

Multiculturalism in Canada: The Controversy of Ethnic and Cultural Diversity

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Abstract

Canada has long been celebrated and recognized internationally as a success story in creating a peaceful multicultural society. Originally a nation developed by Europeans, Canada has opened its doors to millions of non-European immigrants creating an ethnically diverse society made up of many cultures. However, there are many issues regarding both multiculturalism and mass immigration in Canada. Aggressive Canadian immigration policies over the last thirty years have been described by some critics as being too much, too fast. They contend that little regard has been given to the impact that such mass immigration has had on the unique European, mainly British, character of Canadian society. Many believe that immigrants do not integrate into mainstream society and that this ultimately results in the formation of many separate ethno-cultural enclaves that are segregated. This paper begins with a brief review of the history of both multiculturalism policy and immigration trends in Canada. It then explores some of the issues and challenges that have been brought to the forefront in recent years by academics, journalists and other critics who have voiced serious concerns regarding Canadian immigration policies and the ideology of multiculturalism.

INTRODUCTION

Canada is a country noted for its multiculturalism and strong sense of fair and non-discriminatory immigration policy. As a result, Canada has gained an international reputation for being one of the most welcoming countries in the world for immigrants, regardless of their ethnic or religious backgrounds. In recent years, however, the principles of multiculturalism have been challenged by those who argue that Canada is a country founded on European culture and social mores. Many of these critics assert that the philosophical and cultural ramifications of multiculturalism and aggressive immigration schemes have not been well thought out by the Canadian government. The concept of multiculturalism has come under fire from some Canadian academics, politicians and writers who argue that the massive immigration campaigns instituted by the Canadian government are diluting the original European cultural character of Canada, particularly in major cities like

Vancouver, Toronto and Montreal.

As Canada has become increasingly ethno-culturally diverse, as a result of mass immigration, observers are concerned that it can no longer accommodate the needs and individual interests of various immigrant groups as they attempt to adapt to Canadian society. This paper will begin with an introduction of early immigration to Canada which was largely marked by massive movements of immigrants from Europe, specifically the United Kingdom. Next, it will outline the history of multiculturalism and immigration policy that would help define Canada as a multicultural nation. Finally, consideration will be given to the more recent and major issues and challenges facing Canada regarding multiculturalism and immigration policy. The discussion will focus on how the Canadian government's massive multi-ethnic immigration policies have had a profound impact on the cultural character of the country, especially in Canada's large metro areas. The implication is that the federal policies of multiculturalism and mass ethnic-immigration require more thoughtful consideration and consultation with the Canadian public.

EARLY BEGINNINGS: IMMIGRATION

Demographically, Canadian society can generally be seen to be made up of three main groups. First, are the Aboriginal, or First Nations groups, that include status Indians, Inuit, and the Metis. These people first arrived in Canada roughly 12,000 years ago with the first groups arriving possibly much earlier (McMillan and Yellowhorn, 2004). As of 1991, roughly one million aboriginal peoples exist in Canada, which represented about 3.5% of the total Canadian population (Statistics Canada, 2011). The second group are those people who identify as originating from either of the two colonizing powers, British or French.

The British and the French explorers first arrived in what is now Canada in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. It was the British and French colonizers who ultimately declared themselves the founders of Canada and who established the fur trade and, with the eighteenth and nineteenth century gold rushes, ultimately opened up the continent to massive European immigration. Canada became one of the largest immigrant receiving nationals in the world. Canadian culture was, therefore, originally founded on European rule of law and British and French Judeo-Christian values and beliefs. Indeed, the British and French communities consider themselves to represent the original culture of Canadian society. Finally, the third group is represented by those who are from other non-European racial and ethnic cultures which includes both native and foreign born individuals.

The following provides a summary of the numbers of immigrants that arrived in Canada at

or around the time of confederation in 1867 and the countries they immigrated from. The first Canadian census was conducted in 1871 which recorded a total population of 3.2 million people. Of the early Canadian population, roughly 60% were from the United Kingdom (UK) (Irish 24%, English 20%, Scottish 16%), 32% of the population were of French ancestry and 6% reported being of German ancestry (Kelley, 1998, p. 23, 471). Clearly, there was a significant contribution made to the development of Canada by those from the United Kingdom (UK) such as the Irish, Scots and the also the Germans.

During the middle part of the nineteenth century, the number of Irish immigrating to Canada was significant. Between 1825 to 1830, the Irish accounted for nearly 70% of all immigrants to Canada; however, this number fell to roughly 65% between 1830 to 1840 and then again to 40% by 1850 (Bumsted, 2003, p. 110). Eventually, Irish immigration fell to about 20% by 1890. Additionally, by 1870, there was also a population of roughly 31,000 blacks and 23,000 aboriginal peoples in Canada and about 200,000 Germans (Bumsted, 2003, p. 23).

Therefore, when examining the statistics on immigrants from the first census and early immigration patterns, Canada cannot be said to have been a diverse nation at or before the time of Confederation. It was not necessarily a nation of various ethnic immigrants. In 1867, nearly 80% of the population had been born in Canada. (Kelley, 1998, p. 23). As can be seen in the statistics provided above, between 1780 to 1812 and then again in another wave of immigration from 1830 to 1850, immigrants to Canada were primarily from the UK - English, Irish and Scottish - with many also of German ancestry. Consequently, immigrants were mainly British.

From the 1600s to about 1750, Quebec welcomed only about 10,000 people (Kelley, 1998, p. 23). However, Kelley (1998, p. 23) also points out that from about 1760 until the mid 1800s, the total population reached roughly 70,000 people. The birth rate in New France was very high and many women were having children with an average rate of 5.6 surviving children. It must be noted that this population boom in French Canada was not the result of immigration but was due to the healthy fecundity rates of French women. Then, by the 1950s, Quebec had a population of nearly 4 million. Again, it must be pointed out that this was due to high fertility rates and not immigration. It was not until the early 1970s that Montreal began to see a significant increase in non-European immigrants (Bumsted, 2003, p. 42).

From about the mid 1890s until about 1915, Canada received high numbers of immigrants with roughly 3 million people arriving during this time. Although Canada experienced massive immigration in the early 1900s, the nation was still 85% British and French (Bumsted, 2003, p. 145). At this time, there was also a significant increase in Asian immigration which included Chinese, Japanese and East Indian peoples. Still, even with about 50,000 Asians arriving in Canada, they only reflected approximately 2% of the total number of people immigrating to Canada at that time

(Kelley, 1998, p. 145). Alternatively, by 1915, there were about 400,000 people of German descent in Canada, which were the largest ethnic group after the British (English, Irish, Scottish) and the French. Between 1945 and 1960, Canada took in a total number of 2,151,505 new immigrants (Kelley, 2010, p. 316-18). At this time, the Canadian population increased from nearly 12 million to just under 20 million people (Kelley, 1998, p. 467). In fact, prior to the 1960s, almost 90% of immigration to Canada was British or European.

HISTORY OF IMMIGRATION AND MULTICULTURALISM POLICY

The chronology of multiculturalism in Canada began with a series of landmark initiatives that were designed to clearly articulate Canada's stance on multiculturalism in Canadian society. A number of major legislative actions paved the way for a formal multicultural society in Canada with key parliamentary action taking place in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s.

The first major step towards a formal system of multiculturalism in Canada was the country's resolution to abide by the 1948 *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* which applies to all human beings, regardless of sex, race, religion, culture or ideology. This was then followed by the 1960 *Canadian Bill of Rights* which made it illegal in Canada to discriminate on the basis of race, national origin, color, religion or sex. Further, in 1967, Canadian immigration law was revamped to remove any racial discrimination that had existed in immigration laws from the early twentieth century.

In 1969, The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism outlined the value of ethnic groups to the multicultural heritage of Canada. The Commission released a 4 part document that declared that other non-charter ethnic groups contributed to the cultural enrichment of Canada. The Commission's report went further to state that the integration, not assimilation, of ethnic groups into Canadian society should be formalized in Canadian governmental policy. Members of ethnic groups were also recommended to be granted full citizenship rights and equal participation in Canada's institutional structure. The 1969 Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism marked the introduction of a unique and progressive multicultural policy.

The most significant aspects of the new policy, which was later officially announced in 1971, comprised of several key points. First, the Canadian government would assist new immigrants in retaining and fostering their cultural identity. Second, the government would encourage and create opportunities for new immigrants to become involved in government and Canadian institutions. Finally, the federal government would encourage interaction among all Canadian cultural groups and facilitate the learning of one of the country's two official languages. In sum, the Liberal

government of the 1970s set out as a policy objective to formally promote and protect cultural diversity throughout Canada. This also included the commitment to recognize Aboriginal peoples and the support of both English and French as Canada's official national languages. These objectives resulted in the formation of the Ministry of Multiculturalism in 1973 in addition to the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism.

However, these initiatives were expensive. The federal government committed over \$200 million for the next ten years in order to put these new multicultural and language policies into effect. In order to facilitate the enactment of these policies, a new directorate was established under the Department of Secretary of State. The Directorate was charged with the responsibility of assisting ethnic minority groups, monitoring human rights issues and the implementation of multicultural programs.

Throughout the 1970s, the federal government continued to announce a number of key policy statements on multiculturalism. In the early 1970s, the Canadian government then announced the ratification of the *International Convention of the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination* (1970), the first appointment of a Minister for Multiculturalism (1972) and the establishment of the Canadian Multiculturalism Council (1973). Later, in 1977, Canadian Parliament legislated the *Canadian Human Rights Act* which allowed the Canadian Human Rights Commission to oversee human rights issues in Canada, including any cases based on discrimination or abuse of ethnic groups in Canadian society.

Next, the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, or Canada Act, came into effect in 1982 and, as the supreme law of the land, formally acknowledged Canada as a multicultural nation. This was explicitly referred to in Section 27 of the Charter, which states:

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

The significance of this particular clause was twofold. First, it officially declared the reality and importance of multiculturalism in Canadian society. The concept of multiculturalism was entrenched in the Charter. Second, the clause allowed Canadian courts to take into consideration multiculturalism when interpreting the law and in delivering judicial decisions. From a human rights perspective, this allows the courts to strike a balance between individual rights and multicultural rights. One example of how the section impacts individual rights is in the freedom of individual expression. The freedom of expression is in conflict with the laws that prohibit racism and hate propaganda. Therefore, the courts are able to ensure that individual freedom of expression does not extend to certain kinds of free speech that would involve hate or racism.

Another key section of the Charter is Section 15 (1) which protects the equality and fairness rights under the law of all individuals in Canada. Section 15 (1) states:

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

In sum, Section 15 (1) guarantees equality and fairness to all under Canadian law regardless of ethnicity, race, religion or mental or physical abilities.

Finally, the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act* was adopted by Parliament in 1988. Canada was the first country in the world to adopt a multiculturalism law, which further cemented the fact that Canada was fundamentally a multicultural nation. The *Canadian Multiculturalism Act* had several objectives. First, the Act sets out to preserve language and culture and also to increase cultural awareness among Canadians. It also strives to educate Canadians about racism and discrimination. The Act asserted the need for increased minority involvement in the most important institutions in Canadian society such as Crown corporations, the national police service, the courts and all government departments and agencies. It further articulated the federal government's commitment to promote the "participation of individuals and communities of all origins in the continuing evolution and shaping of all aspects of Canadian society." Moreover, it attempts to increase the participation of minorities in providing leadership, decision making, the formulation of policy and implementation of government programs. In short, the Act and the Charter, together, formally and legally declare the right of all to participate in Canadian life regardless of cultural heritage and protect ethnic, racial, linguistic and religious diversity within Canadian society.

Then, in 1991, the short-lived *Department of Multiculturalism and Citizenship Act* was passed which established a new department to oversee multiculturalism in Canada. The Department was dismantled in 1993, however, but it did establish a series of programs which were later amalgamated with the Canadian Heritage Department. These new programs not only attempted to focus on cultural preservation, they also set out to emphasize cross cultural understanding and social and economic integration in Canadian society. This was achieved through the removal of discriminatory barriers and the introduction of affirmative action which equalized educational and employment opportunities for all ethnic and religious minorities.

First, the Race Relations and Cross-Cultural Understanding program was established in order to promote the principles of equality among all Canadians in Canadian society. Another new program that was established was Heritage Cultures and Languages. This program aimed to preserve and promote all cultures and languages and encourages minorities to maintain their ethno-

cultural identities. Finally, the Department established the Community Support and Participation program. The mandate of this program was to support the equitable participation in Canadian life of individuals and communities from the various racial and ethno-cultural minorities in Canada.

A series of further developments on multiculturalism in Canada also occurred in the 1990s. For instance, in 1994, the Canadian government announced that it would not provide any further financial compensation to national ethnic groups as a result of previous wrongs committed by Canada. For example, the Canadian federal government announced that it would no longer compensate Japanese Canadian families for their forced internment during World War II. Previous Canadian governments had paid out millions of dollars to Japanese Canadians for indignities suffered as a result of the internment and for property and financial losses.

Also during this time, the Canadian government was subjected to increased criticisms of the multiculturalism program activities. The Canadian Heritage Department initiated a review of all of the various multicultural programs in 1995. Consequently, the Department announced a number of key changes in 1996. The Department set out three main objectives: building a fair and equitable society, citizen participation in deciding the shape of communities and the nation, and fostering a society that recognizes and respects a diversity of cultures allowing people of all ethnic, racial and religious backgrounds to feel a sense of belonging in Canada.

The new changes to the programs prioritize proposals that help advance efforts to facilitate the full and active participation of all ethnic, racial, religious and cultural communities in Canada. Furthermore, the renewed strategy attempts to address any ethnic, racial, religious and cultural conflict that may occur in communities and strives to combat any hate motivated activities. The new changes also allow governmental institutions to reflect and respond better to ethnic, racial, religious and cultural diversity in terms of the services that they provide to members of Canadian society. Racism, cultural pluralism and increasing public awareness and dialogue on multiculturalism issues are also key objectives within the renewed programs. During the renewal of the above programs, the federal government also announced the establishment of the Canadian Race Relations Foundation. The Foundation's mandate was to investigate racism and racial discrimination and develop support programs for minorities and increase public awareness.

Many national programs have been designed and implemented that educate Canadians on racism and support Canada's immigrants. For instance, Stop Racism is a campaign that was designed to educate Canadians regarding hate and bias towards ethnic groups. Also, Black History Month is another program that is designed to teach Canadians about the Black community and their history in Canada. In recent years, however, the Canadian government has put more emphasis on instituting programs which support the arrival and settlement of new immigrants. These programs provide financial assistance as well as support with language education, professional training and obtaining

professional accreditation and employment opportunities. All in all, the Foundation received an endowment of \$24 million from the Canadian government but also operated on investments, donations and fundraising activities. In sum, the Canadian government has developed many programs and policies that reflect the ethnic, religious and racial diversity of Canadian society.

DEFINITIONS OF MULTICULTURALISM

Multiculturalism means different things to different people and, therefore, the idea of a multicultural society may be interpreted in different ways. While multiculturalism has in recent years become a somewhat controversial concept, the term may be generally used to refer to distinct concepts. First, multiculturalism may be used descriptively as a sociological fact that describes the multi-ethnic composition of a society. In the case of Canadian society, multiculturalism is a sociological fact in Canada and accurately refers to its promotion and maintenance of a diverse multi-racial and multi-ethnic society. These multi-ethnic groups define themselves as minorities and are different from the mainstream Euro-Canadian society. Furthermore, these various ethnic, racial and religious groups wish to retain their traditional values and beliefs within the greater Canadian mainstream society. As a result, multiculturalism as a sociological fact accurately describes Canadian ethnic and cultural heterogeneous society.

Secondly, multiculturalism may also be used prescriptively as a philosophy or ideology that informs policy and that may be construed from legal and political perspectives. In Canada, multiculturalism has been adopted as a political philosophy consisting of clearly articulated ideas which are reflected in both government policy and institutions. Politically, policy initiatives at the federal, provincial and municipal levels are designed and implemented to nurture and celebrate Canada's cultural diversity. That is, racial and ethnic diversity are entrenched in Canadian laws, namely the Canadian Constitution (1982) and the Canadian Multiculturalism Act (1988). Multiculturalism includes notions of equality, inclusion, justice and mutual respect among various ethnic and cultural groups. For example, the Canadian Multiculturalism Act states that: "individuals and communities of all origins can participate fully and equitably in the continuing evolution and shaping of all aspects of Canadian society" (Multiculturalism Act, 1988).

POINTS BASED AND EXPRESS ENTRY SCHEMES

In 1967 Canada developed a landmark points based approach for evaluating new immigrant

applicants. These changes were established in order to eliminate any discrimination or bias from the process of evaluating immigrant applicants and, therefore, promoted greater diversity, inclusion and social justice within Canadian society. Prior to this, it served new immigrants to Canada to be white, Christian and of European origin. This new framework, however, overlooked a candidate's race, religion and nationality. Moreover, the new immigration criteria favored new immigrants who were educated, had proficiency with either of Canada's official languages of English or French, and who had work experience. A number of countries including Australia, New Zealand and Singapore eventually modeled their immigration programs on the Canadian points based immigration system.

However, with the implementation of the new scheme, non-Europeans overwhelmingly replaced white Europeans as the face of the new immigrants arriving in Canada. The 2011 Canadian National Household Survey Census recorded more than 200 ethnic origins, with 13 different ethnic origins having had surpassed the 1 million mark (Statistics Canada, 2011a). The 2011 NHS census survey reported that nearly 21% of Canadians were foreign born, the highest proportion among all G8 countries. The concept of multiculturalism refers to cultural diversity within a country that is nurtured and promoted through its immigration selection, settlement and institutional policies. In other words, multiculturalism involves the existence of multiple groups of cultures within a single society. This situation is created mainly through the arrival of various immigrant communities. For instance, under the Canadian Multiculturalism Act (1988), much funding and many programs have been put in place to promote multiculturalism around the country. Such programs include providing socio-economic assistance to new immigrants, establishment of specific ethno-cultural centers and offering language learning programs to those not proficient in English or French. A key concept underpinning the theory of multiculturalism is the idea that people should celebrate their cultural differences and accept values other than their own which leads to a more tolerant and fair society.

On November 6, 2014, Citizenship and Immigration Canada announced that Canada will target 285,000 new immigrants for admission as part of its 2015 immigration entry plan, an increase of about 20,000 from 2014 (The Economist, 2015). This new plan marks the highest number of immigrant admissions in nearly a hundred years. Federal Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, Chris Alexander, recently stated:

The Government of Canada is proud to table our immigration plan for 2015, which strengthens our government's focus on long-term economic growth for all Canadians. Through the 2015 immigration plan we will welcome a record number of individuals who will contribute to our economy and labour market, while also ensuring that we reunite more families and continue to provide assistance to the world's most vulnerable populations. As we prepare to launch

Express Entry in January 2015, this plan will help us attract skilled immigrants who are most likely to succeed. (The Economist, 2015)

The new Canadian immigration scheme will continue to focus on reuniting family members, providing assistance to the world's most vulnerable citizens but also put greater emphasis on attracting highly skilled immigrants. On the other hand, some observers have noted that the right-of-center Conservative Canadian government, which was elected in 2006, has been less welcoming of refugees from third world nations or countries torn apart by war and persecution than previous Liberal governments.

In recent years, however, the Canadian Conservative government has placed greater emphasis on the importance of economic growth and development by trying to attract skilled workers to immigrate to Canada. As a result, the Conservatives have made an effort to give preference to those applicants who are not only skilled workers but who have also received job offers. This would also include workers who are not Canadian citizens but may already be employed in Canada. A new scheme labeled the "Express Entry System" has been designed for those applicants who are either currently employed or who have received an offer of employment. This new express immigration plan increases the weight given to those applicants who already hold jobs in Canada or who have received job offers.

The new Express Entry scheme is an attempt to attract economic migrants based on a 1,200-point scale. Applicants who have already received a job offer in Canada will automatically receive 600 points. Also, the new target age has been lowered and applicants in their 20s will be awarded maximum points. Any other criteria that they meet such as demonstrating proficiency in Canada's official languages, English and French, or having family who are already Canadian citizens will result in the applicant receiving more points. Individuals with the most points are then permitted to apply for permanent residency. The applicants are then pooled and ranked according to the number of points that they have received. Employers are then able to select individuals from the ranked list and match them with appropriate job vacancies. The Express Entry system is ultimately designed to attract applicants who are trained in fields that Canada needs such as health care, engineering and information technology.

In this way, Canada can be seen to have followed similar immigration schemes enacted by New Zealand (2003) and Australia (2009) which have put increased emphasis on not only immigrants' skills but also offers of employment. At any rate, Canada continues to attract many hundreds of thousands of both skilled and unskilled immigrants each year with its aggressive immigration program. Statistics Canada (2006) reported that roughly 57% of recent male immigrants and 49% of recent female immigrants had at least a bachelor's degree.

Under the old points based system, immigrants without jobs or even valuable skills could enter the country but they often faced discrimination when they tried to secure employment. Many Canadian provinces and institutions refused to recognize skills and education credentials that were obtained overseas. This resulted in engineers and lawyers driving taxis or working as servers in restaurants since their skills and education were not formally recognized in Canada. As a result, the unemployment rate among immigrants is at roughly 11%, nearly double the Canadian born average of 6.8% (Statistics Canada, 2015).

While Canadian immigration policy has traditionally been considered modern and forward thinking, it does have its opponents. Critics admit that while the original points based scheme had problems due to the discrimination people faced when they were searching for a job, the new immigration scheme is now even more susceptible to abuse and manipulation. For instance, because new skilled immigrants will have their status tied to their employer the potential for abuse of the immigrant by the employer is greater. Employers may give preference to those immigrants with English or French sounding names, while leaving those with ethnic sounding names unemployed.

Moreover, critics of the new immigration policy fear that the changes that focus on offers of employment amount to a privatization of the immigration program which results in Canadian immigration being nothing more than a giant manpower agency. Such an employer centered immigration system, critics argue, will likely result in cases of fraud as a result of non-existent employers offering imaginary jobs to friends and family members.

On the other hand, proponents of the new immigration policy argue that many immigrants who have gained admission to Canada without a job have abused Canadian generosity or have taken advantage of the social benefits that are available to all residents of the country. As a result, the Conservative government has gone so far as to try to cut spending hundreds of millions of dollars on refugee and immigrant health care services. The Federal Court of Canada ruled in July 2014 that the Conservative cuts to spending on refugees' health care were cruel and unconstitutional (Rennie, 2014). The Canadian government is currently appealing the Federal Court's decision. The following sections of this paper will address the philosophy of multiculturalism in Canada which has had, some believe, a disastrous impact.

ETHNIC MAKEUP OF CANADIAN SOCIETY

An estimate by Statistics Canada in 2014 had the Canadian population at 35,344,962. Of that number, according to the 2011 Canadian Census and National Household Survey (NHS), 6,775,

800 people were foreign born. The 2011 Canadian Census also shows that these people represented 20.6% of the total population (Statistics Canada, 2011a).

Between 2006 and 2011, 1,162,900 foreign born people immigrated to Canada. The largest source of these immigrants was Asia (Statistics Canada, 2011a). 6,264,800 people report identifying as being a member of a visible minority group (Statistics Canada, 2011a). South Asians and Chinese were the two largest visible minority groups in Canada in 2011. Finally, among those whose first language was not either of Canada's two official languages, Chinese languages were most common. Following Chinese, Tagalog, a language of the Philippines, Spanish and Punjabi were also common among minority groups. Also, between 2006 and 2011, the NHS results revealed that the Philippines was the leading country of birth among those who immigrated to Canada (Statistics Canada, 2011a).

In 2011, around 152,300 newcomers were born in the Philippines, 13.1% of all newcomers (Statistics Canada, 2011a). This was followed by China, with about 122,100, or 10.5%, Chinese coming to Canada. Next was India, from which about 121,400 or 10.4% immigrants originated (Statistics Canada, 2011a). From the above statistics, it is clear that the primary source of Canada's immigration is Asia.

PUBLIC CONFUSION: MOSAIC OR ASSIMILATION

Many Canadians are still asking what multiculturalism really means and whether the goal should be assimilation or integration as opposed to what some have referred to as a cultural mosaic. Up until the 20th century, immigration was based on an assimilationist model and the goal was for new immigrants to assimilate and integrate into Canadian mainstream European influenced culture. However, the 2011 Canadian census recorded more than 200 different ethnic origins in Canada. In fact, 21% of Canadians (6,775,800 people) were born outside of Canada, according to the 2011 census. Further, nearly 95% of these people were proficient in either English or French in addition to their first language. Recent census data, therefore, confirms that Canada has become increasingly diverse over the last thirty years and is represented by many ethno-cultural groups and languages.

In the 1990s, polls suggested that Canadians were generally accepting of a multicultural nation. However, it is clear from recent polls that many Canadians are not exactly clear on what multiculturalism entails. They are not clear on what the purpose of multiculturalism is and what it is trying to accomplish. Many people recognize the multicultural aspects of Canadian society when they see folk dancing, food festivals and ethnic celebrations. However, they tend to be confused when the term, 'multiculturalism', is applied to a wide range of situations, practices, expectations

and goals. Consequently, there is a general apprehensiveness about Canada's multicultural policy from the Canadian public and many believe that there should be greater effort to encourage immigrants to assimilate.

Rather than a 'cultural melting pot', Canada has preferred to best describe its culturally diverse society as being a 'cultural mosaic.' This term refers to many ethnic and religious groups co-existing together in a single society. In 1938, with the publication of *Canadian Mosaic: The Making of a Northern Nation*, John Murray Gibbon argued that there were many benefits of cultural diversity in Canada. Additionally, in 1965, John Porter published a book which attacked Euro-Canadian class, privilege and power in Canada in, *Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada*. At the close of the 1960s, Canada began receiving large numbers of non-European immigrants and by the 1970s Canada's immigration policy was free of any bias or prejudice to non-white applicants. For the first time in Canadian history, the majority of new immigrants were of non-European ethnicity and Canadian society had truly become a cultural mosaic.

However, there is still some debate in Canada regarding whether new immigrants should assimilate into the dominant Euro-Canadian culture or retain their ethno-cultural practices and beliefs. Many Aboriginals, French and English speaking Canadians feel that if new immigrants are to come to Canada, then they, as citizens, must first adapt and become Canadians first. Some Canadians have begun expressing concern that new immigrants are not willing to adapt to Canadian values and beliefs and the Canadian way of life. Within the last three decades, massive immigration from non-traditional European countries has occurred with many people arriving from Asia, Africa, Central America and the Caribbean. Immigration to Canada from these regions of the world shows no sign of slowing down during the twenty first century. Moreover, much of this multi-ethnic immigration is centered around Canada's two major urban centers, Vancouver and Toronto, which has dramatically changed the look of the two cities.

Some critics argue that, as an ideology, the concept of multiculturalism runs counter to the idea of cultural assimilation. Both the Multiculturalism Act (1988) and the Canadian Race Relations Foundation Act (1991) radically changed the interpretation and the concept of multiculturalism and aimed to eliminate racism and discrimination. The Canadian federal government also spends millions of dollars on providing programs for the maintenance of the heritage of cultural groups and on language classes. Such special treatment received by ethno-cultural groups in Canada is often resented by the mainstream society.

Therefore, Canada's multiculturalism policies have been accused of isolating ethno-racial groups from mainstream Canadian society instead of bringing Canadians together as a single nation. Many ethnic groups have formed and remain in distinct cultural or ethnic enclaves that are separate from the main culture (Bissoondath, 1994). These communities have been blamed for having an

inward-looking mentality and that they wall themselves off from the mainstream Canadian society. The end result is a loss of unity and cohesion. In sum, many Canadians perceive multiculturalism as being responsible for creating a sense of separateness between various ethnic groups and that it breeds hostility, misunderstanding and that it pits one group against another in the competition for power and resources.

Various ethnic groups are encouraged to cling to their traditional culture as a result of Canada's multiculturalism policies and laws. As a result many believe that this results in new immigrants caring more about their traditional culture, beliefs and homeland than Canada. By allowing new immigrants to hold on to their cultural and religious beliefs and practices and to continue with their distinctiveness, multiculturalism policies prevent new immigrants from integrating and assimilating into mainstream Canadian society. As a result, several authors such as Bissoondath (1994), Gwyn (1995) and Granatstein (2007), argue that both traditional culture and ethnicity should not be addressed in public policy and to keep it as a private matter for individuals and families. However, Bissoondath also suggests that policies should address racism and that there should be programs implemented for school kids that sensitize children to each other and that they should not be threatened by their differences. This, he argues, is as far as federal government policy should go in addressing culture and ethnicity.

Jack Granatstein focuses on this issue in his book *Whose War Is It?* (2008). Granatstein believes that there is real danger in Canada's current immigration and multiculturalism policies. He points out that there may be something he refers to as the multiculturalism of foreign policy occurring in Canada. In this regard, the interests of the 'old country' and that the views of various ethnic groups in Canada maybe be cause for concern regarding Canada's reaction to foreign events. Granatstein also goes on to say that there has been a failure of the Canadian government to integrate newcomers into the body politic (2008, p. 168).

An example of this occurred in 2011 when about one dozen Muslim families, who had recently immigrated to Canada, appealed to the local school board in Winnipeg, one of Canada's largest cities, to remove their children from some classes approved as part of the standard curriculum (Corbella, 2011). The classes which were in question were music and physical education. Music is considered by many Muslims to be un-Islamic. The parents also believed that boys and girls should be segregated for physical education classes.

Even though both music and physical education are compulsory parts of the curriculum, the local school board accommodated the parents' wishes. Instead, local school officials offered a compromise and requested that the students complete an independent written exercise. Some raised objections to the decision of the school board to change the requirements for the Muslim students. They argued that the school board should not be trying to adapt the curriculum to fit the desires of

the families but that the families should be trying harder to adapt to the curriculum and Canadian culture.

One member of the Muslim Canadian Congress, however, accuses new immigrant families who make such demands as unreasonable. Mahfooz Kanwar, a retired sociology professor in Calgary, Alberta, stated the following in response to the Muslim demands of the local school district:

I'd tell them, this is Canada and in Canada, we teach music and physical education in our schools. If you don't like it, leave. If you want to live under Sharia law, go back to the hellhole country you came from or go to another hellhole country that lives under Sharia law. (Corbella, 2011)

In other words, immigrants to Canada, regardless of their race, customs or religious beliefs, should adjust to Canada, not the other way around. However, many immigrants from countries such as Pakistan are Muslims and expect to continue their severe, by Canadian standards, religious practices.

However, legislation has been introduced recently in the province of Alberta that will allow parents to withdraw their children on the grounds that the educational curriculum content violates their religious and cultural beliefs. On June 4, 2009, The Alberta Human Rights Act was amended with the enactment of Bill 44. This amendment established an opt-out clause for parents that applies when schools address subject matter related to religion, human sexuality and sexual orientation. However, the new legislation sparked alarm among teachers, principals and local school boards because it now paves the way for parents and students to pursue human rights complaints against schools and educators (CBC News, 2009).

Canadians such as Kanwar argue that they are not fooled by the cultural mosaic lie and are not pleased with the results of the Canadian government's policies that support and nurture the mosaic society. He believes that the Canadian government has propagated the lie that all cultural values and beliefs are of equal value. Kanwar further argued that because Canada is a country founded on Judeo-Christian values, not Muslim values, that Muslim immigrants must adapt to Canadian values. This is a problem, however, because many new immigrants to Canada expect to continue practicing their religious beliefs and hold on to their particular ethnic values.

Another highly publicized debate that has been occurring in Canada in recent years is the issue regarding the Muslim practice of covering the female face and head. In 2011, the Canadian federal government banned the wearing of niqab, a veil that covers the face and head of Muslim women, during citizenship ceremonies. The wearing of niqab by Muslim women has generated intense debate in Canada. Many Canadians are uncomfortable with idea of women having to cover their

bodies and see it as running counter to gender equality and also safety. There is also widespread agreement that people have a right to see the face of the person who they are communicating with.

Recently, Conservative MP Larry Miller commented during a radio interview that any women who insist on wearing a niqab during the citizenship swearing in ceremony should “stay the hell where you came from” (Miller, 2015). Canada, however, is not the first country to take such action against the religious and cultural garments that cover women’s faces. France, for example, has also banned the wearing of niqab. In 2004, the French President Nicolas Sarkozy introduced new laws that prohibited the wearing of face coverings in public.

However, on March 19, 2015, the Federal Court of Canada struck down the federal government’s ban on wearing the niqab while taking the citizenship oath. Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper has said that the government will appeal the Court’s decision. Harper used frank language in describing the kind of repressive and misogynistic cultures that require women to cover their heads and faces with such garments as the niqab. Harper described such cultures as being, “anti-women.” The Opposition leader, Justin Trudeau, immediately responded to Harper’s comments and implied that he was a racist and that his comments smacked of historical shameful incidents in Canadian history.

On the other hand, Harper makes a good point: it is not religion per se that is in question here, but the culture. The covering of women’s faces is not mandated by the Quran. The niqab is the product of a particular culture that places limitations on women and wearing one is not a choice. Therefore, there is some merit in what Harper said.

The French province of Quebec has also expressed concern regarding the hijab, a garment that covers the head and upper chest, and the niqab since they seem to symbolize the misogynistic oppression that women experience in Islam. The ruling Quebec Liberal Party introduced Bill 94 to the Quebec legislature in 2010 which would have prohibited the wearing of the niqab, or any face covering, when providing or receiving public services from government agencies. About 94% of Quebecers supported the government’s prohibition of the niqab and about 80% of 1,004 Canadians polled supported it (Conway, 2012). The Bill did not pass into law, however, since it did not receive unanimous support in the legislature.

However, Bill 60, popularly known as the Quebec Charter of Values, was introduced in 2013 and deals with similar issues regarding religious symbols such as headscarves, niqabs and even large Christian crosses. Similarly, another religious symbol that has caused concern for Canadians is the kirpan, a small ceremonial knife, worn by all orthodox Sikhs. Recent polls suggest that 51% of the population support Bill 60.

Canada is an equal opportunity nation and great effort is made to promote the advancement of women. The culture of Canada does not require that women cover their heads and faces. Women

are free, and encouraged, to pursue educations and occupations that have traditionally been male oriented. As a result, Canadians are generally uncomfortable with niqabs. The niqab, for many Canadians, is a symbol of authoritarian, oppressive and misogynistic cultures. However, people should be cautious to ensure that anti-Muslim fear-mongering does not occur, although this is often the result of such public debates.

And debate on such issues, regardless of how divisive they are, is healthy and must take place with all sides being permitted to express their views and opinions. However, Canada must make a decision on what it will allow in terms of immigrant cultural practices in mainstream Canadian society, and it must decide if these practices violate Canadian values or impede government institutions in carrying out their duties. These are difficult issues, but they must be debated and decisions must be made regarding what is and what is not acceptable in Canadian society.

Further, Canada is a country that is founded on British and French rule of law. Therefore, there is no place in Canada for alternatives such as Sharia law which many Muslims expect to still follow, even after they have immigrated to Canada. Sharia law is completely incompatible with the values held by Canadian society and the Canadian legal system.

Canadian urban centers are often described as consisting of separate urban cultural ghettos where new immigrants do not wish to get to know or interact with other Canadians. These separate cultural enclaves do not assimilate, and practice their own religion and attend their own churches. This is noticeable particularly around the major urban centers such as Vancouver and Toronto.

Many Canadians seem to be concerned whether the country can remain united as a nation with so many cultures, ethnicities, races and religions existing in Canada. They argue that highlighting the differences or emphasizing the differences is harmful to the country. The things that Canadians share in common are considered to be more effective at building national unity than celebrating their differences. Indeed, many Canadians do not like that the government is promoting differences instead of trying to unify the country and emphasize all that people have in common. While many Canadians are accepting of cultural diversity, they do not value many of the activities of the multicultural programs of the Canadian government. The Canadian public sees these as being a waste of taxpayers' money and divisive in that they forge a wedge between the various groups in Canadian society based on their cultural, ethnic, and religious origins. Many Canadians believe that the federal government should put more emphasis on shared values and symbols in Canadian society to promote a sense of Canadianism instead of the differences between groups. In his 1994 book, *Selling Illusions: The Cult of Multiculturalism in Canada*, Neil Bissoondath outlines his critique of the Canadian government's multiculturalism policy. The main thrust of Bissoondath's book is that the federal multiculturalism policies have been divisive and that the encouragement of ethnic and religious differences result in feelings of separation and difference from the mainstream

culture (Bissoondath, 1994).

In sum, there is real concern among the Canadian public that multiculturalism policy promotes too much diversity at the expense of Canadian unity. Therefore, in recent years, many critics have accused the federal government's multiculturalism policies as being too divisive because they emphasize what is different among groups rather than focus on the values that are Canadian. Many feel that the Canadian culture and symbols are being discarded in the effort to accommodate other cultures.

QUEBEC

While the Canadian government has invested significant resources in developing policies of multiculturalism in Canada, the French Québécois have criticized the Canadian government for this. The most vocal about multiculturalism have been Quebecers. Many of the initiatives instituted by the federal government to protect and support cultural diversity have been met with suspicion and even anger by French Canadians in the province of Quebec. It is widely known in Canada that the Québécois have been the most resistant to Canadian government multiculturalism policies. French Canadians perceive it as an intrusion on their provincial internal matters and see it as an attempt to downgrade their special status under the Charter as a distinct society. Moreover, the Québécois have accused federal politicians of bribing the ethnic vote by pandering to the ethnic minorities in order to receive support from ethnic communities. This is known in Canada as appealing to the 'ethnic vote.'

Federal multiculturalism policies have largely been interpreted by many in Quebec as an attempt by the dominant English culture to dilute the French culture of Canada. French Canadians feel threatened in that they believed that the federal government was reducing their status to that of other ethno-racial minorities and that they were being prescribed the multicultural policies as that of a group who was not one of the founding peoples of Canada. As a result, Quebec refers to its policy as "interculturalism" (Dewey, 2009). In sum, the French believe that there was a compact between the two peoples of Canada, the French and the British, and that the French see federal multiculturalism policies as a move by English speaking Canada to subjugate the French culture and language.

The Québécois feel that multiculturalism is an attempt to dilute and subjugate the French culture and language. As a result, the philosophy of multiculturalism has come up against tremendous resistance in Quebec. Many politicians and critics believe that there are attempts by the Canadian government to dilute French culture and language. The architects of official multiculturalism,

declares one Bloc MP, were pursuing 'unspeakable objectives' (Ryan, 2010, p. 66). Another Bloc MP, Michel Daviault, asserted that:

The new Canadian multicultural identity which the government is trying to impose is in fact a ploy to acculturate Quebecers...In the promotion of this glorious Canadian multicultural mosaic, the government is rather quick to forget the concept of two founding nations. (Daviault, 1994)

At the very heart of Quebec's view is that they perceive the French language and culture to be a necessary part of Canadian confederation. Quebec has a unique legal system that is distinct from the rest of British influenced legal system and the Québécois fiercely protect the French language as a means to safeguard their French culture and way of life. For instance, Quebec would never permit non-French language signs on businesses like the Chinese only language signs owned by Chinese business people in Richmond and Vancouver. The Quebec government would enforce the French only laws for business signs and fine the shop owners. If the shop owners refused, the government would remove the signs.

BACKLASH AND CRITICISMS

Contrary to those who assert that multiculturalism and diversity create strong societies, many critics argue that the opposite is in fact true. That is, multiculturalism promotes the formation of distinct cultural enclaves, each with vastly different ethnic, linguistic and religious characteristics, that do not interact with the mainstream Euro-Canadian society. Canada's multiculturalism policies have been accused of isolating ethno-racial groups from mainstream Canadian society. Many ethnic groups have formed and remain in distinct cultural or ethnic enclaves that are separate from the main culture (Bissoondath, 1994). These communities have been blamed for having an inward-looking mentality and that they wall themselves off from the mainstream Canadian society. The end result is a loss of unity and cohesion. Indeed, many Canadians perceive multiculturalism as being responsible for creating a sense of separateness between various ethnic groups and that it breeds hostility, misunderstanding and that it pits one group against another in the competition for power and resources. In short, multiculturalism results in the exact opposite of what it intends to create, namely division, separatism and non-integration.

A number of Canadian academics, historians and writers (Bissoondath, 2002; Duchesne, 2014; Gwyn, 1995; Granatstein, 2007; Suzuki, 2013) have gone so far as to say that multiculturalism has

been an utter failure. These observers have echoed similar statements made by government leaders in multicultural nations such as England, France and Germany. An example of this was seen with Germany's Angela Merkel in Potsdam on October 16, 2010. Merkel, giving a speech to fellow Christian Democratic Union youth members, was unequivocal in expressing her feelings about the current situation of multiculturalism in Germany, when she stated:

We are a country which, at the beginning of the 1960s, actually brought guest workers to Germany. Now they live with us and we lied to ourselves for a while, saying that they won't stay and that they will disappear again one day. That is not the reality. This multicultural approach, saying that we simply live side by side and are happy about each other, this approach has failed, utterly failed. (BBC News Europe, 2010)

Then, at the 47th Annual Munich Security Conference on February 5, 2011, British Prime Minister, David Cameron, also stated:

Under the doctrine of state multiculturalism...we have failed to provide a vision of society to which they [immigrants] feel they want to belong. We have even tolerated these segregated communities behaving in ways that run counter to our values. So when a white person holds objectionable views - racism, for example - we rightly condemn them. But when equally unacceptable views or practices have come from someone who isn't white, we've been too cautious, frankly, even fearful, to stand up to them...This hands-off tolerance, has only served to reinforce the sense that not enough is shared. All this leaves some young Muslims feeling rootless and . . . can lead them to this extremist ideology...At stake are not just lives, it's our way of life. That's why this is a challenge we cannot avoid - and one we must meet. (BBC News Europe, 2011)

Similarly, former French President, Nicolas Sarkozy, also echoed Merkel's and Cameron's concerns when he said: "We have been too concerned about the identity of the person who was arriving and not enough about the country that was receiving them." (BBC News Europe, 2011). Indeed, there has been a noticeable shift in attitudes towards multiculturalism policies and discourses in countries such as England, France, Germany and Netherlands. Critics disenchanted with mass immigration and multiculturalism in such countries have called for a return of assimilationist policies and a rejection of ethno-cultural pluralism. Needless to say, Canadian commentators are not the only ones who hold doubts about the success of multiculturalism.

A number of respected Canadian academics, scientists and writers have challenged the Canadian

government's policy to take in hundreds of thousands of immigrants each year. These critics are that has been negative consequences of maintaining such high immigration targets. For instance, in an interview with a Montreal newspaper in 2013, Japanese Canadian and environmentalist and scientist, David Suzuki, argued that Canada's immigration policy is "disgusting" since it robbed talent from developing nations. He also argues that Canada simply does not have enough livable regions to accommodate massive numbers of new immigrants. However, Suzuki pointed out that it was important that Canada still accept those immigrants who are suffering from political oppression and emergencies:

I think Canada is full too! Although it's the second largest country in the world, our useful area has been reduced. Our immigration policy is disgusting: We plunder southern countries by depriving them of future leaders, and we want to increase our population to support economic growth. It's crazy! That does not mean we do not have a responsibility to those who struggle to survive elsewhere. But there is more room. However, Canada will always open its doors to those who suffer oppression or emergency. When in 1970 we welcomed 50,000 boat people from Vietnam, I was particularly proud to be Canadian. (Demetz, 2013)

Other noted academics have also voiced their opposition to multiculturalism in Canada, such as political historian Ricardo Duchesne (2014) of the Council of European Canadians, who asserts that mass immigration has threatened Canada's unique European culture. Several other prominent Canadian academics such as Gwyn (1995), Bissoondath (2002) and Granatstein (2007) have also criticized the harmful impact of multiculturalism on Canadian culture, going so far as to suggest that multiculturalism in Canada has been a colossal failure.

In his books, *Who Killed Canadian History* (2007) and *Whose War Is It?* (2008), Canadian historian Jack Granatstein argues that the high levels of political correctness in Canada, in addition to the promotion of multiculturalism as a political philosophy, have had deleterious effects on the teaching of history in Canadian schools. He claims that various studies conducted in public schools and at post-secondary institutions reveal that Canadians are learning less about their history. Indeed, writes Granatstein, many Canadian youths cannot pass reasonably basic tests involving key Canadian events or personalities. In a chapter entitled "Multicultural Mania," Granatstein tells the story of a university department head in ethnic studies who was forced to resign as a result of one of his books being poorly received by a local ethnic community and the federal multiculturalism program which had funded the teaching position. Granatstein also asserts that Canada's multiculturalism policies have resulted in immigrants, and Canadians themselves believing that Canada does not have a history or unique identity. This is particularly so, Granatstein argues, for English-speaking

Canada.

Canadian politically correct educators and governments have successfully marginalized Canadian history to the point where facts are often manipulated or omitted in the teaching of Canadian history in high schools and postsecondary institutions. Consequently, many young people are graduating from the public school system who know very little about the country's national history. In fact, Granatstein argues that Canadians are actually losing their history and identity. And although Granatstein outlines a number of significant factors such as political correctness towards women, aboriginals and individuals rights versus national responsibilities which he perceives to be the decline of historical knowledge in Canada, he is highly critical of the problems associated with mass immigration and multiculturalism. In his writing, Granatstein links official multiculturalism and political correctness in the disappearance of Canadian history in the schools and among Canadian students. Many observers believe that Granatstein has provided a cautionary tale in this regard.

The Canadian government and political elite have countered such accusations by claiming that any negative feelings about immigration and multiculturalism by the Canadian public were merely a knee-jerk reaction to the economic downturn and high unemployment experienced in the 1990s. However, national polls reveal that there is a genuine widespread fear among many Canadians who feel that they are becoming "strangers in their own land" (Gwyn, 1995).

It is clear, however, that the overall theme advanced by critics is that multiculturalism does not result in integration, tolerance and harmony. Instead, the result has been cultural enclaves or pockets of culture that do not assimilate or integrate with the mainstream Euro-Canadian culture. Many people believe that there are several reasons for this. First, the philosophy of multiculturalism presupposes that there will be differences between people and groups. This goes against the notion that all Canadians shall be considered equal before the law and that there will be no special privileges granted to certain groups over others. Therefore, critics argue that multiculturalism is a harmful policy in terms of social unity and cohesion and prevents shared identities and nation building. Indeed, they argue, very few new immigrants actually integrate and instead prefer to wall themselves off in cultural enclaves or ghettos. They contend that new arrivals should try to become more like mainstream Canadians and embrace Canadian values instead of holding on to their foreign cultural traditions.

A number of Canadian journalists have also expressed uneasiness that multiculturalism policy is promoting an excessive amount of diversity which ultimately threatens national unity. In fact, concerns regarding a lack of national unity prompted National Post columnist Andrew Coyne to write a piece titled: *The real question: Is Canada a nation?* (2006). Coyne laments the fragmented cultural and political landscape of Canada which seems to betray any notion of a shared national

identity, pointing out as examples of this that the First Peoples are nations and that the Québécois, too, are a nation. This may suggest that there is a lack of shared Canadian unity or identity through common beliefs, culture, language, and politics among the various groups across the country. Critics of multiculturalism maintain that the policy is divisive because it puts too much emphasis on what is different, rather than promoting any shared values that may be Canadian. Consequently, many commentators believe that Canadian culture and symbols are being eroded in an attempt to accommodate minority rights and inclusive citizenship for those who are from other cultures.

The other major Canadian newspaper, *The Globe and Mail*, has refused to debate multiculturalism and instead prefers the term 'pluralism.' It seems that the editors believe that a shift in terminology will lead to fewer challenges and debates with the use of the word pluralism. There is no reason to believe that the use of the term pluralism will lead to fewer challenges and debates regarding multiculturalism and mass immigration. Some have expressed concern that the proposed shift from multiculturalism to pluralism might even suggest that there is a weakness to multicultural policy in Canada. Using the term pluralism is not a magical solution to solving potential social problems and controversies, nor will it achieve a more inclusive and cohesive Canadian society.

ACADEMIC FREEDOM VS CHINESE ACTIVISTS

Recently, academic freedom was challenged by Chinese ethno-activists in response to the writing of some Canadian academics who disagree with Canadian immigration and multicultural policies. Tension surfaced in a heated exchange between a Chinese ethno-activist and a Canadian university professor in June of 2014. Kerry Jang, a Vancouver City councillor and university professor of Chinese descent, made a number of serious allegations against Ricardo Duchesne, a sociology professor at the University of New Brunswick. Duchesne had written a series of essays criticizing Vancouver City councillors Jang and Raymond Louie for urging council to have city staff investigate laws that were discriminatory and unfairly applied to Chinese immigrants between the period of 1886 and 1947. Jang and Louie are seeking "reconciliation efforts" which is interpreted by many Canadians as a euphemism for financial compensation.

Jang made a number of statements to the media about Duchesne's academic research on immigration and multiculturalism and even went so far as to contact Duchesne's university to demand an investigation into Duchesne's conduct. Jang wrote a formal letter to the university administration urging the university to look into Duchesne's "racist" views about Chinese Canadians. Jang accused Duchesne of racist and hateful comments that he had made in several essays which he had written concerning multiculturalism and mass immigration in Canada. The essays in question were titled:

“Chinese Head Tax, White Apologies, and “Inclusive Redress””, “Reply to Vancouver Councillors Kerry Jang and Raymond Louie”, “Chinese and Whites in British Columbia From an Ethnocentric Perspective”, “Head Tax? When Will Migrant Chinese Apologize for Rampant Racism in China Today?”, and “The Great Fear: Why do Whites Fear Their Own Ethnicity?”

Jang went on to criticize Duchesne for engaging in shoddy scholarship stating that, “the nature of the blog postings and emails received are troublesome in that they go beyond fair comment and abuse the privilege of academic freedom by their pejorative nature that is based on poor scholarship”(Hutchinson, 2015). He also complained to the University of New Brunswick saying that, “Dr. Duchesne sends the links to his blog postings using his university affiliation and I felt it important to bring them to you[r] attention” (Duchesne, 2014a). Jang also told the University of New Brunswick to look into whether Duchesne should be permitted on campus and said, “I would not feel safe [attending there] knowing that someone like that was on faculty” (Duchesne, 2014a). Interestingly, Duchesne was himself born in Puerto Rico and immigrated to Montreal with his family when he was 15 years old.

In an interview with Canadian media, Duchesne said, “The whites who created this country are supposed to be bending over backwards in a state of shame for having built the best country in the world” (CTV News, 2014). To counter Jang’s accusation that Duchesne was engaging in poor scholarship and research practices, Duchesne responded by presenting a list of scholarly works that he had cited and used as references in his academic research on multiculturalism and immigration. Furthermore, Duchesne reported that the University of New Brunswick had indeed conducted a brief investigation into his conduct and found that it was not in violation of the university code of conduct standards. Additionally, Duchesne fired back saying that Jang did not understand the concept of academic freedom and quoted the definition of the term on the Council of European Canadians website.

The homepage message on Duchesne’s website reads: “We are against an establishment that is determined to destroy European Canada through fanatical immigration, race-mixing campaigns, imposition of a diversity curriculum, affirmative action in favor of non-Europeans, and promotion of white guilt.” Duchesne’s argument is that there exists a double standard in Canada where non-Europeans are encouraged to protect and enhance their ethno-cultural interests, but that Canadians of European descent do not enjoy the same rights and opportunities as other ethnic groups to celebrate and promote their cultural heritage. He states:

My argument is not that Canada should be preserved for Europeans only; it is that the policy of multiculturalism encourages Canadians from all ethnic backgrounds to affirm their heritage and culture, and that if we are to be consistent and not follow a double standard we should stop

prohibiting European Canadians from pursuing their own ethnic interests in the same way that these three activists have made entire careers pursuing the ethnic interests of Asians in Canada. (Duchesne, 2015)

Duchesne points out that, in 2006, Chinese Canadians received an official apology from Prime Minister Stephen Harper and a formal apology from the British Columbia government. Additionally, Chinese Canadian families received \$34 million in financial compensation (Friesen, 2013). There are also many government sponsored projects currently being undertaken by different groups to investigate the head tax legacy.

However, a few months later, another heated exchange occurred between Duchesne and Chinese Canadians on January 22, 2015. This time Duchesne was attacked by three other Chinese activists who accused Duchesne of hiding his allegedly racist writing and thinking behind the privilege of academic freedom. Go, Nipp and Ng, all of Chinese descent, wrote a piece in one of Canada's national newspapers, *The Globe and Mail*, charging Duchesne with fear mongering and abusing academic privilege. The authors of the article wrote:

Duchesne is a professor of history and sociology, but he has brought the academic profession into disrepute. Mr. Duchesne's intolerant statement will run the risk of inciting fear and resentment toward Canadians of Asian heritage by reinforcing stereotypes of the ethnic Chinese as perpetual foreigners. (Go, Nipp and Ng, 2015)

The authors also stated that Chinese first arrived in British Columbia in 1744 and that they played a key role as invited laborers that assisted with the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. The three Chinese activists not only disagreed with Duchesne, but like Jang, they demanded that the University of New Brunswick investigate him on the basis of what they perceive to be his racist comments. The three authors requested that the University censor Duchesne stating that his xenophobic and racist views should not be expressed by any academic at a Canadian university. The authors, Avvy Go, Dora Nipp, and Winnie Ng, concluded that what Duchesne practices is not academic freedom but intolerance and racism:

The purpose of academic freedom is to prevent a chill on the pursuit of knowledge and to safeguard diverse viewpoints. However, in Canada no right is absolute; in the case of academic freedom, this right starts to unravel when academics hide behind academic freedom to espouse untruths that actually inflict harm. If the staff and faculty of UNB are truly committed to academic freedom and academic excellence, they should join the Asian Canadian community

in condemning racism in any form in Canada. (Go, Nipp and Ng, 2015)

Once again, Duchesne responded by explaining that his claim was simple: mass immigration is threatening Canada's European character. In his articles, Duchesne objects to Chinese leaders in Vancouver who have requested more apologies and compensation packages from the various levels of government in Canada. He further cites the 2006 Canadian government official apology for the discriminatory laws applied to Chinese immigrants in addition to the \$34 million financial settlement Chinese received.

Duchesne also claimed that the authors were motivated by self-interest by saying that, "Go, Nipp, and Ng are the ones who have fueled xenophobia through many years of activism against European Canadians, polarizing Canadians into the bad racist whites and the innocent minorities" (Duchesne, 2015). Furthermore, Duchesne argues that he is promoting and defending the ethnic interests of European Canadians within the framework of the Canadian Multiculturalism Act (1988). The Act guarantees the rights of Canadians of any racial origin to protect and enhance their cultural and ethnic interests that is consistent with the principles of Canadian liberal democratic institutions. Duchesne (2015) argues that Canada was a country created by diverse peoples is a false meme and writes: "How can the argument that Canada was founded by European Canadians be categorized as a form of "white supremacy" if Canada was in fact created by Europeans?"

Finally, Duchesne addresses Jang, Louie, Go, Nipp and Ng's accusations that he is conducting "poor scholarship." He points out that he has written many articles on the philosophical and historical aspects of the ideology of immigrant multiculturalism and on the uniqueness of Western Civilization. Duchesne further states that all of his articles have been thoroughly researched, have been supported by many different sources and that they have all withstood the peer review process.

The authors are adamantly against my emphasis on the European character of Canada and how mass immigration threatens it. Yet, a quick examination of the careers of Go, Nipp, and Ng reveals three lives fully dedicated to the promotion of Chinese ethnic interests in Canada combined with the portrayal of European Canadians in a persistently negative way. They eulogize about "the pursuit of knowledge," "academic standards," and the "academic profession" but only Ng has some sort of position at a university. (Duchesne, 2015)

Duchesne points out that Ng is not an academic and that she was not hired as a professor. Instead, she holds an honorary position that is funded by a union. The reasons given for selecting her as the Chair were that she has demonstrated great experience in social justice and anti-racism research.

Duchesne also correctly points out that Ng has no peer-reviewed published research articles, except for a public report that was co-authored with five other names titled, “An Immigrant All Over Again? Recession, Plant Closures and (Older) Racialized Immigrant Works.” In his reply, Duchesne also accuses the Chinese authors of acting in their own ethnic interests by writing such a piece. He argues that they are pursuing their Chinese ethnic interests by working for government supported ethno-cultural organizations. He also believes that, like the Chinese authors, White European Canadians should, too, pursue their ethnic interests and that it is even essential to preserving the European cultural heritage of Canada.

Some observers also claim that the Chinese immigrants have come from very closed societies wherein opposing views are rarely welcome. In fact, in China, publicly expressing critical views of the state or the communist leaders is suppressed, often with violent consequences. The authors do not appear to believe that such issues should be discussed or studied as an academic exercise. They also seem to believe that negative commentary on immigration and multiculturalism should be silenced and even punished. Indeed, their approach appears to be ideological as opposed to intellectual. However, simply because they do not agree with or like Duchesne’s views it does not mean that they have a right to suppress his work and have him punished for engaging in discussion of controversial issues. Go, Nipp and Ng, and other Chinese activists, must understand that Canadians value freedom of speech and expression, in addition to academic freedom.

MASSIVE CHINESE IMMIGRATION TO VANCOUVER

In the Vancouver metro area of British Columbia Province, there has been a disruption of a huge influx of Asians, specifically the Chinese. The Vancouver area has experienced a massive flood of Chinese people into the metro area and they bring with them languages and cultures which are very different from the one that was in place. As a result, there has been some conflict, tension and resentment.

In 2011, Statistics Canada revealed that 43% of the greater Vancouver population is of Asian descent, many of them Chinese. Statistics Canada shows that 17% of the 2.5 million people who live in the metro Vancouver area are Chinese (Statistics Canada, 2011a). Census Canada also reports that Chinese numbered just over 1,324,700 with most of these people living in urban metro areas like Vancouver and Toronto (Statistics Canada, 2011a). In comparison, 35% of the greater Toronto area population is Asian, 33% of the San Francisco metro area population is Asian and Calgary has an Asian population of 23% (The Vancouver Sun, 2014). Both London, England and Sydney, Australia had Asian populations of 21% and 19% respectively (The Vancouver Sun, 2014). It is

clear from the above statistics that major Canadian cities have among the largest populations of Asians outside of Asia.

For instance, Richmond, a neighboring suburb of Vancouver, had a 2011 Canada Census population of 190,000. However, the City of Richmond estimates that the 2015 population to be closer to 207,000. The Chinese population of Richmond in 2011 was roughly 100,000, or 60% of the total population (Statistics Canada, 2013). This is the highest concentration of Chinese immigrants in any Canadian city. As a result, The massive Chinese immigration to the region over the last 15 years has created the first Chinese city in the western world. Many of the city's white European Canadians are not pleased with the dramatic changes that have taken place in their community. They argue that the tens of thousands of millionaire Chinese immigrants have pushed up the prices of houses and land in the area.

Finally, the population of Asians coming to Canada continues to increase and the Chinese populations of Toronto and Vancouver are predicted to double by 2031. This will push the Anglo white population down to below 50% of the total population in each of these major metro Canadian cities. It estimated by Statistics Canada that Chinese and other Asian populations are growing at more than twice the rate as the Euro-Canadian population.

However, many Chinese who immigrated to Canada in 1997 after the Chinese takeover of Hong Kong later returned to Hong Kong. Next to the United States, Hong Kong has the most Canadian citizens in the world. These people owe no allegiance to Canada whatsoever. In fact, many of these citizens of convenience do not have any major ties with Canada other than owning land or sending their children to university. Another concern is that far too many of the Chinese and other Asian immigrants do not speak either of Canada's official languages, English or French, which makes their chances of assimilating next to impossible, or, at the very least, unlikely.

CHINESE LANGUAGE AND BUSINESS SIGNS

The neighboring city of Richmond lies just south of Vancouver and this municipality is known for the large number of Chinese immigrants who have chosen to settle there. The shopping malls and businesses are dominated by Chinese owned shops with Chinese staff being employed in these stores. Recent heated debates have occurred in Richmond as a result of these Chinese stores that display signs written in Chinese and not English. Many of the Chinese owners have refused to put English on the signs which has angered many of the local English speaking residents. The store owners are permitted by the Richmond city council to erect business signs on their storefronts that are written in the Chinese language only. As a result, many English only speaking residents feel

that this is rude, insulting and exclusionary to those Canadians who are not Chinese. Ultimately, such changes brought by Chinese immigrants significantly alter the character of the city and the communities.

Some English only speaking residents of Richmond feel that the Chinese immigrants come from one of the most racist, xenophobic, patriarchal and insular countries in the world - China - and argue that they are bringing these elements to Canada. Therefore, European Canadians claim that the Chinese residents are not partners in multiculturalism and show disregard for others who are not Chinese.

CHINESE REAL ESTATE INVESTMENT

One major source of concern for local Canadians has been the massive Chinese real estate investment in the Vancouver metro area. This foreign investment, mainly from wealthy Chinese, has created an artificial price bubble that has driven property costs up. Land development companies and real estate agencies are often owned and operated by Chinese business people residing both in Vancouver and in China. Many of the city's white European Canadians are not pleased with the dramatic changes that have taken place as a result of tens of thousands of millionaire Chinese migrants who have bought up many of the houses and land. It has been reported that nearly 75% of the homes in the Vancouver area that sold for more than \$3 million were sold to Chinese buyers. (Lee-Young, 2015)

The Chinese are seen as being directly responsible for the exorbitant costs of houses and city land in Vancouver. Vancouver is now considered to be the most expensive city in which to purchase a home next to Hong Kong. The result is that many young people who were raised in Vancouver will never be able to afford to purchase a home in the Vancouver city area. In sum, there are very substantial economic and sociological impacts of mass immigration of Chinese to the metro Vancouver area that have, in many cases, been negative for the surrounding communities.

Needless to say, the Canadian public, especially those Euro-Canadian families who have lived in the Vancouver area for generations, are concerned that the open for business policy of Canada to Asian investment money is impoverishing many Canadians more than it is enriching them. The communities suffer in that many local families are priced out of the real estate market. Transportation planning and policies are also affected and many Chinese owned mansions sit empty for years and unrented in order to avoid paying property taxes. Many of these large homes are vacant because their owners live in Hong Kong or China. Instead of new immigrants who owe allegiance to Canada, the Canadian government has imported many wealthy immigrants that do

not assimilate, mainly because they do not need to. In short, many wealthy Chinese continue to use Canada as a place to educate their children, to conduct banking and investment activities but work and live in Asia, primarily Hong Kong, Taiwan and Mainland China. The Canadian government has given wealthy business class Chinese immigrants the opportunity to buy their way to Canadian citizenship.

To many Canadians, this is the exact opposite of multiculturalism as most people commonly understand it. Also, some neighborhoods are being radically transformed as many of the old buildings are bought by wealthy Chinese immigrants and then torn down. In sum, there are genuine concerns about the speed of changes to the city caused by massive immigration and many people believe that critics of the Canadian government's immigration and multiculturalism policies should not be silenced.

MONEY LAUNDERING AND CRIMINAL ACTIVITY

There are also valid concerns regarding the money that flows into Canada from China. Some critics have argued that many Chinese investors are skirting the laws both in China and Canada and transferring hundreds of millions of dollars into Canada through illegal schemes. Some believe that Chinese communist party leaders and business people have purchased homes and land in Vancouver and have immigrated to Canada due to having earned their money through corruption. The Canadian governments are eager to receive business investments from overseas Chinese and wealthy new Chinese business people and Canadian financial institutions have been accused of not looking into the legality and origins of overseas money.

In recent years, there have been concerns that wealthy Chinese business people and Communist Party members have been granted business immigration visas based on money that they obtained illegally through fraudulent means. Many of these individuals were granted entry into Canada under the controversial Immigrant Investor Program (IIP). Between 2009 and 2012, the Canadian government issued IIP permits to roughly 50,000 applicants, the overwhelming majority of whom were wealthy Chinese, compared with only 9,000 in the United States for the same period (Glavin, 2015). And in 2014 there were roughly 46,000 Chinese millionaires waiting to have their applications processed (Glavin, 2015).

Illegal foreign investment, particularly in the Vancouver real estate market, has been cited among many Canadians as one of the factors that have caused the inflation of housing and priced local Canadians out of the Vancouver metro real estate market. In an April 2015 report published by Beijing (Central Commission For Discipline Inspection), as many as 26 of China's top 100

criminals are believed to have absconded to Canada where they are alleged to have laundered their funds, mainly through land development and real estate. The charges facing these fugitives often involves white collar crimes such as money laundering, fraud and embezzlement.

A recent example of this occurred on May 1, 2015 when the Canadian Immigration and Refugee Board denied a claim for refugee status from a prominent Chinese real estate developer in Vancouver. Mo Yeung Ching lost his bid for refugee status when it was revealed that Ching is wanted by Chinese authorities for embezzlement. Information obtained by Canadian government officials found that Ching, his father, and two of their business associates are accused of defrauding China's Hebei provincial government out of \$2 million as part of a land deal in the late 1990s (CBC News, 2015). Canadian authorities subsequently learned that Ching is wanted on an Interpol arrest warrant.

Many of these individuals are seeking to escape detection and apprehension by the Chinese authorities by fleeing to Canada where they can launder their money easily under the Canadian investor program. Some critics argue that a great deal of the blame lies with the Canadian federal and provincial governments and financial institutions which ask no questions in regards as to how the Chinese immigrants have obtained large sums of money. There have also been questions regarding the legality of moving large sums of money from China to Canada. Vancouver has been cited as a popular destination for wealthy business people as well as Chinese Communist Party leaders to purchase land and make real estate investments.

In sum, there is a legitimate concern that many well educated, politically connected and wealthy Chinese immigrants are coming to Canada and investing in real estate and other businesses but that they are using money that has been obtained illegally. Moreover, many critics argue that the Canadian federal government, with its desire to raise money through citizenship through investment programs, and financial institutions that do not question the origin of foreign investment funds are to largely to blame.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, Canada began as a nation that was founded and developed by the British and French. The English, German, Irish, and Scottish immigrants vastly outnumbered immigrants from Asia. Although there were some immigrants that arrived as migrant laborers who were expected to return to their countries, the numbers of people arriving from Asia were not significant until the 1960s and 1970s. Furthermore, the French population increased from the 1700s to the 1850s due to high fertility rates in Quebec. Immigration to Quebec from non-European countries was not

significant and only since the 1980s has Montreal seen mass immigrants from Africa, the Caribbean and Asia.

Indeed, Canada's mass immigration policy, like other Western nations, results in many hundreds of thousands of people of non-European ethnic origins coming to the country every year. Many critics argue that there is a dysfunction of non-compatible ethnic groups, especially when they gravitate to the overcrowded city centers and suburbs such as those in the metro regions of Vancouver and Toronto.

Many Canadians believe that multiculturalism has failed. Some critics of Canada's mass immigration and multiculturalism policies are also trying to defend the identity of their country that has British, French and European origins. They also note how aggressive non-European immigration has transformed Canadian society into a nation of tribes or ethnic-cultural enclaves that do not interact. Many millions of immigrants from various ethnic groups have arrived in Canada but have not integrated into mainstream Canadian society and are, therefore, accused of contributing to the fracturing of Canada.

A segment of the Canadian public feel threatened by massive immigration that has upset the unique European or British character of such cities like Vancouver. Consequently, many Canadians have responded to non-traditional European immigration in a hostile manner. They fear that Canada is not Canada anymore; that its European nature has gradually been diluted and dissolved by the many ethnic non-European peoples that have arrived in the country. Further, many Anglo Canadians feel that Chinese and other Asian immigrants to Canada are citizens of convenience, only, and do not hold any allegiance to Canada.

What are some possible solutions and approaches to more responsible implementation of immigration and multiculturalism policies in Canada? Many critics believe immigration has been too intense. They suggest that there should be greater consultation with the Canadian public with respect to immigration and multiculturalism policies. Critics argue that there should be more thought given to how mass immigration disrupts and changes Canadian communities, especially in large urban centers. Although Canada is a relatively young country, it is important for the federal government to formulate immigration and multiculturalism policy that is consistent with Euro-Canadian values and beliefs. Mass immigration programs and the concept of multiculturalism must be reconsidered and the federal government must allow for greater consultation with the general public in the future. Indeed, there should be less emphasis placed on differences and greater efforts towards creating national unity among Canadians so that they can both face challenges and also the rewards of belonging to a strong, prosperous and unified society. Whether this is possible remains to be seen.

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