigration. Annual Reports. 1970, 1975, 1980, 1984

and the Philippines (3,748=4.2%).²⁵⁰

The government felt that the establishment of a single dominant objective in the immigration policy would help to provide a direction for the role of immigration. Hence, the government issued a "Green Paper" to this end, involving Canadians directly in defining such an overall policy objective for immigration.²⁵¹ The Green Paper put forth four policy options ranging from the maintenance of the status quo, an immigration policy geared more intensely to the needs of the Canadian labour market, one providing targets for the issuance of visas annually, and lastly the introduction of annual global ceilings by specified priorities and specified category of applicant.²⁵²

While these options were focused on aspects of population growth through immigration, it has been suggested that the real focus of the Green Paper debate centered on the desirability of the racial and ethnic composition of those immigrants.²⁵³ In fact, it has been argued that the debate itself

Statistics, 1984, p. 13.

²⁵¹ B. Bonin, "Immigration: Policy-making Process And Results-Summary of Discussion", in Immigration: Policy-making Process And Results, ed. B. Bonin, (Toronto: The Institute of Public Administration of Canada, 1976). pp. 19ff.

²⁵² Subhas Ramcharan, Racism : Nonwhites in Canada (Toronto: Butterworth, 1982). p. 16ff.

²⁵³ Ibid., p. 16; J. Burnet, "Multiculturalism, Immigration, and Racism: A Comment on the Canadian Immigration and Population Study", Canadian ethnic studies, 7 (1975), No. 1, p. 35.

was the result of "...growing concern of some policy makers over the increasing number of Asian immigrants entering Canada since the 1967 change in the immigration act".²⁵⁴ This interpretation of the Green Paper's hidden agenda has been based on the paper's suggestion that:

[the] rapid increase during the past few years in the number of sources of significant immigrant movements to this country - with those from certain Asian and Caribbean nations now larger than some traditional European flows - has coincided with the latest and most dynamic phase of post-war urban expansion in Canada. In the circumstances it would be astonishing if there was no concern about the capacity of our society to adjust to a pace of population change that entails after all, as regards international immigration, novel and distinctive features.²⁵⁵

The result of the Green Paper and its intense debate was the 1976 Immigration Act which was proclaimed in April 1978. The new Act defined four classes of immigrants: the family-sponsored immigrant, the family-assisted immigrant, the independent immigrant and the refugee. Also, according to the Act, the Minister of the department, in consultation with the provinces, was to announce annual immigration levels, i.e. the number of immigrants Canada would plan to admit in a given year.²⁵⁶ However, the level of immigration announced in the House of Commons does not necessarily

²⁵⁴ Peter S. Li, "Prejudice Against Asians in a Canadian City", Canadian ethnic studies, 10 (1979), No. 2, p. 75.

²⁵⁵ Green Paper on Immigration, Vol. 1, p. 12 as cited in Gurbachan Singh Paul, "The Green Paper and Third World Immigrants", Canadian ethnic studies, 7 (1975), No. 1, p. 42.

²⁵⁶ P. Marchand, p. 35.

reflect the actual number of immigrants in a given year. The average annual immigration intake between 1976 and 1980 was 121,177, whereas the average intake between 1981 and 1984 amounted to 106,803 with a trend to lower immigration in light of the recession. In 1983, 89,177 immigrants came to Canada, in 1984 the number was 88,239.²⁵⁷ Hence, the actual number of immigrants was declining; however, as demonstrated, the percentage of the share of non-white immigration kept growing.

Immigration legislation, as has been demonstrated, has always been a controversial aspect of Canadian existence. The close association of immigration and employment has more often than not limited the number of immigrants admitted to Canada. For numerous reasons, however, the trend in Canadian immigration in terms of source countries has been clearly traced and identified as one shifting from pure Anglo-Franco, to continental European and subsequently world wide immigration. Whereas the initial diversification, resulting from Clifford Sifton's aggressive immigrant recruitment scheme, largely centered around cultural differences, the more recent diversification centred around racial differences.

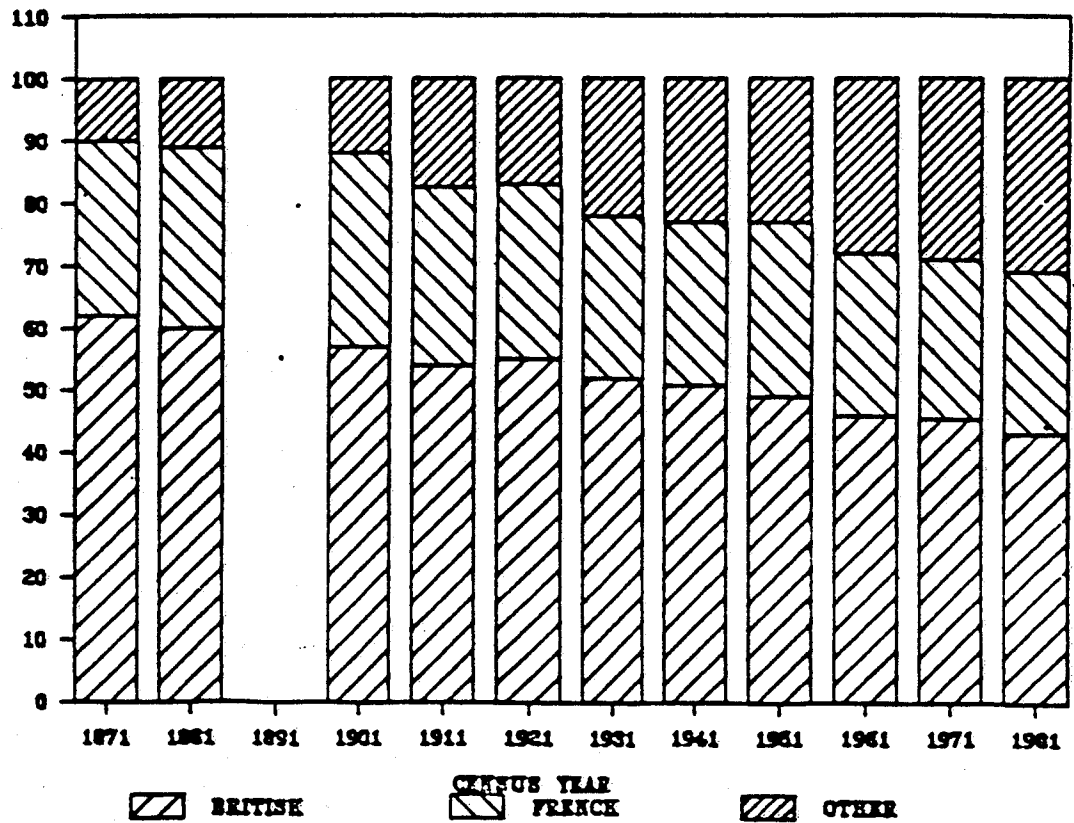
²⁵⁷ Canada, Dept. of Employment and Immigration, Immigration Statistics 1984, p. 3.

4.2 DISTRIBUTION OF NON-WHITE POPULATION

In the context of the post 1967 changes to Canada's Immigration Act, it is of interest to explore the nature of the Canadian population make-up. Special emphasis will be placed on the effect the liberalization of the Immigration Act had on the composition of Canada's 'other ethnics'. As well, it will be of some importance to investigate the settlement patterns of the non-white Canadian immigrants by province as well as by selected metropolitan census area. This combined profile on Canada's population make-up in the early 1980's will facilitate an appreciation in the shift of the policy substance, corresponding to the new demographic reality of Canada. As well, this exploration will assist in substantiating the notion that the policy of multiculturalism, initially most significant for Canada's western region, has gained in importance in central Canada as well as in major Canadian urban centres. In turn, this may provide additional insight into the location of Canada's political power.

Figure 1.4 clearly demonstrates that since 1871, the non-British, non-French population share has increased fairly steadily. In 1981, the 'other ethnics' amounted to 23 per cent of the total Canadian population, forming a bigger segment than the French charter group.

Figure 2.1
 COMPOSITION OF THE CANADIAN POPULATION 1871-1981
 (BY PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION)



Source: Canadian Library of Parliament, Canadian Multiculturalism: Issues and Trends, Figure 1, p.6.

As has been documented earlier, up to 1971 the overwhelming make-up of Canada's 'other ethnics' consisted of members of European ethnic origins. However, as Table 3.3 demon-

TABLE 3.3

**CANADIAN POPULATION BY SELECTED ETHNIC ORIGINS
1981 AND 1986 (BY PERCENTAGE)***

	1981		1986	
European**	82.2		75.3	
Asian/African	14.8***		22.1****	
Latin American	2.2	17.8	1.5	25.5
Other	0.8		1.9	

* Those declaring multiple origins are not included in this table.

** Excluding French and British Ethnic Origins.

*** African includes African Black, Canadian Black, Other African and Other Black.

**** African includes Black and African Black.

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada 1981, and Addendum To The Daily. 1986 figures based on 20% sample data.

strates, within the segment of 'other ethnics' in Canada's population, we find a significant trend of increased diversification. In the comparative figures from 1981 to 1986, members of European ethnic origin in Canada have decreased by 6.8 per cent while the categories of Asian and African, Latin American, and other ethnic origins have increased over the same period of time by 7.7 per cent. Among the 'other

ethnics', members of the Asian and African origins have increased most dramatically in Canada's population over those five years, by 7.3 per cent.

The distribution of these visible minority members in 1981, as compared to the members of European ethnic origin of the 'other ethnics' are significantly more concentrated in their settlement pattern. According to Table 3.4 the number of the largest numerical contingent of nine of the twelve specified ethnic groups in 1981 were to be found in Ontario; the largest numerical contingent of the remaining three specified ethnic groups, the Armenians (10,380), the Indo-Chinese (15,125), and the Haitian (14,915) were to be found in Quebec.

Of interest is the distribution of the second largest numerical contingent of each of these specified ethnic groups. The spread involves, with the exception of the African population, only three Canadian provinces: Quebec, Ontario and British Columbia. The latter houses five of the twelve second largest population contingents, Ontario contains three, the same three which have their largest numerical contingent in the province of Quebec, and Quebec totals three as well. Similarly, the largest and second largest percentage contingent for the specified ethnic groups as a share of the provincial population concentrates within the same three provinces. Unlike the European 'other ethnic origins' in 1971, there is less of a spread of highest and

TABLE 3.4
The Largest and Second Largest Contingent of Provincial
Populations, in Numerical vs. Percentage Terms,
by Specified Ethnic Groups, 1981

Largest				
Ethnic Group	Province	#	Province	%
Armenian	Quebec	10,380	Quebec	0.16
African	Ontario	24,895	N.S.	0.46
Asian Arab	Ontario	26,330	Ontario	0.30
Chinese	Ontario	118,640	B.C.	3.57
Indo-Pakistani	Ontario	93,990	B.C.	2.07
Indo-Chinese	Quebec	15,125	Quebec	0.23
Japanese	Ontario	16,685	B.C.	0.59
Korean	Ontario	13,880	Ontario	0.16
Lebanese	Ontario	11,545	N.S.	0.27
Filipino	Ontario	32,245	Manitoba	1.15
Caribbean	Ontario	65,140	Manitoba	0.24
Haitian	Quebec	14,915	Quebec	0.23
2nd Largest				
Ethnic Group	Province	#	Province	%
Armenian	Ontario	9,660	Ontario	0.11
African	Maritime	4,240	Ontario	0.29
Asian Arab	Quebec	16,850	Quebec	0.26
Chinese	B.C.	96,915	Ontario	1.39
Indo-Pakistani	B.C.	56,210	Ontario	1.10
Indo-Chinese	Ontario	12,825	Manitoba	0.19
Japanese	B.C.	16,040	Ontario	0.19
Korean	B.C.	3,645	B.C.	0.13
Lebanese	Quebec	7,075	Ontario	0.13
Filipino	B.C.	12,015	B.C.	0.44
Caribbean	Quebec	5,890	B.C.	0.18
Haitian	Ontario	285	Ontario	0.003

Source: Statistics Canada Catalogue 92-911 Vol. 1, 1981
Population - Ethnic Origin.

second highest percentage population share by these specified ethnic groups, which suggests why the policy of multiculturalism has experienced an increased significance in central Canada with the exception of British Columbia, as Table 3.4 demonstrates.

Another important aspect that deserves mentioning is the occurrence of a high level of urbanization within the settlement pattern of these specified ethnic groups. This aspect is highlighted when one considers Canada's two major non-European ethnic origin groups in 1981 and assesses their degree of urbanization as a percentage of each of the two communities' total presence in Canada. The two major Canadian non-European ethnic groups in 1981 were the Chinese (289,245) and the Indo-Pakistani (196,390). As Table 3.5 shows, both these groups have a significant level of urbanization within selected metropolitan census areas. For example, it is important to note the concentration of these populations in Vancouver and Toronto: 59.8 per cent of Canada's total population of Chinese ethnic origin is to be found in those two urban centres; similarly, 53.2 per cent of Canada's Indo-Pakistani ethnic group is located there.

TABLE 3.5

SPECIFIED ETHNIC GROUPS AS A PERCENTAGE OF THEIR OWN TOTAL CANADIAN PRESENCE BY SELECTED METROPOLITAN CENSUS AREAS

	CHINESE	%	INDO-PAKISTANI	%
Calgary	15,550	5.3	8,915	4.5
Montreal	17,200	5.9	13,280	6.7
Toronto	89,590	30.9	69,725	35.5
Vancouver	83,845	28.9	34,815	17.7
Winnipeg	6,195	2.1	4,335	2.2

Source: Statistics Canada. Catalogue 93-929, 93-930, 93-931, 93-932 93-933. "Table 3, Population by Selected Ethnic Origin and Sex, showing Age Groups, for CMA and Census Agglomerations of 50,000".

4.2.1 Conclusion

The Canadian population composition in 1981 served as a snapshot to trace the level of change within that composition and equally significant, to demonstrate the unique clustering of non-European ethnic origin Canadians. Of importance is the high level of concentration of those specified ethnic groups in central Canada and British Columbia as opposed to the established group's dispersed settlement pattern of 1971, involving all the provinces west of Quebec. As well, like other ethnic groups, the largest non-European ethnic origin groups have a prominent level of urbanization which, unlike other ethnic groups, centres predominantly in Vancouver and Toronto.

4.3 EVIDENCE OF RACISM IN CANADA

The rapidly changing nature of Canada's immigrant source countries since 1967, coupled with the settlement trends of the visible minority immigrants in their concentration in three major centres, Toronto, Vancouver, and Calgary had led to manifestations of racism by the mid 1970's. The documentation of these incidents of racism is of importance in establishing the government's position and concern as is reflected, in part, in a shift within the multiculturalism policy from a predominantly cultural emphasis to one of racial emphasis. The documentation of this trend will encompass an examination of the various forms of racism, adopting Frances Henry's definition of racism as

a social phenomenon which refers to people's attitudes, beliefs, and behaviour predicated on non-scientific, and erroneous assumptions about the nature of human diversity.²⁵⁸

4.3.1 Evidence

Canadians like to think of themselves as a society cherishing tolerance and peace. This basic value of 'fair play for all' is thought to be a reality within the Canadian context.²⁵⁹ Yet, the Canadian reality of the treatment of racially different groups has not been characterized by

²⁵⁸ F. Henry, The Dynamics of Racism In Toronto, Research Report. (Toronto: Feb 1978). p.1.

²⁵⁹ Leon Muszynski & Jeffrey Reitz, Racial And Ethnic Discrimination In Employment, Working Paper #5, Working Papers For Full list 1600:1 (Toronto: Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto, 1982). p. IV. F. Henry, The Dynamics Of Racism In Toronto, p. 4b.

these values.²⁶⁰ Racism, as is implied in the adopted definition encompasses attitudes, beliefs and behaviour. More recent studies on the subject have attempted to assess those aspects of racism.²⁶¹ Although the methodologies differ, the common result of these studies has been to establish that racism is evident in Canada and most studies implied that the trend is rising in occurrence as well as level of manifestation.²⁶² Even though most of the available studies have focussed on metropolitan Toronto and the province of Ontario, evidence of racism has been documented for the provinces of British Columbia and Alberta, centering on Vancouver and Calgary.²⁶³

²⁶⁰ For a brief historical overview of Canada's record vis a vis the Native Indians, Blacks, Chinese, Japanese, see: Subhas Ramcharan, Racism: Nonwhites in Canada, pp.6ff; Peter S. Li and B. Singh Bolaria, Racial Minorities in Multicultural Canada (Toronto: Gage Publishing Ltd., 1982). pp. 5ff.

²⁶¹ A. Richmond, "Black and Asian Immigrants in Britain and Canada: some comparisons", New Community, 4 (1976), No. 4, pp. 507-509; W. Pitman, Report on Race Relations in Metropolitan Toronto (Toronto: Metropolitan Toronto Council, 1978); F.Henry, The Dynamics Of Racism In Toronto, Canadian Civil Liberties Association, Study, 1976 as cited in Daniel Hill, Human Rights In Canada: A Focus On Racism (n.p. Canadian Labour Congress, 1977).

²⁶² Ibid.

²⁶³ Subhas Ramcharan, Racism. Nonwhites in Canada, p.89; J.S. Frideres, "Multiculturalism And Third World Immigrants: A Report on a National Conference", Canadian ethnic studies, 7 (1975), No. 2, pp. 105-113.

4.3.2 Attitudes

Research has been conducted exploring the attitudes of the dominant white group to the visible minorities. In the late 1970's, Howard Palmer illustrated the non-acceptance of non-whites in Canadian society.²⁶⁴ Focussing on Alberta, Palmer established data that documented the existence "... of a negative reaction toward Orientals by native white Albertans".²⁶⁵ Similarly, F. Henry's study of the demographic correlates of racism in Toronto produced results that 50 per cent of her population sample expressed some degree of racism, whereas the other 50 per cent expressed some degree of liberal views about non-whites. The study developed a racism scale on which the survey sample was distributed as follows: 16 per cent were classified as very racist; 35 per cent as somewhat racist; 30 per cent as somewhat liberal; and 19 per cent as very liberal.²⁶⁶ These kinds of attitudes held by the dominant white group are reflected by the visible minorities. In his analysis of West Indian migrants' attitudes to Canadian society, S. Ramcharan found that the contacted West Indian immigrants believed that "...they could never become accepted as full participating citizens in the white-dominated society because of their experiences

²⁶⁴ H. Palmer, "Attitudes Toward Chinese and Japanese in Alberta: 1920-1975", as cited in J. S. Frideres, "Multiculturalism And Third World Immigrants", p.108.

²⁶⁵ Ibid.

²⁶⁶ F. Henry, "The Demographic Correlates of Racism in Toronto", Black Presence in Multi-Ethnic Canada, ed. V. Doyley, (Vancouver: Faculty of Education, University of British Columbia, 1978). pp. 383ff.

with 'whites' since immigrating".²⁶⁷ These research studies had established "categorically and empirically" that aversive racism toward visible minorities was widespread and more importantly likely to increase.²⁶⁸ The implications of F. Henry's research went even further, postulating "...that while these negative attitudes are in the main covert, the evidence of increased acts of violence, prejudice, and discrimination in the last two years may be suggesting an increase in overt racism".²⁶⁹

4.3.3 Discrimination

More overt forms of racism include racially-motivated discrimination. One indicator of racially motivated discrimination are complaints filed with the Human Rights Commissions, provincially and federally. In 1977, the Ontario Human Rights Commission's report stated that 58 per cent of its caseload consisted of complaints from the visible racial groups.²⁷⁰ The report also clearly noted the "... prevalence of a climate of racial intolerance that involves both violent and subtle forms of racial hostility, as well as a marked increase in substantiated cases of discriminatory

²⁶⁷ Subhas Ramcharan, "Analysis of West Indian Migrants' Attitudes to the Canadian Society", as cited in J.S. Frideres, "Multiculturalism And Third World Immigrants", p.108.

²⁶⁸ Ibid., pp. 89ff.

²⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 91.

²⁷⁰ Ontario, Human Rights Commission, Life Together: A Report on Human Rights in Ontario (Ottawa: Government of Ontario. 1977). pp. 56-57.

behaviour".²⁷¹ Similarly, as J. Bowerman observed, most complaints made to the Alberta Human Rights Commission originated with native Indians, followed by Asians and blacks.²⁷² On the federal level, complaints accepted on the grounds of race/colour discrimination amounted to 20.4 per cent of the total caseload in 1982; 14.25 per cent in 1984. The provinces with the highest share of those complaints were Ontario (1982, 37.0 per cent of the complaints originated in that province; 1984, 18.8 per cent) and Alberta (1982, 24.4 per cent; 1984, 19.4 per cent).²⁷³

The results of a 1970 metropolitan Toronto study surveying male household heads for personal experience of discrimination found that foreign born males of black and Asian origin were four times more likely than Canadian born whites to experience discrimination in employment, and eight times more likely to experience discrimination in housing.²⁷⁴ Other studies have confirmed the high incidence of racially motivated discrimination, especially in the areas of employment and housing.²⁷⁵ With regard to the latter it is of

²⁷¹ Ibid.

²⁷² S. Ramcharan, Racism: Nonwhites in Canada, p. 89.

²⁷³ Canadian Human Rights Commission. Annual Report. 1982, 1984. Appendix

²⁷⁴ A. Richmond, "Black and Asian immigrants in Britain and Canada: some comparisons", New Community, 4 (1976), No. 4, pp. 507-509. Table 10.

²⁷⁵ S. Ramcharan's 1974 study bore out that 58 per cent of West Indians claimed to have encountered employment discrimination; 37 per cent in housing; and 16 per cent in other areas, cited in F. Henry, The Dynamics Of Racism

interest to note a study conducted by the Ontario Civil Liberties Association, released in January 1977. A random survey sample of 30 Ontario real estate firms concluded that "...27 indulged in practices that can only be viewed as blatantly racist...".²⁷⁶ A year prior to this study, the same organization had conducted a similar survey involving 15 employment agencies with the result that in 11 cases "...the agency indicated its willingness to accept discriminatory job orders".²⁷⁷ Quite frequently, discrimination in employment has been reduced to a lack of education or training. However, taking into account education, age, length of residence, and other factors, a comparative analysis by Richmond conducted for all migrant groups to Canada notes that "...income earned by non-white migrants was substantially lower than that of white migrants with similar skills, training and education".²⁷⁸ These findings are confirmed by subsequent studies which attest to the substantial white racial discrimination which affects all aspects of an individual's life.²⁷⁹

In Toronto, p. 5. In W. Head's study of the Toronto black community, 59 per cent of the blacks reported some form of discrimination; cited in Ibid., p. 6.

²⁷⁶ Globe & Mail, Jan. 11, 1977. Vancouver Sun, Jan. 13, 1977.

²⁷⁷ Globe & Mail, Jan. 11, 1977.

²⁷⁸ S. Ramcharan, Racism. Nonwhites in Canada, p. 89.

²⁷⁹ Bhausahab Ubale's report submitted to Roy McMurty, Attorney General of Ontario, Globe & Mail, Nov. 7, 1977. Walter Pitman, Now Is Not Too Late. F. Henry, The Dynamics Of Racism In Toronto. and more recently F. Henry and E. Ginzberg, Who Gets The Work? A Test of

4.3.4 Racial Violence

The W. Pitman report Now Is Not Too Late was catalyzed by dramatically increasing incidents of racially-motivated violence in Toronto.²⁸⁰ However, it should be clarified that those incidents occurred as well in other major urban centres, particularly in Vancouver and Calgary.²⁸¹ Yet, the awareness of the existing racism by the dominant white group toward members of the visible minorities was extremely low. When NBC's Weekend public affairs show presented Toronto as a 'racial time bomb', Canadians were stunned and Toronto politicians were reported to deny the existence of racism in Toronto.²⁸²

4.3.5 Conclusion

Although the various studies cited attempted to identify variables that would prove to have a relationship with racism such as age, education, social and economic status, and religion,²⁸³ broader factors cannot be ignored. Such broader factors would include the economic recession of the 1970's, following the 1972 oil crisis, and the resulting

Racial Discrimination in Employment (Toronto: The Urban Alliance on Race Relations and The Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto, Jan. 1985).

²⁸⁰ F. Henry, The Dynamics Of Racism In Toronto, p.6. S. Ramcharan, Racism. Nonwhites in Canada, p. 89.

²⁸¹ E. Kallen, Ethnicity and Human Rights in Canada (Toronto: Gage Publishing Ltd. 1982). pp. 20ff.

²⁸² Globe & Mail, Jan. 13, 1977.

²⁸³ S. Ramcharan. Racism. Nonwhites in Canada, p. 91

rise in unemployment. As established earlier, in the mind of the Canadian populace, immigration and employment are related in a negative fashion. The economic recession not only facilitated a general apprehension towards the issue of immigration per se but, through the rapid shift in immigrant source countries, had found an identifiable target. Undoubtedly, the rapid increase in immigration by visible minorities was one of the key factors in those developments. Some have suggested that "...it was the non-white immigration of the post-1967 era that brought to the fore the latent racism always existent within the Canadian society".²⁸⁴

4.4 MULTICULTURALISM AND THE P.C. GOVERNMENT OF JOE CLARK

The P.C. government under the leadership of Joe Clark was elected on June 4, 1979. While in opposition, much of the then Liberal government's policy direction of multiculturalism had been criticized for its apparent tokenism and symbolic value.²⁸⁵ Mention had been made by the then multiculturalism critic, Gus Mitges, that too little emphasis was being placed on intercultural relations and on an appropriate response to the increasing reality of a multiracial Canadian society. Once in power, the Progressive Conservative government proceeded to assign combined responsibility for Multiculturalism as well as Fitness and Amateur Sport to

²⁸⁴ Dhiro Patel, Dealing With Interracial Conflict: Policy Alternatives, (Institute for Research on Public Policy, Montreal, 1980), p.11; S. Ramcharan Racism. Nonwhites in Canada, p. 96.

²⁸⁵ Debates, 30th Parliament, 4th Session, p. 247.

Steve Paproski (Edmonton-North).²⁸⁶

More significant than the structural rearrangements, however, was the new emphasis and approach proposed by Paproski. As outlined in a speech, addressing a 1979 Vancouver Conference on Ethnicity, Power and Politics, multiculturalism was to be treated as "...basically a social program" assisting non-English and non-French-origin Canadians to "...participate effectively in the political system".²⁸⁷ This announced new philosophy on multiculturalism was the commencing of a significant shift compared to the early phase of multiculturalism with its focus on heritage retention. Multiculturalism as a social policy would have to address social issues such as the racial discrimination in employment and housing. This new approach may have been, in part, a reflection of some of the findings of the Pepin-Robarts Task Force on Canadian Unity: A Future Together, tabled in January 1979. Some of these findings had highlighted the need to address "... other important social issues which deserve attention ... such as equality of opportunity, the sharing of Canada's material benefit, access to public services, and the degree of racial and ethnic discrimination".²⁸⁸ Although rooted in the previous pol-

²⁸⁶ Guide to Canadian Ministries since Confederation July 1, 1867 - Feb. 1, 1982 [Compiled by staff of the Privy Council and the the Public Archives], 1982.

²⁸⁷ Vancouver Sun, October 22, 1979.

²⁸⁸ Pepin, Robarts, Task Force on Canadian Unity: A Future Together. Observations and Recommendations (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1979). p. 56.

icy evolution,²⁸⁹ this new philosophy nevertheless signalled a political recognition of the one-dimensional focus of the directorate's earlier activities and provided a clear indication of expanding the policy area of multiculturalism.

On December 13, 1979, the short-lived P.C. government was defeated in a non-confidence vote on the introduced budget. This 'crib-death' of the infant P.C. administration makes it impossible to assess the effectiveness of the implementation of the expanded P.C. philosophy of multiculturalism.²⁹⁰ However, examining the subsequent Liberal government under Pierre E. Trudeau, which was elected on March 3, 1980, one can state that the P.C. government's new priority was successfully implemented and expanded under the Liberal Minister of State for Multiculturalism, James S. Fleming.

4.5 MULTICULTURALISM ENCOMPASSING MULTIRACIALISM

The new Minister of State for Multiculturalism, James S. Fleming, representing the constituency of York-West, was quite familiar with the rapid change in the racial composition of metropolitan Toronto. Soon after being assigned the responsibility, Fleming publicly expressed the view that

²⁸⁹ Vancouver Sun, October 22, 1979. The article suggests that it was "...staff work that seems to have led to Paproski's new ethnic power approach", partly resulting from a study of order-in-council appointments to boards and commissions undertaken in the spring of 1978. This study would have been issued by the then Minister of State for Multiculturalism, N. Cafik.

²⁹⁰ Warner Troyer, 200 Days. Joe Clark In Power (Toronto: Personal Library Publishers, 1980), p. 186.

there had "... never been sufficient political or bureaucratic commitment to making this country a multicultural society".²⁹¹ In terms of past financial allocations to the policy of multiculturalism, Fleming stated "multiculturalism was more of a political tool to show recognition than it was a social policy with value to it".²⁹² His argument was premised on the view that the policy of multiculturalism, if it was to be effective, would have to be mainstreamed from its isolated structural position. Fleming vowed that the mainstreaming of the policy would be high on his list of priorities and would be accomplished by assigning responsibility to each minister, department and government agency to incorporate the philosophy of multiculturalism in their own jurisdictions.²⁹³ Fleming was in a good position to do so since he was the first Minister of State for Multiculturalism who was also a member of the influential Priorities and Planning committee of Cabinet.²⁹⁴ According to Fleming, when "...he [Prime Minister Trudeau] appointed me [Fleming], my

²⁹¹ Montreal Gazette, May 6, 1980.

²⁹² Personal interview with James S. Fleming, August 29, 1988.

²⁹³ Montreal Gazette, May 6, 1980.

²⁹⁴ Manoly Lupul, "The Political Implementation of Multiculturalism", Journal of Canadian Studies, 17 (1982), p. 96. Note the cumbersome, illogical administrative structure of this arrangement. As Minister of State for Multiculturalism, Fleming's projects and initiatives would have to be approved by the Secretary of State, Francis Fox. Fox's projects and initiatives, however, would have to be approved by the Priorities and Planning Committee of Cabinet, of which the junior Minister, J. Fleming, was a member of.

real job, as far as he was concerned, was to sit on the inner Cabinet and chair a new Cabinet committee on communications".²⁹⁵

Another weak area of the multiculturalism policy had always been the level of federal-provincial consultation and cooperation and the lack thereof. Fleming, emphasizing the role of education, a provincial jurisdiction, as a primary mechanism in fostering attitudes compatible with the multicultural reality of Canada, also promised to encourage the provinces in actively promoting this process.²⁹⁶

In terms of policy direction, the emphasis was clearly on race relations as opposed to cultural expression and heritage maintenance. The changed reality of Canada's population makeup, accentuated by the settlement pattern in major urban centres, as well as increased incidents of racial discrimination warranted a government response. As Andrew Cardozo, (Special Assistant to Fleming at the time) expressed it: "I think that Flemming naturally picked up the ball and moved".²⁹⁷ Fleming's approach was characterized by immediate and high profile instruments. Already, in the summer of 1980, following a violent racial incident in the Toronto suburb of Etobicoke, the Directorate assisted in easing

²⁹⁵ Personal interview with James S. Fleming, August 29, 1988.

²⁹⁶ Montreal Gazette, May 6, 1980.

²⁹⁷ Personal interview with Andrew Cardozo, September 1, 1988.

racial tensions by sponsoring a pilot project.²⁹⁸ Policy development within the Directorate produced proposals addressing the issue of race relations and after being submitted to Cabinet they resulted in a series of initiatives and new money in the spring of 1981.²⁹⁹ On June 10, 1981, the Minister of State for Multiculturalism announced the allocation of \$1.5 million for a program to combat racism.³⁰⁰

The specific initiatives to be undertaken within this program comprised the establishment of a race relations research unit within the Directorate.³⁰¹ This research unit consisted of 10 additional staff and was to investigate the level of racial tension in Canada.³⁰² Besides producing reports on racism in major urban centres, the research unit commissioned a Gallup Omnibus Survey on racial attitudes.³⁰³

²⁹⁸ Globe & Mail, March 15, 1982; Canada, Department of Secretary of State, Annual Report 1980-81, p. 18.

²⁹⁹ Globe & Mail, March 15, 1982.

³⁰⁰ Canada, Minister of State for Multiculturalism, Race Relations and the Law, Report of a Symposium held in Vancouver, B.C. April 22-24, 1982, (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1983).

³⁰¹ Globe & Mail, Nov. 10, 1981.

³⁰² Correspondence from J. Fleming to the Winnipeg Jewish Community Council, April 1983.

³⁰³ The results of the poll confirmed the existence of racism in Canada, (31 % of respondents would support organizations that worked toward an all-white Canada). However, the release of the poll results has been criticized as being selective, as well, the employed survey instrument had been found problematic in that some of the questions were double sided. Globe & Mail, March 9, 1982; Globe & Mail, February 27, 1982.

Another initiative within the program to combat racism consisted of a media campaign directed at the general public, minority groups as well as schools, with the purpose to overcome intolerance.³⁰⁴ A personal priority of Fleming was the issue of immigrant women. The first conference on this issue was held in March, 1981 in Toronto and resulted in recommendations focusing on the need for these women to obtain fluency in either one of the two official languages.³⁰⁵

Lastly, the Directorate organized a National Symposium on Race Relations and the Law. The attendants of the symposium were selected from all three levels of government as well as community organizations and individuals involved with questions relating to law and race relations.³⁰⁶ In his address to the symposium, Fleming stressed the need to combat 'institutionalized racism' relating to employment, housing and education and pledged the government's overall commitment to realize the egalitarian principles of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms.³⁰⁷

³⁰⁴ Canada, Minister of State for Multiculturalism, Race Relations and the Law, p. 2. A Conference on Visible Minorities and the Media was sponsored by the department in October 1982.

³⁰⁵ Canada, Multiculturalism Directorate, National Conference on Immigrant Women, (Toronto: n.p. 1981).

³⁰⁶ Canada, Minister of State for Multiculturalism, Race Relations and the Law, p. 2.

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

The Charter of Rights and Freedoms was proclaimed on April 17, 1982 and gave special recognition to the multicultural nature of Canada through the relevant section 15(1) and section 27. Section 15(1), the Equality Rights provision of the Charter guarantees equality before and under the law and equal protection and benefit of the law.³⁰⁸ The section addresses every possible application of the law affecting individuals.³⁰⁹ The provision of Sec 15(1) is relevant to ethnic rights when interpreted with Sec 27 of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms which states:

The Charter shall be interpreted in a manner consistent with the preservation and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canadians.³¹⁰

The entrenchment of Sec. 27 in the Charter thereby provides for constitutional status of the concept of multiculturalism which, prior to the Charter, had only been proclaimed government policy.³¹¹ Unlike Sec. 15, which had already existed in the August 22, 1980 'Discussion Draft' of the Charter, Sec. 27 did not come into the Charter until the third version, on January 12, 1981.³¹² The inclusion of Sec. 27 had

³⁰⁸ Edward McWhinney, Canada and the Constitution. 1979-1982 (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1982). Appendix B, p. 152.

³⁰⁹ Walter Tarnopolsky, "The Constitution and Human Rights", in And No One Cheered. Federalism, Democracy And The Constitution Act, eds. Keith Banting, Richard Simeon, (Toronto: Methuen Publications, 1983). p. 272.

³¹⁰ Canada, The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

³¹¹ Walter Tarnopolsky, "The Constitution and Human Rights", p. 275.

³¹² H. Allan Lead, Q.C. "Multiculturalism and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms". Multiculturalism. 8, (1983), No.

been, in part, the result of the numerous submissions of ethnic groups and organizations before the Special Joint Committee on The Constitution. Many of the submissions addressed the fact that the proposed Constitution paid much attention to English-French bilingualism, however, ignoring the second aspect of the two dimensional policy, i.e. multiculturalism.³¹³ Indeed, Fleming stated that "... it was quite a struggle" and that it took a lot of persuasion by people like Herb Gray, John Roberts and Lloyd Axworthy until Jean Chretien, then Minister of Justice, became supportive of the embracing clause.³¹⁴

Although Sec 27, as put forth by the then Minister of Justice, Jean Chretien, has to be recognized as a "useful statement of principle",³¹⁵ its importance in legal terms should not be overstated. Unlike other provisions in the Charter, Sec. 27 is an interpretive clause, and thus does not provide specific granting of rights.³¹⁶ Because of its interpretive nature, some have warned that Sec. 27 should not be viewed as the solution for "... the general problems of discrimination, or the particular exclusion of ethnic

1, p. 26.

³¹³ see: M. Lupul (Ukrainian Canadian Congress); J. Fedorowicz (Canadian Polish Congress).

³¹⁴ Personal interview with James S. Fleming, August 29, 1988.

³¹⁵ A. Wayne MacKay, "Protecting Ethnic Rights Under the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms", Multiculturalism, 4 (1983), No. 4, p. 23.

³¹⁶ Ibid., p. 26.

groups from the mainstream of Canadian society",³¹⁷ while others have viewed the interpretive nature of the clause as an opportunity for the Courts to "... concentrate attention on institutional and economic impact".³¹⁸

The legal importance of Sec. 27 cannot be assessed as yet. However, it is fair to say that the inclusion of the concept of multiculturalism in the Constitution Act (1982) is of importance in political terms. Aside from the fact that a Constitution is the 'supreme law of the land', it is also the reflection of the fundamental values of a given society. Hence, the entrenchment of the concept of multiculturalism has served as an elevation for the policy in that multiculturalism has become part of the core values espoused by the Canadian society.

One of the last major initiatives by James Fleming as Minister of State for Multiculturalism was the appointment of a Special Parliamentary Committee on the Participation of Visible Minorities in Canadian Society as announced on June 27, 1983. The mandate of the Committee was a national inquiry into race relations, assessing the plight of visible minority members and recommending ways in which to alleviate racial intolerance.³¹⁹ The announcement of such a "major

³¹⁷ Ibid.

³¹⁸ Joseph Eliot Magnet, Collective Rights, Cultural Autonomy and the Canadian State,

³¹⁹ Canada, House of Commons, Report of the Special Committee On Visible Minorities In Canadian Society, (Ottawa, Minister of Supply and Services, March 1984). pp.

inquiry" had been anticipated since at least May 1983.³²⁰ According to Fleming, the establishment of the Committee was the response to increased racial conflict, as well as the result of one of the major recommendations from the National Symposium on Race Relations and the Law,³²¹ which had created an "urgent need" for such action.³²² The Minister of State for Multiculturalism expressed his hope that the committee's recommendations would focus and eventually lead to changes at the institutional level.³²³ However, before the seven all party member committee tabled its report, in March 1984, Fleming was no longer Minister responsible for Multiculturalism.

By August 1983, the Liberal government trailed the Progressive Conservative opposition by 27 points in the polls and the election was less than twelve months away.³²⁴ Confronted with this situation, Prime Minister Trudeau dropped five ministers from his Cabinet, among them James S. Fleming. The considerations in the Cabinet shuffle focused primarily on northern Ontario and Toronto.³²⁵ The result of the

VI, VIII

³²⁰ Montreal Gazette, May 14, 1983; Montreal Gazette, May 26, 1983.

³²¹ Canada, Department of Secretary of State, Multiculturalism Directorate, Cultures Canada, 4 (1983), No. 3.

³²² Montreal Gazette, May 26, 1983.

³²³ Ibid.

³²⁴ Vancouver Sun, August 13, 1983.

³²⁵ Vancouver Sun, August 13, 1983.

shuffle was to increase Toronto's representation in Cabinet from five to six members.³²⁶ According to the press, Fleming's dismissal seems to have been primarily due to his proposed controversial legislation to control newspaper ownership, which was to be presented in the forthcoming parliamentary session.³²⁷ However, in Fleming's own assessment, "... the newspaper thing was given as an excuse".³²⁸ Fleming's analysis of the events as they unfolded lead him to conclude that there were inner battles and differences with colleagues regarding the Communications Committee of Cabinet, as well as the complaint that he was spending too much time on multiculturalism and not enough on communications and vice versa, "... unless the ethnic communities had been quite upset at me".³²⁹ Although evidence of the resistance to the repriorization from multicultural to multiracial activities is difficult to obtain, it seems to have had some impact on Fleming's reputation among his cabinet colleagues. It is possible that the comment that Fleming "...

³²⁶ Ibid.

³²⁷ Calgary Herald, August 13, 1983; Vancouver Sun, August 13, 1983; Globe & Mail, August 13, 1983. It is suggested that Fleming's dismissal from Cabinet enabled the Liberal government to reconsider this proposed piece of legislation, the Daily Newspaper Act. See: Montreal Gazette, August 13, 1983. Opposition leader Brian Mulroney has been quoted as describing Fleming's performance as an "unrelieved disaster". See Vancouver Sun, August 13, 1983.

³²⁸ Personal interview with James S. Fleming, August 29, 1988.

³²⁹ Ibid.

had lost touch with ethnic power blocs"³³⁰ referred to the reluctance by the 'established other ethnics' to Fleming's priorities within the policy of multiculturalism.³³¹

4.5.1 A Retrenchment Period, David Collette

Fleming was replaced by David Collette (York East) as Minister of State for Multiculturalism. First elected to the House of Commons in 1974 at the age of 28, Collette was an experienced parliamentarian³³² and his close connections to Toronto's Greek community were considered as an asset in his new portfolio.³³³ The main issue dealt with during Collette's short term of office was the tabling and response to the report of the Special Committee on the Participation of Visible Minorities in Canadian Society, tabled in the House

³³⁰ Calgary Herald, August 25, 1983.

³³¹ Some impressionistic evidence of tensions can be identified: The Canadian Ethnocultural Council (CEC) was established in 1980 as a national lobby group representing the 'other ethnics'. Although Fleming was in favour of such an organization, he refused to provide financial support until the Council, which at that time consisted predominantly of leaders of the 'cultural retention' groups, had a democratic constitution with elected Council members. This refusal of providing financial assistance "... got [Fleming] into huge trouble". Personal interviews with James S. Fleming, August 29, 1988 and George Corn, August 30, 1988. As well, according to Andrew Cardozo, the way in which the repriorization was related to the 'other ethnics' led to insecurities and resistance: "What was said to some of the European groups was that this is a new priority and we have to give this high priority, which, by implication means that we are going to give you less priority. This was not the way to do it". Personal interview with Andrew Cardozo, September 4, 1988.

³³² Vancouver Sun, August 13, 1983.

³³³ Calgary Herald, August 25, 1983.

of Commons on March 28, 1984. The Special Committee's report, based on approximately 300 briefs and testimony of 130 groups, most of which were representatives of visible minority communities, resulted in 80 recommendations.³³⁴ Bob Daudlin, chairperson of the Committee expressed surprise at the extent of concerns of visible minority members.³³⁵ The recommendations ranged from the areas of social integration, employment, public policy, legal and justice issues, to media and education.³³⁶ Many of the recommendations addressed the institutional level and called for major changes if racial tensions were to be alleviated. The most controversial recommendation was number 12, relating to employment. The proposed five year strategy to promote the hiring of visible minorities in the private sector would require the government to introduce mandatory affirmative action programs at the end of the five year period, wherever necessary.³³⁷ It was this recommendation that sparked overall negative reaction to the Report by business leaders and the white majority.³³⁸

³³⁴ Canada, Department of the Secretary of State, Multiculturalism Directorate, Cultures Canada, 5 (1984), No. 1, p. 4.

³³⁵ Ibid.

³³⁶ Canada, House of Commons, Report Of The Special Committee On The Participation Of Visible Minorities In Canadian Society (Ottawa, Minister of Supply and Services, March 1984).

³³⁷ Ibid., pp. 135-136.

³³⁸ see: Montreal Gazette, March 29, 1983; Calgary Herald, April 2, 1983.

However, aside from this controversial recommendation, there were numerous other ones that would surface again in subsequent years. Of specific importance with regards to the structural arrangements, the Report suggested a much higher profile for the Multiculturalism Directorate.³³⁹ Recommendations 25 and 26 called on the government to

...immediately introduce in Parliament a Multiculturalism Act, creating a Ministry of Multiculturalism and

... to amend Standing Order 69 (I) to establish a Standing Committee on Multiculturalism.³⁴⁰

According to the all party special committee, the placement of the Multiculturalism Directorate within the department of the Secretary of State was characterized as "confusing, inefficient and administratively awkward".³⁴¹ The structure had been problematic from the very beginning and the proposed creation of a separate department had been alluded to as late as 1983.³⁴² However, the argument opposing the benefit of such a separate administrative unit, besides the cost factor, has traditionally been the apprehension that it could lead to a "ghettoization" of the implementation of the policy.³⁴³

³³⁹ Canada, House of Commons, Report of the Special Committee, pp. 54-56.

³⁴⁰ Ibid.

³⁴¹ Ibid., p. 54.

³⁴² Debates, 32nd Parliament, 2nd Session, Speech from the Throne.

³⁴³ Canada, House of Commons, Report on the Participation of Visible Minorities in Canadian Society, p. 56. The suggestion with regards to this expressed concern has been

With regard to the second aspect of recommendation 25, the Committee clearly emphasized the need to give race relations and concerns of visible minorities a higher priority within the federal multiculturalism policy. Although the Committee acknowledged the governmental effort made, it repeatedly urged a strengthening of programs regarding race relations as well as increasing the budgetary allotment for such programs.³⁴⁴

A Standing Committee on Multiculturalism, as recommended, would ensure the necessary parliamentary scrutiny of the Act.³⁴⁵ Such a committee would serve as a focused attempt in monitoring the "...progress of the implementation of the recommendations", as well as serving as a forum wherein needs of improvements can be identified.³⁴⁶

4.5.2 Government Response to Equality Now

The formal government response to the Report came from the Minister of State for Multiculturalism in the summer of 1984. With regard to the recommendations most directly affecting the Multiculturalism Directorate, i.e. recommenda-

to establish the new department as a 'lead' ministry. see Ibid., p. 56.

³⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 55. "In the fiscal year 1983-84 the entire budget of the Directorate was projected to be \$20 million with approximately \$1.7 million earmarked for initiatives in the field of race relations".

³⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 56.

³⁴⁶ "Equality Now. Action Now". Multiculturalism 7 (1984), No. 3, editorial.

tions 25 and 26, David Collette restated his government's commitment to introduce a Multiculturalism Act providing statutory authority to the policy. It was hoped that the

enactment of a legislative base to the policy will ensure that multiculturalism is considered as a key concept in formulating government policies. It will also provide a clearly identifiable base for national advocacy of the policy and for the provision of assistance in key areas of need.³⁴⁷

The envisaged Act would formalize the twofold mandate for the Multiculturalism Directorate of multiculturalism and multiracialism:

...the bill will incorporate the commitment of this government to the removal of barriers to the full and equal participation of all cultural and racial groups in the social, political, cultural and economic life of Canada. Concurrently, the legislation will encourage and support the retention and sharing of culture by and among the various groups which will make up the Canadian population.³⁴⁸

A Multiculturalism Act, Bill C-48, was first read in the House of Commons on June 21, 1984 but died on the order paper. It is worth noting that Bill C-48 was introduced after Prime Minister Trudeau had stepped down and John Turner had become his successor. However, the time of the tabling of the Bill has been interpreted by Andrew Cardozo as a symptom of the powers that were around at the time and did not want it to pass.³⁴⁹ Hence, the introduction of Bill

³⁴⁷ Canada, Department of Secretary of State, Response of the Government of Canada to Equality Now (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services., 1984). p. 11.

³⁴⁸ Ibid., pp. 10 and 11.

³⁴⁹ Personal interview with Andrew Cardozo, September 4, 1988.

C-48 was yet another misleading move by the Liberal government, creating false expectations.

With regard to the recommended establishment of a Standing Committee on Multiculturalism, the government indicated its willingness to consider the possibility. In terms of the many remaining recommendations addressing the various sectors as they might impact on multiculturalism, the government's approach was persuasive rather than coercive.³⁵⁰ As for the most controversial recommendation respecting affirmative action in private employment where federal contracts were involved, the government committed itself only to further study the matter when it received recommendations of the Abella Commission on Equality in Employment, to be filed sometime during 1985.

The examination of the various components of the government's response to the Equality Now report exemplify the low level of commitment. Indeed, besides verbal posturing and the promise of further study, the government's response, in substance was characterized by a lack of action and direction.

³⁵⁰ Canada, Department of Secretary of State, Response of the Government of Canada to Equality Now, p. V.

4.5.3 Implication of the Policy Shift

The policy shift that took place between 1979 and 1984 from a multicultural policy emphasizing cultural differences and the retention of cultural identities to race relations had significant implications for the Multiculturalism Directorate. Due to the new programs' substance, the clientele of the Directorate changed. Whereas the established 'other ethnics' had been the primary target group in the earlier phase, now the Directorate was aiming at the non-European ethnic origin segment of the 'other ethnics'. This in turn had ramifications for the internal functioning of the Secretary of State.

The policy's repriorization was to a large extent the result of efforts made by the Minister and his advisors in Ottawa. This centralized approach seemed to undermine the authority and influence of the Secretary of State Regional Offices.³⁵¹ As well, the implementation of this new policy focus had differing impacts due to the uneven concentration of the target groups in only three out of all the Canadian provinces. The programs, and more importantly, the funds for those programs would obviously be allocated to provinces which, due to their population composition, would be able to support visible minority race relations programs. The effect was a redistribution of funds from primarily western Canada

³⁵¹ Memorandum prepared by Gerry Koffman for the Canadian Jewish Congress re: Issues Arising Out Of Meetings With The Secretary Of State, Multiculturalism Directorate Held December 16 and december 31, 1982.

to central Canada, more specifically Ontario.

According to the memorandum of meetings between the Canadian Jewish Congress and representatives of the Secretary of State, Multiculturalism Directorate, on December 16 and December 31, 1982,

...there is a power struggle going on within the Secretary of State vis a vis the top civil servants and the minister; between the minister of State for Multiculturalism and the office of the Secretary of State; lines of authority, communication and influence are blurred, causing apprehension and some mistrust.³⁵²

As was suggested in the same memorandum, possible strategies for dealing with this repriorization were various avenues of resisting it. Those strategies involved expressing the concern of 'established groups' to the Minister; addressing the Director of the Multiculturalism Directorate; voicing reluctance to the regional officials of the Secretary of State; exploiting the expressed provincial resistance to such a repriorization (in the Manitoba context); and asking opposition members to question the Minister of State for Multiculturalism in the House of Commons.³⁵³

4.5.4 Effects of the Repriorization on the Other Ethnics

The expansion of the Multiculturalism Directorate's programs to encompass multiracial issues intensified the already existent fundamental split within the Canadian ethnocultural communities. As Isajiw pointed out in 1975, there are two

³⁵² Ibid., pp. 4 and 5.

³⁵³ Ibid., pp. 4 and 5.

basic types, the immigrant/concentrated and the established/dispersed.³⁵⁴ The immigrant/concentrated refers to the more recent arrivals of 'other ethnics' who, as has been demonstrated, tend to cluster predominantly in urban centres as opposed to the established/dispersed, who traditionally have settled in rural areas throughout western Canada as well as Ontario. Not only is there a difference in arrival time but the two categories divide almost perfectly along racial lines, whereby the latter constitutes mostly caucasian whites in contrast to the immigrant/concentrated who are predominantly members of visible minority groups. As well, the split extends into the concern of each segment. Whereas the recent arrivals are primarily concerned with issues of adjustment, the established 'other ethnics' are concerned with the persistence of distinct cultural identities.³⁵⁵ Hence, as Isajiw concludes, those fundamental differences imply "...two basic types of multiculturalism policies aimed at the differing concerns".³⁵⁶ Increasingly, visible minority members have recognized the value of the policy of multiculturalism as an instrument for affirmative action in the areas of housing, employment and participation in Cana-

³⁵⁴ W. Isajiw quoted in Alan B. Anderson, James S. Frideres, (eds) Ethnicity in Canada: Theoretical Perspectives (Toronto: Butterworth & Co. (Canada) Ltd. 1981), p. 108.

³⁵⁵ Ibid.; also see briefs submitted to the Special Committee on the Participation of Visible Minorities in Canadian Society.

³⁵⁶ Ibid., see also: M. Lupul, "Multiculturalism and Canada's White Ethnics", in Canadian ethnic studies, 15 (1983), No. 1, p. 104.

dian society.³⁵⁷ This usage has not been supported by the 'established other ethnics'. On the contrary, members of the 'established other ethnics' express reluctance regarding the broader interpretation of multiculturalism, as does the broader Canadian society. This attitude is strengthened by the view of many members of the 'established other ethnics' that a certain level of discrimination is part of the immigrant experience and that they themselves, or at least their ancestors, underwent similar treatment in the first and second generation.³⁵⁸ Hence, there seems little room for a coalition between the two basic types dividing the Canadian ethnocultural community.

The effect of the policy developments since 1979 seemed to accommodate the split in the target population of the Multiculturalism Directorate. However, the extension and primary occupation of the Directorate with multiracial as opposed to multicultural programs and issues caused a loss of confidence on the part of the 'established other ethnics' in their ability to attract funds and to influence the direction of the policy. The delicacy of the subject matter restricted the candid expression of resistance. However, evidence is available to substantiate the reluctance vis a vis the new direction of the policy.³⁵⁹ Whereas the 'estab-

³⁵⁷ M. Lupul, "Multiculturalism and Canada's White Ethnics", p. 105.

³⁵⁸ See for example: Ibid.

³⁵⁹ Memorandum prepared by Gerry Koffman, p. 6.: While we cannot be confrontationist with the Federal Government,

lished other ethnics', particularly the Ukrainian group, had a sense of having shaped the multiculturalism policy, the developments in the early 1980's were, for the most part, beyond their control.

In fact, as Lupul argues in his provocative article, "The Tragedy Of Canada's White Ethnics", Canada's white ethnics have been left without any accommodated assistance in their struggle for persistence.³⁶⁰ He argues that

the "first peoples" got - or soon will get - the rights (including the linguistic right) needed to survive as a group; the "founding peoples" have been given the right to survive as a group whenever they are a majority; and the "visible peoples" will survive because they cannot do otherwise.³⁶¹

In Lupul's argument this will leave Canada's white ethnics without any collective chance of survival.

we must sensitize them to our regional concerns and as well, emphasize that our community is fully in favour of the support for race relation programmes but that this policy may find added strength in its implementation if the major ethnic groups were brought into the process"; also see: M. Lupul, "The Tragedy of Canada's White Ethnics", Journal of Ukrainian Studies, 12 (Spring 1982), pp. 3-15.

³⁶⁰ Ibid.

³⁶¹ Ibid. p. 6.

4.6 CONCLUSION

The years 1979 to 1984 constituted the beginning of a new era for the policy of multiculturalism. In contrast to the earlier interpretation of multiculturalism as a cultural policy, since 1979, the policy interpretation had shifted to viewing the policy of multiculturalism as a social policy. This shift in premise has resulted in a new direction as far as the implementation was concerned. The programs implemented by the Multiculturalism Directorate aimed at mainstreaming the policy itself. In terms of substance, the programs addressed issues at the institutional level and focused to an unprecedented extent on Canada's increasing visible minorities.

The most significant initiatives were launched under James S. Fleming. Although his being situated in the Planning and Priorities Committee of Cabinet may have been instrumental in realizing this shift, it seems that he had to have had approval from the highest levels of government. Yet, Trudeau's record with regard to the policy of multiculturalism has been described as less than supportive.³⁶² Just as Trudeau's passion for "...national unity and the survival of an open spirited, bilingual federalism"³⁶³ furthered the implementation of bilingualism, so did the lack of attention to multiculturalism hamper its development beyond a very

³⁶² M. Lupul, "The Political Implementation of Multiculturalism", Journal of Canadian Studies, 17 (1982). pp. 96ff.

³⁶³ G. Radwanski quoted in *Ibid.*, p. 96.

limited extent.³⁶⁴ Although it is difficult to assess the political pressures that led or at least facilitated this shift, there is no doubt that the documented demographic changes, combined with occurrences of racially motivated violence and cases of discrimination exerted significant pressures on the political system.

While James S. Fleming apparently had a particularly strong conviction in exposing and eradicating forms of racial discrimination, it seems that his successor, David Collenette, although also from Toronto, had a more optimistic assessment of racism in Canada.³⁶⁵ In his short term in office, Collenette seems to have insisted, more so than Fleming, that there were numerous instances of good and harmonious relations among ethnic groups in Canada which needed to be focused on.

The shift from a multicultural to a multiracial focus has resulted, to some extent, in a more serious approach to the policy. The treatment of multiculturalism as a social policy has accomplished some measure of mainstreaming the policy and has thereby increased its significance as a government initiative. However, the two-tier approach of programs geared towards multiculturalism and multiracialism has also complicated the Directorate's mandate and furthered an already existent split in the target population.

³⁶⁴ Ibid., pp. 96ff.

³⁶⁵ Montreal Gazette, September 8, 1983; Globe & Mail, April 2, 1984.

Chapter V
MULTICULTURALISM POST 1984

5.1 ELECTION CAMPAIGN 1984

During the 1984 election campaign, the P.C. party attempted to "...cut into traditional Liberal support in Toronto's ethnic communities".³⁶⁶ This strategy consisted of an unprecedented effort in terms of time and organization. The campaign to communicate to this particular segment of the Canadian electorate began in November 1983, a year prior to the actual election. The initiatives and programs put forth by the P.C. party rested largely, in their development, on Jack Murta (Lisgar), official P.C. spokesperson for multiculturalism.³⁶⁷ The efforts peaked in the June 2, 1984 P.C. Conference "Passport to Progressive Canadianism", a well-attended day-long event. The conference, chaired by Jack Murta was an exchange of concerns and new initiatives between spokespeople for the P.C. party, most prominently, the then leader of the official opposition, Brian Mulroney, and leaders of ethnocultural communities of Toronto.³⁶⁸ Some of the

³⁶⁶ Calgary Herald, November 20, 1983.

³⁶⁷ According to Jack Murta, he had "total freedom" in establishing the P.C. election platform as it related to multiculturalism. Personal interview with Jack Murta, August 7, 1988.

³⁶⁸ Student, 16 (May/June 1984), No. 82, pp. 3 and 15. It is of interest to note here that Murta spent at least

election promises put forward included the increase of the number of ethnic minorities to the federal public service as well as federal boards and agencies; the establishment of equal opportunities for immigrant women and visible minorities; and an immediate increase of the Multiculturalism Directorate's budget of \$20 million by 50 per cent.³⁶⁹ Although many of the P.C. election promises were rather undefined, the importance of the Conference rested on it as a signal acknowledging the concerns of Canada's ethnocultural minorities. As Mykhailo Bociurkiw commented:

Much of the Conservative policy lacks specifics and seems to be a blue-print of proposals put forth by the Liberals. But to the average conference-goer, it was probably comforting to hear the leader of the party announce that multiculturalism ranks as one of his highest priorities.³⁷⁰

The announcement by Brian Mulroney regarding his enthusiasm for the policy of multiculturalism was not a reflection of how the rank and file of the party felt. According to Murta, the rank and file of the party was "not as attuned to the whole area of questions and sensitivity of multiculturalism such as the Liberal party had been".³⁷¹

one, sometimes two days a week in Toronto for most of the year 1983-84. Personal interview with Jack Murta, August 7, 1988.

³⁶⁹ Ibid.

³⁷⁰ Ibid.

³⁷¹ Personal interview with Jack Murta, August 7, 1988.

5.2 STRUCTURAL VERSUS SUBSTANTIVE CHANGES

Jack Murta, who had been the official P.C. spokesperson on multiculturalism, was appointed as Minister of State for Multiculturalism in the newly elected majority P.C. government. Overall, it was suggested that the program for multiculturalism would receive a higher profile and more serious attention in a new era of "substantive multiculturalism".³⁷² However, during Murta's term as Minister of State for Multiculturalism, most of the initiatives undertaken focused on structural developments as opposed to substantive developments within the policy area. In Murta's view, these changes were crucial in establishing a workable base for the policy.

From the federal point of view, from the civil service point of view it was lip service, nobody was prepared to do very much ... Everybody was prepared to talk about multiculturalism and the beliefs but nobody was prepared to do anything.³⁷³

One of the first changes made by Murta occurred in January, 1985 and related to what Murta labeled "... a major bureaucratic shake up" in Ottawa which "... will give us [the multiculturalism directorate] more clout in the civil service".³⁷⁴ What the new Minister of State for Multiculturalism was referring to was the moving of multiculturalism from a directorate to that of a sector within the Department of the Secretary of State. As a consequence, an Assistant

³⁷² Vancouver Sun, January 21, 1985.

³⁷³ Personal Interview with Jack Murta, August 7, 1988.

³⁷⁴ Vancouver Sun, Jan 21, 1985.

Undersecretary of State for Multiculturalism was appointed at the Department of Secretary of State to head the new Sector.³⁷⁵ This internal restructuring led to a raised profile for the policy itself.³⁷⁶

Murta's main thrust was to 'mainstream' multiculturalism. Part of this mainstreaming would consist of getting the provinces involved in implementing aspects of the multiculturalism policy as they fell within provincial jurisdiction.³⁷⁷ In order to facilitate and encourage such a development, Murta announced Canada's first federal-provincial conference on multiculturalism which took place on May 13-15, 1985 in Winnipeg.³⁷⁸ The three goals to be reached with the Conference were "...to inaugurate consultation at the highest government levels; to identify areas of common interest; and to set up a process for follow up activities".³⁷⁹ The issues were to range from second language educational programmes to a coordinated fight against racism in order to mainstream Canada's non-British, non-French population.³⁸⁰

³⁷⁵ Debates, 33rd Parliament, 1st Session, p. 6427.

³⁷⁶ According to Murta, it gave his staff instant access to doors that they had never had access to before. Personal interview with Jack Murta, August 7, 1988.

³⁷⁷ Vancouver Sun, Jan. 21, 1985.

³⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁷⁹ Winnipeg Free Press, May 12, 1985.

³⁸⁰ Winnipeg Free Press, May 14, 1985.

Although members of Canada's ethnic groups welcomed the initiative of such a federal-provincial Conference, disappointment was expressed as to the in camera nature of the Conference.³⁸¹ Ethnic leaders as well as the opposition parties questioned the effectiveness of the Conference in light of the absence of those most knowledgeable and concerned with the issues, e.g. representatives of the ethnocultural communities. The Minister of State for Multiculturalism argued that the Conference had to be in camera because it made for a more frank discussion of the issues and reduced political grand standing.³⁸²

The Conference, which was referred to as an 'historic' event was to be the first as well as the last during the P.C.'s term of office. An interesting side note to the Conference was Murta's suggestion that the fight against racism fell outside his jurisdiction.³⁸³ However, in response to questioning by the opposition critic Sergio Marchi with regard to this suggestion, Murta stated that he "...and the Department have a major responsibility for the area of race relations in Canada ... we have a major thrust in terms of fighting against racism at every level of society".³⁸⁴ Nevertheless, this occurrence was somewhat indicative of the initial P. C. government's interpretation and direction of

³⁸¹ Winnipeg Free Press, May 12, 1985.

³⁸² Ibid.

³⁸³ Debates, 33rd Parliament, 1st Session, p. 4821; p. 4947.

³⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 4821.

multiculturalism. In several statements, Murta and others pointed to the significant developments with regard to economic and social concerns of the 'other ethnics' outside the multiculturalism sector of the department of the Secretary of State.³⁸⁵ Murta referred to the federal government's plan to table legislation in the form of an Employment Equity Act in June, 1985 as a means to implement affirmative action programs in the federal civil service which would be one step towards the elimination of discrimination.³⁸⁶

Bill C-62, the Employment Equity Act, as forecasted and introduced to the House by the then Minister of Employment and Immigration, Flora MacDonald, was in part a response to the Abella Report which had fostered the development of the concept of employment equity. The government measures announced in March, 1985 were "...to bring new employment opportunities to women, Native people, disabled persons, and members of visible minorities".³⁸⁷ These new measures were to apply to federal Crown Corporations, federally-regulated businesses and firms contracting with the government. Jack Murta assessed this piece of proposed legislation as "... a major step towards eliminating racial discrimination in fed-

³⁸⁵ Winnipeg Free Press, May 14, 1985; D. Bowie (Ass. Undersecretary of State for Multiculturalism), Manitoba Heritage Review, 3 (Summer 1986), No. 1. pp. 3-5.

³⁸⁶ Winnipeg Free Press, May 14, 1985.

³⁸⁷ Canada, Department of Secretary of State, Multiculturalism Directorate, Cultures Canada, 5 (1985), No. 10, pp. 1 & 2.

erally regulated employment".³⁸⁸

As well, on June 28, 1985, somewhat to the surprise of members of the opposition and seemingly indeed the Minister himself, Ray Hnatyshyn (President of the Privy Council) moved to amend Standing Order 69(1) so as to establish a permanent parliamentary Standing Committee on Multiculturalism.³⁸⁹

The establishment of a Standing Committee on Multiculturalism had also been part of the recommendations of the Special Committee on Visible Minorities in Canada. Yet, the introduction of the amending motion did not come until the last day on which the House of Commons sat before the summer recess.³⁹⁰ Indeed, as Ernie Epp, N.D.P., opposition critic for multiculturalism stated, it "...occurred in rather surprising ways at the end of June. I gather that the Minister was not at all sure that the committee would be established".³⁹¹

The establishment of the Standing Committee on Multiculturalism was viewed as a positive step in the structural entrenchment of the policy of multiculturalism. As Baruch

³⁸⁸ Ibid.

³⁸⁹ Debates, 33rd Parliament, 1st Session, p. 6368. Prior to the establishment of this Standing Committee, all issues affecting multiculturalism used to flow through the Standing Committee on Communications and Culture. Ibid., p. 6422.

³⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 6424.

³⁹¹ Ibid., p. 6422.

Rand, superintendent of the Winnipeg Board for Jewish Education and President of the Manitoba Association for the Promotion of Ancestral Languages (MAPAL), assessed it, the permanent parliamentary committee on multiculturalism will "... provide direct access to Parliament, and through Parliament to every government agency and department".³⁹² Others, enthusiastic about the committee's mandate to "monitor and encourage the implementation [of the multiculturalism policy] throughout the Government of Canada" were more cautious, awaiting the "extent of the committee's actual powers and influence over bureaucratic institutions long since dominated by Anglo-Francophone civil servants".³⁹³

In February of 1985, Murta had also announced his intent to introduce a multiculturalism act by the fall of the same year. The envisaged legislation would include sections on "...employment, equality, fairness and racism".³⁹⁴ The promise to introduce legislation had been part of the P.C. election campaign. During the summer of 1985, another important initiative that had been part of the P.C. election platform and that had formed one of the many recommendations of the Equality Now report, namely the establishment of a separate department for multiculturalism, was being considered. Some of the ideas considered were to involve the com-

³⁹² Baruch Rand ed. Manitoba Heritage Review, 3 (1986), No. 1, pp. 3-5.

³⁹³ Student, Jan/Feb. 1986. p. 11.

³⁹⁴ Winnipeg Free Press, Feb. 19, 1985.

binning of aspects of other government activities, at that time housed in different departments such as immigration (Flora MacDonald) and citizenship affairs (Walter MacLean).³⁹⁵ The idea for such a high profile ministry had been developed by Jack Murta; however, little work had been done. The main difficulty involved with the creation of a ministry was the required separation of immigration from employment. As one article put it: "B. Mulroney has not accepted the idea of a super-ministry for ethnic minorities, an idea which reflected too much reading of demographic reports and not enough grasp of the realities of federal administration and political power".³⁹⁶

Murta's removal from his responsibilities as Minister of State for Multiculturalism after a mere eleven months was largely due to his focus on building a structural foundation for the development of a more substantive multiculturalism policy. Mr. Ernie Epp, N.D.P. critic for multiculturalism, saw Murta's demise as an object lesson the politics of multiculturalism: "... administrative chuckling is less important to people than real action in the policy".³⁹⁷ The pre-occupation with administrative, structural changes by Jack Murta led people involved with the policy, such as Andrew Cardozo, to assess him as someone "... who never registered

³⁹⁵ Winnipeg Free Press. August 10, 1985.

³⁹⁶ Winnipeg Free Press, August 10, 1985.

³⁹⁷ Personal interview with Ernie Epp, August 25, 1988.

with the issues but [who] was well intentioned".³⁹⁸

There is some evidence to suggest that this perception of Murta's performance was shared by some members of the P.C. caucus of Metropolitan Toronto, who exerted pressure to have Jack Murta removed from his portfolio.³⁹⁹ The P.C. party caucus from Metropolitan Toronto was pushing for a change since they felt that Murta had not sufficiently enhanced the profile of multiculturalism.⁴⁰⁰ The two people rumored to be put forward by the Toronto MPs as possible candidates for Minister of State for Multiculturalism were David Crombie and Otto Jelinek.⁴⁰¹ The vested interest for a higher profile of multiculturalism was motivated politically. "How multiculturalism is perceived across the country will elect or defeat the MPs from Toronto: They'll feel the impact

³⁹⁸ Personal interview with Andrew Cardozo, September 4, 1988. In Cardozo's view part of Murta's problem stemmed from bad, inexperienced political advisors.

³⁹⁹ Winnipeg Free Press, August 9, 1985.

⁴⁰⁰ Winnipeg Free Press, August 10, 1985. Murta's ambitious election platform regarding multiculturalism had included the promotion of minority Canadians by affirmative action to the upper ranks of federal agencies and departments. Criminal Code provisions on racism and hate propaganda would be strengthened. Broadcasting regulations on Canadian content would require more multicultural programming on radio and t.v. Mr. Murta delivered none of this during his brief stint. See also Carol Goar, national affairs columnist for the Toronto Star as cited in Student, Jan/Feb, 1986, p. 11: "...in a sweep of Mulroney appointments in late 1984, only one appointment in 90 went to an individual of ethnocultural origin". However, the merit of this criticism seems somewhat questionable on the background of Murta's short term in office.

⁴⁰¹ Winnipeg Free Press, August 9, 1985.

quicker than say somebody in Winnipeg".⁴⁰² According to Murta himself, he took more of a Canadian perspective. Although he was giving time to Toronto he was also giving time to the other regions of the country. "I was not quite prepared to spend all my time in Toronto and the easiest thing would be to get an Ontario member to do that".⁴⁰³

Murta's short term in office exemplified the tensions that had become part of the policy of multiculturalism due to its broadened mandate and hence its increased uneven regionalized impact. While the changes implemented by Murta were of long-term significance in the development of the policy as well as its administration, its appearance level in terms of political marketability was rather low. This episode clearly demonstrates that what is important in terms of the policy's development is its short term appearance of having a high profile rather than the implementation of long-term structural changes.

On August 22, 1985 Prime Minister Mulroney announced his new team of Cabinet Ministers, and the Ontario MP Otto Jelinek (Halton) had become Minister of State for Multiculturalism, added to his portfolio of Fitness and Amateur Sport,⁴⁰⁴ and Jack Murta, who had been described as having been "... the first big Manitoba Conservative aboard the Mulroney

⁴⁰² Winnipeg Free Press, August 10, 1985.

⁴⁰³ Personal interview with Jack Murta, August 5, 1988.

⁴⁰⁴ Winnipeg Free Press, August 22, 1985.

bandwagon when Joe Clark was being booted out of the party leadership" had been reassigned to Tourism.⁴⁰⁵ Jelinek has been described as a "... fierce anti-Communist and devout believer in free enterprise who will be a welcome speaker before audiences of political refugees from Eastern Europe."⁴⁰⁷ Jelinek was to continue to be Minister for Fitness and Amateur Sport parallel to his newly assigned responsibility for Multiculturalism which caused some concern among ethnocultural groups, that the new Minister of State might be unable to give their concerns full attention⁴⁰⁸ and that the policy of multiculturalism was thereby being assigned a subordinate role.⁴⁰⁹ Concern was also voiced that Jelinek's interpretation of multiculturalism would reflect a restrictive approach, focusing on issues of

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid. It is of interest to note that Jack Murta seemed to have had strong support among some of the ethnocultural communities. On August 9, 1985, Baruch Rand, President of MAPAL, send a telegram to the Prime Minister stating that "Mr. Murta is the first Minister of multiculturalism who established strong ties with the ethnocultural communities and is attentive to their needs.... His removal would seriously undermine the support of the P.C. party by the ethnic groups in Manitoba". The sending of the telegram by a multicultural organization commenting on political action had been unprecedented and was strongly criticized by some of the other members of MAPAL. Winnipeg Free Press, August 10, 1985.

5.3 THE LEAD BALLOON

Czech-born Otto Jelinek had been first elected to the House of Commons in 1972. While in opposition he had served as critic for fitness and amateur sport, small business, tourism and corporate affairs.⁴⁰⁶

importance to Ontario, particularly metropolitan Toronto.⁴¹⁰

Aside from a Progress Report on Equality Now stating that out of the total eighty recommendations made in the report, fifty had begun to be implemented and the Government was working on the remaining thirty,⁴¹¹ new initiatives and programs did not come into place until the spring of 1986. In March 1986, Jelinek announced that he had been working on a "totally new multiculturalism policy" aimed at bringing the 'other ethnics' out of what the Minister described as "ethnocultural corners" into the economic mainstream.⁴¹² The means to accomplish the economic mainstreaming was a focused approach on business to foster an increased involvement of ethnic minorities in business.

The Minister's premise seemed to have been, as he himself stated, that "... the big majority of the ethno-cultural community want to become another Stronach".⁴¹³ To this end,

⁴⁰⁶ Student, 18 (October 1985), No. 86.

⁴⁰⁷ Winnipeg Free Press, August 22, 1985.

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid., especially since fitness and amateur sport was known to be Jelinek's 'pet project', in part due to his personal involvement in prior years.

⁴⁰⁹ Student, Jan/Feb 1986, p. 11.

⁴¹⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹¹ Debates, 33rd Parliament, 1st Session, p. 8180.

⁴¹² Globe & Mail, March 7, 1986. However, much of this "totally new multiculturalism policy" consisted of Murta's programs which in turn had some borrowed features from the programs of the previous Liberal administration.

Jelinek announced a Conference entitled Multiculturalism Means Business, to be held in Toronto on April 11 and 12, 1986.⁴¹⁴ The new approach, according to the Minister of State would also involve cutting grants to certain ethnic organizations. The whole funding process was to be reviewed so as to ensure that the provision of financial government assistance to ethnocultural groups would represent an investment into Canada.⁴¹⁵ However, this economic mainstreaming would have to be facilitated by redirecting existing funds. "...[We] are not going to Cabinet for additional funds".⁴¹⁶ As well, the role of the department was under review. Although Jelinek stressed that the department would not disappear, he alluded to the possibility of reassigning the granting function of the multiculturalism sector of the Secretary of State to the Canada Council.⁴¹⁷

⁴¹³ Winnipeg Free Press, March 7, 1986. Frank Stronach immigrated from Austria to Canada in 1954, virtually without any financial resources. His first job was retrieving balls for a Montreal golf course and his last position was chairman of the big Toronto based auto-parts firm, Magna International, Inc. which he founded.

⁴¹⁴ A list of attendants to this Conference was not available from the department of Secretary of State. Since attendants to the Conference had to pay their own way, the list is not considered public. However, one may speculate that the majority of attendants would be from the 'established other ethnic' groups.

⁴¹⁵ Winnipeg Free Press, March 7, 1986.

⁴¹⁶ Ibid.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid.

This new approach of 'economic mainstreaming' exemplifies once again that the multiculturalism policy was being dominated by, and only a small part of, a government's other priorities, in this case 'economic development'. Hence, in many ways, Jelinek's announcement of his "totally new multiculturalism policy" and its approach confirmed some of the concerns members of the various 'other ethnics' had voiced when Jelinek was first appointed as Minister of State for Multiculturalism. The outlined approach to accomplish the economic mainstreaming of Canada's 'other ethnics' demonstrated a profound ignorance of the issues and concerns which became evident shortly after the announcement. Indeed, at the time of the actual conference, ethnic leaders publicly voiced their concerns with the new direction. The article "Multicultural groups feel threat of changed Tory policy"⁴¹⁸ provides evidence of discontent with the new approach. Since the new approach was to be funded through the existing multiculturalism budget, various community organizations feared a cut in other areas, which were already, in their estimation, underfunded. The P.C. version of multiculturalism quickly became worrisome to some involved with community organizations such as Carol Tator of the Urban Alliance on Race Relations: "I get really nervous when we only measure people's capacity to contribute to Canadian society by the number of dollars that are in their background, or in their business account".⁴¹⁹ As well, it was argued that the idea

⁴¹⁸ Globe & Mail, April 11, 1986.

of accomplishing economic mainstreaming of the 'other ethnics' by focusing on business was misguided in that economic mainstreaming could not take place unless issues such as race relations, inequality and the preservation of culture had been dealt with.⁴²⁰ However, some members of the established 'other ethnics' endorsed the Conference as well as the new approach. In their view, the Conference provided a long overdue opportunity to expose the economic contributions that members of ethnic groups had made to Canada.⁴²¹

Otto Jelinek's term as Minister of State for Multiculturalism ended on June 30, 1986, when Prime Minister Mulroney appointed the former Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, David Crombie, as the new Secretary of State and Minister responsible for Multiculturalism.⁴²² The first two years of the P.C. government's initiative in the area of multiculturalism had attempted to strengthen the P.C. party's support among ethnocultural communities. However, those efforts were described as having been "...plagued by controversy over poor appointments, short-term ministers and inadequate policies".⁴²³ Whereas Jack Murta's initiatives were

⁴¹⁹ Globe & Mail, April 11, 1986. see also Daiva Stasiulis, Professor of race and ethnic relations at Carleton University, Ottawa.

⁴²⁰ Globe & Mail, April 11, 1986.

⁴²¹ Ibid.

⁴²² Canada, Department of Secretary of State, Multiculturalism Sector, Cultures Canada, 6 (1986), No. 2 & 3.

⁴²³ Globe & Mail, Nov. 8, 1986.

viewed by ethnic leaders as well-intentioned, Otto Jelinek's performance has been assessed as alienating to some groups.⁴²⁴ In particular, it was his business-oriented approach to multiculturalism that had frightened and confused leaders of ethnic groups.⁴²⁵ Hence, the appointment of David Crombie was well received among Canada's ethnic groups as a potentially new chapter in the development of multiculturalism.

5.4 THE BIG DEBATE

The background of the new minister responsible for multiculturalism seemed suitable in that he had been mayor of the city of Toronto from 1972 to 1978, one of the major multicultural urban centres in Canada. He was not only well known but also a "proven crowd-pleaser",⁴²⁶ an attribute that lent itself to speculation as to the political rationale for his appointment.⁴²⁷ Unlike his two P.C. predecessors, Crombie was a member of the powerful Planning and Priorities Committee of Cabinet which led to increased expectations among ethnic communities.⁴²⁸ In part, those

⁴²⁴ Ibid. His dealings with the Japanese-Canadian question for compensation has been cited as one example.

⁴²⁵ Globe & Mail, March 26, 1986.

⁴²⁶ Globe & Mail, March 26, 1988.

⁴²⁷ Michael Alexander, "The Portable Mosaic. A Few Thoughts on Multiculturalism", The Idler, No 11 (Jan/Feb 1987), p. 23, suggests that David Crombie's shift to this office (Secretary of State and Minister responsible for Multiculturalism), apparently, was to strengthen the governing party in the cities.

expectations were fostered by the new minister's statement that his "predecessor's private-enterprise boosterism approach to the portfolio had frightened ethnic groups" and that in the past few years, multiculturalism had not received appropriate thought.⁴²⁹ Indeed, Crombie's one-and-a-half year term as Minister for Multiculturalism was to include a vivid discussion as to several potentially crucial structural changes, at least in part catalyzed through the June 3, 1987 Meech Lake Constitutional Accord.

5.4.1 Meech Lake Constitutional Accord

The Meech Lake Constitutional Accord, agreed to by all ten provincial premiers and the prime minister on June 3, 1987 consisted of major amendments to the 1982 Constitution that would result in a less centralized administrative structure at the expense of the federal government. The major accomplishment of the Accord that was hastily agreed to, was the ratification by the province of Quebec, thereby assuring Quebec's approval of the Canadian constitutional arrangement. However, the intent to do so included several provisions that made groups such as women, Canada's aboriginal peoples as well as Canada's ethnic communities uneasy. Already, in April of 1987, the first draft of the constitutional amendments had drawn strong criticisms in particular from aboriginal groups as well as ethnocultural organiza-

⁴²⁸ Globe & Mail, March 26, 1988

⁴²⁹ Globe & Mail, Nov. 8, 1986.

tions.⁴³⁰

With regard to the ethnocultural groups, the concerns with the potential effects of the Accord were mainly in the policy areas of multiculturalism and immigration. The major concern had been the lack of acknowledgement of Canada's multicultural nature.⁴³¹ Hence, the second draft of the agreement, agreed to in a one night marathon session of the eleven first ministers resulted in the addition of Sec. 16. Sec. 16 of the Constitutional Accord simply states that nothing in the Accord would affect the relevant clause of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, e.g. clause 27.⁴³² However, Canada's bilingual nature was explicitly recognized in Sec. 2(1)(a) of the Meech Lake Accord as well as Quebec's characteristic of constituting a "distinct society", Sec. 2(1)(b).

The ethnocultural communities appearing before the Special Joint Committee on the 1987 Constitutional Accord argued that in recognizing Quebec as a distinct society and describing Canada's bilingual nature as "a fundamental characteristic" the Government had downplayed Canada's multicultural nature.⁴³³ Some argued that if Sec. 16 of the

⁴³⁰ Globe & Mail, March 26, 1988.

⁴³¹ Canadian Ethnocultural Council, Towards A More Accurate Recognition Of Canadian Diversity, A Brief Submitted To The Special Joint Committee On The 1987 Constitutional Accord.

⁴³² Canada, Meech Lake Constitutional Accord.

⁴³³ Canada, Parliament of Canada, Special Joint Committee On

Constitutional Accord was to be accepted in its present form "the entire Constitution will be interpreted in a manner recognizing bilingualism, but only the Charter which is part of the Constitution will be interpreted in a manner recognizing multiculturalism".⁴³⁴ The potential situation that may arise due to this arrangement is that the provisions in the Constitutional Accord, in a conflictual situation, take precedence over provisions of the Charter. To strengthen their argument, various ethnocultural groups cited a Supreme Court decision of June 25, 1987. This ruling highlighted the Court's decision that the "protections within the Charter are good for the Charter itself but may not apply to matters raised in other parts of the Constitution".⁴³⁵ Hence, based on this precedence, the addition of Sec. 16 to the Meech Lake Constitutional Accord may not extend its recognition of multiculturalism to the whole Constitution.

The Government's position had been that the addition of Sec. 16 provided sufficient protection for Canada's multicultural character. Distinguished legal experts such as

The 1987 Constitutional Accord, see submissions of the Canadian Ethnocultural Council, Ukrainian Canadian Committee, German Canadian Congress, Chinese Canadian National Council, National Assoc. of Canadians of Origins in India.

⁴³⁴ Canadian Ethnocultural Council, Towards A More Accurate Recognition Of Canadian Diversity.

⁴³⁵ Re: An Act to Amend The Education Act [1987], Supreme Court Reports, pp. 1148 ff. Also see: Evelyn Kallen, "The Meech Lake Accord: Entrenching a Pecking Order of Minority Rights", Canadian Public Policy, 14(September 1988), p.115.

Prof. Lederman (Dean of Law at Queen's University) appeared before the Special Joint Committee arguing that:

[The] accord completes the unfinished business of the 1982 Constitutional Accord; it does not supersede it. The historic achievements of the Charter and the individual and group rights it enshrines, remain in place.⁴³⁶

Another issue of disagreement centered on the recognition of the province of Quebec as a "distinct society". Although the ethnocultural organizations expressed support in principle to the recognition of Quebec as a unique society within the Canadian context, reservation was expressed as to the usage of such vague terminology. Hence, the ethnocultural organizations urged the government to define Quebec's "distinct society" aspect for the benefit of the courts.⁴³⁷ The Meech Lake Constitutional Accord of June 3, 1987 clearly constituted a setback for multiculturalism. It exposed the lack of commitment by the Government to acknowledge Canada's multicultural reality as well as to provide substance to the Government's verbal assurance of the priority that the poli-

⁴³⁶ Prof. Lederman, Appearance before the Special Joint Committee On The 1987 Constitutional Accord.

⁴³⁷ Canada, Parliament of Canada, Special Joint Committee On The Constitution, see submissions of the Canadian Ethnocultural Council and the German Canadian Congress. Aside from the recommendations focusing on a more adequate representation of Canada's ethnocultural reality in the Senate as well as the Supreme Court of Canada, and urging the government to consider multiculturalism as the object for a federal-provincial Conference, (note that Sec XII, 148 of the Accord specified that federal-provincial conferences be institutionalized on an annual basis), some of the organizations expressed concern as to the possible effects of the Meech Lake Accord on the policy of immigration.

cy of multiculturalism was to have for a P.C. government.

Aside from the legal aspects on which there are significantly differing opinions as to the applicability of Sec. 16, (of the Meech Lake Accord), there remains consideration of the socio-political aspect. As has been stated in the public hearings of the Special Joint Committee on The 1987 Constitutional Accord, the Constitution is both a legal and a socio-political document. In the mind of many representatives of Canada's ethnocultural communities, "the accord is not true to the social reality of Canada in the 1980's, and for that matter, in the future".⁴³⁸

The Government refused to accommodate any of the recommendations made before the Special Joint Committee on the 1987 Constitutional Accord. In the government's view, the reopening of the Accord might lead to a dissolution of what had been agreed to at Meech Lake. In fact, Prime Minister Mulroney has been reported as warning that "...failure to reach agreement now would play into the hands of the 'anti-Canada forces' in Quebec".⁴³⁹

⁴³⁸ Canada, Parliament of Canada, Special Joint Committee On The Constitution, Dieter Kiese-walter, Submission by the German Canadian Congress.

⁴³⁹ Winnipeg Free Press, June 17, 1987. Hence one may question the validity of the hearings of the Special Joint Committee. Thor Broda, Vice-President of the National Ukrainian Council, had the impression that the committee did not listen to the concerns presented. "The committee seemed to feel that any changes to the accord should be made in future constitutional conferences". See Andrea Graham, "Meech Lake accord harms multiculturalism say lawyers, politicians". However, the new amendment formula requiring the unanimous consent of all eleven par-

Although the intent of assuring Quebec's approval of the Constitution was welcomed, ethnic groups made it explicitly clear that this benefit had to be weighed against the costs. In their assessment, the price of ignoring Canada's one third of 'other ethnics', as well as some of the other segments of the Canadian population was unacceptable and hence led to an outright rejection of the Meech Lake Constitutional Accord by all ethnocultural organizations appearing before the Special Joint Committee on The 1987 Constitutional Accord.

5.4.2 Standing Committee on Multiculturalism Report.

In June 1987, the seven-member Standing Committee on Multiculturalism, chaired by Gus Mitges (Grey-Simcoe), presented its first report entitled Multiculturalism: Building The Canadian Mosaic.⁴⁴⁰ The report was based on submissions made to the Standing Committee, as well as discussions with numerous witnesses. In its report examining the multiculturalism policy, the Committee made unprecedented and far-reaching recommendations for the Government's consideration.

ties involved makes the successful outcome of a second or third round of constitutional negotiation highly unlikely. The public hearings of the Special Joint Committee were to facilitate improvements, as Mr. Chan of the Canadian Ethnocultural Council pointed out: "We feel this accord must be subjected to improvements or changes and if it is not to be subjected to any improvements or changes then this whole process of open meetings would only be a sham". Special Joint Committee On The 1987 Constitutional Accord, Issue 7, p. 46.

⁴⁴⁰ Canada, Standing Committee on Multiculturalism, Multiculturalism: Building The Canadian Mosaic (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, June 1987).

Besides examining the existing policy and recommending principles for a new multiculturalism policy, the Committee's recommendations encompassed suggestions for an improved infrastructure to implement the policy.

The recommended policy framework for multiculturalism was to be twofold. First it should address issues of social and economic integration and adaptation; secondly, it was to deal with issues "relating to cultural retention and improved multicultural support for the arts and cultural activities in Canada".⁴⁴¹ This recommended policy framework was the result of aspects of multiculturalism that had been emphasized by the submissions and witnesses before the Committee. The Committee had summarized those aspects in eight evolving principles that it recommended to be encompassed in the new multiculturalism policy. The eight principles of the new multiculturalism policy touched on the well-known shortcomings of the past implementation of multiculturalism, on the cultural as well as the race relations aspects. The Committee addressed such issues as the relationship of multiculturalism and bilingualism; the needed emphasis that multiculturalism is for all Canadians, rather than for one third of Canada's population; the enhancement and recognition that the Canadian cultural identity is pluralistic and multicultural; the preservation and the enhancement of heritage languages in Canada as an integral part of the policy's programs.

⁴⁴¹ Ibid., p. 59.

The remaining principles dealt with such aspects as equality of opportunity in social, economic, cultural and political matters. In particular the recommendations were to encompass the elimination of discrimination in the spirit of Sec. 15(1) of the Charter; the establishment of affirmative action measures wherever necessary as well as programs to assist immigrants to integrate (but not to assimilate) successfully into Canadian society.⁴⁴²

The Standing Committee's recommendations extended also to the establishment of an infrastructure to administer the new policy. The Committee recommended the amalgamation of various sectors from different departments dealing with programs relating to those two key elements into a new department of multiculturalism.⁴⁴³ Those already existing sectors consisted of the Secretary of State department's Multiculturalism Sector, Citizenship Development, Citizenship Registration, Canadian Studies; of the department of Employment and Immigration's Settlement Program; of the department of Communications' Cultural Support Programs, and responsibility for the Canada Council.⁴⁴⁴ The estimated resource requirements for this new department's total expenditure would be \$332.6 million, with an estimated staff complement of 748 Person Years.⁴⁴⁵

⁴⁴² Ibid., p. 47.

⁴⁴³ Ibid., p. 64.

⁴⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 65.

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid.

Another key structural recommendation dealt with the establishment of a Multiculturalism Commissioner. Modelled after the office of the Commissioner for Official Languages, the Commissioner for Multiculturalism would "[m]onitor, investigate and report on the implementation of multiculturalism policies throughout the government".⁴⁴⁶ The Commissioner would also be required to produce an annual report which would be submitted to Parliament via the Standing Committee.⁴⁴⁷ The importance of the office rested largely on its non-political nature which was considered as a 'desirable aspect'. The Committee estimated a budget of \$1 million for the office, consisting of 10 staff members.⁴⁴⁸

The designed infrastructure which also included the recommendation of establishing a permanent position for a Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Multiculturalism; the appointment of a Multiculturalism Advisor to the Prime Minister who would be solely responsible for Multiculturalism; the establishment of a Cabinet Committee on Multiculturalism to be chaired by the Minister of Multiculturalism; the creation of a permanent "Council of Federal-Provincial-Territorial Ministers Responsible for Multiculturalism" as well as the restructuring of the Canadian Multiculturalism Council were to serve an improved administration of the pro-

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 70.

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁸ Ibid.

posed Multiculturalism Act and its programs.⁴⁴⁹

Although the proposed content of the Act was not formulated in actual legal terminology, it did convey the Standing Committee's ideas as to what the Act should accomplish. Besides providing a legislative base for the established policy of multiculturalism, the proposed Act called on the Government to recognize the individual and collective rights, powers and privileges as well as the obligations, duties and liabilities of all Canadians under the Charter of Rights and Freedoms.⁴⁵⁰ This aspect can be interpreted as yet another signal by the Committee with regards to the overriding objective of establishing the policy of multiculturalism as a policy for all Canadians. Hence one may conclude that the unusual aspect of the Standing Committee's recommendations rested with its surprisingly unprecedented and far-reaching accommodation of structural arrangements that, in the view of the Committee, would allow and facilitate a more focused development of the policy in the future.

5.4.3 The Canadian Multiculturalism Act

Indeed, the recommendations contained in the Standing Committee report have been labeled the result of a "shopping list approach"⁴⁵¹ in that they address the whole spectrum of possible improvements from administrative to policy substan-

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 69ff.

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 79.

⁴⁵¹ Personal interview with Lou Melosky, August 7, 1988.

tive. The Committee worked very speedily and the report itself was produced within months.⁴⁵²

Upon further investigation as to the Committee's speedy accomplishments it appears that the underlying rationale, among other factors, related to the Secretary of State's disbelief in a separate bill regarding multiculturalism. "One of the reasons why we moved so quickly in the Standing Committee was to try to change his [Crombie's] view".⁴⁵³ Crombie's view was not to have a separate Multiculturalism Act but rather to amend the Citizenship Act to enhance the idea of citizenship which in his view was the overarching concept for such aspects as multiculturalism and bilingualism.⁴⁵⁴ "To me the most important concept that an organizer can work with at the Secretary of State ... is the concept of Citizenship".⁴⁵⁵ In Crombie's assessment of the situation, there were two reasons why those in the 'multi-bus' wanted a separate act. First, those advocating the Multiculturalism Act saw themselves as the counterpart to bilingualism which had received its act over a decade ago. Second, there was the perception that the passing of an act

⁴⁵² Even some of the consultants involved have been surprised at the Committee's speed and acceptance of proposals put forth.

⁴⁵³ Personal interview with Sergio Marchi, August 23, 1988.

⁴⁵⁴ Personal interview with David Crombie, August 30, 1988.

⁴⁵⁵ Ibid. For a more complete excursion as to Mr. Crombie's understanding of the relationship of the various components see: Canada, Secretary of State, Being Canadian (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1988).

would increase the importance of the policy area itself.⁴⁵⁶

In the view of those favouring a separate piece of legislation with regard to multiculturalism, Crombie's position was unacceptable. In the mind of some, not introducing a separate act would sell the policy short. "It would be to say that we recognize that you are here in Citizenship but we are not going to change the policies of the government".⁴⁵⁷ Others foresaw the danger that, if exclusively part of the revised Citizenship Act, multiculturalism would only be dealt with in great generalities to the level that the policy might have been recognized without any specifics as to accountability and responsibility. As one observer commented: "I think for multiculturalism to be able to integrate it needs a strong base".⁴⁵⁸

Unlike some who have compared David Crombie to the Keith Spicers of this country, the quientessential anglophone Canadian nationalists,⁴⁵⁹ it seems that Crombie's fundamental point of view to the mainstreaming of multiculturalism was informed by deeper considerations. In part, his particular position may have been informed by his previous portfolio. Crombie referred those in the multiculturalism community who thought that a separate act as well as a separate department

⁴⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁷ Personal interview with Ernie Epp, August 25, 1988.

⁴⁵⁸ Personal interview with Andrew Cardozo, September 4, 1988.

⁴⁵⁹ Personal interview with Ernie Epp, August 25, 1988.

would provide them with more importance to the Native people of Canada. "They have their own department and act for over one hundred years and it has made them a mess".⁴⁶⁰

Another aspect was that by the time David Crombie became the Secretary of State and Minister of State for Multiculturalism, the agenda of his new portfolio included legislative amendments to the Citizenship Act as well as the Official Languages Act. This situation enabled Crombie to attempt to identify the essence of what it means to be Canadian and he concluded that "... it became clear to me that I was absolutely right that this country really does require a stronger understanding of citizenship in order for multiculturalism and bilingualism to flourish".⁴⁶¹ Although Crombie was and still is against the introduction of a separate multiculturalism bill, it was clear to him that the general mood was in favour of such an Act, i.e. the Standing Committee on Multiculturalism, colleagues within caucus, policy developments and previous governments, everybody that was in the 'multi-bus'.⁴⁶² Indeed, according to Ernie Epp, N.D.P. critic for multiculturalism, "[The] Conservative members in

⁴⁶⁰ Personal interview with David Crombie, August 30, 1988.

⁴⁶¹ Ibid.

⁴⁶² Ibid. It also has been suggested that the overwhelming rejection of the Meech Lake Constitutional Accord by representatives of the ethnocultural communities caused the timely introduction of Bill C-93. see: Calgary Herald, October 2, 1987. Mulroney argued that "[The] Constitution is one way of guaranteeing the rights of our citizens.... The statutes of Parliament are another way of protecting them". See also: Montreal Gazette, October 2, 1987.

the Committee were really desperately anxious that Crombie was going to do the whole thing without a Multiculturalism Act at all".⁴⁶³ Apparently, it was the Standing Committee on Multiculturalism that added the phrase "... but opposes in its strongest possible terms to use the revised [Citizenship] Act as a substitute for a Multiculturalism Act" and had this recommendation sent to Crombie the minute it was passed.⁴⁶⁴ Indeed, it has been suggested that the pressures on Crombie, or what George Corn has labeled as friendly persuasion, were such that the multiculturalism communities as well as other powers from within the government got to Crombie: "I think he actually got an order from the Prime Minister at some point saying, or someone close to the Prime Minister, saying thanks for your views but we will have an Act."⁴⁶⁵

It has clearly been established that the momentum regarding the policy development of multiculturalism was on the side of those that favoured a separate act. However, there also seems some truth to Crombie's assessment of the ignorance of those in favour of a separate act without considering any alternatives. This aspect becomes more evident upon consideration of the actually introduced version of Bill C-93, an Act for the preservation and enhancement of multi-

⁴⁶³ Personal interview with Ernie Epp, August 25, 1988.

⁴⁶⁴ Personal interview with Andrew Cardozo, September 4, 1988.

⁴⁶⁵ Ibid.

culturalism in Canada.

Bill C-93 was introduced for first reading in the House of Commons on December 1, 1987.⁴⁶⁶ In accordance with Crombie's basic position Bill C-93 "was totally consistent with what I wanted to do initially with respect to the Citizenship Act".⁴⁶⁷ Evidence of this could be found throughout the proposed Bill. Much of the Bill's content concerned the aspect of mainstreaming. Hence, one of the main objectives of the Bill was to clarify the policy's target group as consisting of all Canadians. This is also evident through the Secretary of State's information booklet on Bill C-93, entitled Multiculturalism ... being Canadian. Much of the Bill's language reflected Crombie's insistence on creating the Bill in a language of opportunity as opposed to a language of rights.⁴⁶⁸

Some of the highlights of the Bill included Section 3 which spelled out the government's 'new multiculturalism policy' by stating the government's recognition of the value of the various aspects of multiculturalism. Of particular interest is Section 3(1)(j), which seeks to advance multiculturalism throughout Canada "in harmony with the national commitment to the official languages of Canada".⁴⁶⁹ Besides

⁴⁶⁶ Debates, 33rd Parliament, 2nd Session, pp. 11343-11344.

⁴⁶⁷ Personal interview with David Crombie, August 30, 1988.

⁴⁶⁸ Personal interview with David Crombie, August 30, 1988.

⁴⁶⁹ Debates, Bill C-93.

Section 4 to Section 7 that describe the implementation of the policy of multiculturalism, Section 9 dealt with an accountability provision that would be related to the implementation aspect. This section required the Minister to submit an annual report to Parliament specifying the progress made in his department, as well as all other departments in the implementation of the government's policy.⁴⁷⁰

According to David Crombie, key recommendations of the Standing Committee on Multiculturalism's First Report, such as the creation of a department, the establishment of a multiculturalism Commissioner and the commitment of increased funding to the policy of multiculturalism, had been rejected for several reasons. The creation of a separate department was viewed as a move towards ghettoizing the policy of multiculturalism and thereby harming one of the fundamental principles of multiculturalism, namely that the policy applies to all Canadians.⁴⁷¹ The proposed multiculturalism Commissioner, a recommendation favoured unanimously by all ethnic groups and individual Canadians that appeared before the Standing Committee on Multiculturalism was rejected by the government as a duplication of effort and potentially confusing, in light of the existing office of the Canadian Human Rights Commission, to those individuals requiring

⁴⁷⁰ Ibid. Crombie had already announced the establishment of a Secretariat for improvements in the implementation process, see: Montreal Gazette, Dec. 1, 1987.

⁴⁷¹ Montreal Gazette, Dec. 2, 1987.

assistance.⁴⁷² The Government argued as well that the Standing Committee on Multiculturalism has the mandate to monitor the implementation of the policy of multiculturalism throughout the departments of the federal government.⁴⁷³

5.4.4 Opposition Reaction

With the introduction of Bill C-93 by David Crombie, the government had clearly rejected the most fundamental recommendations made by the all-party Standing Committee on Multiculturalism. Indeed, members of the committee, government as well as opposition members, expressed their disappointment. Andrew Witer, P.C. (Parkdale-High Park), member of the Standing Committee, stated that in his view "... the act will [not] score us any huge points".⁴⁷⁴ David Crombie himself has been reported as stating to Doug Fisher, columnist for the Vancouver Sun, that the proposed act was a "windbag statute". Moreover, Crombie is said to have argued "...that the windy words have a reassuring purpose for unsure minorities".⁴⁷⁵ Sergio Marchi, Liberal critic, described Bill C-93

⁴⁷² David Crombie in Globe & Mail, March 26, 1988. See also: Canada, Parliament of Canada, Legislative Committee on Bill C-93, Issue 1, p. 29. G. Weiner reporting on G. Fairweather's (former Chief Commissioner of the Commission on Human Rights) assessment on the establishment of a Multiculturalism Commissioner.

⁴⁷³ Ibid. However, this position has been challenged by members of the Standing Committee on Multiculturalism arguing that the Committee does not have adequate resources to effectively monitor the implementation of multiculturalism throughout the federal government.

⁴⁷⁴ Globe & Mail, March 26, 1988.

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid. This assessment does not come as a surprise, con-

as a "missed opportunity" and Ernie Epp, N.D.P. critic regretted the Government's lack of courage to make a serious, substantial commitment to the policy of multiculturalism.

Although most ethnic groups were pleased with the introduction of a bill per se and some were relieved that Sec. 3(2)(j) specified that multiculturalism will exist in harmony with bilingualism as opposed to the anticipated wording of multiculturalism simply existing within a bilingual framework, most ethnic organizations were very disappointed about the lack of substance contained in the proposed piece of legislation.⁴⁷⁶ Lewis Chan, spokesperson for the Canadian Ethnocultural Council was quoted as stating: "It's a shining symbol, and certainly a step forward. But it's a symbol without substance".⁴⁷⁷ Hence, Bill C-93 as introduced by David Crombie on December 1, 1987 was characterized by the Minister's reluctance to give into the pressures around him. As well, the proposed Bill reflected Crombie's fundamental belief in the importance of strengthening the concept of Canadian Citizenship in order for bilingualism and multiculturalism to flourish. "So it is odd that I was the parent of the multiculturalism bill because I clearly saw it from beginning to end, and I still do see it, as secondary to the

sidering the fundamental differences in assumptions.

⁴⁷⁶ Globe & Mail, Dec. 2, 1987.

⁴⁷⁷ Ibid.

concept of Citizenship - so is bilingualism".⁴⁷⁸

5.4.5 Crombie's Resignation

In March 1988, David Crombie resigned not only from his portfolio as Secretary of State and Minister of State for Multiculturalism but from Parliament altogether. Although he was the longest serving Progressive Conservative Minister of State for Multiculturalism, as well as a member of the Priorities and Planning Committee of Cabinet, and a high profile individual, some have expressed doubt as to his actual accomplishments. "There is just little evidence of what good he [Crombie] did for multiculturalism".⁴⁷⁹ Others, who had contact with Crombie in his previous portfolio concede to his great skills as a communicator but also point out that "Indians are still waiting out there for David Crombie to finish consulting".⁴⁸⁰ Although one can confirm that there were few substantial accomplishments regarding increased budgetary allocations towards multiculturalism, or significant appointments of members of ethnic communities or substantial progress as to the issue of Japanese-Canadian redress, one has to acknowledge Crombie's contribution to the most fundamental issue within multiculturalism, i.e. the mainstreaming of the policy.

⁴⁷⁸ Personal interview with David Crombie, August 30, 1988.

⁴⁷⁹ Personal interview with Andrew Cardozo, September 4, 1988.

⁴⁸⁰ Personal interview with Ernie Epp, August 25, 1988.

5.5 BACK ON TRACK

The debate about Bill C-93, however, was to continue under the new Minister of State for Multiculturalism, Gerry Weiner, who took on the position in March of 1988. It was not until May 13, 1988 that the Montreal M.P. and son of Jewish immigrants was sworn in as the new Minister of State for Multiculturalism. Prior to his newly assigned responsibilities, Weiner had been Minister of State for Immigration. As such, he seemed to have had some exposure to concerns of some of the ethnocultural groups as they related to immigration.⁴⁸¹

Since Bill C-93 was still at the Committee stage, it was going to be Weiner's turn to respond to some of the criticisms brought forward by members of Canada's ethnocultural communities. Some have interpreted the timing of the change of ministers responsible as advantageous to accomplishing more substantial acknowledgements in the Bill.⁴⁸² Obviously it was easier for a new minister to concede to amendments of a Bill that he had not put forth in the first place.

As ethnic organizations appeared before the Legislative Committee on Bill C-93 in the spring of 1988, the typical analysis was that the general goals and objectives of the Bill as set out in clause 3 were laudable and welcomed. How-

⁴⁸¹ Note that immigration, specifically Bill C-55 had been one of the reoccurring themes during the P.C. administration.

⁴⁸² Personal interview with Andrew Cardozo, September 4, 1988.

ever, it was noted again and again that there was no provision that would commit the government to any specific action to implement those objectives.⁴⁸³ Specifically, surprise was expressed that the proposed bill did not include a definition of what constitutes multiculturalism.⁴⁸⁴ As well, the functioning of the accountability mechanism specified in Sec. 9 of the proposed bill was questioned, as for example by the Canadian Ethnocultural Council, concluding that "[It] is unrealistic to expect one Minister to mention shortcomings of Cabinet colleagues in the annual report".⁴⁸⁵

The expectations with regard to a comprehensive cross-departmental implementation of the multiculturalism policy had become focused on the creation of the office of a multiculturalism Commissioner. All submissions made to the Standing Committee on Multiculturalism had favoured such a structural arrangement which had become one of the key recommendations of the Standing Committee. The Government's rejection of this all-party, all-ethnic recommendation was somewhat surprising. As mentioned earlier, the estimated cost amounted

⁴⁸³ Canada, Parliament of Canada, Legislative Committee on Bill C-93, see f.ex. National Congress of Italian Canadians, Canadian Ethnocultural Council etc.

⁴⁸⁴ Ibid., Issue 2, p. 28.

⁴⁸⁵ Canadian Ethnocultural Council, Ethno Canada, Special Issue On Multiculturalism Bill C-93, 8(Winter 1988), No. 1, p. 7. CEC Cites the example of a very similar provision in the 1985 Act concerning Indian Registration. The first report tabled by Bill McKnight in accordance with this section is described here as "... unsubstantial and more of a public relations advertisement for what the government had done".

to some \$1 million and the creation of such an office would have seemed the ideal alternative to creating a department or to be seen as doing nothing. Aside from the official government position that a multiculturalism commissioner's duties were already being performed by the Canadian Human Rights Commission as well as the Standing Committee on Multiculturalism, the Globe and Mail reported that "[G]overnment officials concede privately that the inclusion of a commissioner would have obliged Ottawa to pay more attention to the policy".⁴⁸⁶ If verified, this rationale would confirm the lack of serious commitment to a meaningful bill by the P.C. Government of Brian Mulroney.

However, some amendments to Crombie's Bill C-93 were accomplished under Weiner. In fact, many of the amendments can be traced to proposals made by the Canadian Ethnocultural Council, an increasingly sophisticated and well-connected lobby. In the amended version, multiculturalism was recognized as a "fundamental characteristic of Canada", just as bilingualism had been recognized as a "fundamental characteristic of Canada" in the Meech Lake Constitutional Accord. Furthermore, Section 3(2) strengthened the government's commitment to implement the policy in all federal institutions by changing terms like "should" to the language of obligation, e.g. shall.

⁴⁸⁶ Globe & Mail, March 26, 1988.

Overall, the Canadian Multiculturalism Act, as proclaimed in July 1988 represented a legislative entrenchment of a policy that was now in its seventeenth year of existence. In many aspects the Act focused on the past and offered little in terms of an improvement for the future development of the policy. Although the Act did not satisfy many of the institutional or administrative expectations of most ethnocultural organizations, there had been an effort to accommodate some of the 'status recognition' that was demanded by various ethnocultural groups, such as recognizing multiculturalism as a "fundamental characteristic of Canada". Besides having symbolic value to the ethnocultural communities, the Act has also been interpreted as a valuable signal that multiculturalism is a permanent feature of Canadian identity. As one senior official of the Department of Secretary of State has been quoted as saying "... it's saying to the bureaucrats in Ottawa: 'This policy isn't going away as much as you might hope it will'. The bureaucrats at the senior levels in Ottawa need to be told that because there is still a great deal of opposition to multiculturalism".⁴⁸⁷

5.5.1 Involvement From The Highest Levels

Another development that occurred, possibly in part due to Crombie's approach to mainstreaming multiculturalism and the resistance to this approach by many of the organized ethnocultural communities was an unprecedented involvement by the

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid.

Prime Minister's Office (PMO) and to and even larger extent the Deputy Prime Minister's Office (DPMO). Many of the events and initiatives subsequent to Crombie's departure can be attributed to this development rather than to the weight of Gerry Weiner, the new Minister of State for Multiculturalism. There are several impressions that will be suggested as evidence of this occurrence.

A fairly common assessment of Mr. Weiner's performance while Minister of State for Immigration was that, although well intentioned, he was for the most part ineffective and in almost all aspects dominated by his senior Minister Benoit Bouchard. Sergio Marchi, Liberal critic for Immigration as well as Multiculturalism "...truly believe[s] that in Immigration and in Multiculturalism he [Weiner] is more a captive than an initiator".⁴⁸⁸ This seems confirmed to some extent by Ernie Epp, N.D.P. critic, who was told by Weiner himself outside the House of Commons that "I got my marching orders" which is consistent with Epp's interpretation of Weiner being "primarily a front, a public relations man for multiculturalism that has had less than stellar successes".⁴⁸⁹ In Epp's view, "the Deputy Prime Minister and the Prime Minister probably issue alot of marching orders and long before we even get to the Secretary of State".⁴⁹⁰

⁴⁸⁸ Personal interview with Sergio Marchi, August 23, 1988.

⁴⁸⁹ Personal interview with Ernie Epp, August 25, 1988.

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid.

Apparently, Sharon Wolff, special assistant to the Prime Minister on multicultural issues has been cited as "a major person who got us the Multiculturalism Act".⁴⁹¹ During the summer months of 1988 this position has been transferred from the PMO to the DPMO and is presently occupied by Vera Holiad. In the mind of some, this move has indicated that "there is some recognition that the PMO had not done its job adequately",⁴⁹² and that this shift is part of a general trend in the Mulroney government that wherever the PMO and the Prime Minister have not done the job, Mazankowski has endeavoured to fill the gap.

In terms of accomplishments, Holiad has been said to have helped Gerry Weiner and multiculturalism a great deal.⁴⁹³ This has, in part, been attributed to her close contact with Mazankowski, whereas the advisor in the PMO did not have that close contact with the Prime Minister. Another point of distinction that has been made is that Mazankowski "believes in it [multiculturalism] and he understands the politics of it to a greater extent".⁴⁹⁴ Nevertheless, those developments do not only have to be placed on the background of Crombie's insistence on mainstreaming multiculturalism in his own approach, which had proven to be much to the dislike of eth-

⁴⁹¹ Personal interview with Andrew Cardozo, September 4, 1988.

⁴⁹² Personal interview with Ernie Epp, August 25, 1988.

⁴⁹³ Personal interview with Andrew Cardozo, September 4, 1988.

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid.

nocultural organizations, but as well on the background that 1988 was to be an election year and as mentioned earlier, the Progressive Conservative government had "less than stellar successes" to register with the ethnocultural communities.

Having established the close involvement of the Deputy Prime Minister and the DPMO in multicultural issues, combined with the weak assessment of Weiner's leadership ability and the background of an upcoming federal election, it is less puzzling to understand the acceleration of developments within the multiculturalism policy that occurred throughout the summer of 1988 until the fall election campaign. Indeed, this pattern is in line with the natural cycle of policy development within the area since its inception, as alluded to earlier.

5.5.2 Election Fever

Within the first two weeks of his new assignment, Gerry Weiner announced \$192 million for new directions in the multiculturalism policy of Canada. Included in the \$192 million was the allocation of additional \$62 million over the next five years, amounting to some additional \$12.4 million per annum. In total, the annual budget of the multiculturalism sector was to rise to \$38.4 million. Combined with the Citizenship and Community Participation Program (CCPP), the annual budget was expected to amount to \$42.2 million by

1991/92.⁴⁹⁵

The Minister's announcement of the following new directions was emphasized as the government's multiculturalism policy commitments contained in the Canadian Multiculturalism Act. Accordingly, the four new directions are to encompass the support activities provided under the seven previous funding programs. This may be taken as an indication that aside from new terminology there was nothing new about these direction. The distribution of the new \$62 million on these four programs over the next five years was as follows: Race Relations and Cross Cultural Understanding was to receive \$37.7 million which amounts to 60.8 per cent of the new funds, Heritage Cultures and Languages was to receive \$14.5 million which amounts to some 23.3 per cent of the new funds, Community Support and Participation was to receive \$9.8 million which amounts to 15.8 per cent of the new money, and Cross Government Commitment did not receive a budgetary allocation.⁴⁹⁶

Although the funding increase by Weiner has been described as significant and as exceeding even the Standing Committee's recommended 25 per cent increase over four years⁴⁹⁷ a closer look also reveals that the base budgets of

⁴⁹⁵ Canada, Dept. of Secretary of State, Multiculturalism, Newsrelease, May 30, 1988. note that the CCPP was established under David Crombie in September 1987.

⁴⁹⁶ Canada, Dept. of Secretary of State, Multiculturalism, "Overview Of New Multiculturalism Directions", n.d.

⁴⁹⁷ Canadian Ethnocultural Council, Ethno Canada, Newsletter

each of the programs have been assumed as staying constant if not even slightly regressing over the next five years, as is the case of the Community Support and Participation Program. Hence, more astute observers rightly point out that the government is "assuming that the level of funding will remain at \$25 million for the next five years but if you add your inflationary rate of four to five per cent you are already loosing ground of the \$62 million".⁴⁹⁸ The \$62 million becomes even less impressive when considered on the background of a dropped budget for multiculturalism in 1984 and only marginal increases for the remaining three years. Indeed, some representatives of ethnocultural communities who had wondered if the equal relationship between multiculturalism and bilingualism as specified in Sec. 3(1)(j) of the Canadian Multiculturalism Act, would translate into equal funding for both policies⁴⁹⁹ may have found this announcement of an additional \$62 million over the next five years rather pitiful. Following the announcement of additional funds and new directions as well as the proclamation of the Canadian Multiculturalism Act, the government, on August 23, 1988, tabled legislation for the establishment of a heritage language institute in Edmonton. The legislation provides for a \$250,000 initial endowment as well as an

of the Canadian Ethnocultural Council, 8 (spring/Summer, 1988), No. 2, p. 2.

⁴⁹⁸ Personal interview with Andrew Cardozo, September 4, 1988.

⁴⁹⁹ Canada, House of Commons, Legislative Committee on Bill C-93, Issue 1, p.

additional \$6.7 million over the next five years.

Within weeks after this announcement, on September 26, 1988, Prime Minister Mulroney produced a pre-election Cabinet shuffle. This shuffle saw Gerry Weiner become Minister of a new department for Multiculturalism and Citizenship.⁵⁰⁰ The new department had been an issue of contention throughout the latter part of the Progressive Conservative administration. The announcement of its creation by Mulroney, which according to the Prime Minister had been recommended by the Secretary of State Lucien Bouchard, who had only been in that position for a few months, was welcomed by some leaders of the ethnocultural communities, particularly the Canadian Ethnocultural Council. Yet, besides the announcement itself there were no details available as to the actual working of the establishment of such a department.

Although one may agree that the announcement can be taken as an indicator "that the whole range of issues from immigration and refugees to the difficulties of promoting multiculturalism in a traditionally bilingual and bicultural country has been moving up the public agenda",⁵⁰¹ one cannot ignore the level of increased politization of the issues. It may safely be assumed that such an undertaking as the establishment of a new department would take considerable planning. However, there is no indication that planning had

⁵⁰⁰ Globe & Mail, September 26, 1988.

⁵⁰¹ Globe & Mail, Sept. 26, 1988.

taken place and thus it appears that the announcement was very much a short-term election gimmick with possible long-term negative implications.

5.6 CONCLUSION

The Progressive Conservative administration from 1984 to 1988 in many ways followed the patterns of a recurring cycle as far as policy developments in the area of Canadian multiculturalism is concerned. Within the four years, the portfolio had been occupied by four different Ministers. Although each new Minister had new directions, an overall, long-term strategic pattern of where the policy should go seemed unidentifiable.

The initial two years under Murta and Jelinek were marked by the concerted effort to coin a uniquely Progressive Conservative multiculturalism policy, an attempt to get away from the Liberal image of the policy. Hence, there were structural changes as opposed to substantive changes under Murta, and a disastrous, short-lived re-orientation of the policy under Jelinek. Probably, from an analytical point of view, the most stimulating debate took place while David Crombie was Minister of State for Multiculturalism as well as Secretary of State. Crombie's strong commitment to mainstream multiculturalism by linking it directly to the amendments in the Citizenship Act were a challenge to the increasingly sophisticated organized ethnocultural communi-

ties as well as other segments within the government whose persuasion favoured a separate act.

A novelty in the policy development has been the occurrence of stronger involvement from the top levels of government. Much of the numerous announcements of policy initiatives since March 1988 can be attributed to approval from the top. However, consistent with other governments and their particular patterns regarding multiculturalism is the acceleration of policy development in the area immediately prior to a federal election. Hence, as Ernie Epp has pointed out "multiculturalism needs an election every year, just to keep the pressure up".⁵⁰² One may observe, however, that the 1988 pre-electioneering in the area of multiculturalism has consisted of initiatives that are more of long-term consequences than other government's pre-election initiatives. In what way a pre-election policy development environment is conducive to constructive and beneficial long-term initiatives is questionable.

⁵⁰² Personal interview with Ernie Epp, August 25, 1988.

Chapter VI

CONCLUSION

It has been argued that the Canadian federal government's policy of multiculturalism has been a symbolic policy that has remained on the fringe of governments' agendas. Several factors have been cited in support of this basic observation. Had multiculturalism been a substantial policy, the concept of multiculturalism would have become a more prominent aspect of Canadian identity. One can argue that based on the evidence, the contrary is true after seventeen years of the policy's existence.

To begin with, multiculturalism has never been defined by the federal government. As the historical tracing of the policy evolution has demonstrated, this lack of definition has led to confusion of interpretation by those involved with the policy. The undefined environment has also, particularly in the 1980's, led to irregular policy development initiatives, depending on the person occupying the position of Minister of State for Multiculturalism and pressures applied to the position. This occurrence, on the other hand, has facilitated a split among ethnocultural communities depending on their particular background. So, for example, when Fleming was Minister of State for Multiculturalism

he was eager to deal with the occurrence of racially-motivated incidents as one new aspect of the policy of multiculturalism. However, as has been documented, this expanded interpretation of the policy in the context of a stagnant budget was not favorably received by some of the 'other ethnics'.

Another crucial reason as to why the policy has not yet evolved from its symbolic state is the lack of government commitment. The minimal degree of commitment by governments has manifested itself in various forms. There is the cumbersome administrative structure in which the policy had been placed for almost all of its existence.⁵⁰³ As has been established, this structure frequently led to confusion in terms of lines of responsibility and has hampered coordinated efforts. Indeed, until Murta's structural changes, encompassing the appointment of an Assistant Undersecretary of State, it seemed that the Directorate of Multiculturalism was often ignored within the department of the Secretary of State. This state of affairs has been compounded by the frequently changing Ministers responsible for Multiculturalism. In seventeen years, eleven individuals have occupied the position, providing an average eighteen months of continuity. Although recently-announced changes will alter the administrative structure, policy development now will depend on the strength of the newly announced Ministry of Multicul-

⁵⁰³ Note that Prime Minister Brian Mulroney announced the establishment of a separate department of Citizenship and Multiculturalism on September 26, 1988.

turalism and Citizenship.

Another factor that has been employed as a measure of the government's commitment to the policy of multiculturalism or lack thereof is budgetary allocations. The evidence provided clearly shows that the policy of multiculturalism has only received funding that may be justifiable for the accomplishments of symbolic recognition. Particularly, when compared to bilingualism, as has been done, the commitment to multiculturalism pales in comparison. The evidence provided clearly establishes that the budgetary allocations were pitiful and could hardly be expected to go beyond symbolic aspects in the sense that Edelman employs the term. Indeed as Marchi has pointed out, "...I think that the budgets allocated to multiculturalism have been and are pathetically low. I think we are in need of a budget that crystallizes what politicians and governments speak of".⁵⁰⁴

The level of prime ministerial support has been virtually non-existent over the policy's existence. The involvement of both Trudeau and Mulroney has seemed to depend on the political value of providing high profile support for the policy. It is not surprising to find that policy announcements have often been timed for their electoral impact. The historical tracing of the policy has demonstrated that the level of development has recently consisted of initiatives with more of a long-term effect.

⁵⁰⁴ Personal interview with Sergio Marchi, August 23, 1988

However, while the past seventeen years have not been particularly conducive to meaningful and substantial development of the multiculturalism policy, the reality of the Canadian population composition has continued to diversify and, as of the 1970's, has done so in an unprecedented visible way. In its roots, multiculturalism was to be a factor in Canada's continuing nation-building. As Ernie Epp has pointed out "...too few people have taken the changes of the late 60's and 70's seriously. A nationalism is not an easy thing to change⁵⁰⁵..." It was this change of nationalism that the 'other ethnics' demanded at the time. Disoriented in their relative status position by the events leading up to the introduction of the Official Languages Act (1969), the 'other ethnics' demanded the adherence to the Canadian Citizenship Act (1947), recognizing only one class of citizenship for all Canadians. Hence, the debate has now gone full circle. As has been documented, it was David Crombie, while Secretary of State and Minister of State for Multiculturalism, who was a proponent of strengthening the concept of citizenship which was to establish on an equal level the two aspects of Canada's bilingual and multicultural nature. The latest round of pre-electioneering initiatives which included the establishment of a long-awaited separate department continues to leave the relationship between multiculturalism and bilingualism undefined and unresolved.

⁵⁰⁵ Personal interview with Ernie Epp, August 25, 1988.

Hence, one may conclude that the policy of multiculturalism has remained on the fringe of governments' agendas and has not evolved from its symbolic characteristics over the past seventeen years. This, as has been documented, can be attributed primarily to a lack of definition, placing the policy of multiculturalism into a more clearly defined relationship to such other aspects as bilingualism. The low level of government commitment be it financial, administrative-ly or via continuous support, has hampered the policy development. The most noticeable effect has been that multiculturalism still after seventeen years has not become a 'mainstream policy', i.e. an operational aspect of Canadian identity, in spite of a radically changing reality of an increasingly racially pluralist Canadian society, due to diversified immigration.

Appendix A

RECOMMENDATIONS OF BOOK IV OF THE REPORT OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM

1.

Recommendation 1: We recommend that any provinces that have not yet enacted fair employment practices, fair accommodation practices, or housing legislation prohibiting discrimination because of race, creed, colour, nationality, ancestry, or place of origin, do so and that this legislation be made binding upon the Crown and its agencies. We further recommend that all provinces make provision for full-time administrators of their human rights legislation.

2.

Recommendation 2: We recommend that the same conditions for citizenship, the right to vote, and to stand for election to public office be accorded to all immigrants, with no regard to their country of origin.

3.

Recommendation 3: We recommend that the teaching of languages other than English and French, and cul-

tural subjects related to them, be incorporated as options in the public elementary school programme, where there is sufficient demand for them.

4.

Recommendation 4: We recommend that special instruction in the appropriate official language be provided for children who enter the public school system with an adequate knowledge of that language; that provincial authorities specify the terms and conditions of financial assistance for such special instruction; and that the federal authorities assist the provinces in mutually acceptable ways through grants for the additional cost incurred.

5.

Recommendation 5: We recommend that more advanced instruction and a wider range of options in languages other than English and French, and in cultural subjects related to them, be provided in public high schools, where there is sufficient demand for such classes.

6.

Recommendation 6: We recommend that Canadian universities broaden their practices in giving standing or credits for studies in modern languages other than French and English both for admission and for degrees.

7.

Recommendation 7: We recommend that Canadian universities expand their studies in the fields of the humanities and the social sciences relating to particular areas other than those related to the English and French languages.

8.

Recommendation 8: We recommend that the CRTC remove restrictions on private broadcasting in languages other than English and French, except those restrictions necessary to meet the administrative and legal responsibilities of the licensees and those that also apply to English- and French-language programmes.

9.

Recommendation 9: We recommend that the CBC recognize the place of languages other than English and French in Canadian life and that the CBC remove its proscription on the use of other languages in broadcasting.

10.

Recommendation 10: We recommend that the CRTC undertake studies in the field of broadcasting in other languages to determine the best means by which radio and television can contribute to the mainte-

nance of languages and cultures and that the CBC participate in these studies. We further recommend that these studies include pilot projects on either AM or FM radio in both Montreal and Toronto.

11.

Recommendation 11: We recommend that research be undertaken through the CRTC concerning the nature and effects of the portrayal of other cultural groups on both publicly- and privately-owned English-and-French- language radio stations.

12.

Recommendation 12: We recommend that the National Film Board undertake to publicize the fact that it produces prints of many of its films in languages other than English and French, particularly in regions where there are concentrations of persons who speak languages other than English and French. In addition, we recommend that the voluntary associations of cultural groups stimulate interest among their groups in the use of these films.

13.

Recommendation 13: We recommend that the National Film Board continue and develop the production of films that inform Canadians about one another, including films about the contribution and problems

of both individuals and groups of ethnic origin other than British and French, and that the National Film Board receive the financial support it requires in order to produce such films.

14.

Recommendation 14: We recommend that the appropriate federal, provincial, and municipal agencies receive the financial means they require to maintain and extend their support to cultural and research organizations whose objectives are to foster the arts and letters of cultural groups other than the British and French.

15.

Recommendation 15: We recommend that the administrative costs of the Canadian Folk Arts Council or a similar body be provided for out of public funds through the Citizenship Branch of the Department of the Secretary of State.

16.

Recommendation 16: We recommend that the National Museum of Man be given adequate space and facilities and provided with sufficient funds to carry out its projects regarding the history, social organizations, and folk arts of cultural groups other than the British and French.

APPENDIX B

**SECRETARY OF STATE MULTICULTURALISM EXPENDITURES BY PROVINCE FOR TRANSFER PAYMENTS
(\$000'S)**

YEAR	PY'S TOTAL	NFLD	P.E.I.	N.B.	N.S.	QUE.	ONT.	MAN.	SASK.	ALTA.	B.C.	YUKON	N.W.T.	H.Q.	TOTAL
1987-88	51.58	197.0	120.4	233.4	636.1	3,195.0	8,152.4	2,485.2	652.1	1,899.4	1,914.0	0.0	62.6	0.0	19,547.6
1986-87	57.84	196.1	153.2	266.2	597.7	3,175.9	7,503.9	1,241.5	660.1	1,497.4	2,470.0	20.5	64.5	0.0	17,846.9
1985-86	56.35	225.8	129.7	254.1	486.4	2,696.7	6,855.0	1,303.3	539.7	1,336.8	2,019.6	0.0	57.0	234.9	16,139.0
1984-85	45.86	253.6	143.3	249.4	766.7	3,368.5	7,895.2	1,400.5	747.5	1,497.8	1,924.2	6.3	23.0	91.0	18,372.0
1983-84	43.50	198.7	162.6	493.1	384.8	2,701.5	6,181.4	1,148.6	524.5	1,078.8	1,452.3	1.9	26.0	0.0	14,354.2
1982-83	40.32	148.5	141.0	111.3	556.0	1,718.1	3,551.6	758.2	417.5	692.0	984.9	15.0	20.0	39.5	9,163.6
1981-82	38.11	94.7	98.9	140.6	413.6	1,469.3	3,328.2	722.3	380.8	463.0	958.6	10.1	25.0	3.0	8,108.1
1980-81	37.00	79.4	39.9	106.2	344.5	1,203.2	3,151.5	640.0	270.0	324.3	902.9	0.0	14.0	5.4	7,081.3
1979-80	36.70	44.3	43.9	37.5	312.1	256.9	2,481.3	319.7	174.9	237.0	578.9	0.0	47.1	18.8	4,602.4
1978-79	41.48	37.4	33.4	19.8	160.0	739.3	2,392.0	267.5	136.4	174.6	493.4	0.0	0.0	32.7	4,486.5
1977-78	36.92	37.6	20.0	25.6	171.1	604.6	1,417.5	250.2	75.9	545.0	334.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	3,481.9
1976-77	N/A	44.3	20.3	4.3	77.0	345.8	1,256.1	260.0	118.9	92.8	269.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	2,488.6

SOURCE: 1982-83 to 1987-88: Fin. Stat. DSS 9105 and SOSEX; 1978-79 to 1981-82: Micro-fiches Fin. Stat. DSS 9105;
1976-77 to 1977-78: Data Bank of those years.

APPENDIX C

MULTICULTURALISM PROGRAM, SUMMARY OF EXPENDITURES, GRANTS AND CONTRIBUTIONS BY ETHNIC GROUP
1977-78, 1978-79, 1979-80, 1980-81

ETHNIC GROUP 77-78		ETHNIC GROUP 78-79		ETHNIC GROUP 79-80		ETHNIC GROUP 80-81	
Multicultural	1,284,047	Multicultural	2,068,500	Multicultural	2,299,850	Multicultural	3,741,166
Hungarian	326,788	Ukrainian	498,045	Jewish	476,469	Jewish	479,149
Italian	285,428	Italian	308,065	Italian	376,025	Italian	461,500
Jewish	217,315	Jewish	275,890	Mennonite	308,250	Chinese	405,615
German	159,626	German	160,817	Ukrainian	293,171	Acadian	300,000
Black	133,805	Black	138,644	Chinese	217,907	Black	257,237
Greek	119,800	Greek	134,275	German	148,663	Ukrainian	249,150
Ukrainian	107,858	Chinese	95,472	Greek	146,822	German	245,770
Japanese	102,073	East Indian	92,723	Black	132,615	Native Indian	231,032
Chinese	81,282	Croatian	86,128	Portuguese	108,713	Greek	185,059
Portuguese	59,500	Portuguese	77,385	East Indian	100,304	Vietnamese	126,456
Polish	38,975	Polish	56,150	Native Indian	90,579	Portuguese	108,669
Croatian	36,360	Native Indian	54,835	Scottish	74,628	Indian	90,384
East Indian	32,806	Russian	49,185	Polish	69,053	East Indian	85,634
Mennonite	25,020	Hungarian	47,016	Japanese	51,619	Polish	82,679
Native Indian	21,062	Chilean	41,560	Croatian	41,547	Spanish	68,762
Armenian	20,150	Lithuanian	40,395	Armenian	40,130	Japanese	57,237
Finnish	17,600	Armenian	28,975	Hungarian	39,424	Arab	53,785
Lithuanian	15,000	Japanese	24,550	Haitian	38,600	Haitian	51,380
Irish	14,150	Arab	22,200	Russian	36,920	Asian	51,135
Filipino	12,645	Norwegian	18,027	Indian	33,736	Croatian	46,762
Russian	12,400	Korean	16,630	Vietnamese	33,020	Hungarian	40,645
Scottish	11,705	Finnish	13,844	Korean	32,924	Russian	39,986
Arab	10,800	Spanish	13,330	Dutch	31,583	Irish	37,836
Korean	10,700	Czech	12,850	Spanish	31,428	Chilean	34,605
Doukhor	10,500	Filipino	11,790	Albanian	28,148	Scottish	29,230
Slovak	10,200	Mennonite	11,180	Lithuanian	26,925	Korean	27,013
Estonian	10,200	Scottish	10,400	Latvian	26,407	Dutch	21,468
Pakistani	9,600	Icelandic	8,100	Irish	23,190	Finish	20,275
Latvian	9,500	French	7,450	Slovak	17,325	Armenian	13,922
Roumanian	9,313	Latvian	7,250	Estonian	15,952	Slovak	13,100
Spanish	7,862	Bangladesh	6,750	Finish	15,952	Icelandic	12,400
Slovene	7,120	Estonian	6,700	West Indian	15,796	Lebanese	11,379
Latin American	6,690	Roumanian	4,600	Roumanian	14,550	Czech	10,830
Vietnamese	6,300	Turkish	4,250	Filipino	10,906	Roumanian	10,455
Czech	5,900	Irish	4,092	Serbian	10,238	Filipino	9,896
English	4,900	Slovene	3,900	Asian	9,600	Swedish	8,731
Tibetan	4,000	Dutch	3,300	Turkish	8,522	Latvian	7,695
Icelandic	3,820	Lebanese	3,000	Lebanese	7,304	Welsh	7,500
Serbian	3,600	Pakistani	2,900	Pakistani	7,200	Norwegian	7,369
Swiss	3,600	Slovak	2,800	Slovene	4,847	Turkish	6,815

APPENDIX C (CONTINUED)

**MULTICULTURALISM PROGRAM, SUMMARY OF EXPENDITURES, GRANTS AND CONTRIBUTIONS BY ETHNIC GROUP
1977-78, 1978-79, 1979-80, 1980-81**

ETHNIC GROUP	77-78	ETHNIC GROUP	78-79	ETHNIC GROUP	79-80	ETHNIC GROUP	80-81
Norwegian	3,400	Serbian	2,400	Chilean	3,505	Macedonian	6,000
Egyptian	3,200	Austrian	1,500	Czech	3,247	Lithuanian	5,868
Dutch	2,640	Sri Lankan	1,500	Syrian	2,500	Serbian	4,800
Chilean	2,450	Tibetan	1,250	Norwegian	2,090	Slovene	4,419
West Indian	2,200	Vietnamese	1,200	Salvadorian	1,500	Estonian	3,883
Turkish	1,800	Macedonian	1,000	Scandinavian	1,360	Pakistani	3,500
Albanian	1,500	Scandinavian	1,000	Bangladesh	610	Bangladesh	2,900
Macedonian	1,000	Swedish	800	Icelandic	575	Laotian	2,700
Taiwanese	800	Jamaican	800	Loation	563	Scandinavian	1,125
Lebanese	800	Danish	500	Bengali	550		
Scandinavian	765			Swedish	400		
Austrian	630						
Danish	320						
Swedish	200						
TOTALS	3,492,195		4,484,903		5,811,839		7,784,907

Source: Canada, Department of Secretary of State, Multiculturalism Sector, Financial Planning Unit, Summary Files.

MULTICULTURALISM PROGRAM, SUMMARY OF EXPENDITURES, GRANTS AND CONTRIBUTIONS BY ETHNIC GROUP
1983-84, 1984-85, 1985-86, 1986-87

ETHNIC GROUP 83-84	ETHNIC GROUP 84-85	ETHNIC GROUP 85-86	ETHNIC GROUP 86-87
Multicultural 6,707,691	Multicultural 8,640,921	Multicultural 7,989,028	Multicultural 8,658,236
Jewish 910,624	Jewish 1,005,160	Jewish 881,378	Jewish 1,035,730
Chinese 675,971	Chinese 911,220	Chinese 818,271	Chinese 1,033,133
Ukrainian 595,950	Ukrainian 833,055	Ukrainian 658,400	Ukrainian 633,451
Italian 680,825	Italian 1,089,834	Italian 664,560	Italian 620,469
Greek 357,908	Greek 606,446	Greek 439,385	Greek 479,008
German 381,774	German 488,343	German 459,103	German 484,641
Punjabi 57,736	Punjabi 95,850	Punjabi 77,210	Punjabi 429,393
East Indian 405,078	East Indian 395,667	East Indian 342,900	East Indian 362,949
Other Black, NES 361,020	Other Black 229,743	Other Black 251,520	Other Black 284,044
Arabian 183,541	Arabian 236,465	Arabian 191,165	Arabian 263,758
Portuguese 243,467	Portuguese 275,801	Portuguese 250,510	Portuguese 239,954
Canadian Black 81,472	Canadian Black 63,764	Canadian Black 183,954	Canadian Black 218,378
Vietnamese 194,053	Vietnamese 244,055	Vietnamese 209,585	Vietnamese 226,533
Polish 186,392	Polish 191,040	Polish 172,685	Polish 216,601
Spanish 102,679	Spanish 181,737	Spanish 114,550	Spanish 207,575
Japanese 142,235	Japanese 142,702	Japanese 145,591	Japanese 160,400
Philippino 76,217	Philippino 99,872	Philippino 122,875	Philippino 161,594
Haitian 202,148	Haitian 225,075	Haitian 190,410	Haitian 128,204
Other Latin-Amer 83,400	Other Latin-Amer 127,150	Other Latin-Amer 142,400	Other Latin-Amer 138,254
African Black 13,000	African Black 30,610	African Black 80,725	African Black 130,168
Croatian 88,045	Croatian 136,897	Croatian 110,519	Croatian 115,790
Mennonite 33,720	Mennonite 68,630	Mennonite 36,889	Mennonite 108,500
Korean 53,499	Korean 45,800	Korean 110,885	Korean 95,343
Pakistani 53,370	Pakistani 95,240	Pakistani 94,909	Pakistani 93,138
Laotian 52,330	Laotian 92,349	Laotian 101,745	Laotian 91,441
Status Indian 405,607	Status Indian 47,256	Status Indian 18,000	Status Indian 82,960
Czechoslovakian 38,176	Czechoslovakian 17,725	Czechoslovakian 63,540	Czechoslovakian 76,437
Magyar 83,595	Magyar 72,730	Magyar 59,646	Magyar 59,646
Russian 40,432	Russian 52,200	Russian 33,915	Russian 65,990
Cambodian 33,500	Cambodian 70,997	Cambodian 50,985	Cambodian 62,457
Jamaican (no figure)	Jamaican 27,300	Jamaican 19,000	Jamaican 44,979
South Asians (no figure)	South Asians 47,156	South Asians 26,842	South Asians 59,042
Gujarati 31,116	Gujarati 24,630	Gujarati 60,625	Gujarati 53,040
Armenian 45,458	Armenian 87,637	Armenian 52,060	Armenian 52,639
Irish 35,099	Irish 326,445	Irish 19,178	Irish 46,450
Finish 32,362	Finish 39,045	Finish 35,059	Finish 44,517
Barbadian 32,500	Barbadian 10,000	Barbadian 36,000	Barbadian 38,900
Icelandic 16,000	Icelandic 11,290	Icelandic 5,420	Icelandic 33,459
Scottish 23,841	Scottish 36,794	Scottish 36,032	Scottish 29,609
Lithuanian 12,996	Lithuanian 9,205	Lithuanian 8,275	Lithuanian 20,481

MULTICULTURALISM PROGRAM, SUMMARY OF EXPENDITURES, GRANTS AND CONTRIBUTIONS BY ETHNIC GROUP
1983-84, 1984-85, 1985-86, 1986-87

ETHNIC GROUP	83-84	ETHNIC GROUP	84-85	ETHNIC GROUP	85-86	ETHNIC GROUP	86-87
Dutch	16,985	Dutch	55,445	Dutch	25,930	Dutch	24,283
Iranian	16,780	Iranian	17,670	Iranian	18,535	Iranian	23,757
Latvian	15,522	Latvian	30,730	Latvian	39,140	Latvian	22,598
Serbian	14,834	Serbian	18,165	Serbian	34,535	Serbian	21,166
Morrocian	(no figure)	Morrocian	(no figure)	Morrocian	9,500	Morrocian	20,500
Tamil	6,500	Tamil	800	Tamil	4,770	Tamil	20,438
Caribbean	99,395	Caribbean	90,989	Caribbean	40,377	Caribbean	20,300
Other, N.E.S.(no figure)		Other	(no figure)	Other	(no figure)	Other	18,511
Chilean	37,319	Chilean	22,235	Chilean	14,240	Chilean	16,827
Slovenian	14,748	Slovenian	30,080	Slovenian	18,635	Slovenian	15,535
Estonian	25,602	Estonian	23,210	Estonian	360,395	Estonian	14,758
Malay	11,681	Malay	18,895	Malay	25,870	Malay	12,835
Hutterite	6,358	Hutterite	3,000	Hutterite	20,000	Hutterite	10,000
Turkish	6,065	Turkish	7,740	Turkish	12,950	Turkish	9,491
Norwegian	5,190	Norwegian	4,140	Norwegian	13,995	Norwegian	9,454
Bengali	2,000	Bengali	4,990	Bengali	13,000	Bengali	8,018
Danish	5,770	Danish	10,205	Danish	4,605	Danish	7,660
Sikh	63,365	Sikh	113,220	Sikh	37,575	Sikh	6,300
Swedish	2,780	Swedish	7,355	Swedish	7,070	Swedish	6,256
Trinidadian	13,000	Trinidadian	7,000	Trinidadian	4,000	Trinidadian	6,000
Lebanese	4,840	Lebanese	7,165	Lebanese	5,052	Lebanese	5,000
Welsh	11,520	Welsh	(no figure)	Welsh	3,765	Welsh	4,500
Inuit	(no figure)	Inuit	(no figure)	Inuit	8,000	Inuit	4,500
Scandinavian,N.O.S.	7,480	Scandinavian	19,700	Scandinavian	(no figure)	Scandinavian	4,000
Bangladeshi	8,010	Bangladeshi	330	Bangladeshi	(no figure)	Bangladeshi	3,000
Roumanian	14,300	Roumanian	10,780	Roumanian	6,845	Roumanian	2,484
French	10,000	French	19,542	French	(no figure)	French	2,000
Singhalese	1,210	Singhalese	1,135	Singhalese	15,000	Singhalese	1,378
Other Balkan	(no figure)	Other Balkan	5,000	Other Balkan	(no figure)	Other Balkan	(no figure)
Igbo	(no figure)	Igbo	2,150	Igbo	(no figure)	Igbo	(no figure)
Maltese	(no figure)	Maltese	1,345	Maltese	(no figure)	Maltese	(no figure)
Egyptian	(no figure)	Egyptian	10,000	Egyptian	2,000	Egyptian	(no figure)
Swiss	(no figure)	Swiss	6,000	Swiss	(no figure)	Swiss	(no figure)
Sri Lankan	(no figure)	Sri Lankan	11,400	Sri Lankan	6,046	Sri Lankan	(no figure)
Acadian	13,300	Acadian	5,400	Acadian	4,770	Acadian	(no figure)
Macedonian	(no figure)	Macedonian	10,000	Macedonian	(no figure)	Macedonian	(no figure)
Other British	39,765	Other British	358,110	Other British	(no figure)	Other British	(no figure)
TOTALS	3,492,195		4,484,903		5,811,839		7,784,907

Source: Canada, Department of Secretary of State, Multiculturalism Sector, Financial Planning Unit, Summary Files.

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