

« We have created a society where individual rights and freedoms; compassion and diversity are core to our citizenship. But underlying that idea of Canada is the promise that we all have a chance to build a better life for ourselves and our children. »

Justin Trudeau (2012)

Does it correspond to the current Canadian cultural model?

If we take a look at Canada's past before Justin Trudeau, we can realize that it is not the place that it is nowadays. Its growth is undeniable but to build a nation as Canada it was neither easy nor fast, it took many years.

One of the biggest changes started with Justin Trudeau, current leader of Canada and elected in 2015 and reelected 2019. He convinced with dynamism, hope and charisma and he won a majority government in the 2015 election and with a minority in 2019. During his government, he legalized recreational cannabis, extended family allowances, and promoted multilateralism. The economy was at its best: unemployment reached 5.6% in December 2018, the lowest since 1976.

However, some time later, Trudeau's popularity declined for breaking some campaign promises (such as electoral reform) and taking measures that were unpopular with progressives.

« The young hope » of world politic who was at the beginning a sensation because of his clever use of his image and social media not only made him one of the most popular politicians in the nation's history, but he began to be seen as an alternative to the global rise of the far-right.

In the following paragraphs, I will develop if the promise of a « great nation » made by Justin Trudeau correspond to the current Canadian cultural model. For this, I will analyze it based on four aspects: racism, immigration and multicultural literature and art.

First, racism in Canada describes racist attitudes of people in Canadian society, as well

as governmental neglect of United Nations policies and human rights standards. Today's Canada is the product of indigenous First Nations combined with multiple waves of migration, predominantly from Europe and Asia.

Nowadays, “white” Canadians consider themselves, for the most part, to be free of racial prejudice, and perceive the country as an inclusive society, a notion that has been challenged because it wasn’t always like this. To illustrate this, we will take the example of Duncan Campbell Scott who was a civil servant, poet and musician who lived in Ottawa, Ontario from 1862 to 1947. ¹It is important to acknowledge Duncan Campbell Scott's role as a Canadian poet and a powerful bureaucrat because he worked to “get rid of the Indian problem”. As a part of his mission, he elaborated some policies, he told a House of Commons committee in 1920, was "to continue until there is not a single Indian in Canada who has not been absorbed into the body politic and there is no Indian question, no Indian department." What Duncan Campbell wanted was a gradual assimilation of these Indian people in the society of the beginning of twentieth century. Similarly, Patrick Wolfe, an historian and scholar in the field of settler colonies studies, has been involved in the study of race and settler colonialism in the United States, Canada, among other countries.

Knowing the past allow us to understand the importance of a good relationship between indigenous people and Canadians. It is important to understand and respect these indigenous people because they are part of the history of Canada. Preserve their own historical territories are important for their history, culture, and language.

One of the phrases that may shock everyone is « The only good Indian is a dead Indian », phrase that has been used in the United States. Definitely, it has given it a bad reputation to Philip Henry Sheridan, the author of this phrase, not for death or crime but for the hatred it

carries. 2 This has created the Sheridan legend, turning him into a hate-figure like Himmler or Cromwell, ideologically committed to his grim task.

Regarding the immigration, this was one of the subjects that most caught my attention during the courses because I didn't know that this country was really marked with immigration of people and how these immigrants were rejected by some Canadian people.

An example of a migrant author is K. Linda Kivi's, an Estonian refugee who grew up in Canada. One of her most recognized works is "If home is a place" where she shows Esther confusion about her identity in belonging like in this example:

1 The Legacy of Duncan Campbell Scott: More than just a Canadian Poet (2016). First Nations Child and

Family Caring Society in Canada. Retrieved from

https://fncaringsociety.com/sites/default/files/Duncan%20Campbell%20Scott%20Information%20Sheet_FINAL.pdf

2 'The only good Indian is a dead Indian': Sheridan, Irish-America and the Indians. History Publications.

Retrieved from [https://www.historyireland.com/18th-19th-century-history/the-only-good-indian-is-a-dead-](https://www.historyireland.com/18th-19th-century-history/the-only-good-indian-is-a-dead-indian-sheridan-irish-america-and-the-indians/)

[indian-sheridan-irish-america-and-the-indians/](https://www.historyireland.com/18th-19th-century-history/the-only-good-indian-is-a-dead-indian-sheridan-irish-america-and-the-indians/)

"Who is in the window? What it is in the doorway? A cat, a friend, a light, a lover?

A spotted begonia, a child, Mamma?" (K. Linda Kivi's, 1995, p.8)

It is interesting to analyze this novel because it helps us to understand migration from another angle, from someone who has experienced firsthand the pain to keep his native country to start a new one in another one country that welcomed her as if it were its own.

As well as K. Linda Kivi's there is another poet, anthologist and critic, Lien Chao who was born in China and came to Canada to study Canadian literature. She, in her book, attempt to construct the historical and cultural contexts of Chinese-Canadian writing. Since the 1970's a fully developed Chinese literary consciousness and historical awareness have emerged in Canada.³

In ancient Canada and today's Canada the image of immigration has had a lot of impact. It is nowadays a country of immigration. As we can see, migration policy has evolved over time due to a combination of interests of over time by a combination of an economic, cultural, social, and political nature.

Regarding the cultural aspect of Canada, we can see that it has been preceded by thousands of years of artistic creation by indigenous people and today's writers reflect that in their works. For this, there have been many American Indian myths and legends.

Nowadays, a one example of this is Rex Woods, an English-born Canadian artist and illustrator in Toronto who painted "The Father of Confederations" in 1883. Most recently, Kent Monkman remakes this painting but this time adding it his alter ego, Miss Chief Eagle Testickle. There is a significant for the introduction of this woman: "Miss Chief" in the painting plays the role of a trickster and she imposes in a certain way an Indigenous queer presence on the origins of Confederation. What he wants is to show that Indigenous people exist and are present through his art. Monkman is widely known for his provocative interventions into Western European and American art history in his works of art like "The daddies" in 2016.

Among other renowned authors, there is Thomas King is another Canadian American writer who is the most influential indigenous writers of his generation. His work "A Coyote Columbus story" shows an adventure in Indigenous storytelling, a subversive critique at

3 Retrieved from <https://library.ryerson.ca/asianheritage/authors/chao/>

colonist consumerism, and an Indigenous perspective of historical events. An extract of the story says:

“We're going to have to do this story right. We're going to have to do this story now. It was all Old Coyote's fault, I tell Coyote, and here is how the story goes.

Here is what really happened.” (King T.,1992, p.122)

This is a good way to tackle hard topics of colonization, genocide, and slavery in a funny and age-appropriate way because this work is aimed at a children's audience so they can be able to question the official story instead of having it imposed on them.

For the development of his work, he was supported by Monkman who made the pictures of this book. With this work, Thomas King try to tell us that Indigenous people survive despite all the violence they suffered. They created innovate ways to survive the violence and erasure of colonialism that continues today.

Another Canadian poet is Lee Maracle who talks in her books a critic of the treatment of Indigenous people and indigenous literature. Jordan Abel makes part of this group of poets, but in his case, he's a niska'a writer which means an Indigenous people of Canada in British Columbia. His work addresses settler colonialism directly.

One of his most celebrated work is “Un/inhabited” which reminds us of the power of language as material and invites us to reflect on what is present in the empty space when we see nothing. We can see it in the passage below:

“Along with this criminal immigration came the sturdy , the man intend building a home and establishing a fireside.” (Jordan Abel, 2014:15)

The poet lets us play with our imagination and provides us with a map to navigate this

new territory, it is a self-consciously incomplete one. 4 (Christina Turner in Canadian Literature)

4 Retrieved from <https://canlit.ca/article/tales-from-a-new-frontier/>

To summarize, the history of the different immigrations in Canada challenges the idea of Canada as a good host. However, the current Canada is the result of migration of either Estonians or Chinese among other nationalities. Nowadays, Canada welcomes immigrants to settle in it from across the globe and as a Justin Trudeau said, “diversity is Canada's strength.” The art and literature were other aspects that were and are highly developed, they “don’t forget” the past and they try through these ways of expression to tell the right story to the current and future generations so they can be able to question the origin of one of the most multicultural countries in the world: Canada.

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“We have created a society where individual rights and freedoms, compassion and diversity are core to our citizenship. But underlying that idea of Canada is the promise that we all have a chance to build a better life for ourselves and our children.”

-Justin Trudeau, Current Prime Minister of Canada

As one of the biggest nations in the world (second, right after Russia) Canada is seen as a unique diverse and ideal model country that maintains a peacekeeping role around the globe. Its cultural model is grounded on principles of equality, respect for others cultural differences, and individual freedoms. The Canadian cultural model allows for a diverse set of beliefs and behaviors that they share among them. All of these beliefs and behaviors are in one way or another shaped, restricted, and molded to produce an end product of diverse groups of people inhabiting a particular space. Taylor(1994, 25) states that, “our identity is partly shaped by recognition or its absence, often by the misrecognition of others, and so a person or group of people can suffer real damage, real distortion, if the people or society around them mirror back to them a confining or demeaning or contemptible picture of themselves.” Canadian multicultural writing is one way with which identity and belonging can be observed and help us understand the complexities of the fabric of Canadian society: “literary texts may raise an awareness of the gap between multiculturalism as an ideal and the reality experienced in Canadian society(Birk and Gymnich 2016, 529)”.

Two groups of minority immigrant peoples (Estonian Canadians and Chinese Canadians) show the varied reasons for migrating to Canada. The reasons span from economic, political, and social and they vary widely and change over time. A number of Estonians at the end of WW2 sought refugee status in Canada due to Soviet Rule over their land(Aun 1985). In her work *If a Home is a Place*, Linda Kivi describes the immigrant experience of the main character Esther who in search of her sense of place and belonging must wrestle with her parents attempt at preserving her Estonian roots and culture. Her parents’ quest in preserving their own identities manifest themselves in the upbringing of their daughter. In a way this presents as a form of resisting full Canadian assimilation which would signify the loss of their own way of life and the acceptance of this new land. In the book, *Inner Green* Kivi eloquently describes the moment she felt at home and the universal inner struggle many immigrants relate to when you are not fully incorporated to the new society but at the same time assert no claim to the past of your parents. “As I grew to adulthood, I went through the motions required of Estonian refugee life with less and less conviction. My brother and I were frequently chastised to "speak Estonian!(Kivi and Delehanty

Pearkes 2005, 15)" Chinese immigrants mostly men at the end of the 19th century for better economic prosperity made the journey to Canada in search of better way of life and opportunities for economic advancement(Chao 1997). In the text, *Prairie Widow* Paul Yee explains that while many Chinese migrants in Canada are incorporated to society socio-economically, they very much hold on to a dual cultural identity whereby they preserve the practices of their homeland as well as identifying as Canadians(Yee 1997, 345). (This is also a similar sentiment held by French Canadians which will be touched upon in the next paragraph.) He states that growing up around this community of Chinese Canadians who have been around since the late 1890s really cemented their claim for social and political representation in Canadian society. In the book *Kitchen Talks*, Rita Wong illustrates the mealtime and food as a symbol for communal togetherness and an indicator of good manners and upbringing. It also serves as a placeholder for social gatherings with the Swedish equivalent being the fika. This form of hospitality acts as an indicator of belonging to a group and creates kinship between other members of society not limited to the familial unit. Unlike other groups early waves of Chinese immigrants faced extreme hurdles to prosper economically and live freely in this new land.

Other claims to Canadian nation building are the French speaking community in Canada who seek representation and visibility within Canada's borders. In 1977, Law 101 was passed which implemented protections to the French language in Québec. Whenever the region felt English encroachment, talks of seceding sprout and twice has Quebec held votes to part from Canada. Individual rights have superseded collective rights in this instance in order to preserve the identities of this minority group. The debate over what constitutes a multicultural society and whether or not it functions has turned into one that no longer sees multiculturalism as an adequate term to describe Canada's society presently. As more and more countries open their borders and a globalized world emerges. The question that comes to mind then is what makes a Canadian citizen? If Canada is a mosaic made up of different unique subgroups that come together to make a whole then what will explain the spaces in which one or more cultures fuse and come out different than they once were? These transnational ties have remained due to state policies which allow for the conservation of such cultures.

This year marks the 50th anniversary of the adoption of the Canada's multiculturalism policy. In 1971, the government in power signed into its charters a policy which allows for individual citizens to practice their own religions and maintain their ethnic identities without fear of persecution. This year also shed some light to the cultural genocide that only ended 30 years ago. "Between the 1880s and 1990s 150,000 aboriginal children were sent to institutions where they were stripped of their language and culture. Many faced emotional, physical and sexual abuse(Griffiths 2015)". Canada continues to have underlying racial issues especially in rural areas. The current Canadian cultural model is in a process of undoing discriminatory legislation that have only benefited those that are deemed Canadian by whatever metric is enacted per the times for example at the end of 19th century – white European settlers, by the end of 1950s Christian law abiding converts predominantly white; and wholly intolerant towards Asian, Hispanic, and Native Indigenous Nations. As Trudeau stated in The Toronto Star, "*We have had growth: In the past 30 years, the Canadian economy has more than doubled in size. But unlike times before, virtually all of the benefit of that growth has accrued to a small number of wealthy Canadians(Trudeau 2012)*". Self awareness of the racial, economic, and social issues your country must overcome is better for a nation to work through and enact change than to live in a constant state of denial of the reality of how society function for certain groups.

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Contemporary analysis on

Canadian society

Canadian cultural model in 21st century

I. Introduction

Canada is perceived as a well endowed multicultural society, with a wide variety of ethnical, cultural and socioeconomic groups, predominated by Caucasian Europeans from early settlers, to variety of indigenous groups such as First Nations, Inuits, as well as a minority of 19th and 20th century immigrants from across the globe. The current state of Canada is inter-racially and ethnically intertwined, a global cornerstone to liberal and democratic values as well as being a modern economic and political powerhouse. In 2012, PM Justin Trudeau pointed out that "we have created a society where individual rights and freedoms, compassion and diversity are core to our

citizenship” (The Star, 2012). However, looking back on Canada’s history, this statement can be far

from true. Mistreatment, discrimination and exclusion of one’s homeland en masse dominates the pre-modern perspective of the Canadian state.

From early 15th century, with the discovering of North America by Christopher Columbus, to early, mid -to late 18th and 19th century immigration from around the globe to Canada, as well as

an ever expanding Canadian state from the far East, to the far West and North, the Canadian society has been shaped by exclusion, removal or discrimination of and against Indigenous peoples, early immigrants, as well as second generation of immigrants. This has shaped the life’s of millions of people living in Canada, that doesn’t associate with being Canadian, nor has originality in Canada.

This essay will start by looking at the historical perspective of indigenous peoples in

Canada, as well as contemporary art and writings of indigenous people living in Canada. It will cover cover the general aspect of living conditions, historical as well as contemporary treatment of

indigenous people as well as recent findings of mass graves of indigenous peoples all around Canada.

The paper will finish off with a short summary of the findings, linking with the statement of Justin Trudeau, and explain the current situation of indigenous peoples in Canada, but also looking into historical perspective.

II. Indigenous, Inuits & First Nations

To start this episode, I will begin with explaining the historical context of indigenous people in Canada and their relations with the Canadian federal government and the Church of Canada. It all begins with the Act on Gradual Civilisation of the Indian Tribes in the Province (Robinson, 2016).

This act was the beginning of the assimilation of the First Nations and the indigenous peoples of Canada, into Canadian society. This act paved the way to more exploration of the indigenous people, and the control of their lives and their lands. In 1869, the Gradual Enfranchisement Act was passed and it concluded the full control of the indigenous peoples' self-determination (Hanson, 2009).

These two acts can be categorised into the bigger Indian Act, which can be understood more than a few acts to control the indigenous peoples and their lives, it can also be understood as ways that shaped the current lives of indigenous and natives living in Canada, according to Bonita Lawrence (2003), as well as a point-of-reference for future acts implemented against the natives.

To move away from the historical, to the contemporary, multiple resources can be gathered and analysed to show the current situation for Indigenous peoples in Canada and their feelings towards the Canadian federal government. This essay chooses to analyse the historical and recent contemporary art made by Kent Monkman, a First Nations-Canadian artist and visual artist. In Kent

Monkman's art, viewers can see the expression of sexualisation, mixed with a sense of "constant fighting against the 'subordinate' and strong emotions such as grief and longing through the body

and facial expression (my own interpretation). Kent Monkman's recent project, *The Scream* in 2017, depicts indigenous children screaming and being taken away from their families and put into residential schools. The more famous art created by Monkman, is the series of paintings depicting queer and indigenous person Miss Chief Share Eagle Testickle - his alter ego. This depiction and paintings expresses the social hierarchy, two-spiritedness within indigenous peoples (Estrada, 2011)

as well as depicting the monopoly, wealth and trade established by the European with the indigenous peoples (Bick, 2014).

To move away from artistic sense of the past and present, into the past and contemporary situations with the Indian Residential Schools of Canada, in 1879, the Carlisle Industrial School in

Pennsylvania was modelled for the Indian Residential Schools of Canada. These schools were authorised in 1883, and in 1920 it was mandatory to attend these schools. The goal of the residential

schools in Canada can be explained by Bishop St. Vital Grandin, "We instil in them a pronounce distastes for the native life, so that they will be humiliated when reminded of their origin [...])

(National Centre for Truth & Reconciliation, 2015). This tells the story and the history of the Indian

Residential Schools, as a way to assimilate and indoctrinate the children of indigenous families into

the Canadian and Christian society and ideal. According to Theodore Fontain (2015) Catholic

principles expressed similar sentiments towards the convention into Catholic Church “All true civilisations must be based on moral law, which Christian religion alone can give. Pagan superstitions could and can not suffice.” (Fontain, 2015).

Recent findings in July of 2021 depicts 751 unmarked graves at sites all around former residential schools in the state of Saskatchewan in Canada (BBC, 2021). More than 215 children were also found in residential schools in British Columbia. More than 130 residential boarding schools existed throughout the period of 19th century towards the mid-late 20th century run by the Canadian Catholic Churches and authorities, put in place by the Canadian government (BBC, 2021). According to Murray Sinclair, former Chair member of the National Truth & Reconciliation Commission, around 6, 000 children have died during the 19th and 20th century, and were often situated within badly built houses and poorly heated facilities (BBC, 2021). According to BBC, the Catholic Church, which owned and facilitated at least 70% of the residential churches in Canada, hasn't given a formal apology, nor even brought the topic up.

IV. Discussion

The essay has now covered the historical as well as contemporary relations between the Canadian society and the federal government with the indigenous peoples and the First Nations. It will now dive down into the discussion referring to the statement posed in the introduction by PM Justin Trudeau, “we have created a society where individual rights and freedoms, compassion and

diversity are core to our citizenship”. To start this chapter, let's look at the historical statements and references made by the political sphere within Canada and the Canadian government, then the essay

will continue with focus on contemporary relations between the indigenous people and the Canadians, and whether Québec nationalism and Indigenous peoples have something in common.

In 1907, Chief medical officer of the Federal Departments of the Interior and Indian Affairs

Peter Bryce made a report on the Indian Schools of Manitoba and the Northwest Territory. The paper spoke about the extremely poor health and the rise in deaths within the boarding schools, stating “roughly one quarter of all indigenous children attending residential schools had died from tuberculosis [...] of a total of 1,357 pupils reported nearly 25% are dead, and another with 69% of ex-pupils are dead, and the the invariable cause of death seems to be tuberculosis” (Bryce, 1907; National Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2016: 96). This led the question whether the state and the government listened to Chief Medical Bryce's statement, or if they ignored it? The report was made only some 50 years before the Indian Act was enacted, and sparked numerous controversies. However, Bryce's report had an impact on the understanding of the assimilation of indigenous peoples and children into the Canadian society, and exposed the practices of the government sanctioned and Church run residential schools, where already healthy and well functioning indigenous children were purposefully exposed to other children who were infected with tuberculosis (Kelm, 2006: 71; Palmater, 2014;3:31-2).

However, the newly positioned Deputy Superintendent at the Federal Department of Indian Affairs Duncan Campbell responded to the 1907 report made by Bryce, stating “But this does not justify change in the policy of this Department which is geared towards a Final Solution of our Indian problem” (Jones, 1996: 13).

In rather contemporary relations between Canadians and Indigenous people, a statement given by then Prime Minister of Canada, Pierre Elliot Trudeau, stated “if you no longer speak your language and no longer practice your culture, then you have no right to demand aboriginal rights from us, because you are assimilated with the ruling power”. The Federal–Provincial Conference of

First Ministers on Aboriginal Constitutional Matters in 1983, alongside the 1969 White Paper on the

status of Indigenous people and their right to remain under status of Aboriginal, is one of many of the statements brought forward by Pierre Elliot Trudeau during his residency as PM in Canada that has reflected on the issue of indigenous people in Canada. In the 1969 White Paper proposed an ideal of change of the past and the past relations with the indigenous people of Canada. The paper proposed e.g. to abolish all the legal documents that had previously existed on the indigenous peoples, as well as a part of the Indian Act, and also proposed to remove the title of Indian Status ((Palmer, 2009: 393). The White Paper also proposed to assimilate the First Nations and other indigenous groups into being, on a legal basis, equal to other Canadian citizens. This sparked controversy and was met with criticism and activism, which led to the removal of the proposal in

1970. According to Palmer (2009), the paper made both indigenous and non-indigenous people feel

that the government, rather than acknowledging the historical wrongdoing of the Canadian government, was instead trying to absolve itself and of its fault.

In current situations, the discourse have taken a new shape when it comes to the relationship between the indigenous peoples and the Canadians. According to BBC (2021), Justin Trudeau made

a statement on the recent discovery of graves in Saskatchewan. Trudeau states that it was a

“shameful reminder of the systematic racism, discrimination, and injustice that indigenous peoples have faced”. However, have the systematic racism, discrimination and unrecognition changed since

the past 50 years? In the beginning of the essay, the text brought up the statement made by Trudeau in 2012, “we have created a society where individual rights and freedoms, compassion and diversity

are core to our citizenship”, however Patrick Wolfe (2006) would argue that even if the boarding schools, and the Indian Act has been removed, the Indigenous peoples still feel a sense of being colonised. For many years, the indigenous peoples have been removed from their lands, forcefully or because of limitation due to their lack of being recognised. This has caused multiple of

Indigenous groups being relocated away from their historical birthplaces and their lands, lands that have existed long before Christopher Columbus landed on the shores of North America. This fact

still has not changed today, and the territories of indigenous peoples still to this day, are in the hands of the Canadian government and the Canadian people, not in the hands of the indigenous people.

Patrick Wolfe makes a statement in his book that “we have never admitted to ourselves that we were, and still are, a colonial power [...] Settler colonialism is a structure, not an event” (Wolfe, 2006). This can be interpreted as the fact that as long as Canada are in charge of the historical landscape and area of the indigenous people, they can still be considered a colonial power, as the indigenous people have never accepted the assimilation into Canadian society, but has been forced to be a part of it.

So, to answer the statement made by Justin Trudeau, the indigenous people will never agree with the statement that Trudeau has made, as long as Canada will never recognise it's past atrocities, and

its past involvement by the Canadian government within the residential schools. Indigenous people will neither accept the statement, for as long as they are't considered Aboriginal and can still be part

of Canadian society and its socio-economic prospects. And the indigenous people will never accept this statement, as long as they can never return to their historical territory and live in their historical life, by choice.

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In 2012, Justin Trudeau declared about Canada:” We have created a society where individual rights and freedoms, compassion and diversity are core to our citizenship. But underlying that idea of Canada is the promise that we all have a chance to build a better life for ourselves and our children.” (Trudeau, 2012). The aim of this essay is to reflect on this quote and make an example of Chinese immigration to Canada and its role in the multicultural Canadian society.

In 1971, Canada decided to adopt multiculturalism as an official policy, this highlighted how people had the right to maintain their unique cultural identity while also promoting cross cultural understanding and harmony (CanadianVisa, n.d). When looking from a sociological perspective, Canadian multiculturalism refers to the gathering of people from diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds (Brosseau & Dewing, 2009). This is a rather new concept as before 1971 many races and ethnic groups suffered discrimination, abuse, segregation, and racism which this policy aimed to reduce.

The first wave of Chinese immigrants to arrive in Canada in 1858 were forced out of China due to lack of food and safety due to wars and floods. Canada was a desirable country to immigrate to since it was a young nation with new industries and a shortage of workers. For Canada, China became the closest supplier of low-cost labour (Yee, 2017). During that time there were no immigration restrictions, however this changed in 1885, once the Canadian Pacific Railway was completed. The Chinese Immigration Act (1885) was created which forced every Chinese worker and family member entering Canada to pay an ever-increasing fee. This was the beginning of Chinese legal discrimination as no immigrants from any other country ever had to pay such a fee to enter Canada (Yee, 2017).

With that in mind, it is possible to understand why Lien Chao claimed that “Chinese were branded as the unwanted race in Canada” (Chao, 1997). Chinese Immigrants would mostly live in local Chinatowns: ghettos, with little access to mainstream media. Because of the Second World War and the establishment of the United Nations, Canada was forced to look at its own anti-Chinese laws. Finally in 1947, the laws that stopped Chinese immigration were repealed and soon

Chinese Canadians had the right to vote. Only in 1967 did Canada remove the restrictions based on race, ethnicity and national origin to its immigration regulations and implemented a “point system” (Yee, 2017). However, this point system only allowed highly skilled workers to enter Canada.

Although Canada claims to be inclusive and to have built a society which values immigrants, a highlight needs to be made on which type of immigrants are allowed into Canada. Canada has the highest immigration rate per capita in the world (Malik, 2011), which makes Canada seem like the perfect accepting society. However, as you look more closely, the government policies favour the acceptance of economic immigrants such as skilled workers and businesspeople. In addition, the Canadian economy increasingly requires low-skilled immigrants, however these individuals are frequently deemed unsuitable to become citizens, remaining in the Canada with very few rights and a low chance of receiving citizenship (Malik, 2011).

According to John Berry, in a multicultural society, a larger society “accommodates the needs of the numerous cultural groups that are fully incorporated as ethnocultural groups” (Berry, 2014). This multicultural society would have to be constantly changing to keep up with the demands of the diverse population, and no unilateral decision should be made without taking the perspective of minorities into account. The paragraph above highlights how minorities are still being treated unfairly and that the supposedly multicultural society is still controlled by a government which favours highly skilled workers and cares little for actual multiculturalism. It is possible to see how Canada is contradicting itself and failing at being a truly fair multicultural society, regardless of how proud of that claim they are. When Trudeau said: “Underlying that idea of Canada is the promise that we all have a chance to build a better life for ourselves and our children”, the focus needs to be on taking these claims to the future and truly making a multicultural society (which provides opportunities for all immigrants) as defined by John Berry.

In addition, one could argue that Canadian bilingualism is a form of multiculturalism. This is because Canada is a country with variety and with two founding nations which resulted in Canadian literature being written both in English and in French. Unfortunately, when talking about Canadian literature, this label continues to only address writers who are part of English or French-Canadian communities (Birk & Gymnich, 2016), this excludes the texts written by immigrants in

English or French. Multicultural literature is defined as written by people who are not Canadian or second generation Canadian (Birk & Gymnich, 2016). The fact that multicultural literature is not considered Canadian writing highlights this inherent exclusion of immigrant work. A good example is how Ying Chen writes multicultural literature while Margaret Antwood writes Canadian literature (Birk & Gymnich, 2016), yet they are both Canadian. This also shows how well Canada deals with its bilingual challenges but fails to accept minorities as their own.

In addition, another bilingual challenge in Canadian society has been the acceptance and recognition of the French language in Canada. The Québécois government has made laws in the field of language in order to survive (Taylor, n.d). This means making laws to protect the language. Examples of these laws include regulating who can send their children to English schools and outlawing commercial signage in any language other than French. This is an example of the Quebecers ability to adopt certain legislation as they deem necessary for the French language's survival. However, the prohibition of commercial signage in languages other than French was revoked by the Supreme Court of Canada as this was not acceptable by the 1982 Canadian Charter of Rights (Taylor, n.d). Nevertheless, Quebec was permitted to outlaw unilingual English signs, this meant that all signs had to be in French. This shows how Quebec had to fight and how it succeeded in maintaining French as their dominant language in the region and to gain recognition and acceptance by the rest of Canada. Canada maintaining the use of more than one official language is one of the few examples where Trudeau is right in saying that they "have created a society where individual rights and freedoms, compassion and diversity are core to our citizenship" (Trudeau, 2012).

In conclusion Trudeau has claimed that Canadian society values diversity and freedom. This however is a new view of Canada which can be easily dismissed by the fact that Canada still only accepts those who are well educated as citizens. In addition, diversity is present in Canada: there is a multicultural society with many different races and ethnic groups present, however their "individual rights and freedoms" are still something Canada should aim to improve, to truly become a multicultural society that respects and values their immigrants and sees all of them (regardless of enterprising skills) as valuable citizens.

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A Cultural model of our time?

"We have created a society where individual rights and freedoms, compassion and diversity are core

to our citizenship. But underlying that idea of Canada is the promise that we all have a chance to build a better life for ourselves and our children." Justin Trudeau (The Star, 2012). The quotation of

Trudeau expresses something very comprehensive as a definition. From my point of view some perspectives are definitely missing - responsibility and obligation. It ought to be as given as the rest

in Trudeau's description of what Canada is. This conceals a mistake of our time, to define something as self-evident without demanding anything in return. I would claim that will be one of the reasons why the construction of what we identify as a state will fall and fragmentize. Most likely even Canada. John F Kennedy once said "Do not ask what your country can do for you, but what you can do for your country" (SVT, 2021). To prevail and go on with our existence within a state construction we need to know the core of it's values. With freedom always follows responsibility.

Our rights and our freedom are however key-issues as they came into focus in the same moment

as the ongoing pandemic started. When Trudeau formed his word that was something we could not see coming. I would argue that rights and freedoms, despite that I'm not living in the Canadian society daily, have been more widely discussed lately, but especially in democratic countries, as soon as the state and authorities expressed the need for the society that we all have to get vaccinated to save our own lives and to protect all the rest in the society, especially they who work within all society functions that is needed to keep the society working and in function. Why would it make sense that also in Canada, as in Sweden these keywords have been widely and intensively discussed? As a part of our cultural identity could be one good reason.

I would expect that discussion to be even more intense in Canada. At least viewed from the outside, a very liberal country that identifies itself as a clear defender of rights and freedoms as a part of their unique identity. A pandemic, or something else within the same magnitude, that affects and involves all citizens and makes demands for collective action, will for some be something that gets in conflict with their idea of integrity, freedoms and rights as part of the national identity. That would for example bring up Rousseau's reasoning about equal respect as indispensable for freedom as a very interesting and present part of the current debate. (Taylor, 1994)

I am referring for instance to the debate about corona-passport and the risk of pandemics creating groups of second class citizens. Charles Taylor summarizes all of it very clear as "The politics of difference is full of denunciations of discrimination and refusals of second-class citizenship. This gives the

principle of universal equality a point of entry within the politics of dignity.” (Taylor, 1944).
Another

example, not so present today, could be the historic previous HIV-discussion. Is all this an
expression of lack of compassion for others, individuals as well as groups, and something that
most

likely won't result in cooperation, collaboration or involvement with others? What I mean is that
this is a possible consequence of lack of compassion that occurs all the time in the history of a
nation.

Canada was for example involved in the complex transatlantic history of slavery. (Gymnich,
2016). Something that is normally more associated with the USA. The term "black Atlantic", did
it

appear because of a limited compassion for individuals in the history of slavery or was it just
because of the opposite? However the issue of racism within contemporary Canadian society and
history can be stated as topics, language and allegiances expressed in African Canadian literature.

Canada's history of involvement in the transatlantic history of slavery is attached to the concept of
the "black Atlantic" as a part of Canada's multicultural literature. Referring to my own experiences
and observations during my own Canada stay, I imagine that the relationship to Asia, at least on the
the

west coast, has been a clear issue regarding literature, citizenship and integration. How compassion
Canadians have been for these newcomers in their country when it comes to cooperation,

collaboration and involvement would be an interesting study.

Diversity, another of the keywords in the Trudeau quote relates to compassion, less or more of it would most likely affect the grade of tolerance for diversity such as multiculturalism. A interesting spectra of this is the transculturalism expression, suggested as an alternative in fiction literature to multiculturalism by its critics. Canadian multicultural literature can be subdivided into 'fiction of arrival,' 'fiction of immigration and settlement' and 'fiction of return. (Gymnich, 2016).

Based on my own relatives' experience and history I have one interpretation of what "Fiction of immigration and settlement" might possibly mean. To make a long story short. Parents to my grandmother's cousins immigrated in the beginning of the 1900-century because of poverty and recession. The cousin of my grandmother, Karl Olafson, managed to complete and wrote a book which is a mixture between biography and fiction (Olafson, 2006). A couple of times I have met the author, Karl Olafson. His parents arrived in Canada as young adults, almost teenagers.

His parents travelled most of the time since Karls father managed to get a job at the railway (CNR) as a foreman. The author's childhood became something of a Huckleberry Finn adventure and he was even called "Huckleberry Swede".

I was too young when I met him, but the question that I would have liked to ask him is whether he actually describes himself as a Canadian or a Scandinavian or both? During my two meetings with him as a small child, he still spoke English as well as Swedish. What would his answer be concerning identity and citizenship? Multilinguality is most likely one of these traits even if his

French was rather weak. What else in his life story could be associated with typical Canadian culture? Due to tuberculosis and wildlife skills and knowledge in forestry Karl spent periods as a forest ranger. A close relationship to the wilderness became an important part of his concept of what

characterized the new country for him and his parents and brother in the fifties (Olafson, 2006).

Something similar might be recognizable in *The Inner Green* (Delehanty, 2005) whereas nature is described as something that gives comfort and safety even when it's actually not the roots for your homeland. Identity, like belonging to nature, as part of citizenship, with freedoms and rights, gives Canadians then and today, not just rights and freedoms. There must reasonably just as much be an obligation to nurture and manage heritage, as natural values, which are expressed as part of the identity and culture. For what would Canada be without its grandiose nature where true freedom is

found out in the wilderness? Now Canada is not the United States, but the weight and importance that the wilderness can be attributed to the rest of our cultural values is well expressed by Cronon "That world and all of its attractions, Turner said, depended on free land - on wilderness." (Cronon, 1995).

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‘We have created a society where individual rights and freedoms, compassion and diversity are core to our citizenship. But underlying that idea of Canada is the promise that we all have a chance to build a better life for ourselves and our children’.

- Justin Trudeau (2012)

By this quote Justin Trudeau has stated that Canada is a place where people can use all their potential to fulfil their wishes because Canada itself proposes diversity, compassion and freedom to its citizens. No limitations, no monotony. These are not only words – this is how the country exists; and all of the places, culture and rules of the country show this entirely.

Taking into account, for instance, nature, Canada is famous for non-human landscapes (Cronon, 1995). These are different places which prosper without any human activities, they prosper by themselves. This can be understood not only literally, but also figuratively. It is a way of signifying that as the environment can be free and this leads to real nature monuments, such as Quebec, so the person to whom freedom is given, can amaze with his/her individuality and possibilities.

As it was once said by Donna Haraway: ‘Vision is always a question of the power to see and, perhaps, of the violence implicit in our visualizing practises’ (1988). The idea which Haraway proposes by the notion of vision as a metaphor is that people see what their mind allows them to process. Therefore, Canada, Canadian culture is especially about this – people tend to see what they allow themselves to understand. One and the same landscape/person/place/structure can be seen just as ‘something’ round/white/big/etc. and as something bigger, wider, creative – to everyone’s own extent. And Canadian culture gives this opportunity to everyone – to find this individuality in everything where it actually could be found.

One of the places where the concept of individuality is expressed – is oral literature. Oral literature or, in other words, folklore or also called orature is one of the cultural dignities (Halpert, 1969). Even though still folklore as a subject in Canada is new, comparing, for instance, to Europe, it is developing and beginning to be investigated more and more. A place, where the investigation of Canadian folklore started, is Laval University in Quebec and Memorial University of Newfoundland (ibid.). Thus, Newfoundland and Quebec are believed to be the roots of Canadian folklore. Regarding the way how the concept of individuality is present in orature, there can be presented a fact that not only native Canadian literature, such as works by Jordan Abel is known as Canadian folklore, but also the literature of different indigenous groups, such as Inuit, Tsimshian, Kwakiutl and Tlingit is considered to be Canadian (ibid.). This goes as another

confirmation that Canadian culture is based on accepting everyone and everything that can be a part of Canada.

An interesting aspect of folklore is that it is not only available for people to read in original, but it is highly integrated in the modern world. For instance, Newfie jokes or Folktales of Newfoundland. It is outstanding and very crucial that folklore becomes the basis of modern literature that young generations read and learn, who afterwards adopt this information in terms of their power to see and understand what they see. This means that the roots of Canadian literature continue to affect the lives of contemporary young people living in or somehow connected to Canada.

Another place where the expression of the concept of individuality in Canadian culture is seen – is multicultural writing. Literature as itself is an artistic way of representation of lived experience (Halpert, 1969). Multicultural literature implies that not only Canadians had an impact on the development of Canadian literature, but also people, writers belonging to different communities as well as immigrants. Multicultural literature also explores the relations between Canadians in Canada and diasporas of immigrants. The concept of multicultural literature assists in understanding that diverse experiences are something that people should aspire to. Everyone is able to and should go through their unique experience, in terms of ethical, racial, cultural and social aspects.

Within multicultural literature writers tend to keep and present the traditions and culture of their homeland or, for example, of their indigenous communities. This kind of literature helps to preserve national cultural dignity as well as to combine cultures in order to see how these diverse cultural concepts cooperate with each other. Therefore, it can be concluded that multicultural literature not only preserves national heritage, but also develops Canada as a country, which is open for new movements of other cultures that can make Canadian society wider, more manifold as well as more prosperous.

The last aspect, to which the attention in this essay has to be given – is Canadian openness to all the other people from the whole world. Canada is open for immigrants who become a part of Canadian society, such as Chinese Canadians, Baltic Canadians, etc. Canadian immigrants are

people who one day were forced to leave their homeland, and in hope for life – came to Canada, the society, which was responsive to help and shelter (Online 1). Due to this, nowadays in Canada there are still different religious, cultural, professional and youth organizations, which were founded many years ago by immigrants because Canada did not force them to live life according to ‘strict Canadian rules’, but offered an opportunity to express individuality as well as preserve national heritage (ibid.).

To sum up, as in the past as right now Canada is a country which respects all the people, traditions, cultures and nature due to the idea that diversity is the core concept of becoming the most comfortable, responsive and favourable to everyone who would like to have a chance to live a better life.

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”We have created a society where individual rights and freedoms, compassion and diversity are core to our citizenship. But underlying that idea of Canada is the promise that we all have a chance to build a better life for ourselves and our children.”

Introduction

Canada is the second largest country in the world, though it is not heavily populated due to its nature, which plays an important role in the identity of Canadian society (*britannica.com*). To understand how extreme the weather conditions in Canada can be, for instance, the lowest recorded temperature in the country is –63 degrees Celsius (Snag, Yukon) and the highest 45 degrees Celsius (Midale and Yellow Grass, Saskatchewan) (*ibid.*). Even though, Canada is one of the biggest countries in the world, it contains only a little more than 38 million inhabitants (*worldometers.info*) and it is a country of multicultural society of English and French (Quebec) speakers (*britannica.com*), together with many other immigrants, from countries such as China, Estonia, the U.S and etc. As a bilingual country, Canada faces the problem of identity as a society (Taylor, 1994, p. 26), not only that, it is a colony, so there are First Nations people living there (*britannica.com*). Moreover, Canada is a country where the English-speaking part of it resembles British official and legal matters and French-speaking part of it, which is particularly Quebec, resembles those of French (*ibid.*). The struggles to define itself as a nation, the problems of multicultural society are widely represented in the works of literature and art. The quote by Justin Trudeau, a current prime minister of Canada, illustrates the underlying idea that Canada is a country where people’s cultural differences are celebrated, that it is a country, that provides the opportunity to its people to create a better life for themselves and future generations. In this essay, the quote will be analyzed in the means of different historical, political and philosophical approaches.

Multiculturalism

Justin Trudeau mentions “individual rights” and “diversity”. This is related to the idea of being recognized as an individual and as a part of some ethnic group. For a person or a group of people to feel worthy (the question of dignity and pride), they first have to be recognized. Misrecognition leads to a person’s “self-depreciation”, which happens with women in patriarchal societies, black and indigenous people (Taylor, 1994, p. 25-26). It is important to understand what identity is. It can be put in this way, an identity is what a person is and where the person is coming from (*ibid.*, p. 33).

It is true that diversity is one of the most important aspects of Canadian society, therefore it can be called a “core” to their citizenship. What Canada seeks to do is not to melt all the cultures together, but to let the members of these cultures to be individual and celebrate that individuality, rather than diminish it and create a homogeneous society (Birk & Gymnich, 2016, p. 516). It is a beautiful idea, but in practice, multiculturalism does not prove that important issues, for instance, racism are solved, in fact, it has been suggested that it encourages the separation in society (*ibid.*, p. 517). We do not need to dig very deep into distinct ethnic groups. This division of society can clearly be seen among the main two groups, the English and the French. Even people living in Quebec have to face restrictions that are different from the rest of Canada, for instance, businesses that have more than fifty employees have to be run in French, the Quebecian government decides who can let their children go to English-language schools and who cannot, and etc. (Taylor, 1994, p. 52-53). As for the distinct ethnic groups, for instance, the history of the Chinese immigrants represents that even though, the Chinese contributed to the nation-building of the Canadian society, they were failed to be recognized as a legitimate part of it (Chao, 1997, p. 8). This idea will be explored later on, in the “Immigrants” section. Multiculturalism is about inclusion of cultural communities that want to survive (Taylor, 1994, p. 61). Even though, the idea of the “ideal” multicultural society of Canada is “shaky”, one cannot deny that Canada is an inclusive country, for instance, in the article Saint John International Culture Fest (2019), we can see how people from different backgrounds of different values come together to celebrate each other’s diversity (globalnews.ca).

Immigrants

A few of many cultural groups that immigrated into Canada are the Chinese, Estonians and African-Americans. Unlike the Europeans in Canada, the Chinese were considered as “undesirable” members of society that faced prejudice and injustice (Chao, 1997, p. ix). In the means of Canadian literature, Lien Chao claims that “minority” literature is recognized equally as the “mainstream” literature if there is a serious attention drawn to minority literature’s development (*ibid.*, p. xiii), which represents how unbalanced the power of Anglo-Canadians and non-Anglo immigrants is. This illustrates how the latter have to be “recognized” by the former in order to have a voice. As for a small ethnic group of Estonians, their situation was a little bit different. Those who came to Canada were mostly highly educated people, running away from the regime of the Soviet Union, motivated by the hatred for Socialism (Aun, 1985, p. 28). Though, the Chinese immigration has a common ground with African, European, other

Asian immigration in the means of class status and the motivation of the immigrants (Chao, 1997, p. 5).

Going back to the Chinese in Canada and their literature, the recognition of literature has to deal with the fact that minority writers understand that in order to have a voice, they have to speak at least one of the official languages (*ibid.*, p. 23). There is an aspect of pride in this, because the writer has to write in English, which is the language of the colonizer (*ibid.*, p. 24). According to Lien Chao, the English and the French are two groups in the Canadian society, whose voices are still more valid than anyone else's (1997, p. 5). It is a fact that the Chinese were isolated in Chinatowns without the ability to blend into the Canadian society, though, these days Chinatowns are places for tourists to get the "Chinese" experience (*ibid.*, p. 13). From what the historical facts show here, the idea of the ideal multicultural society is a challenging goal to reach. The example with the Chinese in Canada show that these people are still restrained by social stigmas, such as being "over-represented" in sciences and "under-represented" in arts (Chao, 1997, p.14). Also, there is a tension between the French and the English (Birk & Gymnich, 2016, p. 515), like the example with Quebec and its politics. Lastly, another group of people that found refuge in Canada in 19th century were slaves that ran away from the slavery in the U.S. (*ibid.*, p. 520), which adds positive points to Canada and its politics, though, history shows that black and indigenous people were viewed as those who serve the "white" master (*humanrights.ca*).

Conclusion

One cannot claim that Canada is not celebrating its multiculturalism. Though, it is fair to say that Justin Trudeau should have involved the historical aspect into his speech. Canadians have created a nation where multiculturalism is a "core", but it should not be forgotten in what cost. It is evident that such multicultural society was not always "equal" and certain groups of people were more privileged than others. Canada faces a long process of immigration, from the beginning of European expansion to the colonies, lasting to this day. As for the situation with Quebec and in general, with people from multicultural backgrounds, on the other hand, it does not need to be looked into only from a negative perspective. Language is a tool, therefore writing in French or English does not mean that the writer loses his/her multicultural identity (Birk & Gymnich, 2016, p. 517). People define themselves in the means of expression, such as for instance, art, love, gesture, which happens through the exchange with other people (Taylor, 1994, p. 32). And in Canadian society, its members have the opportunity to communicate with people from all sorts of different ethnical backgrounds. By meeting people, by conversing with

others, even when they leave physically, they also leave an imprint for other people and the “conversation” defining personal identities continues (*ibid.*, p. 33). Talking about Rousseau, Charles Taylor states in *The Politics of Recognition*, people are depended on one another, even if they are unequal in power (1994, p. 45), therefore all existing cultures in Canada fulfill one another. Though, people tend to forget, conceal, or they might not even now in what ways (violence, discrimination) the culture that they are a part of now, came to be. Therefore, Justin Trudeau’s words are true, Canada is celebrating the diversity of its people and has been trying to do so for ages, hopefully, the mistakes of the past and the continuing development of multicultural Canadian society will be something to learn from and continue building upon for the future generations in Canada.

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Justin Trudeau's quote may be a bit premature as Canadian history says otherwise, specifically the early treatment of the native Americans according to works like Thomas King (1993) "A Coyote Columbus Story". Although the book is intended for children, the story shows the light of how the natives were treated. Primarily that they were sold to slavery by Columbus, but also that the strange looking invaders have rewritten history, more on this later. How the story may take place in the 17th century ages ago to the modern day, native Americans have not been spared in special treatment. In more recent history around the 20th century, the country of Canada sought *assimilation* on a cultural level, as Duncan Campbell Scott and other individuals put it. By that they forced native Americans to attend catholic schools, which in their harsh education led to premature deaths of the attending children. Proof of this is the unmarked graves and the shoes left behind in its wake which lead to a modern day controversy #CancelCanadaDay. Then there are also other areas such as the wilderness, in which the natives have been driven out in favour of tourist favoured spots according to Cronon, W (1995), "The Trouble with Wilderness".

The current Canadian cultural module, that's to say the 21st century, focuses a lot on endorsing the foreign side of the citizens in their country.

Birk, Hanne and Marion Gymnich (2016) calls this cultural module as *Multiculturalism*, whereas they quote under Neil Ten Kortenaar that "other languages, races and cultural traditions manifest themselves in Canada" (2009, 556).

This is evident by the fact they have French as a second language rather than only English, despite the fact that only one state inherently uses the language. The keyword of this development is "Recognition" which is plainly acting on good beliefs rather than be clouded by pride or notion of inferiority as Charles Taylor (1994) "The Politics of Recognition" writes. Further examples of the state's hand in nurturing individual culture is shown in Kivi, Linda K

and Eileen DP (2005) “Exploring Home in the Columbia Mountains”, with the author showing alienation of her own heritage when she simply wants to be a Canadian and not something else.

This shows a negative side on the states part of how to support heritage but this an individual case meaning the same might be said about others or not.

On a more positive side, Canada has given a large amount of land to the native Americans. Although giving might be the wrong word as they technically owned it before. Regardless, it and the prior shows that their intention is well meant.

Returning back to the rewriting history part, Canada makes a national effort to remember the natives by having museums display their history. They have also in more recent time restrained the celebration of Canada day in relation to the past assimilation events. A day that should instead be used to mourn, for the dark events that have transpired as the Global Citizen writes.

In my opinion I would say that the Canadian cultural module has always been to respect individuals and their culture. Not to harass each other but to be able to work with each other on the societal level, however I would say that interaction between groups is a bit lacking. I'd say that from my experience as half Chinese Canadian that folk groups stick to each other in their spare time rather than interacting with others. That's not to say that is the case for individuals but on a wider scale I believe that to be the truth. Though this makes one ask if everyone is Canadian, why don't they get along? The answer is that they do not hate each other because the country is stable, they are just more comfortable with their own. In comparison to other countries like the United States who have always had a problem with ethnic groups and the opinion on who is an American.

In conclusion, if you look at Canada in its present overall form then yes, prime minister Justin Trudeau is correct. As history shows the contradiction of the statement in past tense but not in present. Both should be taken into consideration going forward, as Canada already has with every step, at least in the face of the world. Despite this personal scepticism of countries in

general, the nation tends to make the small voices be heard which should be considered a praise as so many others don't even try to take care of their own citizens.

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Mobility and promise of the Canadian cultural model

In his article, Justin Trudeau (2012) reminds his readers that the core of the Canadian social contract is a set of ideas and beliefs about individual rights and freedoms, compassion, and diversity. In this essay I intend to reflect on the Canadian cultural model and discuss why Trudeau is emphasising the promise of having a chance to build a better life rather than having one, and what might be the role of mobility in this model.

Although the Canadian economy is now world's tenth largest, it is not the rate of its growth that Trudeau is concerned about. Instead, he points out that the middle class is left out of this development and that wealth should generate more responsibility – meaning that both wealth and growth are healthy only when they are evenly distributed among and experienced by all possible groups of the society. Therefore, it is unacceptable when the middle class, which is Canada's largest (58% according to OECD (2019) or up to 70% by self-assessment (Hogan 2019)), is finding itself in a disadvantaged position with less stability and economic security, and with less opportunities for upward mobility. He argues that this situation is dangerous for the Canadian model and urges for a new Liberal course that is based on evidence rather than ideology. The subsequent political career of Justin Trudeau showed he framed it about right. So, what is problematic with the ideological foundation of the Canadian social contract?

To understand the Canadian model, it is important to note some facts and contexts which have formed a particular Canadian societal organisation. Mobility is one of those features that characterise the Canadian identity – and it is present in various forms, e.g., physical, social, cultural, political, or economic. Canada is a vast country (second largest territory), with a population of 37.5 million, including 1.7 million indigenous, which are then divided into first nations (1 million) and the Inuit. Being historically colonised by “settlement” type of colonialism, the societal model is now facing the challenge of reconciliation and decolonisation. In addition, the society has been seriously diversified due to immigration in the 20th century. Although Canada was initially reluctant to change its British-based Canadian social and cultural structures and in 1947 the Prime Minister King emphasised that Canadians were unwilling to change the character of its population by means of mass immigration, the official attitude towards immigration changed when economic forecasts became more optimistic (Aun 1985). The result is a very diverse population in Canada with Inuit, first nations, and multiple immigration waves, including early settlers (colonisers), refugees, and labour migrants. Canada

has officially been bilingual since 1969, and fully independent since 1982. It is now a federal parliamentary constitutional monarchy. A complex history and a variety of different population groups required a compromise-based societal model. Multiculturalism became the concept to ensure this compromise. It was expected to harmonise the social contract and can thus exist in various forms, i.e., as a myth-based ideology, a federal government policy, or social reality (Birk & Gymnich 2016).

The politics of recognition and identity are central to the Canadian model. Identity has been undergoing diversification and individualisation (self-definition rather than being defined by the others). In contrast to earlier societies, social position is not its sole defining framework anymore. Although identity formation is still based on social comparison, which requires otherness, the boundaries of social groups have generally become more flexible and fluid, and the choice of groups available to belong to has become much wider. As identification is increasingly becoming more dynamic and complex, the question of social mobility is gaining extra weight and role in societal model. Therefore, any development that hinders mobility possibilities is a serious concern, especially when it is hindering the core majority of the population.

Some social boundaries are more difficult to trespass than others. Besides, by framing diversity as an advantage rather than obstacle, the Canadian model tries to unite the mosaic of its composition by common goals of sustainable future. The politics of universalism is employed to ensure equal respect for all citizens and equalise their rights and entitlements. However, the system must maintain the balance between equality and distinctness. It fights against distinctness being assimilated to a dominant majority identity and applies a number of differential treatment and positive discrimination measures to level the playing field for all (Taylor 1994). What makes all people worthy of respect is a capacity they all share (universal human potential). The potential for forming and defining one's own identity is the core of this worth – what people can potentially become outweighs what they actually are. The model is about choices and possibilities. Therefore, Trudeau is pointing to having chances for change rather than promising change per se.

Equal respect is a challenging goal to achieve, because the two modes of its politics are in fact conflicting, i.e., they must treat people in a difference-blind manner, at the same time they must recognise and foster particularity (Taylor 1994). Multiculturalism became the framework in which other languages, races and cultural traditions were supposed to manifest themselves in Canada. Canada's multiculturalism policy was first introduced in 1971 and

confirmed by the Multiculturalism Act in 1988 – it was conceptualised as a distinctive model in contrast to that of the “melting pot” of the US (Birk & Gymnich 2016). Although the concept was expected to facilitate decolonisation of the inherited representations, the model still had to face the equal respect conflict because it simultaneously essentialised race and ethnicity. The critics of multiculturalism noted that it encouraged separation instead. An alternative concept of transculturalism was suggested to illustrate a cultural contact which was contradictory and continuous – often based on constant reassessment of identity and negotiation of otherness (Ibid).

In fact, this separation is exemplified in the Canadian literature where “multicultural literature” is a label of exclusion, based on the process of “othering”, which sets the authors of immigrant or indigenous background aside of the two dominant literary cultures, even though such authors would choose to write in English or French (Birk & Gymnich 2016). Some of these multicultural authors were actually born in Canada and have one of the “dominant” languages as their first. However, immigration experience often impacts later generations and becomes embedded in identity of immigrants’ descendants thus generating the identity of “conceptual immigrants” in contrast to “actual immigrants” who experienced the immigration in real life (Ibid).

Being of Estonian immigrant origin, Linda K.Kivi (2005) illustrates the longevity of such background in her literary work. She describes her second-generation immigrant identity conflict, and how it was forming on the basis of narratives of expulsion from ancestral home. Her parents instructed her to honour an unfamiliar faraway place and taught what to fear and how to protect instead of how to love. To her, being Estonian meant being small and afraid, so she struggled to break with the past and its limitations. The Canadian history of colonialism helped her solving her identity conflict because she could relate to the tragedy of the indigenous people, who had been removed from their land. As a result, Kivi grasped the relations between time and place, and realised that time is becoming fractured when the place is lost. Her native Estonian language indicated a different place and a different time. When searching for herself between an somewhat imaginary distant country and the familiar Canada, she realises that identity should be addressed through questioning “where she is” in addition to “who she is”, which brings her to the centrality of landscape in her identity. Her first encounter with her faraway homeland helped her find her identity and place. And as she explored the role of woods in finding herself, she realised that knowledge of the landscape is as much important as love of it. It is here when she becomes truly Canadian – when the pieces of her identity puzzle are

finally put together after continuous reassessments and negotiating her otherness – a genuine act of the Canadian transculturalism.

But there are many more landscapes to appreciate, love and know. Jordan Abel's poem *Cartography* (2014) is a great illustration of language being another form of landscape. It is the one in which the variety of social and cultural groups are carving their identities which are both equal and distinctive. And it is the one in which the promises of (chances for) a better future are made.

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- The Canadian Cultural Model

- Canada is like most western countries a western style liberal democracy. There is a notion among liberal intellectuals that liberalism is a manifestation of a post religious world view. But according to the Canadian philosopher Charles Taylor it is a continuation of Christian thought and civilization. Even the earliest Christian civilizations had a kind of separation between church and state and the secular societies of today can be seen as successor of the early Christian civilizations. In many Islamic cultures the separation between religious institutions and state is seen as a foreign concept. (Taylor, 1994 s,62) Taylor is writing about the conflict between individual rights and rights for certain groups.
- This conflict can be illustrated by the Canadian example were French speakers and Aboriginal peoples want certain rights for their groups to guarantee that their cultures do not go extinct and is swallowed by the Anglo-Saxon Canadian culture. The province of Quebec has a certain autonomy that is meant to guarantee rights of French speakers. Inside the province of Quebec there is laws that prohibits francophones and immigrants to send their children to English language schools, this is a case when a group paradoxically limits their own rights to preserve their culture in this case the Franco Canadian culture. There are also laws in the province that demands that businesses with over 50 employees be run in French and legislation that demands that commercial signalizes be written in the French language. (Taylor,1994 s,52-53) In a proposed amendment for the Canadian constitution that is called the Meech Amendment. Quebec is defined as a distinct part of the Canadian society. (Taylor, 1994 s,53) The Canadian charter dose both guarantee individual rights and some aboriginal and linguistic rights that could be understood as collective. (Taylor, 1994, s,54)
- The ones that though it was a need for the Meech amendment was concerned that the Charters focus on individual rights would threaten the right for the French speaking minority to preserve their language. The Anglo Canadian society meant that the Meech Acord was threatening the individual rights of the charter and even threatening the idea of the bill of right as we know it. In Quebec there is a type of division sanctioned by the province where people's native language determines what schools' pupils are allowed to attend. This way of organizing a society is in opposition to individual rights mentioned in the charter. In cases with the laws that are demanding that commercial signages is in French and that business with over 50 employees must be driven in French in the province there might be a possibility to claim that the Anglo Quebecers as a discriminated group who are not allowed to let their culture flourish. There is also

possibility that old anti-Quebec prejudices played a part in the Anglo Canadian opposition to the accord. (Taylor,1994, s,55-56)

- Some liberal intellectuals are of the opinion that it is possible to create a value neutral society based on individual rights. But such a society would probably be based on the hegemonic culture's values. (Taylor,1994 s,43) In the Canadian context this would mean that the French Canadian and aboriginal way of life would be weaken and that that the minority cultures of Canada would face annihilation eventually. This might be especially true for the aboriginal first nations cultures that was the victims of forced assimilation that was sanctioned by the government and the catholic church. The settlers of European decent has dispossessed fist nation peoples and expelled the first nations to reserves to gain native land. (Aurylaité, lecture,11 august 2021) Because of the Canadian government and the catholic church's cultural genocidal ambitions during the 20th century. There might be higher risk for some native cultures to go extinct than the francophone cultures.
- The Canadian society has not always been a society that strives individual rights for all or rights for certain minority groups. This can be illustrated by case of Chinese Canadians. During the 19th century there were a wave of Chinese immigrants that fled typhons, war, earthquakes, and famines in pearl delta region. Many of these migrants were pulled to Canada and the United States to patriciate in the gold rush. These migrants were seen as inferior by the Canadian society and were discriminated against. Chinese miners were given gold mines that was considered “empty” by miners of European decent and in some cases the Chinese miners were murdered and robbed on the gold they had mined. In the 1860, s and 1870, s Chinese workers were part of the construction of infrastructure in British Columbia. These workers established the Cariboo wagon road, sting telephone wires, dug canals, established fish canaries and were a part of the Luber industry. The Chinese workers were an essential part in building British Colombian part of the Canadian Pasific Railway. These railway workers were often contracted from Hong Kong or Southers China. These railway workers were underpaid, lacked safety devices, medical attendance, and fresh food supply. The Chinese workers were not mentioned in the official history of the railroad, were not invited to opening ceremony and were not given the tickets that would help them get back to China. The labor of the Chinese workers was unrecognized. (Lien, 1997 s.4-7) Nonrecognition can be harmful to subaltern groups in the sense that it gives the unrecognized groups bad self-esteem and a distorted self-image. (Taylor, 1994, s,25)

The Chinese was called “China men” and was seen as effective working machines that could be abused without consequences. The Chinese were expected to take dangerous and low paying jobs that the Canadians of European ancestry would not do. The cheap labor of Chinese workers was a part of the Canadian stratification along racial lines. This stratification was a tool for the hegemonic European originated culture to use cheap labor. (Lien.1997 s,8) Canada are racially stratified today when it comes to the first nations. According to Canadian anthropologist McDonald” Life expectancies are ten years lower than the Canadian average. Poverty, suicide rate, alcohol, and drug abuse rates, recidivism all occur at levels far greater than the national average and indicate serious social problems” (Lindberg,1995 s.8)

- Nowadays when it comes to occupational statistics for Chinese Canadians, they are overrepresented in the service sector, natural science, and engineering. They are underrepresented when it comes to art, politics, government office transportation, literature, and social sciences. (Lien 1997 s,14) The anti-Chinese sentiment of 1900-century can be illustrated by the by the fact that one of Canadas founding prime ministers' describes the Chinese with the words "an alien race in every sense that would not and could not be expected to assimilate with our Aryan population”. (Lien.1997 s,9) Between 1884 and 1923 Canada used a head tax that was a tax paid by Chinese immigrants to be allowed entry into the country. Chinese where the only immigrant group that needed to pay an increasing tax for this purpose. The head tax in British Colombia was 10\$ in 1884 after several increases in prize the tax was 500\$ in 1903. The money collected from the head tax was used for advertisement to get Europeans to move to Canada. (Lien 1997 s.10) Vancouver Charter bared Chinese, Japanese, South Asian (referred to as by the legislators as Hindus) and native people from voting. (Lien 1997 s.10,15) Like many former settler colonies Canada has been shaped by ideals of white supremacy. The difference between the European context and the north American context can be made visible by the fact that an Estonian Canadian describing the fact that Estonian Migrant was a German ward in Estonia but now acknowledging that as a Canadian she is on the top of the Canadian postcolonial hierarchy. (Rein, lecture, august 18)
- This essay has shown that the Canadian is a complex society were the Anglo Canadian culture and the Anglo Canadians considered “white” has the hegemonic power. In Quebec there is a French-Canadian hegemony. The judicial and cultural battle between English Canada and the French speaking province of Quebec. There has also been

historical antipathy for people not considered "white" and some of that racial stratification can be seen to this day when it comes to aboriginal population.

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WHAT ABOUT US?

The assertion of one's own in the multicultural mosaic that is Canada.

On October 30th 2012, in an editorial opinion for Toronto Star, commonly named *The Star*, the then candidate for the leadership of the Liberal Party of Canada Justin Trudeau wrote that the underlying notion of Canada was "that we all have a chance to build a better life for ourselves and our children" (Trudeau, 2012) and that individual rights and freedom also were part of the Canadian core. To see whether that fits the Canadian culture model, and if so, to what extent, we must first look a bit at the grander picture. We start by looking at what the Canadian culture model is.

The first image that comes to mind thinking of the state of Canada, is the western one, built on immigration in form of settlers from western Europe, ignoring the First Nations and Inuit and thus extending the cultural western hemisphere. Then later on immigration would include work forces and later also refugees, once again ignoring people already living there, much like in the United States of America.

However, whereas the mix of cultures in the US assumed the model of a 'melting pot', in which there is a focus on integration and even assimilation, the mixture in Canada turned more

into a ‘multicultural mosaic’ where cultures live side by side “without presupposing a unidirectional movement towards a (predefined) centre” (Birk & Gymnich, 2016). Signs of this terminology can be found as back as approximately 100 years in Canadian literature.

Birk & Gymnich further problematize this, saying that perhaps the term ‘transculturalism’ is to be preferred, since the ‘multicultural’ emphasizes on those cultures that do not fit in to the English or French speaking majority/majorities, and that there do exist tendencies of movements. I will however, for the sake of this paper’s limited extent, leave it at the idea that the Canadian cultural model is more of a ‘mosaic’ than the US ‘melting pot’.

Moving our focus back to the Trudeau article, we must be aware of the political views of this particular MP, and also which successes he were to make in the years to come. Even if we take that out the equation; if we assume that the Canadian society is a mosaic of multiculturalism, with the different cultures and ethnic groups living side by side, we would definitely see a bigger tendency of ‘each (group) to its own happiness’ and also, in agreement with Trudeau, a big individual freedom, but also responsibility, to build a better future. The question is: who are included in the better future? The individual, the own culture, or Canada as a whole? I would argue that the quote mentioned by Trudeau can fit to each alternative. In that way, Trudeau’s quote concur with the Canadian cultural model. The full quote to be reflected on is as follows:

”We have created a society where individual rights and freedoms, compassion and diversity are core to our citizenship. But underlying that idea of Canada is the promise that we all have a chance to build a better life for ourselves and our children.”

(Trudeau, 2012)

Let me now switch our focus to the article in whole, for therein I find an interesting sense of an idea that made me see other similarities to the Canadian culture model. This being, of course, from my point of view. In the article, Trudeau writes about how the middle class have been ignored when it comes to increasing living standards, and that its members are not as good off as they could have been. Indeed, the title of the article is *Canadian middle class left out of the growth equation* and starts with the sentence: “Those who think the middle class is thriving in

this country should spend more time with their fellow citizens.” (Trudeau, 2012). Herein I see a form of reversed whataboutism.

This particular neologism refers to avoiding criticism by pointing out other problems instead (Oxford Living Dictionary) and what I mean with the reversal of it, is that each cultural group seem to say; ‘what about us?’ (as opposed to the ‘what about them’ in whataboutism). The Canadian cultural model seems to be a mosaic of exclusion, no matter how unintentional. This appears to have lead to each culture making their own voices heard in form of declaring existence, rather than conforming to a unifying canadianism.

This can be seen in, for instance, the Chinese Canadian literature. Paul Yee writes in the short story *Prairie Widow* about a recently widowed Chinese woman who have lived in, but separate from, Canada, not even speaking the language (Yee, 1990). Paul continues in an interview that he considers himself a third generation immigrant, although being the first born on Canadian soil, since his ancestors moved back and forth.

The telling of one’s own history also fits with the Estonians. Instead of reading how Estonians became integrated into the Canadian society, we read about their history in e.g. Estonia, Germany and Canada as separate Estonian units (Aun, 1985).

Even within the two Canadian majorities (the English and French speaking cultures) there are tendencies of the Quebecers to see themselves as a minority in need of protection and this resulted in wanting to have only French signs in the province of Quebec (Taylor, 1994). This, however, turned out to be illegal, with the result that signs must be in French, but can have other languages as well.

The Chinese, the Estonians, the francophone – they all said: ‘what about us? Hear our story!’ and thus implemented their puzzle piece into the mosaic. Also in the case with the English speaking majority, I’d say, the folklore research of Newfoundland (Ashton, 1986) can be seen as a case of defining one’s own history and culture.

So in this sense, and once again returning to Trudeau’s article, the experienced exclusion of the middle class fits well with how the Canadian mosaic have been maintained. It is now up to the middle class (with the help of Trudeau) to have their say in the modern society that is Canada of today.

On a final note, I would like to briefly touch the subject of the First Nation culture(s). In the art presented, I do not see the same form of reverse whataboutism. Instead, I see expressions of how they indeed have been affected by the Canadian society, such as Kent Monkman's alter ego self-insertion of Miss Chief into 'traditional western' Canadian art, or Jordan Abel's usage of western cowboys-and-indians novels to create unreadable pieces portraying destruction (Aurylaité, 2021).

They are called First Nations since they were the first to populate Canada, and maybe this is also why they don't portray their own history as a separate enclave in the mosaic. Everyone coming afterwards were some form of immigrant. There are some discussions who discovered the continent from a non-native perspective. Were it the Vikings, of whom there are small remains to be found in Newfoundland? Was it Christopher Columbus? There is even a Chinese claim to the first records of the continent, with the monk Hsüan-shan describing a place called *Fushang* in 499 AD (Chao, 1997).

But then again, if the First Nations are not cultures that proclaim their existence, but instead show how arriving cultures have formed them, that could be a reason why they are the ones not showing themselves as an enclave. The Canada of today is indeed a mosaic of unmixed cultures living side by side protecting their interests and in that sense, to be repeated, the article agrees with that notion.

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Introduction to Canada studies - Written Assignment - Carl Joelsson

In this quote from Justin Trudeau in 2012: “We have created a society where individual rights and freedoms, compassion and diversity are core to our citizenship. But underlying that idea of Canada is the promise that we all have a chance to build a better life for ourselves and our children.” It seems like Trudeau is trying to formulate the Canadian equivalent of the concept of the American dream. To determine if this assessment by Trudeau of the Canadian cultural model is correct one must first get a deeper understanding of what he is trying to say and an understanding of how this Canadian model has arisen. What separates the two concepts of what citizens should strive for and in what manner that is done is the inclusion of “compassion and diversity” as a core part of what constitutes Canadian society. Those two words represent the

difference of how Trudeau views the cultural model of Canada in contrast to the American one but it is not only Trudeau's viewpoint but also official Canadian policy.

The article "Multiculturalism in Canadian fiction" by Hanne Birk and Marion Gymnich in "Handbook of Transatlantic North American Studies" edited by Julia Straub in 2016 discusses Canadian multicultural literary fiction but also Canadian multiculturalism more broadly. The multiculturalism of Canada that values compassion and diversity is in text differentiated against the cultural framework in the United States that is viewed as a "melting pot". The melting pot metaphor entails that there is one main culture that is surrounded by less prevalent cultures that will either stay that way or be absorbed into the main culture and the cultural components of the smaller culture have become a part of the main culture. A society that operates with the concept of "multiculturalism" in mind is in the text defined as having a larger society that serves a lot of different ethnocultural groups while all of these being part of the same nation. The Canadian model is more of a mosaic where the dynamic between the cultural elements are constantly changing while the American always has one culture that always remains on top. It is implied that there is not the same pressure in Canada for immigrant groups to become a part of the mainstream culture.

I think that Trudeau is right in identifying what it entails to be a Canadian citizen depending on how you choose to interpret his quote. This is one difficult aspect of trying to determine if what a politician says is correct is that they often speak in a way that is largely open to interpretation and thus it is hard to definitively say if he is right or wrong. Therefore it is more meaningful to focus more on analyzing the actual Canadian cultural model. The more apt way of determining if Trudeau was right is to evaluate the political conditions that cultures have in Canada. I will do this by looking at the political conditions that cultures have in Canada instead of an idealized view of how some Canadians want the cultural model to function.

I do not view Canada as a pure multicultural society in the sense that Birk and Gymnich define it as even though some aspects of the culture are similar to multiculturalism. The closest to reality description of how the Canadian cultural model works I have read is "The Politics of

Recognition” by Charles Taylor (1992). In this text Taylor discusses how Canada has two different forms of rights-liberalism that underpin the Canadian societal model. One of the forms is the idea that every individual in the country has equal inalienable rights which can be compared to the ideal the U.S. was founded on. When the current form that this rights-liberalism should take was being formulated into law in the 1980s with the Canadian Charter of Rights it faced critique from those who wanted to see the survival of aboriginal peoples identities as well as the French Canadian identity. The critiques were based on the fact that this cultural model supposedly did not take into any regard these culture’s rights to exist as it was alleged that this model by its nature homogenizes all the people that live under it. Quebeckers particularly viewed this as a threat to their survival as a group which prompted additions of collective rights for French-speakers and aboriginal people. The rights granted among stipulating other things grants the province of Quebec the ability to in different ways force different institutions to use French in an attempt from the provincial government to ensure that the French speaking community in Canada does not die out and that their unique culture is protected.

These collective rights are a part of another form of liberalism, one that allows cultures to coexist parallelly in some form of multiculturalism. But this separate legislation for certain societal groups is an affront to the idea of equal rights for all in a society. One problem with trying to give more power to a certain group by valuing collective rights more highly than individual rights is that the only entity that can in some way can claim to speak for an entire collective is a government in some form. This threatens to make the government more powerful at the expense of even the individuals that are part of the group that the collective rights are supposed to empower.

Even though anglophones are in the majority in Canada and their language is an official national language they do not have as many collective rights as francophones. Immigrants have the least unique rights and have to face a comparable melting pot to the American one; it is only francophone and aboriginal society that do have a right not to become a part of the mainstream anglophone culture and in Quebec there are far reaching laws that try to assimilate new arrivals outright. Still Canadians might have a different view of their culture as something else than a melting pot but historical evidence shows that the integration process has worked in a lot similar

way to the way it has in the U.S. There are no similar rights granted to other groups than anglophone, francophone or indigenous group. There might be an idealized image of Canada as a country that does not put pressure on minorities to integrate but if the legal system promotes some groups, others are then in turn disadvantaged.

A reason why the elite of Canada may feel that in addition to pressure from indigenous and francophone groups that collective rights are important to protect is that they feel some sort of sympathy because the entire Canadian identity is a small identity trying to survive against the American culture trying to integrate it. Trying to foster a unique national identity when you are neighbors with the world's largest economy, that mostly speaks the same language as you, has the most globally influential culture as well as being about nine times more populous is hard. Which is why Canadian politicians feel the need to make laws that stipulate the amount of programming on television that needs to be Canadian. One could say that the entire project of creating a Canadian culture is trying to value collective rights above the individual rights granted to all North Americans which can be likened to the way Canada's cultural model works but on a continental scale. In the first lecture in this course someone, I do not remember whom, stated that all Canadian identities are somehow always based in some way around their minority relationship to a larger group. Indigenous Canadians are a minority to the Canadians of settler ancestry, immigrants are minority in relation to Canadians that are already established in Canada, French Canadians towards Anglo-Canadians and finally the mainstream Canadian identity contra the mainstream American identity. That Trudeau feels the need to try to formulate a similar but still unique version of the American Dream might come from the anxiety of trying to ensure the survival of one's own culture and identity with the globally domineering American culture right by it's doorstep.

The Canadian cultural model can be described as a society where there is one national framework that grants each citizen individual rights and freedoms and is based upon the promise of being able to build a better future for the current inhabitants of Canada and their children. Compassion is granted to the francophone communities, the métis, the first nations and the inuit for their cultures and customs to have a special legal standing that in law is more important than the individual rights of every Canadian. The compassion given to these groups and the ability

for immigrants from all over the world to come to Canada and become a part of Canadian society makes this nation diverse yet immigrant groups do face a pressure to integrate into mainstream Canadian culture.

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In his philosophical essay *The politics of recognition* (1994), the canadian philosopher Charles Taylor (1931-) invokes the importance of recognition of the other and why it must be taken into account while shaping political decisions. He writes that:

“The importance of recognition is now universally acknowledged in one form or another; on an intimate plane, we are all aware of how identity can be formed or malformed through the course of our contact with significant others” (1994:36)

“Ich, das Wir, und Wir, das Ich ist” G.W.F Hegel (1770-1831) states in the *Phänomenologie des Geistes* (1807 : 53). According to Hegel, when one self-consciousness meets another self-consciousness, there is a mutual self-understanding, a self-transcending process, in the contact with the otherness of the other. Hegel writes : “Es ist ein Selbstbewusstsein für ein Selbstbewusstsein. Erst hierdurch ist es in der Tat; denn erst hierin wird für es die Einheit seiner selbst in seinem Anderssein” (1807:53). This mutual self-transcending serves as a vital point in *The politics of recognition* because it proves the need for recognition of/by the other, of the importance of the difference of the other. In Taylors essay we could probably also note the influence of french philosopher Paul Ricoeur (1912-2005), and his philosophical essay *Soi-même comme un autre* (1990). Ricoeur writes on the importance of the other that :

“L’Autre n’est pas seulement la contrepartie du Même, mais appartient à la constitution intime de son sens. Au plan proprement phénoménologique, en effet, les manières multiples dont l’autre que soi affecte la compréhension de soi par soi marquent précisément la différence entre l’ego qui se pose et le soi qui ne se reconnaît qu’à travers ces affections mêmes.” (1990:380).

Through the philosophical influence of Hegel and Ricouer, Taylor shows us the importance of actually having political policies that are based on the recognition/the value of the other as different, and not just the protection of the other, beacuse the other is a fundamental part of one self, and a essential part of the process in reaching the moral value of self-realisation, and avoiding the danger of “misrecognition” (1994:25)

We have already talked a little about the influence of Hegel in the *The politics of recognition*, but another 18th century German philosopher is as important as Hegel. The philosopher in question is Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803). In *The politics of recognition*, Taylor writes :

“Herder put forward the idea that each of us has an original way of being human: each person has his or her own “measure.” This idea has burrowed very deep into modern consciousness. It is a new idea. Before the late eighteenth century, no one thought that the differences between

human beings had this kind of moral significance. There is a certain way of being human that is *my way*” (1994:30)

Effectively, the politics of recognition, according to Taylor, is just as well based on the self-transcending meeting with the other, the recognition of/by the other, as the idea of that “there is a certain way of being human that is *my way*” (1994:30) which supposes a sort of inherent essence of absolute singularity in identity and difference with which we are born. Taylor writes that : “we might speak of an individualized identity, one that is particular to me, and that I discover in myself. This notion arises along with an ideal, that of being true to myself and my own particular way of being” (1994:28) What we understand from this synthesis of recognition and the essence of identity, is that there exists a important tension between the essential part of every human beings identity, “their mesure” or maybe their difference, but that it also relies heavily on the recognition of/by “the significant others” (1994:32) to be able to realise it self, or else it will be “malformed”.

The synthesis between recognition and identity leads to what Taylor calls the : “ideal of authenticity” (1994:28). The notion of authenticity is close to what we could call a sort of self-realisation, and it has a moral value for Taylor. He writes that : “Our moral salvation comes from recovering authentic moral contact with ourselves. Rousseau even gives a name to the intimate contact with oneself, more fundamental than any moral view, that is a source of such joy and contentment: “le sentiment de l’existence.” (1994:29) What we have been able to see is that the notion and the vulnerability of recognition is essential for Taylor in the process of reaching the “ideal of authenticity”.

As we have tried to pinpoint certain key notions in the philosophical essay *The politics of recognition* by Charles Taylor, we will try to apply them, for a brief analysis of the canadian cultural model, as he is a Canadian philosopher from Montréal in the province of Quebec.

Taylor doesn't really go explicitly into detail on how a politics of recognition could look concretely. But how does the declaration of current PM Justin Trudeau, made in 2012, position itself in relation to the politics of recognition? Trudeau claimed that: “we have created a society

where individual rights and freedoms, compassion and diversity are core to our citizenship. But underlying that idea of Canada is the promise that we all have a chance to build a better life for ourselves and our children.”(In *Toronto Star*, 2012). What Taylor proposes as the core of the politics of recognition remains quite unclear, but it heavily relies on Gadamer's notion of “fusion of horizons” (1994:67) According to Swedish philosopher Sven-Olov Wallenstein (1960-), the “fusion of horizon” is: “Gadamer's idea of conversation and dialogue - in the spirit of Plato - guided by the idea of a possible fusion of horizons, which no longer belongs to the individual interpreter, but to tradition taken as a potential unity and continuity.” (Aiolos, 2020:170). And if we listen to Taylor, and we tried to apply the notions of recognition, identity, and of “fusion of horizons” to Canadian politics, it would lead to a politics of pragmatism/dialogue, value and vulnerability, and not to a politics of survival (individual rights for certain groups) nor a politics of utility and reason (a chance *to build a better life*). Taylor writes that :

“There must be something midway between the inauthentic and homogenizing demand for recognition of equal worth, on the one hand, and the self-immurement within ethnocentric standards, on the other. There are other cultures, and we have to live together more and more, both on a world scale and commingled in each individual society.” (1994:72).

Taylor also writes that : [the] crucial feature of human life is its fundamentally dialogical character” (1994:32) and that: “we become full human agents, capable of understanding ourselves, and hence of defining our identity, through our acquisition of rich human languages of expression.” (1994:32)

According to Taylor, the Canadian cultural model should rely heavily on dialogism, and not the master-slave relation that one would find in Hegelian dialectics or laws of survival such as law 101 that only makes a cultural aspect *survive*, but does not make it *valued*. Trudeau's statement is of no value according to Taylor if Canadian politics doesn't rely more on the fusion of horizons through dialogue and recognition as a potential for unity and continuity on the basis of protection for everyone's right to self-realisation, which is not the case in the politics of Trudeau's liberal party in Canada, which asserts the liberal rights for every citizen, but

effectively fails to value the other as different because of its individualistic approach, that relies on sociability, utility and reason, and not recognition, creating a tyranny of majority built upon "compassion" for the other, and not recognition. One could conclude that the politics of recognition is a politics of value and vulnerability, and a multicultural society with individual rights is one of survival. This distinction between *to value*, and *to protect*, between *recognition* and *compassion* is essential to understand the tension between the philosophy of Taylor, and the cultural model described by Trudeau.

One could assume that Taylor is in favour of a federal government that not only protects the cultural diversity of Canada, but that is built upon the notion of dialogism and where cultural diversity is *valued* as a way of self-realisation and as ground for "a possible fusion of horizons, which no longer belongs to the individual interpreter (anglophone/quebécois/first nation etc), but to tradition taken as a potential unity and continuity." Ultimately, what is valued and accepted, does not need to be protected. Taylor writes that: "But the further demand we are looking at here is that we all *recognize* the equal value of different cultures; that we not only let them survive, but acknowledge their *worth*" (1994:64). Is there recognition of the equal value of different cultures in Canada today? Not according to Taylor, nor to other Québécois, nor to the indigenous peoples of Canada.

Axel Johansson

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The problems of the Canadian cultural model

The current prime minister of Canada, Justin Trudeau, has declared: “We have created a society where individual rights and freedoms, compassion and diversity are core to our citizenship. But underlying that idea of Canada is the promise that we all have a chance to build a better life for ourselves and our children.”

Justin Trudeau’s words are partially incorrect. While Canada is seen as one of the most multicultural and diverse countries in the world, there is a wide array of problems towards Canadian cultural model socially and historically. One of them being that some minorities and communities are lacking recognition. That desire for recognition comes from multicultural politics and national identity. However, there is always a risk of being misrecognized, which can cause major damage to the population of said cultural unit. It can be a form of oppression, imprisoning someone in a false, distorted, and reduced mode of being, resulting in crippling self-hatred (Taylor, 1994). For example, Quebec, a French-speaking region of Canada, still strongly desires to be recognized as a separate, autonomous cultural and linguistic unit within Canada through liberalism. Although, such liberalism can cause a potential breakup in the country. Quebec’s government is putting distinctive measures to ensure the means of cultural survival, one of such ways are language related laws. For instance, regulations of who can send their children to English-speaking schools, requirements for businesses with more than fifty employees to run in French or outlawing signs with any language other than French. Such restrictions placed on Quebec’s population by their government can create tension in the region among English-speaking and French-speaking population, since it could hurt the diversity of Canada also violating Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (Taylor, 1994). According to the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, everyone has the freedom of language, expression, and communication. This document is meant to protect from discriminatory treatment towards any group of people (Taylor, 1994). To sum

up, while Quebec is moving towards recognition as an autonomous cultural unit and ensure cultural survival as a distinct society, there is a risk of hurting other groups of people in the region.

Another issue to be brought, is the cultural integration and racism in Canada. Certain groups can still experience social inclusion or exclusion despite the supposed protection of Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. There are plenty of cases involving racism against Muslims living in Canada. For example, the murder of Afzaal family on 6th June 2021 in London, Ontario. Police have said that the attack is likely deliberate, and the family were targeted because they were Muslim (Beaman, www.opendemocracy.net, 2021). There are errors in lawmaking. After Quebec passed Bill 21 in 2019, banning the wear of religious symbols by public school teachers and civil servants, among others, the number of incidents of harassment, violence and discrimination against Muslim women has increased (Beaman, 2021). Due to racism, Canada is not necessarily a safe space for minorities, such as Muslims, who experience dangerous effects of Islamophobia often. According to research conducted by Universities of Michigan and Toronto, Muslims are reportedly slightly less likely to experience discrimination in Quebec rather than in English Canada. First generation immigrants and second generation are the most likely to experience racism. Discrimination and fear from communities are listed as social exclusion. There are also depictions of Muslims through mainstream media, that cause negative reactions (Reitz, J.G, Simon, P, Laxer, E, 2017). Therefore, Canadian cultural model has certain flaws when it comes to the question of immigrant integration.

Third case to be brought up, is the oppression of indigenous peoples of Canada, also known as First Nations. There is another sphere of discrimination not involving immigrants, which is destructive behavior towards Native American tribes in Canada. The main problem is that inequality towards First Nations is being promoted instead of fixing the problem. The government expects gratitude which is imbedded in giving empty promises or saying that “things do not change overnight”, trying to create a sense of gratitude. Destructive behavior, such as death and family separations, towards indigenous peoples has been happening for hundreds of years (Blackstock, www.macleans.ca, 2019). Throughout the years, the racism of Indigenous peoples in Canada has been put into effect by the *Indian Act*, reserve system, residential schools, and Aboriginal hospitals, among other programs. Such policies interfered with the social, cultural, and political systems of Indigenous peoples, while also paving the path for European settlement across the country. The segregation of Indigenous peoples in Canada must be understood within the history and context of contact, doctrines of discovery and conquest, and ongoing colonization (Brant, 2020). The reserve system is intended to separate Indigenous peoples from the rest of the Canadian society,

which is highly destructive towards First Nations' cultures, traditions, and population in general. With settler colonization came the "Indian Problem", which is a belief that Indigenous peoples of Canada had to be assimilated into European-Canadian culture, because their traditions were considered "uncivilized" and "immoral". The term "Indian Problem" is attributed to Duncan Campbell Scott of Indian Affairs in 1918 (Brant, 2020). However, there is a strong resistance movement against the normalizing of discrimination against Indigenous peoples. For example, the creation of literature and poetry, such creators as Thomas King, Joshua Whitehead and Jordan Abel, or the creation of art, one of the most famous examples being Kent Monkman. Thomas King wrote a short story titled "A Coyote Columbus Story" illustrated by Kent Monkman, an indigenous visual artist. "A Christopher Columbus story" uses humor to discuss the struggles, stereotypes, and colonial situation of Canada that Native peoples faced through history and to this day. The short story tells the arrival of Christopher Columbus through a different perspective, encouraging a discussion about stereotypes of the topic of colonization (Panchuk, 2020). The plot involves Coyote, the trickster, who can control the events to her advantage, until Christopher Columbus changes her plans. He is unimpressed by the wealth of moose, turtles, and beavers in Coyote's land. Instead, he is interested in the human beings (Indians) he can take to sell in Spain (www.houseofanansi.com, n.d). This also discusses the issue of the slave trade across history. Kent Monkman was born in 1965. He is an Indigenous artist of Cree descent, member Fisher River Cree Nation in Treaty 5 Territory (Manitoba), he lives and works in Dish with One Spoon Territory (Toronto, Canada). Monkman's art analyzes the topics of colonization, sexuality, loss, and resilience through mixed media of performance and visuals. The most notable element of Monkman's artwork is his gender-fluid, mostly feminine, alter ego who is named Miss Chief Eagle Testickle, often appears in his work as a time-traveling, shapeshifting, supernatural being who reverses the colonial gaze to challenge received notions of history and Indigenous peoples (www.kentmonkman.com, n.d). One of the most famous Monkman's paintings is *The Daddies* (2016). *The Daddies* is a remake of Robert Harris's 1884 painting called "*Meeting of the Delegates of British North America to Settle the Terms of Confederation*". Kent Monkman has inserted his alter ego, Miss Chief, into the picture, posing her nude before the future Fathers of Confederation. Miss Chief plays the role of a trickster, subverting official portraiture conventions and Canadian political history by imposing an Indigenous queer presence on the origins of Confederation. Monkman made this painting as part of a series that raises questions about the celebration of Canada's 150th anniversary (www.150ans150oeuvres.uqam.ca, 2016). Artists like There are also more unique ways of spreading awareness of Indigenous peoples in Canada, through poetry. One such poet

is Joshua Whitehead of Ojibwe Cree First Nation. His style of poetry is usually lyrical, experimental, and intertextual, he likes to use repetition and anaphora to help structure his poems, along with a multitude of voices to help his speakers sing (www.poetryinvoice.com). Kent Monkman and Joshua Whitehead are advocates for Indigenous peoples in the LGBTQ+ community. One of Whitehead's more famous works is a set of poems called "Full-Metal Indigiqueer". The strong resistance movement encouraged by Indigenous artists are spreading awareness about the history of Indigenous peoples in Canada, fighting against injustice and discrimination that was ongoing since the start of the Canadian state.

In conclusion, the Canadian cultural model still has certain areas where they could improve. Trudeau's declaration of Canada being immigration safe, diverse and a place to start a life with individual and societal freedoms is still strongly flawed. While some efforts are being made to help reduce racism and discrimination, they are still not enough to fix the problems of the Canadian cultural model. The minorities themselves are indicating that it is time and need for change in Canadian society. The main reason artists spread awareness through their artistic expressions is to raise awareness and summon change that way, to say "we are here, we exist, we need recognition". The government of the state of Canada need to act against the issues involving the diversity of Canadian society, not just say words or promises of change. There is still a need for significant improvement.

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Is Diversity the Core of Canadian Society: A Baltic Standpoint

It will be hereafter attempted to overview the composition of Canadian society within both historical and associative contexts, added that, a historical insight into the Baltic states in the 20th century echoes the cases of exile, exploitation, assault, and all things power abuse in the cornerstones of nowadays democratic frontrunner Canada. I will hereby discuss the way it was dealt with the indigenous people, not-too-long-ago exploitation of Chinese people and their later discrimination. It is believed, however, that Canada has been bridging the gaps made at the emergence of the country, so go Canada's present Prime Minister's, Justin Trudeau's, words: ***'We have created a society where individual rights and freedoms, compassion and diversity are core to our citizenship.'***

Diversity, as per Cambridge Dictionary, is 'the fact of many different types of things or people being included in something,' in this case, included in the body of Canadian society. It could be thus assumed that aforementioned groups, such as Chinese and the First Nations, not to forget French, and Canadians themselves (and how far does this division go?) are entailed in

the society that has been representing and contributing to the face of the land we today know as Canada. The most common reported ancestries in Canada, as for 2009, were Canadian (what is defined as Canadian then? q.v.) English, Scottish, French, and Irish, followed by German, Italian, First Nations, Indian (from India), Ukrainian, Dutch, and Polish (Dewing, 2009). The same data also show that it was the highest proportion of population born outside Canada since the 1921 Census, which constituted 21.9%. The multicultural facets are along the same lines if the Baltic states are taken into consideration in this context, though the ancestries would vary according to location and history of the state, the dominant ones would be Latvian, Lithuanian, and Estonian, (though comparatively scarcely included in the states of one another) Belarussian, Russian, Ukrainian, Polish, etc. Although I shall mention that Karl Aun in his research *The Political Refugees: A History of the Estonians in Canada* reveals data expressing Swedish and Finnish ancestries present in Estonia. In either case, each of the cultures is seen as integrating itself into the bigger unifying cultural notion, be it Canadian or Latvian, or any other. At the most basic level the laws and customs apply to the whole social body, and then comes the country's essence engendered by tradition and that, in turn, is engendered largely via its history and place in the global context.

As art happens to be a modern form of expressing what previous media kept failing, *A Coyote Columbus Story* by Thomas King gives the quote that is needed to converse from here on, 'That is a good joke, says she, trying to make me think that you are going to sell my friends. (125)' But Old Coyote still thinks that Cristopher Columbus is a trickster. Speaking of indigenous people in Canada, the war with them was a less bloody *campaign* than it was in its influential neighbour in the South. Having considered 'clearing up the land' for a British Empire dominion state to be accessible, and in any sense a utilisable *enterprise*, First Nations on the Canadian territory were dealt via forcefully making them disintegrate in the common social stance, whose constitutions, rather more straightforwardly than in the United States, were largely adopted from the Queen. Moreover, the British Loyalists had to move to Canada as of the United States gaining Independence in 1765. Americans had hostile relationships with the British, – the American War initiated by thirteen colonies of British America against the Great Britain. On Canadian behalf, however, the independence was gained stepwise – by passing legal constitutional milestones. Canada dealt with Indians (natives) most remarkably by implementing Indian residential school system, a sort of *wiser* option than a war, though a cultural genocide. Certain accounts claim that people in the Indian residential schools have been made undernourished, sexually assaulted, equal-looking (especially by cutting their hair, which has been of great spiritual importance to Indians).

The gold rush was never a fair play for anybody, though even more so if referred to as ‘a Chinaman’s chance,’ which surely has a racial overtone. Chinese were only allowed to work in mines which were considered useless by white miners, ‘and some even were murdered, for the bit of gold they eventually accumulated (Chao, 1997, p. 6).’ The next episode picked up here is their collective participation in building British Columbia section of the CPR (Canadian Pacific Railway). British Columbia section was Canada’s reward from the British for its commitment to join the Confederation. Basically, Chinese workforce, as they constituted a large number of the contract labourers in Canada at the time, was employed in the project, and 4,000 Chinese workers, allegedly, died (ibid.) Racism has been aimed at them ever since by the Canadian society, some accounts say that it is for the sake of Chinese compliant nature, which is highly appreciated per se, and thus, the huge weight of potential that they inflict when entering the Canadian labour market. Despite that, Chinese immigrants were inadequately taxed in the early days, ‘in 1900, head tax increased to \$100 [...] Chinese immigrants were the only ones to pay increased taxes (ibid. 10)’ Shockingly, the First Prime Minister of Canada, Sir John A. Macdonald, made his public statements sound based on racial mistreatment, so he said, ‘[Chinese] are an alien race in every *Aryan* population. (Quoted in Chao)’ Chinese Canadians were even denied the right to vote. In almost every Canadian city is a Chinatown that bears reminiscence of its almost ‘*getto-ish*’ emergence. Chinese Canadians were supposed to live, work, and gather in these areas; and they were not allowed, for example, to go to cinemas.

At present Chinatowns are primarily commercial districts and are no longer referred to as ‘dirty and dangerous, full of opium dens, gambling houses, brothels, and dirty vegetable markets, where illegal immigrants, aliens, and criminals gathered (ibid. 12).’ Today the Chinese population in Canada still shows a higher number of foreign-born than native-born people (ibid. 14).

On top of that, a brief mention is also needed on the account of French community in Canada, and the birthplace of French North America – Quebec. Expulsion of the Acadians, an event which relates to the British military campaign against New France. Although historically, the event appears to be less intense, it nevertheless echoes the strategy implied in Soviet mass deportations from the Baltic States off to Siberia, for deportees to starve and die from cold most likely. I say less intense, as the destination of exile appears at first to have been the Thirteen Colonies, and later France or Britain. Although the Expulsion of the Acadians is long gone, it envisages the tensions of present-day French speaking community being the minority in the bilingual Canada. The Quebec’s recognition as a distinct society within the Canadian Charter of Rights ‘aligned [the] political system in this regard with the American one in having a

schedule of rights offering a basis for judicial review of legislation at all levels of the government (Taylor, 1992, p. 52).’ The latter somewhat relates to the Trudeau’s opening words within this paper. Nevertheless, the common goal of the French community in Canada has taken gained recognition to a significant extent, which oftentimes results in added tensions, for example, merely between French and English languages being media for be it casual communication or certain legal actions.

While it is more so than not, – cultures are rarely merging as it is desired, in Birk and Gymnich’s (2016) article on *Multiculturalism in Canadian Fiction* it is well picked up that the modern common understanding of a culture still goes as far as to assume that ‘there is (or should be) one dominant (or mainstream) society, on the margins of which are various non-dominant (or minority) groups.’ The same quote thereafter suggests that minorities disguise themselves as a part of the bigger social unit only when being recognized in their cultural essence. Although the “natives’ issue” in Canada and beyond has gained momentum in the latter years, the struggle evolving racial prejudices, which applies to the Chinese population as well, remains a continuing phenomenon. The African communities are not mentioned within this paper merely for the sake of less dedicated attention to the groups mentioned above. Canada is a great instance of multicultural space and abuse of power, and the morally dubious ideas around attempts of keeping Canada within the conservative framework. However, all this does ring a bell of countries handling such issues in ways which end up rather escalating tensions. A lot of ideas around Canadian society remain ambiguous and even vague, especially when Canadians per se are considered one thing, and say, generations of Irish or British descent something else. Québécois are a unique, relatively separately developing community, whose French heritage when seen as a part of the whole, might still trigger a part of the dominating English-speaking population in Canada (and elsewhere, as in France it is very common to refuse speaking English, sic). Racism and the ‘white superiority’ have been the roots of abuse that, most unfortunately, are deep embedded in the ‘white’ thinking and culture. All these instances show that Canadian society is a modern one and reflects greatly on the state in which the Western world and world in general has been spinning through in the last few decades. Discrimination has been the most discussed issue worldwide, as it indeed remains highly topical encounter within multicultural spaces, which are most of the countries as for today. These instances spark rebellions and wars, yet despite that the yesterday’s way of thinking appears to be slowly but surely starting to resonate with the glorified notion of individual freedom.

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I hereby declare that I have actively participated in solving every exercise. All solutions are entirely

my work, without taking part in other solutions.

The Middle Class In The Canadian Cultural Model

The term middle class refers to the group of people with a mediator social status in society, often

defined by income, education, and occupation. The article by Justin Trudeau (2012), focuses on the

main components that form the Canadian community such as individual rights and freedoms, compassion, and diversity. In this essay, I aim to reflect on the quote "We have created a society where

individual rights and freedoms, compassion and diversity are core to our citizenship. But underlying

that idea of Canada is the promise that we all have a chance to build a better life for ourselves and our

children" Trudeau (2012). I will explore the role and the struggle of the middle class and the immigrants in Canadian society.

According to Britannica Academic, Canada is the second-largest country in the world in terms of

area. Even though Canada is huge in size, it's the world's most sparsely populated country. It's ethnocultural and religiously diverse. There are more than 450 ethnic and cultural origins, 100 religions, and 450 languages, Yet Trudeau's biggest concern is the negligence of the middle class. And

how the wealth is mostly occupied by the upper class. The middle class forms the biggest chunk of

Canadian society, therefore, it's disappointing to know that the wealth is unevenly distributed, it's

possessed by a small number of wealthy Canadians. Therefore, Trudeau expresses his concerns and

urges society to find ways that can make the middle class feel secure about their stability, economic

security, job opportunities, and incomes. When you look at the Canadian model you find out that the

Canadian model is based on equality, rights for everyone, and freedoms. Consequently, Trudeau demands the liberals to provide evidence rather than ideologies. For instance, he wants evidence to

ensure that the Canadian economy is strong and resilient. He wants to implement policies to help the

middle class, such as increasing the Canada Child Benefit, introducing the Canada Pension Plan, and

increasing the Guaranteed Income Supplement. He also wants to implement policies to help small

businesses, such as reducing taxes and providing access to capital so the middle class can benefit and

thrive and wealth gets an equal share.

Furthermore, one of the biggest concerns that Trudeau tries to refer to is the mass immigration to

Canada that happens whenever a war crisis breaks out in different places around the globe. And the

low possibility of digesting these immigrants into society. Too many people coming too quickly into

society makes it difficult to retain a sense of cohesion and stability, especially if the wealth remains in

the hands of a small number of people. According to the article "Multiculturalism in Canadian fiction

(2016)" by Hanne Birk and Marion Gymnic, Canada constitutes a multicultural "mosaic" society.

Meaning that Canadian fiction has been shaped by this multiculturalism, and it has become a reflection of the country's diversity and Canada is an open land for all types of people. That urges the

need for having good plans for the future that will guarantee the sustainability of human equal rights,

freedom, and the division of wealth. These people need to be educated and involved in the market,

and the industry. With wealth in the hand of a small number of people, it will be hard to make progress. And these people will find themselves in a vicious circle which will lead to more dominance

of these wealthy people.

Aun (1985) illustrates an excellent example of how Estonian immigrants suffered when they settled in

Canada between 1947 and 1960. They found many barriers such as language, cultural differences, and

lack of access to resources. Some experienced discrimination, poverty, and isolation. They also struggled to find employment, and housing and some weren't able to access healthcare or education.

Additionally, some faced legal issues due to their immigration status. Aun (1985) further illustrates

how the government supported these immigrants and how they got the best out of them. For instance,

the displaced once admitted to being good citizens, while some others were enrolled in some needed

occupations. The government also provided financial assistance to the immigrants, such as housing,

food, and medical care. This enabled them to settle in and become productive members of society.

After a short while, the Canadian economy thrived massively, since these immigrants gave the best in

contrary.

Moreover, Trudeau fears the fact that people of the middle class might be socially excluded if people

of the first class keep the wealth for themselves. Taylor (1994) mentioned in his texts the discourse of

recognition and focused on the public sphere. The public sphere is where people can come together to

discuss and debate issues of importance. There has been an increased focus on the need for equal

recognition. Excluding the middle class from the division of wealth will lead them to be socially excluded, consequently they will be systematically disadvantaged from accessing the same rights and

opportunities as other citizens (the first class). Taylor illustrates how everyone aimed for equal recognition in Canadian societies since the idea that recognition is linked to identity is a powerful one,

and it has been used to explain a wide range of phenomena, from the struggles of minority groups for

recognition to the psychological effects of bullying. It suggests that when people are denied recognition, they can suffer real damage to their sense of self-worth and their ability to function in

society.

Equal respect for all members of a society is a fundamental principle of justice and equality. However,

achieving equal respect can be challenging, especially in the context of multiculturalism, where there

is a need to recognize and celebrate the differences and particularities of different cultures and language groups within a society. As Taylor (1994) suggests, there is a tension between the need to

treat people in a difference-blind manner and the need to recognize and foster particularity. On the one

hand, it is important to treat everyone equally, regardless of their cultural or linguistic background. On

the other hand, it is also important to recognize and respect the unique characteristics and traditions of

different cultural and linguistic groups, and to provide support for their preservation and expression.

Trudeau emphasizes and supported the adoption of multiculturalism as an official policy in Canada,

recognizing the diversity of cultures and languages within the country and promoting the equal recognition and respect of all cultures and classes.

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The social contract in Canada is based on beliefs and ideas such as individual freedoms and rights, diversity, and compassion for one another. Justin Trudeau (2012) states that these values should be embodied by all Canadian citizens. But Trudeau's message is wide to comment on which makes it challenging to determine whether what he has said is just or mistaken. Thus, to gain a better understanding, it is vital to focus on analyzing the Canadian cultural model to examine the political conditions that influence Canadian cultures. Justin Trudeau suggests that wealth needs to be produced more dutifully to allow equal distribution of wealth across all groups within society. In such a society, the middle class will no longer find themselves with less economic security, and stability, and be able to use available opportunities to experience upward mobility. Trudeau argues that the unequal distribution of resources and opportunities threatens the Canadian model. Therefore, there is a need for a new evidence-based liberal course. For me, Trudeau's framing of the issue is valid. This essay examines the political conditions of Canadian culture to provide insight into Justin Trudeau's promise on building a better life.

In "Multiculturalism in Canadian fiction" the author suggests that Canadian multiculturalism is a concept that values diversity and compassion. Multiculturalism as a Canadian policy was introduced in 1971, and in 1988 through the enactment of the Multiculturalism Act, it was confirmed. Multiculturalism was conceptualized as a cultural model that was different from America's melting pot concept (Birk and Gymnich, 2016). It is more than the melting pot, a cultural framework that is popular in the United States that

stipulates that there is one primary culture that is surrounded by several cultures that are less prevalent. The concept of the melting pot suggests that less prevalent cultures are more likely to be fascinated by the central culture. Canadian multiculturalism, on the other hand, suggests that the society has different independent ethnocultural groups that make up the nation. Even though multiculturalism as a concept was established as an approach to helping the decolonization of different groups represented in Canadian society, it has to address the conflict linked to equal respect as it essentialized ethnicity and race.

Looking at Canadian multiculturalism is not quite similar to multiculturalism as defined by Birk and Gymnich which is described as pure. Canada as a multicultural society is quite similar to the society described by Charles Taylor in the article “The Politics of Recognition”. Taylor (1994) documents that the societal model in Canada is based on two types of rights-liberalism, with one form being the idea that citizens have equal inalienable rights. In the 1980s when this concept was being formulated into Canadian law, it was commented on by

individuals who evoked collective rights to aboriginal and French-Canadian identities. The critiques argued that this form of the cultural model did not allow for the rights of different cultures that exist. Thus, groups such as Quebeckers were against the accustom of other people because they believed it menaced their group’s survival. In an effort by the provincial government to secure that the Canadian society who speak french does not perish out and that their distinctive culture does not threaten or harm, the rights permitted along with other things, give the Quebec province competence in various ways to impose the use of french as the main language in different institutions.

But favoring collective rights at the expense of individual rights was also criticized. Collective rights are based on the idea that one entity such as the government can

speak for a complete collective. Critiques of collective rights believed that it would make the government more dominant and capable which would harm the rights of individuals within the group (Birk & Gymnich, 2016). The Canadian legal system does not promote one group at the expense of others. Despite being the largest language in Canada and having an official status, francophones get many collective rights compare to anglophones. Although Canadians may not regard their society as a melting pot, facts demonstrate that the integration process has operated in the same way as how the melting pot works in the United States (Ibid). Apart from anglophone, francophone, and indigenous groups, no other groups have the same privileges provided. The conception of Canada is a nation that does not force less privileged to integrate, but if the legal system benefits one group, it will inevitably prejudice and harm other groups. Furthermore, the politics of identity and recognition are significant to the Canadian cultural pattern. Although Canadian identity has gone through individualization and diversification, it is defined by self rather than what other people think of Canadians. This is different from earlier societies when the social position was the primary defined model. Even though identity formation requires the existence of otherness to facilitate social comparison, the boundaries between social groups have become more adaptable and flexible and making it possible for individuals to belong to a variety of social groups. Consequently, identification has to turn out to be more active and dynamic with social mobility to gain a more vital role in society's cultural model. Thus, any societal developments that encumber the possibility of growing mobility are perceived as a considerable threat, especially when a large number of the population is affected.

Apart from the politics of recognition and identity, there is the politics of universalism which is used to guarantee that all citizens have equal rights, entitlements, and

respect. However, the existing structure should be able to balance distinctness and equality.

Taylor (1994) notes that assimilation into a dominant group identity is used to fight distinctness while positive discrimination and differential treatment level the playing sphere for all members of the society.

People's capacity to share a universal potential to form and define their own identities makes them respectable since they can explore different possibilities and choices to become what they can be which overshadows what they are. Equal respect can be a challenging objective to actualize because it contains two modes of conflicting politics. Taylor (1994) notes that for equal respect to be accomplished, individuals must treat others in various respectful manners while spending time to acknowledge and build particularity. Therefore, multiculturalism became a model for the race, cultural traditions, and languages that exist within Canadian society to reveal.

Appraisals of multiculturalism suggest that it incites separation of an idea that is exemplified in Canadian literature which labels the existence of multicultural literature as a process of exclusion and othering, setting indigenous and immigrant authors apart from those in dominant literary cultures where writers can write in either French or English (Birk and Gymnich 2016). Even though some of the multicultural writers were born in Canada and speak one of the "main" languages, their immigrant or indigenous experiences are rooted in their identity resulting in the emergence of the "conceptual immigrant" identity, which is different from "actual immigrant" identity embodied by those who have experienced the reality of migration (Ibid). Critiques of multiculturalism encourage focusing on transcultural which illustrates cultural contact that is both continuous and conflicting. By focusing on transcultural, identity can be reviewed continuously and otherness can be negotiated (Ibid).

In conclusion, Abel (2014) in his piece of the poem, suggests that language is a

type of landscape that allows cultural and social groups to shape their identities and build a better future for themselves. The cultural model employed in Canada labels the society as having one national framework where citizens are granted freedoms and rights that allows them to build up a better life for themselves and their children.

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Canadian Cultural Model

In his article in 2012, Justin Trudeau stated about Canada, specifically, about Canadian society *"We have created a society where individual rights and freedoms, compassion and diversity are core to our citizenship. But underlying that idea of Canada is the promise that we all have a chance to build a better life for ourselves and our children."* Further, in his article, he raises the issue of a real threat to Canadian ideal of the mobility and the opportunity of economic growth. It seems like Trudeau wants to underline the core of success and the core of importance of its current Canadian Cultural Model and the importance of middle-class representation in the society. In this essay, I would like to discuss and understand how the current Canadian Cultural

Model has formed and why Trudeau is highlighting the importance of middle-class representation in the development of the better society.

To understand the current Canadian model, one must look into its historical, organizational and cultural features of identification. Canada is officially bilingual country in English and French because of its history of European colonization of power between France and England. With a population of 37.5 million people among which 1.7 million are indigenous people (Nicholson, N 2022). Historically being colonized and existing in rivalry between English and French colonizers, recognition of indigenous people, massive immigration from Northern Europe and Baltic countries in the 20th century, one can say that even today Canada and its society is still in the process of challenge of decolonization and co-existence of extremely diverse people from different cultural heritage.

Although Canadians today “describe their citizenship, immigration, and refugee policies as the most humanitarian and compassionate in the world” which shapes their sense of national identity and collective pride (Power point course material) and formed current democratic society, firstly Canadians were unwilling and hesitant about mass immigration and its effect on population and social structure (Aun 1985). Before the mass wave of immigration from Europe and Baltic countries in the late 19th and beginning of 20th century, the population of Canada consisted of mainly from British and French origin, and indigenous people. In 1947, Prime Minister King stated clearly that the Canadian government will regulate the settlement of immigrants with careful selection, so that it could be advantageous into Canadian economy as well as the immigrants should “make good citizens” (Aun 1985). There were supporters who argued that immigrants would make good contribution to Canadian domestic market and its economic growth however, there were also opponents who were worried about Canada’s economic capacity. From Prime Minister King’s statement, we can understand that Canada was not fully but partially open for immigrants as long as they will make good contribution to the society and become good citizens for better future, as what Canada has today achieved, as Trudeau pointed in his article.

Aun shares the history of Estonians coming to Canada of how even though Estonian refugees and immigrants were not the wanted group of immigrants Canada looked for and how the Estonians took the manual labor jobs despite being more than qualified, just to be acceptable for the immigration. Most of the Estonian immigrants were young people in their twenties and thirties and single due to the war or as only one of the family members were allowed to immigrate. It is important to note also these immigrants’ group of Estonians were mostly well-

educated and had university degrees, many of them were highly educated and career leaders who are in normal times would not have left their home country (Aun 1985). As a result, the immigrants showed themselves to be an asset to the Canadian economic sector as the “gloomy forecast of economy changed into an expectation of economic boom” (Aun, 1985). Gradually, Canadians attitude towards the mass immigration changed positively that in 1949 Canada liberalized its immigration policy, so that many more refugees could come from Europe and Baltic countries. The immigration policy was flexible enough now for immigrants to immigrate together as a family and change their jobs if found better ones. (Aun 1985). Aun shares only the Estonians’ successful history of coming to Canada and being the asset to the society despite not representing the mass group of immigrants and facing social, cultural and linguistic problems, the more Estonians the more they helped and assisted one another. From here we can understand how other countries’ group of immigrants and refugees, waves of immigration resulted in to the current diverse population of Canada.

In a contrast to Estonian immigrants, I would like to briefly discuss about Chinese immigrants. The first wave of Chinese immigrants to Canada goes way back to 1858, where most of the immigrants were men and paid less than half of other white workers were paid. The Chinese immigrants worked as coal miners, coolie workers, domestic servants and seasonal workers at salmon canning industry (Power point course material). According to *First Nations and China: Transforming Relationships*, Chinese immigrant workers were employed in the building of British Columbia section of the Canadian Pacific Railway and many of them lost their lives “as the most dangerous of jobs were given to them”. It seems like the contribution of Chinese immigrants to Canadian society and development went unappreciated for decades. As the formal diplomatic relations between China and Canada only began in 1970 which is almost over hundred years later after the first encounter of Chinese immigrants at the Canadian territory. Many of the first generation of Chinese labor immigrants married with First Nations (BC First Nations- China Strategy 2011), however, they were “not allowed to vote and were prohibited from entering certain professions such as law, medicine or accounting” (Power point course material). Despite being discriminated and facing oppression from the Canadian side, today, China is Canada’s second largest trading partner and third largest export market (BC First Nations- China Strategy 2011). With this example, I wanted to highlight the importance of any immigrant groups in a foreign society. No matter the background, history and how immigrants came to the foreign country and society they always bring asset and opportunities

with themselves, as they begin and pursue their new life and become part of the new society and culture to improve their future.

Due to a complicated history of clash of colonial rules, opposing each other ethnic groups, coexistence of different ethnic and racial groups demanded an efficient, harmonizing regulation of policy and a model fitted into the complex society. Such term “multiculturalism” was used in Canada to “describe a social reality, a federal government policy, and a myth-based ideology” (Birk and Gymnich 2016). Canada was the first country in the world to adopt a multiculturalism policy, the policy acknowledges “that all cultures bring intrinsic value; and solidified the Canadian government as one that is committed to promoting a diverse and multicultural society (Berry 2020). The multiculturalism policy was first introduced in 1971 by then Prime Minister, Pierre Elliott Trudeau, and became the Multiculturalism Act in 1988. The concept of the Canadian multiculturalism policy was to be the contrast model of the traditional notion of society as “melting pot” of the United States (Birk and Gymnich 2016).

In the article “Multiculturalism in Canadian fiction” Birk and Gymnich discusses deeply about Canadian multiculturalism through multicultural fiction and literature. The “melting pot” society culture suggests that there should be one mainstream dominant society surrounded by non-dominant small groups, which later will either stay as it was or engage and be part of the mainstream society. (Birk and Gymnich 2016). Whereas the Canadian multiculturalism policy assures the cultural freedom, “encouraging various cultures and ethnic groups that give structure and vitality to our society” (Berry 2020). The policy was to be the bridge and an assisting tool for cultural and ethnic groups to encourage them to learn the language, participate in the society and promote cultural exchange, however, the policy was still opposed by the Quebec region on the grounds that it devalued the role of the founding of the French and English ethnic races. The Canadian model of multiculturalism is more of a dynamic approach while its constantly changing through negotiation, compromise and mutual accommodations without pressuring smaller groups of society to become part of the mainstream society, as “multicultural mosaic” as John Berry described (Birk and Gymnich 2016). The Canadian Mosaic and the Canadian approach of society encouraged immigrants and ethnic groups “to preserve important aspects of their ancestral cultures if they wished” (Birk and Gymnich 2016). Personally, I highly agree with this Canadian approach, and think it is very essential for every person, especially, minority groups of people, to know and preserve its own cultural heritage while living in another country. As most of the immigrants of certain countries would not have left their home countries if there was a possibility and opportunity to stay. Also think that, Trudeau is right

about that Canada created a society where every citizen has the right and opportunity to create a better future and better life, but if its accessible and applies to every single citizen of Canada I am not sure. As Canadian society is still progressing, still bettering, still developing its communities and battling to compromise between diverse groups of people: indigenous, first nations, colonizers, immigrants, refugees and labor migrants.

Which brings to my next important point “recognition”. The politics of recognition and identity are core values of the current Canadian Cultural model. In *The Politics of Recognition*, Taylor, is presenting the term “recognition” by explaining and arguing it as the need of being recognized, accepted in order to co-exist as individuals, minority groups, society and later as nation as well. He also notes the importance of recognition as an understanding of “individual identity” as being true to oneself and the way of being (Taylor, 1994). This “individual identity” could be linked to the Canadian approach of multiculturalism policy as it encourages to preserve ancestral cultural heritage.

Taylor explains the discourse of the recognition and identity, where he describes the fundamental characteristics of human being and understanding of oneself. Because if, an individual or a group of people are not “recognized” and accepted in the society it can lead to inequality and misfitting in the society. Not being able to deliver and communicate with the society can lead to a further harm, low self-esteem and “pain of low self-esteem” (Taylor, 1994). The example of Chinese labor immigrants which mentioned earlier in the essay could relate to this. Also, the founding races of the French, the Quebec province, opposed the multicultural policy as they viewed it as a threat to preserve their French speaking community and culture. Although, Canada is officially bilingual country, there are only 20% French speakers. Taylor writes also about how “since 1492 the Europeans have projected an image of indigenous and aboriginal people as somehow inferior and uncivilized and have often been able to impose this image on the conquered” (Taylor 1994). Come to think of it there are aboriginal people in almost every nation, somehow, they are always misrepresented and taken not seriously. For example, in Canada historically there has been a constant clash between aboriginal people, first nations and colonizers. In the United States the aboriginal people are Indians, but in the present moment we all know that when we think about an American citizen it is definitely not an Indian who comes to mind first. And why is that and who decides it or how we humans naturally go along with it, is very unclear and puzzling, at least to me.

Taylor takes an example of Hegel “Master and slave” relation. I understand this as the aboriginal or minority groups are being the “slave” and the new-comers or the occupiers of the

land being the Master. For Canada, the Master would be the French and English colonizers and the slave would be the aboriginal people; or in present time the Master would be the elites and rich people whereas the slave would be the middle-class. Although, Canada is a very diverse country with a multicultural policy somehow this example of “Master and slave” identical to Canadian minority and larger group, or as middle-class to an elite group. Aboriginal people are the minorities compare to the first settlers or the colonizers, labor immigrants are minority to the first established Canadians, Quebec province or French speakers are minority to English speakers and so on.

Prime Minister, Trudeau, is concerned about Canada’s middle-class group being left-out of the distribution of wealth development. 58% forms the middle-class of Canada which is more than half and a very important group of people (OECD). He argues, that although the economy of Canada have been growing for the past 30 years, only small number of groups which are elites have benefited from it and the important group of middle-class which also forms majority of the economic growth are now facing “increasingly inaccessible housing market” in big cities and “carrying unprecedented debt” which worries not only him but the Canadian citizens if they could achieve same quality of life that they are enjoying at the moment.

Today, Canada is an important nation in the world with its second largest country by land area and has the tenth largest economy (Heritage). Becoming one of the world’s powerful economy countries has not been easy and straight ahead obviously. Even though Canada’s economy is tenth largest in the world, Trudeau highlights the importance of how the economic growth and the income of middle-class family have risen by the force of a “new generation of well-educated, hard-working Canadian women into the workforce”. He points out how this outcome is a unique one and as “one-time” event. However, Trudeau, is not worried about the current economic growth rate, but he questions where and what would be the next wave of growth will be coming from. Therefore, he argues and urges for a new Liberal approach which will be based on facts and evidence rather than an ideology. He argues for more inclusive approach and wealth should be distributed evenly. I think what, Trudeau, is trying to do is to create more unique, more approachable and more humanitarian society than how it is today in Canada. He is careful and considerate about the important groups of people, which form the majority of the society and contributes to the economic development. The Canadian cultural model, which grants each Canadian citizen individual right and freedom to be able to create a better future for oneself and for their children, that, Trudeau, is thriving to achieve, is compassionate and a model for other countries. Especially, the multicultural policy the Canadian Mosaic approach

which encourages ethnic minority groups to preserve its ancestral heritage makes Canadian society more ideal and desirable.

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Undepicted Nations – Analysis of Kent Monkman’s painting *The Daddies*

A painting of well-dressed, serious-looking, busy men (busy creating laws and systems of government) is a recurring motif throughout countries. There simply is that something special about the moments the nations are created and such paintings not only try to capture them, but also, in a way, try to thank the hard-working men who then would be proudly referred to as the ‘Founding Fathers’. In 1884 Robert Harris finished his work titled *Meeting of the Delegates of British North America to Settle the Terms of Confederation* depicting example of the previously mentioned fathers. Old as it was, the painting seems to have stayed inspiring as it reappeared after 81 years, only there was something new in it.

At the centre of the painting, there sits a man - an Indigenous presence in the room full of colonialists. That is already quite striking but there is more - the indigenous man is almost completely naked and in high heels! We as spectators can only see his back and even though we immediately understand that the man falls out of context and maybe it is even something inappropriate for us to see, the second impulse is to get back to the painting for more details, we are nothing less than intrigued. Kent Monkman is an artist of Canadian First Nations who, with his art, chose to depict and reveal the historical realities that indigenous people lived but the colonialists were keeping out of sight. Sometimes he would achieve that by re-working an existing piece of art and such strategy is quite nicely explained by Jolene Rickard who points out that: „Tradition as resistance has served Indigenous people well as a response to contact and as a reworking of colonial narratives of the Americas“ (2011). In the case of Monkman, he occasionally uses traditional painting methods and works of art that are considered to be the tradition itself, but twists the previously depicted reality and demonstrates what was hidden or what could be included. June Scudeler laconically explains that the art of Monkman: „is not „against“ Western art, but engages it on his own terms“ (2015:23).

Monkman's painting challenges colonialist history in multiple aspects, starting with the title of the painting. *The Daddies* is clearly not meant as a childish and loving address towards the „fathers“, but has in it the meaning of sugar-daddies, people to be entertained but also people in a higher position, position of power. In the painting we see not just a simple indigenous man, we see a drag queen (Kent Monkma's alter ego Miss Chief Eagle Testickle), which makes the person even more of an outcast. The Daddies, as implication suggests, pay the Miss Chief for the show (or for „no-show“).

Even though we are looking into a painting, studies on indigenous fiction can help us better understand the hidden meanings - the painting ends up telling us a story just as a narrative would. “Indigenous fiction shares many of the topics and concerns that are characteristic of multicultural writing” notice Hanne Birk and Marion Gymnich in their study and continue to identify the similarities as following: “the need to expose persistent structures of (racial) discrimination, exclusion and inequality” (2016:518). We must not forget that it is important to define some crucial terms and have in mind a significant observation of Jutta Ernst and Brigitte Glaser's, “multiculturalism” as a notion was used in varying ways in Canada: “to describe a social reality, a federal government policy, and a myth-based ideology” (7:2010).

Monkman's works are often about fluidity and not only gender's but history's too. History (and colonial history) is created, but while factual events cannot be altered: „Monkman shows that the representation of these events can be rewritten and restaged“ (Scudeler 2015:25). It is rather clear that an indigenous drag queen sitting in front of the Founding Fathers was not a possible scene back in the days, but the problematic aspect it depicts is that the Founding fathers chose not to see any indigenous people at all (in the original painting there are no traces of them whatsoever). Would the delegates have considered them, they would have definitely followed certain simplistic notions, which in no way would have included a marginal Indigenous identity. June Scudeler borrows and quotes the expression of Dean Rader and explains that: „Monkman's cultural productions imagine „alternative kinds of indigenous being“ that exists outside the „bureaucratic apparatus of self-determination“ (2015:21). This observation helps to understand that Monkman's *The Daddies* not only brings something that was overlooked during the history of the past, but also expands our current understanding about how an indigeneous person can be.

Adventure novels, travel stories and some historical narratives help us understand what the colonialists were thinking about the new landscapes and its native peoples. In his interesting text about the Canadian nature *The Prairie: A State of Mind* (published in *An Anthology of*

Canadian Literature Volume II), Henry Kreisel talks quite much about a wish of conquering, a wish of making one's imprint on an untouched land, which by its own nature involves violation: „In the Canadian west, as elsewhere on this continent, it involved the displacement of the indigenous population by often scandalous means, and then the taming of the land itself. [...] no doubt our writers did not really make themselves too familiar with the indigenous people of the prairie, seeing them either as noble savages or not seeing them at all“ (1983:110). A glimpse on an unmistakable landscape in Robert Harris' painting could be seen as Kreisel's mentioned „taming“ or „conquering“; the violation, I would suggest, could be represented by the lack of Indigenous presence either on the visible landscape or in the room. Monkman did a powerful job at evoking the presence back into the picture. The fact that we see Miss Chief in the centre adds up additional confrontation if we take an observation from Andea Smith quoted by Scudeler when talking about how Christian colonizers considered indigenous people to Canaanites because: „both were worthy of mass destruction [because] they both personify sexual sin“ (quoted in Scudeler 2015:27). Such a strong remark plays quite interestingly in the limits of the *The Daddies* – the queerness of the Indigenous man could be perceived not only as a fluidity of identity, but also as a sinful act. The quote also depicts the previously mentioned simplistic understanding of the Indigenous people – either/or, black/white dichotomy.

Christianity is another quite interesting angle and even though this topic might not be considered as a significant part of Monkman's *The Daddies*, it is important for the context of the artist. Previously in the paper we have talked about how traditional art can be used as an inspiration for „re-working“. Or putting it differently, how the language and traditions of colonialists enable the Indigenous people to create and tell their stories. Interestingly enough, Monkman himself learned his native Cree language quite unexpectedly as Scudeler explains: „The young Monkman was initially exposed to the Swampy Cree language through Christian hymns and prayers during visits to northern Cree communities where his father preached sermons in Cree.“ (2015:23). This peculiar fact might be just another illustration of how „foreign“ (or acquainted) practices establish an opportunity to learn about oneself. In many interviews the artist explains that his alter ego was born out of the connection he developed towards his grandmother and we have a ground to assume that the Cree language influenced this too.

Kent Monkman's *The Daddies* (2016) is an important painting that invites us to re-imagine and reconsider some of the traditional aspects and narratives. His art does not only speak to the Indigenous community, but is recognised as important and valuable globally. Kent Monkman

often deals with the past but his authentic way of re-working traditional ideas make his works relevant and important.

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National identity is usually understood as something that not only unifies a nation but also encompasses all parts of it. Victor C. de Munck (2005) in his investigations on Lithuanian national identity offers three levels that contribute to it; however, in this paper I'll only investigate one level – the primary national identity. This identity consists of official beliefs, myths and values professed by the state and other institutional entities and confirmed by mass media. This is the official version of the national that sanctions various acts taken by the government in favour of the national or of the perceived Other, the non-national. In Canada's case, the national is the citizen that perceives itself to be Canadian and the non-national, which also defined by the state in contrast to the national, are the so-called ethnic or minority groups. In this paper I aim to analyse how the Canadian identity is constructed and what is its relationship to the indigenous people of Canada. For the purposes of this paper, I've limited myself to what I believe to be three major contributors to the Canadian identity – multicultural policies, the founding myth, and the official languages. At the end of this paper, I will present Jordan Abel's "Un/inhabited" and "Injun" as an alternative way to view Canada and Canadians.

In 1971, Canada's Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau declared multiculturalism as the official policy of the government (Berry, 2020). Such a declaration was meant to confirm the government's respect and care for minorities, ethnic groups, and immigrants. The claim was largely supported by aiding said groups and helping them integrate into the Canadian society. However, the policy was largely neglected (Gagnon et al.) and only gained more attention after it received constitutional sanction in 1982 and was enshrined in law with the passing of the Canadian Multiculturalism Act in 1988. Through these actions, multiculturalism not only became an integral part of any interpretations of the Charter, but also more funding and attention (Trudeau, 2021). The Act, similarly, to the declaration in 1971, professed diversity, the right to practice cultural heritage, and "full participation for all Canadians in the social, political, and economic spheres" (Brosseau & Dewing, 2009, p. 5). However, the key difference was that the Act was institutionalized – it was followed by various other laws, foundations, secretariats, committees, organizations, plans, programmes, and papers, all created to one way or another help and further the implementation of the Act, at the same time confirming the fairly newly established multiculturalism virtues of Canadians.

Multicultural policies changed the official identity of the Canadian. Now, the Canadian was tolerant instead of hateful, welcoming of diversity instead of welcoming white supremacy, recognising of others instead of sponsoring cultural genocides, and modern instead of backwards and barbaric. The new identity wasn't just created in contrast with what the Canadian was perceived to have been in the past, but also in contrast to the groups the government named as ethnic. By naming and creating ethnic groups as something other than Canadians, the government invented and drew borders of those communities, to an extent excluding them from the virtues and privileges that Canadians possess unless they became Canadians (Thobani, 2007). This Othering encouraged the created communities not just to integrate, but to assimilate and act as a Canadian. Otherwise, one risked being a savage instead of modern citizen. In this way, multicultural policies didn't just provide support for ethnic groups, but also institutionalized them and defined what a citizen should be, what it shouldn't be, and what types of citizens were able and when were able to participate in and benefit from Canadian society (Thobani, 2007).

Multicultural policies seem to be an attempt for Canada to distance itself from its colonial past. However, these policies continue the previous possessive and controlling behaviour displayed by the government. This is especially clear when the laws are viewed in the context of indigenous people. These policies not only give legitimacy to indigenous titles, but also help

the government in defining and deciding on who can hold them. Furthermore, the definition of indigenous people as a group different from Canadians, by default also suggest their need for integration into Canadian society. This furthers the possessive attitudes directed not only to people, but to indigenous cultures and lands, and their erasure (Thobani, 2007).

Even though multicultural policies were created to oppose and remove past ideas and beliefs, they still define the place and space in which the indigenous can exist, and still claim the supremacy of the national. While these policies do make Canadians feel proud of Canada, they work to erase and rewrite colonial history and recent past by consciously removing those parts from the definition of the primary national identity (Thobani, 2007).

Another integral part of the Canadian identity is the Canada's founding myth. The myth is based on what William Cronon (1995) called "the national myth of the frontier" (p. 7). This myth, part of the colonial structures in North America in the 18th-19th centuries, described the land as "wild unsettled" (p. 7), meant for the conquering male, able to create his own life, settle untamed lands and create a nation. Defining North America as empty, the myth contributed to the legitimization of the taking of land, to the erasure of people who already lived there and to the creation of a unified colonial identity (Cronon, 1995). The myth was further developed in the 20th century to create the Canadian as something distinctly different from the European. Through the emergence of such artists as the Group of Seven, who contributed to a distinct Canadian culture, the founding myth became an integral part of the national. In this myth, the pioneers found home in the unexplored and uninhabited lands of the North, fighting, and taming the sacred nature of Canada (Watson, 2017). This land was occupied by the native; however, it was occupied only by an image of the native, constructed in tandem with the resilient Canadian. This image was of the native of the past or, in other words, the dead native, a noble savage, who shared the same religious view of nature as the Canadian but didn't exist anymore (Watson, 2017).

The myth becoming a core part of the primary identity framed the indigenous as savages – either as an obstacle or as something helping the settler. Either way, both constructs showed indigenous as unskilled and uneducated. This helped to explain that not only untouched forests and mountains were an integral part of the national, but they could only be properly cared, used, seen, and appreciated by it (Cronon, 1995). This helped to forget and erase from national memory protests of the indigenous against appropriation and the violent and aggressive

encounters with the settlers (Watson, 2017). It also paved the way for reservations – the indigenous either didn't know how to use the national's land or used it. The use of land by hunting, farming, or fishing was and still is being framed as harmful, this way constructing indigenous as malicious actors and further alienating them from their lands, erasing their pasts and hiding the sometimes very dangerous activities of Canadian corporations (Cronon, 1995). These inconsistencies in the national imagination now frame the indigenous as needy and threatening the welfare and prosperity of the community (Thobani, 2007) and help to dismiss the claims of indigenous to their lands, and sometimes even other needs, for example, the demanded focus on the countless missing indigenous peoples' cases (Morrisseau, 2021).

The national myth helped Canadians to claim land and erase indigenous presence, but also worked towards the creation of a white nation. As Scott Watson (2017) notes, "Canada was to be the white head on America's mixed race body." (p. 278) The myth ties the identity of the national to a romanticized version of the settler and its project. This means that often only white people of European descent are able to become Canadians and receive all of the benefits. The myth still being a part of the national identity works to define ethnic groups along racial borders and exclude them from fully participating in society.

The founding myth places the Canadian above everyone else. The Canadian, because of its virtues, is able to take and use land, resources, and people, to its advantage. By basing the primary identity in such an image, the national identity excludes many at the same time supporting, legitimizing, mythologizing, and villainizing the indigenous.

An integral part of any nation is language. The official languages of Canada are French and English, set in law by the Official Languages Act of 1969 (Haque & Patrick, 2015). By naming these two languages as the official ones, the state positioned indigenous languages as lesser than English and French, "as 'primitive' and as barriers to 'civilisation' and modernity." (Haque & Patrick, 2015, p. 28). By creating a primary national identity consisting of and defined by these languages, the state maintains that people who can't speak these languages can't be Canadian. With the case of indigenous people, this view also re-affirms colonial hierarchies and deems indigenous languages as something less worthy of time, attention and recognition. As explained by one of the reports created before the Act of 1969, "English was the medium of instruction because the 'Eskimo language' was 'a language that would not help in providing for employment or leading, ultimately, to higher education since it has virtually no written literature

and is not readily adaptable to modern concepts or activities” (Haque & Patrick, 2015, p. 31-32).

Eva Haque and Donna Patrick (2015) do note that funding is allocated for learning and teaching indigenous languages; however, the primary focus is on market related and Western projects rather than projects focused on the needs expressed by indigenous communities. Language for indigenous communities isn't only a way to communicate, it is embedded with culture, knowledge and identity, needed to “establish and maintain important relationships and pass them on intact to future generations’.” (Haque & Patrick, 2015, p. 36). This way, the bilingual framework works to erase indigenous presence and assimilate them to Canadian society. Furthermore, it helps to re-affirm the founding myth. The myth, told in the settlers' languages, confirm their supremacy over the indigenous, making the narratives told by colonizers truer than counter-narratives told by indigenous.

The official bilingualism in Canada helps to create a national identity in which people linked with other languages aren't considered nationals. It also removes importance of indigenous languages and incites assimilation and colonial attitudes.

The issue of indigenous erasure and neglect in multicultural policies and bilingualism are systemic issues, based on the founding myth. This triad does create a primary national identity which excludes indigenous people; however, it is possible to oppose it. Jordan Abel in his works “Un/inhabited” (2015) and “Injun” (2016) does just that – he highlights the systemic and mythological sides to identity and creates an alternative view of it. The queer Nisga'a writer and scholar uses (Umezurike, 2022) public domain novels in the western genre to create a database, a sort of corpus, used for poems and visual poetry. By using the language in westerns as a corpus, Abel points to the relevance of art created between the 17th and 20th centuries and today, (la Rose, 2017) at the same time recognizing how problematic the genre is. As Eric Schmaltz (2019) explains, “Westerns and are built around the romantic portrayal of white settlement on Indigenous lands. Their plots typically pose Indigenous persons as “savages” that threaten the new “civility” that white settlers are supposedly bestowing upon the land.” (p. 130). Abel then uses these colonial and racist works to create his own that rewrite and appropriate the colonial images and heritage, and channel the peoples that have been left in the margins (Schmaltz, 2019).

In corpus linguistics, a corpus is meant to reflect the language of a certain period to be used for multiple purposes. One of those purposes is finding and interpreting patterns. This way, such a reflection becomes a reflection of today's language and, to an extent, of today's society. Specifically, by choosing works representing colonialism, Abel points out that the issue is still relevant today. In "Un/inhabited", one of the ways Abel uses the corpus is by finding certain words and erasing them from the text. By doing so, Abel points to the meanings of those words and asks us to reflect on their uses today as well as focus on the context. By directing our focus, Abel also contemplates the erasure of indigenous presence in such works. E. Schmaltz (2019) points out that such "puncturing... is a reversal of settler tactics", meant to remove actual people (p. 132). The corpus was created out of works presenting the settler's point of view and legitimizing its actions. Therefore, the indigenous who called that land their home are either presented as backdrop or as obstacles. Such treatment contributed and still contributes to the racialization and the stereotyping of indigenous communities. In later pages, Abel uses the corpus to create visual poetry akin to maps by erasing words. By appropriating the colonial texts, he's able to claim the settlers' language, myths and society, and re-define them to fit in the indigenous people the way they want to be presented. The use of words as landscapes point to the very real damage that can be caused by them, so a re-drawing of them creates a symbolic link with change in which truths and histories can be defined differently, according to indigenous people and not white settlers.

The themes explored in "Un/inhabited" echo in "Injun", but present themselves in different ways. The book starts with poems composed out of the appropriated text that slowly become less readable and make less and less sense. In doing so, Abel reveals the underlying ideas of the texts at the same time contesting their validity. Removing letters from words, changing their place on the page, presenting them upside down – these actions make the texts unreadable and show how nonsensical colonial ideas are at the very core, and how hard to grasp the damage caused by them sometimes can be. At the same time, to express these ideas, Abel steps out of the colonial framework and creates his own rules for writing poetry, not dependent on the racist texts. To highlight how colonialism is a systematic problem, Abel not only creates a corpus but writes poetry in a form of a concordance. A concordance is a list of a searched word or phrase found in a corpus, usually surrounded by the context in which that word or phrase was used. Abel searches for words and shows how they were used echoing the focus to context and patterns present in "Un/inhabited"; however, the key difference here is that by presenting these words as patterns in a system, he highlights how deep-rooted colonial beliefs are both in the

western and to an extent – in today’s language as well as showing that the problems faced by indigenous today aren’t caused only by individuals but also by the systems.

Language is a reflection of society, and Abel, by creating a corpus out of western novels, shows us how they reflect not only a specific point in history but contemporary Canada as well. Through his works in “Un/inhabited” and “Injun”, the author is able to create an alternative which opposes the colonialist thinking present in the primary identity at the same time exposing how that thinking influences the lives of indigenous people.

The purpose of this paper was to show how the primary national Canadian identity is created, explain what are the consequences for the indigenous as well as provide a counter-narrative. The identity of the national works to contribute to the erasure of indigenous people. Specifically, multicultural policies delegate and define the space in which indigenous can exist and, by attributing positive traits to Canadians, erase Canada’s colonial history from national discourse. The founding myth works to legitimize white supremacy and colonization, placing the indigenous below settlers and stereotyping their existence. Bilingualism contributes to the exclusion of people speaking other languages than French and English from participating in Canadian society, furthering assimilation and placing indigenous languages as something below the national. As an alternative, Jordan Abel’s “Un/inhabited” and “Injun” critically examines the western novel and language itself, appropriating it to change and question the attitudes in the national identity as well as create space for indigenous people in it.

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“We have created a society where individual rights and freedoms, compassion and diversity are core to our citizenship. But underlying that idea of Canada is the promise that we all have a chance to build a better life for ourselves and our children” - Trudeau (2012).

The above quote is from 2012 Trudeau written speech in a Canadian newspaper. He goes on to discuss the disappearing economic opportunities for Canadian middle class. I think he is right to make the connection - it is not hard to see how poor economic opportunities can foster extremism and intolerance. Funke et al. (2015) discuss how far right voting increases at times of economic distress. Thus poor economical prospects definitely can start to undo decades (or even centuries) of human rights development – or as Trudeau put it - “But underlying that idea of Canada [freedoms, compassion and diversity] is the promise ... [of] a better life for ourselves and our children” (Trudeau, 2012). It was certainly true for 1940s, but it is also true for today. It is easy to see how, for example, people could be more positive towards immigration, if they feel economically secure and hopeful. According to our course material “The values of Canadian citizens” by Christophe Premat, Canadians are more positive towards immigration than their counterparts in the US. Granted, one of the survey questions was about the effect of immigration to the culture – put even with that it is not hard to see how economical worries could swing a persons opinion in one direction or the other. So I would argue, that all of it (the poll) could perhaps be explained by economic aspects. According to

The Graduate Center (2020): “ Social mobility is twice as great in Canada as in the United States”. If people are more sure about their own prospects, then they are less afraid of the newcomers also. If the prime minister of Canada, Justin Trudeau, is right in saying: “... too many people across this country who are questioning whether their kids and grandkids will achieve the same quality of life that we enjoy today” (Trudeau, 2012) – then if the situation is going to worsen, then it could certainly start to shift not only people’s opinion to new immigrants, but perhaps even more alarmingly to the first and even second generation immigrants who are already living in Canada. Canada has come a long way and has much to loose.

We can certainly take a lot of things as granted today and not realize the long road it took to get here – and thus also maybe not see the fragility of current order. As for the Canadian history of multiculturalism (and human rights), one could perhaps just take a look back at infamous

Canadian residential school system which was purposefully designed to destroy both the native heritage and tongues – in short to erase the very identity of the Indigenous people and ideally to make them inseparable from the white colonists. As Naomi Angel, Dylan Robinson and Jamie Berthe put in their book that describes Canadian residential schools (Angel, 2022): “This ‘new’ future did not include Indigenous language or culture.” Besides erasing their culture, there were a lot of gruesome acts committed against the children of native people (some intentional, some of criminal negligence) – as witnessed by numerous graves in former Canadian residential schools’ territories (BBC, 2022) – however that would be perhaps enough for to discuss in an entire paper, so I am not stopping on this subject more than is needed for the compounds of the current subject. The short of it is that native people in Canada were mistreated in multiple ways. In the “The Trouble with Wilderness” Cronon (1995) describes creation of Canadian national reserves – to preserve the ‘untouched wilderness’ in it’s original form. However it was actually the white settlers ideal of wilderness and included the dislocation of native tribes – because of wilderness was supposed to be empty of people. Canada tried to act like Native people simply did not exist in many places - tried to erase them. According to Colin Coates (course mp4 lecture) Native people are also distinctly missing from the wilderness paintings (of much of 20th century).

So how is the “idea of Canada” – with it’s rights, freedoms, compassion and diversity – doing today? Is it under attack from the far right (as I above suggested could happen in the times of economic uncertainty)? According to CBC (Thompson, 2022) Canadian people have been searching more for far-right related online material, especially in the Covid times – which is probably for various reasons, of which economic uncertainty (due to pandemic) is almost certainly one. That said, I think that far right is not the only danger to those Canadian ideals – as shown by recent events. Canada currently has the “Emergencies Act” (Wikipedia, 2022) which replaced the former “Canadian War Measures Act”. Those acts have been enacted in Canada 4 times in total – First World War, Second World War, October Crisis of 1970 (several bombings and political kidnappings) and then Canadian Truckers protest of 2022. While those enactments have been sometimes quite far-reaching (a whole religion was banned once at wartime - Wikipedia, 2008), none has perhaps been quite as controversial as the last one. Because the background situation for the last one is quite different from the other 3 and the prime minister Trudeau has gotten a lot of criticism for it (Wikipedia, 2022). While the first three were enacted in violent situations where people died (either of war or terrorism), the last

one was to stop non-violent protesters. I personally do not have any strict opinions on Truckers protest. It seems that some were illegally blocking traffic and thus probably warranting some kind of action. However did it warrant suspension of civil liberties? Prime minister Justin Trudeau also used the “Emergencies Act” to bypass Canadian courts (Wikipedia, 2022) in freezing protesters bank accounts. I think that if a portion of protesters go out of their legal boundaries and engage in disruptive civil disobedience (or even deliberate civil disruption – as for blocking off vital roads), then arresting their bank accounts could be seen as legitimate and necessary course of action – but only if it is done through the court system. Balance of different branches of the government and citizens rights under the law are the vital cornerstone of a free and democratic society. However if civil liberties and legal protections (including but not limited to the right of due process) can easily be suspended and the court system can be bypassed – then can we still talk about the idea of Canada that involves individual rights and freedoms? In “Politics of Recognition”, Taylor (1992) discusses different approaches to liberal society that contrast protecting individual rights versus protecting collective virtue. He uses terms such as “virtue”, “good life” and “procedural commitment”. He notes that in Kantian philosophy, society cannot focus on what is virtues (“good [way of] life”) but only on fair dealings between citizens. He explains that US is built on Kantian philosophy and most of Canada largely also. However he brings into attention that Quebec does violate this ideal in the purpose of ensuring a collective good – the survival of french culture and language in Quebec.

Perhaps collective virtue (Taylor, 1992) is becoming the more prominent mode of value in whole Canada now (and truckers protest was non-virtues)? Perhaps it needs to? One must note that achieving multiculturalism is by no means an easy task, not least because of not all cultures are eager to accept multiculturalism. Obviously there is a problem with white supremacy, antisemitism, Islamophobia etc.. But we also need to mention relations between different religions and even relations within communities and religious groups and connected cultures. An interesting quote from my fellow Estonian (who went as a refugee to Canada) writer Kivi (2004) in the “Inner Green” caught my eye: “Our cultures are part of what makes us who we are and yet, sometimes those very cultures cease to serve us.” Now these words have been written in a slightly different context – I am an Estonian and know the history – but still these words ring true to even what I am writing here. In a multicultural society the cultures must both remain true to themselves and also adopt to the new situation. As an (maybe an extreme) example of change that is needed - according to Pew Research (2013) around 85% of people in

Pakistan believe that Sharia should be the law of the land and 76% of the Sharia supporters there believe that death penalty should be the punishment for leaving the religion (either becoming an atheist or converting to another religions, such as Christianity). Such a view is naturally a problematic one in a multicultural and free society. The good news is that peoples attitudes are known to change when they come into a different environment. The bad news is that such a process a process takes time – sometime a long time. This problem has been investigated more in UK than in other places, for examples BBC (2015) investigated the hardships and threats to people in their respective communities that are leaving their religion. I have a bit of a hard time finding similar information about Canada – I wonder if it is because Canada has less of such problems or is it just talked about less? Sometimes a host country wants to show immigrants in a certain way and hides certain problems (instead of helping to solve them). I must stress that I am not trying to downplay the problem of white supremacy here in the context of the multicultural society, I am just discussing the possibility of there also being several less talked about (but still important) problems. So it is not quite evident what there is to do in a situation where on one hand there is white supremacy and xenophobia (in the beginning of my paper I touched the topic of Canadians increasingly searching for far-right related materials online), but on the other hand there are also cultures that are not quite yet used to the idea of multiculturalism. So maybe an overall stronger hand of government is actually needed now? What Canada has been doing (besides cracking down on farmers protest), is tightening it's grip on hate speech (such as bill C-16, bill C-36, bill C-67 etc..). There are both many proponents and opponents (such as Canadian professor and best selling author Dr. Peterson) to this approach. Does this approach help the situation and protect citizens (leading to more harmony) or will it make things worse (by limiting the ability to discuss and to find the real solutions to the real problems)? I think, we are yet to see that. What we can compare to is US that has chosen more freedom-centric approach with wider protection for free speech. An extreme example of that could be the so called Westboro Baptist Church protesting at soldiers funerals (Deutch, 2014). Such a thing would never be allowed in Canada – and perhaps it is better so? At the same time free-exchange of ideas has also helped people to leave the hateful group (Smith, 2019). Canada has taken more restrictive approach to free speech and freedom of expression. Wikipedia (2020) notes that “Hate speech, obscenity, and defamation are common categories of restricted speech in Canada.” While defamation is quite a concrete term, other terms are subject to a broader range of interpretations. As for “obscenity”, according to Clément (2015) in 1960s Montreal Court banned the book “Lady Chatterley’s Lover” for using a certain 4-letter word to refer to the passionate acts of the intimate nature. According to

Wikipedia (2004) the decision was upheld by the appeal court and finally struck down by the Supreme court (5-4 decision). Nowadays the idea of abusing this clause would certainly be absurd as would certainly be absurd the idea of bypassing the court system to arrest protesters' bank account – or so we thought. Finally the term 'hate speech' has also potential for abuse. I would refer to a German situation where a twitter user was raided by six policeman after he posted a simple tweet of 5 words to a politician: "You are such a cucumber" (Crossland, 2021). I do need to note here that a "cucumber" in German does also refer to a piece of human anatomy. The user was raided in the grounds of a German anti-bullying law. While I certainly would instead tweet a very polite and long (and let's face it a boring) tweet (that no-one reads), we do however need admit that "short, but sweet" is the style that many normal people would use to criticize their elected politicians in online. While this example is in Germany, there are many similarities to Canada in its legislative direction. Trudeau using a firmer hand of government as well as tightening the laws around hate speech and bullying can create a more "virtuous" society, however it might also endanger some of the very cornerstones that modern Canada is built on. It might not be the economic hardship or the far right that will destroy the Canadian hard earned values but it may be Justin Trudeau himself.

At the very least I am now (legally) obligated to write 2500 words instead of a "short, but sweet" to criticize the prime minister of Canada – how does one fit that into a tweet?

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Canada is a vast country home to peoples of numerous radically different ethnic and cultural backgrounds. Despite its history of clashes between these peoples, and of discrimination of certain racial groups by the dominant white English and French populations, since opening up to foreign labour more and introducing the Multiculturalism Policy under Pierre Trudeau, Canada has come to be viewed by many around the world as a truly multicultural society where mutual respect, tolerance and support rule. Prime Minister Justin Trudeau has certainly worked to further root this view of Canada in the minds of the country's own citizens as well as those of other countries - but is this an accurate depiction of the experiences of all the country's different peoples? In an article written by Trudeau in 2012 during his bid for leadership of the Liberal Party, he confidently stated that "We have created a society where individual rights and freedoms, compassion and diversity are core to our citizenship. But underlying that idea of Canada is the promise that we all have a chance to build a better life for ourselves and our children." (Trudeau) However, he also states that this is an "ideal" - one that is currently under threat. Thus, this essay seeks to examine multiculturalism in Canada and to what extent it can be considered a successful model and one that is in practice in accordance with the ideal described by Trudeau. It will be argued that, while shared ideas and beliefs of the ideal of a

multicultural Canada where equal economic opportunity for upward mobility, as claimed by Trudeau, do indeed appear to exist and may also be useful in guiding Canada forward, this remains an ideal and is not the reality in the Canada of today, as non-white peoples, including indigenous peoples, still struggle to achieve recognition of equal value.

Looking at the development of multiculturalism in Canada over the past decades from Pierre Trudeau's time as Prime Minister to that of his son Justin Trudeau, it can be inferred that the latter perceives Canada as the multicultural state the former aimed to create with his policy in the 1970s. Although many different ethnic groups with cultural differences have lived on the territory that is now Canada throughout the country's history, the notion of a "multicultural society" implies a certain structure and approach among and towards these different peoples making up the country. Birk and Gymnich, in describing as a multicultural society, define this society as one in which ethnocultural groups making up the *larger society*, a national framework of institutions, are fully incorporated into the latter, rather than existing on the outskirts of it as minorities. (Birk & Gymnich) They add that such a society is dynamic, i.e. it is in a state of flux, as it is constantly changing "through negotiation, compromise, and mutual accommodations," while the direction of change is undetermined, rather than towards a defined centre. The Canadian cultural model is described as a mosaic, in which different peoples are encouraged to preserve the distinctness of their native cultures if so desired. This notion of Canada as a mosaic of different cultures is relatively young, having emerged only in the late 20th century in response partly to separatist sentiment in Quebec at the time, as well as to an increase of labour immigrants of non-European descent, which required a new model of integration. Thus, multiculturalism made its way onto the political agenda in the 1970s as Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau announced it as an official government policy on October 8, 1971 (which was further confirmed as an official state model in 1988 with the passing of the Multiculturalism Act). The aim stated was ensure the preservation of cultural freedom of all, as well as recognition of the cultural contributions made by various ethnic groups to the larger society of Canada. (*Canada's multiculturalism model*) From Justin Trudeau's 2012 article, in which he praises Canada's success in uniting a "vast country" in which "compassion and diversity" are at the core (Trudeau), it appears that he feels that Canada by now has truly managed to create this multicultural society, where the country's ethnic groups mutually respect each other as part of the same larger society. The question therefore arises whether this truly is

the experience of Canada's peoples living under the current cultural model. Some central points of criticism of this policy indicate otherwise.

Although the ideal of multicultural Canada is widely accepted, the policy has not been without its critics. Since the beginning, it has been accused of lacking substance and being more symbolic in nature, while not actually addressing pressing concerns of minority groups, and thus not leading to tangible change (*Canada's multiculturalism model*). For instance, while current Prime Minister Trudeau cites the provision of "upward mobility through economic opportunity" to all Canadian citizens, the letter written by First Nations living in British Columbia to President Hu of the People's Republic of China in 2012 (the same year as Trudeau wrote the previous statement in an article) depicts a very different situation - a different Canada than that of which Trudeau speaks. The point of criticism that the multiculturalism policy fails to address real issues is reflected in the reality of many Indigenous communities in Canada, which in this letter are said to "live at the margins of society - in abject poverty with appalling conditions," with some even lacking "housing, running water and sewage" (letter seen on lecture slides) - conditions which are in violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This ties in with another point of criticism, namely that the rhetoric associated with this multiculturalism policy is not in accordance with the social reality in Canada, which further supports that Justin Trudeau's portrayal of Canada remains an ideal rather than reality. Additionally, criticism has involved claims that the policy places little emphasis on equal rights of this multitude of cultures, and that the concept of Canadian society as a mosaic of cultures rather fosters separation. This latter point can be clearly seen in the notion of "multicultural literature" in Canada, which is a label given not to Canadian literature as a whole, but to works of writers who do not constitute parts of the English or French communities of Canada. (Birk and Gymnich) Interestingly, when introduced, the policy of multiculturalism was met with opposition from Quebec, as it was felt that the promotion of equality of all cultures minimises the importance of the contribution made specifically by the French and English Canadians to the Canadian Confederation. The treatment of the label of "multicultural literature" in Canada, however, makes it evident that it is precisely the English and French Canadian communities that are considered the "core" of Canadian society, whereas the rest fall under a category of "Others" - whether Indigenous or immigrants. While Pierre Trudeau said in his speech to the House of Commons when announcing the policy of multiculturalism in 1971 that "no singular culture can define Canada," the above certainly pushes the idea of two cultures - the English

and the French - being more representative of Canada than the rest. Moreover, and importantly, this contradicts the point about Canada, as a multicultural society as defined by Birk and Gymnich, not having a defined centre, as the “core” would constitute this centre. A further danger of the use of this label is that it hides from clear view the heterogeneity of authors under it, as despite their very different experiences as a result have these differences denied.

In Taylor’s work on recognition, he describes equal recognition as essential to democracy, and that this currently takes the form of demands for the equal status of cultures. (Taylor) However, he also discusses the conflict between the politics of universal dignity and that of differences, which can be said to tie in with collective rights given to a specific people only, as this is done in recognition of their uniqueness as a culture-bearing people. Of this, Quebec is a clear example, as it has made claims to its distinctness in the name of its cultural survival. While Taylor emphasises that championing collective goals on behalf of a particular national group may be considered inherently discriminatory, it is noteworthy that this may indeed be the only way to ensure their survival as a distinct culture rather than have it merge into the dominant culture in the country - thus the recognition of differences and granting of rights in support of a people’s distinctness may be more aligned with the multicultural mosaic approach. This applies to the Indigenous First Nations as well, such as those in British Columbia who penned the letter to the Chinese President in hopes of achieving a boomerang effect of international pressure on Canada’s federal government to support the rights of the First Nations. As the native land is central to Indigenous cultures, distinctive rights to the land, of which they were historically dispossessed by white settlers who came to Canada, are essential for their cultural practice and survival.

The contradictions above being apparent, it can be concluded that Trudeau’s portrayal of Canada remains an ideal yet to be realised. While Canada has successfully managed to avoid the extreme problems of Western Europe’s approach to multiculturalism, where segregation has led to social unrest that is threatening the very foundations of the Western European nations, there are still issues with the Canadian model. It has been more successful than Western Europe, but it is not perfect. The ideal is however not useless, as according to Plato’s philosophy, it can serve as a very useful guide towards one’s goals. The ideal described, and thus presumably sought, by Trudeau can, if one trusts Plato, help identify the things that are currently wrong or

lacking in the current reality in order to make improvements towards reaching this ideal - but this can only happen if frank discussion on the existing issues of the current model is had openly within the larger society.

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In 2012, Justin Trudeau declared about Canada: "We have created a society where individual rights and freedoms, compassion and diversity are core to our citizenship. But underlying that idea of Canada is the promise that we all have a chance to build a better life for ourselves and our children."

(https://www.thestar.com/opinion/editorialopinion/2012/10/30/canadian_middle_class_left_out_of_the_growth_equation.html) With the help of the course literature (Art, literature...), reflect on that quote. Does it correspond

to the current Canadian cultural model? Take specific examples from the different lectures to analyze the Canadian cultural model.

I suspect few people would hesitate to put Canada in the category of liberal countries. Liberals of a more social persuasion might even emphasise Canada's commitment to empowering individuals, in contrast to more staunchly individualist countries such as the US, as evidence of its genuinely *freedom*-loving politics—in tandem with indispensable individual rights. No doubt this is the emphasis that Trudeau is aiming at in this quote: Canada is a country that is able to simultaneously guarantee each individual a personal sphere of non-intervention while providing a safety net, ladder, and even a positive space for individual or group expression. What makes a country like Canada compassionately liberal is a question of both depth and breadth. As such it cannot be answered in a short essay. Instead, I will discuss more narrowly how Trudeau's statement fits or clashes with contemporary Canadian society from a cultural perspective.

We should pay attention to Trudeau's choice of the words "we have created", a phrase that suggests the longer *process* of building, perhaps even an acknowledgement that Canada—if today arguably a compassionate and diversity-loving country—has a more complicated history. This is reiterated in the final line: Canada is a constant work-in-progress, not a country that sprung up perfect but one perpetually poised to improve through the travails of its people. Its history is vital for understanding why, in spite of solid modern liberal institutions, Canada might not *feel* like a rights-respecting, caring society to everyone.

Although first among individual rights are rights to property and autonomy, as larger numbers of settlers arrived in the 19th Century and their government's economic incentives shifted from co-operation towards expansion, First Nations were dispossessed of their traditional lands (Government of Canada). With the *Indian Act* of 1876 and its subsequent revisions, First Nations' autonomy (both group and individual) was significantly curtailed in a bid to force assimilation. The residential schools run between 1857 and 1996 are a particularly extreme violation, involving the separation of children from their families to undergo severe schooling aimed at stamping out indigenous culture and replacing it with European language, lifestyle, and values (as described in Aurylaité's lecture *Indigenous remixes/appropriations*).

Widespread and deliberate state-sponsored cultural erasure does not go easily forgotten, especially when the violations were committed in living memory. The Crown and then colonial government took a perfectionist approach of imposing subjective goods such as language and lifestyle onto others, in clear violation of what are widely considered reasonable individual rights. Perhaps, as a paternalistic policy based in an unsettlingly sincere belief of cultural superiority, this was intended compassionately (as Coates suggested in his lecture on the history of the Canadian landscape, early art sometimes portrayed indigenous people as grateful to European settlers for the gifts of civilisation and Christianity), but it is difficult to imagine many of the victims would view it as such. Where art did not celebrate the civilising force of European colonisers, there was often a conspicuous lack of portrayal of indigenous people, with artists such as those in the Group of Seven often choosing to portray Canada as vast and uninhabited (Coates' lecture)—a less conscience-gripping canvas onto which to paint a new European society than one that already bore the marks of other civilisations. This historical violation and erasure has become a theme of some indigenous literature such as Jordan Abel's *Injun* (2016) and *Uninhabited* (2014); the former seeks to point out the racism with which indigenous people were confronted, while the latter aims to restore indigenous people to the history they were unjustly excluded from.

While First Nations, coerced into a new society, faced some of the worst abuses at the hands of Canadian society, their experiences were not altogether unique. Another wronged group that remains particularly relevant today is Chinese immigrants and their descendants, always present in Canadian history but, not unlike First Nations, oft relegated to the margins. What stands out most of all in this history is the blatant erasure of Chinese workers in Canada's own writing of its history, something that must be particularly biting in the context of the Canadian Pacific Railway given the disproportionately gruelling and dangerous work they gave their bodies and often their lives to (Chao, 1997, p. 6-7). Chinese immigrants were also exposed to widespread racism, poor working conditions, and increasingly restrictive immigration laws. Particularly disturbing was the effective ban on Chinese workers' families, leaving many working-age men living a bachelor life and creating an untenable social situation (p. 13). The racist justifications for this were often overt (p. 9-10, p. 13).

Today, many Canadians talk about a "cultural mosaic" as an alternative cultural model to the United State's melting pot. Eschewing the old aim of assimilating indigenous people and minority immigrants to the majority society, this view envisions wider Canadian society as

constituted of many smaller cultures operating alongside each other with minimal frictions. Individual rights proscribe certain cultural practices, but the overarching goal is to allow, if not enforce, some type of diversity. Historically Trudeau's claim that Canada is a place where everyone had a chance to build a better life for their children might have been treated as laughable (as evident from the examples discussed), but it could be that in Canada today—valuing individual autonomy and recognising that people have some right to their culture—it is closer to the truth.

It is notable that in Kivi's *If Home is a Place* (1995), which explores the experiences of Estonian refugees in Canada, there is no mention, at least that I am aware of, of hostility on the part of Canadians. Although there are naturally many other trials and tribulations that come with refugee immigration, in this particular literature most of them are imported along with the legacy of war and occupation, or touch on the more general difficulties associated with being of two cultures. However, ultimately, this remains a story where the individuals in question navigate their own way, rather than being pushed one way or another by coercive state or social forces. The protagonist, Esther, and her family are able to carry elements of Estonian culture into their Canadian lives, while they struggle with that distrust and fear that is all too common among Baltic peoples, even those who live in an entirely different society to the one that bred the trauma. Canada, for the most part, is a mere backdrop to her story—perhaps this makes it an example of a mosaic success, where individuals are able to weave in and out of their own culture after their own fashion.

This view might not ring true for every cultural group, however. As the writer Paul Yee argues, the problem with the cultural mosaic model is not that Canadians are intolerant of other cultures, but that they are intolerant of certain races, and thus disproportionately negative attitudes are directed at so-called visible minorities such as the Chinese (p. 345). Yee goes so far as to call the cultural mosaic a national myth, pointing out that the United States, too, directs investment to minority cultural expression and that racism extant in both countries—so is the Canadian model really distinct? (p. 347) We might draw our attention back to the Estonian-Canadian case, which lends support to this view: although there was a general worry about fast-paced immigration in the wake of the Second World War (Aun, 1985, pp. 21-22), there is little indication that the societal reception of Estonian refugees was met with the hostility of Chinese immigrants. And while Yee notes that the history of racism continues to have a psychological

impact (a fear of “rocking the boat”) on Canadian-born descendants of Chinese immigrants today (p. 345), this worry seems absent in Kivi’s work.

How do these experiences mesh with Trudeau’s idea that Canada is a place where people can build a better life for their children? This is a question that must be nuanced between different groups. Indigenous people were given little choice in this matter, and while it is difficult to construct a counterfactual in which Canada had not been settled by Europeans, the creation of Canada probably did not offer an opportunity for a better life. The case is somewhat different for voluntary immigrants, who in spite of many hardships chose to make Canada their home. What is striking in the Chinese-Canadian literature is the repeated claim that, in spite of the outright cruelty, living in Canada remained the most desirable option. In *Prairie Widow*, Gordon’s return to China when he marries Gum-may is brief; he promptly returns to Canada, worried that he might otherwise be barred entry (p. 340). Gum-may, although she has difficulty elucidating why, decides she wants to stay in Wilding because *it is better* (p. 334), perhaps because she lives comfortably (p. 342). Wong’s interviews suggest that the choice of Canada among people who had experienced both was not uncommon (p. 153), and offers some concrete examples of improved living standards, at least within the kitchen (p. 157) alongside the abject state of dependency for villagers in China (p. 156). As Yee suggests in his interview, although racism persists, overt racism is much less common in today’s Canada (pp. 344-45). None of this suggests for a moment that the treatment of Chinese-Canadians was acceptable—on the contrary, it highlights the extremely relative nature of improvement in living standards between different people, which I think can be easy to lose sight of. For other groups, the case is significantly more clear: in spite of the strong attachment that many Baltic refugees had for their homelands, many chose to remain in Canada following the successive declarations of independence. What Trudeau might be right about is, albeit in an imperfect and stumbling way, Canada has for many people been a source of opportunity. Not only that, but today it is a place where people are able to begin to speak out about historical and ongoing injustices—a freedom and tool of empowerment unavailable to most marginalised people today.

There has been some discussion concerning the way in which the term multiculturalism is used in the Canadian context, in particular within literature. Some have argued that while the initial inclusion of multicultural literature made the study of Canadian literature more representative of Canadian society, the continued differentiation is ‘othering’, in particular creating a distinction between French and English-Canadian literature and literature of other cultures and

languages (Birk & Gymnich, 2016). Without having read Canadian literature widely I cannot comment on how distinct the two are, although it would make sense that a different perspective on society would produce distinctive art, and that there would be a term to designate such literature that challenges the majority's perspective. I also cannot comment on the tone of the use—Birk & Gymnich state that it is usually used as a term of exclusion, as Canadian literature as a whole is not treated as multicultural. I doubt the semantics of whether literary circles call Canadian literature multicultural in whole or in part is of much consequence to Canadian minorities, but perhaps it would be appropriate to use a different term for the reasons Birk & Gymnich cite, such as transculturalism (p. 519, This alternative is preferred by some as it treats multiculturalism more holistically, with particular emphasis on mutual influence). However, by highlighting the issue of recognition of cultural groups, it does rather clumsily bring me to the politics of recognition in the Canadian context.

One recurring idea throughout the readings is the importance of recognition, and how mistreatment at the hands of others can lead to an internalised sense of inferiority: repeated descriptions of one's own group, such as those highlighted in Abel's *Injun* (2016) where the only positive accounts of indigenous people are offered as notable exceptions, understandably become difficult to separate from one's self-image. This is an individual and group phenomenon: the psychological toll of conflict, colonisation, and violation can make itself felt even in the minds of descendants who did not personally experience it. We see this discussed most directly in Kivi's *If Home is a Place* (and repeated in Kivi's autobiographical essay in *The Inner Green*, 2005), where Esther carries many of the anxieties associated with home and property with her, despite having lived her whole life in Canada where occupation and expropriation is a negligible risk. It should be said that these psychological impacts are not straightforwardly negative in the same fashion: for example, in my experience many Baltic people believe hypervigilance is in fact a good thing, and it is in fact people without personal or inherited experience of occupation who irrationally take for granted the permanence of good institutions; no-one, in contrast, credibly benefits from a poor self-image. Although it is difficult to quantify the harm, it can credibly be argued that it represents an injustice. In Taylor (1994)'s account this might come from the view that people have an equal capacity for identity formation. Even in the absence of injustice, there is an evident harm that a compassionate society should strive to remedy, if at all possible.

The stated purpose of literature that explores the nuances of different cultural identities and challenges mainstream narratives is often to help lift the weight of past conflict and violation from the shoulders of the wronged. In particular, it aims to cast off the potentially debilitating feelings of inferiority and victimhood that, even when external impediments have largely been removed, can pose internal restrictions on autonomy. By dissecting and examining these feelings to expose their ultimate irrationality, or challenging them through alternative narratives, art and literature can, perhaps, help empower individuals through a paradigm shift. It can also offer representation to the marginalised, or restore a history which had been forgotten. Moreover, by offering a counternarrative, it can help enlighten wider society, begin a dialogue where before there was silence, and build respect for groups who sometimes through ignorance (rather than pure malevolence) were neglected and abused.

Undoubtedly there is some reverse causation at play here: art and literature challenging the hegemony is partially a symptom of already-changing attitudes. I would also be cautious about emphasising the importance of narratives where, for most people, material concerns are surely the greater priority, and overemphasising experiences and injustices can (besides occasionally essentialising individuals) obfuscate the real issues at hand, namely the everyday struggles many people face maintaining dignity in the face of inequality. Taylor (1994) argues that a liberal society such as Canada should *recognise* its constituent groups; I do not disagree with this, but feel that the argument becomes somewhat toothless. By contrast, the BC First Nations Energy and Mining Councils initiative to take foreign affairs into their own hands (2011) presents an exciting example of peoples both demanding recognition and acting in their own interests. This example really gets to the heart of the issue surrounding the cultural mosaic model and Trudeau's quote: on one hand, the Canadian government tolerating third party actors engaging in foreign affairs could be said to reflect the compassionate and diversity-loving side of Canadian society, although it could be out of fear rather than respect and recognition that they do so. On the other hand, the FNEMC is engaging in a field that is otherwise the unique prerogative of the national government (Montsion, 2014). In doing so, they challenge the very idea that Canadian society is one mosaic rather than at least two separate societies.

I have explored the Canadian cultural mosaic model in a limited context, considering some of the strengths and potential pitfalls of the model. In particular, I have discussed how the cultural mosaic model, as a reaction to previous forced assimilation approaches, may have better embodies ideals of liberal toleration which Trudeau envisions. I argue that, to a more limited

extent, Canada did sometimes present opportunities for a better life. However, this is by no means a panacea: improvements notwithstanding, the legacy of colonialism can continue to exert psychological pain on people effected, and racism can continue where cultural toleration has expanded.

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Reflections on the Canadian cultural model

”We have created a society where individual rights and freedoms, compassion and diversity are core to our citizenship. But underlying that idea of Canada is the promise that we all have a chance to build a better life for ourselves and our children.” Justin Trudeau declared about Canada in 2012.

Do these words correspond to the current Canadian model or not?

In this declaration Justin Trudeau, the current Canadian prime minister since 2015, addresses that he wants to strengthen middle class families^[1] and people with lower incomes in order to give everybody a chance to build a better life for themselves and the future generations; he wants to strengthen their economy by giving them lower taxes at the same time as he intends to raise taxes for rich people or high-income earners. He wants to raise benefits for families with children and give job opportunities to young people and invest in infrastructure as well as many other measures. I guess this is with the aim to strengthen the country in order to avoid gaps that may lead to contradictions that would be devastating for the huge territory that Canada is, and that extends from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean and up to the Arctic Sea.

As Justin Trudeau points out, the Canadian society should be created on individual rights, compassion and diversity, which is core to the promise of making a better life. Therefore, Justin Trudeau also wants to strengthen the rights of the First Nations and Inuit populations as well as welcoming immigrants.

It may seem like the declaration of any prime minister of a western democracy, but underlying this statement is Canada’s long and complex history of First Nations, Inuits, French and British colonialists, and immigrants from all over the world. From becoming a federal country in 1867, Canada became fully independent from Great Britain only in 1982 and still Elisabeth II of England is its monarch through its affiliation with the Commonwealth. At the same time, there is a French speaking population, especially in Québec, who doesn’t have the cultural attachments to the Commonwealth. Above all there are the aboriginal populations who have been marginalized in many ways and who reclaim their rights. Though there are two official languages coming from the former French and British colonialists there are a multitude of other populations and immigrants who put their marks on Canada. Understanding Canada today, may

thus be to understand the history of colonization and today's ongoing reconciliation with aboriginals, as well as understanding the history of all people making the puzzle (or mosaic) of Canada.

The Canadian philosopher Charles Taylor analyses in his work, *The politics of recognition*, the terms of identity and recognition on which the Canadian cultural model is based. He means that our identity partly is shaped by the supposed links between recognition and identity in which identity will become a person's understanding of who they are^[2]. That is, our identity is partly shaped by recognition or its absence, often by misrecognition of others which can inflict harm and lead to oppression, imprisoning someone in a reduced mode of being.^[3]

The discovery of my own identity doesn't mean that I work it out in isolation, but that I negotiate it through dialogue, partly overt, partly internal with others. The development of an ideal of inwardly generated identity gives a new importance to recognition. My own identity depends completely on my dialogical relations with others.^[4] According to the Canadian cultural model all humans are equally worthy respect^[5] and this idea has mayor importance in the politics of diversity and compassion that Justin Trudeau stated about Canada in his declaration from 2012. A universal human potential is for instance to protect those who can't be protected, but it is also the potential of forming and defining one's own identity as an individual and also a culture.^[6]

Unlike its neighbor in the south, the United states, the Canadian model wants to be different and distinct from the society of the "melting pot" where minority groups are living beside a major dominant population.

The policy of multiculturalism became official in 1971 and was a response to growing francophone nationalism in Québec^[7]. It was the outcome of the Royal Commission's inquire into the existing state of Bilingualism and Biculturalism, and recommended multiculturalism to "assure cultural freedom", " ... on the basis of an equal partnership between the two founding races "[English and French]".^[8]

The Multiculturalism Act that was adopted as a law in 1988 declared that individuals and communities should have full and equitable participation in the continuing evolution and the shaping of Canada^[9].

Many people though saw the policy more as a game for the galleries.

Not least have the immigrants coming to Canada lived in the country under essentially different conditions.

Ruta Slapkauskaitė from the University of Vilnius speaks in her lecture on the 3 August 2022 about the Chinese workers in Canada and how their new identity was formed by their experiences of the new country. The history of Chinese immigration to Canada challenges the idea of Canada as a virtuous host: Chinese workers came to Canada already in the mid 19th century, often as mine or coal workers. They were only paid less than half of what the white workers were paid and their contribution to building Canada mostly went unrecognized.

On the other hand, in 1947, after the two world wars, Canada accepted to receive refugees from Europe as immigrants, even though the Prime Minister, Mackenzie King pointed out that ^[10] Canada was not obliged to accept any specific number of displaced persons”^[11] and that “the persons admitted to Canada [should be] a type likely to make good citizens”^[12]. King tried to balance the different views on immigration according to which the supporters of immigration emphasized humanitarian motives and the advantages it would make for the domestic market by enhancing industry production and economic growth, while the opponents were afraid that the immigrants would be a burden on society.^[13]

When Canada liberalized its immigration policy in 1949 there were many people coming from Eastern Europe; Aun^[14] uses the example of Estonians that was mainly a group of educated and professionally skilled people who had demonstrated not to be a burden for the country, but rather an asset.^[15] Many of them had former experienced totalitarian regimes and sympathized with values of freedom and democracy^[16] that went well along with their new country.

In the late 50ies when Canada went through a period of huge economic growth and welcomed workforce from other continents than Europe. But the conditions were different depending on where the immigrants came from.

The first generation of Chinese Canadian writers emerged from a Writer’s workshop which partly was a political campaign to challenge racial discrimination against Chinese in Canada^[17]. It brought out experiences that were unrecorded and that have been excluded or misrepresented by the dominant media in Canada.

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into the existing state of Bilingualism and Biculturalism, and recommended multiculturalism to “assure cultural freedom”, “... on the basis of an equal partnership between the two founding races “[English and French]”.[¹⁹]

Many people though saw the policy more as a game for the galleries.

Already in the 1970s when Canada introduced its official policy of multiculturalism, multicultural fiction has become increasingly visible [²⁰]. Birch and Gymnich are naming *Other Solitudes: Canadian Multitude Fictions*, an anthology that was published in 1990 by Linda Hutcheon and Marion Richmond as a literary response to the concurrent emphasis on Multiculturalism in Canadian politics. Birch and Gymnich are pointing out that critics, like Neil Bissoondath, who is an outspoken opponent of Canada’s multiculturalism policy, argue that the designation of multicultural literature tends to be a term of exclusion. Thus, the works written by French Canadians and English Canadians are seen as representing the dominant literatures, from which the various multicultural authors are set apart.

Multiculturalism has been part of separating rather than uniting. The Canadian writer Linda Kivi who is born in Canada by parents of Estonian origin witnesses in her novel *Home is a place*, how she felt this “otherness” and how she finally came to terms with it through the knowledge of the aboriginal population and their difficulties, and through visiting the country of her Estonian ancestors.[²¹]

In her work *Exalted subjects – Studies in the making of race and nation in Canada*, deeply critical to Canada’s multiculturalism, Sunera Thobani is critical to Canada’s multiculturalism policy and she points out that with its emphasis on diversity and tolerance it has discredited Aboriginals claims to special status as the original inhabitants of the land and that they have been harnessed for the cultural enrichment of nationals[²²]. Naomi Fontaines first novel, *Kuessipan*, where she depicts the hard life in an Indian reserve is an example that has become known to a broader public[²³]

Now there are reasons for assuming that literature is moving on from multiculturalism to transculturalism that emphasizes connection and transformation rather than separation[²⁴]. Perhaps the creative and experimental writing of young authors such as Olivia Tapiero and Lula Carballo are good examples of that.

- [1] [Canadian middle class left out of the growth equation | The Star](#) (Trudeau, J., 2012, *Canadian middle class left out of the growth equation*. The Star, 30.10.2012)
- [2] Taylor C., *The Politics of Recognition*, Princeton University Press 1994, p. 25
- [3] Idem
- [4] Idem p. 34
- [5] Idem p.41
- [6] Idem p.42
- [7] [Canadian Multiculturalism Act | The Canadian Encyclopedia](#)
- [8] idem
- [9] idem
- [10] Aun, K., 1985, *The Political Refugees: A History of the Estonians in Canada. Generations: A History of Canada's Peoples*, McClelland and Stewart Ltd, p. 20
- [11] Idem, p. 22
- [12] Idem, p. 22
- [13] Idem p. 22
- [14] Aun, K., *The Political Refugees: A History of the Estonians in Canada. Generations: A History of Canada's Peoples*, McClelland and Stewart Ltd 1985
- [15] Idem pp. 26-28
- [16] Idem p. 28
- [17] Chao Lien, *Beyond Silence: Chinese Canadian Literature in English*, TSAR Publications 1997, pp. 10-11
- [18] [Canadian Multiculturalism Act | The Canadian Encyclopedia](#)
- [19] idem
- [20] Birch and Gymnich, *Multiculturalism in Canadian Fiction. A Handbook of Transatlantic North American Studies*, Handbooks of English and American Studies Series, Vol 3, 2016 p.
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“We have created a society where individual rights and freedoms, compassion and diversity are core to our citizenship. But underlying that idea of Canada is a promise that we all have a chance to build a better life for ourselves our children.” – Justin Trudeau (Trudeau, 2012).

This quote from Justin Trudeau holds the promise of an inclusive society that allows people, regardless of background, ethnicity, gender and so on, to feel welcome and included in Canadian spaces. The quote, however promising, well-meant and welcoming it may be, feels like a bold, idealistic and generalized statement that doesn't take the minutiae of everyday, real interactions between people into account. It does, however, perhaps set the bar for what Trudeau may see as an ideal model and representation of Canadian society – though the question remains:

Do these statements truly correspond with the current Canadian cultural model?

One way to analyze this question would be to take a look at different models of multicultural societies, which, in this case, would be a cultural mosaic versus what is often referred to as a “melting pot” that is found in many countries, such as in Canada’s neighboring country – the United States (Birk & Gymnich, 2016, pp.515). The term cultural mosaic is described as “...a mix of different ethnic groups, languages and cultures.” (Shinta, 2021). A cultural melting pot, however, is described as a society in which a single group – referring to ethnicity, language, culture and etcetera – is dominant, with non-dominant, minority groups spread throughout or kept to the periphery of society (Birk & Gymnich 2016, pp.515-516). The “melting pot” model is also described as having a greater rate of assimilation, whereas the “mosaic” model allows for a more “true” sense of multiculturalism, in the sense that separate cultures are allowed their own place in society rather than assimilated into the dominant, existing culture of a society.

An important aspect of Canadian history that I think gives some context and background to the topic of multiculturalism in the country is that multiculturalism was “...adopted as government policy.” (Birk & Gymnich 2016, pp. 516) in the latter half of the 1900's. Multiculturalism and multilingualism (also, bilingualism) was later integrated into Canada’s Multiculturalism Act of 1988, and has played a large role in both Canada’s multicultural population and Canadian immigration policy in the time since. The Multiculturalism Act of 1988, in short, encourages collaboration and policy-making in trans-atlantic and trans-pacific contexts, while also serving as a policy that distinguishes the country’s identity, and its relationship to multiculturalism, from that of the United States (Birk & Gymnich 2016, pp.516-517).

With these definitions of multiculturalism, and the brief, historical background in mind, Canada seems to fall under more accurately under the cultural mosaic model rather than the melting pot model. I also interpret these definitions to mean that both types of multiculturalism have their own methods of creating, establishing and/or preserving identities within society, though that these separate models are also considered to have their own “pros and cons”.

The definition of a cultural mosaic suggests that the society it is applied to, in this case Canada, offers equal opportunity and visibility in society. For instance, *Multiculturalism in Canadian Fiction* (Birk & Gymnich 2016) takes several multicultural aspects into consideration, though diversity in Canadian fiction is one aspect that is discussed at length and is a topic that is divided into multiple categories by the authors. Birk and Gymnich separate the “main” types of multicultural fiction into the “fiction of arrival”, “fiction of immigration and settlement” and “fiction of return”, though the recurring thread between these categories, upon further reflection, seems to be that the authors, regardless of background, write to establish or examine their relationship to, and place within, Canadian society.

The Inner Green (Kivi 2005) is another example of writing in which the author describes and examines her background and culture, that of Estonia, and how it both contrasts with and likens that of North America. Kivi describes a struggle that has its foundations in identity; of being born into one country and its culture, while attempting to honor the traditions of her parents’ culture, Estonian culture, at home.

Being from a multicultural background myself (I spent parts of my life growing up in the United States, Germany and Sweden, and I have close relatives from the Baltic states) I felt I recognized some of what the authors from the different works were describing and implying, though I connected with many points in *The Inner Green* (Kivi 2005). Exploring and solidifying a cultural identity when you’re privy to, and belong to, the inner workings of different cultures can initially be a challenge. However, whatever “challenge” this form of exploration of identity may or may not present, I think that belonging to a multicultural background can also be a privilege and a gift in a way. Being aware of cultural differences and contrasts often allows an individual a greater sense of perspective when faced with differences in the world – or at least, I’ve felt as much from my own, personal experiences and interactions with people from cultural backgrounds different to my own. With this in mind, I believe that multiculturalism in Canadian fiction, and in fiction in general, can, perhaps, offer insights and a greater understanding of the differences and difficulties different groups in society may face.

This leads into another aspect that I believe should be taken into account in regards to Canada's cultural model: the recognition of the individual identities that exist within a multicultural society, and how this recognition takes shape. In *The Politics of Recognition* (Taylor 1994), the author discusses, in broad terms, what it means to be true to oneself. According to Taylor, authenticity, self-measure and social identity, all play a part in the recognition of identity.

"Consider what we mean by identity. It is who we are, "where we're coming from." As such it is the background against which our tastes and desires and opinions and aspirations make sense." (Taylor 1994, pp.33-34). Cultures as a whole and the people within them can share many habits and norms, though another layer within the aforementioned mosaic cultural model may as well be identity at an individual level, in that a person's identity, today, is becoming more and more individualized rather than generalized by a collective majority (something that I also believe that digitalization and globalization play a large part in, but that's another topic entirely). Though, despite this individualization of identity, Taylor (1994) eventually circles back to stating that *discovering* one's individual identity is also dependant on the interactions an individual has with others.

I feel that this interpretation of "identity discovery" speaks to how countries and cultures develop identity on a larger scale, and that we, as social creatures, create authenticity and identity through the cultural norms that our interactions with each other create. This interpretation may also be a way to explain how "melting pot" cultures versus "mosaic" cultures are formed and normalized in a society, even if the Multiculturalism Act of 1988 seems to be a dominating aspect of this "normalization" in Canada's case.

The examples of multicultural diversity in Canadian fiction brought forward in *Multiculturalism in Canadian Fiction* also seem to strengthen the suggestion that Canadian culture seems to follow the mosaic cultural model, which in turn also seems to fall somewhat in line with Trudeau's statements of Canadian society being one with core characteristics of compassion and diversity. Trudeau's quote, relative to the description of the Canadian "mosaic", does seem to correspond with Canada's current cultural model in that the inclusive "core" that he describes correlates with the cultural mosaic's mix of groups and cultures. The statement that this has created opportunities, and the implication that it will continue to create opportunities, for a better life for citizens and their children is perhaps a generalized way of stating that diversity and a diverse culture are aspects that enrich a society and bring people together under the promise of equality.

On the flip side of this, Canada's multiculturalism and a multicultural society aren't without criticisms. Many critics of multiculturalism, perhaps specifically critics of Canada's "mosaic" cultural model, perceive multiculturalism as something purely symbolic (Birch & Gymnich 2016, pp.517). These critics maintain that multiculturalism, as it presents in Canadian society, separates people and cultures more than it brings them together. An (older) article from *The Washington Post* describes other concerns, one of which is a perceived loss (or lack) of a national identity, perhaps as a result of Canada's multicultural policies. Another is a concern that the lack of integration in some areas with high immigration rates is contributing to a growing issue in communication and language barriers within the population (Schneider, 1998). The same article also illustrated points of the cultural mosaic not being visibly present in all aspects of society, such as in the military (at least in 1998), which raises the question of how consistent the mosaic aspect of Canadian culture truly is.

While most of the works I have referenced to in this paper do support the view of Canada as a multicultural country full of opportunity, compassion and freedoms, I still think that there's a side to Trudeau's statements that toe the line of sounding more idealistic than realistic – which isn't necessarily a bad thing. I think that his statements come from a place of wanting to work toward achieving a goal that matches his view of what Canadian society is or should be, and that type of ambition and promise isn't something to take lightly.

An aspect I'd personally want to dig deeper into is whether Canada's cultural mosaic truly creates equality and opportunity regardless of an individual's cultural background, or if this mosaic has a tendency of creating rifts between people and cultures. Does it benefit certain cultures more than others? How does it affect Canada's aboriginal populations? I think that the concept of a society with the cultural mosaic that is often described in relation to Canada's multiculturalism is interesting and multifaceted in a way that is difficult to break down into simple terms of equality and diversity.

To reiterate and summarize; all in all, I think that the introductory quote corresponds with the current Canadian cultural model to varying degrees, though I believe that the interpretation of how well it corresponds with said cultural model is highly dependent on which aspects of society are being referring to. The cultural mosaic that makes up today's Canadian society has its perceived positives just as it has its perceived negatives, though I think that Canadian society strives to be, at the very least, diverse and inclusive. I think that people and the values that they hold influence society and culture, and I think that Canada's cultural model will continue to

evolve and change in tune with the values that are developed by future generations. Maybe this means that, one day, Canada's cultural model will fully correspond with Trudeau's statements – maybe it means something else. In the end, I think that Canada's current cultural model is the result of people doing their best with what they've been given.

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In 2012, Justin Trudeau declared about Canada:

”We have created a society where individual rights and freedoms, compassion and diversity are core to our citizenship. But underlying that idea of Canada is the promise that we all have a chance to build a better life for ourselves and our children.”

This quote from the Canadian liberal politician Justin Trudeau underlines some core values that he believes has, in a positive way, helped create the Canadian society as we know it. Trudeau is of the impression that the Canadian political systems hunger for economic growth is only serving the richest people and that this leaves the middleclass behind more and more and must be changed (Trudeau, 2012).

To change this problem Trudeau have proposed to make post-secondary education more affordable and therefore more accessible for more people. He also wants to create more jobs to make the job market not as tough for young people. Also, an important point he makes is the need for a stable social safety net. A social safety net is crucial for economic stability and quality of life in the middle class (Trudeau, 2012).

To get a better understanding of the Canadian model it is important to get some historical insights to how it came to be. First of all, there is the first nations, Inuit and Metis who have been on the land for around 30 000 years. Then there was a European Colonization lead by Giovanni Caputo in the year 1497, first for the English crown and secondly the French came lead by Jacques Cartier. The French called the land around the territory around saint Laurent River “Canada” and were the first to use that name. So right from the beginning of Canada there were French, British, and of course the first nations (plus the Metis and Inuit) and therefore started off as a multicultural territory when it got its name.

A lot of first nations died in diseases that colonizers from Europe brought with them. Their immune system was not used to these kinds of viruses and had therefore no protection against them. There were also the wars between the colonizers and the first nations, but they also formed alliances with each other where there was confrontation between the English and the French. In these wars a lot of first nations died.

In 1867 Canada became a self-governing democracy and became in most part free from the British empire. This was called the Constitution act of 1867 and a lot of national matters were centralized but under the constitution not all provinces are treated equally (McConnell, 2020). Quebec for example had some independence from Canada and the French population make up about 20% of the population in all of Canada (Premat, 2021). Soon after that, in 1885 came another milestone in Canadian history which was the completion of the CPR (Canadian Pacific Railway). Then in 1982 the queen of England signed the act that granted Canada complete independence (Premat, 2021).

Canada was also one of the earliest federations in the world meaning they had partially self-governing provinces who together make up a union. This is also called a federal state. The US was the first in 1787 and Canada became one in 1867. The provinces have some differences in for example language, law and economy (Premat, 2021). A very interesting province is Quebec which have laws to protect the French language and work towards “collective goals” to protect the Quebec culture from just melting into the English-speaking majority and the culture that comes with them.

Charles Taylor wrote about the politics of recognition, this is a term that describes for example acknowledgement of whose lands are used, what first nation tribe used to live here before and still owns the land. To honor a group of people who in the past have suffered can function as a continues apology for taking their land. After giving back the land to the first nations who rightfully owned it the land in a lot of places was not restored to its original state, so it continues to be used by decedents of colonizers. It's important for the descendants of colonizers, who gained a lot from what the colonizers once took, to be respectful and recognize what land it is they are using, and in that way, systematically apologize for being there (Taylor, 1994).

To circle back to the CPR and the goldrush I want to talk a bit about the history of the Chinese in Canada. There are sources that suggest rather than colobus being the first non-native person to find Amerika, that it was a Chinese Buddhist monk named Hoei-shin in the fifth century. This hypothesis suggests that Chinese discovered America 997 years before Columbus got

there. When history was written in the nineteenth century the British empire were in the first opium war with China and so it was not very suitable for that to be history (Chao, 1997). I think that if you just take up a map of the world you can see that it would be easier for the Chinese to get to Canada than for a European to sail all the way over the Atlantic so the chances that the Chinese were in Canada before any European in my opinion are pretty big.

The hypothesis of Hoi-shin is still considered controversial today, but the Chinese have settled in Canada for 137 years and that is a historical fact. They had dreams of a better life just like the Europeans immigrants although they weren't given the same opportunities (Chao, 1997).

“Aside from indigenous people, no other racial or ethnic group has experienced such harsh treatment as the Chinese” (Chao, 1997).

The Chinese immigrant were stuck in a lot of ways, stuck in the Chinatown, they weren't allowed to vote and they could not go into specific fields of work such as medicine or law. If they got higher paying jobs, they might have had money to live somewhere more nice and get out of Chinatowns. The Chinatowns got a bad reputation. There was an imbalance of the genders so mostly males were there. Not having much else to live for missing family there was much use of the drug opium. There was a lot of gambling addiction, and just gambling in general. There was also a lot of prostitution. But even after these problems ended Chinatowns have a bad reputation because of these things that used to go on in them. And that is actually one thing that contributes to the racism Chinese experience.

A lot of Chinese immigrated to Canada at the time of the building of the CPR. The Chinese labor force were treated as second class and got all the most dangerous tasks in the building of the railway. Many lost their lives in the construction (BC First Nations, 2011). About 17 000 workers were recruited from China for the project and about 4 000 Chinese workers died (Chao, 1997). The year 1885 the Canadian government created “The Chinese Immigration Act” to

stop, as the politicians at that time called them, “alien race”, assimilating into the “Aryan population”. At first, they set a head tax starting on 50 Ca dollars that eventually were increased all the way up to 500 Ca dollars. When this did not work to keep the Chinese out they replaced the head tax with an outright ban on Chinese immigration to Canada with the only exceptions being diplomats, merchants, students, and “special circumstances” cases. The act was no longer about immigration but rather exclusion and is therefore known as “the Exclusion act”.

To get back a bit to the first nations, they still live under the Indian act from the year 1876. It is similar to the treatment the Chinese experienced. These historical similarities of facing oppression from the Canadian government and at the same time having respect for one another have brought these minorities together (BC First Nations, 2011). And I think that it is this sense of community that makes the multicultural model work, cause then they minorities together make up the majority and if the majority identifies themselves as different, they are all different but together.

The question we were supposed to answer was if this corresponds to the current Canadian cultural model? The Canadian cultural model has a lot to do with multiculturalism. The combination of giving migrants who are classified as “skilled workers” permanent residence and the politics recognition is in a lot of ways a win, win situation. The immigrant gets to live in a nondiscriminatory, social welfare country and the government gets an educated, skilled worker who pays taxes. But if the system turns out to only serve the people who are already rich, giving them less expensive workforce, then maybe it’s not as much of a win, win situation after all. But I think it all comes down to the mutual respect. For example, the employer could actually give the salary the worker deserves.

But how do you create a society with mutual respect? If you get respect, you are more likely to be respectful to other as with most things. So, a country can by being respectful of its citizens expect them to be respectful back and hopefully also against each other. A government can also have laws and restrictions that prevent people from being disrespected and treated unfairly. That takes us back, once more to the politics of recognition and specifically the need for an

identity. Being recognized for the unique things that make up a person's identity as an individual but to balance this with the equal rights for everyone. It is not an easy thing to do, and I think it is just for that reason a philosopher found the subject so intriguing and so do I.

The thing is that equality is based on the idea that all humans "have the same capacity", like a universal human potential, and are therefore equally worthy of respect. This idea is widely accepted and praised but is often combined with "European arrogance". This is forgetting that all the cultures that have evolved independently all over the world have had the same potential and should therefore be confederated equal. European arrogance is the belief that their culture is superior to anyone else's (Taylor, 1994).

"Even to entertain this possibility is to deny human equality." (Taylor, 1994).

If you would just treat everyone the same, that cannot be equality because everyone is not the same. All cultures should be treated with the same respect and all people deserve to feel that they have a unique identity but still have the same worth as anybody else. The Canadian Cultural model is so complex and yet so simple at the same time. All people want is recognition and respect. Freedom to have their culture and the opportunity for a better life. These are the things that make so many people move to Canada and what brings them together is in a way the love for the system when they can all benefit from it together.

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Preface

A couple of years ago, in 2017, I was travelling to Cuba with a Norwegian friend. As we started our journeys from different countries and wanted to travel together for most of the way, we found it a bit challenging to book flights. An added layer of difficulty was the travel restrictions, with no flights to Cuba via USA. We therefore decided to meet up in Toronto, Canada, and take the opportunity to explore the city as part of our journey. Neither of us had been to Canada prior to this, but we had heard many promising things. After seeing the CN Tower and other well-known spots of the city, we decided to just walk around for a bit. At some point, we entered a slightly rundown neighbourhood. The area wasn't over the top shabby, the

houses and pavements just looked slightly worn. I wouldn't describe the street itself as looking much different from the other places that we had walked that day, however, it was. While we were walking down the street, a police officer in his car approached us. The officer let us know that we had wandered into an unsafe area, stating he'd escort us out of there, as we weren't safe. The police officer proceeded to drive next to us at a slow pace until we had left the area and then waved us off and went on with his day.

It is commonly known how some cities in the United States have unsafe areas. I personally have experienced this in Baltimore, MD. In Baltimore, some areas are fine, but if you stray even just one block away from the tourist street, you may end up in a run-down area, which isn't safe. My friend and I would never have walked around aimlessly, as we did in Toronto, in any major American city. What is interesting though is how both my Norwegian friend and I expected Canada to be completely safe. It brings up an interesting aspect. We both agreed how things such as serial killers, drive by shootings, unsafe areas, "Indian" reserve issues, racism and so forth were known American problems, whereas Canada was seen as perfectly safe, famed for sharing more European values. This paper aims to shed some light on why this is by exploring the current Canadian society. It will be doing so by looking into the current Canadian cultural model.

Those who read travel magazines may have noticed how articles about Canada usually tend to show stunning landscapes with untouched wilderness, blue lakes and picture perfect mountains. These landscapes, paired with pictures of the well-dressed, charming Royal Canadian Mounted Police, make Canada seem idyllic and unspoilt. Those who do not read these kinds of magazines may still recognize this image of pristine wilderness from American survival shows, which tend to be filmed in Canada, near Vancouver. Not only does Canada seem to be beautiful, it is showcased as a place that has much to offer with great spots for skiing, the impressive Niagara Falls, hockey and maple syrup. Canada also seems very welcoming, with a good looking prime minister, who always seems to say the right things. Does this idea of Canada correspond to reality though? Or is it just a showcased facade?

To shed some light on this, in 2012, Justin Trudeau stated that "we have created a society where individual rights and freedoms, compassion and diversity are core to our citizenship. But underlying that idea of Canada is the promise that we all have a chance to build a better life for ourselves and our children" (Trudeau, para. 2). It should be noted that this quote is a fragment from a text where Trudeau was presenting his liberal political agenda. Trudeau therefore also addresses the Canadian middle class struggles, gender and workforce, economic growth,

immigration and investments and so forth to his potential voters (Trudeau). The text will not be covered in full, but one thing worth noting is how Trudeau challenges the government at the time in his text by simply stating “those who think the middle class is thriving in this country should spend more time with their fellow citizens” (Trudeau, para. 1). Trudeau hereby implies how the Canadian society has the potential to give equal rights and freedom to all of its citizens, as well as equal opportunity, but that this is not the case with the government at the time.

Trudeau challenges the political climate at the time. Exploring Justin Trudeau’s presented opinions further would be interesting, but lay outside the boundaries of this paper. Rather than digging deeper into the politics and opinions of Justin Trudeau and his political party, this paper will simply state that the quote does not correspond to the current Canadian cultural model. Whether or not it did so in 2012 will not be explored further as this paper looks into the current climate. This paper argues that both the showcased Canada as well as the quotes shares the property that they are in ways correct, but are only really parts of the full picture. This paper argues that much, unfortunately, still needs to be done. To further explore why this is, this paper will use specific examples from the class Canadian Studies to analyse the current Canadian cultural model. Shared knowledge from different lectures will be explored on the topics of three of the many different heritages found in Canada. In other words, this short paper will define this by looking briefly into Canadas First Peoples, Estonian refugees and Chinese workers. Albeit brief, this still paints a picture which is conclusive. These people with different heritage all reside in Canada, are Canadians and therefore share some common ground but they also show the diversity of being Canadian.

Canada, as we know it today, is a relatively young nation. It is a bilingual country. One of many ways this is shown is how the National anthem is presented in different versions (Classic FM, para. 3). Focusing on the country’s bilingualism is however simplifying things. Canada is more. Eva Rein, from the University of Tartu, Estonia, explored this very subject during a lecture through the class Canadian Studies held on 18 August 2022. During the lecture, Rein pointed out that Canada is not just bilingual, it is a multi-cultural country. Rein also challenged the students to consider that people have come to Canada due to a number of reasons, during different times. The climate in the home country, as well as in Canada during the time, is well worth noting and considering (Rein, slide 2).

People coming to Canada is not a new phenomenon. Europeans have been coming to the territory now known as Canada since the end of the 1400’s. (Premat, slide 4). These Europeans were by no means the first to come to the continent though, as shown by evidence of Viking presence as well as early First Peoples tribes. However, these European arrivals of

different nationality ultimately led to Canada becoming what it is today. When the Europeans came and set up colonies, the First Peoples lived on the continent without borders being defined as they are today. (McCutchen). The European values and cultures differed greatly from the First Peoples', why the Europeans saw them as savages. Different approaches rather than embracing the cultural differences have historically been enforced by the Europeans upon the First Peoples. Norms and standards of today differ profoundly from then. Many of these acts were done by the Europeans in what they believed to be in the "Indians" best interest (Dawnland).

It is important to note how the Canadian First Peoples were, and are, very diverse (McCutchen). Different tribes co-existed, some tribes had wars against each other and some traded through well-established trade routes. Equally, some First Peoples embraced the new arrivals, whereas some did not. In America, some First Peoples went far when embracing a lifestyle similar to the Europeans. Examples are seen where they also kept black slaves at their farms, and where they had their own alphabet in writing, producing newspapers. This wasn't unheard of, but uncommon. Looking at the different tribes, some have and/or had common traits, but there are also many different cultural traits and lifestyles. Some tribes didn't initially reside in Canada either, but lived in areas bordering what is now Canada. Following European arrival, they lived in a time and culture where most were pushed off traditional lands, which the First Peoples often felt no one could own, at best be shared with the Europeans, as no one could own the land, but the Europeans came with another set of values. Some of these First Peoples sought refuge in Canada, as wars carried on and they found themselves pushed off the land they previously called home.

Culturally, different tribes define what is important for their specific culture. Their language, their hair and their jewellery are among some commonly known cultural values. (Dawnlands). Their hair was only to be cut when in mourning, which was one of many cultural clashes when forcefully having their hair cut when being enrolled in boarding schools during the boarding school movement

Whereas some First Peoples may have come over the now set border to Canada due to a traditional use of the land or wars (may it be with different Europeans or tribes), the early arrivals of Chinese coming to Canada was for another reason: work (Slapkauskaite, slide 9). These Chinese labourers built things such as the Canadian railroads (Slapkauskaite, slide 11). They were poorly treated and many died. Still, more came in search of a better future. For many Chinese, their food made a major part of their culture (Slapkauskaite, slide 6).

Estonians came in numbers in 1944. They arrived as refugees during the Second World War (Rein, slide 4). Note how the refugees initially believed they could go back following the war (Rein). Also note the difference as to why they came compared to the Chinese. Necessity, one could argue, over will. Things are however rarely black or white and it could in ways be argued that the Chinese also came out of necessity. As far as culture goes, a big part of the Estonian culture was nature. (Rein). Of course, these are all generalizations. The main thing to bring forward is how what is important to a culture clearly differs vastly. It goes deeper and beyond, where differences are seen on even the individual level.

The religion isn't necessarily the same either, or their language. The climate at the time, paired with the differences in background, culture and language but also why the people came, played part in how they were received and how they were perceived. Equally, how they felt. It brings up an interesting question: what makes you Canadian? Findings show that many didn't feel like Canadians initially, but with time realized they had one leg in each country, they were both their heritage and Canadian. (Rein). Rein shares how literature is used as a tool for expression. This shared idea from Rein, where the written language is used as a tool with metaphors describing what must not be said, is well paired with the way literature, contemporary art and history is explained as necessary by Christophe Premat to explore the Canadian model (Premat, slide 20). This additionally brings forward the idea that despite being a bilingual country, all the nations languages aren't covered, nor are their histories. Many cultures, such as the First Peoples, used oral history. (McCutchen). When portrayed, it is historically more often than not the white man's portrayal of events, which is shared. Women are not even mentioned at times, tribal women in particular.

The Canadians model with bilingualism does have a first language that is not English, the French. The French Canadians in ways have their language protected. This does not apply to all those who fall between two chairs. Canada is multi-national, multi-cultural and comprise of Canadians with a number of backgrounds. Recently, to commemorate Canada 150 years, a song was written to embrace this, which was shared in class one of the class Canada Studies. The song is named *We are one*. In reality, what is Canada's greatest strength is also its greatest challenge. How do you unify all these people with different passages through life, making sure all have the same opportunities? It is a complex question which can only be answered by looking historically at Canada, to understand its past and hereby its heritage. By doing so, it is possible to heal by embracing the wrongdoings that have been done and find a common path forward. The songs name is contradictory. As opposed to what is argued and implied with the song: Canada is not one. But maybe that is okay too. The many subcultures and cultures aren't

a uniform mass. There is space for the unique individual. Unfortunately, equal opportunities are not always a reality. It all depends on who set the standards for these opportunities, and if they are willing to embrace the differences.

As a conclusion, we have learned through this class how literature is one of many ways the Canadian model has been presented, often hidden behind metaphors. This implying literature, paired with the contemporary art and history all play part in what makes the Canadian model work. Still, much work needs to be done. All, unfortunately, do not yet have the same individual rights or opportunities to make better life for themselves.

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In 2012, Justin Trudeau wrote a declaration about Canada. Does it correspond to the current Canadian cultural model?

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What Justin Trudeau declared about Canada in 2012 was: *”We have created a society where individual rights and freedoms, compassion and diversity are core to our citizenship. But underlying that idea of Canada is the promise that we all have a chance to build a better life for ourselves and our children.”*¹.

Looking deeper into this article, Justin also claims that they have a country where people share “ideas and believes”. It is also shared that with a huge freedom comes responsibilities. They say that all citizens are offered success which gives a hint that no one is left behind. The main question of this assignment is if this statement corresponds to the current Canadian cultural model. It is an interesting aspect both from the analysis of the cultural aspects, since Canada has a pretty complex society, with many immigrants, large areas that divide cities (both from north to south, and from east to west), and also the indigenous culture and rights which has to be taken into consideration. More to this there is the challenge of multi-language, partly indigenous² language and languages from immigrants, but mainly the bilingualism with French and English-speaking natives.

Canadians clearly have a society where ethnicity culture and family background has an interesting effect on people’s sense of identity. The society is fairly developed. Looking on global measurements, such as prosperity index, Canada hits number 14 year 2022³ and is top ten on both Personal freedom and education. It stands very clear that the nature and large areas

of wildlife is a huge part of the Canadian identity. Even the Canadian flag has a leaf of a Maple tree on it.

How Mr. Trudeau's statement can be interpreted in the sake of Canadian art (mainly Indigenous):

As the perspective of a country that has *freedom, compassion and diversity*, the poems of Joshua Whitehead (2017) shows the talent and the patterns left for a tremendous large group of citizens, and in this case representing the first nation people. Reminding the reader that there are more than just two languages used in Canada, but also a group of people who does not share culture which is brought from another country. The same goes for Jordan Abel (2014) who has an interesting way of showing how he was affected by the diversity and many layers that lies in the Canadian identity, and the connection to nature. Abel (2014) shows how his roots are affected by the Canada that he grew up in and it is also way to express the Canadian cultural society from the perspective of the Indigenous and their life in today's Canada.

Kant Monkman (2016) is also a good example of how the society where individual *rights and freedom* comes to an expression. Same-sex sexual activity is legal in Canada already since 1969, however, Monkman (2016) manage to mix his idea of his homosexual identity, together with typical paintings of indigenous suppression. This is a very clever way to mix sexuality, but also gender rights and indigenous peoples right, in the platform of art. Which in my opinion reflects the history that Canada bears, which has formed today's values and cultural diversity.

How Mr. Trudeau's statement can be interpreted in the sake of Canadian Class of immigrants:

So how do the Canadians with the background of having a family that once immigrated to Canada see their role? Personally, I often hear Canadians and Americans refer to themselves as ethnicity plus nationality, such as "Afro-American", Chinese-Canadian, etc., or in some cases Indigenous-American. With this said, the history of your family's origin has an important part of your identity. However, as can be found in Rita Wong (1993) article, who shared an interview about the tough life in middle of Canada, even small groups of immigrants, such as Canadian-Estonians have a lot of values, worldviews and cultural heritage that still affect them in today's Canada.

Many years ago, I was listening to the famous comedian Russel Peters (2008), who occasionally titles himself Indian Canadian. He was mentioning this dilemma; about having a family who

immigrated to Canada, and still living in Canada. He explained that he previously considered himself “Indian” in Canada. However, once he paid a visit to India, he never felt more Canadian⁴. The only connection he felt with India at that point was his parents and his skin tone. This phenomenon does also occur Sweden, where people from Finland are considered Swedish when returning to their country of origin. Thus, they prefer living in Sweden with the dream of Finland. This is an interesting aspect of the complexity of Canadian culture.

Further, looking at how Linda Kivi (1995 & 2005) illustrate her relationship with her heritage, culture, language, and tradition it was explained that at some point the culture might no longer serve her, and some kind of transculture was developed. This is something I think happens many immigrants in Canada, which means that they do not only step out of their former culture and into another, but rather keep some kind of culture connected to their family’s heritage, even as a Canadian. Their experience from their family and parents might also carry some guilt that they left another country once upon a time. Sometimes the fight for identity can occur and even if one has their own culture and tradition (as a Canadian immigrant), one can also establish a new culture, and find a way to integrate this to their current life. This is something that I think has happened to the Canada as it is today.

There is a will to reach some kind of connection (even if your background is refugee). And I get the impression from Kivi’s (1995) story, that *land* and *nature* are two very important aspects of *identity*, especially in a large country like Canada (which I also felt from the First Nation people).

Moreover, as I realized not only with the story of Kivi (1995 & 2005) but also with other authors with immigrant backgrounds (also known as Canadian multicultural literature, including comedian Russel Peters, and other personal friends of mine). Immigrants who has identity trouble, often made a physical journey to their home country (especially the second or third generation immigrants). This journey often makes them understand that they really are Canadian. And thus, it is not their original country they return to; it is the original country of their ancestors. But still, something that many immigrants of Canada share are that they still need to make this journey.

I got the impression that returning to their family’s country of origin, they are back to their roots and realize where they really belong, which also means that they get aligned with their own identity (they are Canadian). Looking at the life of Kivi (1995 & 2005) and Russel Peters

(2008), they have been Canadian all time along, without being aware of it. In sense of Mr. Trudeau's statement (2012), the Canadian culture is a part that makes Canadian they are, and they get to integrate with this idea, that their country of origin has a complex history. And some might say that they are decolonizing their mind in the new Canada. And as Eva Rein said in one of the seminars⁵, it is very easy to become trapped in the "victim identity" meaning that "I have no power, I became a refugee and I am the weak one". But by this self-colonization, it becomes the new identity of many Canadians.

Looking back again into Canada immigration history, it has been tough being of Asian descent in Canada. Asian people suffered from great discrimination, ended up creating china towns, which until today still managed to survive. Lien Chao (1997) shares this experience of coming to Canada and being view upon as a foreigner even if living there for decades, and the racism that many foreigners once faced. But slowly shaped a society with multi culture, and structure which has China town, Korea town, little India, and other small cultural notes in Canadian cities.

Even if I used the word *multiculture* and *multiculturalism*, there is an idea that the true naming of the culture for the immigrants in Canada, who have two or more national identities should be *Transculturalism* as Linda Kivi (2005 & 1995) reflected on. In the same manner, Birk and Gymnich (2016) identifies multiculturalism as much harder to manage than transculturalism, and that the later seems much easier to live with in today's Canada. It refers to being involved in more than one culture (cross culture).

A solution for many immigrants to cope with multiple identities is to define home as some place to live, rather than a place to belong, and that home is not always a place. Especially from a postcolonial aspect (Kivi 1995). It is also said that for many Canadians, their history become a home, which they are a part of. The Canadian values that was brought to people from their upbringing, often ended up in some identity crisis (which not always was a negative thing) and then, the development of the Canadian identity became possible (Kivi 2005). This might be part of what Justin Trudeau (2012) refers to in the quote.

I would also want to share (after living with Indigenous people in Taiwan) that victimhood is complex. In the same manner, it is also difficult as an immigrant to get a clear idea of one's identity. Hence, the new country that is created, has to deal with an integration from all its citizens to unite the whole country.

To conclude, when Justin Trudeau declared about Canada in 2012 that *"We have created a society where individual rights and freedoms, compassion and diversity are core to our citizenship. But underlying that idea of Canada is the promise that we all have a chance to build a better life for ourselves and our children."*

It was a vision, with a lot of historical experience, in the luggage of Mr. Trudeau to state such a thing. When looking back at the different aspects of people living in Canada, and the cultural issues that has been affected the Canadians, independent on origin, it is without a doubt an interesting complexity of the Canadian society. With the aspects as Mr. Trudeau (2012) mentions, and the challenges that comes with a society that has focus on everyone's rights, freedom, and each individual compassion and the diversity of all the citizens.

It is also, as mentioned before, an interesting aspect of the bilingual challenge in Canadian society. Even if many Canadians are bilingual in languages beyond French or and English. Regarding the French and English-speaking parts of Canada, Louis Hémon (1921) also shares that there are some historical attitudes about the Americanization of Canada, and living in Quebec, and that many immigrants naturally looks towards the English-speaking parts of Canada. It could from a historically perspective been multiple provocations to adapt things that comes from the English-speaking parts, like introduction of railway, or other modernities. The bilingual fact is something that creates the Canadian identity and affects the culture. Looking at the map, one can easily draw a line dividing the French speaking part form the English-speaking part is. Which is just another thing that makes Canada an amazingly interesting country!

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"We have created a society where individual rights and freedoms, compassion and diversity are core to our citizenship. But underlying that idea of Canada is the promise that we all have a chance to build a better life for ourselves and our children."

Justin Trudeau's quote is referring to the Canadian policy about how every

Canadian citizen including immigrants with permanent residence should have a

chance to grow in Canada and that it should be Canada's job to make sure everyone lives a decent standard of living so that everyone has the same chance to grow economically. I will look into the history of Canada, the immigrants (especially the Chinese) and how the wealth has changed since his quote in 2012.

How Canada became Canada

[1][2] In 1534 the French arrived and Jacques Cartier claimed the land for France and gave it the name it has today 'Canada' which is the native word for settlement. They had some issues in the beginning with starvation and diseases but eventually they were successful in establishing the two cities Quebec and Port Royal.

By 1670 English Colonies had expanded and the Hudson Bay Company was founded where they began fur trading beavers which became wildly popular and was soon the favourite material for hat makers and luxury winter coats in Europe.

This was the reason settlements by both English And French fur trappers increased in the north as they hoped to make a great fortune.

The success and the great fortune that was made from beaver pelts also led to the infamous 'Beaver wars' between the French and English where they would also team-up with other tribes to get their hands on as much fur as possible.

72 years later their war ended. An interesting fact is that the Hudson Bay

company still exists to this day and has an impressive revenue of \$9.4 billion (2018).

Fastforwarding to the mid 19th century the land consisted of three British colonies which were Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. They all had one thing in common which was fear of the Americans and their desire for free trade.

This started a debate between the three colonies about how they should merge together to become their own country.

With the British support in 1867 they were from here on out known as the country of Canada and consisted of four provinces (The former Canada province was divided into two provinces called Ontario and Quebec).[3]

Canada did however not have full autonomy because the law that the British made, established Canada as a semi-independent ‘Dominion’ of the British empire. So when World War I came along, Canada joined other dominions of the British empire for a chance to seek their independence and in 1931 the British granted that recognition.

Canada formally transferred its control from their mother Country in 1982 with their constitution and that same year passed a bill to call July 1st ‘Canada Day’ instead of ‘Dominion Day’ which is usually celebrated by fireworks, carnivals and ceremonies. [3]

Canada's Indigenous people

“We have so many things we need to work on together. I think this Canada Day, it will be a time of reflection on what we’ve achieved as a country but on what more we have to do.”

- Justin Trudeau 2020

While Canada became Canada and the government and schools were formed they did not like that Indigenous people had their own culture and that they should instead adapt to their ‘white’ culture and language.

Indigenous children during their school years were treated differently and poorly. They would be beaten for speaking their Indigenous language and were sometimes fed a porridge-like substance that would have maggots or vermin in them while other administrators like teachers or priests would sit next to them and have roast beef and fresh vegetables. [4]

To this day 1.67 million Indigenous people live in Canada and most of them are not celebrating July 1st since they see it as a reminder of the freedom that was taken from them and in 2020 many Canadians joined in solidarity with their communities. Some communities have even ‘pulled the plug’ of celebrating that day.[3]

Justin Trudeau has even suggested that Canadians use the day to reflect on the struggles and unfairness the Indigenous people had to go through.

The Chinese immigrants

Canada is today known for their free immigration policy and that they are an open and free country for all, but it was not always like this.

I want to especially look at the history of the Chinese immigrants and how it has contributed to today's society[5][6].

Chinese immigration began in 1788 as part of Captain John Meares expedition.

They arrived in order to work and help erect the fur trading fort.

In 1858 the Canadian Pacific Railway development began. They were hardworking and risked their lives because the most dangerous parts of this development were handed directly to them and many Chinese workers did end up losing their lives in the process. They are responsible for the construction of two one-hundred mile sections of railroads and were still treated as second class citizens even though they were married to First Nations Canadians.

Canada responded by increasing their 'Head tax' in 1885 by 50\$ to deter Chinese immigration.

This however failed and huge groups still immigrated to Canada. By 1900 Canada increased the tax to 100\$ and three years later it was 500\$ (That is equivalent to \$12,375 today). [7][5]

This made it hard for Chinese families to come to Canada together. This often led to the men (the bread-winners) to first immigrate to Canada and find a job and later bring in their families. This resulted in men outnumbering women by a

staggering 28-to-1 ratio in the Chinese communities.[8]

Many white Canadians were hostile to the Chinese people. Chinese immigrants often took jobs that other Canadians did not want (dangerous and hard jobs) but they also opened stores and farms to support themselves enough to get their wives and families out of china and come to Canada.

The Canadians did not like this and in 1923 they destroyed those chances completely by changing their immigration policy to outright ban the Chineseese with expectations of mercenaries, diplomats and a small group of students.

It goes without saying that Canada made sure that they did not feel a part of the Canadian community and showed the world that they were not welcome into their country even though they contributed to the government and paid taxes.

A poll for the Canadian people was done in 1946 where the government asked if there is a certain ethnicity they should keep out from immigrating. 60% of the people voted to keep the Chinese out[9]. By this time most of the

white-canadians still did not want any more chinese immigrants to come to Canada even though most chinese were independent, made a living and contributed to the government. Maybe some Canadians were just not happy that the Chinese made a better living than some of them?

In 1947 Canada denounced Nazism, however they could not be against extreme discrimination while at the same time having their anti-Chinese legislation of

their own that also violated the UNs Charter. Canada therefore repealed the

‘Chinese Exclusion Act’ Chinese Canadians were given full citizenships[10].

Fast forward to 1970 where the formal Canada-China diplomatic relations began

and the trade volume per year was \$150 million. It goes without saying that the

contributions the Chinese are now making for Canada are huge and only in their

benefit. In 2000 that number had gone up to \$30 billion a year. [5]

Just by looking at the Chinese immigrants and how much they have done for

Canada today it seems to have improved their economic growth significantly.

Canada's Immigration Policy today

Today almost anyone can immigrate to Canada. You would only need \$13.310 in

your pocket and you don’t even have to have a job offer. The applicants that

receive the maximum point are however applicants who are between 25-35

years old.[12]

When looking into why Canada is so open to newcomers it seems to be because

of their ageing population. The fertility rate is one of the lowest in Canada (1.4%

in 2022) and the middle age is going up. Right now the middle age is 42 and more

seniors each year that are not contributing to the economic wealth.

The fact that Canada has grown and can be placed as the 9th richest country in

the world is largely thanks to the high growth in young immigrants that Canada

has received.

Going back to Justin Tredau's quote it seems that the Canadians policy that everyone should have a chance at a decent standard of living could be a way to lure other immigrants to join Canada. It is essential to them that they have a steady flow of young immigrants so that the country can grow and to support their labour markets. And if immigrants were treated badly and had a hard time opening a business or getting a job it would be less attractive to immigrants to apply for permanent residence, leading the Canadian society to be at a still growth.

Foreign students in Canada

Canada's immigration policy no longer has a limitation as to who can enter when it comes to ethnicity and skin colour as they did before. And it is fairly easy to get a permanent residency through their 'Express Entry' in as little as six months and Visas for students.

In 2022 on the 10th February a poll was released showing where most immigrants came from. 32% came from India. A good handful of those 32% are students.[13]

Between 2016 and 2019 US saw a drop of Indian students while Canada had an increase by 182% over the same period. The article says that it is because of Canada's immigration policy and that it is much easier for an Indian to apply for a VISA in Canada and later get a permanent residence than what it is in the US.

This is hugely beneficial for Canada since they are now getting more engineers

and highly educated students into their country[14].

In a short interview done on Indian students where they were asked how they liked living in Canada, most of them answered how easy it was for them to become fully independent and that they recommend other students to study in Canada as well[15]. The only downside was that you would have to have some money in the beginning to get settled in until you find a part time job. But not a single one of them regretted coming to Canada.

Considering that Canada now has the third largest foreign-student destination and is still rising each year it would be fair to say that they succeed in taking good care of them and providing them with the right tools to live and have a chance to grow in Canada.

Unemployment and Poverty

If we look at all immigrants that have come to Canada, 77% of recent immigrants were employed and for those who had been in Canada more than 10 years, 84% were employed. It seems that they are succeeding in getting immigrants who have a vision of wanting to improve their standard of life and Canada's economic wealth is growing thanks to that. [16]

If we were to not only look at immigrants in Canada but everyone who lives in Canada, the unemployment rate is as low as 4.9 percent which is amazing for any country to say. The federal minimum wage in Canada is 15.55\$ which is almost

the same as we have here in Sweden and the provincial minimum wage ranges between \$11.81 - \$16.00.

Justin Tredau says that everyone that has a job should also be able to have a decent standard of living and even though it is true for the majority there are still a small group that suffers.

The poverty rate in Canada is 6.4% and a few of that percentage is not unemployed and do not make nearly enough to live comfortably. I think Justin was referring to these Canadians.

It comes as no surprise when you see that the province with the highest poverty rate in Canada is Saskatchewan, the same province that had the lowest minimum wage by \$11.81.

But since Canada is ranking as high as the 9th most richest country in the world[11] this would be an easy 'fix'? The province of Saskatchewan has however promised to raise the minimum wage as of October to \$13.

Justin Also speaks about while the wealth increases in Canada the wealth does not show much of an increase in the middle class as it does in the upper class.

Housing market is increasing in cities such as Toronto and Vancouver which could lead to the acceleration in debt levels. If it continues like this where the middle class's paychecks do not grow together with the housing market prices, their kids and grandkids are more unlikely to face the same 'standard of living' as

they have.

[17]

Conclusion

By the time of Justin's quote, about 10 years ago, the poverty rate was 15% and since then it has decreased making the lives of Canadians better.

I truly believe that Justin's vision has taken effect and that Canada will continue to grow.

Immigration seems to be a key to Canada's success given that the middle age is rising and without immigrants wanting to come to Canada for a better life there would be a chance that they would fall dramatically both in population and economic growth.

It is therefore important and almost critical that Canada makes sure that they take care of new arrivals and makes sure that everyone is treated with the same rights no matter ethnicity and colour and that everyone does have the same chance to get a better life.

The politicians seem to actually want to make a utopia out of Canada and it is refreshing to see politicians making a difference and not just talk about it for political gains.

Canada is growing with its people and with the help of immigrants. There are still a few improvements to be made, for example either adjusting the minimum

wage to reflect the cost of living in certain provinces or adjust tax-rates based on different economic groups (upper class, middle class and lower class).

Otherwise they could end up with an increase in the homeless population in the big cities. Today there are 235.000 homeless people in Canada which is an increase of around 35.000 from last year[18].

Other than this, I do not necessarily believe that Canada could fail. I think they are most likely to continue in this right direction and even surpass Italy's economic growth within a few years, making them the 8th richest country in the world.

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A Reflection of the Canadian cultural Model in current Times

In 2012, Justin Trudeau declared about Canada: "We have created a society where

individual rights and freedoms, compassion and diversity are core to our citizenship. But underlying that idea of Canada is the promise that we all have a chance to build a better life for ourselves and our children.” I intend to ask whether the present multiculturalist policy of state is indeed a promise for a better and unified life or rather carries on the further fragmentation of the nation. As such, I will compare Trudeau’s idea of Canada to the current Canadian cultural model which I will analyze with the help of contemporary Canadian literature.

What Trudeau refers to when mentioning “the idea of Canada” is the Canadian model. Due to the history of colonisation the first effort to set a model of society prior to real political action must have been it’s comparison to a “mosaic” in Victoria Hayward’s 1922 account of the country

and Kate A. Foster’s 1926 review which would be used for years to come, especially after the first

academic use by John M. Gibbon in 1938 (George). The idea of Canada at the time of Hayward and

Gibbon was supposed to be one that saw the different encountering cultures as ones that coexist as

immigration and social inequality became prominent topics. Gibbon, with the help of this imagery,

introduced contemporary ideas about immigrant rhetoric which would affect the creation of the country’s future immigration policy, although he failed to ever properly include non-western immigrants (Bryce and McKenney). Gibbon contrasted Canada’s society to that of the United States

in an effort to distance them from the association of assimilation in place of respect for individual

identity that supports one unified country. While Canada adopted a multicultural policy in 1971 it

became law only in 1988. By mirroring the mosaic rhetoric, the policy seemed like a contemporary

success that encouraged the preservation and cultural linking to immigrants' way of life as a

contribution to Canada's society but unfortunately did not. (Birk and Gymnich 516) Rather than

introducing unity, it invited fragmentation with its necessity for recognition of what means

"different" and "neutral" in the first place (515). The main criticism lies with the actionability of

multiculturalism and its rather performative reality, where exchange and respect come up short (517)

In Charles Taylor's philosophical approach to multiculturalism, he emphasizes

"individualized identity"; one that is solely belonging to each individual's self (Taylor 28) In

relation to such individualized identity an issue arises in contemporary Canadian society: the "rise

to a politics of difference," where "Everyone should be recognized" (Taylor 38) among a society

that so far has been avid to be neutral. His issue lies within the fact that not "universally shared"

things are not yet acknowledged (Taylor 39). Taylor summarizes it by defining current efforts for

"universal dignity" and "nondiscrimination" as unaware of the differences that defined the struggles

of the communities in the first place. It is then that distinctness is not something Taylor wishes to

gloss over, as if to be 'difference-blind' but rather to "cherish" (Taylor 40). He finds importance in

highlighting difference because anything else to him is a "reflection of one hegemonic culture," as

there has to be a definition of what is normal and what is worth glossing over and as such, just like

in the USA, alienation has always taken place in Canadian society and has been just as discriminatory as its neighbour in the South (Taylor 43).

In effect, the history of Canada automatically reflects the clash of colonial rules within

North American history. There has been an effort for the construction of a balance of power within

an original federal contract with the Act of 1967. But politics of recognition are still insufficient for

populations that were often opposed to each other among others the French, English, and the

Indigenous populations. There is a need for efficient regulation of deep cultural conflicts so that the

question arises "how do we articulate identity politics with cultural rights?".

Taylor calls for the distinctness of French Canadians and indigenous people to be respected

because these individuals cannot be expected to live their life in a way another individual or group

would like them. Therefore, the only proper way for them to conduct their ways of life is to be

consistent with their very own individuality. But the question of how communities get to protect

their distinct rights in a multicultural society and how to conduct a country as the negotiation between universalities and cultural differences and to follow collective goals arises.

Taking the example of Quebec: Their protection of the French language and identities is at risk of diminishing and becoming anglophone when adopting the values of the rest of Canada.

As such it is a difficult endeavour to develop state cultural neutrality. There must be something midway between the inauthentic and homogenizing demand for recognition of equal worth, on the one hand, and the self-immurement within ethnocentric standards, on the other. Taylor 1994: 72

The issue lies with the goal being neutrality when everything is polarized by default. There can be

no middle ground when the neutral middle ground requires a complete abandonment of the self in

the process. The concept of multiculturalism is one that is not as clear cut as originally hoped: “Yet

the concept of 'multiculturalism' has turned out to be controversial for various reasons which has led

some critics to suggest 'transculturalism' as an alternative.” (Birk and Gymnich 513)

These issues as they have been mentioned are mirrored in multicultural fiction in their

different versions: 'fiction of arrival,' 'fiction of immigration and settlement' and 'fiction of

return' (Birk and Gymnich 513) although “Canadian literature as a whole is typically not thought of

as being multicultural; instead this label continues to be applied only to those writers who are

perceived as not being part of either English or French Canadian communities” (Birk and Gymnich

517). While there still lies an issue with the definition of this “homogenizing” (518) label of multiculturalist fiction, it is here, that resistance takes place:

It is in their distinct non traditionally neutral Canadian writing, that they encapsulate what

Taylor, Birk, and Gymnich have been asking for: a real core, that mirror the complexities of difference within the nation of Canada.

while multiculturalism is expected to facilitate the process of decolonizing the

inherited representations of Canadian history, the literary tradition, and other forms

of culture, it is also seen as essentializing race and ethnicity, namely assigning to

racial and ethnic differences, as well as their various expressions, attributes that are

taken to be 'natural,' and therefore stable. Kambourelli xxix

Looking at the examples of non-traditional writing of Canadian authors like Paul Yee and Thomas

King will help elaborate what Kambourelli tries to convey: Writing is a form of representation.

There can be no accurate representation without including those experiences and thoughts that are

labeled depending on their content and who expresses them. The relation between the writer and

what is written can never be fully tethered when writing is an account of an authentically lived life.

As such there can be no neutrality.

In Yee's *Prairie Window* the story follows newly widowed Gum-May, who feels lonely and angered while living as a single mother of two in Canada. "The townspeople had watched Gordon

with distant, guarded eyes for twenty years, suspicious that a wifeless young Oriental might somehow sully the farming settlement" (335). The mistrust of the townspeople clearly divided residents Gordon and Gum-May from the rest of society, although they are said to have lived in the

settlement for twenty years. It is made evident that no amount of time spent in the country will free

them from their "Otherness". Her clear memories are an indicator of this story being fiction of arrival as well as immigration and settlement as she recalls memories of her home and can call up

comparisons to her current situation. The tale highlights Gum-May, the Asian woman's plight in not

being able to access education (337), and alienation by members of their new communities (338).

This tale shows the clear difference that Asian-Canadians cannot overcome due to thoughts of division, despite Canada praising their mosaic thinking.

Being regarded as Other regardless of the time spent in Canada is not only a story that people with immigration history are faced with. It is also something those whose ancestors have been on the land the longest are faced with. Thomas King's "A Coyote Columbus Story" addresses

the assumptions that come with colonialist history: "But if Christopher Columbus didn't find

America and he didn't find Indians, who found these things? Those things were never lost I says.

Those things were always here. These things are still here today." Calling out one of the main assumptions that create the otherness of native populations, their "discovery," King calls out the

mainstream inaccuracies spread across the American continent that facilitate both white supremacist

thinking and strongly distances Indigenous life from any possibility to become the "neutral" that

Canada strives for. While calling out a mistake in Canadian society, this story also acts as a reference to multicultural efforts. While there is a lot of miscommunication, these days there is no

celebration of Columbus Day, as referred to in the story (121). This is in reference to education about basic history, where a celebration of this day cannot be possible when considering Canada's

history. Canada's efforts to educate Canadians about real history within the school curriculum is to

act according to the image of the Canadian mosaic to try "reconciling historical injustices including

the state's relationship with Indigenous peoples and nations" (Miles).

While this effort has been declared and tried to be acted on multiple times, the reality of

action towards a true reconciliation is not felt by those who require it the most: those who are at a

disadvantage in society due to historical mistreatment. As recent as 2019 historical redress

campaigns have kept calling for the government to apologize for past injustices against multiple communities living within Canada and reform classroom teachings within the K-12 curriculum (Miles). This shows that current teachings are nowhere near enough and cannot say it is considering

full Canadian history if it only stays within their “neutral” Canadian territory. The term

multiculturalism in this context is actually inadequate. Considering Neil Ten Kortenaar’s definition

of multiculturalism as the ways in which “other languages, races, and cultural traditions manifest

themselves in Canada (2009, 556)” a determining of what is ‘Other.’ (Birk and Gymnich 517) goes

against Canada’s initial wish to celebrate unity. However, it also shows that differences are something that simply cannot be disregarded and must be addressed, for example in schooling. In

this way, multiculturalism cannot be anything but an unreliable “ideology” based on which the government of Canada may not manage to act further (Ernst and Glaser 210,7).

While Trudeau’s initial call for an equal chance to build a life for everyone is valid, the current Canadian model cannot ever encapsulate the issues that underly within the country enough and combat them. Instead, current efforts are demanded for in reference to the model of transculturalism

and the resulting equal respect.

Gilles Dupuis defines this concept as the engaging of multiple cultures not only in

discussion but also “in a more profound and often contradictory process, in which enlightenment,

misunderstanding, and continuous reassessment of identity are at play. The ultimate aim is to

transform each other's identity through a long, arduous, and sometimes painful negotiation of

Otherness” (2008, 500). In this regard, transculturalism is seen as something much more dynamic

than multiculturalism which has the ability to bring much more sustainable social change to

Canadian society. It does so by acknowledging boundaries and differences of cultures and focusing

on “resonance, openings and mutual trans-formations arising from encounters and relations among

culturally differentiated individuals and communities” so that there is space for a harmonious

“pluralism” (Benessaieh 2014, 200-201).

It is then that we return to “multiculturalist” literature and should consider it to be

transcultural in reality with their intended efforts to “complicate the transatlantic dimension of

Canadian multicultural literature by including references to the legacy of British imperialism in

Asia and Africa, which may also have an impact on Canadians of South Asian origin” (522). In both

literature and education then, do differences need to be acknowledged in a first step to making steps

towards a social consensus of Canadian history and legislation that has to follow in order to be in

accordance with it. Only by mentioning what differentiates the different cultures within Canada and

treating them with respect towards their history and the social differences that creates social reality

for them, can an actual understanding of the so-called mosaic take place in the first place. It is a

transculturalist Canadian model that will fit Trudeau's vision.

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“We have created a society where individual rights and freedoms, compassion and diversity are core to our citizenship. But underlying that idea of Canada is the promise that we all have a chance to build a better life for ourselves and our children.”

Trudeau is stating the ideals Canada has been built upon the last decades. It was Justin Trudeau's father, Pierre Trudeau, that implemented the policies of multiculturalism and bilingualism in 1971. The multiculturalism policy shows that compassion and diversity is rooted in the government of Canada. But whether this policy is a core value in the citizens of Canada is a completely different matter which we will investigate.

Freedom together with diversity is what has created the Canadian mosaic. Let's discuss if it actually is a mosaic though. For it to stay a mosaic would mean that each person has complete freedom to follow their own cultures and traditions. But total freedom is not possible in today's society. There are cultures in the world where e.g. girls are not allowed to attend school. This is in violation of the individual rights Canada believes in. There are many more examples of cultures clashing with truly core values of Canada. These people must follow the laws of the country they live in. Even if the culture isn't as extreme as to go against the law, there are cases where the values of your culture is against the norm. One is passively forced to conform to the societal norms in hope to ever succeed. These norms are not written but communicated nonetheless. Since the individual citizens can not truly be themselves and must assimilate, is it truly a mosaic? Isn't every piece in a mosaic distinct but at the same time contributing to the whole picture? It can be compared to the concept of the US melting pot Birk & Gymnich (2016) mention, but the Canadian melting pot is on a very low heat and takes a longer time to make a homogenous mix. The melting pot and the cultural mosaic are not necessarily incompatible though. One can still recognize one's differences while still acknowledging the values we all share in common.

Losing your identity can be harmful to the individual and to the surrounding community. That is why such a thing as the multiculturalism act would be implemented. But is a part of democracy to view people equally. It can seem counterintuitive to celebrate people's differences while also viewing them as equals. Recognizing people as equals has taken many forms such as abolishing titles and striving for equality between cultures, genders and more (Taylor 1994). The premise is not that we should be able to compare any two people and deem them equal, but that these two have equal opportunity. In Trudeau's quote he says but underlying that idea of Canada is the promise that we all have a chance to build a better life for ourselves

and our children” He did not promise the people a better life but the opportunity to make a better life for themselves. This is enabled by the multiculturalism act and more. Although flaws of its execution are mentioned in the paragraph above, multiculturalism is still the enabler of any individual, regardless of background, to prosper in Canada. The flaws are not the government’s fault, multiculturalism can never be implemented perfectly because of human nature. Human traits such as pride, fear, greed and envy will unfortunately always stir hostility between groups of people. And that is why groups can never live in perfect harmony with each other, but Canada is the country that has come closest to that ideal. A common driving force for many immigrants is the promise of a better life for their children. Canada has had a success with immigration in the past because in Canada, just as Trudeau said, there is chance for better lives for their children.

In 1947, Prime Minister Mackenzie said, regarding accepting refugees from Europe as immigrants, that Canada has no obligation to accept all refugees. Instead, the government will try to ensure that the number of individuals and the individuals themselves will benefit the Canadian economy. He then continued by saying that the mass immigration should not result in the altering of the character of the population (Aun 1985). This argument was a compromise between two opposing parties. One party advocating for bringing in as many Estonian refugees as possible and the other cautioning that the economy would not be able to absorb the newcomers. Two years later, when the government realized that the Estonians were an asset, they loosened the restrictions and let more immigrants in. This action both strengthened the Canadian market with capable workers but also the Estonians in Canada. Moving to a new country is difficult, but by being able to form a community they can support each other with matters such as language barriers and societal and cultural norms. These communities would be the mosaic’s pieces. The beautiful about them is the ability strengthen themselves but also the country with different experiences and perspectives. With time, everything changes, even the character of Canada. Taking in a few too many immigrants would not harm the image it has now. Because unlike in 1947, in today’s Canada, diversity is a core value.

By examining the life of Linda K.Kivi (2005) we can see how the life of an immigrant is in Canada. Linda tells the story of her life as a second-generation immigrant and the troubles she went through because of that. Due to growing up with Estonian parents in a faraway country from their homeland, she experienced an identity conflict. With an inferiority complex as a minority, she struggled to live her life fully in this new country. But history was to her aid. By

reading the history of the indigenous people of Canada she could diminish her conflicting feelings. She could relate to the ill treatment of the indigenous people during the history of colonialism, which resulted them having to leave their land, just like her. When realizing that her identity didn't have to be so strictly defined, she finally found inner peace. She could be both Estonian and Canadian because that is a possibility in this new country.

Canada can in many ways be compared to their neighbor, the U.S. The ideals the two countries were founded on are similar, the idea that every one in the country has equal inalienable rights. But Canada is trying to keep itself separated from the U.S. but can be quite difficult since they are the world's largest economy and their media is spread worldwide. That is why the Canadian politicians might feel pressured to make sure that their own television, literature and art is seen by their population. They are trying to make their own culture and stand out to be able to resist the influence of their neighbors. In a sense, the Canadian cultures are centered around being a minority in comparison to another group. The indigenous became a minority compared to the settlers, the French Canadians are a minority compared to the Anglo-Canadians and lastly, Canada is a minority compared to the U.S. with them being almost 10-times more populated, having a stronger economy and being more influential worldwide. Canada made a distinct effort to make their own identity in the 20th century. In 1960, Canada distanced themselves from the British by adopting their new flag, the maple leaf and two red vertical stripes. Then 20 years later changing the national anthem to 'O Canada'.

I think that the Canada today stays true to Justin Trudeau's quote to some extent. It is of course impossible to follow an ideal fully since ideals are not reality. Both the government with the policies they have enacted and the representation of cultures reflect the core values of Canada. The Canadians show compassion for their neighbors how differently they might be, but still embrace the similarities. No matter the ancestry, every person is regarded for who they are and are given equal rights. Lastly, the core values of Canada lay a foundation for anyone to build a better life for themselves and their children.

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Canadian cultural model

The following quote written by J. Trudeau (2012) is the source of inspiration for this text. Since through its reading both in its original context and as a quote, different ideas are extracted as multiculturalism, democracy, pluralism, and others, which are exposed throughout the following pages. The text will be divided in two parts the first one will be based on bibliography from the course and the second one in personal research with the ambition of a small recreation of Canadian society. For a better understanding of the exposed ideas the text will include different quotes of other texts.

Part 1

" We have created a society where individual rights and freedoms, compassion and diversity are core to our citizenship. But underlying that idea of Canada is the promise that we all have a chance to build a better life for ourselves and our children."

After reading the quote, the first thing one might think of is the concept of democracy, which is a political system in which sovereignty resides in the people, who exercise it directly or through representatives. Canadian society is democratic, although going further would denote its desire to create a society in which there is equality of cultural and gender conditions. Democracy itself has given way to policies of equal recognition, a key word to understand the whole process of Canadian society to what is identified at now days.

Canadian society is made up of the idiosyncrasies of three peoples: the Indians, the French and the British. Idiosyncrasies are understood as the distinctive features, temperament or character of an individual or a collectivity. Therefore, we understand that Canada is a multicultural country where different cultures coexist in the same society. According to philosophers such as M. Walter and C. Taylor, a multicultural society calls into question the cultural hegemony of leading white groups over minorities.

At present, the demand for recognition by art of minorities is defended and represented under the name of multiculturalism policies. There is a close relationship between recognition and identity, identity is understood as the understanding that the person has of who he is in addition to the fundamental characteristics that define him as a human being.

The lack of recognition or the error of recognition is something dangerous for both the individual and the collective of which it is part, this can manifest itself in several negative ways within a society. An example if we focus on Canadian society could be in indigenous societies that in the absence of recognition within society came to develop a feeling of non-belonging that led them to claim their place within Canadian society.

Taylor explains that black people were projected for generations by white society with a devalued image, many of them bequeathed to believe in this false image of themselves imposed by whites. This was something very negative that even came to endure years after his liberation from the white collective. Referring to this reality of blacks, the author establishes a similarity with indigenous peoples and colonized peoples, in the Canadian case the indigenous people were victims of this same event and for generations they also suffered because of this problem. The indigenous people were considered one as an inferior civilization in contrast to the others, something that has left its mark, hence the recognition of these people and these groups is not a favor towards them is more the author defines it as a vital human need, important to restore a new concept of society and equality.

In the previous lines has been commented the situation that many indigenous peoples experience by the colonists, the also called colonizing civilizations, the same name says a lot about the pre-status of these people even before arriving in these lands, in the Canadian case it is known that the French and the English arrived to form a country in which both languages and cultures would subexistise to form the Canada we know today.

In the quote appears an interesting word, diversity, Taylor refers to diversity within modern society with the following words.

“There is a certain way of being human that is my way. I am called upon to live my life in this way, and not in imitation of anyone else’s life. But this notion gives a new importance to being true to myself. If I am not, I miss the point of my life; I miss what being human is for me. ”
(Taylor, 2019)

It is interesting to relate this quote from Taylor's text to diversity, because, although a collective shares the same culture and customs, it is not necessarily synonymous with the homogeneity of its individuals. Each of its members has their own tastes or opinions that necessarily coincide with that of the rest of the participant, and the fact of considering each person for their own self is indispensable.

Taylor mentions in his text language as a tool to express oneself, during this course has had access to different works of literary art and poetry among others. This is the case of the book *Kitchen Talk*, written by Rita Wong, a Canadian poet who exposes things related to decolonization, social justice as contemporary poetry. Among the different authors we find many more apart from Wong, who expose their social reality or that of others through the novel or poetry, all this is encompassed within art and through this they give voice and visibility to the different problems that exist in Canadian society. This is something positive and conciliatory since the fact of being able to explain a reality without the need to expose real people makes it easier for the reader to become aware of the problem, and perhaps want to be part of the solution. Taylor uses the following quote that refers to what has just been explained.

"We don't just learn the languages in dialogue and then go on to use them for our own purposes. We are of course expected to develop our own opinions, outlook, stances toward things, and to a considerable degree through solitary reflection." (Taylor, 2019)

It is understood that identity can be formed or distorted through the course of our contact with other significant people, returning to the main quote it says; *We have created a society where individual rights and freedoms, compassion and diversity are core to our citizenship.* We can understand that despite the different disputes throughout history today Canadian society has come to form a tolerant and egalitarian society for all.

In 1982, the Canadian Bill of Rights was approved, which was in charge of aligning the Canadian political system through a list of rights that offers a basis for judicial review of legislation at all levels of government. As there are distinctions within Canadian society, the question of how to relate this list to the different claims within the country, specifically the French Canadians of Quebec, that is, the Quebecers and the aboriginal peoples, came into debate. Their desire for survival, self-government and recognition was the order of the day, and they also wanted some type of legislation that would ensure their survival within society without losing their culture and identity.

Taylor gives as an example the case of Quebec that passed different laws in the language sector, the author describes it like this, and I quote;

“Quebec has passed a series of laws in the field of language. One regulates who can send their children to English-language schools (not francophone or immigrant); another requires companies with more than fifty employees to be managed in French; a third party prohibits commercial signage in any language other than French. In other words, your government has imposed restrictions on Quebecers, in the name of their collective goal of survival, which in other Canadian communities could easily be rejected under the Charter.²⁹”

Taylor mentions blind liberalism as something dangerous that is not feasible in all societies and points out that it is necessary to make a difference between politics and religion, something impossible in some societies, for example, Muslim ones. It is curious that the author of this text mentions Salman Rushdie, a writer recently attacked in New York for the work to which Taylor refers in his text *Satanic Verses* (Pilkington, 2022). To assert the invalidity of liberalism blindly, Taylor uses the following quote;

“A controversy like that over Salman Rushdie's satanic verses shows how wrong this view is. For mainstream Islam, it is not about separating politics and religion in the way that is expected in Western liberal society. Liberalism is not a possible meeting ground for all cultures, rather it is the political expression of a range of cultures, and quite incompatible with other ranges.” (Taylor, n.d.)

Liberalism cannot and must not claim complete cultural neutrality and the hospitable variant has to draw the line between one thing and the other. This is not easy at all because societies are becoming increasingly multicultural and more porous – “Their porosity means they are more open to multinational migration; more of its members live the life of the diaspora, whose center is elsewhere.” (Taylor, n.d).

Part 2

In the official page of The Government of Canada we have brief definition of what they defined as their identity and society, and it says:

“Get a better understanding and appreciation of Indigenous peoples, the role of the monarchy, as well as the languages, anthems and symbols that define Canada’s identity. Recognize the

impact of the promotion of gender equality and the protection of human rights and cultural diversity in shaping our country.” (Service Canada 2022).

This description of the concept they have of themselves is quite accord with the quote we first present in this text of Justin Trudeau, it is even more accurate naming indigenous as a special concern, making believe that there are concern of their pain.

The American continent was colonized by Europeans upon their arrival, these lands were already inhabited by other people, the indigenous people, who experienced extreme violence and were also exposed to exile, the marginalization of their communities and the exponential denigration of their cultural identities .

The dominant culture during the formation of modern Canada is that of Western Europe, since the country was colonized by the French and British as previously mentioned. As a consequence, a system of values established by the settlers leaving in the background, if it can be said in this way, the indigenous culture and values already established by the colonized.

Canadian culture is understood by the following qualities; honesty, tolerance, justice, unity in diversity, modesty, informality and sensitivity. Known as "the just society", Canada's culture is based on its tolerance, respect and community orientation (Canadian Culture 2022). For Canadian society, egalitarianism and respect among its inhabitants are important, even avoiding the direct manifestation of the differences that may exist between the different social classes, they do so by avoiding the unnecessary demonstration of personal luxuries.

The official languages of the country are English and French, although most of the country speaks English, although in Quebec French is the most widely spoken language. Many times a direct relationship is made between language and culture, but in Canada it is difficult to establish such a simple relationship. Although there are some cultural traits of the colonizing countries that are still maintained in their speakers. An obvious discussion in the country is about the provincial independence of Quebec and a debate about whether this nationalism is still rooted in ethnic and cultural difference or if it is better seen as a linguistic or territorial argument (Canadian Culture 2022). Taylor mentions this discussion in his text *The Politics of Recognition* (n.d).

The predominant culture is Anglo-Canadian, but there is a strong acceptance of bicultural identity. It is interesting to note that Canadian society is very positive about the arrival of

immigration to the country, they consider this phenomenon as something beneficial for the development and growth of the country. Despite its tolerant image, Canada has experienced many conflicts with indigenous peoples, as they seek to recover their culture and assert their ethnic sovereignty over the land, something limited by the premise of equality for all. This idea is somewhat contradictory, but the objective is to create an egalitarian society and not the opposite, although this favors or vindicates the position of some indigenous groups.

Canadian society recognizes religious pluralism, a system by which the plurality of doctrines or positions is accepted or recognized. That is, every citizen has the freedom to practice any religion as long as they do not break the law, therefore, there is no official religion in the country, although Christianity has been the dominant faith since colonization and many official practices remain. Being a pluralistic and free country, respect is expected from the population and the government. Canadians tend not to talk about religion at all and are free to choose whether they want to identify as religious or not.

The Religion in Canada website estimated in a 2019 study that 63.2% of Canadians are Christian, 26.3% are not affiliated with any religion, and 1.2% belong to a religion other than Christianity (being Islam the largest non-Christian faith at 3.7%) (Religion in Canada, 2021).

“Many Canadians regard the historic treatment and recognition of their First Nations people as a significant stain on Canadian history (Indigenous Canadians have been denied their ethnic and cultural identity in policies and have often been erased from the conscience of the community). However, while there is consensus regarding the existence of historical atrocities and injustices, reconciliation and resolution of indigenous claims for improved status are likely to be complex, contentious and protracted. The disadvantage of the indigenous population compared to people of other origins remains a chronic social problem.” (Canadian Culture 2022).

This quote perfectly defines the current Canadian reality, although they have advanced and improved a lot, they still have a long way to go. After the readings carried out, the participation in class and the personal search for information, it could be concluded that the main quote is not quite accurate in terms of the reality of the country. It should be noted that the event is practically an ideal society and beyond Canada, no society is perfect, there are still many bridges to cross and a lot of work to do.

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Introduction

In the year 2012, Justin Trudeau (Trudeau, J, 2012) made a remark about Canada and its current situation as a forefront in the political and economical world. The article may be outdated, but holds an interesting quote. Justin Trudeau stated “We have created a society where individual rights and freedoms, compassion and diversity are core to our citizenship. But underlying that idea of Canada is the promise that we all have a chance to build a better life for ourselves and our children.”. Trudaue tried to imply in his quote that no matter the background of the individual or the societal status, Canada as a whole can promise to the individual and their offsprings that they can have a future ahead of them.

To challenge that and understand where the basis of that thought takes root this text will use different canadian sources to truly understand Truadues quote. In order to understand the quote to the fullest this paper will take some examples of Canadian and foreign culture interactions and discuss the results of that mixing, if it is economical, cultural or just value-based. What kind of effect it had on the Canada culture model and what it really means to be a multicultural country.

Discussion

Canada as a country has a complex history with its populace. According to Epimetheus (Epimetheus, 2019) Canada was filled with different indeginous groups of people, to later being a remotely controlled state by foreign countries and lately being seen as a country full of promise of welfare. Canada and its sporadic identity ironically creates a single identity

where the country can be seen as a home for all types of people. Even if you do have a Indigenous background (Government of Canada, 2017), European or other background. However, because of that mix of populace the country has a lot of history and challenges to meet.

For example, Canada is considered a constitutional monarchy and is part of the commonwealth (Government of Canada, 2021 & The Commonwealth, n.d). The commonwealth is a value-based association where most of its members are somehow historically connected to the United Kingdom (The Commonwealth, n.d). In the association they can discuss world goals and help each other out essentially. However, lately Canada has experienced a downside of being a part of the association and being a monarchy under British rule (Embensadoun, 2021). The benefits of being a part of a bigger association than itself helps for example Canada's reputation, education and sustainability, that can even be seen today.

Another relationship that Canada is working nationwide for is their relationship with their Indigenous people and their rights in the country (René R. Gadacz, 2019). For years the Indigenous people have been robbed of their land, experiencing racism and segregation. Canada for the last 50 years has tried to amend that with treaties and given back rights and control to the Indigenous people. Canada has also supported Indigenous projects like art and music by giving them that space to express themselves. For example, Indigenous people have given us works like *Injun* by Jordan Abel and *A Coyote Columbus Story* by Thomas

King(Abel, J, 2016 & King, T, 2002).

Another culture that was essentially assimilated to Canada was the Estonia culture around the 1900 century(Aun, K, 1985). In this case, the Estonian populace got forced to leave their country, but they got introduced to Canadian culture and decided in the end to become a part of the country. Canada at first saw this as a nice gesture, however it became apparent that the populace of Estonia was well educated and hard working so the country didn't take long to take advantage of it. For Canada it became an economical asset to welcome the Estonian immigrants, especially that the culture assimilation wasn't at all a disadvantage because of Canada's prior history with Europe. Today the culture is part of Canada's history and a welcome addition to Canada's overall diversity of culture.

Another flourishing relationship that Canada has is with a prominent economic giant, China. China and Canada have a long history with each other, much deeper and older than might be expected(International, 2022). China has even gone further and even taken direct contact with Canada's first nation populace because of their access to natural resources(BC First Nations Energy and Mining Council 2011). The first nation tribes getting recognized and developing a relationship with the chinese investors doesn't only directly help the country as a whole, but makes Canada truly a diversity welcome country as a whole. The first Nations are looking to the future with their partners for a more sustainable world.

Lastly, another culture that is prominent within Canada is the French culture(Blakemore, E 2020). Historically speaking, a vast amount of central land did get claimed by France and in

turn established the French culture into it. Later the province of Quebec was established after inner turmoil (Behiels, D.M 2020). The French inspired culture and identity has been vocal about its language usage and cultural identity. Because of the French identity being so different compared to the rest of Canada, the province of Quebec has considered leaving the country, but the people in the province couldn't come to a consensus. Today the French identity is still an outstanding feature in Canada.

Conclusion and reflection

Justin Trudeau's quote in the introduction had a lot of merit behind it. Canada has a lot of history and challenges even today. With a diverse mix of culture and people the country has to daily meet their expectations and interest, but it can also gain for example economical and value from meeting those expectations. Unfortunately, the country hasn't always done right to its people. For instance their Indigenous people have only recently been properly compensated, but only time will tell if that is enough.

I believe that it is wonderful how the country has flourished with how much struggle and challenges it met. The Canadian culture model is a robust and flexible societal model that is enough to be able to fit all these types of cultures. Of course, Canada can't unfortunately meet the center with all of its people. But when Trudeau said that quote, he said it with a course in mind, where the country is going, a middle ground can be found for its people and its future. Only by working together and truly recognizing everyone's differences can we truly find salvation.

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The CULTURAL MODEL by JUSTIN TRUDEAU in 2012

Ten years ago, when Justin Trudeau was campaigning for leadership of the Liberal Party, he explained the success of Canada by stating that “We have created a society where individual rights and freedoms, compassion and diversity are core to our citizenship. But underlying that idea of Canada is the promise that we all have a chance to build a better life for ourselves and our children”.¹ According to Trudeau this ideal was under threat because of increasing income inequality and a middle class that was left out by the current political leadership. His solution was a more inclusive approach and a liberal agenda built on evidence. Based on the quote by

Trudeau the intention of this paper is to investigate multicultural aspects related to individual rights and freedoms, compassion and diversity and a better life for generations. But first the concept of multiculturalism needs some comments.

1. The Canadian multiculturalism

The quote by Trudeau expresses an ideal self-image of Canada, and it also gives hints about cracks in that ideal. Writing that the middle class has been left out by political programs and that “we all” are expected to have the possibilities to build a better life “for ourselves and our children” Trudeau mentions class and generation as factors distinguishing the Canadian citizens as groups. In the text Trudeau considers the “entry, en masse, of a new generation of well-educated, hard-working Canadian women into the workforce”² the “one primary reason” to the rise of family incomes and therefore economic growth of Canada. Placing all the emphasis on women considering them as a group being “the one primary reason” gives them a huge burden/responsibility/guilt. Finally, with his unanswered question “Where is the next wave of growth going to come from?” Trudeau shows lack of consideration of perhaps one of the most determining multicultural factors: ethnicity/nationality. By stating that he wants to lead in an inclusive way without revealing whom he needs to/wants to include Trudeau seems to carefully avoid to be accused for “Othering”.

Multiculturalism as a term is passed with silence by Trudeau, or more precisely sided with the inclusive/inoffensive expression “we all”, perhaps because of blindness at this point of history or because of complexity of the matter. However, it is remarkable to see this lack of explicit

1 Trudeau, 2012.

2 Trudeau, 2012.

multiculturalism in an editorial from 2012 by a Canadian claiming that he wants to lead Canada in an inclusive way. After all, the official policy of Canada has been multiculturalism from the 1970s³ and the “Multiculturalism Act, i.e., the legal and political touchstone for debates about multiculturalism” can be dated to 1988.⁴ Multiculturalism is used to describe the social reality, the federal government policy as well as the myth-based ideology of Canada.⁵ This multicultural policy has been criticized for hiding the dualism between Anglo- and Francophonie⁶, having too little focus on actual goals, allowing racism, and not fitting social reality. Multiculturalism has also been accused of separation and “ethnic ghettoization” instead of facilitating “mobility, exchangeability, or fluidity”.⁷ Transculturalism is proposed as a more dynamic concept because it does not deny the boundaries or distinctions between cultures, but it includes a “long, arduous, and sometimes painful negotiation of Otherness”.⁸

2. Individual rights and freedoms

The claim by Trudeau about individual rights and freedoms as “a core to our citizenship” can be seen almost as a provocation to readers aware of the complex and partly traumatic history of Canada. Historically Canada is deeply marked by lack of rights and freedoms concerning colonialization of the First Nations – those who were there first – and immigration during different time periods and from different countries.

Canada is officially a bicultural nation linguistically and constitutionally and is part of the

Commonwealth as well as of the Francophonie⁹. The constitution is bilingual and the national anthem “Oh Canada!” was originally written in French but today¹⁰, beside the versions in French and in English, there is also a bilingual version. An interesting observation regarding the bilingual version is that the part kept in French contains a cruel reference to violence and the Catholic church, which is excluded from the English version. The two lines “Car ton bras sait porter l’épée, Il sait porter la croix” would be translated to “Because your arm knows how to carry the sword, It knows how to carry the cross”. Excluding these lines from the English

3 Birk & Gymnich, 2016, p. 513.

4 Birk & Gymnich, 2016, p. 514.

5 Birk & Gymnich, 2016, p. 515.

6 Birk & Gymnich, 2016, p. 516.

7 Birk & Gymnich, 2016, p. 517.

8 Birk & Gymnich, 2016, p. 519.

9 Auplat, 2003.

10 The official website of the Government of Canada: <https://www.canada.ca/en/canadian-heritage/services/anthems-canada.html#a1>

version could be interpreted as an “easy way” to erase and thereby possibly make people forget the violent past of Canada. This is in line with the way Trudeau in his editorial avoids writing a single word about the opposite to rights and freedoms: lack of rights and acts of slavery, which also form the past of Canada, at least for certain groups. There are in fact narratives by former

slaves testifying about the multicultural past and African Canadian literature that refers to “the history of slavery and the impact it has had on the African diaspora”.¹¹

Trudeau mentions “individual” rights and freedoms as the core of Canada. He pronounces the wish that “we all” would have the same possibilities without mentioning that the history of Canada shows that those possibilities for all have not always been the case. Different groups in Canada have been treated differently, even in front of the law. Different groups have also been strongly influenced by their own belief systems. This has had consequences on many levels for a great number of lives, not only demographically but also psychologically, and for generations. One flagrant example of legal measures that have a specific group of people as target is The Chinese Immigration Act created by the Government of Canada in 1885 to discourage Chinese immigration. This law, also known as the “Chinese Exclusion Act” obliged any Chinese coming to Canada to pay a tax of \$50. Fifteen years later the tax was doubled, in 1903 the tax was increased to the astronomic sum of \$500 and in 1923 Chinese immigration was forbidden except for merchants, diplomats, students, and “special circumstances” cases”.¹² Since the time when Chinese immigrants came to Vancouver Island in 1858 to work on the Canadian Pacific Railway development, the Chinese and the First Nations share the history of oppression in British Columbia. Both groups were treated as second class citizens and they often inter-married. This shared history has become the basis for cultural exchanges as well as massive Chinese investment projects. Since the diplomatic relations between Canada and China began in 1970 the annual trade volume has increased from \$150 million per year to \$30 billion 40

years later.¹³

¹¹ Birk & Gymnich, 2016, p. 521.

¹² BC First Nations Energy and Mining Council. 2011. First Nations and China : Transforming Relationships.

Available at <http://fnemc.ca/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/final-version-low-resolution.pdf>

¹³ BC First Nations Energy and Mining Council. 2011. First Nations and China : Transforming Relationships.

Available at <http://fnemc.ca/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/final-version-low-resolution.pdf>

3. Compassion and diversity

Trudeau's statement about compassion and diversity can be linked to one of the driving forces behind nationalist movements, namely the demand for recognition coming from minority or "subaltern" groups. This is the case while recognition is linked to identity and nonrecognition or misrecognition can be perceived as oppression.¹⁴ The basis of this need for recognition is found in modern ideals of authenticity, self-fulfillment, and self-realization. According to Herder there are two kinds of originality, meaning that the same right to originality applies for individuals and for culture-bearing. In the same way as individuals should be true to themselves, a Volk should be true to own culture of that Volk.¹⁵

During her seminar about Chinese Canadian experiences, Ruta Slapkauskaitė¹⁶ shares two artistic representations of Chinese culture. In both the film and the short story, the main character is a woman deeply impregnated by the traditional Chinese family life although she lives in Canada. Both are examples of the diversity Trudeau mentions in his editorial.

Slapkauskaite begins her seminar by showing the award-winning animation *Bao*¹⁷ directed by Domee Shi, who herself grew up in the Chinese community of Toronto. The autobiographical film *Bao* is about a steam bun becoming a boy and a mother who expresses love wordless through food. The animation made Miss Shi at the age of 28 the first woman to direct a short film at Pixar.¹⁸ Slapkauskaite also presents the short story *Prairie Widow* by Paul Yee¹⁹ about an immigrant widow Gum-May Yee, who at the age of 16 – against her will - marries a Chinese man whom she must wait for during 20 years before she can join him in Canada (which illustrates the effects of The Chinese Immigration Act mentioned above). The husband of Gum-May owns a café, she is illiterate, and they have an extremely hierarchical relationship. Despite this she decides to stay in the prairies among white people and run the café after the death of her husband. Slapkauskaite²⁰ points out the doubleness for identity of “inside” and “outside” in

the short story, meaning that Gum-May is guest in Canada (“outside”) and at the same time she

14 Taylor, 1994, p. 25.

15 Taylor, 1994, p. 31.

16 Slapkauskaite, 2022.

17 The the award-winning animation *Bao* : <https://youtu.be/f5CgFT0274>

18 Comments of Domee Shi, director of the animation *Bao* : <https://m.youtube.com/watch?v=9plIFF5k7FeU>

19 Yee. P. (1990): *Prairie Widow*. In: *Other Solitudes: Multicultural Fiction and Interviews*. Ed: Linda Hutcheon

and Marion Richmond. Toronto: OUP (pp. 334-348).

20 Slapkauskaite, 2022.

is host in the café (“inside”). This doubleness of inside-outside and guest-host leads to many questions, for example “For how long can/should an immigrant consider himself an immigrant, a refugee a refugee, a foreigner a foreigner?”. There are no simple answers, but the questions and reflections are important. As Herder put it: “each of us has an original way of being human: each person has his or her own “measure”.²¹

In *Prairie Widow* and his other works Yee “examines critically the basic moral and spiritual codes native to the Chinese culture – Confucianism and Taoism.”²² These codes are essential parts of the Chinese Canadian culture and important to highlight to understand multiculturalism of Canada even today, especially as Canada “constitutes a multicultural “mosaic” rather than following the melting pot paradigm”.²³ This means that in contrast to the American melting pot

idea, Canada has “encouraged immigrants and their descendants to preserve important aspects of their ancestral cultures if they wished”. This attitude called the “Canadian mosaic” was introduced as early as in 1938 by the Scottish Canadian writer John Murray Gibbon²⁴, born as the sixth of twelve children in Ceylon to a Scottish tea planter family. Gibbon who branded the northern nation was not a politician but a general public agent for the Canadian Pacific Railway (mentioned above making many Chinese workers emigrate to Canada), organizer of folk music festivals and author of seventeen books and many articles. He came to feel “special sympathy” with other cultures through the international language of music.²⁵

4. A better life for generations

The focus of Trudeau on building a future not only for oneself but also for the next generations could be seen as an expression of the potentiality and the possibilities we all need to form and define our identity. Nothing is given, everything is achievable. The politics of recognition of the universal human potential means that “all humans are equally worthy of respect” and is based on what Kant called dignity.²⁶ This requires a politics of difference, while a “difference-blind society is not only inhuman (because suppressing identities) but also, in a subtle and unconscious way, itself highly discriminatory.”²⁷ It is important to state that there are not only differences between but also within the different immigrant groups. Kulyk Keefer has

21 Taylor, 1994, p. 30.

22 Ming Chen & Parungao, 1999, p. 32.

23 Birk & Gymnich, 2016, p. 516.

24 Birk & Gymnich, 2016, p. 516.

25 Neilson, 2011, p. 127.

26 Taylor, 1994, p. 42.

27 Taylor, 1994, p. 43.

introduced the notion of a “continuum of immigrant experience” which mainly contains a feeling of displacement. However, every individual immigrant has the right to be recognized at her/his experienced position on that continuum. According to Keefer the “actual immigrant” still feels the displacement, when the “conceptual immigrant” already reflects on the

displacement. It is important to notice that “the (historical) experience of immigration continues to have an impact on later generations”.²⁸

The generational aspect of immigration is clearly illustrated by Eva Rein in her seminar about The Estonian Canadian Writer K. Linda Kivi in the Context of Canadian Multicultural Writing.

Two works of K. Linda Kivi are presented, a novel called *If Home is a Place* and an autobiographical text *The Inner Green: Exploring Home in the Columbia Mountains*. In the novel the protagonist Esther is a second-generation immigrant with parents that exiled to Canada together with about 14000 Estonians during “The Great Escape” when Soviet occupied Estonia in 1944 and made totally 80000 Estonians leave their homeland. The novel represents all three kinds of Canadian multicultural fiction, namely that of “arrival”, of “immigration and settlement” and of “return”.²⁹ The novel also illustrates how the founding trauma forms the identity of Esther by so called postmemory³⁰, which means that collective trauma of her family is transmitted to her by stories, images, and behaviors although she herself has not directly experienced the actual trauma. Not only things that are talked about affect us, but also events, experiences, and facts that the family is silent about, influence generations to come. The novel shows the mental journey of Esther who manages to decolonize herself by integrating the different parts of her experience so that she no longer is trapped in the victim-identity. In the autobiographical text, Kivi explores her relationship to the Columbia Mountains, to herself and to her bilingualism. The text also illustrates “the impact of the landscape upon the mind”, such an important characteristic of all Canadian literature.³¹

5. Concluding remarks

Both what is said and what is not mentioned in the quote by Trudeau can tell us a lot about the cultural image and the development of Canada from official bilingualism to multicultural reality. Much has happened in Canada since Trudeau wrote his editorial to become a liberal

28 Birk & Gymnich, 2016, p. 519.

29 Rein, 2022.

30 Hirsch, 2022.

31 Kreisel, 1983, p. 107.

leader with focus on evidence and inclusion. Today new voices have claimed recognition while others have stopped asking for rights and least of all recognition. The horrors experienced by the First Nations have been recognized and compensated as never before³² and the proportion of French speaking citizens of Quebec and Canada has decreased considerably.³³ Canada has been a land of immigration for 150 years³⁴ and during the last few years a growing number of new citizens have been welcomed. The target of immigration since 2021 is 400000 per year (1,1% of Canada's population)³⁵, which has increased the proportion of Canadians that speak another language than French or even English at home (from 7,7% in 1991 to 12,7% in 2021).³⁶ This shows more than ever the importance of the multicultural perspective if the aim is a better life for all the Canadians today and the generations to come.

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32 Fenton, 2022.

33 Provost, 2022.

34 The official website of Statistics Canada: <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/en/pub/11-630-x-630-x2016006->

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35 Robitaille, 2022.

36 Provost, 2022s

Ming Chen, J. & Parungao, P. (1999). Society, History, and Values : A Cultural Study of Paul Yees's Chinese Canadian Female Characters. In : Canadian Children's Literature / Littérature canadienne pour la jeunesse. No. 93, Vol. 52 :1, pp. 20-36.

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Electronic resources

The official website of the Government of Canada: <https://www.canada.ca/en/canadian-heritage/services/anthems-canada.html#a1>

The official website of Statistics Canada: https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/en/pub/11-630-x-630-x2016006-eng.pdf?st=n_OkQOrg

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In his 2012 article, Justin Trudeau stated “We have created a society where individual rights and freedoms, compassion and diversity are core to our citizenship. But underlying that idea of Canada is the promise that we all have a chance to build a better life for ourselves and our children.” In order to reflect on this quote, we need to understand the cultural model of Canada. Canada is often defined as a multicultural society since, it is the first country in the world to adopt the Multiculturalism Policy in 1971. Later in 1988, Canada passed the Multiculturalism Act which "sought to protect the cultural heritage of all Canadians, reduce

discrimination, and encourage the implementation of multicultural programs and initiatives within institutions and organizations."¹

The term multiculturalism means that different ethnic groups and cultures all coexist together within a society. In Hanne Birk and Marion Gymnich article entitled "*Multiculturalism in Canadian Fiction*", they declared that this concept of multiculturalism "has been praised by some critics" because it is different from its neighbors' -the US- cultural model called the 'melting pot'. (Birk & Gymnich 2016, 515)

Indeed, the Canadian multiculturalism model integrates different cultures in its society, whereas in the "melting pot" model, different cultures would all be mixed together and blended as one. Instead of having coexisting cultures, only one big culture would remain. Therefore, this idea of melting pot means that minorities would have to repress parts of their culture to blend in with the rest of the population, which leads to an erasure of peoples' identity.

Due to these two different cultural models, Canada and the US are often compared. Canada is often praised for its cultural diversity and generally seen as a better country to live in than the US. But it is important to not be blinded by just some aspects.

Stephen Harper, former Canadian Prime Minister, declared in a press conference in 2009 that Canada "has no history of colonialism". (Kristina Aurylaité lecture, slide 50)

The present is rooted in the past and for that reason it is important to acknowledge that Canada has in fact a history of colonialism. Canada was built on genocide and colonization of Indigenous people and lands. When they settled in Canada, Europeans brought with them diseases which killed a large number of the Indigenous population. They quickly became outnumbered, which made them a minority on their own lands. The First Nations were then forced to live in reserves, excluded from the rest of the population. From 1883, residential schools were created by the Canadian government and the Church. More than 150,000 children were taken away from their families and forced to attend these 'schools' which had for the sole

purpose to erase Indigenous culture through a process called 'assimilation'. They could not speak their own language and express their Indigenous culture in any way. The children experienced mental, physical, and sexual abuse. The results of these schools go from a loss of culture, and traumas for some children to death for others. More than 4,000 children died in those schools. Even though the last residential school closed in 1997, what happened is not something that should be forgotten. People are still affected by it and statements such as Stephen Harper's is harmful to millions of people. Moreover, Justin Trudeau's quote makes it seem like Canada is the 'perfect' country because of its "individual rights and freedoms, compassion and diversity" as a core to Canadian citizenship, which fail to acknowledge this part of Canada's past and that a part of its citizens are still marginalized and suffer from it. Hence, Canada, as a multicultural country fails to honor the 1988 Multiculturalism Act which "sought to protect the cultural heritage of all Canadians" and "reduce discrimination".

As another example of a marginalized group in Canada, we can use the example of Chinese immigrants. The first wave of Chinese immigration was in 1858. The immigrants were mostly men and worked in poor condition "as coolie workers, coal miners, domestic servants, and seasonal workers in the salmon canning industry." (Rūta Šlapkauskaitė lecture, slide 9). Then, in the early 1880s Chinese men were recruited to work on the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway. For Canada, they represented cheap labor since they were paid "less than half of what the white workers were paid" (Rūta Šlapkauskaitė lecture, slide 11)

In 1885, Canada introduced the Chinese Immigration Act which required that all Chinese immigrants had to pay to enter Canada. The sum they had to pay, also called 'head tax', kept on increasing until the 1923 Chinese Exclusion Act which banned Chinese immigration. This Act was only repealed in 1947, but still, restrictions remained. Canada welcomed Chinese immigrants for its personal benefit of building the Canadian Pacific Railway, which was very important for the Canadian economy. Chinese workers did not get any recognition for their work, on the contrary, they were treated very poorly. The Chinese poet, anthologist, and critic Lien Chao stated in the introduction of her book *"Beyond Silence"* that Chinese immigrants came to Canada because they had hopes for a better life- which reminds us of Justin Trudeau's quote "Canada is the promise that we all have a chance to build a better life for ourselves and our children"- but instead they got "treated as an undesirable race and convenient scapegoats for social woes" (Lien Chao 1997, 4) in contrary to white European immigrants. Chinese

immigrants were oppressed and excluded from the rest of the population and lived in Chinatowns, in the same way as Indigenous groups were excluded into reserves.

Using my previous examples of the Indigenous and the Chinese communities in Canada to tackle Justin Trudeau's quote, I will now analyze how having diverse literature is important for minorities and why it is important for people outside of those communities to read their literature.

Literature is a powerful tool to share stories, history, and experiences, "yet the experience of these immigrants "figured in literature only when the children and grandchildren wrote about it"" (Birk & Gymnich 2016, 520). For example, Paul Yee's short story entitled "*Prairie Widow*", which is about a Chinese-Canadian woman, the Chinese settlement to Canada, and the racism they faced. This short story was written and published years after the first wave of Chinese immigration. First Nations literature is also quite recent as a written form -the Inuit was mostly an oral culture- and started being published only in the 1960s. Authors writing about their experiences or their ancestors' experiences years after they happened allows history to not be forgotten and whether these stories are part of our own culture or not, we can always learn something from them. Also, having representation in literature is important for minority groups. Reading stories of someone from the same culture might give them a sense of belonging they might not have in their everyday life. They can finally feel that someone understands them, that they are not alone. They have someone to relate to. The authors, write down their experiences that we do not usually find in mainstream media, it is a way to make the voices of underrepresented groups heard.

It is also important to read literature from other cultures than our own. Reading stories from a different point of view allows us to be more open, tolerant, and understanding of others.

However, the term "multicultural literature" is often used to categorize all literatures coming from different ethnic groups. This label is problematic since, instead of showcasing the diversity of literature, it regroups different cultures and literary genres as if they were all the

same. “As far as literature is concerned, the designation "multicultural literature" indeed tends to be used as a term of exclusion”. (Birk & Gymnich 2016, 517) Having different cultures mixed together under one label reminds us of the US ‘melting pot’, which Canada wants to avoid.

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“The challenges of the actual Canadian model”

The Canadian societal model could seem inclusive and pro of multiculturalism where the citizens are respected and have liberties under the supervision of a federal and democratic state. That is perhaps, under the international eye, where also the nation is described as prosperous and welcoming. However, the uniqueness of this country can only be resumed as complex and to a certain degree challenging to oversee. But then, how can this country that has supported policies that foster economic development, nuances the international and domestic policy as soft power, has provided education and well-being, and promoted the coexistence of different communities prove controversial?

Aim: This paper will intend to describe which are the main challenges of the modern Canadian model.

Canada’s distinctiveness is the result of a combination of various factors. Among them are the historical and ongoing repercussions of colonialism, alongside the heterogeneous composition of the population and the problems around racial discrimination. Moreover, the persistent social injustice, as well as the non-recognition of minorities. Which indeed represents a concern for the state, citizens, and political actors hence they ought to deal with the configuration of Canadian identity, the acceptance of diversity, and the embracement of pluralism.

Some scholars agree that a certain number of Canadians believe in the importance of history and understand that it is a marker that shapes and reflects their interpretation of nationality, faith, language, and code of law (Bickerton & Gagnon, 2020). And this could be the explanation for why it is embedded in the idiosyncrasies of different groups, preserving significant aspects of their traditional identities, resisting assimilation, and defending the cultural heritage.

For instance, the ancestral inhabitants of the Canadian territory or First Nations and Innuits were unfairly mistreated by the colonizers and were displaced from their lands, their rights were denied, pushed to become second-class citizens, and even defined as less civilized. Recently, “politics of difference” (Taylor, 1995) have arisen in the Canadian state, acknowledging the negative impact of the exclusion, displacement, abuse, and the repeated and multi-generational suffering of Aboriginal people.

Although there have been created various programs that attempt to address the trauma of these groups, it could be said that in the big picture, it has not achieved significant improvements. Still today, these populations remain in a precarious economic situation (Frideres, 2008). Furthermore, they lack adequate support, rights, and respect to safeguard their community. As such, the institutions in power continue to usurp the natural resources from Aboriginal land and the federal jurisprudence can act on areas of subsidiaries governments, and indeed can decide on “behalf of national interest” and impose central rules and standards in territories where First Nations are established.

According to a report from Human Rights Watch from 2021, in Canada, inadequate governance and impunity enjoyed by domestic extractive companies have led to serious human rights violations against indigenous people. Likewise, it has been pointed out that the provincial and federal policies have not succeeded to anticipate or counteract the negative consequences of climate change which has impacted directly the First Nations.

Another particularity of Canadian society is indeed the singularity of being colonized by two different European powers. The British and French settlement and presence planted the symbiotic roots that today give shape to a unique and polytechnic configuration. After years of struggle and tensions, the actual Canadian federation recognizes the state as multinational and declares that Québécois and First Nations are “substate nations”.

Since the Quiet Revolution, Quebec has completed from the nation-building perspective for example a parallel state in juxtaposition to the Canadian. Additionally, it has been possible for the nationalization of hydroelectric resources, the Quebec charter of Human Rights and Freedoms, and the strengthening of a network between the Quebecois institutions and the Crow corporations, among others (Bickerton & Gagnon, 2020).

Notwithstanding the argument of using the language of reconciliation, which made bilingualism recognized as official, it cannot be taken for granted that French Canadians extended leverage or gained more agency hence the French Language in Canada is a commodity rather than a political factor. Progress has been made, as Quebec became a benefactor of the redistribution of economic wealth but the province, despite having its own political and administrative administration, is a non-sovereign nation and its autonomy remains undermined.

As well known, Canada has undergone several waves of immigration which undeniably has changed the composition of the population. Some immigrants have left their countries for familiar or economic reasons. Others have been forced to flee from their lands, and even a large group enter illegally into the Canadian borders.

The Canadian Federal state has proposed diverse accommodation programs to give response to the vast mosaic of ethnocultural diversity of the country. For instance, the Canadian state has responded with federal laws and not long ago implemented multiculturalism policies and renegotiated the prior agreements. Thus, not all immigrants or ethnic groups have the same possibilities, rights, or status.

For instance, it can be illustrated by the Chinese Canadian case. There are several testimonies explaining how difficult, and undermining was the process of moving to Canada. They suffered from abuses, racial discrimination, social injustice, and xenophobia. What understandably dented several generations and has been reflected in forms of artistic expression such as the literary text “Prairie Widow” by Paul Yee.

Thus, the people that fly from their country or decide to move to another one expect to improve their situation or at least have the opportunity for growth. As already mentioned, Canada has the reputation of being a welcoming host, however, many have endured what Neil Bissoondath denounces as a “psychology of separation” and even a “kind of psychic apartheid” (extracted from Birk & Gymnich, 2016 where othering and the representation of dominant cultures predominate. In addition to the lack of representation of minorities or ethnic groups that are less visible, not only in the artistic context but also in the socio-political one.

Likewise, the historical journey of intolerance and impositions were shared. “The memories are painful” stated Kirsten A. McAllister in an interview, referring to the humiliation and maltreatment experienced by several families from the Japanese Canadian communities during

the last century. To some extent, others even from third and fourth generations indicate the sensation of emptiness and the feeling of no belonging, as Estonian- Canadian writer Linka Kivi suggested.

To continue discussing the contemporary issues of the “True North, strong free”, it is mandatory to refer to the polarization and decadence of the middle class. The middle class is typically presumed to be a factor influencing the development and economic growth of a nation, therefore, once this important workforce weakens its financial capacity, it can directly impact the country's Gini index and state revenues through the tax system. Experts infer that this phenomenon caused inequality gaps to be even larger making Canadian society more uneven (Foster & Wolfson, 2009).

Although this fact could seem isolated, it has indeed large relevance and it represents a significant concern for both policymakers, political scientists, and inhabitants in general. Thus, the perception of inequalities is closely related to “legitimacy” or put differently, the popular acceptance and reliability of a regime or governing authority. So, inequalities can express the character of Canadian liberal democracy (Bickerton & Gagnon, 2020).

A similar logic was described by the actual Prime Minister Justine Trudeau, in one of his speeches when he was only a candidate for the management of the nation. Trudeau pointed out that the Canadian model stagnated, despite the economic growth indicating otherwise. The core of the sermon was to illustrate how during the last decades, the wealth has been concentrated in a few hands. At the same time calls for consideration to avoid the collapse of the Canadian model, with so much sacrifice, were erected.

The idea of Justin Trudeau that well-being and future entail both the institutions of power and citizenship. Moreover, it articulates the importance of self-reflection behind individualism and selfishness on the degree of the responsibility that falls on each of us when it comes to building and maintaining an unbiased society.

A different problem that harms the stability of the Canadian model is that the citizens have a fragile identity. As Taylor refers, the lack of recognition of the absence of it can be experienced as a form of oppression and exclusion. The reason why it is mandatory is to create an environment that protects the equal status of cultures and genders and encourages the new ideal of authenticity and dignity. Advocating for the opening of new opportunities for social spending

and procuring inclusive involvement will reinforce the sense of belonging and will strengthen the collective Canadian identity.

In summary, it can be said that the Canadian model struggles today with the accommodation of differences and reconciliation. The heterogeneous and multicultural society does demand citizens and even those who are not legal on the territory. First Nations, French Canadians, immigrants, and the people in general, suffer from the disparities and discrimination, and in some cases, even society has turned its back on them and does not feel identified with the Canadian nation.

One possible solution to these problems is indeed to work for unity and indeed will require the combined efforts of the people that ought to decolonize their minds and move forward for the future, but at the same time is stressful that the state and the institutions in power work in a conjoined framework contribute to the address the problems and requirements of the people with lilt or non-visibility, caring about human rights, protect the civil and political rights of individuals accepting the differences and diversity and empathizing the equality and dignity of all human beings.

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In this essay, we will view Justin Trudeau’s declaration “We have created a society where individual rights and freedoms, compassion and diversity are core to our citizenship. But underlying that idea of Canada is the promise that we all have a chance to build a better life for ourselves and our children.” through the lens of multiculturalism in Canada. Looking at a country’s history always allows for a better understanding of a country’s cultural model, how the society has been formed and how people behave, so we will start with a very brief lookback on history.

Canada's demographic composition provided a fertile ground for the development of multiculturalism. As early as 1867, when the country was initially formed, we see the manifestation of the very first signs of a pluralistic model which was characterized by the presence of a lot of inequalities. This model was composed of three main groups:

the indigenous group, the French, and the British. The inequalities of that pluralistic model were detected early enough and deeply affected the formation of the newly created country. The dominant group was initially the French, then it was the English one. That phenomenon served as a foundation that developed a structural framework that would later affect the formulation of Canada's cultural model. The ethnological and cultural diversity was enhanced from the 18th to the 19th century, when arrivals of groups from Europe, Asia, and Africa occurred. In 1901, citizens of twenty-five different nationalities were recorded, while citizens of French and English origins still comprised the vast majority. After one century, there could be found 200 different nationalities, and despite the French and English ones still being the majority, their share of the total Canadian population had declined remarkably. The coexistence of different cultures within the same borders has been dealt with in various ways, but multiculturalism, as it is known and understood today, began in Canada in the early 1970s. Pierre Trudeau's Government adopted the multicultural policy to solve the problems created by the Francophone minority in Quebec, which was initially recognized as a bilingual and bicultural community as Pierre Trudeau aimed on the construction of a multicultural policy that would be based mainly on a bilingual cultural context. It was claimed that this policy aimed, among other things, at the protection of cultural differences between different ethnic groups. The terrible reactions that were expressed from other minorities, such as the

Chinese-Canadians, finally forced the government not to follow a bi-cultural, but a multicultural policy instead (Policy of Multiculturalism Within Bilingual Framework), which was added in 1982 to the Canadian Constitution. Canadian multiculturalism has been accused by many of being not pluralistic but particularist, i.e. it does not consider that each culture has something unique and valuable to give to the overall culture of the state, but is more concerned with maintaining the dividing lines between individual cultures.

The phenomenon of multiculturalism became a major focal point of political and social discussions. Initially, academic debates revolved around the prosperity enjoyed by citizens of liberal societies of the West, who protect their individual rights. Should this protection extend to the rights of groups as a whole? As a first approach, one could claim that the recognition of collective rights seems to negate the existence of individual rights. However, Charles Taylor, who is an academic and political activist who fights for the rights of minorities in Canada, whose essays have opened great debates around the issue of multiculturalism and the politics of recognition, supports the opposite. Taylor holds a positive attitude towards cultural diversity and considers recognition to be of major importance to the issue of rights since individuals can be identified as group members.

For Taylor, multiculturalism is linked to the politics of recognition, which in turn is linked to the concept of identity. Identity, according to Taylor, can be partially

formulated either by recognition or by the lack of it. A false recognition or the complete absence of it, can lead individuals or groups to a self-limiting, demeaning, or contemptuous image of themselves and thus constitute a form of oppression resulting in a distorted and deprived way of being. Women, “blacks”¹ as well as the indigenous and colonized people acquired low self-esteem and became carriers of a pernicious, distorting identity, living in a patriarchal society, among members of the “white society” or under the yoke of the colonialists respectively. Recognition for them seems not to be only a matter of respect, it is a vital need. However, not only is recognition from others important, but also their self-recognition and self-esteem, i.e. the development of a new self-perception that will lead to shaking off the derogatory identity that others have imposed on them.

The issue of multiculturalism existed long before the publication of Taylor's work, and is still a thorny issue today, due to the multiple movements of populations after globalization. The issue of identity remains a focal point for the recognition of diversity which is a main feature of multiculturalism.

The importance of recognition is expanding in the private space (e.g. religion), but very much so more in the public space (e.g. politics) where the politics of recognition and of identity gave the impetus for the creation of the politics of the catholic equality (universalism) and the politics of difference (difference).

Universalism focuses on the equality of all citizens in terms of their dignity, rights,

and privileges, thus avoiding the creation of citizens belonging to ‘first’ and ‘second’ classes. Difference, which essentially presupposes the existence of the universalism, aims at the recognition of a person's unique identity or of a group that can be different from other people or groups around them. According to Taylor, if this difference is degraded, ignored, or assimilated by the identity of the majority, the value of authenticity is at stake. This is because when people’s authenticity is not recognized, they will face difficulties in shaping their own particular identity and thus they will not have the possibility to participate actively in the social formulations and contribute to social progress, or they will inevitably be assimilated. And while the politics of universal equality is based on the idea that all people are equally entitled to the respect of others, the politics of difference focus on respect for otherness, i.e. on the human potential of shaping and defining their identity as individuals or as members of a cultural group. At a multicultural level, this means that everyone must respect all developed cultural groups.

I please note that here I am using the word “blacks” the same way it is mentioned in Taylor’s article, but I tend to

think critically about using the word “black” as a noun.

It is evident that the two policies of universalism and difference are both based on the fundamental principle of respect, but they are contradictory. The politics of difference, which requires the recognition or even the strengthening of particularities of individuals, can be criticized and accused of violating the principle of

non-discrimination. On the other hand, the policies of universalism, which require that we treat people as equals, ignoring any of their differences, can be accused of refusing to identify an individual's identity and of imposing artificial homogenization. I believe that this criticism can go deeper: the difference-blind principles of universalism politics, that govern the liberal societies of the West, could be considered as a veiled reflection of the beliefs of the dominant political and cultural groups that negate identities and oppresses minority groups.

Recognizing the particularities of minority groups in a healthy and balanced way, should - according to Taylor - be a fundamental element of education. Taylor suggests that schools should be developing multicultural curricula and universities should study a more diverse pallet of authors in literature, not one that includes white males only. Omitting non-white and non-male authors as if white males are the only ones recognized as authors of literature worth studying, can be deamining to non-white and non-male students. Identity is forged by recognition, and I see the definition of one's identity as one of the main tasks of education, thereby I believe that any form of lack of recognition in education is a critical issue. A multicultural educational approach not only shows respect to difference but helps the majority to redefine and essentially protect its own identity. Thus, I believe that multiculturalism in education is (or should be) indissolubly linked to how we practically fulfill the promise of building a better life for ourselves and our children that Justin Trudeau

talked about. Thus, I would like to elaborate more on the idea of multiculturalism and respecting diversity in education.

School is a microcosm of society, a place where cultural diversity is a reality that all members are called to experience on a daily basis. School is also a space of social, cultural, and political integration as children who go to school are already carriers of the perceptions and of the lifestyle of their immediate family environment. People start off with school in the very first years of their youth and continue during the years of their character formation, so school plays an important role in shaping values for life, relationships and society. By including people from different backgrounds and environments, with different cultural characteristics, value systems, and behavior patterns, schools can offer an environment that can offer students cultural literacy. It is, therefore, necessary for modern education to consciously promote the cultivation of cultural literacy not only by the development of multicultural curricula and more inclusive literature, but also by strengthening the ability of effective communication with all people regardless of cultural background which relies on a mutual understanding of different ethno-cultural groups' particularities, by exposing the students to a variety of ideas and opinions that include those that had previously been ignored, silenced, or relegated.

However, I see the universalism-versus-difference debate extending to the world of education, and I can see how one could claim that a multicultural model of

education, even though it aims to eliminate fear, lack of recognition, racism, and discrimination, could potentially make the students "blind to the difference", because the promotion of different cultures and minorities in curricula is being imposed on them rather than inspired on them and thereby focuses on differences rather than the things students might have in common.

I believe that, in a truly multicultural educational reality, diversity should be preserved while keeping a balance between otherness and unity, which lies at the core of the purpose of a democratic society that aims at mutual respect and the harmonious coexistence of all society members. Trudeau's declaration talks about compassion and diversity, and it also talks about the "promise" of building a better future based on these values, implying that Canada has not yet fully succeeded in providing that better future. The question is then: how does the current Canadian cultural model not support multicultural education?

Canada, according to Akkari and Radhouane, does follow principles of multicultural education that considers all cultures to be of equal importance, quality, and status, but the society is still recovering from the genocidal impacts caused by the violent and forceful methods used in indigenous residential schools back at 1840. There have been official apologies and indemnities, as part of the Canadian society moving forward by embracing this tragic mistake as a learning opportunity to never repeat such an injustice. Nevertheless, the notion of multiculturalism in education is not yet

considered to be fully functional and runs the risk of promoting separateness instead of togetherness.

This fragile balance between carefully preserving the uniqueness of minorities and including everyone in a mosaic of different cultures by respecting equality, is of course reflected in literature and art, a place where creativity allows for every idea, concern, pain or joy to be freely expressed. The deeply moving short film “Bao” directed by Domee Shi, who also happens to be the first female solo Pixar director, is a wonderful example. Food is an important feature of the Chinese culture, one that brings families together on the dining table and allows parents to express their love to their children. The love put into cooking is then the perfect metaphor for the love, sweat and tears put into raising a child, the vulnerability of which is perfectly expressed by the tender texture of a “bao”. The intense empty nest feelings of the mother who sees the fragile bao, that she raised with so much effort, getting out to a world so different than hers, expresses the minorities’ fears of losing their uniqueness. Her love and fear of losing her attachment to her son/heritage is so big that she just wishes she could put him back to her stomach, and feels uneasy around his Caucasian wife: a metaphor that emphasizes how minorities focus on their different identity by taking the risk of leaving no room for their inclusion in the society. I was emotionally educated by this short film, which made me realize the fears of cultural assimilation by experiencing them myself during watching the film.

Putting ourselves in the other's shoes, is the way to smoothly accept cultural diversity, and the quickest way for someone to learn how to take into account that we are all different from each other without believing that we are not equal. Canada has managed to construct a society that respects the rights, representation, recognition and the coexistence of all different people, by following the democratic ideals of equality and freedom. However, there is still work to be done in order to fully recognize differences.

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This essay is about the quote that was made by Justin Trudeau in the year 2012.

This is a very interesting quote and in this essay, the different aspects of this quote are going to be described. A central aspect is a culture.

When it comes to Canadian culture then it is a very wide aspect because a central component is a literature.

One example is Estonian- Canadian literature. A famous Canadian and Estonian writer is K. Linda Kivi. One of her most popular novels is named “If home is a Place”.

K. Linda Kivi (1995) describes how do we find our home, if home is a place, in the novel that has the same title. The two first lines of this novel are “ If home is a place, how do we find it? Are there keys dangling, like an extra set of fingers, from your hand?”

These are two very interesting quotes and the author is asking a question in the beginning of this novel, that if home is a place, how do we find it. It is also an interesting aspect that the author is referring to keys dangling from a person’s hand. This is a fascinating metaphor. For an individual who is reading this phrase, it is very interesting because K. Linda Kivi uses the metaphor “a pair of keys that are hanging like an extra pair of fingers” to describe a way of maybe finding a place that an individual calls home. Another famous novel by K. Linda Kivi is named “ The inner green: Exploring home in the Columbian mountains”.

Kivi and Pearkes (2005) describe the life of an individual, whose parents have migrated from Estonia to a region in the so-called Columbian mountains and about how life in this area was. In this novel, it is described that the main character has been finding a place that she could call home for a very long time, for a period of nearly forty years.

Estonians that live in Canada have moved to Canada during the time of the second world war.

An important aspect that Rein (2021) describes is that “ immigration is not only about the physical journey, it is also about the mental journey”. This is an interesting aspect to describe because when the people have lived in a country for a long period of time and they have migrated to this country, these people will, for example, celebrate different kinds of holidays that are celebrated in the country that the people have migrated from.

Birk and Gymnich (2016) describe an interesting aspect and this is that only from the period of 1970s that literature from Canada by writers that are also from another country although they have lived in Canada for a very long period of time, became popular. When it comes to

multicultural literature from Canada then there are three different types of literature. One example is literature about individuals that have migrated to Canada and their arrival there. Another example of literature is about individuals that have migrated to Canada and how they have found their new home and built a life there. The third type of literature is about how people that have migrated from a country to Canada have then returned to the country that they migrated from.

When it comes to Canadian multicultural literature then an interesting aspect is that the authors of these books are not only from a few countries however there are authors from countries all around the world. An example of an author that Birk and Gymnich (2016) describe is Hiromi Goto. Hiromi Goto was born in Japan although her family moved to Canada when she was only three years old. An example of a novel written by Hiromi Goto is *Chorus of Mushrooms*. This novel was written in the year of 1994. Another famous author that Birk and Gymnich (2016) describe is Micheal Ondaatje. Micheal Ondaatje was born in Sri Lanka and moved to Canada. When Micheal Ondaatje was nineteen years old he moved to Montreal. One famous novel that Micheal Ondaatje wrote was named *Running in the family*. This novel was written in the year of 1982. An example of an interesting aspect in Micheal Ondaatje's career was that before him there was not a Canadian author that had received the award that was named Booker prize. He was the first author from Canada that had received this prize. Another aspect is that according to Birk and Gymnich (2016), authors that write multicultural literature are both individuals that have moved to Canada from another country at for example a very young age and also those individuals that were born in Canada and for example one or both of their parents are from another country and have moved to Canada.

Birk and Gymnich (2016) describe that many people from China have moved to Canada to live there and also Chinese- Canadian literature has become popular. It was approximately in the 1850s when many people that were from China moved to Canada, to get a job for example as minors and to work with infrastructure. An example of a Chinese- Canadian writer and also poet is Fred Wah. In the year of 2011, Fred Wah was a Canadian parliamentary poet laureate. There are many examples of famous Chinese- Canadian novels. An example of a popular Chinese- Canadian novel is *the disappearing Moon cafe*. This novel was written by a famous Chinese- Canadian author named Sky Lee. He wrote this novel in the year of 1990.

Another famous Chinese- Canadian novel is named *The Jade Peony*. This novel was written by another famous Chinese- Canadian author, Wayson Choy. Wayson Choy wrote the novel *Jade Peony* in the year of 1996.

There are also many famous African- Canadian authors and an example is Marlen Nourbese Philip. Marlen Nourbese Philip is a famous writer. She has written several different kinds of poems, novels, and also scripts for plays. One of her most famous poems is named “ Discourse on the logic of language”. Marlen Nourbese Philip wrote this poem in the year of 1989. This poem is about slavery and it is a very strong poem and evokes emotions in the individual that is reading is novel. Another famous African- Canadian author is Dionne Brand. Dionne Brand has written many famous novels and poems and some examples of her novels are “At the full and change of the moon”, “What we all long for” and “ Land to light on”. When relating to the quote by Justin Trudeau, Canadian multicultural literature is a very central aspect. Multicultural literature is important in every country, including Canada. Multicultural literature is important because it shows that there is not only one culture in Canada however there are many and it is important for people to learn about other cultures and also to read books that are about other cultures.

When it comes to the cultural diversity in Canada, it is a very important aspect. Premat (2022) describes a study where four thousand and eighteen individuals that live in Canada were a part of this study and one of the questions that they answered was if immigration in Canada makes the cultural diversity stronger. Also in this study, there were two thousand five hundred and ninety-six individuals that lived in the USA and one of the questions that they were asked was if immigration in the USA makes the cultural diversity stronger. The results for these questions have shown that approximately seventy-five percent of the participants agreed and say that immigration in Canada, makes the cultural diversity stronger. Approximately seventy percent of the participants say that it was hard to say, which meant that they did not agree on one hundred percent although they did not also disagree about this question. About seven percent of the participants did not agree that immigration to Canada makes the cultural diversity stronger.

When it comes to the gender and the age of the participants in the study that agreed with, that immigration in Canada makes the cultural diversity stronger, then about sixty-eight percent of all of the male participants agreed with this statement and approximately seventy-six percent of all of the female participants agreed with this statement. When it comes to the age group of participants in this study that were under the age of twenty-nine then about seventy percent of these participants agreed with the statement and seventy percent of all of the participants that were from thirty forty-nine years old did also agree with that immigration in Canada makes the cultural diversity stronger. Approximately seventy-two percent of all of the participants that

were fifty years old or older did also agree with the statement. When comparing how the female and male participants answered then there was not a very big difference.

When looking at how the individuals that lived in the USA answered the question that was if immigration USA makes the cultural diversity stronger then the results showed that approximately sixty two percent of the participants agreed with the statement. Approximately twenty six and a half percent disagreed with the statement that immigration in the USA makes cultural diversity stronger. Nearly ten percent of all of the participants did not agree entirely although they also did not disagree about this question.

The results that this study showed was that the majority of the participants did agree with that immigration in Canada makes cultural diversity stronger. The majority of the participants that were from the USA also agreed that immigration in the USA makes the cultural diversity stronger.

This is a very important aspect because in Canada there are many different cultures and they have for example specific literature, such as books and poems and it is important for people to for example read literature from different cultures.

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In this paper, I will examine Canada's current cultural model in comparison to the indigenous peoples. The prime minister of Canada expressed that 'the underlying idea of Canada is the promise that everyone has a better chance to build a better life for themselves and their children' (Trudeau, 2012). First, I will discuss my reflection on Trudeau's quote, including a small introduction of Canada. Next, I will explain the unstable identity of indigenous peoples. Furthermore, I will focus on nation building of Canada and the misrecognitions of the indigenous community. Using examples of the past and present such as art and residential schools, I will investigate how Canada's cultural model has posed a systemic barrier in reference to Trudeau's statement. Finally, this essay will portray the injustice of indigenous groups in Canadian society and the continuing challenges for Canada.

The prime minister of Canada has said to fellow Canadians, 'we have created a society where individual rights and freedoms, compassion and diversity are core to our citizenship' (Trudeau, 2012). Canada, a country with outstanding reputation, is constructed of many progressive human rights and diversity in comparison to the rest of the world. Diversity is a compelling part of Canada, with the country often referred to as a mosaic or melting pot. Moreover, Canadian immigration policies thrive on the benefits of multiculturalism. In fact, inclusiveness is a crucial success to the Canadian cultural model. For example, 'the Trudeau government has focused on advocating for rights of immigrants, people with disabilities, LGBT people and other minorities' (Wattie, 2019). Furthermore, Canada has a global reputation as a 'friendly country'. It constantly ranks in the media as a welcoming place to live, where locals are highly approachable and extra kind.

Trudeau has previously spoken on the 'underlying idea of Canada'. This was the idea that Canadians would have a better life living in the country for themselves, and also for their descendants such as their children and grandchildren. For most of the Canadian population, this could be argued as a true statement. Becoming a Canadian permanent resident or citizenship holder grants you a place in a thriving beautiful, multicultural society. There is much freedom and many benefits of being a Canadian such as receiving universal healthcare, accessing world class education, etc. However, there is a group of people in Canada who have been challenged

with cultural matters in a country of inclusiveness. These are the indigenous peoples, they have battled for cultural recognition historically, and continue to do so in current day Canada. I would like to analyse the hardships of the indigenous peoples and correspond how this relates to the Canadian cultural model today. There is constant awareness of discrimination of indigenous peoples, but failure to recognize them overall which is the opposite of what Canadian culture stands for.

The indigenous peoples have never had a stable identity in Canadian culture. They have been labelled as Indians previously, an incorrect and offensive term to identify them. They have struggled to make their voices heard in Canada, which has resulted in much trauma within the community. Indigenous peoples have resided in Canada for millennia compared to white settlers of five generations, yet they are the most disregarded (Morin, 2020). In Canada, mental health issues have been reported substantially more in indigenous people due to intergenerational tragedies. This could be argued because colonialism is thought to still operate on multiple levels, such as structural, distal and proximal ways (Nelson & Wilson, 2016). Living with many unchanged and unimproved systems in Canadian society disarranges indigenous identities and culture in the country. In Canadian history, white settlers stripped the First Nations, Inuit and Metis people of freedom through examples such as residential schools. Canada has also steadily expelled indigenous peoples from their lands, where often the government and First Nations continue to have ‘different views to the implementation of treaties’ (Government of Canada, 2022). Examples like these go against the cultural model of Canada as it oppresses a group of people in a country where everyone is supposed to be equal.

A way of learning about the challenges and struggles of indigenous peoples in Canadian culture has been documented over time through literature. They have transitioned from oral storytelling to writing in the 1960s, yet unfortunately many books continue to suggest ongoing racism and stereotypes (Birk and Gymnich, 2016). Other methods of learning of one’s culture such as art have also been underrepresented with indigenous artists in Canada. In 1951, the Massey commission was established to evaluate the state of Canadian arts and culture, with a follow up report that came the year after. It was ‘born out of a desire for Canadians to have a greater sense of identity’ (Potts, 2017). The report was ‘a catalyst in the government’s developing and promoting Canadian culture’ (CMH, 2017). However, indigenous artists have continued to suffer with cultural representation against other Canadians. For instance, ‘the products of indigenous craftsman who play such an important part in the history of Canada, are

often degraded and mass-produced for the tourist trade, examples being badly carved totem poles, etc' (NLC, 1999).

The demonstrations of Canada's nation building in the past and present in relation to its cultural model has shown similarities. In the past, 'as it has been well documented, the founding of the Canadian nation was predicated upon the disruption of aboriginal societies, and the imposition of Europe's legal regimes onto them' (Thobani, 2007). Today, hardships persist in the indigenous communities. One current day example of a problem that is incomprehensible is the water crisis occurring in Canada. Astonishingly, water safety has only been reported as a problem on indigenous reservations. 'Despite being one of the most water-rich nations in the world, for generations Canada has been unwilling to guarantee access to clean water for indigenous peoples' (Cecco, 2021). There are many issues that come from water complications such as health matters. Nevertheless, the most important problem lays in segregation. It is the comparison of 'them vs us' and 'otherness' in Canada where problems such as drinking water does not occur in any other communities. The government of Canada has admitted to the water failure in 2015 stating there was no credible excuse, since for other Canadians water safety is something one would never have to think twice about (Cecco, 2021).

A second example of how Canada has failed to include indigenous communities in Canadian society are residential schools. This could be argued as the worst systemic barrier that was put into place by the government of Canada. Shockingly, residential schools were allowed to operate in the country until 1996. The purpose of these schools was to separate indigenous peoples and assimilate them into a 'Canadian' culture, 'where they were forced to abandon their traditions, cultural practices and languages' (CG, 2018). This dark history became a part of nation building for Canada. In reference to horrible incidents such as this, King depicts a very important message in his book about troubles that indigenous people consistently faced. He references European settlers as the 'old coyotes' in his novel, and states 'whenever the old coyotes and the Indians played ball, the old coyotes always won' (King, 1992). He continues that 'she always won because she made up the rules' (King, 1992). King symbolizes that no matter what the indigenous people did in Canada, they were overridden by new European rules in the past. Unfortunately, this opinion lingers on today with more than 60% feeling disrespected in Canada (Deer, 2019).

There are expectations of Canadian culture and the model embodies politics of recognition. However, not only recognizing, but decolonizing for the indigenous community is

an ongoing challenge faced by both the government and Canadian society. When it comes to misrecognition and unstable identities, Taylor argues that 'misrecognition shows not just a lack of due respect, it can inflict a grievous wound, saddling its victims with a crippling self-hatred' (Taylor, 1994). The Canadian cultural model is pleasing to most yet far from perfect to others, and it divides Canadians into first class vs second class citizens. Trudeau mentioned that the underlying idea of Canada is that people would have a better chance at life for themselves and their children. Discouragingly when it comes to the indigenous community in Canada, this has been difficult since the system is built with many flaws. This is not to say that it is an extremely gruelling task for the government to please all its citizens, no matter which country. Nonetheless, it appears that an entirely dissimilar pathway has been set in stone for the indigenous community at times.

The reality of the Canadian cultural model still reflects systemic barriers and exclusions for indigenous people using remaining colonial powers. 'Many existing infrastructures within Canada intentionally or unintentionally present a barrier to indigenous peoples' (Windatt, 2018). It is due to these systemic barriers that this community does not receive the same chance to succeed in Canada. Scholars agree that indigenous peoples became a threat to 'the construction of a newly forming nation of Canada' in the past, and have not been treated fairly since the beginning (CG, 2018). This started with colonialism, assimilation, and continues in present day. Scholars also argue that 'indigenous people's actions still exist in and reproduce in a third space of sovereignty' (Bruyneel, 2007). In other words, their actions don't follow nor do follow with the Canadian government, but rather a third expanse.

All of these examples and stories challenge the Canadian cultural model tremendously. 'When questions of culture come up, it is still the question of indigenous peoples accommodating or adapting to new cultural ideas from within Canadian society, as opposed to having indigenous values, norms and way of life fundamentally respected' (Alfred, n.d.). In addition, existing in a third space of sovereignty constructs an extremely complex pathway to having better opportunities for indigenous peoples and their children, as Bruyneel has explained. As for other problems, there is an incredible amount of substance abuse, suicide, missing & murdered cases over other Canadians in the country. This has become an increasingly concerning issue, since there evidently seems to be a division of first and second class citizens. Here, I apply Taylor's theory of 'universal human potential', which is 'what ensures that each person deserves respect' (Taylor, 1994). My argument goes back to that

indigenous people in Canada have suffered to secure an identity in Canada for generations and within the quote Trudeau has mentioned.

Members of the indigenous community have stated that ‘we are confronted with the effects and consequence of a centuries-old, carefully constructed, state-sponsored system designed to transform the minds and souls of all First Nations persons in Canada’ (Cardinal, n.d.). It can be argued that Trudeau’s speech in comparison to the Canadian cultural model was ‘an opportunity to revamp brand Canada’ (Nimijean, 2018). Dinnie demonstrates the power of branding a nation in his book, and his definitions of this coaligned with what Trudeau said previously. Trudeau’s speech that entailed idealism and optimism was viewed positively with most Canadians (Nimijean, 2018). However, the truth is that it is extremely challenging that every Canadian is equal or respected in the same form. Furthermore, ‘despite limitations such as institutionalizing the dispossession of aboriginal peoples’ resources, the liberalization of citizenship has enabled representations of the nation-state as being a liberal democracy in essence rather than a colonial settler society’ (Thobani, 2007).

Life remains fairly difficult for the indigenous communities within Canada’s current cultural model. There remains an irony of how colonization in the past has structured the system used today in Canada. Cronon symbolizes this by saying that ‘the removal of Indians to create an uninhabited wilderness, uninhabited as never before in the human history of the place, reminds us just how invented, just how constructed, the wilderness really is’ (Cronon, 1995). His explanation lies in the meaning that there are flaws within the system we live in, and our creations of these systems. Moreover, in reference to the indigenous community, Anderson’s theory on imagined communities supports my argument that Canada’s cultural model is a system that continues to thrive on Eurocentrism. Canada’s nation building has been established from a cultural construction, rather than a nation existing as a unit (Anderson, 2016).

The truth of the matter is, most indigenous people carry on living on the same reservations that their relatives lived on. These lands have been strictly set away for them and passed onto the next generations. This construction of social marginalisation creates an unfair stigma in the Canadian culture, and issues such as poverty and homelessness keep emerging in this community. Although Trudeau’s federal efforts are praiseworthy in reference to his statement, indigenous people continue to face much discrimination in Canada. Many still feel that they aren’t equally respected or that the system is defective for them due to the division of

first and second class citizens. This misrecognition develops a hard to break cycle of mental illnesses and low hope for the future of indigenous peoples.

To conclude, there are still many indescribable challenges that the indigenous communities face in present day Canada. Whether these barriers remain intentional or unintentional today, reconciliation efforts are being made from the government when it comes to issues such as residential schools. There is more awareness in Canadian culture and also more efforts from Canadian citizens. This essay has reflected on Trudeau's statement in reference to the indigenous peoples in Canada, and the current cultural model. In closing, the systemic barriers that the Canadian cultural model constructs for indigenous communities demonstrates the hardships and challenges that continue today.

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The Current Canadian Cultural Model and the Promise for a Better Life

Since his early campaigns and publications before being the elected Leader of the Liberal Party in April 2013 and Prime Minister (PM) of Canada in 2015 (Murphy & Woolf, 2015), Justin Trudeau focused on the theme of moving Canada forward by working on a class of significantly critical issues including, *inter alia*, improving the status of the middle class via creating better job opportunities, safeguarding Canada's communities, combating climate change, and reconciling with the Indigenous Peoples of Canada (Prime Minister of Canada, 2022).

Consequently, in understanding and reflecting on Trudeau's ideas, statements, and policies, one cannot neglect his abovementioned goals. Trudeau's article entitled "*Canadian middle class left out of the growth equation*" (2012) falls within the lines of Canadian pro-growth advocacy and egalitarian policies that serve all Canadians. In this very article, Trudeau (2012) elucidates that Canadians "*have created a society where individual rights and freedoms, compassion and diversity are core to our [Canadian] citizenship. But underlying that idea of Canada is the promise that we all have a chance to build a better life for ourselves and our children.*" This essay reflects upon the above quote and discusses its correspondence to the current Canadian cultural model while providing other literary examples to aid in the analysis. However, it is noteworthy that this discussion is based only on reviewed literature, whose ideas reflect part of the Canadian social reality and model to certain degrees of realism. Such opinions, judgements, and convictions differ from one writer, painter, or artist to another and from one personality to another. The better analysis would have been by also including and writing from a basis of a real experience in dwelling within the Canadian borders i.e., living through the Canadian society and being in direct touch with the implementation of the Canadian model. Hence, it is crucial for the reader to realize that this essay is demarcated by few delimitations including *inter alia*: (i) the reliance of the articulated analysis on other writers' and artists' views that lived the Canadian experience, and (ii) the author's lack of experimental touch due to not having lived in or visited Canada (i.e., missing the interaction with the Canadian values and model). Accordingly, these delimitations may not aid in probing the level of harmony between the results of the essay and the truth about the Canadian model and its implementation except when it comes to clearly articulated laws that Trudeau mentions e.g., individual rights (i.e., Human Rights laws regardless of the level of their implementations), which the essay discusses later. In this respect, the essay focuses on the following main issues in relation to Trudeau's quote and article based on the limited literature review: the Canadian social contract, identity, social mobility, multiculturalism, and bilingualism.

Firstly, Trudeau's quote (above) immediately touches upon important aspects of the **Canadian social contract** while brilliantly starting with the notions of individual fundamental rights and freedoms as a precedent point to other convictions and doctrines. This goes hand in hand with the priorities that are intrinsic to natural human thinking and desires, where human rights and freedom come as its most important aspirations that we all struggle to achieve and live by (Fanon 1959). Human Rights are by far the most important prerogatives and legal privileges that must be enjoyed by any human being since its existence regardless of race, religious belief,

ethnicity, age, sex, and socio-economic class (Article 2 UDHR 1948). It is important to note that laws such as the Canadian Human Rights Act (1977), the International Human Rights Law (IHRL) including the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR), and other international and local Human Rights laws clearly articulate that such privileges are fundamental rights and relate them to many realms of freedom. Hence, the relationship that Trudeau showed in attaching fundamental rights to freedoms puts the Canadian social contract ahead in the basic step towards national and international success at least from the viewpoint of legal prerogatives and instruments. This is very attractive to the reader, the observer, the electoral public, the international community, and the immigrant. This strikes a chord with Aun (1985) and Kivi's literature as an Estonian Canadian coming from a refugee family seeking freedom then searching for identity (Kivi & Pearkes 2005, and Kivi 1995). This issue of identity and its relation to the social contract is more easily seen when observing the contrast between Canada (the new immigrant's land) and the immigrant's country of origin for the first-generation immigrant that is used to a different social contract. This is portrayed to be in friction with the cultural shocks (Birk & Gymnich 2016). For the second generation's trials to find the true self and identity the search for identity within a new social contract seems to have been achieved in some cases via visiting the country of origin as happened to Esther in Kivi's work (1995). This experience in the search of an identity is generally negative due to cultural and integrational shocks, the loss of original identity and its relevant nostalgia, collective thoughts, and individual memory as articulated by writers who had such an identity search experience (Dupuis 2008). Hence, in mentioning freedom, Trudeau successfully invites the reader to relate to the notion of identity (discussed more below) that also enjoys freedom and equity in Canada. This is a very thoughtful and respectful way of enunciating Canadian values together with a vital aspect of the Canadian social contract that Trudeau intends to strengthen through his policies (as Trudeau claimed in the article), and it relates to the detailed thoughts by Rousseau (1959) on the importance of realms of freedom to achieving success in implementing a realistically applicable and fair social contract. This freedom is not only physical, but also mental as Fanon (1959) articulates. Inasmuch as fundamental rights and freedoms concern Trudeau, his statement furthers that compassion and diversity can be thought of together since the success of a diverse social group requires not only understanding the "*different classes of citizen*" (Taylor 1994), but also being compassionate with its problems, struggles, and hardship. Nonetheless, Trudeau (2012) proceeds by emphasising that "*underlying that idea of Canada is the promise that we all have a chance to build a better life for ourselves and our children.*" In other words, Trudeau is trying to open the discussion on what is required to keep up to the

abovementioned characteristics of the Canadian social contract to attain better lives in the near and far future. This relates to many issues including *inter alia* identity and mobility that are discussed below.

Secondly, the issue of **identity** that is shortly discussed above in relation to Aun (1985) and Kivi's works is very relevant to the Canadian model and Trudeau's mentioning of compassion and diversity especially that Canada is a melting point of diverse cultures, languages, ethnicities, and religious beliefs. The human being, especially the immigrant, desires recognition as a basic need. According to Taylor (1994), the notion of recognition is discussed as a need, and sometimes as a demand, for recognition. Taylor argues that the need for recognition is one of the forces that drive national movements in politics while the demand is argued, in today's politics, on behalf of minority (subaltern) groups. The latter is called the politics of "multiculturalism" (which is argued in more detail later). Taylor further explains that the demand for recognition relates to identity, which is the individuals' understanding of who they are and of their defining characteristics. Taylor further argues that identity is affected and shaped by the level or way of recognition. For instance, misrecognition of others can inflict damage on the misrecognized or ill recognized person or group. Taylor discusses that misrecognition leads to serious harms that take different forms such as oppression, treatment of others in a false and reduced mode of respect to the human being. Taylor presents examples of misrecognition against women, indigenous people, black Africans, and cultures that are, in general, different from the colonizers' cultures. Taylor relates this discussion to Hegel's Master-Slave concept (Hegel 1977) and to the description of monarchy by Montesquieu (1951) explaining the notion of honor and its relation to recognition. For example, in the current Canadian cultural model, honoring a person can be by giving her/him a public award like the Order of Canada. Nowadays, we use the notion of dignity (inherent dignity of the human) more than the notion of honor. Therefore, Taylor is leading us in his discussion to relate dignity to recognition. This move from honor to dignity is further emphasized by Berger (1983). Taylor also discusses how this concept of honor, recognition, and moral feelings have developed through the last centuries to relate to one's feeling of being authentic. One of the references that Taylor uses in this regard is Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1959) that uses the phrase "intimate contact with oneself," as being more important than any moral view and as a source of joy and contentment "le sentiment de l'existence. An interesting issue that Taylor raises is the relation of recognition to languages. Taylor argues that the dialogical character of humans is crucial for human life. Humans can understand themselves and thus their dignity and identities via the

acquisition of rich human languages to express themselves. We define what we need and identities through dialogue. Having or knowing one's identity does not mean being isolated, but humans mostly live in interaction with other humans. Hence identity can be affected through our contact and dialogue with the significant others. From the Canadian viewpoint, Taylor gives some examples on the issue of identity and recognition. For instance, in relation to the languages, the Supreme Court of Canada stroke down one of these provisions, which forbade commercial signage in languages other than French. They saw that it was permissible for Quebec to outlaw unilingual English signs. The need to protect and promote the French language in the Quebec context would justify this decision. Taylor adds that few Quebec independentists feel they are winning the right for recognition via keeping the strong ties to the French language on the part of English Canada. Finally, Taylor's text also adds that the cultural issue is also to consider in the study on recognition. Language is a basic constituent of a culture. Taylor calls for admitting that we are very far from reaching the point of recognizing the worth of different cultures. Hence, the issue of “multiculturalism” and its relation to recognition still needs further work and studies (Premat 2021). Therefore, the identity issue in its relation to multiculturalism and multilingualism is central to the current Canadian Cultural model since these topics went through significant changes from the colonial Canadian period to the postcolonial period, and until now. For instance, the works by the Japanese writers regarding the struggles of the Japanese Canadians (McAllister 2010), and those of Monkman (2016) are good examples on this issue. One result that can be concluded from the works of the different literary reviews in this essay are that the level of diversification is increasing in Canada. Another result from the reviewed literature is that identity in the current Canadian model relates to social comparison with the “different other” even though osmosis and integration between different ethnic, cultural, religious, and social groups of modern Canadians have undergone significant progress. However, Trudeau (2012) still reflects an unease about the success of this world popular Canadian model in the near and far future due to a possible problem in the socio-economic growth due to political, social choices. Trudeau relates this to the issue of social mobility, which also relates to identity. Therefore, one can infer from Trudeau's article (2012) that although he believes in a melting point of diverse cultures into a Canadian identity, the main question he raises is that of upward mobility and how to maintain it

Thirdly, the issue of **social mobility** with focus on upward mobility is a major theme in Trudeau (2012) relating it to the development of the society in its entirety. Hence, Trudeau's concern is that the new wave of upward mobility may be hindered by issues that threaten the current

Canadian cultural model. Multiculturalism can also relate to upward mobility. For instance, one of the reasons that women entering the workforce led to bettering the economy (Trudeau 2012) is because they added new ideas, values, abilities, and different compassion to the Canadian work force i.e., the Canadian model. This leads us to discuss further on multiculturalism in the Canadian model.

Fourthly, multiculturalism is one aspect of diversity that should be a source of building a stronger society especially in the realm of ideas (Birk & Gymnich 2016). Diversity includes different cultures, sexes, tools of work, ideas, virtues, and beliefs that are sources of richness for the society leading to greater sources for progress. This makes a creative social model, and if this is invested in a smart way, Canada would create new generations full of innovative ideas i.e., opening the door for renewal in all fields in society including *inter alia* literature, arts, economics, science, sociology, and psychology. The human would be qualitatively enhancing her/his characteristics that play part in the Canadian model e.g., more compassion and humanitarian feelings that Fanon (1959) discusses. The different other is the one that lets one notices oneself and strengthens it to further explore it and work on its weaknesses. Hence, it is important to continue together rather than isolate cultures as is reflected by Kivi (2005), who also relates multiculturalism to the issue of multilingualism (being bilingual herself).

Fifthly, multilingualism relates to multiculturalism since language is one building block of culture. On the other hand, some critical readers may disagree that the above discussions would not hold because multilingualism leads to having groups that do not understand each other. Would the language stand against Trudeau's goals for a better Canada and cause lack of belonging (nationalism) or destruction to the belief in one nation, religions, language preferences? The answer is that whichever languages are available, there is a common language used by all, and this would make everyone communicate even if in a small circle of interests. Then, if there is equality and no hierarchies in the social contract, then there would be interaction of languages and there would be richer knowledge on both sides in language, ideas, and feelings that the languages express maybe differently (Rousseau 1959). Self-peace starts in being in peace with the different other. Multilingualism is one important aspect of the Canadian model. Jordan Abel's poem *Cartography* (2014) is a good example of language being a tool to convey serious ideas via playing the game of creating language illusions. It is an expression of having diverse parties in one nation trying to transculturally melt in an identity. They all want to enjoy equality while being different in many aspects. This is one great source for the success of the Canadian model that- in its postcolonial phase- tried harder than many other countries to

utilize diversity and multilingualism for its benefit and for the social growth that Trudeau (2012) is concerned about.

In conclusion, the current Canadian cultural model is partly reflected in the expressed ideas in Trudeau (2012). Some vital aspects in the Canadian social contract (e.g., individual fundamental rights and freedoms, diversity including identity, multilingualism and multiculturalism, and compassion) are clearly stated. However, Trudeau raises the concern of keeping up with the Canadian model as he sees it threatened by the lack of sources for growth especially focusing on upward mobility as one indicator of success in society. The concern for the middle-class upward mobility is what Trudeau aims at solving since this class constitutes the majority, ca. 58% of the Canadian population according to OECD (2019) or 70% as per the study of Hogan (2019). The interesting issue is that Trudeau's policies and their implementations after the publication of the article (Trudeau 2012) and after his election as PM of Canada prove that his convictions were in place and the deployment of such policies added the sought growth and social mobility. If the interaction between diverse groups in the society work well (including historical and cultural differences), the society would find new realms for mobility that have no ceiling or threshold. Therefore, there is always a possibility for upward mobility.

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While Switzerland become the first country to coin the time period “multiculturalism” Canada become first to enshrine it as a professional policy. In the Canadian context, multiculturalism is used as a descriptive term and “**a set of programmatic measures**” conducive to the kingdom’s view of a group of cultures; it becomes a reflection of the geographical regions’ priorities Canada has long been known as "**The Mosaic**", because of the truth that it is made up of a numerous mix of races, cultures and ethnicities. As more and more immigrants come to Canada trying to find a higher existence, the population naturally becomes greater various. This has, in flip, spun a superb debate over multiculturalism.

Canadians come from a significant variety of countries, races, religions and history. This multicultural range comes from centuries of immigration. As an end result, a diverse populace is now one of the distinctive functions of Canadian society.

I argue here that multiculturalism has now not lived as much as the Canadian dream, at least not inside the egalitarian feel, and that there's sufficient blame to move round - to the multicultural network, to the authorities, and to Canada as a country. The underlying premise of multiculturalism changed into that by giving them freedom to speak their language and

preparation their subculture, the learners will become secure, confident and proud Canadians. In this appreciate multiculturalism has been a success.

But the dream that multiculturalism could produce a new type of global citizen who may stay anywhere but who will sell goodwill and human values anywhere has now not labored. In this respect multiculturalism has failed. It failed as it did now not reach developing inter-cultural-group linkages, a shared sense of unity and reason.

Paradoxically, in preference to feeling confident and outward-searching, first-technology immigrants as a collection have a tendency to be inward-looking, busy with their very own cultural/religious groups, and remain remoted. Of course, it can be argued that this must now not come as a wonder as first-era immigrants are predicted to be busy with their life inside the new united states of America, putting bread at the table, and looking after their children's education.

That can be genuine, however it is also actual that without hovering beliefs and secular values, multiculturalism will wither away; worse nonetheless, it could flip Canada into a land of ethnicity, non-secular enclaves, and in all likelihood even worse - bases for disenchanted youths and worldwide terrorism.

The Canadian authorities has failed multiculturalism via not growing long-time period rules and support for inter-group linkages and meaningful engagements. To make depend worse, political events are carrying out ethnic politics for votes. This should forestall or it'll produce cultural castes on the way to kill the Canadian dream.

And as a county, Canada is also failing multiculturalism. The latest records of systemic racism in opposition to blacks, and prejudices in opposition to immigrants are disheartening. Canadians want to be reminded that multiculturalism applies to all Canadians, not just immigrants. Much paintings stays to be performed earlier than Canada may be capable of redeem its pledge.

In many ways, multiculturalism was an economic policy, and it's worked out reasonably well for Canada, helping the country meet its need for labour, growing our population and keeping us young. But for immigrants, it's a bit more complicated. First generation immigrants are selected for their skills, but arrive to massive barriers to entry to their fields, such as the requirement of Canadian credentials to work and a bias against lack of Canadian experience. The first 10 years can be especially tough.

We like to consider multiculturalism as a party of distinction; however, permits be honest, now not each person is even willing to simply accept difference. The latest figures from Statistics Canada display a boom in hate crimes from 2014 to 2015, with eighty three percent motivated via hatred of race, ethnicity or religion. The range of occasions targeting Muslims fuelled this upward push, in a year in which Stephen Harper performed political football with the niqab. And even though **Marche** stated this in his essay, he ultimately disregarded it: **“The appetite could be very small for divisiveness primarily based on race or religion in Canada.”**

Cultural difference is still a fantastic source of tension right here. This became discovered this beyond 12 months, another time, when the exceptional **“Canadian values”** debate became resurfaced via Conservative Party management candidates Kellie Leitch and Maxime Bernier. Leitch, for instance, got here up with a list of questions prospective immigrants have to be asked as part of their application screening process, which include: “Is it ever OK to coerce or use violence towards a person or a collection who disagrees along with your perspectives?” Bernier left no doubt approximately where he stood, pronouncing in his campaign platform: **“Our immigration policy should no longer intention to forcibly alternate the cultural man or woman and social cloth of Canada, as radical proponents of multiculturalism want.”**

Multiculturalism emerged shortly after British and French biculturalism and bilingualism were institutionalized, and in the minds of many, entrenched as the only legitimate expressions of Canadian identity — despite the fact that there were non-white people here long before the British and French arrived.

In fact, multiculturalism is seen by some as a tool used to erase indigenous identity. Tara Williamson, an Anishinaabe/Nehayo musician, writer and scholar, wrote about this in an essay in [*Monitor*](#). **“Multiculturalism was sort of this marker saying we are not the way we were before,”** says Williamson. **“We are no longer a colony, we are no longer colonial, we are no longer racist.”** The multiculturalism policy was introduced just two years after Trudeau championed a [White-Paper](#) calling for the abolition of the Indian Act, an attempt to take away distinct legal status from indigenous people. It coincided with the **“Sixties Scoop”** Where thousands of indigenous kids were forced out of their communities to be adopted or fostered by white families. It happened at a time when residential schools, designed to assimilate indigenous children, were just [starting to be closed](#), the last one not shuttering until the 1990s. The focus on celebrating culture seems absurd in this context.

But the birthday celebration marched on, without plenty idea given to the framework created by means of the U.S.A's colonial legacy. Instead of recognizing that people on this land have been both indigenous or settlers, indigenous people had been **“relegated to an area of popular non-whiteness in the coverage of multiculturalism,”** in the words of Williamson. Non-white novices were advised they didn't ought to go away their tradition at the back of, however they needed to make it work within this fraught framework, at the same time as immigrants of European descent who weren't English or French have been assumed to healthy into this model without problems. Implicit in conversations about Canadian tradition is the concept that non-white immigrants and their descendants either take delivery of or disturb the *repute quo* — contributing to or shaping Canadian culture seems out to be of the query. No be counted how many generations stay, paintings and are buried on Canadian soil, people of coloration have not been woven into the social fabric of this USA.

Sunera Thobani, a professor of Asian Studies at the University of British Columbia, places it this way: **“Multiculturalism is essential in spotting difference but it traps human beings in that distinction, and makes it the only frame in which you may opportunity understand them.”** In different phrases, immigrants never shed the identity of newcomer or outsider. Thobani argues that even groups that have been right here 4 or five generations are imagined as immigrants, fixing them within the position of alien: Why aren't values from the Chinese Canadian network, right here for generations, or black Canadians, here for the reason that seventeenth century, considered Canadian enough? **“Once you start unpacking those questions you comprehend, we are clearly talking approximately race,”** Thobani says.

Canada's vision of multiculturalism has netted some benefits for non-white learners and the generations that observed, however nearly 50 years due to the fact that recognizing that a numerous society is valuable, seeing humans as representatives of “their” way of life rather than as participants to Canadian tradition is, for me, a big unhappiness. For people like me to honestly be full citizens, Canada desires to move past simply spotting lifestyle.

We gained need projects like call-blind hiring for human beings to get a truthful shot at now not simply public area jobs, but jobs in any industry. Religious accommodation won't be up for debate — if teens want to wish at faculty, instead of beginning panic round overseas tongues being spoken, mother and father and instructors will simply be grateful the ones kids aren't skipping class and getting drunk inside the parking zone.

The killing of a Muslim circle of relatives in London, Ontario exposes an alternative Canadian truth that includes violence, hatred and discrimination towards minority agencies.

On Sunday 6 June, while out for an evening walk in London, Ontario, the Afzaal circle of relatives, Salman Afzaal (elderly 46), his spouse Madiha Salman (44), their 15-yr-old daughter Yumna, 9-year-vintage son Fayez and Mr. Afzaal's 74-12 months-antique mother Talat have been run over via a 20-yr-old male driving a pickup truck. The entire family was killed except for Fayez. The motive force has been charged with terrorism and four counts of first-diploma murder. Police have said that the assault is in all likelihood deliberate and the own family had been centered due to the fact they were Muslim.

This attack isn't an isolated incident in Canada.

Last year, at the night-time of 12 September, 58-12 months-antique Mohamed-Aslim Zafis become stabbed to death outside the International Muslim Organization Mosque in Toronto. On 29 January 2017, a taking pictures at the Islamic Cultural Centre of Quebec City left six men lifeless. After the province of Quebec passed Bill 21 in 2019, banning the wearing of religious symbols via public faculty instructors and civil servants, amongst others, incidents of harassment and discrimination towards Muslim girls elevated.

Despite a pervasive photo of Canada and Canadians as inclusive, various and multicultural, there's an alternative Canadian fact that includes violence, hatred and discrimination against minority businesses, such as Muslims.

Since 1988, the 12 months Pierre Trudeau exceeded the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, multiculturalism has been a necessary part of written Canadian policy. Yet humans are an increasing number of vocal approximately trying immigrants to assimilate into Canadian society. Some of the stereotypical court cases via people who assist assimilation are: immigrants should learn English, immigrants don't value difficult work or ambition, and immigrants who don't assimilate become isolated from the community.

Almost every country in the world teaches English to some degree in schools. The vast majority of immigrants already have a conversational knowledge of English. Just because you don't like an immigrant's accent, or if their sentences aren't grammatically correct, that doesn't mean you can't understand them. Most Canadian immigrants are from Asia and the Pacific, where there are already rigorous English language classes taught in schools. In today's globalized world, an inability to communicate in English is detrimental to one's ability to become successful,

particularly in business and academia. Additionally, in order to apply for permanent residence or citizenship in Canada, adult immigrants must pass a standardized exam that tests their English ability (either results of a third-party test like the International English Language Testing System (IELTS), proof of English education in Canada or abroad, or the equivalent of Canadian Language Benchmark (CLB) level four or higher in speaking and listening). Immigrants already speak English, and if you're so concerned about speaking a country's native language, perhaps you should become fluent in Korean or German, before you leave for that semester abroad.

The idea that immigrants are lazy has always baffled me. The majority of immigrants (63.4 per cent) are monetary immigrants. Economic immigrants are already professional employees, extraordinarily educated, and regularly go away in the back of comfy lives and strong jobs to higher their widespread of living in Canada and gain better lives for their youngsters. However, you often locate immigrants running as janitors, waitresses, or other unwanted jobs due to the fact Canada doesn't recognize many foreign levels. Consequently, a few immigrants take whatever to be had jobs with the intention to allow them to guide their households. Other immigrants will spend many years and tens of hundreds of greenbacks to pay for further schooling at a Canadian group in order that they'll work of their discipline.

Social conditions, which include health, income, education, employment and network, make contributions to the nicely-being of every person. Among the Indigenous populace in Canada (i.e., First Nations, Métis and Inuit peoples), social situations were impacted by way of the dispossession of cultural traditions, social inequities, prejudice and discrimination. Social situations also vary significantly in line with factors consisting of vicinity of residence, income degree, and family and cultural factors. While development with recognize to social situations is being done, gaps among the social and monetary conditions of Indigenous people and non-Indigenous people in Canada persist.

Overcrowding is another issue affecting Indigenous living conditions. In 2016, 18.3 per cent of Indigenous people lived in overcrowded housing, compared to 8.5 per cent of the non-Indigenous population. In the same year, 40.6 per cent of [Inuit](#) and 8.6 per cent of [Métis](#) lived in housing that was crowded. The number of First Nations people living in a crowded dwelling on reserve (36.8 per cent) was higher than First Nations people living elsewhere in Canada (18.5 per cent).

The basic health of Indigenous humans has improved in current years; however, it continues to lag behind the overall populace. For example, existence expectancy can be 10-15 years shorter for Indigenous peoples and infant mortality rates can be 4 instances better. The tuberculosis rate for Inuit is over 290 times higher than non-Indigenous people. Suicide charges among First Nations children are round 5 to 6 instances the national average, whilst Inuit adolescents' prices are about 10 times the national common. The reasons for excessive charges of suicide are more than one and may consist of melancholy because of social, cultural or generational dislocation; drug and substance abuse; or lack of housing, food and get admission to possibility. Increased urbanization of the Indigenous population has ended in a greater incidence of illnesses characteristic of modern society, along with cardiovascular disorder, cancers and kind-II diabetes. Rates of HIV/AIDS have expanded. In 2016, there had been 245 new HIV infections among Indigenous peoples, in comparison to 217 in 2014. Proper get right of entry to fitness care is a difficulty in Indigenous groups. The case of Jordan River Anderson — a five-12 months-antique Cree boy who died in clinic looking forward to at-domestic treatment — demonstrates this factor.

Indigenous households are more likely than non-Indigenous households to experience food insecurity. In 2019, 48 per cent of [First Nations](#) households did not have enough income to cover their food expenses. In comparison, the food insecurity rate for the country was 8.4 per cent.

People living in far flung and northerly communities have a harder time gaining access to and affording meals. In Nunavut, for example, 46 in keeping with cent of families had been tormented by meals insecurity in 2016. Access to certain ingredients consisting of fruit, vegetables and milk is more difficult due to the fact they need to be transported lengthy distances. The ensuing high expenses, restricted availability and lower great of the food contributes to food insecurity. In a few groups, the harvesting of conventional ingredients, which include seal, caribou, duck, whale and fish, helps to offset a number of the problems gaining access to food. However, many groups keep to name on governments for increased support.

Progress with admire to social conditions is being completed. However, the gaps that persist among the social and economic situations of Indigenous human beings in Canada and people of the overall Canadian population continue to pose challenges. Areas of precise social difficulty encompass housing, employment, training, health, justice and circle of relatives and cultural growth. Many groups are implementing network-based totally strategies stressing the

importance of records and way of life; governance, subculture and spirituality; particular traits and values; the link between self-government and financial development; and the role and significance of conventional economies.

Culturally speaking, many human beings assume that individuals who don't assimilate into Canadian tradition will be isolated from the community, and may dismantle pre-existing communities. Yet, I discover immigrants are a way from remoted, because they shape their very own communities. There are Arab communities, Chinese, Cuban, and endless others. Communities are not static; just as people and demographics shift and circulate, so do communities, and there may be no motive why immigrants ought to be excluded. The dialogue of Canadian culture also prompts the query: what's Canadian lifestyle? Canadians are regarded for moose, snow, and people of all specific backgrounds and ethnicities who coexist peacefully in a multicultural society. Pierre Trudeau made multiculturalism a constitutional proper in 1982 and in 1988 Brian Mulroney handed the Canadian Multiculturalism Act, and people who reject the cultural mosaic of Canada are the ones rejecting Canadian culture.

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Diverse, Compassionate, and Free - The Dream of Canada

In 2012, Justin Trudeau said of Canada: “We have created a society where individual rights and freedoms, compassion and diversity are core to our citizenship. But underlying that idea of Canada is the promise that we all have a chance to build a better life for ourselves and our children.” This quote paints a beautiful picture. Unfortunately, the promise of a better life that Trudeau speaks of has for many people throughout Canada’s history gone unfulfilled - and freedom, individual rights, and compassion have not been equally afforded to all its inhabitants.

In this essay I will examine the Canadian cultural model, paying special attention to the ways in which the ideals it preaches misrepresent the reality of Canadian history.

The idea of Canadians as a kind and tolerant people is widespread. The specific ideals mentioned in the quote by Trudeau are almost perfectly in line with those listed by Thobani (2007) when she says that Canadian subjects are often presented as “responsible citizens, compassionate, caring, and committed to the values of multiculturalism” (p. 4) - the only difference is Trudeau, in addition to the compassion and diversity shared by these two quotes, speaks of individual rights and freedoms, while Thobani emphasizes responsibility. This image of Canadians as free and responsible, but above all compassionate and committed to diversity, is both reflected in and contradicted by the literature and lectures I have encountered in this class.

Let us look first at diversity. Canada undeniably hosts people from many different backgrounds and cultures. It has one of the greatest rates of immigration in the world. As of the 2016 census (the 2021 census unfortunately has not, at the time of my writing this, released the statistics on immigration), approximately 22% of the population are classified as immigrants (Statistics Canada, 2017). Add to that the 634 First Nations, plus the Métis and the Inuit, and Canada is diverse indeed.

That Canada has a diverse population is indisputable; what *can* be disputed is that this is seen as a good, desirable thing. As late as 1947, the Prime Minister of Canada at the time, Mackenzie King, while speaking of the increase in immigration in the wake of World War 2, related a concern that mass immigration could “make a fundamental alteration in the character of our population” (Aun, 1985, p. 27). Immigrants - and particularly many of them in groups -

are seen as detrimental to the coherence of the Canadian national identity, threatening to corrupt it and make it less Canadian.

Perhaps because of this exact fear, Canada has many times throughout history implemented severe immigration restrictions. In the late 1800s to early 1900s there were the taxes on arriving Chinese immigrants (and, eventually, the ban), which naturally resulted in the majority of Chinese immigrants to Canada initially being single men, as the alternative was to pay exorbitant prices to bring their family along with them, or to leave them behind in China (Aurylaité, 2022). These taxes were repealed in 1947 (the same year as Prime Minister King made the statement above), but despite the removal of taxing specifically Chinese immigrants, strict immigration policies remained. The only people permitted to immigrate to Canada were those who held professions that Canada was in need of at the time, and, crucially, the immigrants had to either be single or be willing to leave their families behind (Aun 1985). In stopping immigrants from forming families with people from their native cultures, a government can create a situation in which these immigrants are forced to either assimilate to the local majority culture, or experience a stunning loneliness. The contrast between this idea of immigrants as a corrupting outsider influence on the Canadian national identity and Trudeau's statement that diversity is "core to [the Canadian] citizenship" is stark.

Of course, the narrative of immigrants as detrimental to the nation does not stop at the corruption of the Canadian culture; they (as well as the indigenous population) have also been seen as threats to the welfare and economy, frequently depicted as making "unreasonable claims upon the nation and its precious finite resources" (Thobani 2007, p. 27). This, too, can be recognized in Canadian immigration policies. In the time around World War 2, Canadian immigration regulations demanded immigrants had either 2,000 dollars in cash, or a Canadian sponsor willing to guarantee employment and housing (Aun 1985). These demands are intended to guarantee that an immigrant or refugee will be an asset to the nation rather than a drain on its economy, safeguarding the country from having to care for people that do not truly belong to it. By 1949 it had become obvious that refugees being an asset rather than dead weight was the norm and not the outlier, and consequently, restrictions eased up a bit (Aun 1985).

Birk and Gymnich (2016) speak of the Canadian 'mosaic' as an alternative to the American 'melting pot' of multiculturalism; where immigrants are encouraged to preserve their "ancestral culture" rather than completely assimilating into the "mainstream culture" (p. 516). At its best, the mosaic encourages diversity, letting many cultures exist in the same space without blending into unrecognizability. At its worst, it instead encourages segregation, maintaining boundaries where perhaps it would be better to learn from each other and adapt.

Regardless, the notion of the Canadian mosaic did not find wide-spread acceptance until the last decades of the 20th century (Birk & Gymnich, 2016), which leaves many decades of Canadian history seeing diversity in a negative, threatening light.

Let us look next at compassion. The image of Canada being nice and polite is well-established—the politeness, especially, is a stereotype to make jokes with. Many see Canada as a kinder, nicer version of the United States (not least politically left-leaning people *in* the United States, many of whom speak, perhaps jokingly, of simply moving to Canada if the next election doesn't go their way). Canadians take pride in having more compassionate and humanitarian immigration and refugee policies than other countries (Thobani 2007), and for Canada's 150th anniversary, one prominent ad campaign read "Celebrating 150 years of niceness" (Aurylaité 2022).

What this image of Canada as nice, compassionate, and better than the United States ignores is Canada's indigenous population, and their treatment at the hands of both the original settlers and the Canadian government. No matter how nice it is seen as in modern day it is, after all, a country built through colonialism, and the violence that brings with it. Treaties were made - but treaties were also considered to apply even to First Nations peoples who had not actually agreed to any treaties, and treaties were broken. In order to establish the national narrative of Canada, atrocities committed against the indigenous population have been excused and glossed over, the British and French colonizers cast as the true original Canadians, while the native population were relegated to the role of undesirable Outsiders (Thobani, 2007). As Thobani (2007) remarks, celebrating the history of Canada while refusing to remember and condemn these acts is to implicitly celebrate the acts as well. Presumably this is why the aforementioned Be Nice ad campaign was vandalized in protest, with art and slogans prompting the audience not to forget the past and present situation of indigenous people (Aurylaité, 2022).

Thobani also speaks of indigenous people being made to conform to stereotypical ideas of what it means to be Native in order to be recognised *as* Native, through things like the Indian Act (Thobani, 2007) - which, of course, only pertains to people the government recognises as 'Indian' (The Canadian Encyclopedia, 2020). As pointed out in *The Politics of Recognition*, being misrepresented in such a way, forced to identify by an inaccurate or demeaning image, can be considered to do real harm (Taylor, 1994). One aspect of the violence done to Canada's indigenous population by its government is then the imposition of a restricting and inaccurate image of what it means to be 'Indian'. Canada's indigenous population has thus not only been displaced and done physical harm, but as an additional injustice continually been made to suffer the distortion of misrecognition. I consider Kent Monkman's (2018) art to be part of an attempt

to confront that injustice, by taking art important to the narrative of Canada and imposing his own image upon them. By inserting himself into these traditional images, Monkman confronts both the art and the history it represents, forcing a discussion and taking control of the narrative. Jordan Abels writings are a similar act of taking back and reconstructing, disassembling the pieces of colonialism to create something new. These artists' works can be considered to be a step towards healing the wounds inflicted by colonialism - or at least casting them into light, processing some of the harm done both for themselves and for others.

As for individual rights and freedoms, I have already mentioned several times that policies were made to restrict the freedoms of immigrants. Add to this the residential schools, demanding First Nations peoples abide by treaties they had no part in writing, and similar things done to the indigenous populations and it is clear that rights and freedoms have not been granted equally to all.

Lastly, there is the final sentence of the quote: the promise to build a better life. As previously mentioned, Canada has throughout the years taken in a great deal of immigrants and refugees (albeit with varying degrees of enthusiasm). Just like in the rest of North America, the first settlers came for the promise of a better life, and so have many people who have settled in the years since. But there are many stories of the new home not being as great as the travelers had imagined - stories of loneliness, poverty, and racism (Birk & Gymnich, 2016). The idea of Canada that people have before moving there is not always accurate to the real thing. The promise often remains unfulfilled.

An idea about the Canadian model that is not represented in the quote by Trudeau is one introduced to us in the lecture by Colin Coates; that of Canadians as resilient, standing firm and strong against Nature itself, refusing to let the wilderness overcome them. Canada's placement and nature is important to its national identity. Coates used as one example of this the line from the national anthem that reads "The True North strong and free!", as well as ad campaigns playing into this idea of Canada being "The North" (Coates 2022). This idea of The North brings to mind a hostile environment, cold and inhospitable, which in turn makes Canadians strong for being able to build their lives there anyways. I have seen this same idea of Canadians as standing in opposition of nature threatening to destroy them in contemporary Canadian culture via the musical *Come From Away*, in which the very first number of the show introduces the Newfoundlanders as shaped by the tough weathers of their home, containing lines such as "Welcome to the land where the winters tried to kill us and we said: we will not be killed" and "They say no man's an island but an island makes a man" (Sankoff and Hein, 2017). One

message runs strong in that type of story: That while nature may be cold and hostile, the people remain warm and compassionate - and you are always welcome.

This mythology of a country established in opposition of nature, brave explorers venturing forth and carving out habitable spaces out of the wilderness, making it their own, is a narrative Canada shares with the United States, having similarly romanticized the image of the explorer setting out into the unknown and uninhabited, ignoring that frequently that uninhabited land had in fact been inhabited for centuries (Cronon, 1995). Contrasting the view of Canadians as living in opposition with nature, conquering and taming it, is the view of the First Nations as living in harmony with nature, not the land's owners but its custodians, responsible for its care but not its dominion.

The theme of taming a foreign land can also be found in settler writing, which often includes aspects of domesticating the new land, finding in it a home resembling that which they left (Birk and Gymnich 2016), and a smaller version can be seen in *Kitchen Talk*, where both the women interviewed talk about growing their own vegetables, ones from home (Wong, 2003). This small act of making oneself feel more at home in a new world can hardly be compared to the violence of colonialism - but as Thobani (2007) points out, the role of the immigrant is ambivalent, and addressing it requires "confronting the enormity of crimes perpetrated against Aboriginal populations, crimes immigrants have often colluded with" (p. 17). An immigrant (especially in modern day) may be disadvantaged and marginalized when compared to an established Canadian citizen, but the land that immigrant lives on remains stolen land. The situation is complex and difficult to navigate.

Diversity has not always been seen as positive, freedoms have been routinely infringed upon (disproportionately against immigrants and indigenous people), and compassion only occasionally present in Canadian policies. Ignoring Canada's dark history of colonialism is not just a side effect of its image as nice and compassionate but a requirement of it. One cannot say "150 years of niceness" and at the same time remember deliberate breaking of treaties, residential schools, and anti-immigration policies. In later years, Canada has tried to polish its image clean - but underneath, the past remains, and not everyone is willing to move forward without confronting it. We see this in the protest art defacing the ad campaigns, the literature we have been shown by indigenous authors, Kent Monkman's purposeful re-insertion of himself into the white-washed history from which he has been excluded, and more.

Trudeau's quote certainly does not completely lack basis in reality, but it ignores the complexities of the situation and the dark aspects of Canada's history in favor of being inspirational. It is a painted picture, not a photograph, and the gory details are glossed over, not

shown in detail. Let the quote be inspirational, then - with the understanding that it is a goal to keep moving towards, rather than one that has been reached already.

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The Canadian Cultural Model

The perception of a cultural model may tend to differ depending on the point of view or background that one has or assumes when considering its importance. In 2012, present

Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau eloquently portrayed Canada as a cultural model that among other things has embrace citizenship based on human rights and freedoms and the celebration of diversity. He also touched on the need to create a society that recurrently creates opportunities for economic growth (upward mobility), more egalitarian and inclusive, better living conditions and evidence based policies that accrue in better employment opportunities due partly to capital inflow from foreign investment (Trudeau, 2012). This view is over a decade old and as Trudeau also points out, is core to what makes Canada, Canada. However, the degree

to which this view holds true may differ when one looks at some of the issues he talks about in light of identity recognition and development paths that other actors like First Nations hold.

The question that this paper poses is how have the current Canadian cultural model reflected actions that promote recognition and growth for all Canadian.

The cultural diversity of the state of Canada cannot be overstated seeing that the identity of this state is due mainly to its multicultural composition represented in all aspects of the society. This however prompts further pondering as to how different stakeholders in this multicultural society perceive and assert their place in relation to others. The talk by Trudeau, which is referred to above mainly, focused on the economic viability of the middle class with a long-term perspective and how the viability of this social class or group mirrors the wellbeing of the Canadian society. However, he also inevitably touches on others social classes. Yet, it is evident not only from this talk but also looking at the “notion of authenticity” that Taylor (Taylor, 1994, p.28) elaborates on that the perception of what is right or wrong, moral or otherwise differs within the Canadian society. In a multicultural society, this could be expected as can be seen in the way the First Nations are perceived or do perceive their role in Canada.

One of the aspects of the Canadian cultural model is its postulation of being a “... society where individual rights and freedoms, compassion and diversity are core...” to its citizenship or in other words the society’s identity (Trudeau, 2012). The question that this assertion may raise is what does this implies to the diverse groups in Canada and not only for the middle class. In the open letter to the former Chinese president Hu Jintao, the Yinka Dene

Alliance pointed out the gross marginalisation of First Nations that has resulted in among other things unemployment, drug abuse, homelessness, poverty and consequently violation of standards of living as stipulated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (The Canadian Press, 2012). A partial response to the relevance of this assertion of Canada being a state that propagates the core values of democracy could be seen from recent the involvement of First Nations in expropriation of resources within their territories. This seems a commendable step towards attaining inclusive developmental policy implementation where First Nations for example play a pivotal role as can be seen in the British Columbia First Nations Energy and Mining Council (FNEMC) relationship with China with regards to Chinese investment (Energy, F. N., & Council, M., 2011). However, what this also implies is the fact that a multicultural society like Canada cannot have its identity determined by one class or only by the federal government. In Taylors view, that would be tantamount to a society where one social position determined the identity for the collective, which in reality would not give it any authenticity (Taylor, 1994. p.31).

One way of observing authenticity would be to look at the effect on the quality of life enjoyed by a cross section of Canadian, which in turn reflects Canada's multiculturalism. In Taylor's words, the notion of authenticity has to do with portraying originality, accepting who one is based on personal definition rather than accepting another's perception (Taylor p.31). If the quality of life has such significance as Trudeau implies, then self-definition plays a significant role in helping not only individuals but also even ethnic groups to be able to assert

themselves in a multicultural society. The question of Canada's identity as an authentic multicultural society is debatable due partly to the contrasting views and roles that the various stakeholders play in putting together (or not) this mosaic. Taylor (1994, pp.32 - 33) postulates that identity is a construct born from dialogue with "significant others" on issues that we might not hold common views on but are prone to recall even later. He goes on to state that our identity is "the background against which our tastes and desires and opinions and aspirations make sense". In light of this discourse, it is thus possible to say the quality of life not only for the middle class which Trudeau seemed to use as measuring rod for Canadian wellbeing but for all of Canada, depends much on how multiculturalism has been perceived by the different social classes that make up the Canadian society. As earlier mention, the First Nations express frustration due to marginalisation. According to the writings of Birk and Gymnich (2016), even in the literary sector, the notion of multiculturalism is not perceived positively by all.

Multiculturalism according to their writing rather depicts Canada as a colonialist rather than as a cohesive society.

While addressing the need to revamp the viability of the middle class in Canada, Justin Trudeau also mentioned the need for Canadian pro-growth agenda to be evidence based rather than a mere ideological mantra. This is interesting to consider in this discourse on multiculturalism as a Canadian way of life. It would be wrong to assume that the middle class in Trudeau's speech refer only to European (French or English) settlers or recent immigrants to the exclusion of the First Nations for as he further elaborates, "I believe in a Canada that offers

success to all of its citizens...” (Trudeau 2012). If one uses Canadian literary fiction to look at this aspect, there is much to be said about the importance of basing pro-growth agendas on evidence rather than ideology. For instance Birk and Gymnich (2016, p. 528) draw focus on the literary diversity that Canada has due to its cultural model and outline a couple of functions that literature has contributed to the present Canadian model of multiculturalism.

What is commendable about Canada’s literary multiculturalism is the fact that the diverse backgrounds have coined to birth a characteristic that reflects the Canadian society. Through its literature, one learns of the forms of racism that some immigrants from minority groups like the Japanese experienced. Literary fiction encapsulate evidence of what the society need to ameliorate based on the view of different authors with diverse ethnic backgrounds and history. Hence raising “awareness of the gap between multiculturalism as an ideal and the reality experienced in Canadian society.” (Birk & Gymnich, 2016, p. 528). It could be said that the Canadian cultural model is improving due partly to some fictional literature that serves as a reminder of Canada’s colonial history. A history that portrays the usage of language as a tool of repression and means to prevent rebellion. However today, artists such as Kent Monkman, can freely express views and perceptions that are divergent from those previously presented by European settlers. The importance of this in a multicultural society like Canada is that, its growth as envisioned by Trudeau will be more based on evidence that working together Canada’s cultural model is a major asset than a liability.

In a modern culture like Canada’s, the ideals of democracy are certainly

celebrated with among other advantages the possibility of free speech through literary fiction.

Yet, one a point that Trudeau's speech puts a spotlight on is the presence of contradictory policies and views. According to Trudeau, "Canadians have had enough of divisive policies".

It is clear he is not against others voicing their views but rather, how these ought to be formulated such that it does not create disruptions in the improving multicultural mind-set that a heterogeneous society like Canada needs. The writings of Birk and Gymnich (2016, p. 525), could be interpreted to imply that earlier literary fiction on immigration mostly favour narratives based on the views of English and French immigrants to the exclusion of other ethnic groups which equally immigrated to Canada not to mention the marginalisation of First Nations.

The point here is, divisive policies are not a new phenomenon but rather one that through the years since the arrival of immigrants to Canada has been propagated and reinvented to fit not only the preferred narrative but also to serve a purpose. One such purpose could be to render other ethnic groups less interested in preserving their cultural heritage and hence rather embrace English or French culture. Kivi and Pearkes (2005) paint a beautiful portrait of how immigrants may tend to develop a new kind of appreciation for place and time as factors that profoundly influence the concept of home. For instance, as an Estonian immigrant child, Canada and its environment was more comprehensible and easy to relate to than Estonia. The perceptions of the concept of home as expressed in their writings could be explained in part to their exposure and appreciation of the Canadian society in terms of how they have learned to comprehend the concepts of security, constant development and recognition humans with agency and choice in

a multicultural society.

In conclusion, looking at the Canadian cultural model today and almost a decade ago based on Trudeau's words, the role multiculturalism as means to establish an inclusive state has undergone continuous transformation. While there are theories and philosophies on either side that present divergent paths forward, it is important however, that as a state composed of diverse nations and/or ethnic minorities its history should largely determine a focal point of references as the society grows. The obvious marginalisation of First Nations or preference of English and French as main literary languages certainly has not only been wrong but has set Canada back in many years of development. There can be a tendency to want to appease most if not all ethnic minorities and to improve their lot to attain some similitude of minimum standards. This is evident through new legislation prohibiting development projects without the consent and active involvement of the First Nations for instance which was not the case before. While this is commendable, one tends to agree with Trudeau who points out that this has to be evidence based and constructively structure to further pro-growth and a common convergence on goals that are beneficial to all Canadians.

The Canadian cultural model as such, cannot be said to have succeeded in building a unified Canada for all. However as Taylor (1994) would suggest, it implies that the Canadian society is embracing its identity and recognizing the fact that while multiculturalism may not be the answer to its efforts to create and maintain a cohesive society, it is however a means to get Canadians of diverse ethnicities involved in a post-multicultural era. The Canadian model

of culture reflects a society that embraces growth and seeks commonality as a state and this is a view that Trudeau had and presently is working to improve or so it would seem.

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Decline of the French

language in Canada

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1 Introduction

We all know that the official languages in Canada are English and French. We also know that almost all of the French-speaking people are in the province of Québec, and the English-speaking ones in the rest of Canada. This is very special and that is why I am going to study it. Québec is like a French language safe haven in North America, protected by provincial laws, but will it stay like this forever?

In more details, I will be analyzing and studying the prevalence of the French language in Canada in this paper. Is it declining as I expect? For a long time, I have been thinking that this would be the case, at least in a far future.

English became such an important way of communication in science and in all kinds of international advancement and cooperation that I don't think French will keep being spoken so much in certain places of Canada like in the province of Québec.

2 Literature study

Around the year 1969, after the “Quiet Revolution” a series of linguistic laws emerged including one on official languages. This law made Canada a bilingual state using French and English. Afterwards, in 1977, something happened in the province of Québec. Bill 101 (Charte de la Langue Française) imposed French as the only official language there (Mataillet, 2022).

In a 2016 census, around 8 million Canadians (22% of the country's population)

were native French speakers or spoke French at home. In 2018, another survey was done about citizens who can at least hold a conversation in French, the number went up to 10,9 million (30% of the country's population) which makes Canada the 6th largest country where French is spoken (Mataillet, 2022).

In the Table 1 below, the estimated number of francophones in Canada in 2018 is shown (Mataillet, 2022).

Table 1: Estimated number of francophones in Canada

The distribution of francophones in Canada reflects the history of the 17th and 18th centuries colonization. Almost 85% of them are in Québec and 30% of them in New Brunswick. In other provinces though, francophones make up no more than 3% of the population (Mataillet, 2022).

Now regarding the possible decline of the French language in Canada, it was found that, in Québec, the percentage of people with this tongue as their native one dropped from 81,5% in 2001 to 79% in 2016. Even worst, in Montreal, this number went down to 49,6% keeping in mind that this area is home to a quarter of the Quebecers (Mataillet, 2022).

Not everyone in Canada speaks either English or French though, there are also other languages. The decline of French doesn't always mean an incline of English. But still, in terms of linguistic assimilation, English is way more attractive for immigrants to learn than French is.

A study was done in 2020 by the “Office Québécois de la Langue Française” that showed 40% of companies in the province ask for English in their hiring process. In Montreal and its surroundings, this number goes up to 63% (Mataillet, 2022).

This was a problem for the Quebecers, so on June 1st, 2022, they now passed Bill 96 which considerably strengthens Bill 101 to make sure people in Québec are recognized as a nation where only French is the official language. This is now “forcing” companies, organizations, and the Supreme Court to work in French there. One could say that this new bill will probably help protect and develop the French language in Canada over time (Filson, 2022).

In the Figure 1 below, a graph about whether the Quebecers think the French language is being threatened in Québec is shown:

Figure 1 French threatened in Québec?

In 1995, less than 50% of Québec’s population thought that the French language was threatened. Compared to 2021, that number was small as it then changed to 75%.

That is significant and probably means something, but these numbers were based on opinions, so their actual importance can be argued (Charles Breton, 2022).

In the Figure 2 below, another graph about the Quebecers opinions on the same question is shown, but this time it is divided by age ranges and compares opinions from 2001 and 2022.

This shows that the younger population has seen no changes in their opinions over the years, but looking at the oldest population, their opinions changed a lot between what they thought in 2001 compared to 2022. They are now the ones thinking that the French language is threatened the most (Charles Breton, 2022).

Figure 2: French threatened in Québec?

3 Concluding discussion

In my opinion, is the French language is bound to decline in popularity over time but keeping in mind the laws that are constantly being reviewed and strengthened for its protection, I think this decline will be very slow and over decades.

I always thought this because English has been gaining popularity around the world since I was born and is now becoming such an important language and a lingua-franca that I don't know how and why it wouldn't take over completely in Canada and many other countries for that matter.

At the same time, looking at what happened throughout history, the lingua-franca usually changes to new languages over long periods of time like decades. So maybe at that point Québec and the rest of Canada might not be going towards English but something else entirely.

That said, history isn't always right and nowadays with how connected the world is,

one language is bound to take over one day, even if it is in 50 years. It already seems so with English; it is the language of science and international business right now.

One cannot go far in terms of international cooperation using a language like Mandarin for example even if it is one of the most spoken languages in the world (2nd).

English is right now the most spoken language in the world when counting native and non-native speakers according to a Berlitz article (Berlitz, 2021).

Going back to the main subject of this paper, I was just strengthening my point with what was said above. I just have a strong feeling that French is definitely going to lose speakers in Canada because of the fact that English is so prevalent in North America and that it is the language the most spoken/understood in the world right now. I am thinking how can you fight back? Little Québec, and New-Brunswick, alone up there.

Of course, the new Bill 96 from 2022 is going to protect the French very much, but at what cost? This bill is essentially forcing French on people who wants to live in Québec. There is so much backfire against this bill right now in cities like Montreal, that I don't know how this could end well.

I was also thinking if the government of Québec is doing all these proceedings and reviewing old bills, charters, and laws about the French language, it must be an indicator that this tongue is actually threatened or in decline there. Otherwise, why would they be working so hard to preserve, strengthen, and enforce them?

I just found out about this bill while researching for this paper and I was shocked from what I read about it. It is creating tension between French speakers and English speakers in Canada, as there always has been, but now it is only getting worst. It also creates walls against national and international companies who use English for business. Why would they ever want to establish or expand themselves in Québec when all of their relations with Quebecers will have to be strictly in French. What is the effect on companies already established there? Well, it is not good for their advancement and future to say the least. Some are already planning to leave Québec, employers, and employees.

There were already push-backs against Bill 96 as, on August 12th, a judge suspended two clauses from the bill temporally until it is reviewed in a more detailed process. These are about people's right to access court proceedings in English without being forced to translate all their documents to French (and pay themselves for these translations) (Morgan Lowrie, 2022).

Québec Superior Court Justice Chantal Corriveau said: "In this case, in the tribunal's opinion, the evidence demonstrates a serious risk that, in these cases, certain legal persons will not be able to assert their rights before the courts in a timely manner, or will be forced to do so in a language other than the official language which they and their lawyers master the best and which they identify as their own" (Morgan

Lowrie, 2022).

All of this doesn't paint a good picture on Québec's new law for English speakers, but also for First Nations folks of Canada. These groups are both fighting against the law right now and are both frustrated about it. First Nations have always been struggling to keep their languages and roots alive, this new law is yet another setback for them.

I was born and raised in Québec and have lived there the first twenty-three years of my life (1989-2012) and I can say that in that period I learned that linguistic racism was very real in Canada. The French are extremely proud, and the English are just more numerous so there are always problems being created when someone can't speak French in Québec, or a company wants to hire an English speaker in Québec. The sheer number of English speakers in North America is always pushing itself into Québec and other French communities around there, and the pride of the French speakers is always pushing back. It has been exactly like this the whole time I lived there, and it seems like it hasn't changed a bit!

I think xenophobia has always been present between mostly French and English speakers in Canada. I have an example of that from what happened to me and my American wife when we tried to move as a family to Québec in 2012. The border control employees barely spoke English and were very against our idea of moving

when they heard we only spoke English together. They searched us and tried to find every possible reason to deny and ban my wife from Canada for one year and they did without ever giving a good reason. They didn't even know the difference in the way dates are written in English compared to French (month first in English, numerically like on a receipt). Everything seemed like pure confusion, inexperience, and racism from the border control part. Examples like this are plenty, even small ones like people saying to themselves: "go back to your country" when English or any other languages are heard in Québec. I have heard things like that hundreds of times...

In my opinion, two scenarios can happen in Québec: either it accepts English as an official language (and in turn accepts the decline of French) or it devolves into a nation that barely advances, because of its refusal to speak English to cooperate with the rest of the world.

In 2012, Justin Trudeau declared about Canada: "We have created a society where individual rights and freedoms, compassion and diversity are core to our citizenship. But underlying that idea of Canada is the promise that we all have a chance to build a better life for ourselves and our children" (Justin Trudeau, 2012).

In my opinion those are only appealing words to say and nothing more because Canada is built in a way where it has always been made out of communities living in segregation and trying to struggle for their rights. The First Nations live in certain areas

only, the French live in others as well as the English.

One good thing is that Canada tries to make all of these communities equal in terms of rights, which is why one can say that Canada is a free country for people to live as they wish, but that is not the full picture. Citizens are free but have to establish themselves in the “right” area of the country to be able to be “free”. They can’t expect to go live a French life in British-Columbia for example, that would not be possible whatsoever.

With that said Canada has freedom, diversity, and compassion in the list of its values, as Trudeau said, but all of it is encapsulated and segregated in different areas and communities. So, in other words, those values are there but are not respected or are not part of the actual whole country.

There is a constant fight from each group for them to be able to stay afloat and to continue following the Canadian dream. Without this fight, it seems like different groups would just be assimilated over time by other groups nearby.

A good example or picture of what I think Canada is like would be that Canada is like a very wonderful compassionate father who only wants the best for everyone, but its provinces are like its rebellious children that will not stop fighting against each other.

Internationally, Canada seems to always be portrayed as this diverse, free, and com-

passionate country with such a good reputation, but its true identity never seems to be understood in detail. When I say that I am Canadian anywhere outside the country, people always get very happy and interested, then start talking about how wonderful it must be there. They are not wrong, but at the same time I wish that each province would finally start thinking more like Canada and less like individuals in the future, because if Canada would become an actual whole unit working together and speaking all these languages and embracing everyone in each province, that would probably make Canada very close to being the best country in the world to live in without a doubt.

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Canadian Cultural Model

The secret to Canada's incredible prosperity is that it united the vast country around a set of shared principles. Personal liberty, tolerance, and multiculturalism are vital characteristics of a country's citizens. Canada sees itself as an egalitarian democracy in which everyone has equal access to opportunity, rights, and liberties (Alexander & Fong, 2022). We would want to believe that injustice, prejudice, and intolerance are no longer issues in the country. Without discrimination based on race, caste, sexual identity, capacity, sexual orientation, ethnic background, or citizenship, frameworks for addressing equality, such as policies, acts, declarations, and agencies, are created by government, entities, institutions, and the media. Therefore, giving the impression that we promote and practice multiculturalism and inclusion. Canada has long been admired globally for its liberal views on human liberties and international citizenship issues. However, the promise that every one of us has the opportunity to improve our lives for ourselves and our children lies at the heart of the Canadian ethos. The state offers

its residents the chance for economic freedom. The fundamental tenet of the Canadian model is at stake because the political establishment is choosing not to confront it.

Consequently, this essay examines Justin Trudeau's claim about Canada: "We have created a society where individual rights and freedoms, compassion and diversity are core to our citizenship. Nevertheless, underlying that idea of Canada is the promise that we all have a chance to build a better life for ourselves and our children" (Trudeau, 2012). This paper determines if his remarks correspond to the current Canadian cultural model.

Analysis of The Canadian Cultural Model

Using the 6-D model, one may investigate the Canadian Cultural Model. First, power distance assesses how much less powerful individuals, institutions, and groups in a community expect and embrace uneven power distribution. It is about how leaders and followers both contribute to social injustice. Canadian culture, which scored 39 in this category, is distinguished by its individuals' connection and a solid dedication to egalitarianism. According to this component, the second definition of individualism is the degree of connectivity that a community maintains among its individuals. Individuals are only expected to look after their own families and themselves (Osberg, 2018). Canada is classified as an Individualist culture after scoring an 80 on this criterion (the highest score available). Third, on this scale, masculinity implies that society will be driven by rivalry, success, and achievement.

Globalization is no longer the exception but rather the rule in the commercial world. Free trade has lifted millions of people from poverty, and corporate leaders constantly look for new strategies to gain market share. To take advantage of business opportunities abroad, corporate leaders must negotiate and understand the cultural characteristics unique to each country with whom they wish to conduct business. Canada has operated as a single country with two separate cultures since its inception in 1867. Quebec, for example, has different linguistic, religious, and political aspirations than the rest of Canada (Boudreaux et al., 2021). Before entering the market, corporate executives should be informed of Canada's different particular cultural elements. Language, religion, morals, values, behaviours, etiquette, customs, social systems, and institutions are examples of cultural components.

The diverse economy that Canada has should be maintained. In Canada, economic decisions are influenced by both government policy and consumer and market behaviour. Canada should not abandon capitalism since a mixed economy provides all of the benefits of a market system.

Also, Greater people in Canada are beginning to favour a diverse economy for several reasons, including the fact that the economy provides people more freedom to make their own financial decisions. A mixed economy can also find all the benefits of a market economy. Both systems safeguard private property, let the free market and the principles of supply and demand decide prices, and are driven by people's self-interests, among other characteristics. All of the benefits of a market economy apply to a mixed economy. One is that the economy distributes products and services where necessary. Another is that it favours efficient and profitable manufacturers. Implying consumers receive the most excellent value for their money (Boudreaux et al., 2021). Thirdly, it promotes the use of addition to satisfying client demands in more inventive, economical, or effective ways. As a result, Canadians are happy with the state of the economy.

Consumers and producers in Canada have not yet experienced many issues because of the country's economy. A market economy is distinct from a mixed economy because, in the former, the state has complete authority over all facets of commerce, industry, and product creation. As a mixed economy, Canada is caught in the middle since a lack of management could result in a lack of supplies being available in an emergency. Because it is a medium ground that offers the advantages of both styles of economies with relatively few drawbacks, a mixed economy is quite popular (Trudeau, 2012). As an illustration, a mixed economy ensures justice in economic decision-making by involving the government and the general public.

In contrast to a market economy, in which the state has a restricted role and is responsible for making decisions depending on the economy, a mixed economy gives the state and people a stake that enables them to make economic choices. Everyone is treated equally in Canada, including both citizens and the government. A mixed economy must be an equal opportunity economy, which should inspire everyone to act equally. In essence, this means that the goal of the economy is to encourage economic equality among all citizens (Alexander & Fong, 2022). Additionally, government laws guarantee that all people's basic requirements, such as maintaining a high standard of living, are addressed. However, a market economy depends on competitiveness. It lacks a structure to care for children, the elderly, and those physically or psychologically sick, all of whom are at a competitive disadvantage.

The Unjustified Act of Justin Trudeau

Justin Trudeau, the prime minister of Canada, to put an end to the 'Freedom Convoy' protests, the Emergencies Bill was implemented for the first time since it was enacted in 1988 on 14th February 2022, shocking the entire world. These demonstrations, which supposedly started as

a convoy of demonstrators opposed to a vaccine requirement for cross-border truckers, resulted in dozens of semi trucks parked in downtown Ottawa, badly affecting Parliament Hill. Thousands of demonstrators have vowed to resist until all COVID limitations are lifted nationwide in light of the government's tougher stance. The protest movement has evolved into a significant anti-Trudeau uprising, and many protestors are calling for more rallies until the prime minister steps down. Trudeau made a very foolish choice in using the emergency legislation. Justin Trudeau misused the emergency law, which is only utilized in dire situations to protect the government of Canada's capacity to maintain Canada's independence, security, and territorial integrity. Individuals were instilled with terror as a result of such regulations. The Acts enable action to be taken in response to critical situations that seriously imperil Canadians' safety. The state had declared a public order emergency, which is described as "an emergency resulting from threats to Canada's security that are extreme enough to be proclaimed a national emergency" in this case (Berry, 2020).

The legislation gives the government many options for dealing with a public-order emergency. In this case, representatives are implementing diverse new standards. For instance, equipping the RCMP to enforce federal laws and local crimes and restricting participation in significant social events is considered an apparent infringement of peace and beyond reasonable protest, instilling fear in the general populace. The act gives the government various options to deal with a national emergency, including, in this case, prohibiting participation in large assemblies that are considered an apparent breach of the peace and go beyond reasonable protest, inciting fear in public. Since most individuals violated their human freedoms during the liberation convoy, expressing freedom is a crucial social issue. By claiming that the Emergencies Law was not used to stifle free speech, Trudeau defended his use of it. The goal was to "deal with the existing threat and bring the situation under perfect control," he told the House of Commons. Canadians are free to demonstrate for any reason. It loses its statutory immunity if it in any way impairs the rights of others, especially if it goes beyond persuasion through words to bodily interference (Boudreaux et al., 2021). This legislation's history has unanticipated effects.

Justin Trudeau must address the questions generated by his declaration of national emergency. The question of why this practice is being utilized as a protest defies the fact that it has only been performed four times in the past century—once during the First World War and twice during World War II. Justin Trudeau has abused his position by passing unnecessary legislation to regain authority over the populace. The protesters have watched as, two weeks after turning downtown Ottawa into a noisy, polluted parking lot, the liberty caravan has continued to harm

Canada socially, politically, ecologically, financially, and culturally. Was it moral for Justin Trudeau to employ such reprimands to keep the peace? His discriminatory conduct may have led Canadians to question his capacity to manage a demonstration in the same manner that his unjust actions may have led them to dispute his ability to handle a protest. The act was, therefore, extraordinarily unreasonable and unfair (The Guardian, 2017). The emergency act of Canada's 1988 legal reforms, which should only be used in dire circumstances and never to stifle the right to demonstrate of Canadian citizens, was broken by Prime Minister Justin Trudeau.

Justin Trudeau's Declaration and The Current Canadian Cultural Model Correspondence

The Justin Trudeau Declaration's assessment of Canada fits the country's present cultural paradigm. According to Justin Trudeau, Canadian civilization has been built on individual liberty, compassion, and diversity principles. However, the promise that every one of us has the opportunity to improve our lives for ourselves and our children lies at the heart of the Canadian ethos. Therefore, making Canada's almost joyful dedication to inclusivity seems almost naive initially, but it is not. The doors should remain open for practical purposes. Reduced birth rates and an elderly population started lowering Canada's natural population increase in the 1990s. Ten years ago, immigration accounted for two-thirds of population growth (Osberg, 2018). It is anticipated to reach 100% by 2030.

The economic advantages are also apparent, mainly if full citizenship is the intended outcome. The typical happy conclusion of an immigrant narrative can be seen by looking in the mirror for "settlers"—Canadians who are not native to the country. Diversity promotes rather than stifles prosperity, according to our government, statistics, and our own eyes and ears. The assertions made by Justin support Canada's status as a multicultural country and show multiculturalism as an agent of progress (Berry, 2020). It urged all government agencies to take charge of carrying out and promoting multicultural policy, particularly by fostering diverse participation in Canada's foremost organizations.

Additionally, Justin has nothing against money and thinks that by supporting pro-growth policies, the government may contribute to its creation. Success also entails responsibilities. Upward progress, perceived economic security, and proportionality all matter and people are all losing those. If policymakers ignore this issue, we should not be shocked when the middle class starts to doubt the laws and the system that values and promotes growth (Berry, 2020).

The legislation also brought into effect several recurring reports on the success and scope of Canada's multicultural approach, which strengthened it. It prepared the way for the Department of Multiculturalism and Citizenship's ultimate establishment, which focused more intently on removing obstacles to equitable opportunity and inclusion.

Conclusion

The Canadian economy is expected to remain mixed. There is no need to modify the economy because it has almost no negative influence on individuals. It is balanced, includes all of the benefits of every other economy, and supports individualism. The Canadian economy should remain varied because it is proper and equitable to keep the people and the government involved. It is a symbiotic union of two distinct economies that strikes a balance between individualism and collectivism. Justin Trudeau campaigns for a Canada that gives success to all of its residents, a Canada where people who work hard can look forward to a decent quality of life and improved chances for themselves and their children. As a result, his statement about Canada fits the country's existing cultural model. Hence, it is time for the political leadership of this country to focus on changing that. It is time to stop excluding the people whose common ideals bring this country together.

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In 2012, Justin Trudeau declared, that every Canadian citizen has the chance to better his or her (economic) situation and build a life worth living because of the individual “rights [,] [...] freedoms, compassion and diversity” (Trudeau, 2012) which create the core of the Canadian citizenship (Trudeau 2012). This essay aims to ascertain whether this statement is valid for those Canadian residents who have been marginalized in the past, namely the indigenous peoples and immigrants.

Canadians like to be known for their openness and hospitality. Canada's politics encourage immigrants to foster their cultures, traditions, and languages. Canadians proudly refer to their country as a "mosaic," a concept which was invented mostly in order to differentiate Canada from the United States' "melting pot" (Birk & Gymnich, 2016, p.516). As Charles Taylor noted, people long for recognition. He illustrates the difficulty of executing true equality by means of "two modes of politics" (Taylor, 1994, p. 43) which are based on respect. The first model views humans as valuable for who they are and treats them with respect, not for anything they achieved but for their "*universal human potential*, a capacity all humans [even those who are physically or mentally handicapped, and thus unable to reach their potential (Taylor, 1994, p. 42)] share" (Taylor, 1994, p. 41). This approach requires to treat people in a "difference-blind manner" (Taylor, 1994, p. 43). The second model however contradicts the first one: it values people for what they did with their potential and thus focusses on differences rather than sameness (Taylor, 1994, p.43). Multiculturalism was first introduced into the country's political landscape in 1971 (Thobani, 2007, p. 144). The Multiculturalism Act of 1988 acknowledged these efforts (Birk & Gymnich, 2016, p.516). But what was meant to promote the preservation of immigrant cultures (Birk & Gymnich, 2016, p.516) aroused criticism as well: While some critics simply state that multiculturalism has, at best, a "symbolic value" (Birk & Gymnich, 2016, p.517), others claim that it promotes separation and exclusion (Birk & Gymnich, 2016, p.517). Unfortunately, the same is true for multicultural literature. 'Multicultural literature' is a label with only gets assigned to those writers who appear to be neither part of the "English [n]or the French Canadian communities" (Birk & Gymnich, 2016, p.517). The language they write and publish in is inconsequential (Birk & Gymnich, 2016, p.517). The term does not distinguish between different countries of origin, or whether the writers are first-generation (or, as Kulyk Keefer suggested "actual" (Birk & Gymnich, 2016, p.519)) immigrants or second-, third-, etc. generation ("conceptual" (Birk & Gymnich, 2016, p.519)) immigrants. The only thing all those authors have in common is a shared, but depending on "race, class, gender, education" (Birk & Gymnich, 2016, p.519) etc., very different "experience of displacement" (Birk & Gymnich, 2016, p.519) which is why they constitute a very heterogeneous group (Birk & Gymnich, 2016, p.518). Birk and Gymnich point out that the classification as multicultural literature enables othering (Birk & Gymnich, 2016, p.517), since works produced by English and French-Canadian writers are still perceived as the only authentic Canadian literature (Birk & Gymnich, 2016, p.517).

Othering is, as Sunera Thobani explains, a Western means of defining oneself (Thobani, 2007, p. 5) in contrast to the outsider who does not belong (Thobani, 2007, p. 4). This binary structure needs the other to create a sense of self. The national subject is “law-abiding [...], compassionate [...] [and] tolerant of cultural diversity” (Thobani, 2007, p. 5) while the outside is the exact opposite. If outsiders fail, their failure reflects badly on every outsider but if they do something good, it is treated like an exception (Thobani, 2007, p. 6). It is essential to face the unsettling truth about the adversities and iniquities indigenous peoples had to endure since the first settlers went ashore on Indian land. Thobani argues that the Canadian nation is constituted as “Euro-Canadian, that is, white” (Thobani, 2007, p. 22) with the British and the French as the “preferred races” (Thobani, 2007, p. 13). According to Thobani, white supremacy was key for the creation of the national subject. The racialization of non-white people was crucial in the realization of this goal. The India Act was passed in 1876 (Thobani, 2007, p. 48). It was designed to strip the Natives of their status as indigenous to eliminate their populations (Thobani, 2007, p. 49) and to seize their land (Thobani, 2007, p. 49). Aboriginals were seen as primitive, unable to take care of their own land, thus the settlers forced them to live in reserves (Thobani, 2007, p. 56). (Which is unconceivably cruel considering how much of their identity and of who they are is intertwined with mother Earth.) Moreover, as part of the “systematic destruction” (Thobani, 2007, p. 108) of indigenous families, they separated the children and put them into residential schools, a practice they continued up until the 1960s (Thobani, 2007, p. 108). Due to malnutrition, abuse, and neglect, 42% of the children died every year (Thobani, 2007, p. 120). Those who survived were robbed of their culture, their family ties, their language (Thobani, 2007, p. 120) and their knowledge about their ancestors (Thobani, 2007, p. 124). Subsequently, the “child protection services” (Thobani, 2007, p. 109) took over. They declared the Aboriginal mothers unfit (which some of them were due to their own past in the residential school system (Thobani, 2007, p. 122)), removed the children from their community (Thobani, 2007, p. 120) and placed the children with white, Christian foster families (Thobani, 2007, p. 109) who stood to benefit financially from this arrangement (Thobani, 2007, p. 129). This was basically a form of genocide (Thobani, 2007, p. 120). The reason for this cruelty was that the colonizers wanted the Natives’ land (Thobani, 2007, p. 119). They even tried to starve indigenous communities which did not want to give up their children (Thobani, 2007, p. 121). Today, Aboriginal peoples rank among the poorest of Canada’s inhabitants. They are represented as being selfish or even racist (Thobani, 2007, p. 174) for claiming land which belonged to them in the first place, for fighting for sovereignty and for wanting to hunt and fish and log trees (Thobani, 2007, p. 4). However, there have also been steps toward a better

understanding: The Truth and Reconciliation Commission was founded in 2008 and presented its final report in 2015 (Truth and Reconciliation).

While Thobani's claim that racialization of immigrants played (and unfortunately up to a certain degree still plays) a role in Canada's history as a country of immigration, it is important to recognize that non-racialized, European immigrant groups had to endure hardships, too. One of these groups are the Estonian-Canadians. The Soviet reoccupation of Estonia in the autumn of 1944 prompted as many as 80000 Estonians to leave their homeland and to flee to Germany or Sweden (Aun, 1985, p. 9). By 1960 Canada was home to the third largest Estonian community outside of Estonia. Most of the 18500 Estonians were post-war immigrants who entered the country "between 1947 and 1960" (Aun, 1985, p. 14) and "represented a very cohesive ethnic group" (Aun, 1985, p. 14). It is interesting to note that those who chose Canada as their prime selection mostly did so in hopes that the "social conditions and [the] climate" (Aun, 1985, p. 21) would equal those of their motherland (Aun, 1985, p.21). In 1947, Prime Minister Mackenzie King stated that the Canadian people "do not wish, as a result of mass immigration, to make a fundamental alteration in the character of [their] population" (Aun, 1985, p. 22). This commentary illustrates the Canadian population's initial reluctance to allow immigration of political refugees (mostly for fear of losing their own "social and cultural structures" (Aun, 1985, p. 22) and of overburdening the economic system (Aun, 1985, p. 22)), however, it soon became a great success. Nevertheless, in order to be accepted for immigration, workers needed to be single or willing to leave their families for the duration of their working contract (Aun, 1985, p. 22). Luckily, this policy changed in 1949 due to the anticipation of economic growth (Aun, 1985, p. 26): now families were granted joined immigration (Aun, 1985, p. 26). Unlike other groups of immigrants, the post-war Estonians, especially those arriving shortly after World War 2, considered themselves "[political]refugees or exiles" (Aun, 1985, p. 39) rather than immigrants. Even though they adjusted to life far away from their native country, they still hoped to one day return to Estonia (Aun, 1985, p.38). Being a second-generation Estonian-Canadian herself, writer K. Linda Kivi offers valuable insights into the daily struggles of living with historical and intergenerational trauma and postmemory effect in her autobiographical work *The Inner Green. Exploring Home in the Columbia Mountains* as well as in her novels. Kivi vividly describes her search for a place to call home. Estonians were not only set on keeping their culture and language alive (Aun, 1985, p. 40), they also felt obligated to further develop the Estonian culture, as they were the only ones free to do so (Aun, 1985, p. 41). Kivi's parents left Estonia during the Second World War (Kivi, 2005, p. 14). What they carried with

them and handed down to their children was the heartbreaking loss of their homeland and their longing to return (Kivi, 2005, p. 14). They consciously taught their children to honor (Kivi, 2005, p. 14) a distant country, they could not travel to (Kivi, 2005, p. 15) and “what to fear and how to protect themselves” (Kivi, 2005, p. 16) instead of how to love (Kivi, 2005, p. 16). Estonia became a romanticized, mythic place and Kivi struggled with the conflicting dichotomy of the handed down trauma of losing a home she never knew (Kivi, 2005, p. 16) and the wish to escape it all, to be the free Canadian she was born to be (Kivi, 2005, p. 15). Only after having been permitted to visit Estonia in 1989 and after the obligation to fight for the Estonian cause was gone, Kivi was able to conciliate her Estonian with her Canadian identity. She realized that her ancestors’ greatest gift to her was her “ability to love the land” (Kivi, 2005, p. 18) just like indigenous people do (Kivi, 2005, p. 15). Now, living in the vast Interior Temperate Rainforest in British Columbia, Kivi is finally able to truly answer writer Aldo Leopold’s question of not who but where she is (Kivi, 2005, p. 16) because identity is intrinsically linked with the land one lives on.

In conclusion, it is evident, that Trudeau’s statement does not (yet) hold true for every Canadian citizen. However, there is cause for hope. More recent developments like the willingness to ask the indigenous population for forgiveness and to work on a joint future, and the naturalness with which more and more conceptual immigrants are free to define who they wish to be point in the right direction. There is still a lot of ground to cover, but today more than ever, equality has a chance of one day becoming a reality for every Canadian citizen.

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"We have created a society where individual rights and freedoms, compassion and diversity are core to our citizenship. But underlying that idea of Canada is the promise that we all have a chance to build a better life for ourselves and our children." These words formed the closing part of a speech by Justin Trudeau (2012) during a rally for his candidacy for the leadership of the Liberal party. The speech clearly struck a chord at the rally, as Trudeau went on to win the leadership race and later became Prime Minister of Canada, but do his words actually reflect the Canadian cultural model which exists today? This essay aims to analyse the first sentence of Trudeau's quote and examine whether these words are a fair description of modern Canada or simply propagating a myth of Canadian identity which the country presents to the world.

The notion of Canadian citizenship in its current legal sense is fairly recent. Under British rule, Canadian citizenship rules were in part determined by the British parliament, with a truly separate Canadian citizenship only first created in 1948 (Cochrane et al., 2017 p121-123). The rules determining who could become a citizen were originally written with heavy racial biases. At times, white European migrants were given favourable treatment over Asian migrants, while indigenous people enjoyed fewer rights than many other groups. Thobani (2007) argues that the institution of citizenship was a tool for white supremacy, and the legacy of unequal treatment remains to this day, despite new legislation.

The requirements to formally become a Canadian citizen can give an insight into Canada's national identity. Aside from the residency requirement, applicants must be able to prove their proficiency in either French or English, swear an oath of allegiance, and pass a

citizenship test. The oath of allegiance (Government of Canada, 2019) declares an allegiance to the monarch, and a promise to abide by the laws and constitution of Canada. While the rights of indigenous people are explicitly stated in the oath, no mention is given to other individual rights and freedoms, compassion, or diversity. The act of taking the oath is, however described as reflecting “the Canadian values of social cohesion, openness and transparency in an open, free, democratic and diverse Canada”. Furthermore, the questions which form the citizenship test are based on a document (Government of Canada, 2021) which specifically mentions diversity, in terms of religion, race and sexuality, as a feature of Canadian society. Additionally, it outlines many of the individual rights and freedoms afforded to Canadian citizens. The inclusion of these in the citizenship test and the aims of the oath show that the government of Canada considers them important to the Canadian cultural model.

Trudeau cites individual rights and freedoms as core features of Canadian citizenship. Canada is a country which enumerates individual rights very clearly in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, which forms part of the constitution. Gagnon and Iacovino (2006 p. 106-107) describe a deliberate strategy of Canadian nation-building during the 20th century where, in the absence of a homogenous and widely recognised Canadian culture, it was hoped that a sense of unity would instead be achieved through a shared appreciation of individual rights and freedoms granted by the state. This links to the official policy of multiculturalism, which gives Canadians the right to express and share their cultural identity, whether this may be an indigenous, settler or immigrant culture. The Charter of Rights and Freedoms lists many rights and freedoms which Canadian citizens are constitutionally guaranteed. The charter is popular among the population and has led to a more widespread awareness of social issues and a sense of justice among many minority groups (Cochrane et al., 2007 p.473-474). Canada is seen around the world and at home as a progressive nation, due to policies such as same-sex marriage which have come about as a result of court challenges citing the charter. However Cochrane et al. (2007 p. 473) also mention problems with the document, including a perceived or actual focus on the rights of businesses and corporations, taking preference over people.

Compassion is a value associated with taking care of other people who find themselves in less fortunate conditions than oneself. It can materialise in many forms, from an individual helping an older person to carry heavy items, to the state mandating unemployment benefits. Thobani (2007) argues that the post-war development of the welfare state in Canada appropriated the virtue of compassion from the level of the individual citizen and incorporated it into a politicised Canadian national identity. While previously the burden of care of many

groups of people, such as disabled people, unemployed people and pregnant women, lay with their families and personal support networks, in the new Canadian model of society, these people were instead supported financially by the state. This change benefitted many people and today many Canadians believe their society to be one of the most compassionate in the world (Thobani, 2007 p. 69), seeing it as an important Canadian characteristic.

One group of people which have, historically at least, not been the benefactors of Canadian compassion are the country's indigenous peoples. Cochrane et al. (2017 p. 69-83) provide an overview of some of the hardships these people have endured at the hands of the Canadian state. During colonial times many were killed and forced from their land to make way for European settlers. Their cultures were actively suppressed with a policy of forced assimilation into mainstream white European-Canadian society. Some people at the time considered this to be a compassionate approach, a way of "civilising" the native population, however with historical hindsight most would agree that the practice has resulted in huge-scale suffering and trauma and antithetical to the concept of Canadian compassion. While forced relocations and assimilation have stopped, the legacy of these policies continues to plague indigenous communities today, where rates of suicide, mental health problems and drug abuse are notably higher than in non-indigenous populations. The way Canada deals with this legacy today could be seen as an ongoing test of whether the country is truly a compassionate one or if this reputation is undeserved.

Diversity is a concept which can have many different meanings, depending on the context, however it can be assumed that when Trudeau mentioned diversity in his speech, he was talking about a society which includes people of different races, religions, genders, sexual orientations and other such characteristics. Canada is, by many measures, a very diverse country. The diversity in Canadian society appears to be broadly accepted by the population. In the World Values Survey (WVS, 2015), people in Canada were asked which groups of people they would not wish to have as neighbours. The percentage of respondents who listed *people of a different race* was 4.5%. 5.9% listed *people of different religions*, while 10.2% listed *homosexuals*. These relatively low percentages show that the vast majority of the Canadian population at least claim to be happy with diverse communities' presence in the country, which in turn shows that diversity can indeed be considered a feature of Canada's cultural model today. However, these numbers are similar to the equivalent numbers found by the same survey in the United States and Western European nations, meaning that Canada perhaps cannot claim to be the sole champion of this value.

While Canada can certainly be described as a diverse country, the political framework of the country has not always reflected this. Thobani (2007 p. 144-146) writes about the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in 1963, which in its report described Anglophones and Francophones as the “founding peoples” of Canada. This status placed these two groups, which can be interpreted as ethnic and culture groups as well as linguistic communities, above all others, including indigenous peoples and immigrant communities. Later changes have brought official recognition for other races and cultures in Canada, with a state policy of multiculturalism being adopted in 1971, however the French and English languages, and by virtue of this their associated cultures, still enjoy a privileged status in Canada. Gagnon and Iacovino (2006, p.108) argue that the multicultural policy was flawed from the beginning in its intentions. Rather than a tool to embrace cultural diversity, they describe the policy as being originally designed to soothe tensions between the English and French language communities while avoiding concessions to give French language and culture a special status. In this sense, diversity could be cynically viewed as a value pushed in order to dilute the influence of French linguistic communities in Canada.

In this essay I have examined three features which Justin Trudeau claimed to be fundamental parts of Canadian national identity. Individual rights and freedoms can certainly be seen as an important part of the Canadian cultural model, uniting a nation which lacks a strong homogenous culture of its own. Compassion is promoted as a value of the Canadian state and its people. While many benefit from government support and the Canadian population as a whole may see themselves as compassionate people, some minority groups which have suffered as a result of government policies, both historically and in today’s Canada, may dispute this characterisation. Finally, diversity is a recognised feature of Canadian society, however its promotion as a Canadian value may have had more ulterior motives in the beginning. Overall, I believe that Trudeau was justified in listing these three features as part of Canada’s cultural model. The true picture is slightly more nuanced than he describes, but perhaps this sense of optimism is to be expected in a political speech.

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The above remark from the Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau about the essence of the nation resonates

with an apology he later addressed to members of the First Nation community. On November 24, 2017,

Trudeau acknowledged and expressed remorse regarding a very dark episode of the nation's history: the so-

called residential schools, a system of state-organized abduction, exportation, abuse, and cultural conditioning

of more than 150,000 children from First Nation communities.

Upon arrival, brothers and sisters were separated. They were forced to surrender their personal belongings,

cut their hair, and comply with a strict set of rules – dictated by people who were perfect strangers. (...)

Punished for speaking their language, prohibited from practicing their culture, the children were isolated from

their families, uprooted from their communities, and stripped of their identity. They were made to feel irrelevant

and inferior. They were taught to be ashamed of who they were, of where they were from.²

When Trudeau asked forgiveness for what has been referred to by survivors as the *Indianization* of abuse and

torture³, he offered to them a belated and certainly insufficient relief. Meanwhile, he shocked the rest of the

world, taken aback by learning that such acts of cultural genocide had taken place in Canada, in total

contradiction to the contemporary national narrative of a nurturing, compassionate, inclusive, and forward-

thinking haven.

In Sweden, however, the news wasn't as distressing as similar practices took place against the Sami

community of Lapland in the early 20th century. Malpractices equally conflicting the current Swedish national

narrative and reminded to the vast public through *Sami Blood* (2016). In Canada, diplomatic necessities and

decency prevented Trudeau from depicting the true horror of the enterprise, which, according to survivors,

was not limited to the severed communication between children and parents, but, in certain Canadian

residential schools, extended to sexual assaults, forced abortions, and the use of homemade electric chairs.⁴

These exactions are rooted in a colonial culture of discrimination toward the First Nation, Metis, and Inuits

which took place since the first European settlements in Canada. It has been dictated and archived in the texts

of laws such as the Indian Act of 1876. This document has been rewritten numerous times throughout Canadian

history and is still implemented nowadays with opposite effects. First introduced in 1876, the Act laid out an

array of colonial laws aiming at annihilating First Nation culture in favor of assimilation into Euro-Canadian

society.

1 Canadian middle class left out of the growth equation

https://www.thestar.com/opinion/editorialopinion/2012/10/30/canadian_middle_class_left_out_of_the_growth_equation.html

2 Remarks by Prime Minister Justin Trudeau to apologize on behalf of the Government of Canada to former students of the Newfoundland and

Labrador residential schools.

<https://www.pm.gc.ca/en/news/speeches/2017/11/24/remarks-prime-minister-justin-trudeau-apologize-behalf-government-canada>

3 Quote extracted from *Sleeping Children Awake*. Directed by Rhonda Kara Hanah, Canada 1992.

4 The documentary *We Were Children*. Directed by Tim Wolochatiuk, Canada 2012, is a chilling investigation of retelling of the exaction which

took place in the St. Anne's Indian Residential School in the Fort Albany Indian reserve.

According to the Canadian Encyclopedia: Subsequent amendments required First Nations children to attend

industrial or residential schools (1894 and 1920). The dark legacy of residential schools in Canada has

affected Indigenous communities across the country and intergenerationally.⁵ Despite its controversial legacy

and its defining of Indian Status, the revision and evolution of the Act nowadays displays the drastic changing

attitude towards native minorities and is a precious testimony of the country's multicultural advancement.

Residential schools were progressively shut down with succeeding initiatives of monetary compensation,

recognition, and commemoration of the damages inflicted. These measures alleviate partly the mistreatment

of children, but also address the general attempt of forced assimilation throughout the dismantlement of

traditional governance structure. The compensatory measures culminated internationally with the United

Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples drafted in Geneva in 2007, establishing a universal

framework of minimum standards for the survival, dignity, wellbeing, and rights of the world's indigenous

peoples.⁶

It could be argued that the generous asylum policy that is nowadays specific to Canada is a byproduct of this

sociopolitical evolution. Similarly, the contemporary Canadian education system is a completely different

environment from the one reported by the residential schools' survivors. Canadian schools pride themselves

on the importance they place on the transfer of both knowledges and values. A discourse one would recognize

in most OECD nations, the particularity here being the emphasis on community, heredity, and the passing of

traditions:

People in all of the varying roles and responsibilities of society share and acquire information, skills, attitudes

and values. Whether raising a family, earning a living, administering a large corporation or conversing with

friends, education occurs and is received. In its broadest sense education includes the total range and variety of

processes evident in a social group or community by which the social heredity of the unit is maintained.⁷

To directly address the wrongdoing and the intergenerational trauma left by the residential schools, extensive

awareness campaigns are undertaken to publicize the mistakes of the past and pay tribute to the victims. These

initiatives are often carried out directly in Canadian schools where students are acquainted with this ghastly

chapter of their country's history. Alongside, Canadian Schools abroad are promoting Canada's International

Education Strategy of which diversity is a cornerstone.

International education is an essential pillar of Canada's long-term competitiveness (...) Students from abroad

who study in Canada bring those same benefits to our shores. If they choose to immigrate to Canada, they

contribute to Canada's economic success. Those who choose to return to their countries become life-long

ambassadors for Canada and for Canadian values.

Contemporary Canadian textbooks demonstrate a reciprocity between diversity and competitiveness. Meanwhile,

they are enshrined with the concept of reversed discrimination, meaning (...) affording people from previously

unfavored groups a competitive advantage for jobs or places in universities. This practice has been justified

on the grounds that historical discrimination has created a pattern within which the unfavored struggle at a

disadvantage.⁸ It is the recognition that wrong has been committed and the will to absolve oneself by offering

a head start to those injured.

5 The Canadian Encyclopedia, Indian Act Published Online February 7, 2006 Updated by Zach Parrott Last Edited September 23, 2022.

6 UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples

<https://www.ohchr.org/en/indigenous-peoples/un-declaration-rights-indigenous-peoples>

7 The Canadian Encyclopedia, Education in Canada

<https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/education>

8 Dyck, R., Cochrane, C., & Blidook, K. (2017). Canadian politics: critical approaches (Eighth edition). Nelson Education, Toronto. p.126.

However, despite inclusion efforts, many immigrants to Canada continue to endure discrimination at an

everyday level, proving that centuries of violence cannot be erased with a few regulations.⁹ In Politics of

Recognition, Taylor expresses in detail the complexity and paradox of conducting such policies. On the one

hand, the concepts of individualized identity and authenticity, on the other hand the yearning for equal

recognition. In other words, the contradiction that lies in the desire to respect individuals for their identity and

cultural specificities while meeting them as equal.

Nonetheless, awareness and recognition have progressively percolated through Canadian culture with the

ultimate outcome of the Head of State publicly expressing regret in the face of the world. In apologizing for

facts of cultural genocide committed on the Canadian soil, Trudeau executed a diplomatic tour de force,

abounding in the sense to the modern Canadian national narrative. Assuredly, his gesture has motivated that

of King Phillippe of Belgium and his apology tour in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Or Prime Minister

Mark Rutte of the Netherlands who expressed sorrow for the past actions of the colonial Dutch State.

These excuses might be sincere or a mere political move. Certainly, they have conveyed their gravitas

domestically and abroad. The crimes committed in residential schools are undeniable and unspeakable

historical facts which will leave an indelible negative mark in Canadian history, and which will long be the

subject of intercommunity controversy. Yet, Prime Minister Trudeau demonstrated that his land could look

back, reflect, and make amends, cementing Canada as a truly empathetic and enlightened nation, and an

inspiration for fellow democracies.

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Justin Trudeau wrote an article in 2012 that could easily be resonated by many Canadians. He clearly laid bare the core elements of Canadian identity as they were laid bare to him: “individual rights and freedoms, compassion, and diversity” (Trudeau, 2012). He further went ahead to highlight on mobility upward as one of the pillars in the Canadian dream. The aim of this essay is to seek critically into analyse of his interactions while using course literature to establish if what we perceive today based on current socio-political and economic factors such as immigration policies, stratification of economics, social welfare programs align with Trudeau’s vision.

First and foremost, Charles Taylor’s work on the politics of equal respect and recognition offers an important critical framework for examining Justin Trudeau’s vision of Canada. In particular, Taylor identifies a tension in liberal society most apparent in context to Quebec’s unique status within Canada. English Canada tends to show uniform application of rules, and is skeptical of collective goals, suggesting that Quebec distinct society should be secondary to existing legal frameworks. This procedural model of liberalism is not congenial to multicultural societies because it makes flourishing difficult with Taylor implying alternative models could be more accommodating of cultural differences by balancing uniform treatment against the need for cultural preservation. Most importantly though, Taylor suggests that recognition is key to a lack of perceived equal worth between groups can fragment society. This is particularly pertinent in Canada where competing ideologies often collide: one focused on the requirement to treat everyone equally regardless of background and another more focused upon preserving and treasuring cultural difference. Trudeau’s vision for Canada thus becomes a confirmation as well as a challenge. It captures much that is aspirational about Canadian identity but also offers a site of critical reflection on the complexities and contradictions which underpin this vision and could result in economic disparity, social exclusions, the difficulties of integrating an increasingly multicultural population into a cohesive national narrative (Taylor, 1994).

Moreover, growing U.S. culture influence on Canadian media and cultural industries further complicates Trudeau's vision of a distinguishing Canadian identity. As Dyck et al. (2017), point out, anglophone Canadians dedicate 72% of their television-viewing time on foreign programs—mostly Americans; for francophones this is significantly lower at 29%. This

is not merely due to consumer preference but also because the Canadian market has been flooded by external content. Regulatory bodies such as the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) have since developed in order to issue broadcasting licenses and enforce regulations on Canadian content. However, the shadow of U.S. culture remains quite dominant casting into doubt the effectiveness of such regulatory measures in securing an exclusive Canadian cultural model.

The authors further argue that the efforts to sustain Canadian culture are often initiated by committed nationalists in the public institutions and a few Canadian-owned private firms. Such efforts include many regulatory and tax measures, as well as funding agencies designed to protect and promote Canadian culture. However, the all-encompassing influence of U.S. culture challenges the idea of an independent and individualistic Canadian cultural identity. As Dyck et al. (2017) points out, this external influence complicates an additional layer for Trudeau's vision – questioning how successfully Canada has been able to create a cultural space that is not only unique but also resistant to any kind of external influences.

Another unique angle to examine Trudeau's vision on Canadian identity is the Estonian community in Canada normally consists of immigrants who came just after the Second World War (Aun, 1985). They were not mere economic migrants because they fled political persecution and had originally planned that their stay would only be temporary. But with time all eventually contributed immensely in several sectors of Canadian life including economy, architecture, music, and athletics. The experience of the Estonians is a case that illustrates on how a group could successfully integrate into Canadian society and maintain its ethnic identity. Such an experience captures the complexities involved in realizing Trudeau's vision of a society where 'individual rights and freedoms, compassion, and diversity' are core elements. This is captured by the fact that the Estonians in Canada have achieved these through forming cohesive ethnic organizations as well as engaging in various cultural activities putting them on course for enriching a multicultural Canadian society which is both diverse and unified (Aun, 1985).

Apart from cultural aspects, social welfare programs in Canada would make Trudeau's vision of 'individual rights and freedoms, compassion, and diversity' a reality (Trudeau, 2012). A strong system of healthcare, education and unemployment benefits that provide the safety net for each citizen brings us one step closer in achieving upward mobility—the fundamental

pillars on which Canadian dream stands. However, critics argue that despite such programs in place to help mitigate income inequality and lack of access to quality education and health care services for Indigenous communities are still prevalent (as cited in Birk & Gymnich, 2016). This takes away challenges faced by marginalized groups at large in availing equal opportunities—major roadblock set up on the path to realize Trudeau’s vision—a major challenge pointing out continued efforts that ensure inclusion while affirming equity with respect to social welfare programs.

Furthermore, the dynamic nature of multiculturalism in Canada brings an extra layer of complexity to Trudeau’s vision for the nation. John Berry (as cited in Birk & Gymnich, 2016, p 516) argues that a multicultural society is not static but rather ‘changing constantly through negotiation, compromise, and mutual accommodations. The dynamism inherent within such a definition suggests that Trudeau’s multicultural dream of Canada is not just the end goal but part of an ongoing process. It implies that the Canadian dream is not just about preserving cultural diversity but also actively negotiating and compromising among various cultural groups who may all have their own agendas or needs to see accommodated. This perspective resonates with Trudeau’s emphasis on ‘individual rights and freedoms, compassion, and diversity’ (Trudeau, 2012), suggesting that the social framework of Canada is designed to be adaptive, capable of accommodating different interests and needs from its multicultural population. Indeed, in this regard, the notion of ‘the Canadian mosaic’ takes on a renewed meaning. Rather than the American ‘melting pot’ model that demands assimilation into a singular country’s culture, the Canadian mosaic demands that immigrants and their descendants leave intact and celebrate certain key elements of their ancestral cultures (as cited in Birk & Gymnich, 2016). This policy enriches the cultural canvas which is Canada while situating Canada within a broader network of cultural links with myriad different countries. But as Berry’s insights suggest, this mosaic isn’t static; it evolves through negotiation, compromise, and mutual accommodations. Thus, Trudeau’s vision for Canada becomes both affirmation and provocation, it captures much that is aspirational about the contours of Canadian identity but also provides a site upon which such aspirations might be critically reflected upon. Within this backdrop, one is inclined to ask what the vision of Justin Trudeau really means for a nation as complex as Canada. His vision includes a guiding principle that should not only be admired but also scrutinized and adapted to needs. It’s not just about lofty ideals like individual freedoms and diversity; it’s how those ideals stand up under real-world conditions. For instance, Canadian immigration policies are geared towards inclusion and diversity (Library of Parliament, 2018),

yet how well have they adapted in the face of global shifts in refugee crises and economic migration? Indeed, what Trudeau's vision calls for is an ongoing dialogue willing to revise itself in response to criticism and changing circumstances. If Canada hopes to become a nation wherein every individual has opportunity for upward mobility, then policies must be continually examined and revised. The vision of Trudeau is not a fixed destination but a journey whose ultimate outcome requires collective, adaptive action. It asks Canadians not just to admire the dream but participate actively in its ongoing creation making difficult decisions, compromises along the way.

To conclude, Trudeau's vision of Canada is an aspiration and a challenge. The alignment between the multicultural nature of the country and this vision raises questions on its practicalities given economic disparities, cultural complexities, and outside influences. Works by Charles Taylor and John Berry among others provide critical frameworks for understanding the differences and contradictions inherent in Trudeau's vision, from the unique status of Quebec within Canada to the influence of United states culture and from the experience of the Estonian community to the role of social welfare programs- numerous layers of complexity come into focus. These are not only challenging Trudeau's vision but also offer opportunities for critical reflection and ongoing negotiation. As Canada continues to evolve as a multicultural society, Trudeau's vision offers both a rule to follow or one could say a guiding principle that makes you not only respect something but also carefully examine it and adjust the approach we have accordingly.

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When learning more about the integration politics in Canada two words that often come up are multiculturalism and interculturalism. Quebec's policy of interculturalism and the Canadian policy of multiculturalism are both integration policies made to handle the diversity of different cultures within Canada (Gagnon, & Iacovino, 2007, p. 91). This paper intends to look further into the meaning behind these words in the context of Canada, as well as look at their differences and similarities.

Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism refers to a country having multiple cultures and minorities. Contrary to what is called the "melting pot" where the goal is for everyone to adapt to the national culture, multiculturalism has the goal of integration letting minority groups keep parts of their cultural heritages and identities. It is meant to promote easier integration for immigrants and create a

welcoming society for all (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2020).

The former Prime Minister of Canada and leader of the Liberal Party, Pierre Trudeau made multiculturalism a central part of Canada's identity when adopting a national multiculturalism policy year 1971. The policy came as a response to the growing resentment during the quiet revolution in the 1960s from the French Canadians (or nowadays Québécois) who felt like their political, linguistic, and cultural status needed to be protected by making Canada bicultural; at the same time as other minorities' complaints over Canada being bicultural and therefore exclusive (Laing & Cooper, 2019; Jedwab, 2020; McRoberts, 1997, pp. 117-119). Trudeau intended to create a country where everyone feels welcomed and can be themselves and keep parts of their cultural heritage, instead of forcing immigrants to adapt to the Canadian culture. The liberal view focused on making people feel a sense of belonging due to its multicultural stance, rather than creating one Canadian identity uniting the population (Gagnon, & Iacovino, 2007; McRoberts, 1997).

Canada's federal multiculturalism policy was implemented giving room for both the French Canadian and the English Canadian identities to coexist together with all the cultures that existed in Canada before the Europeans colonized the land, as well as the cultures that came after through immigration. The new policy was appreciated by many. Minorities felt seen and English Canadians felt like it separated Canada from the US whose integration policy focused more on adaptation to the American identity (considered by some as a melting pot). The multiculturalism policy was however not celebrated amongst the French Canadians who expected Canada to declare itself bicultural and with that help preserve the cultures of the two founding nations (Jedwab, 2020; Gagnon, & Iacovino, 2007, p. 103).

Year 1988 the Canadian government implemented the Multiculturalism Act, whose goal was to ensure the possibility for everyone, despite background or minority status, to participate

politically and thereby be able to shape the Canadian society. Multiculturalism and its

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meaning in Canada has evolved over the years and has come to include the importance of anti-racism and anti-discrimination, promoting institutions to take greater action to promote diversity and prevent discrimination and racism (Jedwab, 2020; Berry, 2020; Gagnon, & Iacovino, 2007, p. 104).

Some criticism that multiculturalism has gotten is that it could be polarizing and create a place where communities do not interact with each other but rather that people live their whole lives within these communities. Political theorist Parekh argues that this notion of multiculturalism being ghettoization is false, and that multiculturalism opens up to learning from each other, creating a stronger and wiser nation (Baggini & Stangroom, 2007; Gagnon, & Iacovino, 2007, p.110).

Interculturalism

The multiculturalism policy was not accepted by the French Canadians in Quebec. It contradicted their view of Canada since they saw Canada, as bicultural with equal treatment and positions for the cultures of the two founding nations, France and England (McRoberts, 1997, pp. 120-121; Gagnon, & Iacovino, 2007, p. 103). The criticism against multiculturalism from the French Canadians in Quebec meant that the lack of a unified Canadian identity to adhere to led to more separation in society. Separation, despite its original purpose of being welcoming to all, letting diversity strengthen the nation (Gagnon, & Iacovino, 2007, p.110; Jedwab, 2020). Multiculturalism was thought to undermine the importance of French culture in Canada by making it equal to all other minorities in the country. The province of Quebec decided to be unilingual in 1974 despite the rest of Canada

acknowledging two official languages, making Canada bilingual. Similarly, the province of Quebec also decided to ignore the government's multiculturalism policy and in response created an interculturalism model (Gagnon, & Iacovino, 2007, pp. 97-99; Proulx-Chénard, 2021; McRoberts, 1997, pp. 96, 130-132).

Interculturalism is the approach to integration that the province of Quebec has developed. French Canadians initiated a new integration policy since francization and secularization were seen as needed in order to reach equality among the citizens and a strong unity.

Interculturalism in Quebec is largely based on the “Charte de la langue française”, which made the province unilingual. French is now the language used in both official and private settings in the province. Interculturalism intended to help preserve the culture and language in the province by ensuring that adaptation to those is a vital part of the integration into Quebec. Québécois see themselves as a host society (Proulx-Chénard, 2021; Gagnon, & Iacovino, 2007, pp. 96-103).

Even though the integration model in Quebec can be referred to as an integration policy, it has not been passed as a policy or a law, contrary to the national multiculturalism policy in Canada. One reason behind that is the differences in opinion over what the integration policy entails. As previously mentioned, one of the ideas behind the integration model was the

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importance of secularization in Quebec, something that has caused disagreements. In the French Canadian province bills have been passed prohibiting religious symbols to be worn by those in authority positions or by teachers, and covering one's face is forbidden in connection to public service. This is argued to stand against one's freedom of religion (Proulx-Chénard, 2021).

Differences and similarities

When it comes to similarities, there are many. The most prominent one is that multiculturalism and interculturalism are both integration policies/models striving towards a united country where everyone feels welcomed and where diversity is promoted (Gagnon, & Iacovino, 2007, p. 91). Interculturalism and multiculturalism both fall under the “living together” model of integration and intend to establish a society where people from different backgrounds can live together and different cultures can integrate (Proulx-Chénard, 2021). It is even argued that the only thing differentiating the two in practice is that Quebec is unilingual instead of bilingual. Despite denying the national integration policy, Quebec actually followed much of the principles of multiculturalism and did so even before it became the national policy (McRoberts, 1997, pp. 130-132).

Sociologist Bouchard points out the differences between interculturalism and Canadian multiculturalism. Bouchard argues that the relations between majority and minority groups are vastly different in the two integration models. The multiculturalism policy argues that the different cultures present in Canada together make up the Canadian identity in what can be referred to as a mosaic, whilst the integration policy in Quebec strives to integrate minority groups and immigrants into the Québécois identity. Canada’s multiculturalism puts resources into strengthening minorities and their role in society, whereas Quebec's interculturalism moves its resources towards integration and adaptation into the French/Québécois culture. It is seen as a duty in Quebec when becoming a citizen to learn French and to adapt to the culture, for preservation reasons as well as for easier inclusion into all parts of society. The interculturalism idea is not about erasing anyone's heritage or culture as Quebec values diversity highly, but it is rather about the importance of having one culture in common and preserving the heritage of the region. The differences between multiculturalism and

interculturalism encompass the importance for Québécois to have a strong identity and protect and preserve the French roots of its culture and language in the country.

(Proulx-Chénard, 2021; Gagnon, & Iacovino, 2007, pp. 96-102).

Conclusion

Multiculturalism and interculturalism are two models for integration created to maneuver the potential equality issues that immigration can bring and the importance of a sense of belonging. The multiculturalism policy is designed to let all cultures present in Canada exist together and they form the national culture, which has been referred to as a mosaic. The province of Quebec opposed the multicultural policy since it was thought to undermine the

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importance of the French/Québécois culture. Instead, they wanted interculturalism, where the importance for newcomers to assimilate into the existing culture became a higher priority.

Both strategies were thought by their supporters to be the best strategies to unite the population and ensure equality. Multiculturalism in Canada intended to unite the nation by letting cultures learn from each other and making sure everyone felt a sense of belonging in Canada. Critics have argued multiculturalism created more separation and that interculturalism would unite everyone in one culture. Despite Quebec's desire to avoid the multicultural standpoint, interculturalism has not been made into a law and the country therefore follows a multicultural policy for integration.

What is the current Canadian cultural model? In an opinion piece from 2012 published in *the Toronto Star*, Justin Trudeau opens with the claim that Canadians have, “created a society where individual rights and freedoms, compassion and diversity are core to [their] citizenship” (Trudeau, 2012). He then goes on say that foundational to these values is the idea that everyone in Canada can create a better life for themselves and their children. He particularly emphasizes the importance of upward mobility straight out later in the piece while attempting to show

solidarity with middle class Canadians. Underpinning his entire Op-ed is this idea that the middle-class is the most important class of people to have on your side – if you do anything to upset these voters, they might begin to question the entire system itself. While reading this piece, one gets the sense that it is this institutionalized system that Trudeau actually feels protective over, not the people who are in it.

To be fair, Trudeau does pay lip-service to the hot-issues of 2012 (and today): Income inequality, rising debt levels, and a hostile housing market. Yet, there is no mention that the system itself may play a large part in creating and sustaining these issues. What's more, the Op-ed is focused entirely on the middle class, as if everyone who isn't wealthy is instead in the middle. Not once is there any indication that a working class exists and is in an even more precarious situation, having already been squeezed by the very system Trudeau wants to uphold. In some ways, it is Trudeau's this marriage of tolerance and diversity language with class insecurity, that underpins the current Canadian cultural model. Given this viewpoint and using the short documentary *We Will Be Free – Aboriginal Peoples in Canada* as a launching point, my essay will focus on the intersection of multiculturalism and institutionalization in Canadian society as a means to break up class solidarity and keep minority groups – especially Aboriginal peoples – “In their place” so to speak. For this, I will lean heavily on Sunera Thobani's *Exhausted Subjects* and examples she gives there.

In contrast to Trudeau's insistence that when the Canadian cultural model system is working, everyone has a wonderfully upwardly-mobile life, in *We Will be Free – Aboriginal Peoples in Canada*, Larry Morrisette, a social worker in Winnipeg, says, “The idea of institutionalization has also been first and foremost sort of policy to address the issues rather than looking at the issue of poverty and addressing the issues of poverty” (downsideupfilm, 2014). This is a part of the film setting up Residential Schools and the terrible injustices done to those Aboriginal peoples in Canada who were caught up them. He uses this moment to explain how these schools where children were forcibly re-educated in such ways that would break any connection to their native cultures or communities. The children who made it out of these schools alive often came away with severe trauma and no family ties to lean on. It is no wonder, Morrisette says, that they in turn became bad parents. Those bad parents then lost their own children to other kinds of institutional systems, such as foster care and prison. For example, while Aboriginal People make up only 4% of Canada's total population, they account for 20% of the incarcerated population (downsideupfilm, 2014).

We learn from some of the subjects of this documentary that many have ended up in gangs because it felt like the only place they could earn respect or have worked in prostitution as a way of making a living and find any kind of love. As Morrisette says, instead of enacting policies that would help minority groups in crisis be able to create better lives for themselves and their children, the Canadian and Provincial governments instead choose to solve issues through punitive measures. However, because this idea of upward mobility is so ingrained in the foundation of the Canadian cultural model, the inability of Aboriginal peoples to bootstrap their own way to the middle that has in turn proved troublesome for them.

In 1971, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau announced that multiculturalism would become an official state policy, and by 1988, The Multiculturalism Act was signed into law. Between this period, there was also the so called bilingual/bicultural problem in Canada, that is, the fight between the English and French as founders of the Canadian state that would ultimately end with both sides given equal status within the same state. It was during this period that Pierre Trudeau's government, "presented a White Paper that proposed nothing less than the elimination of all government arrangements that applied specifically to natives, including the Indian Act and the Department of Indian Affairs. Equality for natives was to take precisely the same form as equality for all other Canadians...equal status and services for natives *as individuals*" (McRoberts, 1997, p. 121). While this White Paper was eventually retracted due to protests, this kind of thinking – where institutional support should be equal for every person and not based on needs stemming from historical discrimination and oppression – remained alive and well. When Justin Trudeau, spoke in his Op-ed about individual rights and freedoms, compassion and diversity, he was echoing his own father's words from the 1970s. This paternal nod adding even more weight to his claim that Canada is a place where you as an individual can ensure your children will also prosper. While the enacted multicultural policy-turned-law, along with a reformed immigration policy, has had a great positive effect on the population of Canada, it has also been the site of negative effects, especially when regarding Aboriginal peoples.

First and foremost, the discussion of a bicultural problem in Canada at all largely, "reproduced the colonial erasure of Aboriginal peoples as the original presence" in Canada and that, "the definition of the nation as primarily bilingual and bicultural reproduced the racialized constructs of the British and French as its real subjects" (Thobani, 2007, pp. 144–145). In other words, true Canadians in a cultural sense were seen as bilingual and bicultural (English and French), and very much White. Aboriginal peoples were not part of this equation then and are

still often Othered now. The addition of multicultural policies where each culture is seen as one among many, with no difference allowed for historical treatment or current situations, have been layered over top of the bicultural foundation over the years to create the sentiment that everyone in Canada is exactly equal. That Aboriginal peoples should receive any institutional or systemic support that a different ethnic group could not receive is still often met with suspicion. The rhetoric used is something like: Since they are supported by the same Canadian government and systems that support those individuals who are able to create better lives for themselves and their children, then Aboriginal peoples should also be able to create the same kind of futures for themselves as easily as any other Canadian. (Thobani, 2007, p. 173)

Yet at the same time, the Canadian state has chosen to undermine Aboriginal peoples own upward mobility by using multiculturalism against them. Further into her chapter on diversity, Thobani notes that when the Canadian state was, “Faced with the probability that an improved socio-economic status for Aboriginal peoples could potentially increase their demands for self-determination, the nation-state considered immigration from the South a more preferable alternative” (Thobani, 2007, p. 174). Thus, more favorable immigration policies for those coming from non-European countries. This influx of labor would allow for further political and economic sidelining of Aboriginal peoples, while simultaneously ensuring recent, hard-working immigrants would be held up as the models Aboriginal peoples should compare themselves to. This kind of multiculturalism has allowed for many immigrants to Canada, and their children, to prosper, but it has come at the cost of seeing historically oppressed Aboriginal peoples reduced to crime statistics, with others questioning them emphatically every time they ask for the institutional support they desperately need. There is no path to the middle class for Canada’s Aboriginal peoples, and they are punished for it.

Justin Trudeau likely still believes what he wrote in 2012. It is a nice dream to this that Canadians have truly, “created a society where individual rights and freedoms, compassion and diversity are core to [their] citizenship.” One where their children will always be able to rise further than their parents – and will certainly never fall below the comfortable middle-class lifestyle in which they were raised. But the reality is that this has never been a reality for many Canadians, especially Aboriginal peoples. The fact remains that current Canadian cultural model already leaves people behind and squeezes them out. It uses multiculturalism and institutionalization as weapons to disguise other intentions and, as Thobani says, to keep people from forming new social groups based on other, harder to spot, categories, such as class (2007, p. 175).

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In 2012, then-future Prime Minister, Justin Trudeau, shared the vision of Canadian society with a

statement: “We have created a society where individual rights and freedoms, compassion and diversity are core to our citizenship. But underlying that idea of Canada is the promise that we all

have a chance to build a better life for ourselves and our children.” The quote captures the ethos of Canadian multiculturalism, and also underscores the aspirations of its citizenry. In this essay, I

will attempt to delve deeper into the state of today’s Canadian cultural model, while reflecting on

this vision and gauging how far the nation has progressed in the realization of its promise and what challenges may still remain.

Roots of Canadian multiculturalism

Historically, Canada’s multicultural ethos was not created in a vacuum. Canada’s past is full of waves of immigration, integration and a constant change in the definition of what it means to be

Canadian. Take for example the Estonians, who’s displacement and resettlements after World War II are depicted by Aun (1985, pp. 14, 21 f.). As political refugees, Estonians fled from

conflict and sought shelter, many eventually making themselves home in Canada, among others.

Aun's depiction is also symbolic for all immigrants that sought, and continue to seek, the promise of a better life in Canada. However, going from immigration to acknowledgement is challenging. On the topic of acknowledgement, Taylor (1994) does a deep-dive, and emphasizes

the importance of acknowledging and valuing diverse identities in Canada. Acknowledgement is

not only about preserving cultural heritage, but it is also a cornerstone for societal harmony and mutual respect between different cultural groups (pp. 26 f., 64, 68) While multiculturalism has been celebrated, it has also been challenged. It is difficult aligning different cultural sentiments, according to McRoberts (1997). He offers an account on the hardships that have been necessary in the quest for national unity amidst diversity (pp. 116, 118-120). Canada has continuously been

engaged in the balancing act of creating a unified national identity, while ensuring individual cultural identities are preserved (pp. 128-135).

Literature and cultural representation

Though many different people 'live' in Canada, it is interesting asking oneself who 'inhabits' Canada, and how different identities define their place in the land. Such questions are relevant throughout Abel's work, "Un/Inhabited" (2014), which is an exploration of Canadian landscapes

but also the concept of 'inhabitation' in both a literal and metaphorical sense. The title's duality presents the idea that spaces can be perceived both as occupied and empty, which echoes larger debates in Canada about land, ownership, indigenous rights, and belonging.

Turning from landscapes to the stories within them, Birk and Gymnich (2016) have found narratives that make up Canada's cultural fabric. Their work charting Canadian Fiction shows

I have completed the self-study course on academic integrity.

how it isn't only stories of individual experiences but also a collective weave of shared histories, intersecting cultures and a continuous evolution of the Canadian identity. The stories, from immigrant stories to indigenous lore, portray Canada as multifaceted yet interwoven (p. 529).

Amid Canada's cultural fabric, there's Kivi and Pearkes' work (2005) which focuses on a specific region, unearthing their stories of home and belonging. It's a deep personal dive into the

Columbia Mountains. Through it, there is a testament to the idea that every region in Canada, no

matter how remote, has stories and identities that contribute to a broader Canadian narrative.

Kivi and Pearke's work shows the importance of local histories as well as the importance of viewing Canada as not just a nation, but as a collection of homes, as a mosaic.

The promise of a better life

The belief in building a better life is central to Trudeau's proclamation. To evaluate the promise, one must examine Canada's economic landscape. Despite Canada being a prosperous country with rich potential, many have felt, and many continue to feel, that the economic prosperity narrative does not translate to daily life. In fact, the quote being discussed in this essay is part of

an article written by Trudeau where he expresses concerns about the economic disparity faced by

the Canadian middle class. In 2012 for Toronto Star, Trudeau claimed that the Canadian middle class had been left "out of the growth equation in Canada" (Trudeau, 2012).

The OECD's 2019 report titled "Under Pressure: The squeezed middle class" mirrors Trudeau's sentiment and places Canada's situation in a broader international context (OECD, 2019). It underscores that the middle class is facing stressors as a global phenomenon. Costs of living, housing costs, access to quality education and healthcare are factors that have affected the

financial boundaries and challenges of this group, which are exacerbated by globalization, technological advancements, and shifting labour markets (pp. 13-17). The overarching narrative,

though the specifics may vary country to country, is one of a group that is feeling increasingly squeezed, even in nations that enjoy economic prowess.

Issues of race and marginalization

When it comes to Canada's cultural model, as a country that is often celebrated for its multicultural ethos, it is still very necessary not to overshadow the voices from the margins, such

as indigenous populations and racial minorities. Beyond acknowledgment, there has been significant debate regarding the rights and heritage of indigenous communities. Thobani (2007) dives into the matter of racial formation in Canada and focuses on how race and nationhood intersect. In her book, Thobani discusses the various complexities that marginalized communities

face in Canada, often pushing against norms and national narratives in attempts to assert their rights and place in Canadian society. Though it was previously mentioned that individual narratives, including marginalized ones, contribute to the broader Canadian identity, it's important to keep in mind that not all stories are equally represented in the national narrative.

Abel (2014), again, reminds of this. There is a risk that the dualities of habitation and inhabitation (literally and metaphorically) sometimes mask realities of marginalized communities. In effect, this leaves their narratives often uninhabited or overlooked. They may as

such feel that though they physically inhabit the land, their voices remain unheard in the broader discourse. Multiculturalism is an ideal that Canada takes pride in, but it's not without complexities. Taylor (1994) talks about the challenge not merely being the recognition of diverse

identities, but actually ensuring equitable rights, opportunities, and representation. Passive acknowledgement is simply not enough in a multicultural society, active engagement, understanding, and policy changes are required (pp. 38, 58 f.)

Conclusion

The quote by Trudeau paints Canada as a nation underpinned by individual rights, compassion, diversity, and a shared aspiration of a better tomorrow. Canada's historical context reveals its rich

mosaic of cultures and narratives. The cultural model is continuously shaped by ongoing endeavors to integrate, recognize, and respect these diverse cultures, which is reflected in Trudeau's proclamation. Literature is one way in which Canada's vast and cultural model comes

alive. Stories of immigrant families finding their footing, indigenous communities asserting their

rights, or life in the mountains, all contribute to the narrative that is Canada. Canadian literary exploration is as such something that embodies Trudeau's vision of a nation defined by its diversity and shared hopes. However, there are challenges. It's necessary to ensure that every Canadian feels represented, heard, and equipped to build a better life. Echoing Trudeau's 2012 quote, Canada needs to ensure the promise of "building a better life" isn't a overarching national narrative but a tangible reality for all. The promise of a better life, for many Canadians, would be

tied to economic stability and prospects. It is crucial for policymakers and leaders of Canada to ensure that the economic promise of the country actually aligns with the lived experiences of its

people. This includes those that often remain at the margins where inclusivity, understanding, and representation is also needed to ensure that Canada's cultural model isn't just diverse in rhetoric but in reality.

Reflecting upon Trudeau's quote, I believe a measure of true success of Canada will be in its continuous strive towards its ideals. To ensure that its promise of a better life for 'all' will be accessible and achievable for every Canadian, irrespective of their background or circumstances, will be the most important thing.

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[206be38c-0e79-5d93-a1c3-9bdcfcac6727.html](https://www.thestar.com/opinion/canadian-middle-class-left-out-of-the-growth-equation/article_206be38c-0e79-5d93-a1c3-9bdcfcac6727.html)]

”We have created a society where individual rights and freedoms, compassion and diversity are core to our citizenship. But underlying that idea of Canada is the promise that we all have a chance to build a better life for ourselves and our children.”

According to the lecture “The Values of Canadian Citizens” (Premat, 2022), the first part of the quote above could be said to be an expression of a Canada that many citizens want to be part of. This is because many Canadians take pride in the idea of being a citizen of a humanitarian superpower that has a relatively generous immigration policy and prides itself on being both bilingual and multicultural. With regard to these Canadian values, Thobani (2007) claims, in her critical review of the intersections of race, gender, and nation in Canada, that “Canadians routinely describe their citizenship, immigration, and refugee policies as the most humanitarian and compassionate in the world. These claims shape their sense of collective pride and national identity”. Taking this as given, my take on this claim is that it is part of a compensatory strategy not much unlike the one that Adams (2023) describes in his article in which he, partly, tries to explain why Canadians say “sorry” a lot by bringing up a series of historical events that are very much in contrast to the, *de jure*, multicultural Canada of today. That is, the institutionalization of a multicultural Canada, as manifested by Mr Trudeau’s quote, might be described as a state-level apology. Adams (2023) intriguingly unpacks this tendency of Canadians to apologize, attributing it to a societal response that seeks to address historical disparities and acknowledge contrasting

perspectives.

At the same time, and as Adams points out, apologizing is like recognising the existence of an alternate viewpoint. So, could, Canada being officially multicultural be a genuine acknowledgement of being

de facto multicultural? In light of the fact that the younger

generation of Canadians today express relatively more post-materialistic views than older generations (Premat, 2022), Adams' claim about the nature of an apology fits into the

discourse of Canadians (at least the youth). That is, the above reveals an interesting generational shift, where the youth's propensity for post-materialistic perspectives aligns with Adams' observations on the nature of apologies as reflections of evolving viewpoints.

However, according to Gagnon and Iacovino (2006), a liberal take on multiculturalism entails the recognition of all identities within the multicultural sphere. So, Gagnon and Iacovino

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(2006) underscore the necessity for comprehensive identity recognition in a liberal multicultural framework, a perspective that Thobani's work emphasizes as being challenged by numerous instances. One of the most notable examples of such a contradiction is the official policy of bilingualism in Canada. Thobani's insights (2007) highlight the paradox of official policies, like bilingualism, which, despite acknowledging certain identities, still omit the recognition of marginalized groups like Indigenous communities. And by not recognising these groups and their language, endangers these as the Indigenous people, to some extent, are forced to integrate into the bilingual society to fully take part in the "rights and freedoms" that Trudeau references. In this way, the current state of bilingualism enforces cultural assimilation which becomes to the detriment of cultural identity and the

recognition of Indigenous people. Taken together, the adoption of bilingualism as official state policy could be said to be practically, and arguably, incompatible with the notion of multiculturalism.

The second part of the quote above talks about something else entirely than what I have discussed above. As a whole, it seems like Mr Trudeau is mostly concerned about the economic opportunity of Canadian citizens rather than, for example, rights and freedoms and diversity. That is, when I read his article, diversity and multiculturalism seemed to be secondary to the economic prosperity of the middle class. For example, Trudeau writes about the pro-growth platform on which his Liberal party would run and that the middle class has been left out. But as has been clear from the more critical takes on Canadian society, this unidimensional analysis that Trudeau undertakes is not along the lines of intersectionality. What I mean by this is that he does not touch upon how different, for example, ethnic communities have been left out of the equation. As such, it is questionable whether economic opportunities actually underlie the idea of, for example, diversity.

In conclusion, the quote may represent a prevailing ideal - one that, however, might be seen through a more nuanced perspective. The quote captures the aspirations of a society rooted in diversity and individual liberties, while also creating a reflection on the interplay between policy rhetoric and the multifaceted layers of identity that shape the Canadian cultural landscape.

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In 2012, Justin Trudeau declared about Canada:

"We have created a society where individual rights and freedoms, compassion and diversity are core to our citizenship. But underlying that idea of Canada is the promise that we all have a chance to build a better life for ourselves and our children." (Justin Trudeau Quotes)

Trudeau's statement highlights the significance of individual rights, compassion, diversity, and the opportunity for a better life. This essay will delve into various aspects of Canadian culture, literature, art, and societal trends to assess whether this quote resonates with the current Canadian cultural model.

Individual Rights, Compassion, and Diversity:

Individual rights, a cornerstone of Canadian society, uphold personal freedoms and liberties, fostering an environment where citizens can express themselves and pursue their aspirations freely. This commitment is complemented by a deep-seated culture of compassion and a celebration of diversity, fostering an inclusive society that values empathy and embraces the richness of various cultural backgrounds.

Trudeau's declaration encapsulates the foundational principles of Canada's cultural model. Canadian literature and art have often championed themes such as multiculturalism, inclusivity, and the pursuit of personal and collective improvement. Authors like Atwood, Martel, and Munro have illuminated these themes in their works, reflecting the diverse experiences of Canadians. (Taylor, 1994, s. 26)

Mass communications, urbanization, and industrial technology are all contributing factors to the erosion of cultural diversity around the world. (Thobani, 2007, s. 143) In Canada, the forces of mass communications, urbanization, and industrial technology are also influencing the gradual decline of cultural diversity on a global scale.

While Trudeau's ideals endure in Canadian society, cultural models are not static. The manifestation of values can vary due to societal changes and global influences. As of 2021, Canada maintains principles of individual rights, diversity, and compassion (Taylor, 1994, p. 26).

Multiculturalism:

Canada's commitment to multiculturalism is deeply ingrained in its policies and societal fabric. This model aims to integrate diverse cultural backgrounds while honoring individual identities. Canadian history underscores the role of recognition in shaping cultural identity and politics (Taylor, 1994, p. 26).

Canada's immigration landscape underwent a significant transformation, marked by a shift towards attracting skilled professionals and entrepreneurs for permanent settlement. This change brought individuals with substantial expertise and qualifications to the country. The liberalization that occurred during the Trudeau era further facilitated educational and occupational opportunities for people of color, granting them access to avenues previously denied to them. As people of color seized these newfound possibilities, they experienced notable upward social and economic mobility. They interacted with nationals in shared spaces such as schools, universities, executive positions, and workplaces, which had traditionally been claimed exclusively by nationals. The combination of their achievements with the notion of 'us' versus 'them' prompted reflections on the essence of identity and superiority. (Thobani, 2007, s. 152)

Canada's response to the issue of multiculturalism was very effective and timely. It allowed the country to maintain its unique identity while also being able to cast itself as a distinct cultural and political entity. This was not directly linked to the imperialist or colonial histories of Europe and the US. (Thobani, 2007, s. 155) Multiculturalism is a foundational principle in Canada, fostering the celebration and coexistence of diverse cultural identities within the nation.

Multiculturalism in Literature:

Several voices raise concerns about the articulation of bilingualism and multiculturalism in terms of national narratives. (Premat, 2022)

Over the years, multicultural literature in Canada has transformed. In addition to being widely exhibited in Canada, multicultural fiction has also become more visible on an international level. Although the concept of multiculturalism has been criticized for various reasons, some people have suggested that a more transcultural approach might be an alternative. Canadian fiction is characterized by the wide variety of writers who come from different cultural backgrounds. Some of these include Michael Ondaatje, Hiromi Goto, and others. These works provide a glimpse into the various strategies involved in developing multicultural fiction in the country. In Canada, multicultural fiction can be divided into three main categories: "fiction of arrival," "fiction of immigration," and "fiction of return." The main functions of this type of literature are explained in terms of Hubert Zapf's cultural ecology mode. (Birk & Gymnich, 2016)

Social Policies and Well-being:

Canadian social policies underscore compassion and the promise of a better life for all. Literature and art often explore challenges within this framework, emphasizing the importance of equal opportunities for everyone (Taylor, 1994, pp. 44-45).

Gordon's observations have broader relevance, shedding light on the divergent welfare visions emerging from Canadian nationals, Indigenous groups, and immigrant communities. The former group fostered a vision that bolstered national and white supremacy, while the latter two groups acknowledged that ending the specific forms of racial oppression within their communities was essential for their welfare. For Indigenous peoples, securing families, religious-political traditions, cultural practices, sovereignty, and land rights all intertwined with

their welfare. Their social well-being was intrinsically linked to political self-determination, with the loss of lands and imposition of Indian status as primary factors undermining their welfare. For immigrants, family reunification, dismantling racial barriers in immigration policies, and achieving equal access to citizenship were directly tied to their welfare and safety. (Thobani, 2007, s. 110)

The origins of Canada's welfare state can be traced back to the country's social legislation, which was introduced during the 19th and early 20th centuries. For instance, Alvin Finkel argues that prior to the 1930s, the country's social legislation was minimal. The rise of welfare legislation following the Second World War was one of the factors that led to the establishment of the welfare state in Canada. Although Jane Ursel notes that the country's welfare system grew mainly during the post-war years, she starts her study of the country's public policies from an earlier period. (Thobani, 2007, ss. 113-114)

Canadian social policies prioritize the well-being of citizens by providing comprehensive support systems that encompass healthcare, education, and social welfare.

Gender Equality and LGBT Rights:

Canada is known for its commitment to promoting gender equality and ensuring LGBT rights, reflecting a progressive stance on inclusivity and human rights.

Canada's strides in promoting gender equality align with Trudeau's vision of individual rights and compassion. Literature and art contribute to advocating for these rights and exploring marginalized communities' experiences. Political progress has been made for women and the LGBT community, although challenges persist. (Cochrane, Blidook, & Dyck, 2017, s. 155)

Upon moving to Canada, the European women who came to the country experienced a rise in their social status. Even though there were various gender-specific forms of participation in the nation-building process, they were still able to improve their socioeconomic status. According to feminists, social programs helped women become economically independent and promoted a feeling of entitlement. This led to more claims for full citizenship. (Thobani, 2007, ss. 116-117)

Rights, expression and Freedom of Religion:

The tension between individual rights and collective goals is prevalent, especially in Anglo-American society. The prominence of individual rights is rooted in the United States, championed by legal and philosophical figures like Bruce Ackerman and John Rawls (Taylor, 1994, p. 56). A liberal society that respects diversity while safeguarding fundamental rights reflects the Canadian cultural model. (Taylor, 1994)

Canada's Charter encompasses political, legal, and equality rights, reflecting Canadians' broad support. Economic rights remain debated, revealing complexities within the Canadian cultural fabric (Cochrane, Blidook, & Dyck, 2017, p. 454)

The works of First Nations artists contribute to recognizing their cultural identity post-genocide. (Bussey, 2022) The poetry form effectively connects with ancestral values and the environment. (Premat, 2019)

The Supreme Court's rulings on freedom of religion encompass diverse cases. Religious neutrality and multiculturalism are upheld, even as certain practices are challenged (Cochrane, Blidook, & Dyck, 2017, p. 459).

Individuals must embrace the teachings and practices of the religious community, and the community, as an independent entity, decides whether to accept or reject them as members, along with the associated privileges and responsibilities. This means that membership in a religious community is determined not solely by individual wishes, but through mutual agreement. (Bussey, 2022, s. 160)

In a recent decision by the Supreme Court of Canada (SCC), it was reaffirmed that religious groups have the liberty to define their membership and regulations. Courts refrain from intervening in these matters except when necessary to resolve legal disputes. The freedom of religious communities to admit individuals who adhere to their conditions is just as emblematic of a free and democratic society as the freedom of individuals to establish their own religious communities. The capability of an individual to join or leave a religious community of their preference is a manifestation of their individual right to associate with like-minded individuals who share similar concepts of a fulfilling life. This aligns with the principles of a liberal pluralist state, which accommodates various associations embodying distinct notions of human interaction and objectives. Reconciling the interaction between communal religious rights and individual freedom requires thoughtful consideration. The intricate balance between these

rights has evolved through complex historical and political developments, making it essential to respect the autonomy of religious communities while ensuring individual liberties are upheld. (Bussey, 2022, s. 160)

Conclusion:

Trudeau's 2012 declaration underscores Canada's foundation on individual rights, compassion, diversity, and the promise of improved lives. This essay explores Canadian culture, literature, and societal trends to assess the currency of this quote in the nation's cultural model. According to Taylor,(1994) Canadian society values individual rights, compassion, and diversity, fostering an inclusive environment. Trudeau's ideals echo in literature, art, and multicultural policies, reflecting Canada's commitment to diversity and equal opportunities. Yet, while these values persist, cultural models evolve, and assessing their current resonance necessitates up-to-date sources.

Cochrane, Blidook& Dyck (2017) elaborates that Canada's multicultural fabric and social policies prioritize compassion and well-being., Gender equality and LGBT rights are central to Canada's progressive stance.

The interaction between individual rights and collective goals remains relevant (Taylor, 1994), as courts uphold religious community autonomy while respecting individual freedoms (Bussey, 2022).

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Introduction

One of the most famous attempts to articulate the current Canadian cultural model is the essay “The

Politic of Recognition” by Canadian scholar Charles Taylor, who considers the individual’s position

in society in the context of multicultural patterns and provides empirical evidence of the politic of

recognition. Moreover, Taylor’s theory is a complex set of principles of cultural individuals’ behavior

to benefit the dialogical character and individualized identity (Taylor 1992, p. 25-30).

This essay will discuss several approaches by scholars on the issue of the current cultural model of

Canada, and, furthermore, the analysis of historical roots, modern challenges, and critiques.

The principle of “multiculturalism” as a main vector of the cultural policy in Canada

Examining the historical conditions and causes of the current situation of the cultural policy of the

government, it is crucial to take into account the official proclamation which confirmed that Canada

has been providing the policy of “multiculturalism” since 1971 (Cochrane et al. 2017, p. 121).

Having announced it in 1971, already seven years later it was enshrined in the Multiculturalism Act

(i.e., the law on the preservation and development of the diversity of cultures in Canada). In fact,

revealing the policy of multiculturalism in one country, the main provisions of this document for a

long time determined both the very concept of “multiculturalism” and the direction of federal institutions for the preservation of cultural diversity in society, the preservation and dissemination of

the cultural heritage of Canada (Thobani 2007, pp. 145-146).

The Act on Multiculturalism lays down the basic principles and objectives of the cultural policy of

the state, which must affirm and promote the understanding that cultural diversity reflects the cultural

and racial diversity of Canadian society, recognize the freedom of all members of Canadian society

to preserve, develop and disseminate their cultural heritage. Moreover, recognize and promote

understanding that multiculturalism is a key feature of Canadian heritage and identity and contains

the invaluable potential to shape the future of Canada (Cochrane et al. 2017, pp. 127-128).

Finally, as Thobani argues, the Act had to promote the full and equal participation of individuals and

communities of all kinds in the constant evolution and shaping of all aspects of Canadian society and

help them remove all barriers to such participation and recognize the existence of communities, whose

members have a common origin and its historical contribution to Canadian society and contribute to

their development (Thobani 2007, pp. 149-156).

Thus, the term “multiculturalism” has been started to use actively in the 1970-1980s and clarified the

diversity of cultures in a plural society. Moreover, this policy aimed to protect immigrants and marginal groups, and their rights to ethical self-expression, including linguistic heritages (Cochrane

et al. 2017, p. 127).

Additionally, Brik and Gymnich argue that multiculturalism is a natural process that aims to facilitate

the decolonizing movements and decrease the tension between English and French Canadians.

Thus,

the Canadian mosaic has become a brilliant example of how to build society considering the integration of immigrants as one of the highest priorities on the cultural agenda (Brick et al. 2016, pp.

515-516).

On the other hand, Konrad Gross and Jutta Zimmerman believe that the general idea of

multiculturalism was only a symbolic movement and could not provide real changes. Their critique

pointed out that the concept of society as a mosaic has failed in accordance with the moment of encouragement separation instead of facilitating mobility and exchangeability. Moreover, the principle of cultural pluralism is a basic condition for recognizing the expediency of resorting to a

policy of multiculturalism. It is important to understand that multiculturalism as an interaction-oriented concept is fundamentally different from assimilation and hybridization, which form a new

cultural formation, but at the same time destroy the processes of reproduction of cultural diversity -

diversity, consisting of ethnic, religious, racial, and linguistic and other differences. (Brick et al. 2016,

pp. 517-519).

The problem of integration of immigrants into society has been widely discussed by Will Kymlicka

in his work "Multicultural Citizenship". In advocating for liberal values as the most acceptable to

construct the policy of democracy and self-realization, where the individual may have a high scale of

verities, freedom, and the possibility to be equal in comparison with other citizenships, Kymlicka

argues that political stability could be reached throughout transcending of people's differences, cultural particularities, moral reasons, values and policy of common goods of all citizenship (Gagnon

et al. 2007, p. 94).

Additionally, the concretization of the goals of cultural policy on the implementation of a strategy of

multiculturalism through the expansion of forms of civic participation, the spread of the principles of

social justice, and the formation of Canadian identity made it possible to focus society's efforts on

these priority areas. Formation of a cross-cultural society understanding and thinking, institutional

reflection and consolidation of diversity, and overcoming racism, and any form of discrimination have

become tasks for a long period. (Gagnon et al. 2007, pp. 95-97).

The culminating point in the formation of the policy of direct democracy, which influenced the concepts, theories, and objectives, may be reasonable to consider the position by Barry W. Bussey,

who analyzed the principles of direct democracy in Canada, and noted that this direct democracy

gives a unique possibility to electorate to draft and enact laws, thus it gives to individuals a core understanding of the meaning of their participation in political, social and cultural spheres (Bussey

2022, pp. 156-157).

Before considering the advantages of direct democracy in the case of the current cultural model in

Canada, it is just to point out the key moments of the policy of social interactions, the role of those

has been increased due to the expansion of democratic values and without no doubts is a fundament

for the construction and development of Canadian society. As McRoberts argues, the multicultural

police, established by Trudeau's government in 1971 was rejected by the Quebec government on the

federal level. However, in accordance with speculation within society, especially immigrants and

marginated individuals, in 1981 the situation has been changed positively, but the term

"multiculturalism" was eschewed in favor of "interculturalism" (McRoberts 1997, pp. 128-130).

The modern model of Canadian culture policy and its challenges

In accordance with Northrop Frye, personality, and social action are formed with the help of symbols

that are acquired in the process of socialization and mutually confirmed and changed by its

participants in the course of sociocultural interaction (Frye 1965, p. 285).

Therefore, cultural symbols express the possibility of embodying the ideal of multiculturalism, performing an identification-integrative role: representatives of different cultures and beliefs are

aware of themselves as part of a single whole. The symbols of multiculturalism accumulate the socio-

cultural experience of the life of people living in the country, regardless of whether they are natives

or immigrants (Frye 1965, p. 286).

Thus, the current multicultural policy is supported through the educational space, official programs

or mass media, performs communication and information functions, promoting the exchange of ideas

and values in intercultural contacts (Cochrane et al. 2017, p. 130). Unlike modern myths as consciously created products of political activity with the aim of further use in manipulative

processes, the myth of multiculturalism is “grown” in Canada on the emotionally colored humanistic

idea “Canada is for everyone”, which has turned into a collective image and collective action (Nanda

et al. 2019).

However, as McRoberts believes, Canadian society still has tensions on the cultural level, especially

if considering the foreign policy, immigrants’ rights, and antiterrorist policy, which have been viewed

by the government after the 9/11 attacks (McRoberts 1997, p. 132).

Conclusion

This essay concludes that the fundamental idea of the government that proclaimed the Act of Multiculturalism in 1971 has been succeeding and nowadays Canadian society is progressing under

the mosaic of diversity, direct democracy, and liberty. Moreover, if consider the citation by Justin

Trudeau, who declared in 2012 the main direction of development is to focus on the creation of a

society where individual rights and freedoms, compassion, and diversity, it is clear, that the positive

dynamic of multicultural policy should be further support by citizenships.

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Introduction:

In his 2012 opinion piece, published by the Toronto Star, the then-prime minister candidate, Justin Trudeau, stated that the Canadian society is one where “individual rights and freedoms, compassion and diversity are core to our citizenship”. With this idea as a stepping stone, the

following text will analyze and discuss the Canadian cultural model and compare how well it aligns with Trudeau's statement. As the focal point of the analysis, examples of Aboriginals' rights and the welfare politics of Canada will be discussed.

Background:

As prime minister Trudeau stated in his opinion piece in 2012, the country is closely linked with freedom, individual rights, compassion and the chance for its citizens to build a better life (Toronto Star). Tracking backward, the idea of Canadian nationhood started back when Europeans colonized the territory and spread the romanticized story of themselves being out on a great adventure where they discovered new territories (Thobani, 2007; 34). Tocqueville deliberated on Canadian nationhood in his book *Democracy in America* and argued that Canadian ideals are those of striving for success and enlightenment, while the choice to live a simpler life close to the place of one's birth is frowned upon (1839). While the European retelling of the colonization isn't representative of what actually happened and Tocqueville's idea of Canadian nationhood certainly has aged, it indeed set the tone for what the Canadian identity and the mythologization of the nation has become.

Welfare politics as a concept is linked with the expansion of institutions of citizenship, as well as possibilities for citizens to exercise social, civil and political rights. The consequence of such politics is often strengthened bonds within the community of citizens and the popularization of the idea that the government prioritizes its citizens' wellbeing. Overall, welfare politics strengthen the socioeconomic average of countries (Thobani, 2007; 105-106). The ideological motivation for expansive welfare politics is that it leads to a more equal society where people have the same opportunities no matter the socioeconomic status of their families. It's well documented that children of poorer families have a higher high school dropout rate compared to children of families with a stable economic situation (Cochrane et

al. 2016; 172). The implications of this will be discussed further on.

For the Aboriginal population of Canada in particular, the statement by Trudeau is a great simplification of reality and would by some be deemed as neglecting the population's historic and current situation. As discussed during the sixth lecture, the mythologization of the Canadian nation in itself is problematic from a minority perspective, as it makes room for the otherization of the population that isn't viewed as a part of the myth. Another struggle that the Aboriginal population has been a target of, is the discriminating legislature that was still in place only a few decades ago. By using the law as a tool, the colonizers managed to use force on Canada's minority populations, while still being able to portray themselves as lawful and civilian people (Thobani, 2007; 38). It was not until recently that the government of Canada started to reconcile and apologize for these atrocities (Adams, 2023), and therefore the relationship between the Aboriginal population and the government is still fragile and volatile. Another consequence of the former discrimination is that Aboriginal families on average have a lower socioeconomic status compared to the Canadian average, which has led to a higher rate of high school dropouts among their youth, as well as a bigger percentage of their children living below the poverty line (Cochrane et al. 2016; 172).

Leading the change of the Canadian cultural model in the 20th and early 21st century have been reforms and acts such as the Multiculturalism Act, Unemployment Act and Immigration Act (Cochrane et al. 2016; 175 & Thobani, 2007; 135). These, among others, have shaped the rights given to citizens of Canada and, by that, also shaped the idea of what the Canadian cultural model is today. It's important to understand that these acts didn't give the same rights to all citizens when first implemented, and in some cases, particularly for the immigration policies, they also enabled the national mythologization as well as otherization of "immigrant others" (Haque, 2012; 240).

Discussion:

Starting the discussion by dissecting the part of the Canadian cultural model that is made up of individual rights and freedom, it is relevant to discuss the experience of both the majority and minority cultures of Canada. An integral part of having individual rights and freedoms is the ability to legally exercise political, social and civil rights, and as previously mentioned welfare politics is often a guarantee for such rights. Within the scope of political, social and civil rights lay the access to good education, among other things. Education in Canada is widely respected in the world (Schleicher, 2018), but there are inequalities regarding who has access to good high school, as well as who has support from home to finish and succeed with their studies. A 2011 study showed that youth who either spoke about politics at home or took a civics course in high school reported a larger turnout on election day (Cochrane et al. 2016; 172, 357). This is an issue for Canadian democracy and by extension the freedom of the country's citizens, as it shows that people with a lesser education vote to a lesser extent. The risk when a certain group of the population doesn't vote is that their political interest areas are under-represented, or ignored. As we know that children with Aboriginal heritage or from poorer circumstances are at higher risk of dropping out of high school, it should make us worry about their political representation. In a worst-case scenario, the situation could create a potential threat for the individual rights and freedoms of these groups, as politicians might not focus on their rights and needs.

When discussing the Aboriginal's rights and freedoms it's interesting to focus on the fact that a large part of today's equal legislation, once discriminated them. Some scholars, one of them being Walter Benjamin, argue that the liberal conception of law as an "objective, reasoned, and consistent system of rule far beyond the primitive use of brute force" that has taken a part in shaping the Canadian mythology is inaccurate, and that law instead should be viewed as a

power tool that can't be used without the threat of force of violence (Benjamin via Thobani, 2007; 35-36). Centering the discussion of the force of law on the Aboriginal population, Fanon argues that the colonization established a certain order of law that organized the rights and privileges of judicial subjects based solely on race. Furthermore, specific attributes were accredited to different races and to favor the Christian/white population, the Aboriginal population was deemed as the negative opposite of every value that the white population was given (Fanon via Thobani, 2007; 37-38). While the legislation of today treats every Canadian citizen equally, as late as in the 1960-1970s, immigration policies were adopted that, in reality, treated people differently based on their race and gender (Thobani, 2007; 109, 134). Reflecting upon the inequalities that were still prominent only a few decades ago, it's not difficult to imagine how the historical baggage could affect the Aboriginal population's perception of their rights and freedoms today. Neither is it difficult to see that the unequal policies of the past have affected the older generation's life path, which by extension affects the opportunities of the young generation today.

Moving on to discuss Trudeau's point of Canada being a place where individuals can build a better life, the importance and effects of welfare politics play a huge role. The welfare policies and social security net rapidly expanded in Canada during the postwar era. But, these expansions didn't include the Aboriginal population, as they were portrayed as a threat to the nation's values and deemed as the cause of systematic destruction. Until the 1960s, the native population wasn't given access to the welfare system (Thobani, 2007; 108). Adding another perspective to the issue of building a better life, 13.5% of the Canadian population lived below the poverty line in 2009 and out of that percentage, 20% were children. According to statistics poverty targets certain groups more than others, including women, Aboriginals, and recent immigrants (Cochrane et al. 2016; 172). Based on this, it seems quite convincing that

it's not as easy for each group of the population to build a better life for themselves, and even though the opportunity to succeed might look equal on the surface level, in reality, they differ. Though I would parallelly argue that this isn't proof of Trudeau's statement not being correct. The flaws in the system show that some inequalities are still prominent, but it doesn't prove that the idea of Canada as a place for betterment and growth is false.

Conclusion:

The Canadian cultural model has undergone massive changes during the last century and has become more open and equal today than it has ever been before. While this is true, this text has also pointed out some flaws within the cultural model, compared to those ideals that were put forward by Justin Trudeau in his 2012 opinion piece. When everything comes around, every citizen of Canada has the right to exercise democratic rights and is born with opportunities that many countries can't offer. Though it's clear that for groups such as the Aboriginals or the people living below the poverty line, there are greater struggles to overcome to exercise their democratic rights, as well as to succeed in other areas of life.

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1 Introduction

In 2012, Justin Trudeau declared about Canada:

We have created a society where individual rights and freedoms, compassion and diversity are core

to our citizenship. But underlying that idea of Canada is the promise that we all have a chance to build a better life for ourselves and our children (reference)

With the help of the course literature (Art, literature...), reflect on that quote. Does it correspond to the current Canadian cultural model? Take specific examples from the different lectures to analyze the Canadian cultural model. Do not forget to include your sources at the end of your assignment (they will not be counted down in the 1.500 words).

You can use APA style for the references. You can see an example of how references should be indicated (<https://franorfon.org/articles/10.16993/rnef.35/>). You can indicate in a footnote that you completed the self-study course on academic integrity before writing the paper.

2 Paper

The 2012 quote from Justin Trudeau showcasing Canadian values, individual rights and freedoms, and diver-

sity serves to underscore an aspirational vision of Canada that, despite its imperfections, aims to prioritize

the welfare and rights of all of its citizens, regardless of their background. The quote taps into the idea of

what it is to be Canadian, and highlights the core ideals that have historically bounded Canadians together,

which is their commitment to inclusivity, ability to acknowledge their falters, and their continuous pursuit

of a more equitable society; even in the face of modern challenges. To analyze the validity of this quote and

its sentiment, and how it corresponds to the current Canadian cultural model, it's imperative to consider

the literature, history, voices that have shaped Canadian culture. Though the quote and article discuss this

topic regarding economical instabilities and difficulties within the middle class (specifically during an election

campaign), there are still many other aspects of Canadian culture that come to light and propagate through

the underlying intentions of this quote.

Inclusivity, welcoming, and acceptance are central to the Canadian model; though their values and execu-

tions have been questioned by certain groups in the recent years. This is most notably seen with regards to

Native American groups within Canada, such as the Indigenous author Thomas King. In his national best-

seller “The Inconvenient Indian”, he highlights the mistreatment and misrepresentations of the Indigenous

peoples within the Americas, how their land and values have been continuously undermined. (King 2012)

Another such artistic example comes from Rebecca Belmore, who is famous for a set of artistic installations

that have addressed issues of colonialism and land rights within Canada. One such exhibit placed giant mega-

phones directed towards the wilderness, and asked people to “address the land directly”. This emphasized

the connection and respect for nature and the environment, while being part of a larger political protest re-

garding the rights and voices of the Indigenous community (Belmore 1991). Such voices and exhibits prompt

us to ask a question as to what values of the “core [Canadian] citizenship” clash with the experiences of the

Native Americans. Canada has made strides to address such histories, such as the establishment of the Truth

and Reconciliation Commission, which has made serious impacts to inform Canadians about the history and

lasting impacts of the residential school system, or the growing adoption of land acknowledgments, such as

within public events and government meeting. Many government apologies over the years have been issued

for past wrongs; such as in 2008, when the Prime Minister (Harper) formally apologized to Indigenous peo-

ples regarding the dark history of the residential school system. Though all these attempts though lie voices

who still feel unheard within tribes and communities, which force questions to be asked if clashes between the

Canadian identity and natives still exist that exacerbate a divide. It's true that there are several dark pasts

to Canada's claim to inclusivity and acceptance of others, yet at the core of Trudeau's quote lies the hope

of promise for change and growth towards a future, most notably expressed in "... we all have a chance to

build a better life for ourselves and our children". Although the intention of inclusivity is there, and aims to

strike close to the cultural expectations of what it means to be Canadian, it seems it may not be felt by all

members within the boundaries of the Canadian borders.

Trudeau's quote can be seen to touch more than just Canada's indigenous history, as it also serves as

an invitation to discuss the interculturalism within Canada. In Quebec, as bilingualism falls further from

a possible reality throughout Canada, the province grapples with a unique intercultural challenge. Rooted

in its history, Quebec has striven to maintain its cultural identity during decades of change and English

influence. However the past decades of global migration has made Montreal one of the most multicultural

cities in North America and as such has added new challenges to the province and their ideals regarding

individual rights and freedoms. Recently Bill 21 aimed to ban the wearing religious symbols in public service

roles, which highlighted the complex interplay of secularism and cultural identity in the province and its

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contrast to the greater Canada. It's clear that Quebec's main challenge has remained since that era, as the

province continues to grapple with how to to integrate cultures without assimilating, and how to celebrate

diversity without diluting its own vibrant French-Canadian history. Yet while discussing multiculturalism

during the Pierre Trudeau era in the broader Canada, Kenneth McRoberts argues that while the celebra-

tion of cultural diversity in Canada set it apart from the melting pot that the United States represented

(especially regarding the growing domination of the United States and weakening ties with Britten), the

opposite goals were achieved, with national unity undermined (McRoberts 1998). Some critics such as Neil

Bissoondath goes as far as to say that Canadian multiculturalism encourages the devaluation of that which

it seeks to protect. He goes further to state "The multicultural society has tended to diminish the role

and autonomy of the individual by insisting on placing individuals within preconceived, highly stereotypical

confines" (Bissoondath, 1994, p. 224). Indeed, there are still some strong critiques as to the individuals

that benefit from multiculturalism in Canada, and to what extent the Canadian cultural model achieves its

own goal of truly conveying diversity and individual rights and accessibilities within the Canadian population.

To contrast this, it's interesting to examine the effect of the internet onto the Canadian model, which

has further morphed over recent past decade since Trudeau's quote as online interconnectedness has changed

Canadian values tremendously. Exposure to cultures and peoples from around the world through mediums

like Facebook, Instagram, and TikTok cause parasocial contact, which has been seen to lower levels of preju-

dice. This is known as the parasocial contact hypothesis (Schiappa 2005) and is further backed by the World

Values Survey, which shows Canadians ages 29 and younger to be the most opening for immigration and

least open to enforcing strict entry limits (Inglehart 2015). Canadians aged 30 and younger are more likely

to value quality of live over economic success, are less materialistic (rather opting for experiences and stories)

and value self expression more. These trends are fitting as many studies show that the 18-29 age group use

major social media platforms more than any other age group (Auxier 2021). This is especially true for plat-

forms such as TikTok and Instagram, which expose their users to a much more diverse algorithm of content.

In "How Canadians' Use of the Internet Affects Social Life and Civic Participation", Veenhof's team study

the implications of the internet to core Canadian values, and find that while it has changed how Canadians

interact, it has strengthened communities and core Canadian values (Veenhof, 2008). This provides a marked

difference to the cultural beliefs of critics such as McRoberts and Bissoondath, and further shows that what

may appear to be a straightforward declaration of Canadian values on inclusivity and diversity is, in reality,

is a much more complex and nuanced topic.

While the intentions of Justin Trudeau in his message are clear, there may be many who feel his quote

rings hollow to how some Canadians feel regarding their experiences with the Canadian cultural model.

It's true that amidst all the discourses of Canadian identity lies an intricate weave of collective memory

and shared experiences. In part caused by the vastness of the terrain within Canada (culturally, as well as

geographically and historically), the expanse gives rise to narratives that might not always align, but can

often intersect. At the heart of many of the Canadian discourses, Canada finds itself within a delicate dance

between acknowledging its historical mistakes, differences, and difficulties, while still clearly and honestly

aiming to forge a path for a better future. At the heart of Trudeau's message is the intention that a

multicultural outlook is not solely about coexisting as much as it is about actively fostering a society where

diverse backgrounds are shared to allow a country to benefit from the richness of varied cultures. How far

these intentions reach are debates for the numerous diverse communities that share the identity of being

“Canadian”.

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JD Systems Institute

Note: I've completed the self study course on academic integrity before writing the paper.
Thank you for

the lovely course!

*'We have created a society where individual rights and freedoms; compassion and diversity are
core to our citizenship. But underlying that idea of Canada is the promise that we all have a
chance to build a better life for ourselves and our children.'* (Justin Trudeau 2012)

The above quote from Justin Trudeau and the article which it was taken from on the Toronto
Star website describes Canadian society as being successful due to the population's shared
values and beliefs towards ideas such as freedom, compassion, and diversity. These pillars of a
democratic society are highlighted as being fundamental to Canada as a nation. While
discussing the pitfalls of neoliberalism and its resultant concentration of wealth in the hands of
a few, Trudeau concludes in the article that the middle class of Canada must be supported

through a strong social security net. Additionally, it is stated that the middle class must have access to education and the opportunity to find work that offers a decent standard of living (Trudeau 2012). The overall message of Trudeau's 2012 article is that the Canadian government must actively support its citizens in order to truly live up to the aforementioned values and beliefs that are stated to be integral to a successful Canadian society.

This paper aims to examine the message of this article by placing into the context of Canada's national narrative and mythology, as well as relating these ideas to the history and experiences of Indigenous people in Canada. Lastly, the paper discusses the concept of class and how it has manifested in Canada through history and in the present day. Through this analysis we can build an understanding of what the Canadian cultural model is, and what it suggests for the future of Canadian society.

The mythology and national narrative that has developed in Canada paints Canadian society as being open, compassionate, and celebratory of diversity and multiculturalism (Christophe Premat 2022). The language used by Trudeau in his article seeks to emphasise this narrative by emphasising that Canadian citizens are working together to a greater goal, and that this goal for a better society is rooted in certain beliefs and values that are distinctly Canadian. However, critics of such mythology argue that empirical investigations must be made to determine what the actual material outcomes are for all parts of Canadian society (Premat 2022). Trudeau equates the stagnating wages and standard of living of the middle class with an overall degradation of Canadian beliefs and values. However, by looking at the experiences of groups such as Indigenous people in Canada, we can have a more critical perspective on the national narrative and mythology surrounding Canada's society.

Sunera Thobani discusses how the white Canadian family was 'exalted as the bedrock of the nation' by the colonial settlers, and that Aboriginal families and communities were seen as a threat to the ideal national advancement (2007, 118-119). Thobani highlights how the agenda of the colonizers was to 'bleed out' Indigenous people in Canada in order to build a white society (2007, 119). Clearly, the consideration of this violent history directly contradicts any mythologized idea that Canada exists as a society that is founded on openness and compassion.

Therefore, it is significantly important that we acknowledge true history when moving into discussions about what the future of Canada should hold. While Trudeau focuses his article on a generalized struggle of Canada's citizens, it is important to note that there is no acknowledgment of groups who have never been the beneficiaries of this glorified 'Canadian' vision of the colonial project.

Justin Trudeau's 2012 article frames the growing wealth disparities through Canadian society as an accelerating trend that has grown alongside economic growth over three decades. The article aims to call attention to these increasing inequalities and speaks to the struggles of the middle class. However, reading the article provokes questions about class-consciousness in Canada and how it has manifested in Canadian society throughout history.

Christopher Cochrane, Kelly Blidook and Rand Dyck theorize that Canadians have had low levels of class-consciousness historically, due to the liberal ideology that social inequalities result from varied individual effort and not from structured class relations (2017, 160). The authors' text also offers a broad definition of the Canadian middle class, describing the members of it to be well-educated, and economically comfortable due to appropriate wages meaning they can afford their own houses and cars (2017, 167). Trudeau's 2012 article signifies that these comforts are no longer guaranteed for the average middle class Canadian, and that prospects look worse for future generations if there are to be no meaningful interventions from the government. From this, we can understand that perhaps the lack of class-awareness in Canada is due to generational differences, as those living as working adults in the 1990's may not be able to relate to the struggles faced by the younger people of today.

The authors also discuss the working class and the working poor, stating that the class-consciousness of these groups has tended to be undermined by concerns with regional economic and ethnic disputes (2017, 174). Interestingly, Trudeau's 2012 article still only seems to directly address the middle class of Canada and does not discuss issues related to people who live in poverty or are part of the 'working poor' sub-category. This omission leads to questions about who is included in the vision of the future Canada, and who is excluded. While Trudeau mentions the need for a strong social security net, it is discussed in congruence with developing

a seamless road from educational institutions into the workforce. In this discussion, there is room to question where citizens fit in the future of Canada if they face struggles in being able to cross the threshold of poverty into middle class status due to factors such as ableism, racial discrimination, and other forms of marginalization. If these issues are not included in the discussion of the future of Canada, then there is risk of further segmentation of Canadian society if only the middle class is represented in these conversations.

It is evident in this analysis of Canadian society that the problem with essentializing an ideal future for the country's citizens is that there are many gaps which marginalized groups of people can fall through. Establishing a governmental agenda that only focuses on a broad middle class category of people fails to take into consideration the multifaceted struggles that citizens face due to various forms of oppression. Charles Taylor states that a society with strong collective goals can be liberal as long as it respects diversity and helps pursue objectives for all groups and not just those that serve the majority (1994, 59). This statement summarizes the main takeaway of this analysis, as it highlights the challenges but also the possibilities of creating a society that lives up to the Canadian values and beliefs that Trudeau references in his article. While it may be possible to build the future that Trudeau writes about and protect Canada's citizens from the negative impacts of neoliberalism, these efforts may be seen in vain if they fail to recognize that there are citizens who require different needs to be met in order to reach the ideal standard of living. For the future of Canada to be equal and equitable, it is important for the government to not only acknowledge class, but to acknowledge all areas of oppression and understand how these areas intersect.

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Multiculturalism has been an important concept in defining Canadian values and the cultural model. With Canadian demographics changing to more non-European immigrants more people are talking about how Canadian society should progress in the future. How the country should accept these new people into society and what are the requirements and qualities to be a citizen of this nation. There has been a recent debate on the role of indigenous people in Canadian society and how they have been historically.

Long before the settlers from Europe had come to Canada, the land was inhabited by native indigenous people. Currently there are around 50 tribal groups and around 50 spoken languages, with a population of around 1.67 million.¹ During the early colonial times indigenous groups values and morals were different from the European settlers. For example, their view on Nature and landownership was different. These disagreements have caused a complicated and often fraught relationship with each group, but it also has been a key part of what it means to historically be a Canadian citizen. Sunera Thobani, who wrote the critically claimed book *Exalted Subjects*, wrote "The suppression of Native Peoples, and of their social-political orders remains the necessary conditions of Canadian sovereignty."² Multiculturalism was an attempt at remedy this injustice.

¹ <https://www.rcaanc-cirnac.gc.ca/eng/1100100013791/1535470872302>

² *Exalted Subjects* pg 39.

Native American relationship was a key part of Pierre Trudeau multicultural model. Two tenants of multiculturalism were the recognition of indigenous people Land Rights and previous treaties that were agreed upon.³ Recently there has been attempt of reconciliation with the current prime minister Justin Trudeau apologizing for the past governmental residential schools. Recently Canadian citizens have also taken steps to bring up social injustices, for example Jully Black changing the lyrics of the Canadian national Anthem from “Our Home and Native Land” to “Our home on native land.” at the NBA all-star game in Toronto.⁴ Also Native rights are more incorporated in government programs, for example, during the plan to build a new Logistics Hub in Southern Ontario, the report worked with local native tribes to make sure that no cultural or burial sites were disturbed.⁵ Another group that are also recently been in the conversation about Canadian Citizenship have been new immigration.

Canada has a long history of immigration like the United States. People immigrate to Canada for many reasons. Some immigrants see Canada as a stop before migrating to the United States. An example of this is the large number of Estonians who came to Canada after World War II. Many had planned to migrate to the United States and saw Canada as a temporary stop but decided to stay instead.⁶ Since Canada is part of the Commonwealth it can be easier for people from other commonwealth nations to migrate to Canada. There also a lot of political refugees and asylum seekers in Canada. Currently Canada has around 10 million immigrants with many of them coming from the Indian Sub-Continent. Majority of them have migrated to the 5 major “Gateway Cities.” Toronto, Québec City, Vancouver, Montreal, and Calgary. In 1961, 90% were European now 6 out of 10 immigrants come from Asia.⁷ In *Exalted Subjects* it is mentioned that “Indians and immigrants” were seen as “as racial strangers.”⁸ While European Immigrants were also seen as “other” newly immigrants are more discriminated against because of the color of their skins and the difference in their belief and cultures. Thobani also mentioned that the immigration act of 1962 emphasized the applicants’ job and the Canadian labor market, which changed the way that Canada immigrations system works. Currently many immigrants are tied to their job as they have a work visa, which makes their employment essential in being able to access basic Canadian rights such as the healthcare systems. Thobani points out that this new system was created due to the postwar labor shortage

³ Multiculturalism in Canada, Interculturalism in Québec: Theory and Politics Francis Garon

⁴ <https://www.cbc.ca/news/entertainment/jully-black-canada-anthem-afn-1.6800619>

⁵ Milton Logistics Hub Project

⁶ *The Political Refugee: A History of the Estonian in Canada.* pg 21.

⁷ *Exalted Subjects* pg 97

⁸ *Ibid.* pg 101

in Canada after World War II and that this is a byproduct of a hyper capitalist society.⁹ Immigrants are vital for Canadian labor market and economy, but many are still viewed as “Others” or outsiders in Canadian society. This question of the “Others” has always been a part of Canadian history which is evident in the political theory of Bilingualism.

Bilingualism was a cultural and language model that was incorporated in Canada in the 1960’s in response to strong separatist movements in Quebec. Quebec is the French Speaking part of Canada which became part of British Canada from France after the Seven Year War in 1763. The question of what to do with French Canadian or the “Others” has always been a part of Canadian political discourse. For example, The Quebec act of 1774 gave Quebec citizen the rights to speak French and to practice Catholicism. In 1963, the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism was set up to study on how to incorporate Quebec into Canadian society. The Commission was instructed to inquire into and report upon the existing state of bilingualism and biculturalism. The commission’s purpose was to recommend steps that should be taken to develop the Canadian confederation based on an equal partnership between the two founding races.¹⁰

In the 1960’s Quebec experienced the “Quiet Revolution” where the Quebec state started to incorporate more social welfare and be more incorporated in the citizens life. The byproduct of this is that language and citizenship became closely connected. The effect of this revolution is that the Quebec government passed numerous laws to keep French as the official language of Quebec. In 1969, Canadian government passed the Official Language Act which made French and English the official language of Canada. Pierre Trudeau than Prime Minister of Canada said after the Act was passed that “French Canada can survive not turning in on itself by reaching out to claim its full share of every aspect of Canadian life. English Canada should not attempt to crush or expect to absorb French Canada. All Canadians should capitalize on the advantages on living in a country which has learned to speak in two great world languages.”¹¹

The Act was met with a lot of criticism from different groups. Many minority groups believed that they were being excluded by the Act. Such as the Ukrainian farmers in the Plains criticized the Act as being exclusive.¹² The Act also caused another barrier of exclusion for newly immigrants who are immigrating to Canada. Also, this means that people who do not

⁹ Exalted Subjects pg 71

¹⁰ Multiculturalism Reining in Duality pg 117.

¹¹ <https://www.edu.gov.mb.ca/>

¹² Federalism, Citizenship, and Quebec. Debating Multinationalism pg 123

speakers of either French or English will find it harder to access basic services that are given to Canadian citizens such as healthcare. The Act also saw a wave of nationalistic movements for example the Quebec separatists' movements that arose in Canada throughout the 70's and 80s. This Act also criticized by indigenous groups for excluding them. The policy of Multiculturalism was a response to Bilingualism.

Multiculturalism was a response to the Bilingual laws that were passed by the Canadian government in the 1960s. Pierre Trudeau wanted to incorporate all societies into the Canadian Citizen model and believed that Multiculturalism was the solution. Multiculturalism is a where the government tries to promote multiple ethnic cultures with government grants for language and cultural centers. It promotes affirmative action, which gives preference to marginalized communities for job placement and universities. This policy unlike the Bilingualism policy of tries to incorporate all cultures and groups into Canada. This policy was met with much criticism.

Multiculturalism met with criticism by both sides of the political spectrum. Many people accused the Trudeau government of using Multiculturalism to send money to political supporters of the liberal party. Multiculturalism also went against the liberal political thought because "Multiculturalism is based on the ontological primacy of the group over the individual rights and that it can suppress these rights."¹³ Many believe that assimilation is key to having a safer and more stable society, but multiculturalism goes against the idea of assimilation and that assimilation is a "violation of the persons integral identity."¹⁴ A byproduct of multiculturalism is identity politics. Identity politics "is an attack on the assimilation implied by the nation state."¹⁵ Multiculturalism also goes against the concept of Bilingualism, which gives the state the most power to define what a citizen is by passing law, while in multiculturalism it is the citizen and ethnic groups who define what a citizen is. Canada current model is a mixed of Bilingualism and Multiculturalism.

Canadian current cultural model is a mix of multiculturalism with state run top-down programs, but also the point of many programs is assimilation and not multiculturalism. Also, the official languages of Canada are French and English. Multiculturalism is still a key part of Canadian cultural programs where it "break free from the homogenizing imperative inherent in

¹³ Misconceiving Canada the Struggle for National Unity. Pg 94.

¹⁴ Federalism, Citizenship, and Quebec. Debating Multinationalism. pg. 93

¹⁵ Misconceiving Canada the Struggle for National Unity. Pg 94.

the traditional US-American notion of society as a cultural “melting pot”¹⁶ There is an attempt by the Canadian government to try to be progressive and accepting of all cultures and groups in the Canada and this has been met with backlash from some groups. These groups see that it is important for assimilation as key to keeping Canada safe and just society. Currently Justin Trudeau is trying to show that Canada is a country that is accepting and diverse, but as written earlier multiculturalism and bilingualism all have many critiques and Canada is still trying to define what it means to be a citizen of Canada.

¹⁶ Multiculturalism in Canadian Fiction pg 515.

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Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau emphasized the fundamental principles of Canadian society in 2012, emphasizing the importance of diversity, compassion, and individual freedoms as essential components of citizenship. He also underlined the promise of giving every citizen the chance to improve their lives and those of their offspring. I will investigate the contemporary Canadian cultural model in this assignment using information from the course's numerous readings, which include works of art, literature, and other scholarly sources.

It is widely recognized that Canada values diversity, compassion, and individual autonomy. Thanks to the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, everyone in Canada is guaranteed fundamental rights and liberties that are upheld and treated equitably by the law. Numerous

social policies and initiatives that support underrepresented groups, promote inclusivity, and foster a sense of belonging further highlight Canada's commitment to compassion. The country has made great strides in embracing diversity, enjoying the coexistence of individuals of different ethnicities, cultural backgrounds, and religious convictions, and recognizing the accomplishments of Indigenous peoples.

The commitment of Canadian society to diversity, compassion, and individual freedoms is represented not just in its legal and regulatory frameworks but also in the fabric of the country. The diversity of Canada's multiculturalism is regularly highlighted in art, literature, and other forms of expression, helping to create a culture of respect and understanding among its many ethnic groups. Overall, Canada is a progressive and inclusive society that continuously works to improve the lives of all its residents and embraces the diversity and depth of its cultural mosaic thanks to its commitment to individual rights, compassion, and diversity.

Canada is frequently praised for its dedication to individual liberties, rights, compassion, and diversity, yet it is not perfect in these regards. Despite great advancement, some problems still exist, highlighting areas that need to be improved to uphold these essential principles.

Indigenous peoples have experienced systematic injustices and oppression throughout Canada's history. Indigenous populations still face inequalities in access to resources, healthcare, and education despite efforts at reconciliation. To really defend individual rights and promote compassion and diversity across the country, it is imperative to redress historical and current injustices.

Although Canada has always been welcoming to immigrants and refugees, administrative roadblocks and protracted processing times can make it difficult to provide timely and compassionate care to vulnerable groups looking for a better life in Canada. To uphold the

nation's commitment to diversity and compassion, immigration procedures must be made more efficient, and asylum applicants must be treated with respect. But they haven't always been treated with respect as we have learned during one of our lectures and that can be read about in the text about the Japanese camps. Around 22,000 Japanese Canadians, including citizens, were interned in camps by the Canadian government during World War II. Families were uprooted, forced to endure difficult circumstances with scarce means, and lost their homes and possessions. This serious civil liberties breach is still remembered as a sad period in Canadian history. In 1988, the government offered restitution and an official apology as part of the Japanese Canadian Redress Agreement, which acknowledged the wrongdoing and aimed to promote peace.

Socioeconomic differences result from the fact that Canada's prosperity is not distributed equitably among its population. Depending on one's socioeconomic situation, access to high-quality education, healthcare, and employment possibilities can differ dramatically. In order to uphold the values of compassion and encourage an inclusive and varied society, it is essential to address these inequities.

Canada's commitment to welcoming and appreciating variety inside its boundaries has made it a multicultural nation. The nation's identity as a multiracial, multiethnic, and cosmopolitan society was significantly shaped by the adoption of multiculturalism as official state policy.

The policy encouraged inclusion and acceptance by recognizing and promoting the contributions of many ethnic groups. Canada has developed a lively and dynamic social fabric that respects individual rights, liberties, and cultural plurality by appreciating and tolerating varied cultural backgrounds. Canada has been able to set itself apart from assimilationist ideologies and present a global image of tolerance and compassion thanks to its multicultural approach.

In contrast to the assimilationist strategy used by the United States, multiculturalism in Canada promoted the country as a multiracial, multiethnic, liberal-democratic nation. However, detractors claimed that the policy had trouble juggling the requests for inclusion from different cultural groups with the fundamental claims of the British and French. Ambiguity and internal contradictions resulted from the policy's inability to reconcile this issue. Although it handled cultural differences inside the country, multiculturalism also created new ones. It attempted to manage cultural identities as politically recognizable components of the country's relationship with its internal Others by reconfiguring race as culture.

As written in the text *Exalted Subjects, Studies in the Making of Race and Nation in Canada*. The book examines how Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau's decision to make multiculturalism an official state policy represented a turning point in Canada's identity. As the nation's immigration patterns changed and became more diversified, Canada presented itself on the international scene as a cosmopolitan and accepting society.

The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism was established in reaction to growing hostilities between English and French Canada as well as other ethnic groups fighting for recognition. As a result of the commission's recommendation for the official acknowledgment of numerous ethnic communities, multiculturalism became a state policy.

The strategy intentionally constituted difference by highlighting cultural identity as an important part of international interactions, even though it was intended to reflect and regulate cultural differences within the nation. Multiculturalism in Canada enabled the country to reinvent itself, welcoming diversity while claiming cultural superiority. It made it possible for Canada to be perceived as homogeneous with regard to cultural diversity, increasing its reputation as a hospitable culture.

The coexistence of diverse ethnicities, languages, and cultures is celebrated in Canada, renowned for its multiculturalism. The Canadian Multiculturalism Act, which encourages the awareness and acceptance of many cultural backgrounds, includes this cultural model as one of its tenets. The stories of immigrants, Indigenous peoples, and other cultural communities are frequently included in Canadian literature and art, contributing to the country's unique cultural fabric. Canada has come to realize how crucial it is to achieve reconciliation with its Indigenous peoples. Canadians recognize historical injustices and attempt to forge respectful connections with Indigenous peoples through government programs and educational efforts. This process is greatly aided by the arts and literature, which give voice to indigenous viewpoints and encourage empathy and understanding among all citizens.

The value of individual rights and compassion in Canadian society is emphasized by Trudeau's comment. The many laws and regulations that protect citizens' rights reflect this emphasis on social justice and human rights. Social justice, questioning cultural standards, and supporting underprivileged communities are all common topics in art and literature. The promise to offer chances for a better life is consistent with Canada's dedication to social mobility and easily available education. Canada makes enormous investments in its educational system, enhancing its accessibility and inclusivity. The transformational force of education can be shown in art and literature by presenting characters who overcome obstacles and succeed through learning.

Canada has put an increasing emphasis on sustainability and environmental stewardship in recent years. Literature and the arts have played a significant role in promoting a greener lifestyle, encouraging people to take action, and increasing public awareness of environmental challenges.

The phrase from Justin Trudeau from 2012, which welcomes variety, individual rights, compassion, and the promise of opportunity for everyone, sums up the heart of the Canadian cultural model. This cultural model is reflected in Canada's multiculturalism, emphasis on Indigenous reconciliation, attention on human rights and social justice, investment in education, and growing dedication to environmental sustainability. These ideals are shaped and reinforced within Canadian society through the use of art, literature, and numerous scholarly sources.

The strategy intentionally constituted difference by highlighting cultural identity as an important part of international interactions, even though it was intended to reflect and regulate cultural differences within the nation. Multiculturalism in Canada enabled the country to reinvent itself, welcoming diversity while claiming cultural superiority. It made it possible for Canada to be perceived as homogeneous with regard to cultural diversity, increasing its reputation as a hospitable culture. Additionally, Canada has made great progress in the direction of reconciliation with its Indigenous inhabitants, admitting historical wrongdoings and attempting to forge respectful connections. Giving voice to Indigenous ideas and fostering empathy and understanding among all citizens have both been made possible by literature and art.

The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms and other social programs that aid poor communities and advance social justice are clear examples of the country's commitment to individual freedoms and compassion. As illustrated in literature and art that emphasizes the transformational potential of learning, education is a cornerstone of Canada's commitment to providing opportunities for a better life to all residents. In Canada, environmental stewardship has taken on greater significance, with literature and the arts significantly contributing to public awareness-building and action-inspiring toward sustainability.

Although the cultural model of Canada is admirable, there are some problems with it. There are still issues to be resolved, including the historical injustices suffered by Indigenous peoples, assuring fair treatment for immigrants and refugees, and resolving socioeconomic inequalities across the country. The concepts of diversity, compassion, and individual liberties must be upheld while addressing these problems. Canada has been a global pioneer in encouraging diversity and tolerance thanks to its multiculturalism, respect for Indigenous rights, devotion to individual freedoms, and emphasis on compassion. These values have been shaped and reinforced within Canadian society thanks in large part to the contributions of literature, art, and academic sources.

In order to promote an even more inclusive and peaceful society where each citizen has the chance to improve their quality of life for themselves and future generations, the country must continue to nurture and reinforce these principles as it develops. Canada can continue to be a shining example of a diverse and compassionate country that celebrates the complexity of its cultural mosaic by fixing its imperfections and adhering to its core values.

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Cultural model is the structured way of thinking of a society. It's the main way to distinguish one culture from another by looking at the norms, values, and a broader sense of belief and customs. Cultural models are not static but constantly changing together with societal changes. When looking at norms and values, just comparing today and fifty years ago we can see tons of new social rights movements that have taken shape and created policies that have greatly affected Canada's cultural model. Canada's cultural model is one of acceptance which can be reinforced by examining the different acts that promotes inclusivity and diversity, like the 1971 multiculturalism policy for example which they were one of the first western countries to do so. The quote from Justin Trudeau "We have created a society where individual rights and freedoms; compassion and diversity are core to our citizenship. But underlying that idea of Canada is the promise that we all have a chance to build a better life for ourselves and our children" reflects the country's cultural model as one of multiculturalism and a free society. This quote isn't just to gather compassion and seem nice, as Canada has a very liberal immigration policy together with a strong social safety net. This gives every Canadian citizen regardless of background, the resources to be able to increase your family's life.

Canada is one of the most diverse countries in the world with almost 21% of the population being immigrants. That's higher than their southern neighbor, the US, proportion wise but not in amount. Because of Canada's well managed, liberal, and humane immigration policy, 500 000 new immigrants arrive in Canada every year. The large amount of immigration has benefited the Canadian society greatly as they are an asset to the Canadian workforce. According to the 2021 census done by the Canadian government, the population is getting older and older while there are fewer births as the replacement rate is only 2.1 for women. This means that there will be a deficit in the workforce, especially as the economy wants to grow. Immigration is Canada is therefore mutualistic for both current citizens and new immigrants. Current citizens get to partake in the economic growth and therefore stronger social security while the newly arrived immigrants can contribute to the society and receive the social safety net that they now are a part of. The US and other European countries have immigration much lower proportionally because of public opinion. But Canada has always been immigration friendly from a historic perspective which results in today's immigration policy. The Canadian government also has a unique immigration policy in that half of the immigrants are economic immigrants compared to other countries like the US and UK which have 20% and 25% respectively. From a historic and economic perspective Canada has always had a large supply of natural resources that need to be cultivated. Mainly oil, minerals, and timber. The natural

resources are also spread over a vast landscape, so many workers are needed to be able to extract these resources. So, every country immigration policy is tailored for each situation, and in Canada's case immigration has benefited them greatly. To tailor for each provinces needs Canada has implemented Provincial nominee programs which aims to allow immigrants to come to Canada to meet that province's need. This gives the provincial government more control and therefore a more effective immigration. The government has implemented even more flexible systems such as temporary foreign workers which lets them stay here temporarily to fight labor shortages. These programs have implemented systems to protect workers and give them the protection that they require. The large immigrant population and multiculturalism in Canada has led to a greater level of tolerance and understanding of different cultures which in turn nurtures more compassion among the citizens. But recently the tone of the conversation has changed as the previously very pro-immigrant consensus is starting to shift. This could be the result of larger economic differences in society but the majority of people still are pro-immigrant especially when considering how much of an impact they have had on the economy historically.

Google gives the definition of freedom as "the power or right to act, speak, or think as one want". If one believes that we have free will then we should per definition also have freedom. But freedom can also be amplified but also oppressed by different systems. An oppression of freedom could be censorship, discrimination or lack of education and healthcare. None of the previously mentioned are a problem for Canada, but the contrary. Canada has a great social safety net, especially compared to it's neighbor the US. This gives the citizens real freedom as they have the option and resources to pursue whatever their heart desires, to a reasonable extent of course. By having a social safety net that includes universal healthcare, maternity and parental leave and generally lower tuition fees for higher education, the citizens are given many more opportunities which results in more freedom which in turns increases the perceived living standards. According to Freedom House, a "non-governmental organization that promotes and defends democratic values", Canada ranked fifth in their annual research rankings. This ranking looks at the political rights and civil liberties of each country and gives them a ranking. As more and more countries have a decrease in their rankings, it's positive to see that the Canadian ranking still stays relatively the same compared to previous years. Like most countries Canada has flaws but it's its attitude towards change and improving on their flaws that has ranked them this high year after year. On another ranking Canada came 13 in the man Freedom Index created by Fraser Institute which looked at similar values which also placed Canada relatively high.

The notion that Canadians are generally very nice is a preconception that the rest of the world has that hasn't come from nowhere. One could argue that the niceness can be traced to Canada's diverse multicultural society which has led to a greater level of tolerance and understanding. It could also be attributed to Canada's economic and geographic situation which has benefited a lot by immigration. Historically, by having a small population compared to its large landmass the inhabitants didn't have to compete about resources, rather they need to cooperate to survive in the harsh environment. Individual success could not be achieved to the same extent without help from your neighbors and community. This mentality differs a lot compared to the US to the south that places more value on individual achievements and doesn't have the same way of thinking. They might be in a sense more competitive. A country's cultural model is based on a lot of factors among others historic and geographic, so Canada and the US is a relevant comparison. Two researchers made a study that compared Canadian and American tweets to see patterns of commonly used words which could give us a hint on how their mentality and language differs. They did so by analyzing how the nation in questions stereotypes was mirrored in tweets. The results from this research paper were that the Canadian tweets were generally much more positive compared to their American counterpart, both in the number of positive words they used but also the emojis, while the American twitter users were more hostile and used more negative words. The cause of this "niceness" is probably too complicated to find one specific source but its more a combination of the country's history and its culture.

In recent years however, Canada have been plagued by controversies regarding the treatment of its indigenous people. Known as the residential school system, the Canadian government forced indigenous children through a school system designed to phase out any traces of the language and cultural heritage. In the late spring of 2021, the remains of 215 children were found near a school in British Columbia. The findings sparked a public uproar which demanded justice and transparency around the dark history of Canadian oppression against its indigenous population. It's estimated that 150,000 children from various indigenous groups across Canada were forced to attend the residential schools which prohibited them from speaking their native languages and forsake their religious beliefs. No nation in the world is flawless but with crimes like these against indigenous people, it is only appropriate to call it a "cultural genocide".

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”We have created a society where individual rights and freedoms, compassion and diversity are core to our citizenship. But underlying that idea of Canada is the promise that we all have a chance to build a better life for ourselves and our children.” Justin Trudeau 2012.

In this essay I will discuss to what extent the above phrase used by the current Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau corresponds to the current Canadian Model. In answering this question I shall discuss some of the challenges that Canadians have faced in this regard to illustrate one's 'chance' historically (with chance being the ability to live 'free' or be considered equal in the state sense) and describe whether any obstructions to this have been overcome. In doing so I hope to measure the validity of this statement with a constructivist approach. I will then provide a broad discussion to help summarise my answer to the question.

Canada has not existed 'as is' for the rights of all who dwell in its boundaries. From the point of colonisation those who existed as the aboriginal have found their rights curtailed by the English and French Colonists who sought to create the enterprise of the European colony. This was part of the imposition of 'state' on the aboriginal with overt attempts to nullify aboriginal social constructs such as language to create the notion of statehood in Canada in line with the White European Paradigm Haque (2018, p57). Examples of this involved systemic measures such as Residential Schools as well as enforced adoption which lasted well into the twentieth century despite worldwide human rights reforms (Thobani, 2008, p108).

However even some colonists faced structural challenges, with the French Canadian marginalised after the 1840 Act of the Union was enshrined. Though not quite as egregious in method compared to the aboriginal, there was a similarity in marginalising the French culture by the British, though this was reversed in 1867 with assistance from the British North American Act. Francophones now found themselves in the minority, which is something that has had a profound effect on the French Canadian of today. In terms of chance the meaning is varied for the French Canadians enjoyed more statutory rights compared to the aboriginal but faced the challenge of enacting their right to live in line with their preferred culture as well. Even with the British/French blend, Canada has also faced the more ‘traditional’ Western challenges to rights as opposed to some of its more bespoke. Among these were the challenges presented to (predominantly white) women and their entering the workplace. Thobani describes the previously mentioned notion of imposed statehood on women belonging to aboriginal groups, and refers to the economic hardships in which families endured during economic downturns, with a symptom of low income amongst individuals and families. After partial welfare reforms in post war Canada, women were not able to claim financial assistance which used a means test to determine which contribution the state would provide. This is in contrast to men who were able to secure full time employment as a result of structural biases (Thobani, 2008, p106 with notions of the ‘desired’ female role described in state building on page 113).

Discussion

In the previous section I have described some of the challenges which Canada faced, in order to create a sufficient backdrop and to help determine that a sufficient gradient of resolutions has been achieved in order to determine the validity of Trudeau's words. As previously mentioned the measurement in itself is from a constructivist lens, given the circumstances of the issues described and the solution for one example may not be directly translatable for another.

The post war twentieth century presented Canada the chance to both address and amend the social challenges in which it faced. Among them was the ability for women to find gainful employment in order to function as an equal member of society. The aforementioned welfare difficulties in the previous sections were the initial challenges to the programmes implemented as well as the structural sexism that existed in society. Thobani (Thobani, 2008, p125) describes the mass employment of women on the public sector as an example of how Canada sought to address this challenge, with one of the notions being to create a valuable contributor to society as well as a (predominantly white) citizen who was not bound to the aforementioned nuclear family paradigm. Based on this example I would argue that this was designed to reverse the previous dynamic of men/women, even if it was partially successful at the time. The same could not be said for the aboriginal women, as Thobiani describes were not encompassed by this programme of mass employment.

Using the Star article provided in our assignment, one could argue that the increase in well educated and hard working women has accounted for the increase of those entering and

staying in the middle class, which would on the face of it point to the success of entering women into the workforce. However one could point to the example of the one and only female Prime Minister Kim Campbell having gained office through resignation and her subsequent defeat as an indicator of potential societal echoes in the current Canadian model.

The aboriginal faced a different issue in its plight for a chance. Among them were those who had faced the trauma of attending the residential schools as well as some of their children who were raised by them are now ill equipped and traumatised parents. This resulted in a high level of crime in the aboriginal regions, which was very symptomatic of a lack of chance (Thobani, 2008, p124 and Anderson 2016, p73 and 74). When considering chance it is important to revisit the previously mentioned notion of being 'free', as in away from the Canadian structure which was imposed on the aboriginal. Even measures to amend and repeal various oppressive legislation, an act the Canadian actor considered benevolent, was met with the understandable ire of the aboriginal when the 1969 'White Paper on Indians' was enshrined, which concluded with ideas of how they could be integrated into Canadian society as if the acceptance was to be considered as something to capitulate willingly to or tacitly accept (Anderson 2016, p 74).

However this attempt was seen as a beckoning into the very system in which the aboriginal was subjected and was symptomatic of the tone of the discussion at that point with further dialogue to be conveyed and discussed to achieve a more desirable outcome (Anderson 2016, p 74, 75 and 76). These outcomes have been met with partial success in the

Constitutional Act in 1982 and beyond, though significant issues remain as to what and how the ‘perfect’ outcome should be achieved. In this respect there are challenges ahead to address which can impact how one may assess their ‘chance’ at what life they want to live as an assessment of Trudeau’s words (with them in this case being false), with the matters discussed far from solved even after the establishment of devolved Aboriginal administrations (Anderson 2016, p 82-86).

The French Canadian (as a group to be referred to henceforth) has also faced its own challenges to its own efficacy. Examples included the use of the French language in Quebec as one of the thirteen provinces in Canada sought to enforce, only for it to be considered unconstitutional (Anderson 2016, p105) and ultimately ‘allowed’ by the federal government to exist as a watered down version to include English as well in future amendments (such as Bill 178 being a watered down version of Bill 101 (Anderson 2016, p106)). During the sixties, the French Canadian terrorist organisation the Front de Libération du Québec opted to employ violence and kidnapping in order to emphasise its viewpoints at the lack of the Francophone efficacy, however these extremists and their associates were quelled by the states’ ‘legitimate violence’ (Dyck et al. 2017 p104). Even to present day Francophones are still pursuing parity with the main worry being the diminishing of the culture for their ‘chance’ which clearly do not align with the ubiquitous model of chance Trudeau wished to project.

Conclusion

Trudeau's words can be certainly interpreted as a 'story so far' summary of Canada, with the challenges above as well as others still outstanding. The lack of nuance in the statement regarding certain groups certainly does not align with the examples above, being multiple cultural models and their 'chance'. Anderson describes Canada as a 'tossed salad' (Anderson 2016, p244), in contrast to the United States, which has been described as a 'melting pot' of cultures and subcultures. Perhaps if Trudeau had used something similar to describe the model of Canada he would have been more precise, but the statement as is (in 2012), seems to illustrate more of the colonial/male centric force which seemed to have caused many of the aforementioned issues and more.

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Supporting Material

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During Donald Trump's presidential campaign and in its aftermath, a multitude of individuals, including both ordinary citizens and celebrities, expressed their intentions to relocate to Canada. In fact, in 2015, slightly over 6,800 Americans initiated applications for permanent residency in Canada, followed by just over 7,700 in 2016 (Gilmore, 2020). While the incentive for this hypothetical move was largely sparked by Trump's influence, one must ponder: why Canada of all countries in this vast world? Despite its proximity to the United States and relatively accessible border, a primary rationale behind this phenomenon is Canada's long standing reputation for embracing diverse groups regardless of race, gender, and sexual orientation. I, too, am guilty of harboring this perceived image of Canada. However, there are times when it becomes essential to step back, assess, and question whether our preconceived notions are grounded in facts or mere assumptions. Is Canada genuinely a paradigm of inclusivity and multiculturalism, or has its image been overstated? This essay strives to address these inquiries by examining the Canadian model and uncovering facets that have remained unnoticed by many. Moreover, this paper will delve into the deficiencies of contemporary Canadian policies, with a specific focus on minority groups.

"We have created a society where individual rights and freedoms, compassion and diversity are core to our citizenship. But underlying that idea of Canada is the promise that we all have a chance to build a better life for ourselves and our children" is a sentiment articulated by Justin Trudeau, which arguably, encapsulates a significant facet of the political landscape of the 21st century. In our current era, nations are deeply engaged in the adoption and implementation of progressive political ideologies, a phenomenon driven in large part by the unprecedented interconnectedness of the global community. Canada, for example, stands as a prime example, boasting one of the most culturally diverse societies across the world. In fact, 21.5% of the population possess an immigrant background (Garon, 2023). The country has evolved into a multicultural epicenter, embracing individuals with ancestral roots spanning various corners of the planet. Canada, has, throughout the years, strived to move towards a brighter future rooted in acceptance and equality on a multicultural dimension. Several pivotal political advancements, such as the "Incorporation of multiculturalism into the Canadian Constitution" (1982) and the "Canadian Multiculturalism Act (1988)," stand out as significant landmarks in Canadian history (Garon, 2023).

Despite significant advancements made to ensure equal rights for all individuals in Canada, there remains ample room for criticism directed at the Canadian government. While the 21st century has witnessed notable progress for numerous minority groups, there are still substantial areas that warrant improvement. Viewing this from a historical perspective, minority groups not descending from the “two founding parties” have frequently been disregarded and excluded from discussions concerning the establishment of a cohesive Canada, consequently highlighting the need for greater inclusivity and representation (McRoberts, 1997, p.122). For a considerable duration, the Canadian model has been conceptualized by numerous individuals as a nation with two primary cultures: the French and the English ones. Concerning the Canadian sense of identity, actors such as the Bilingualism and Biculturalism Commission aimed to bring together Anglophone and Francophone groups into a shared bicultural framework that strive to establish both parties on an equal footing on a political, economic, and societal level. (McRoberts, 1997, p. 119).. According to this perspective, Canada would transform into a cohesive unit of balanced partnership between its two founding groups all while allowing individuals to enjoy the diverse advantages of society while still preserving their cultural heritage (McRoberts, 1997, p. 119).

Apart from indigenous minorities, Canada has throughout history served as a favored immigration destination. One could argue that European settlers were among the earliest immigrants to arrive on Canadian soil, though that discussion is best left for another occasion. In any case, as mentioned earlier, Canada has provided a home for a wide array of immigrant communities originating from various corners of the world, including India, China, Africa, and numerous other places. While it is truly commendable and respectable for figures like Justin Trudeau to articulate such convictions and adopt such positions, a prevalent critique leveled against politicians pertains to their inclination to prioritize rhetoric over action. Frequently, politicians and governmental bodies pledge their commitment to driving transformative shifts and amplifying the voices of marginalized communities. Nevertheless, when substantive measures are not taken, skepticism is born and public faith in political leaders declines. A prevailing feeling among Canadians is to lean towards a change in Canada's approach, highlighting a reduced reliance on verbal apologies and a stronger emphasis on concrete actions exemplified by the adoption of the recommendations outlined by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (Adams, 2023). A multitude of indigenous minority groups, such as the Yinka Dene Alliance comprising five First Nations communities in central British Columbia, Canada – Nadleh Whut'en, Nak'azdli, Takla Lake, Saik'uz, and Wet'suwet'en – have consistently

voiced their discontent with the lack of tangible improvements in their daily lives, exemplified by an open letter to President Hu Jintao; these groups have engaged in negotiations with government bodies over several years, yielding no positive outcomes, and the ongoing discussions are currently suspended, awaiting guidance from federal negotiators (Montsion, 2022).

Minority groups are not the exclusive advocates for improved representation and recognition. Renowned thinkers like Charles Taylor have passionately argued for a society in which every individual's cultural and personal identity holds an equal significance alongside others. This vision can only be realized if political institutions, figures, and governments harness the resources and authority bestowed upon them to establish a social and political environment that empowers and highlights these identities. In the realm of contemporary politics, the quest for recognition has gained notable prominence. This phenomenon is observable across various spheres of society, encompassing endeavors such as advocating for the rights of minority or marginalized factions, specific facets of feminism, and the domain of multicultural politics (Taylor, 1997, p.25). Charles Taylor delves deeply into the intricate interplay between cultural diversity and the principles of liberalism, with a particular focus on how individual rights intersect with shared aspirations. The core point is that while it's vital to safeguard fundamental freedoms, there is space for flexibility in implementing particular exceptions and assumptions that take into account cultural variations, furthermore, the intellectual examines the pivotal role played by politics of recognition in shaping individual identity. Ultimately, Charles Taylor underscores the essential balance that must be struck between safeguarding individual rights and embracing the intricate tapestry of cultural diversity in the pursuit of shared objectives.

The perception of Canada as a welcoming and multicultural environment has faced prolonged scrutiny regarding its genuineness. Certain scholars have raised questions about whether hidden agendas existed beneath the outward promotion of multiculturalism during the 1990s. Multiculturalism, some argue, concealed the ongoing presence of white privilege and was positioned as a response to the challenges arising from the crisis of whiteness that emerged in the aftermath of the post-war era while also concurrently facilitating a collective national forgetfulness concerning challenging historical narratives (Thobani, 2007, p.154). Furthermore, some have regarded multiculturalism as a potential instrument that could be employed to the detriment of the very individuals it seeks to uplift: minorities. The heightened emphasis on the cultures of third-world communities centered on the idea that immigrants were allegedly

reluctant to adopt the customs of their host countries, even when greeted with welcoming receptions from their hosts. This type of assumptions provided a platform for certain individuals to assign blame to immigrants as a means to portray white individuals in a positive light (Thobani, 2007, p.154)

To conclude, determining whether Canada truly lives up to its reputation as an inclusive nation presents a complex challenge. It's essential to recognize Canada's pioneering role in advancing multiculturalism and inclusivity across realms such as politics, government, and citizenship. However, it's equally important not to overlook the widespread critique directed at the country, particularly regarding unfulfilled or inadequately sustained commitments to minority groups. Canada has attained significant achievements relative to other nations, yet it remains essential to acknowledge the boundless nature of the pursuit for change and recognize the imperative for human perseverance. The nation has potential for enhancements across various domains, particularly in the realm of politics and the underrepresentation of minority groups within that specific context.

Taking into consideration the preceding discussion, what can be inferred about Justin Trudeau's statement "We have forged a society where personal rights, empathy, and variety are fundamental to our sense of belonging. However, fundamental to the concept of Canada is the commitment that every individual has the opportunity to construct an improved future for themselves and their offspring."? From my perspective, while there exist verifiable truths supporting this statement, there remains a considerable task ahead if one wishes to genuinely establish a robust foundation for forthcoming generations of Canadians and their children, particularly concerning marginalized communities.

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ⁱIn 2012, Justin Trudeau declared about Canada:

“We have created a society where individual rights and freedoms; compassion and diversity are core to our citizenship. But underlying that idea of Canada is the promise that we all have a chance to build a better life for ourselves and our children.”**(https://www.thestar.com/opinion/editorialopinion/2012/10/30/canadian_middle_class_left_out_of_the_growth_equation.html)**

Justin Trudeau's 2012 proclamation regarding Canada encapsulates the core beliefs shared by numerous Canadians about their nation. In Canada, individuals are liberated to express their true selves, irrespective of their racial, religious, gender, or sexual identity (Trudeau, 2012). Our country embodies compassion, extending a warm embrace to immigrants and refugees

from across the globe. We hold steadfast to the conviction that each person can achieve success, regardless of their circumstances.

This declaration undeniably aligns with the prevailing Canadian cultural paradigm. According to a 2022 survey conducted by the Environics Institute, 86% of Canadians view diversity as a key asset, while 79% believe in universal prospects for success (Environics Institute, 2022). These figures have exhibited a consistent trend over recent years, underscoring the enduring strength of the Canadian cultural ethos. Nevertheless, this model confronts certain challenges. Canada's rapidly increasing diversity poses a hurdle to maintaining national cohesion. Furthermore, the growing wealth disparity impedes equitable opportunities for all to thrive.

Notwithstanding these challenges, I maintain that Canada's cultural archetype remains a potent positive influence. Our nation ardently upholds principles of parity, possibility, and empathy. I am confident that these values will continue to illuminate our path ahead. Canada stands as a paragon of diversity, with representation from over 200 ethnic groups. This mosaic of differences is celebrated and promoted, recognized as a wellspring of resilience.

The robust social safety net in Canada provides a lifeline for those facing hardship. Comprehensive programs like universal healthcare, subsidized childcare, and income support underline our commitment to collective welfare (Smith, 2019). Canada emerges as a global champion for human rights, tenaciously advocating for equality irrespective of race, religion, gender, sexual orientation, or disabilities. Canada's arms remain open to immigrants and refugees, a legacy that endures to this day, embracing new arrivals and offering them opportunity (Johnson, 2017). These illustrations merely scratch the surface of how Canada's cultural paradigm mirrors present actualities. Rooted in equity, opportunity, and empathy, this archetype is one I firmly believe is worth defending.

The Canadian cultural model stands as a tapestry woven from a diverse array of values and beliefs that define the nation and its people. Rooted in principles of individual rights, compassion, diversity, and upward mobility, this cultural framework serves as the bedrock upon which Canada's identity is built. It is what makes Canada a unique and cherished place to live, a land that embraces its citizens irrespective of their backgrounds and promises a better life for all. However, the recent evolution of a narrative laden with challenges has cast a shadow on the very foundations of this treasured cultural model.

The middle-class squeeze is a term used to describe the phenomenon of stagnant wages and rising costs of living, which has made it increasingly difficult for middle-class families to make

ends meet (Anderson, 2020). This challenge is further aggravated by the pronounced inequality inherent in the distribution of economic growth.

The middle class is an important part of any thriving society. They are the backbone of the economy, and they play a vital role in supporting businesses and communities. However, the middle class is under increasing pressure. Wages have stagnated in recent years, while the cost of living has continued to rise. This has made it difficult for middle-class families to afford necessities, such as housing, food, and healthcare.

The middle-class squeeze is a serious problem that needs to be addressed. There are a number of factors that have contributed to this problem, including globalization, technological change, and the decline of unions. However, the most significant factor is the growing inequality in the distribution of wealth (Smith & Johnson, 2021). A disproportionate share of economic growth has flowed into the coffers of the affluent elite, while the middle class has seen their incomes stagnate. This has created a disturbing wealth disparity that threatens the core principles of social justice that are intrinsic to the Canadian cultural model.

The middle-class squeeze is a complex issue, but it is one that we must address if we want to create a more equitable society. There are several things that can be done to address this problem, such as:

- Raising the minimum wage
- Investing in education and training
- Building more affordable housing
- Regulating the housing market
- Raising taxes on the wealthy and investing in social programs that benefit the poor and middle class

The middle-class squeeze is a serious problem that is threatening the Canadian cultural model. This problem is caused by a few factors, including stagnant wages, rising costs of living, and growing inequality. There are number of things that can be done to address this problem, such as raising the minimum wage, investing in education and training, and building more affordable housing. By taking these steps, we can help to ensure that the middle class can continue to thrive, and that Canada remains a land of opportunity for all.

Another pressing concern, one that further imperils the middle class's sense of stability and the very essence of the Canadian cultural model, is the housing crisis. The escalating cost of housing has outpaced wage growth in many parts of Canada. This unsettling trend has resulted in the aspiration of homeownership becoming an elusive dream for an increasing number of middle-class families. This housing challenge not only undermines the financial foundation of the middle class but also strikes at the heart of the Canadian cultural model's promise of providing every citizen with a fair opportunity to establish a secure and enriching life.

Also, in the course literature “Canadian Politics Critical Approaches” there is discussed about the U.S. influences on Canadian culture, which is a complex and multifaceted issue. While some Canadians may view this influence as a threat to their own culture, others see it as a positive force that has helped to make Canada a more diverse and vibrant country. The United States has had a significant influence on Canadian culture, particularly in the areas of popular culture, language, and politics. American movies, television shows, music, and fashion are widely popular in Canada, and many Canadians speak English with a North American accent. The U.S. also has a major influence on Canadian politics, as many Canadian politicians are inspired by American political figures and policies.

Adding layers of complexity to this landscape are the challenges posed by cultural issues unique to Canada's diverse society. Canada's multicultural makeup is a source of pride, but it also gives rise to challenges rooted in cultural sensitivity, integration, and identity. The Canadian cultural model must address these issues head-on to ensure that the values of compassion, inclusivity, and diversity remain intact. Policies that promote intercultural understanding, educational initiatives that highlight the importance of multiculturalism, and efforts to combat systemic biases are essential components of this endeavor.

Furthermore, the bilingual challenge occupies a unique place within the Canadian cultural context. As a bilingual nation, Canada seeks to ensure that both English and French languages are upheld and embraced. This challenge is not just about language; it's about fostering a sense of belonging and equity for both linguistic communities. A successful navigation of this challenge reinforces the ideals of inclusivity and diversity within the Canadian cultural model. Bilingual education, official language policies, and the promotion of linguistic diversity all play crucial roles in this endeavor.

Amid these challenges, however, there lies a spark of hope—a hope that concerted efforts can be taken to not only address the pressing concerns but also to rejuvenate and fortify the Canadian cultural model:

- **Promoting Equitable Economic Growth:** The government should prioritize policies that generate economic growth benefiting all citizens. Investments in infrastructure, education, and innovation can stimulate job creation and wage growth for a broader segment of the population.
- **Investing in Education and Skills:** Comprehensive investments in accessible and quality education, as well as job training programs, empower middle-class workers with the skills needed to thrive in an evolving economy.
- **Affordable Housing Initiatives:** Addressing the housing crisis requires multifaceted efforts, including the construction of affordable housing units and the implementation of stringent regulations to curb speculative practices.
- **Family-Friendly Policies:** Policies such as paid parental leave and accessible childcare enable working families to balance their responsibilities and pursue upward mobility.
- **Reducing Income Inequality:** Progressive taxation and targeted social programs help mitigate income inequality, fostering a more equitable society.
- **Fostering Innovation and Entrepreneurship:** Encouraging a culture of innovation through investments in research and development spurs economic dynamism.
- **Public Engagement and Collaborative Efforts:** Addressing these challenges requires a collaborative approach that engages citizens, businesses, and experts in crafting effective and sustainable solutions.

The unique cultural issues faced by Canadian society underscore the complexity of the challenges at hand. The values of individual rights, compassion, diversity, and upward mobility that define the Canadian cultural model are being tested by the economic realities faced by the middle class and the cultural intricacies of a diverse nation. However, this moment also presents an opportunity—an opportunity for Canada to reaffirm its commitment to these values and to enact policies that uplift its citizens.

In this context, the bilingual challenge takes on particular significance. As a bilingual nation, Canada must ensure that both linguistic communities feel valued and included. Policies and

initiatives that promote bilingualism, foster linguistic diversity, and provide equitable opportunities for both English and French speakers are essential to nurturing the ideals of inclusivity and diversity within the Canadian cultural model.

By prioritizing inclusive economic growth, investing in education and skills, addressing the housing crisis, implementing family-friendly policies, reducing income inequality, fostering innovation, and navigating the bilingual challenge, Canada can traverse these challenges and ensure that the Canadian cultural model remains resilient and enduring. It is worth noting that the challenges facing the middle class and the broader cultural context are not unique to Canada; they mirror global trends observed in developed economies around the world. Thus, as Canada navigates these intricate challenges, it also assumes the role of a model for nations grappling with similar issues.

Through collaborative efforts and a steadfast commitment to its core values, Canada can emerge from this period of uncertainty stronger, more equitable, and more resilient than ever before. The Canadian cultural model, with its emphasis on compassion, diversity, and upward mobility, can serve as a guidepost for societies striving to balance economic growth with social justice and inclusivity. In this journey, Canada has the potential to showcase that even in the face of complex challenges, unity and shared values can prevail, fostering a brighter future for all citizens.

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On Canadian Multiculturalism

In *The Year of the Flood*, Margaret Atwood opens each chapter with a mini-sermon by cult leader Adam One, stories meant to reflect the ideals of the novel's pre-apocalyptic cult, God's Gardeners. These parables allow the sect to transmogrify recently deceased members into saints worth emulating. Punk kids known more for causing mischief than anything else can suddenly become lionized as martyrs. Casual readers may assume Atwood is simply satirizing religion. But for those familiar with Canadian history, it is clear that her real aim is something loftier: showing just how easy it is for myths to be created, morph, control and destroy.

This sort of deliberative creation of meaning is important when discussing the role of multiculturalism in the Canadian context. In its most basic form, multiculturalism is often described as a "mosaic," a way of incorporating immigrants that respects the way every individual culture makes up the whole (Cochrane, Blidook and Dyck 244:2017). But when trying to describe multiculturalism more concretely, a better definition says, "the term 'multiculturalism' has been used in different ways: to describe a social reality, a federal government policy, and a myth-based ideology" (Ernst and Glaser 2010:7 as cited in Birk and Gymnich 2016:515). In this paper, I will attempt to show the meanings of multiculturalism in the Canadian context and that each version, in its own way, is carefully constructed for a reason.

It is easiest to begin with multiculturalism as a federal government policy. Some scholars convincingly represent the form of multiculturalism enshrined into state policy under Pierre Trudeau as something of a compromise. The Canadian government observed a tension between Anglo- and French-Canadians. Thus, in 1963, the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism was tasked "to develop the Canadian Confederation on the basis of equal participation between the two founding races, taking into account the contribution made by other ethnic groups" (Hawkins 1989 as cited in Thobani 2007:145). This focus on *bi*-lingualism and *bi*-culturalism (emphasis mine) distressed the so-called "third force," e.g., members of society who came from ethnic communities that diverged from the

aforementioned Anglo- and French-Canadians (Gagnon and Iacovino 2016:103). A real dilemma emerged for Canadian lawmakers: How does a building nation recognize and respect settlers, Aboriginal people, and immigrants from diverse ethnic communities?

Taylor (1992) depicts two possible solutions: a politics of universality and a politics of difference. The former has its roots in traditional liberalism and dictates that “what commanded respect in us was our status as rational agents, capable of directing our lives through principles what is picked out as of worth here is a universal human potential, a capacity that all humans share” (Taylor 1992:41). Proponents of this theory believe everyone is deserving of equal dignity, and the way to go about achieving this is by treating everyone with the same set of rules. However, proponents of the politics of difference believe that “the supposedly neutral set of difference-blind principles of the politics of equal dignity is in fact a reflection of one hegemonic culture”(43). In this view, treating everyone with the same set of rules actually perpetuates the preferences of the dominant culture. A government definition of multiculturalism *could* choose to focus on the equal-dignity angle, as powerful institutions can define narratives in any way they wish; however, according to Gagnon and Iacovino (2016), while Canada may be more integrated than it was in the 1960s, “it came at the expense of the recognition and preservation of minority cultures...the defining feature of ideological multiculturalism” (110). So what is Canadian multiculturalism if it is not ideological multiculturalism?

Pierre Trudeau’s multicultural strategy was an attempt to satisfy everyone—Canada would be a *bi*-lingual, *multi*-cultural state. “He believed that language could be dissociated from culture” (Gagnon and Iacovino 2016:103). Applying this construction of meaning to the word “multicultural,” the hope went, would allow liberal nationalists in Quebec to feel their language was being constitutionally safeguarded while allowing Canadians not of Anglo- or French-descent to feel respected under the law.

However, in a country as diverse as Canada, Taylor’s two camps proved insufficient to describe the political landscape. Thobani (2007), for instance, suggests that while the politics of universality is discriminatory, the politics of difference might also do more harm than good. “Viewing immigrants primarily through this lens of cultural and linguistic difference meant that all people of color would become ideologically constructed as immigrants on the basis of their shared cultural and linguistic diversity”(157). The effect of this is what Thobani calls a “communalizing power of the state,” meaning that the population is segmented based

on ethnic identity, and some of these ethnic identities are placed “outside the symbolic bounds of the nation” (149).

The view that Canada’s multicultural program actually segments the population is a serious charge, so it is prudent to look at the results of government multiculturalism in practice. Part of Thobani’s argument is that just as Atwood’s *God’s Gardeners* were being indoctrinated with myths, immigrants to Canada from third-world countries are encouraged to accept the miracle of the Canadian mosaic. But Thobani doubts that the promise of inclusion enshrined in the 1988 Canadian Multiculturalism Act is more than symbolic. Describing the position these communities found themselves in, Thobani writes, “their inclusion and integration in this new era was to come at the cost of their increased subservience, *across generations*, to the grand narrative of national supremacy” (Ibid., emphasis mine). A concern should be that, although Trudeau (2012) says “underlying that idea of Canada is the promise that we all have a chance to build a better life for ourselves and our children,” if Canadians of non-Caucasian descent are always to be seen in virtue of their ethnic identity, then it does not matter if they are second-generation, third-generation, or seventh-generation, they will always be seen first by their ethnic marker.

This is important to note, because as Taylor (1992) says, “our identity is partly shaped by recognition or its absence” (25). Thus, if certain groups of Canadians feel like second-class citizens and internalize these beliefs, the risk is that these beliefs can be passed on in perpetuity. Lived experience seems to support this. As McAllister, a scholar of Japanese-Canadian ancestry, says, “For many children, as it was for me, the education system was a blunt introduction to the social hierarchies and values of British Columbian society” (McAllister 2011:432). In discussing her family’s trauma regarding internment camps in Canada during World War II, McAllister reflects on the concept of *postmemory*, which “characterizes the experience of those who grow up dominated by narratives that preceded their birth, whose own belated stories are evacuated by the stories of the previous generation” (Hirsch 1997:22 as cited in McAllister 2008:94). This is why the principle of universality is not sufficient for treating a history of systemic cultural erasure. Because even if previously overtly oppressed people technically have equal opportunity under the law now, according to Taylor’s discussion of recognition (and misrecognition), “They have internalized a picture of their own inferiority, so that even when some of the objective obstacles to their advancement fall away, they may be incapable of taking advantage of the new opportunities (Taylor 1992:25).

What the Canadian theory of multiculturalism did, in effect, was divorce language and culture symbolically so language could continue to be insisted upon on public spaces, while culture would be reserved for the private realm. And public space is “not relegated solely to the activities of the state but encompass the 'public space of social interaction' as well” (Gagnon and Iacovino 2016:100). This is important because as Taylor (1992) has pointed out, identity formation is tied to recognition by significant others and by society, “We define our identity always in dialogue with, sometimes in struggle against, the things our significant others want to see in us” (33). Thus, it is imperative that Canada constructs a definition of multiculturalism that is healthy for all of its citizens, so when those citizens interact with the state or when they interact with each other, they are able to create an identity that is not inherently oppressive.

However, the current government definition of multiculturalism is classically liberal—in that it prioritizes individual rights and choices—while it is worded to appear rooted in the more socially aware politics of difference. This social-awareness is at the root of the Canadian myth. As Thobani says, “The claim of the lawfulness of the foundations of nationhood...is sustained, if not strengthened, by the processes of confession, expressions of profound regret, and celebrations of the constitutional and legislative inclusion of Aboriginal peoples into the embrace of the law” (Thobani 2008:35). If one expresses regret for the past, is there any need to connect the past to the present? As the leader of the God’s Garden cult in Margaret Atwood’s *The Year of the Flood* says, when his vegan cult, in a state of exception, suddenly starts eating meat: “Remember, nothing is unclean to us if gratitude is felt and pardon asked” (79). In religion, as in nation-building, there are always multiple narratives, but the one retold is the one that best fits the political moment—and usually this is more of a utopia than a reality.

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Introduction

"We have created a society where individual rights and freedoms; compassion and diversity are core to our citizenship. But underlying that idea of Canada is the promise that we all have a chance to build a better life for ourselves and our children."

Justin Trudeau, 2012

Change, development, and evolution are constant realities within society. Day by day, the current

landscape shifts, intertwining with new circumstances that shape various dimensions of a country,

whether they are cultural, social, economic, or political. These changes can manifest positively or

negatively, and their inherently unpredictable nature can be unsettling.

This essay delves into the current cultural context of Canada, examining it in light of Justin Trudeau's 2012 statements. Initially, it discusses the prevalent global perception of Canada as an

exemplary nation, exploring foundational Canadian principles and the nation's embrace of multiculturalism as a policy, as well as the challenges that accompany the acceptance of diversity.

Additionally, the essay briefly addresses the aftermath of the COVID-19 pandemic, which marked a

significant shift in the Canadian economy and continues to have lingering effects on the collective

Canadian mindset.

In conclusion, the essay reflects on the current state of Canada as a nation, pondering whether it still

maintains its reputation as a place where opportunities for a better life are available.

Canada in the face of inevitable change

For many years, Canada has received praise and recognition worldwide as a multicultural and inclusive nation. The country has successfully crafted policies and established institutions that serve

as cornerstones for these values, aiming to provide its citizens with opportunities to thrive and achieve well-being, regardless of their individual circumstances.

While this is not meant to contradict or refute what Justin Trudeau stated in 2012, it is undeniable

that Canada's cultural and political framework is influenced by multiple factors and is thus susceptible to change. Every nation and society is in a constant state of evolution, ensuring that no

society remains static. This continuous transformation is due to the pressures from a myriad of global changes, be they demographic, technological, social, political, or cultural. Trudeau took on

the role of Prime Minister in November 2015, and since that time, Canadian society has seen significant shifts in its social, cultural, and economic landscapes.

A nation of diversity. Canada and its national identity

To analyze the contemporary Canadian cultural and political model, it's essential not to overlook the

factors that shape its society and position it on the global stage as a model nation. While some might consider this view overly optimistic, it portrays Canada as a place where its citizens live in a

continuous state of peace and prosperity. This perception arises from the nation's cultural identity,

its history, values, and policies.

The idea of a society deeply anchored in individual rights and freedoms is influenced by various

elements coexisting within the nation. Canada's uniqueness, often described as a "multination state,"

results from the blending of diverse groups. A brief examination of its early history reveals the merging of communities such as Anglophones, Francophones, and Indigenous populations.

This

fusion is evident in the daily lives of Canadians, influenced by the intricate social tapestry formed

through historical events and the daily experiences of each community.

The melding of these groups with unique characteristics remains significant. Canada stands out as one of the few countries with immigration policies that embrace diverse communities. This continual influx molds the nation, introducing fresh perspectives that reshape the traditional concept

of Canadian identity.

Striking a balance

As a result, the blending of these identities naturally reshapes the social dynamics among the populace, introducing a vast array of beliefs, lifestyles, and viewpoints. With this in mind, it can be

said that Canada's diversity characterizes it as a nation rich in regional differences. These differences give rise to varied demands stemming from the unique needs of each group. Each group's distinct requirements, combined with the individual identities of each region and province,

demand tailored responses. This indicates that increased diversity also results in greater challenges

when addressing the needs of the populace.

From this viewpoint, numerous elements coexist within this society that, in different circumstances,

could lead to continuous conflicts. Factors such as ethnic differences, regional and provincial distinctions, and linguistic variations are particularly salient in the current milieu, leading many to

wonder if, under the existing political and cultural circumstances, Canada can maintain its position

as one of the leading nations globally.

Nevertheless, Canada seems adept at bridging these differences, championing respect and tolerance,

and promoting the harmonization and accommodation of varied interests. Consequently, the nation's

prospects appear largely positive in terms of social and cultural harmony.

Post-pandemic worries

One of the most significant factors leading to change in Canada's cultural framework was the COVID-19 crisis. Like many other nations, Canada faced immense public health challenges during

this period. These challenges inevitably affected the economy due to job losses and business closures. After achieving widespread vaccination by December 2020, Canada slowly began its recovery phase, aiming to stimulate economic growth and improve employment rates - an effort that

is still underway.

Currently, one of the primary concerns for Canadian citizens is the state of the economy, especially

the cost of living and housing. With rising interest rates and inflation, daily financial expenses have

become a pressing issue. This concern becomes even more pronounced when the high cost of living

is contrasted with stagnating wages and limited job opportunities, thereby widening the income gap

among citizens.

Moreover, there have been subtle shifts in the Canadian collective mindset, especially in political

spheres. Various studies and public surveys indicate increased levels of discontent and skepticism

towards the Canadian government - sentiments that weren't as prevalent in previous years.

While

most Canadians view their country as offering favorable living conditions, many are growing skeptical of the governmental system and its institutions. This distrust might arise from the challenging economic conditions facing Canadian society, especially the younger generation, which

is encountering hurdles, like entering the job market.

In general terms, after a challenging 2022, the current year, 2023, hasn't shown notable improvements, with inflation still influencing the economic landscape. While this situation isn't

unique to Canada, as the global economy navigates post-pandemic challenges, it remains a source

of frustration for citizens who are directly affected by the crisis.

Conclusions and future overview

Despite the observations mentioned earlier, Canadian society has demonstrated a remarkable ability

to navigate its differences and confront its challenges adeptly, thanks to its adaptability and tolerance. Indeed, if Canada stands as a global example, it is due to its commitment to cultural pluralism, consistent implementation of integration and coexistence policies among various groups,

and deep-rooted values and beliefs centered on civil and personal freedoms, respect for the law, and

the ongoing coexistence of diverse communities.

While it would be unrealistic to depict Canada as a flawless nation, it is widely seen as a model

where people from various cultures, languages, ethnicities, spiritual beliefs, and identities can craft

a peaceful life for themselves.

The survival and optimal functioning of Canadian society - and indeed, any society aiming for success - hinges on a foundational principle of choice. This choice revolves around the ability and

willingness to accept and appreciate the differences of others. Regardless of how idealistic this

might sound, it remains a foundational tenet for any society seeking harmony. Broadly speaking,

Canadians seem to have grasped this principle better than many nations. Such understanding is

deeply rooted in their history as a nation built upon diversity, to which it owes much of its progress.

Currently, some might find it challenging to envision a Canada where creating a better life is feasible. Critics might highlight the disparity between the idealized image of Canada and its present-day realities, especially given the economic struggles, mounting uncertainties, and escalating political polarization. However, even when viewed comparatively with other countries,

Canada's trajectory of growth and development remains commendable. There are undeniable concerns highlighting the gap between the proclaimed ideal and the prevailing reality. Yet, through

it all, Canada and its citizens stand resilient, proving themselves capable of weathering the

inevitable challenges that lie ahead.

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Justin Trudeau's 2012 declaration about Canada's societal ideals resonates deeply with the nation's core values and offers a pertinent lens through which to assess the current Canadian cultural model. This analysis delves into various dimensions of Canadian society, drawing from diverse sources including newspaper articles, to explore how these ideals align with reality.

Trudeau's assertion that Canada has crafted a society where individual rights, compassion, and diversity are foundational to citizenship finds resonance in the principles enshrined in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. The commitment to diversity is visibly reflected in policies related to immigration and refugee resettlement. The Globe and Mail's article "Canada's Generous Response to Syrian Refugees" (2016) underscores the government's endeavours to embrace compassion and diversity by welcoming and supporting refugees, particularly during the Syrian refugee crisis. This palpable embodiment of compassion stands as evidence of the alignment between Trudeau's ideals and Canada's actions.

Nonetheless, the implementation of these ideals has also generated debates regarding the equilibrium between individual rights and cultural practices. An exemplar of this is the niqab ban during citizenship ceremonies, which ignited discussions on religious freedom versus cultural assimilation. The coverage of this issue in CBC News' article "Harper Vows to Appeal Niqab Ruling" (2015) illuminates diverse perspectives on this matter. The controversy serves as a reminder of the intricate nature of preserving both individual rights and a cohesive national identity in a culturally diverse milieu.

Trudeau's commitment to providing every citizen with the opportunity to construct a better life aligns with the Canadian aspiration of upward mobility. However, economic challenges

pose formidable hurdles to realizing this commitment. Maclean's article "The Vanishing Canadian Dream" (2018) articulates concerns about escalating living expenses, housing affordability, and stagnant wages. These emerging trends challenge the tenet that every Canadian has equal opportunities to ameliorate their circumstances. Conversations on income inequality, as detailed in The Globe and Mail's article "Canada's Income Gap: A National Dilemma" (2020), underscore the persistent economic disparities despite concerted efforts to address them. The presence of such economic disparity raises poignant questions about the extent to which the Canadian cultural model truly offers authentic prospects for upward mobility to all citizens.

Amidst the Canadian cultural model's cornerstone of diversity and unity, navigating a trajectory towards cultural harmony amidst diversity remains a formidable task. The accommodation of cultural practices in public spaces, exemplified by religious attire, continues to be a subject of ongoing debate. The Washington Post's article "Quebec's Ban on Religious Symbols Risks Alienating Minorities" (2019) illumines the tightrope walk between cultural diversity and national unity, as manifested in the context of Quebec's Bill 21. This instance underscores the intricate equilibrium between safeguarding individual rights and upholding cultural cohesion.

In conclusion, Justin Trudeau's 2012 declaration articulates Canada's core values of diversity, compassion, and the promise of upward mobility. Nevertheless, aligning these values with the contemporary Canadian cultural model is a complex endeavor marked by multifaceted considerations. Newspaper articles aptly capture both successes and challenges in translating these ideals into tangible manifestations.

Canada's strides in demonstrating compassion through policies like refugee resettlement are commendable; yet debates around cultural accommodation and economic disparities persist, shaping the nation's landscape. The ongoing journey towards the complete realization of these ideals underscores the intricate interplay of upholding a society that values individual rights, compassion, and diversity while simultaneously addressing economic inequality and cultural tensions.

There is also the voice of the indigenous community that has often been ignored as we have seen in the lectures in the course- this is very often overlooked and underutilized such as seen in Sunera Thobani's scholarship frequently addresses the historical injustices inflicted upon Indigenous peoples in Canada. Her work often underscores how colonization, forced assimilation, and the residential school system have profoundly impacted Indigenous communities. These historical wrongs have left an indelible legacy of trauma, cultural disruption, and socio-economic disparities that continue to reverberate today.

Thobani's perspectives find resonance in the scholarly research and reports of organizations such as the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. The Commission's comprehensive findings, as documented in their final report, emphasize the grim realities of the residential school system and its enduring repercussions. This echoes Thobani's analysis of the systemic injustices that Indigenous communities still grapple with.

Thobani's writings consistently underscore the significance of cultural preservation for Indigenous communities. She emphasizes the importance of respecting Indigenous languages, traditions, and ways of life as integral to their identity and well-being. The erasure of

Indigenous culture during colonization has resulted in cultural loss, erecting barriers to the intergenerational transmission of knowledge.

The issue of land rights and environmental degradation is another crucial aspect of Indigenous challenges explored by Thobani. The exploitation of Indigenous lands for resource extraction, often without proper consent or consultation, has dire consequences for both the environment and Indigenous well-being. Thobani's analysis underscores the intersection between environmental justice and Indigenous rights.

Thobani's viewpoints resonate with contemporary Indigenous movements like Idle No More, which advocate for environmental protection and the preservation of Indigenous rights. The movement's actions and protests spotlight the ongoing battles to safeguard land, water, and natural resources. Thobani's writings contribute to a deeper understanding of these challenges by examining their historical and structural underpinnings.

Sunera Thobani's writings bring to light the socio-economic inequalities that persist within Indigenous communities. She delves into the systemic barriers hindering access to education, healthcare, employment, and housing. Thobani emphasizes the need for targeted policies and advocacy efforts to address these disparities and amplify Indigenous voices.

Thobani's work resonates with the calls to action outlined in reports like the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls. These initiatives spotlight the imperative to address gender-based violence and systemic disparities disproportionately affecting Indigenous women. Thobani's insights contribute to the discourse on achieving justice and equity for Indigenous communities.

In conclusion, Sunera Thobani's writings offer a compelling lens through which to examine the intricate challenges faced by the Canadian Indigenous community. Her analysis aligns with scholarly research, Indigenous perspectives, and established reports, highlighting historical injustices, cultural preservation dilemmas, land rights concerns, and socio-economic inequalities that persistently shape Indigenous experiences. As Canada grapples with its colonial history, voices like Thobani's enhance the understanding of the complexities surrounding Indigenous issues and advocate for substantive transformation.

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I have done the course in Academic integrity

The Complexity of Defining Canadian
Values: A Reflection on Individual

Rights, Freedoms, and the Promise of a Better Life

Introduction

"We have created a society where individual rights and freedoms, compassion and diversity are core to our citizenship. But underlying that idea of Canada is the promise that we all have a chance to build a better life for ourselves and our children." This quote encapsulates a vision of Canada that many Canadians hold dear. However, the complexities of defining what constitutes "Canadian values" often elude straightforward answers. Drawing insights from Neil Macdonald's CBC News article and Christophe Premat's lecture on Canadian Studies, this article serves as a lens through which we can examine the intricate tapestry of beliefs, norms, and principles that make up the Canadian ethos.

The Elusive Nature of Canadian Values

Politicians and public figures often tout the virtues of Canadian values, but as Neil Macdonald's article suggests, pinning down what these values are is not as easy as it seems. The term "Canadian values" is often used as a catch-all phrase that can mean different things to different people. Christophe Premat's lecture adds another layer to this complexity by discussing the "nation-branding" of Canada and the transformation of stereotypes used to represent the Canadian nation. While Prime Minister Justin Trudeau has an "endless list" of what he considers to be core Canadian values, these concepts are often "mushy and ill-defined" (Macdonald, CBC News). The nebulous nature of these values raises questions about their applicability and universality. Are these values truly Canadian, or are they ideals that politicians believe should be Canadian? The ambiguity surrounding what constitutes Canadian values makes it a subject ripe for scrutiny and debate.

Compassion and Diversity: The Social Fabric

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau highlights compassion and diversity as core Canadian values. Christophe Premat, in his lecture, discusses the myth of an open Canadian society and contrasts Canadian and American views on cultural diversity. Premat's work suggests that Canadians are generally more accepting of diversity, although this acceptance is not without its challenges. Ongoing debates about immigration and multiculturalism test the limits of Canada's commitment to diversity, revealing cracks in the social fabric that need mending. Premat also emphasizes the need for knowledge about the inhabitants and their culture as an objective of the diplomatic approach.

Artistic Reflection on Diversity

The theme of diversity is also prevalent in Canadian art. Emily Carr's works often depict indigenous cultures, highlighting the diversity of Canadian society. Carr's art serves as a reminder that Canada's diversity is not just a recent phenomenon but deeply rooted in its history. In literature, Michael Ondaatje's "In the Skin of a Lion" explores the immigrant experience, offering a nuanced perspective on the complexities of Canadian diversity. These artistic expressions serve as cultural touchstones, helping to shape and reflect the national conversation on diversity and inclusion.

The Charter of Rights and Freedoms: A Guiding Document?

One might think that the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms would serve as a definitive guide to Canadian values. However, even this foundational document begins with a potentially divisive statement: "Canada is founded upon principles that recognize the supremacy of God and the rule of law" (Macdonald, CBC News). This

sentence alone can be a point of contention, especially in a society that prides itself on secularism and diversity. The Charter, while a monumental legal document, is not without its own controversies. It raises questions about the role of religion in a country that is increasingly multicultural and the balance between the rule of law and the individual freedoms that Canadians hold dear.

Freedom Within Limits

The concept of freedom is another area where the Canadian perspective diverges from other Western democracies, particularly the United States. While freedom of speech is a cornerstone of American democracy, in Canada, this freedom has "reasonable limits." Canada outlaws "hate speech," and some Canadians even believe that people need protection from speech rather than the other way around (Macdonald, CBC News). This nuanced approach to freedom reflects a broader Canadian tendency to balance individual liberties with collective well-being. It's a manifestation of a more communitarian ethos, where the good of the many often takes precedence over the unfettered freedoms of the individual.

Truly Universal Canadian Values

Despite the complexities and nuances, Macdonald's article does point out a few universally accepted Canadian values. These include "one citizen, one vote," the equality of men and women, and equal benefit of the law regardless of factors like race, religion, and age. These values form the bedrock of Canadian society and are non-negotiable principles that most Canadians agree upon. However, even these seemingly straightforward values are subject to interpretation. For instance, the concept of "one citizen, one vote" might seem simple, but it raises questions about representation, electoral systems, and the role of money in politics.

The Role of Territories in Canadian Identity

Christophe Premat's lecture on Canadian Studies introduces the notion of "territories" as a key to understanding Canada's paradoxical identity. He discusses how the concept of territories encompasses new landscapes and communities of settlers, as well as the resistance of the territory itself. In Canada, the vastness and diversity of its landscapes—from the Rocky Mountains to the Maritime provinces—play a significant role in shaping the national identity. The territories are not just geographical locations; they are spaces where different cultures, histories, and even time zones coalesce. This spatial dimension adds another layer to the Canadian identity, making it a complex blend of various elements that cannot be easily categorized. The territories also serve as a backdrop for the ongoing dialogue between indigenous peoples and settlers, adding another layer of complexity to the Canadian social fabric.

The Dialectic Approach to Canadian Cultural Model

Another fascinating point raised in Premat's lecture is the dialectic approach to understanding the Canadian model. He talks about a "mosaic of nations" and the recognition of this accumulation as well as the recognition of particular and cultural rights. This dialectic approach is evident in how Canada manages its multicultural policies. On one hand, there is an acknowledgment and celebration of diversity, seen in policies that encourage multiculturalism and the preservation of cultural heritage. On the other hand, there is also a unifying thread, a set of core values and principles that every citizen is expected to adhere to. This dual approach allows Canada to maintain its diversity while fostering a sense of unity and national identity. It also opens up a space for dialogue and negotiation, where different cultural groups can coexist and contribute to the Canadian mosaic.

The Role of Education in Shaping Canadian Values

Education plays a pivotal role in shaping the values and identity of a nation, and Canada is no exception. Christophe Premat's lecture on Canadian Studies touches upon the importance of education in fostering a sense of national identity. In Canada, the education system serves as a microcosm of the larger society, reflecting its diversity and complexity. Schools are places where children from various cultural backgrounds come together, learn about their shared history, and are instilled with values that are considered 'Canadian.' The curriculum often includes discussions on indigenous history, multiculturalism, and the importance of tolerance and diversity. However, the education system is also a subject of debate and scrutiny, especially when it comes to how history is taught and whose perspectives are included. This raises questions about the role of education in perpetuating certain values and narratives at the expense of others. In this context, education becomes not just a tool for imparting knowledge but also a space for critical thinking and debate about what it means to be Canadian.

Economic Opportunity: The Middle-Class Dilemma

The promise of building a better life, as mentioned by Trudeau, is under scrutiny. His own article, "Canadian middle class left out of the growth equation," acknowledges the economic challenges facing the middle class, including stagnating wages and high debt levels. This suggests that the promise of economic opportunity is not being fully realized for all Canadians. Barry W. Bussey's discussion on the erosion of constitutional religious rights further complicates the picture, raising questions about social mobility and the accessibility of the Canadian dream.

Artistic Reflection on Economic Opportunity

Songs like "Wheat Kings" by The Tragically Hip touch upon the struggles and hopes of everyday Canadians, subtly questioning whether the promise of a better life is accessible to all. In film, Denys Arcand's "The Decline of the American Empire" offers a critical look at the materialistic pursuits that often define success, questioning whether economic growth equates to a better life. These artistic works serve as a mirror to society, reflecting the anxieties, hopes, and complexities of economic opportunity in Canada.

Conclusion

The quote at the beginning of this article encapsulates a vision of Canada that is both inspiring and challenging. While individual rights, freedoms, compassion, and diversity are touted as core Canadian values, the reality is far more complex. As Neil Macdonald's article suggests, even universally accepted values are subject to interpretation and limits. Yet, at the heart of the Canadian identity is the promise of a better life—a promise that Canada must strive to keep alive for all its citizens, regardless of their background, beliefs, or economic status. By reflecting on the complexities of defining Canadian values, we gain a deeper understanding of what it means to be Canadian. It's not just about listing values but understanding the nuances that make Canada a unique and diverse nation. And it's this very diversity and complexity that make Canada a country worth cherishing and protecting.

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Canadian cultural model

In the article, Trudeau mentions that ``We have created a society where individual rights and freedoms, compassion and diversity are core to our citizenship But underlying that idea of Canada is the promise that we all have a chance to build a better life for ourselves and our children.'' Trudeau (2012). Though the main focus of the article was how the middle class is being crushed and not considered in the economic growth we can perceive from the article how Trudeau reflects the frame in which Canada was built and what was considered to be the focus of this great nation which is a blend of British Canadians, Anglophones, and the Quebecs Francophone along with a vast multicultural society.

One of the critical views on the cultural model of Canada was the “master narrative of the nation” that “takes as its point of departure the essentially law-abiding character of its enterprising nationals, who are presented (for the most part) as responsible citizens, compassionate, caring, and committed to the values of diversity and multiculturalism” Thobani (2007, s.4) Here she is criticizing the "master narrative of the nation." This narrative portrays the idea that most people in Canada are law-abiding and hardworking. It portrays them as, caring, dedicated to the values of diversity and multiculturalism, and responsible. Thobani argues that this narrative ignores the nation's problems and doesn't show Canada's history and society. Thobani believes that focusing only on the positive hides important issues and prevents a complete understanding of the country. It is agreeable that in order to understand the current cultural model we need to look into the history of Canada such as its colonial past, mistreatment of Indigenous peoples, and systemic inequalities.

Canada was shaped by two dominant cultures ‘francophones(Quebecs) and the British Canadians’ then multiculturalism was not accepted. Biculturalism in Canada refers to the historical and ongoing recognition of two major linguistic and cultural groups within the country: English-speaking and French-speaking communities. Canada's bicultural nature comes from its colonial history when British and French powers established settlements and colonies on its territory. The English-speaking population settled mainly in what is now known as English Canada, while the French-speaking population settled largely in Quebec. The concept of biculturalism is closely connected to Canada's colonial history and the coexistence of British and French influences. Biculturalism is often seen as a basic element of Canadian national identity and has shaped various aspects of Canadian society, politics, and policies.’ *Canada’s history*’ (2016)

Pierre Trudeau played a big role in shaping modern Canada and promoting multiculturalism. His policies and initiatives impacted the country's social and cultural landscape. Professor Gordon mentioned in his seminar about Pierre Elliott Trudeau’s declaration in the House of

Commons (1971). This policy goal was to recognize and celebrate Canada's cultural diversity while fostering a sense of unity among different cultural and ethnic groups. It differed from the previous prejudiced approach, where immigrants were expected to conform to a singular Canadian culture.

Other names were Paul Yuzyk(Ukrainian Canadian) and Paul Wycznski(Polish Canadian) who actively participated in ethnic group recognition also known as ‘mobilization of ‘third force’ Canadians’ McRoberts (1997 .s.122) The third force commission had no intention of interfering in Canadian biculturalism back then in the 1960s but yet the commission was seen as a threat to Canadian biculturalism. The commission required anti-discrimination measures, equal access to citizenship and children should be taught non-official languages in schools. Quebecers were fighting to save the French language and culture at that time and had no flexibility toward the thought of accepting another ethnicity. Bourassa rejected the new policy and expressed to Trudeau as a threat to Canadian duality and rejected it as an ‘electoral ploy’ McRoberts (1997, s.129)

In the history of Canada bilingualism existed at federal and provincial levels. One had to be fluent in both English and French. The "Dual Compact Theory" is a historical interpretation of the Canadian Confederation. This theory highlights the importance of accommodating the linguistic and cultural differences between English-speaking and French-speaking provinces, as well as addressing regional interests within the broader framework of a united country. In 1961 the third part proposed that British and French take full language rights but the third party languages should get regional status if spoken by more than 10 percent in the administrative units. McRoberts (1997, s.123).

In 1969 Trudeau proposed to eliminate all arrangements that applied to natives only. The cultural model of Canada back then also raised the concern of bilingualism to multilingualism. Quebecers took this as a threat to the Canadian frame but Canada's official language act claims English and French as the only official languages of Canada. Today in Canada the majority of the population speaks English, and French at the government level or in schools and universities. It is protected by Quebecer. In Quebec they only use the French language and only New Brunswick is a bilingual state of Canada speaking both official languages.

Professor Garon in his seminar explained Multiculturalism today as an empirical reality- concrete numbers in the form of percentages of the population, A Normative Ideal / Political Philosophy- a recognition of diversity where people of the minority can maintain themselves freely, A Policy Framework- where there are institutions for multiculturalism. One of many is the ‘Canadian Multiculturalism Act (1988)’, As Policies and Programs- for immigrant minorities, indigenous people, and national minorities.

I understood from the video of Colin Coated 'a history of Canada' that the true native of Canada were the indigenous people living on the land that we call Canada now. They lived there even before the arrival of Europeans. They had their own rich culture and their own languages some of them might not be even registered. These Indigenous peoples have a deep connection to the land than any other Canadian native, with their own cultural practices, and governance systems. These natives had rich societies and economies long before the arrival of Europeans. Indigenous history in Canada is running for thousands of years and is an important part of the country's cultural and historical tapestry. Colin Coated also used the term of 'true north' this term is used to express the core identity and values of Canada. The areas up in the north are home to a diverse range of Indigenous cultures, the true natives of Canada. North Canada plays a very important role in shaping Canada's identity. The region is a contrast of harsh yet beautiful landscapes, challenging yet resilient lifestyle, and rich with culture and natural resources. The people living in the North hold deep connections with their land, they contribute to the broader picture of Canadian history and the nation's commitment to preserving what's left of the non-disputed cultures in Canada.

Since we have had a brief look into the country's background of forming from a bicultural to a multicultural nation. Canada underwent a linguistic evolution to embrace additional languages while safeguarding its two official languages. We can reflect on what Justin Trudeau meant through his quote. Canada has formed on great values where two main cultures and languages thrived giving the natives their Identity and sense of belonging to the land along with the pre-existing natives, a land where the government jobs were for the native people only. It should be highlighted that this nation has built its way to a multicultural diverse society where minorities hold equal rights as to any French-Canadian or British-Canadian. Like prof. Garon mentioned in his seminars that there are institutions now that make sure multiculturalism is practiced. Minorities are given opportunities to merge in and to feel accepted in Canada. Laws are made to protect everyone living in Canada in order to get education, rights, and freedom that will help Canadians and immigrants work towards a lifestyle that can support them and their families. In today's Canada, we can see through online statistics how different minority communities are evolving and becoming a part of Canada.

Trudeau expresses that Canada has a commitment to a society that values people's freedoms, their diversity, and compassion. This commitment promises that every citizen has the potential to contribute to the betterment of their own lives and the lives of their children and to foster a sense of unity and common purpose among Canadians. No one should be stagnant and withheld from the opportunity of developing based on class, ethnicity, and language.

Trudeau explains in the article that even though the economy has doubled but he still observes inequalities in the income of people. He compares this inequality to earlier times of Canada, the wealth is going to a specific group of wealthy Canadians he claims and this is putting pressure on middle-class Canadians who are going into more debt. He reminds the system and the people in this article of the foundations of Canada and the extent it went to protect the

rights of people. He reminds us that the distribution of wealth might not be in control but the government can control the distribution of opportunities among people to create equality.

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Introduction

The Canadian identity is well known for its great correspondence with individual rights and freedoms, compassion, diversity, and the promise of a better life. This country has been

founded by a diverse ethnic background of people, people who don't even share the same tongue, yet it is so well built and developed that Canadian citizens enjoy life today in one of the most diverse and culturally accepting nations in the world. In addition to the beautiful unique culture of Canada, Canadian citizens enjoy a multitude of benefits that come with being a citizen in such a developed and well-built country. This is reflected in the quote "We have created a society where individual rights and freedoms; compassion and diversity are core to our citizenship. But underlying that idea of Canada is the promise that we all have a chance to build a better life for ourselves and our children" (Trudeau, 2012).

Individual Rights and Freedom

In Canada, citizens exercise a wide range of human rights, there is a great sense of freedom and liberty. This state of democracy and the prevalence of human rights in that region could be attributed to Canadian history. In particular, the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms which was developed as part of the Constitution Act 1982. it is regarded as one of the most vital cornerstones of Canadian society. This pivotal document assures that all citizens residing within Canada have access to the fundamental rights and freedoms, it promotes liberty and democracy within all sections of society. The charter operates in conjunction with other laws and regulations, together they serve as the legal framework that governs this nation and ensures every citizen has equal rights in all regards.

While the charter outlines the rights of Canadian citizens, it also poses certain limitations to achieving a balance between what is right and what is not. The Charter recognizes that human rights are not absolute, there are specific circumstances that necessitate limitations, for instance, while freedom of expression is a well-acknowledged and practiced right, it must be within humane bounds, it is prohibited to use freedom of expression to spread hate speech against a minority of people or to spread false propaganda that puts others at harm or even child pornography. The Charter aims to ensure human rights within the boundaries of balance and equality which is seen clearly throughout Section 1 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

Not only does the charter ensure the rights and freedoms of its citizens, but it also promotes inclusivity among people, the charter's rules govern every individual within Canada, regardless of their residential state, whether they are Canadian citizens, permanent residents, or even newcomers, everyone is included and everyone has rights and freedoms. However, some specific rights are exclusive only to Canadian Citizens such as the right to vote (Section 3) and the right to enter, remain in, and leave Canada at any time (Section 6).

Over time, the Charter has served a great purpose as the center of change and progress, enriching the values of Canadian society and pushing this nation towards success by supporting various critical human rights such as language rights for official language minorities, bilingualism-related rights, and the rights of marginalized groups. The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms truly is a testament to Canada's commitment to individual rights and freedoms. Throughout its various sections, it promotes democracy, liberty, and inclusivity and it sets Canada on the right path to a brighter future with a more just and equitable society (Government of Canada).

Compassion and Diversity

Canada's Journey toward becoming a compassionate and multicultural nation is a remarkable tale of empathy, adaptation, and inclusivity. It all started with its federal multiculturalism policy which was adopted in the year 1971. Canada not only values diversity, but it also promotes understanding, compassion, and a sense of belonging amongst all its citizens no matter what ethnic background they adhere to. Canada has presented itself as one of the greatest multicultural nations on the global stage, so much that diversity is now just part of the Canadian identity.

The foundation of the multiculturalism policies which Canada now upholds can be traced back to the aftermath of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism which was held between the years 1963 to 1969. This commission's main task was to address the tensions arising between the diverse linguistic and cultural groups that are residing in Canada, particularly the French speakers mostly in Quebec, and the English speakers in other regions. There was a great need for accommodating the diverse cultures of these two different linguistic groups, and as a result of this commission, the federal multiculturalism policy was set forth.

Unlike the well-known approach of "melting pot" which basically allows other cultures to mix together forming one unique culture, Canada's multiculturalism policy recognizes the differences between people, it embraces the different values presented by all cultures. The policy that was developed by Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau in 1971 underlined a commitment to "multiculturalism within a bilingual framework," which worked in conjunction with the Official Languages Act. This approach aimed to incorporate recent immigrants into either or both official language communities, all the while commemorating their rich and varied cultural origins. Trudeau's statement, "While two official languages exist, there isn't an official culture," clearly shows Canada's distinct method of embracing multiculturalism.

Over the decades. Canada's policies ensured a balance between diversity, equity, and social cohesion, it has shaped the future of Canada and has made it one of the most diverse nations in the world. Throughout this journey, compassion served as the driving force that led to the success of this multicultural nation, the deep understanding, empathy, and acceptance of diverse backgrounds contributed greatly to the success of this nation, and it has led to arguably one of the most diverse and accepting countries in the world, it has molded Canada into being the country we all know and love now, a beacon of hope to newcomers, and a pleasant land full of compassion and unity for its citizens and inhabitants (Jedwad, 2020).

Canada, the land of opportunities and a better life for all

In a world full of challenges and obstacles, Canada often shines its beacon of hope, it gives a promise to a better future for those seeking a fresh start. As global communities struggle in the face of modern-day challenges, Canada extends their open arms welcoming all individuals who seek refuge and a new beginning. The spirit of compassion and diversity guides Canada and its citizens towards a brighter future, this is why Canada is the land of opportunities and success.

Canada has a welcoming job market, it embraces newcomers in various fields especially the field of technology, and it welcomes immigrants seeking career advancements or better lives. Employers value the fresh diverse perspectives of newcomers and they welcome diversity with open arms.

Canada boasts of a multitude of social welfare benefits, for instance, there is generous parental leave and universal healthcare. This goes to show the great work-life balance provided in this nation.

Canada's inclusive spirit welcomes its newcomers throughout the beautiful diverse terrain of Canada, no matter what color your skin is, what language you speak, or what religion you follow, you're sure to find your place within Canadian society, and you will most definitely not feel homesick in such a welcoming well-developed country (Zen, 2017).

Correspondence to the Current Canadian Cultural Model and Conclusion

The amazing display of Canada's cultural identity that we can see today is a fusion of its historical journey and its present-day values and experiences. The portrait painted throughout the article, reflecting individual rights and freedoms, compassion, diversity, and the pursuit of a better life, aligns greatly with the prevailing Canadian cultural model.

When it comes to rights and freedoms, the discussion of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms showcases Canada's dedication to ensuring that every citizen's rights are protected under a just and inclusive legal framework. The Charter's delicate balance between rights and limitations serves as a testament to Canada's commitment to fostering a just and equitable society.

The narrative of compassion and diversity resonates so well with Canada's approach to multiculturalism. The embracing of diverse cultures, as encapsulated by the federal multiculturalism policy, epitomizes Canada's ongoing effort to create a sense of belonging for all citizens, regardless of their backgrounds. The essence of compassion has pushed Canada to stand as a global example of unity through diversity among the nations of the world.

Furthermore, the portrayal of Canada as a land of opportunities and a sanctuary for those in need of a better life promotes the foundational promise of the Canadian dream. The open doors to the job market, the availability of social welfare benefits, and the inclusivity extended to newcomers all present Canada's commitment to offering a fresh start and a higher quality of life for its newcomers and refugee seekers.

In conclusion, the insightful analysis deeply reflects the core principles of the current Canadian cultural model. As Canada continues to thrive as a nation known for its individual rights, compassion, diverse unity, and promise of a brighter future, my analysis captures the essence of what it means to be Canadian. Canada's identity is a harmonious blend of cultures and perspectives. Canada is truly a marvelous nation that has stood out among others with its beautiful diversity and its astounding culture.

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Canada - A Country of Atrocities, Democracy and Apologies

I have always believed that the general understanding and view of Canada, to both Canadians and the rest of the world, is one that emulates a multinational haven where people from any culture, ethnic background, faith and religion can come together and live harmoniously. Prime Minister Justin Trudeau’s statement, “we have created a society where individual rights and freedoms, compassion and diversity are core to our citizenship. But underlying that idea of Canada is the promise that we all have a chance to build a better life for ourselves and our children” (Trudeau, 2012), is indicative of how Canada is perceived both at home and internationally. What also makes Canada a strong, vibrant country of multiculturalism is the ability and willingness of its citizens to admit fault on behalf of previous generations. In my opinion, this has helped the country move forward in a more positive light over the past several generations.

It would be disingenuous for Canadians to simply accept the title of being the cultural mosaic it is today and not admit to the faults of the colonisers who built the country at the expense of many minority groups, including the indigenous people in which the land was robbed (Thobani, 2007). Colonisation has moved the country forward in a progressive manner, of course, but it has left a lot of trauma in its wake. Those who suffered the horrors and abuse of residential schools, for example, went on to have physical and mental struggles of their own, projecting that onto the next generation, causing this cycle of generational trauma that has

been very difficult to break (Meis et al., 2011). Another example is that of the Japanese Canadians, as explained by McAllister (2008) and how they were rounded up during World War II and placed in internment camps. They were stripped of their cultural identity and this too gravely affected the next generation of Japanese-Canadians (MaAllister, 2008). Taylor (1994) explains that “nonrecognition or misrecognition can inflict harm, can be a form of oppression, imprisoning someone in a false, distorted, and reduced mode of being” (Taylor, 1994, p. 25). The same can be said for many aspects of identity. Thobani (2007) references that by even stripping someone of their ability to name themselves can be very detrimental to one’s identity. There have been many situations where newcomers to Canada have been given “Americanized” names in order to assimilate easier to the majority, for example.

I would argue that Canada was built on multiculturalism from the very start. Many different countries and cultures, including Portugal, Spain, Britain and France, immigrated to the “new world” in and around the same time (Thobani, 2007). Although these countries had many differences of their own, they were in agreement that the indigenous population were uncivilised and living in ancient times, having not progressed the same way the Europeans had (Thobani, 2007). It was decided by the colonisers that the indigenous people either needed to conform to the new way of life that the Europeans were there to implement, or they were to be ethnically cleansed (Thobani, 2007). I believe this was a decision made by the colonisers as a way to collectively move forward in developing the “new world.” They had to demonstrate their willingness to come to an agreement on some concrete issues and find common ground before ever being able to move forward with development. Different cultural backgrounds have been reflected over the last several decades within the Canadian government. There is more representation and diversity now within parliament than there ever has been before.

Canada is a country where, historically, those who immigrate there are encouraged to keep their own heritage, culture, and language in order to pass it down to future generations. The idea is that recognition of these different cultures really contribute to the mosaic of Canadian identity (Birk & Gymnich, 2016). Taylor (1994) wrote, “we can only flourish to the extent that we are recognised” (Taylor, 1994, p. 50). Equal recognition is not just appropriate and necessary for a healthy democratic society. It is imperative that everyone living within the

democratic states feels as though they have a share in it and something to offer it (Taylor, 1994).

Very often, people who are immigrating to Canada, are coming from countries that do not provide the life they want for themselves or their families. Many are fleeing war, economic or political instability, religious persecution, or simply seeking educational opportunities. It can be very challenging to move on to a new country and accept the new societal norms and the culture. In a country like Canada, that is accepting of cultural diversity and even encourages it, it is important to also understand that many cultures can have difficulties accepting the new circumstances. Kivi (2008) explains that this situation can make it difficult for integration and in worst case scenarios, cause an identity crisis for the future generations. This may leave them with the guilt and burden of wanting to preserve their heritage for the sake of their family, but also find their own identity in the country they consider home. It has been widely reported that immigrants can feel grateful to their 'adopted' country, all the while desperately missing the roots of their 'home country' (Kivi, 2008). In some cases, it is not Canadian policy that has created generational trauma, instead it is the trauma of leaving their home country and then living with the romanticisation of their home country and the idea of 'what could have been.' It is, however, so much more than simply maintaining a cultural identity within a multicultural country. It is also essential that these cultures be recognized and celebrated by other cultures within the country (Birk & Gymnich, 2016). As it is currently, the main focus continues to be on the assimilation to the majority, when it should be to allow citizens to live their own authentic lives (Taylor, 1994). Part of being Canadian is understanding that a sense of nationalism does not solely belong to Canada as a country, it is shared with other countries of origin and that is to be encouraged.

Taylor (1994) touches on European colonialism and how it should be repressed to allow representation of minorities to be at the forefront. Although the nation does a better job of recognizing minorities now, the emphasis on learning more from these cultures and incorporating them into specific aspects of Canadian life still remains a low priority (Taylor, 1994), as the country continuously looks forward towards progression and development. It could be worth mentioning that recent news regarding climate change could have the majority

looking back to ways the indigenous people (the minority) use their special connection to nature (Thobani, 2007) for future ways of improving the climate.

Another important part in the concept of recognition is that Canada is seen as one country, but home to two nations (French and English), as well as minority populations. Acknowledging the languages of both of the main nations was a necessary stepping stone for building a bridge between the two nations. In order to ensure that there could be a functioning relationship between Québec and the rest of Canada, there also needed to be the compromise of allowing Québec to be granted the ability to have their own amendments to the Charter of Rights and to allow them to have requirements on those immigrating there to learn the French language, amongst other things (Taylor, 1994; Gagnon & Iacovino, 2006). Québec's intercultural approach has been successful for the province given that they have been able to sustain their culture and language for decades, even with the growing multicultural population immigrating to Canada (Gagnon & Iacovino, 2006). By requiring immigrants to join the French culture and learn the French language, this gave way to a society more capable of preserving its cultural identity. It may, to some extent, suppress the cultural identity of those immigrating there, but at the same time, it ensures a functional society in which its inhabitants can be functioning members of. It seems now that relations between Québec and the rest of Canada are the best they have been in a long while (Garon, 2023), with fewer Québécois supporting the separatists movement (Garon, 2023). This also ties back to Taylor's (1994) theory of having a sense of contribution to society and how important that is to a fully functional democratic society.

Canada has had a long history of doing whatever necessary in the name of "development" to further the country, including the suppression of minorities. It is only in more recent decades that Canada has focused on building bridges multiculturally in order to ensure that an inclusive society would and could prevail. All citizens have equal protection under law, for example, as a means to bridge gaps between all citizens (Taylor, 1994). What Canadians have been able to do well is to acknowledge the mistreatment of minorities and to make laws for the preservation of these minorities. Canadians have made a point to show recognition to these minorities and have projected the idea that you will only get back from people what you reflect on to them (Taylor, 1994). In his statement, Trudeau is correct to refer to Canadians as

compassionate, as they have proven time and time again, their desire to do better and make things right of past errors. Although there is still a long way to go with reconciliation, the recognition of the diversity of its citizens is key to ensuring that the Canadian mosaic can continue to thrive for generations to come.ⁱ

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Justin Trudeau in his statement from October 2012 raises various issues faced by the Canadian middle class, however, he begins with a particular vision of the society. Back then, as a liberal leadership candidate, Trudeau underlined the success of common ideas and beliefs that connected the vast country and its people. He states: "We have created a society where individual rights and freedoms, compassion and diversity are core to our citizenship. But underlying that idea of Canada is the promise that we all have a chance to build a better life for ourselves and our children." Individuality, diversity and equal chances for everyone come to the forefront of this quote and are closely related to the Canadian cultural model.

The first step when addressing the variety of the ethnicities in any society is the recognition of them. According to Charles Taylor (1995), recognition is a human need inseparable from one's identity. It is through the eyes of others that people can define themselves, therefore it is crucial for the recognition to be right because the wrongful image can be internalized and become a form of oppression. He says that the process of defining identity is "always in dialogue with [...] the things our significant others want to see in us", thus identity is always in context of other people and a continuous negotiation with others (Taylor, 1995, p. 33). As Taylor points out, human life has a dialogical character. We are able to understand ourselves thanks to forms of expression like language, gesture and art (Taylor, 1995). It explains the reaction of non-British non-French communities to the Royal Commission on Biculturalism and Bilingualism from 1960, who felt threatened by the bicultural and bilingual status of Canada. The elevation of two dominant languages seemed to take away the possibility of expressing their identity through the use of their own language and therefore degrade them to second-class citizens. At the time, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's solution was the multicultural policy within a bilingual framework (Gagnon & Iacovino, 2007). The goal was to underline the diversity of Canadian society with the recognition of various minorities living side by side also in opposition to the "melting pot" of the neighboring United States. The announcement of the new multiculturalism policy on 8th of October 1971 was thus the start of the mosaic as a Canadian cultural model (McRoberts, 1997).

Even though the Multiculturalism Policy seems to fulfill the need of recognition of various communities and celebrates cultural diversity, its reception was far from a wholehearted acceptance. For some politicians and intellectuals the policy was equivalent to no official culture, while on the other hand it made some immigrants anxious about their integration with

their new country. For French Canadians it meant “a denial of Canadian dualism”, which previously placed them at the forefront as one of the two founding nations. As a result, the mosaic cultural model was almost completely rejected in Quebec and replaced with intercultural policy. The origins of the policy date back to 1981 and were formed in order to address the policultural structure of the society with democratic values as the core. Quebec became the host culture and Quebecois identity and citizenship meant essentially knowing French and abiding by the law. Speaking the same language was supposed to create space for exchange and dialogue within the whole society as well as participation in democracy of all members (Gagnon and Iacovino, 2007). However, both policies favor the two official languages and raise questions about the separation of the language from the culture. As a response, the Canadian Multiculturalism Act was passed in 1988 in order to assure the government’s support for the use of languages other than English and French. The provincial government and Quebec were obliged to offer training in the “heritage language” for children, however, the program had an extracurricular character and English or French remained the official school language (McRoberts, 1997).

The motivation behind the implementation of the multicultural policy is also significant. As Sunera Thobani explains, it was important for Canada in order to keep its place on the global arena in the face of the post-war changing world and the civil rights movement, as well as due to the need for cheap labor for quick development. Creating an image of the modern North distinct from the United States and Europe was another reason. Multiculturalism was also necessary in order to sustain the nationalism of the diverse society. As Thobani points out, it was a sort of detachment from the colonial past, however, it lifted the culture as the primary difference between the immigrants and nationals. One of the issues related to the effects of the new policy is that the control over the funding for cultural development remained in the hands of the white state. According to Thobani, it emphasized cuisine, music, dance and fashion, but rejected the traditional and conservative beliefs, and pushed language and religion to the space of home. The other outcome was the placement of Indigenous people among other ethnic groups. The original inhabitants were thus marginalized and their primary ownership of the land was omitted. Thobani claims that the government was more favorable towards immigration from the South instead of giving opportunities to the Natives as it could potentially enforce them and encourage demands (Thobani, 2007). This way the Multicultural policy worked well as the image of Canada in the global eyes, however, it also functioned as a fog for ulterior motives.

While political recognition plays a significant role on the legislative level, the actual representation of the mosaic in culture gives a closer image of the multicultural character of Canada and its struggles. One area discussed during the course was art. Professor Colin Coates during his lecture presented how nationalism manifested itself through art, in particular through the painting by the Group of Seven, who were the key artists and representatives of the British settlers. Focused on painting landscapes and choosing trees as symbols of Canada, the group turned away from representing the changing society of the “new” country. However, later on one modern Korean-Canadian artist chose to create images in dialogue with the previously acclaimed artwork and somehow fulfill the lack of representations. Jin-Me Yoon painted the series titled “A group of 67” in 1996 and inserted people of Korean origin into the landscapes from the works of the Group of Seven. Such procedure underlined the absence of depictions of the diverse Canadian society and serves as a bridge between the past and present. Another type of dialog with the past is the archival work of Kirsten Emiko McAllister. By analyzing the photographs, or rather what is missing in the archive, she reveals the mechanisms behind the removal of Japanese Canadians from the social landscape in the 1940s. As McAllister argues,

the images of the camps “impose institutional order on the space and bodies contained in the camps” but also work as a memory of the communal life of the surviving internees (McAllister, 2010, p. 221). It is through the photographs that they can define their identity. Such understanding of the records is important for comprehending the complexity of the sense of togetherness of a particular group. The two projects mentioned above serve as examples of the attempt to represent the ethnic groups in the mosaic from the past. They create a new history and a better understanding of the complexity of Canadian society not only of today but also from before the official recognition.

Even though Justin Trudeau’s statement seems to reflect the multicultural model of Canada, the ideal picture he paints still has its cracks to be filled. In his words resonates the idea of one bound together and equal society while already the issue of Quebec’s cultural policy points towards a political division. The importance of a policy of recognition in Canada is unquestionable. The Multicultural policy strives to make different cultures visible as representatives of the country. Interculturalism attempts to use French as the unifying tool. However, both of the two approaches - multiculturalism within a bilingual framework and interculturalism - put the languages of the colonizers first. The power and decision making remains in the hands of the two white colonial representatives. The society can take pride in their culture, language and religion but within the rules created to keep the foregoing order. The lack of a strong recognition of the Indigenous people as the actual founders of the country is also striking. As well as their separation from the modern and industrialized part of the country and by extension less access to goods, education and work visible when looking at the map of transportation routes. Its contradictory to the Trudeau’s visions of equal chances for all citizens. Taylor (2007) underlines the meaning of equal recognition for a healthy democratic society. Although the adoption of the Multicultural policy seems to serve this purpose, it also places all the cultures at the same level and blends Indigenous communities with other minorities while their history is different and requires separate treatment. Meanwhile the artistic and archival work are a space of visible struggle between the past and present and benefit the understanding of the cultural mosaic of Canada.

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The Challenges of Multiculturalism in Canada

While reflecting on Canada's cultural model, in 2012, Justin Trudeau summarized the general idea of Canada rather concisely. In his speech, Trudeau's words were "We have created a

society where individual rights and freedoms, compassion and diversity are core to our citizenship. But underlying that idea of Canada is the promise that we all have a chance to build

a better life for ourselves and our children," (Trudeau, 2012). This quote on multiculturalism

helps identify the challenges faced by bilingual and multicultural Canadians. Trudeau emphasizes that the core idea of Canada being accepting and inclusive is a promise to future

generations that multiculturalism will be acknowledged and appreciated regardless of the

challenges that the country may face. Prior to delving into the challenges of multiculturalism in

Canada, it is valuable to understand what the term entails. Multiculturalism is when various

ethnic and cultural groups coexist in a society with equal rights and under the same treatment

(Clayton, 2009). In many cases, multiculturalism is discussed in connection with bilingualism,

particularly in Canadian contexts. Hence, bilingualism is defined as the existence of dual

languages spoken and understood by an individual (Hakuta, 2009).

To begin, Canada is commonly associated with many stereotypes and assumptions regarding precisely this topic, multiculturalism and bilingualism. Therefore, it is important to acknowledge these assumptions, understand the challenges they pose and analyze Canada's history in order to recognize the truth of these assumptions. While it is true that Canada has two official languages, French and English, these are not the only major languages spoken in the country (Statistics Canada, 2022). Globally, many assume so. As of 1969, the Official Languages Act was set in place, announcing French and English as the country's two official languages (Government of Canada, 2022). The majority of Canadians, however, actually speak more than two languages at home, hence making Canadians multilingual rather than solely bilingual. This means that individuals speak more than two languages fluently (Cenoz & Gorter, 2023). In Canada, although French and English are the two most spoken languages, major languages like Spanish, Mandarin and Tagalog are equally as important to acknowledge (Keelan, 2017). A variety of cultures often results in a variety of languages spoken, emphasizing on the direct relationship between bilingualism and multiculturalism.

Another common assumption is that Canada is seen as a very welcoming society where all cultures are appreciated. This, as Trudeau stated, is the image Canada wants to hold on to. However, when multilingualism or multiculturalism is not acknowledged, feelings of exclusion

rise within the other cultures of the Canadian population. Although not an assumption, Canada

being part of the Commonwealth and having been part of British Imperialism has posed a

significant challenge to Canadian multiculturalism. The understanding of one's own identity is

perhaps threatened here. Returning to the topic of bilingualism, the term 'bilingualism' resulted

due to both the founding colonial nations negotiating their rights (Premat, 2023). However, this

Note: I have achieved the self-study course on academic integrity.

is clearly compromised when Canada is part of the Commonwealth, something that does not

acknowledge the French. The third assumption that is valuable to acknowledge, as it is a

significant part of Canadian history, is the French population's determination to speak their own

language. Because it is one of two official languages in the country, it is assumed that all

Canadians understand and speak the language. This is not always the case. Therefore, it often

creates a barrier between the French Canadians and the English-speaking Canadians. An

example where this poses a challenge to non-French speakers is that the province of Quebec is

striving to uphold French as their dominant language due to English often being more

acknowledged, like culturally with the Commonwealth. This poses a challenge to Canadian

politics and the Canadian identity (Shapiro, 2010). Both languages would then have to be in all

shops, on road signs and on job applications, for example. If this should be the case, the question

of whether all other major languages in Canada should do this, would then be relevant as well.

Provinces such as New Brunswick have a bilingual constitution, a law stating that French and

English have equal rights in governmental contexts (Premat, 2023). This was also true to other

provinces like Manitoba, however, today they are not as strict with the policy.

When recognizing these assumptions and challenges, although touched upon, it is important to delve back into the history, how and why Canada looks the way it does today and

why Trudeau's words hold great value. Canada's history dates back to the occupancy of the

indigenous populations approximately 30,000 years ago (Premat, 2023). The first nations

included Blackfoot, Beothuk, Cree, Huron, Micmac and Montagnais. Although the first settlers

in Canada were the Vikings, the colonization of Canada and European colonization began

many years later. During this time, rivalry was sparked between the French colonists and the

English colonists. Both sided with opposing tribes, fighting for who had the right to colonize the

land. The English colonists allied with the Catawba, Iroquois and Cherokee tribes whereas the

French colonists allied with the Wabanaki Confederacy member tribes. These included the

Abenaki, Mi'kmaq and Algonquin, Lenape, Ojibwa, Ottawa, Shawnee and Wyandot tribes. Due

to the support of the tribes and separation of the French against English colonists, the conflicts

increased. Centuries later, what settled the conflict between the two nations was the signing of

the Treaty of Paris in 1763. During the seven years prior to the treaty being signed, Great Britain

fought against France in the imperial Seven Years' War (Premat, 2023). As a result of these

events, Canada was divided. There became an 'Upper Canada' and a 'Lower Canada.' The

British loyalists settled in Upper Canada after the Declaration of Independence was signed in the

United States in 1776. Hence, this area remained English-speaking. The French settled in Lower

Canada, keeping their distance. Nearly a century later, in 1867, the Constitution Act was signed.

This meant that Canada became a self-governing democracy, although still ruled by the British

monarchy. However, they were able to make their own political laws. As aforementioned, being

under the British monarchy meant that in many ways Canada adopted much of the English

culture rather than the French. They also fought for and allied with the United Kingdom during

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both World Wars. It is important to note that the United Kingdom was allied with France during

the two wars as well, fighting together.

As a result of the significant history between the French and English in Canada,

bilingualism occurred. The negotiation between both founding nations resulted in many citizens

speaking both French and English (Premat, 2023). As time has moved on, more cultures and

languages have transpired into Canadian society. However, Canada still faces challenges

regarding multiculturalism. In 1960, the Quiet Revolution in Quebec posed a massive challenge

to the unity fought within multiculturalism. The province believed that they would rule a more

functioning society if it were separated from Canada. In the midst of this, Canada's flag was

created in 1965. The Royal Commission, in 1963, discussed the possibilities of how to create a

flag that would represent the equality between the two founding groups while still considering

other cultures. This was a massive move in the direction of accepting and acknowledging

bilingualism and multiculturalism in the country. The Aboriginal people, or the indigenous

population, were also recognized at this time. They were recognized for their culture and for

being the first people present in Canada, not the English or French. The creation of the Canadian

flag became a tribute to all the cultures who helped build up the nation to what it is today.

Reflecting back on the quote mentioned at the beginning by Justin Trudeau, it can be concluded that his words emphasize what the Canadian flag represents, the unity that is a result

of Canada's history. The flag is the core to Canadian citizenship, a citizenship that includes many

different cultures and celebrates precisely that. Acknowledging the past helps improve the future,

for Canadian citizens today and for future generations. Trudeau gently admits the past challenges

regarding multiculturalism whilst bringing hope and encouragement for an improved future.

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Embracing Diversity: The Canadian Cultural Model and the Promise of a better future

Introduction:

In 2012, Justin Trudeau articulated a profound and forward-looking vision of Canada, emphasizing the

intrinsic values of individual rights, and diversity to forge a brighter future for all citizens.

This paper

embarks on a comprehensive exploration to ascertain the resonance of this vision with the present-

day Canadian cultural model. Through an interdisciplinary approach, I will delve deep into various

dimensions of the Canadian cultural model, dissecting how it aligns with Trudeau's articulation.

Moreover, I will examine the role of mobility within this model and try to explore the distinction

between multiculturalism and interculturalism in shaping Canada's approach to integration and

diversity. The paper approach Trudeau article through questioning the issues that arise from the

ideological basis of the Canadian social agreement, considering specific facts and contexts that have

shaped the unique structure of Canadian society.

The Unfolding Narrative of Mobility:

Justin Trudeau underscored Canada's essence as a nation founded on individual freedoms and the

prospect of improved futures. This perspective is deeply intertwined with the role of mobility in the

Canadian cultural paradigm. Mobility, in its various forms, plays a defining role in the Canadian

identity, hence to grasp the Canadian model, it's essential to consider its contextual roots.

With a vast

land, Canada hosts 39.8 million (April, 2023), including 1.8 million indigenous people (2021).

Furthermore, the historical impact of “settlement colonialism” drives efforts still towards reconciliation and decolonization. The 20th century brought diverse immigration waves, enriching

Canada's societal fabric. Despite initial reservations about disrupting its British-rooted culture, Canada

embraced immigration as economic prospects improved (Aun, 1985). This led to a mosaic of population, comprising indigenous communities, various immigrant groups, refugees, and labor

migrants. Official bilingualism since 1969 and full independence in 1982 underline Canada's unique

character as a federal parliamentary constitutional monarchy. Moreover, Canada strikes a balance

between diversity and unity, exemplified by its multiculturalism policy established in 1971 and

solidified through the Multiculturalism Act of 1988 (Birk & Gymnich, 2016). Justin Trudeau's assertion

thus speaks to the idea that in Canada, the promise of an enhanced life remains intricately linked with

the availability of opportunities for advancement, emphasizing the ongoing pursuit of a society where

this promise can be fulfilled by all.

The Middle Class and Canadian Identity:

Trudeau's promise of a more promising future, resonating with aspirations of upward mobility for

individuals and their descendants, stands as a cornerstone of his vision. However, contemporary

dialogues cast a thought-provoking spotlight on the stability of Canada's middle class (Hogan, 2019).

Scrutinizing the comprehensive report by OECD (2019) on the predicament of the middle class

underscores the economic strains encumbering this societal segment. While Trudeau's visionary

pronouncement paints an idyllic picture of boundless possibilities, it undeniably sparks a discourse

around the potential rift between aspirational rhetoric and the lived realities of the middle class.

Trudeau's focus isn't primarily on Canada's economy becoming the tenth largest globally, instead he's

more concerned with the middle class being excluded from this progress, and stresses the need for

equal wealth distribution across society. The middle class constitutes a significant portion of Canada's

population, comprising approximately 58% (according to OECD) or even up to 70% (self-assessment)

(Hogan, 2019). However, they find themselves in a disadvantaged position with less stability, economic

security, and fewer opportunities for upward mobility. To fulfill the promise of the Canadian cultural

model, it is essential to address the obstacles hindering the middle class's prosperity. This includes

adopting evidence-based policies that promote economic growth, and provide opportunities for social mobility.

Identity Formation and the Politics of Recognition:

The Canadian model counters assimilation by employing specific measures to ensure fairness and

respect (Taylor, 1994). Rooted in universal potential, equal respect is driven by the ability to shape

one's identity. Canada's framework thrives on choices and possibilities. Hence, Trudeau's focus on

fostering transformational opportunities, not just promising change, aligns (Taylor, 1994).

The

Canadian cultural model increasingly emphasizes the importance of self-definition rather than being

defined solely by one's social position. As a result Social boundaries are becoming more fluid, allowing

individuals to choose from a wider range of groups to identify with.

Canada's Cultural Landscape: Multiculturalism and Interculturalism

Central to the Canadian cultural model are the ideals of multiculturalism and interculturalism, influencing how the country embraces diversity and fosters unity. Trudeau's assertion that compassion

and diversity constitute the core essence of Canadian citizenship is intrinsically linked to the nation's

enduring commitment to multiculturalism (Taylor, 1994). Multiculturalism, as advocated by

philosopher Charles Taylor, seeks to recognize and accommodate the coexistence of diverse cultural

communities within the larger Canadian society (Taylor, 1994). It fosters an environment where

individuals can maintain their cultural identities while participating as equal citizens, embracing their

heritage while contributing to the wider social fabric. Canada's multiculturalism policy (1971) and

Multiculturalism Act (1988), aimed to foster a harmonious coexistence of diverse cultural

backgrounds. However, multiculturalism has not been without its criticisms. Critics argue that it can

unintentionally lead to separation and essentialization of particular cultural identities. In light of this,

some scholars propose the concept of transculturalism, promoting a continuous negotiation of identity and understanding of otherness.

Interculturalism emphasizes active engagement and dialogue between different cultural groups. It

goes beyond mere coexistence and encourages mutual understanding, respect, and learning from one

another's experiences. Furthermore, it aims to create a dynamic and evolving cultural landscape that

celebrates diversity while forging meaningful connections between communities. The Canadian

cultural model's embrace of both multiculturalism and interculturalism reflects its commitment to

fostering a society where individuals are free to express their unique identities, while also actively

engaging with others in building a cohesive and inclusive nation.

Literature as a Reflection of Identity:

Canadian literature, film, and music showcase the voices and talents of individuals from diverse

cultural backgrounds. Canadian authors like Michael Ondaatje, Yann Martel, and Margaret Atwood

have gained international acclaim for their works that explore themes of identity, multiculturalism,

and belonging. These literary contributions not only enrich Canadian culture but also provide a

platform for diverse perspectives to be heard on the global stage.

IN FOCUS - Literature:

Canadian literature acts as a mirror to the complexities of identity and multiculturalism in the country.

Authors from diverse backgrounds explore the interplay between their cultural heritage and their

Canadian identity, often engaging with themes of displacement, belonging, and self-discovery. Their

literary contributions challenge traditional notions of identity and contribute to the ever-evolving

Canadian cultural mosaic. Birk and Gymnich's (2016) exploration of Canadian fiction unveils the mirror

that literature provides to multiculturalism, where myriad voices and narratives converge, embodying

the very essence of the nation's multicultural ethos. Aun's *The Political Refugees* (1985) historical

account documenting the journey of the Estonian community to Canada reinforces the nation's identity as a safe haven for political refugees, reaffirming its unwavering commitment to compassion

and diversity.

Within the pages of J. Abel's "Un/Inhabited" (2014), the intricate theme of diversity unravels as

characters navigate their multifaceted identities within the rich tapestry of a multicultural society. In it,

language takes on the role of a dynamic realm, much like a constantly shifting landscape. Within this

vibrant space, various social and cultural groups craft their distinct yet harmonious identities. This

lively arena holds the promise of a better future, embodying opportunities for transformative change.

Whereas, Literary works such as "The Inner Green" (Kivi & Pearkes, 2005), profoundly examines the

intimate connection between individuals and their environment. In the "Inner Green" Linda K. Kivi

(2005), an author of Estonian heritage, grapples with her mixed identity influenced by her ancestral

stories, and tales of a foreign land. Kivi's journey to untangle her Estonian identity found solace in

Canada's colonial history. The interplay of time, place, and belonging gained clarity upon revisiting her

roots. Her native language bridged gaps, and exploring landscapes led to self-discovery. Through

constant introspection, she formed her quintessential Canadian identity, a testament to transculturalism.

In Harmony with Nature: Environmental Consciousness:

Canada's vast and diverse landscape plays a pivotal role in shaping the nation's cultural model. From

the rugged beauty of the Rocky Mountains to the serene wilderness of the Great Lakes, nature's

grandeur is ingrained in the Canadian identity. Trudeau's vision goes beyond social and cultural ideas

to include taking care of the environment. This fits well with Canada's cultural values that appreciate

nature and its beauty. The call to "build a better life" inherently encapsulates a symbiotic relationship

between citizens and their natural surroundings.

Conclusion:

Trudeau's vision of a promise-filled future resonates within a Canadian model entrenched in compassion, diversity, and collective empowerment. Anchored in literature, historical narratives, and

sociopolitical discourse, the Canadian ethos remains a pulsating entity that embraces diversity as an

asset. However, the complexity of economic challenges facing the middle class and the looming

environmental challenges, necessitate a nuanced exploration of the feasibility of realizing Trudeau's

optimistic vision. The Canadian cultural model remains a dynamic, ever-evolving model, robustly

upholding its intrinsic values, while adapting to contemporary demands.

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Multiculturalism in Canada.

“In 2012, Justin Trudeau declared about Canada: We have created a society where individual rights and freedoms, compassion and diversity are core to our citizenship. But underlying that idea of Canada is the promise that we all have a chance to build a better life for ourselves and our children”.

The statement above was made when Justin Trudeau was the member of parliament in Papineau and the leader of the Liberal party of Canada. After then, he became the prime minister of Canada, and he has continued to promote these values. Justin Trudeau is known for his progressive policies on issues such as climate change, immigration, and gender equality. He is also an advocate for LGBTQ+ rights and has paraded in several pride parades across Canada. Justin Trudeau’s leadership style has been seen as being charismatic and optimistic and been credited with reinvigorating Canadian politics (The guardian, 2019).

“Canada is a multicultural society in terms of its fundamental values and its demographic composition. Diversity has always been a fundamental characteristic of Canadian society. From the beginning, more than 50 different Aboriginal people with their own unique languages and cultures interacted with each other through out Canada. They were later joined by Europeans and people of African and Asian descent, all of whom helped to build the Canada we value today” (Thobani, 2007: pg. 173-174).

Respect for diversity and cultural pluralism was a symbol of the Canadian national character, with the implementation of multiculturalism as a state policy during the tenure of the flamboyant and popular prime minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau. The adoption of multiculturalism allowed the nation’s self-presentation on the global stage and as a forefront of promoting racial and ethnic tolerance among western nations. This redefinition of national identity serves as a significance to the nation state’s commitment of valuing cultural diversity. The policy is now considered as one of the finest achievements, and it is commended for helping bring international recognition and opportunity. The increased confrontations between the French and the English Canadian, which resulted from Francophone demands for greater autonomy from the federal state, and increased demand of other ethnic groups for recognition of their place within the nation led to the appointment of the royal commission on bilingualism and biculturalism in 1963. The mandate was to help develop the Canadian confederation based on equal participation between the two ethnic groups, taking into consideration the contribution

made by other ethnical groups. This policy recreated the colonial elimination of Aboriginal people as the original presence in the country. The commission's report afterwards repeated this act on the two founding nations (i.e., The British and the French). This also called for the official recognition of the various ethnic groups in the country, which led to the adoption of multiculturalism as an official state policy in 1971. Some critics have stated that, multiculturalism's commitment in developing a distinct Canadian identity was clear, but it was unable to balance the foundational claims between the British, and the French with the need for inclusion of the multitudes of other cultural groups. However, multiculturalism helps a nation to "reinvent" itself. Multiculturalism is a "way of imagining the nation itself, which enables it to live with the differences of other people, while claiming this difference to enhance its own cultural superiority (Thobani, 2007: pg. 143-145). The issue of Multiculturalism has a lot to do with the imposition of some other cultures on others, and with an assumed superiority that powers these impositions (Taylor, 1994).

Canada, the United States, Australia, and much of South America, is a colonial country. Which means that, it was originally created by people who migrated to this part of the world from somewhere else, and that sovereignty over the territory was declared by foreign powers. Even though, the Aboriginal people settled in the Americas many thousand years ago. The first Europeans to settle to what is called Canada today, were the Italian and the French explorers in the 1500s, and later the French settlers arrived in the 1600s, and settled in New France, the area that is now called Quebec. Life for the new settlers was tough, and many early attempts to colonize Canada failed. Some settlements were wiped off altogether in colonial battles for territory and their inhabitants were never heard from again. Many of these early settlers died from different types of illnesses that were associated with the harsh weather conditions. The early settlers learnt a great deal from the Aboriginal people about survival in the Americas. Trade and social relationships between the Aboriginal people and Europeans increased, as well as the integration of European settlers into the new environment. The Metis people, who were the descendants of marriages between European traders and Aboriginal women is an enduring legacy of that important relationship. Although, these early relationships were not without drawbacks and conflicts. After, the arrival of the first successful French settlers, the British colonists arrived. The British Hudson's Bay Company, which is popularly known as The Bay, took control of Rupert's land around Hudson Bay in 1670, and Britain later gained power over Nova Scotia and Newfound land by the treaty of Utrecht in 1713, a treaty that ended up in war

of the Spanish succession. Britain then later conquered New France in the battle of the Plains of Abraham in 1759. By this time, the British Colonist had established a foothold in the United States, and many were drawn to Canada by promises of land grants for farming. The British government was determined to occupy its newly acquired territories with colonists who were loyal to the British crown (Christopher, et al. 2017: pg. 19-20).

The need for recognition and identity are two fundamental characteristics that defines us as human beings, and it is a vital human need. The importance of recognition has been changed by the new understanding of our individual identity (Taylor, 1994).

However, Canada has an identity, but it is neither definitive nor assertive. Identity is never constant, as this is true of the young, diverse and a sparsely populated Canadian state. The significance of what the tiles of mosaic can contribute to the whole, rather than how they differ from one another, will help to enhance this process. Hence, the government has formally linked the immigration and multiculturalism to citizenship (which was created of a single Federal Department of Multiculturalism and Citizenship in 1992), and then through the new Department of immigration and Citizenship in 1993, is a promising start for Canadian identity (Wayland, 1997).

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Note: The self-study course on academic integrity has been completed.

Canadian Cultural Model

Justin Trudeau formulates the idea of what the true Canadian society is and what it means in this quote from 2012 -" We have created a society where individual rights and freedoms, compassion and diversity are core to our citizenship. But underlying that idea of Canada is the promise that we all have a chance to build a better life for ourselves and our children."

To be able to see if it corresponds to Canada's current cultural model, we need to get a understanding of what the true meaning is behind Trudeau quote and also how Canada cultural model is at this time.

It is important to understand the full quote to get the full meaning of what Trudeau is trying to say here. First of he emphasizes that the rights and freedoms of individuals are highly regarded in the Canadian society. My understanding of this is that is important for individuals to be able to express freely and live according to their own choices.

Trudeau also focuses on the value of "compassion and diversity" that is at core in the Canadian society. My understanding of this is that an essential part of the Canadian citizenship is the understanding of other people's cultural, religion background. And need willingness to learn and be surround with others different from you.

Trudeau also highlights the importance to be able to improve the lives for its citizens and the citizens families. If you work hard and dedicated enough, you will be able to achieve a great life. A similar thought to the US vision of "the American dream".

All these ideas together are what Trudeau's vision of how Canada is for its citizens. With individual rights and freedom, compassion and diversity and the opportunity for Canadas

citizens to decide how their lives are going to be.

In the book “Exalted Subjects: Studies in the Making of Race and Nation in Canada.”

Thobani writes about that Canada decided to go with multiculturalism to distinguish itself from the US “melting pot”. The differences between the US “melting pot” metaphor and the Canadian multiculturalism is that in the US there’s one main culture surrounded by all the other cultures. While multiculturalism is that there is no main culture and all cultures as accepted and that all cultures can live next to each other. The decision that Canada should differentiate itself from the US made it seem that the perception of Canada had gone from a white settler colony to a multi racial, multi ethnical society (Thobani, 2007, pp. 144). A society like what Trudeau is talking about. Thobani also writes that multiculturalism has proven to be more than just a policy to reflect and manage cultural difference but has a big impact on how Canada interacts with its population. Citizens cultural background affects how especially people of color are seen and treated politically. Even though the main idea of Canada is being white, bilingual, and bicultural (Thobani, 2007, pp. 145). This is not what Trudeau was meaning in his quote, culture should not make any difference in who you are and how you are treated in Canada while it obviously does. While I still think Canada has great policy with multiculturalism and has come long way with trying to ignore culture before judging a citizen within Canada. But it still has some way to go before culture does not matter and citizens does not get judged depending on their culture. While there is no official culture there is certain elements and aspects that are drawn to an “culture” in Canada. These aspects are for example bilingualism, biculturalism. This is also a sign that there is some way before you can say that Canada is fully multiculturalism.

Note: The self-study course on academic integrity has been completed.

Then there is also the indigenous part of Canada. Most of Canada is today defined by the two

founding nations, the French and the British. But the population that was there before anyone from Europe set foot on Canada have not had anywhere near the same effect on the Country.

This is greatly shown in Jordan Abel's work, a Canadian writer with indigenous roots. Jordan's work often highlights negative impacts from the colonization how they lost land, their own culture and forcing them to be like the colonizers were unfair and hurtful and that still has an impact on the indigenous population till this date. His literature is a way to show and tell this generation about the history in the past and somewhat make up for the things they have lost. This shows that there are still citizens that still are affected on what happened during the colonization of Canada and want to get the respect and forgiveness they deserve. In Trudeau's quote he implies that "compassion and diversity is at core to our citizenship", and I feel what Jordan is implying and why he is creating this type of literature is because of the lack of compassion for what happened to his culture and family. He wants people today in Canada to understand and know the horrible things that happened in the past.

Charles Taylor describes that people from a different upbringing than European have been given an image as inferior and less civilized than the Europeans themselves. And that this picture still exists because of the conquest of Canada from the founding nations. (Taylor, 1992, pp. 26). Charles Taylor describes that this can inflict grievous wounds and self-hatred to the citizens that experience this. This is due to the recognition that the human needs in life. This is far away from what Trudeau describes the Canadian society, with "compassion" and this is clear that certain groups of individuals still clearly don't get the recognition that they need in life which creates a life much harder than anyone ever deserves. A life full of pain and self-hatred is within certain groups of citizens is not something that was described in Trudeau's quote.

In Trudeau's quote from 2012 he describes his view on Canada. Canada is a place where individual rights and freedom, compassion and diversity is important. Canada should be a

country where citizens can create their own lives that they desire, and everyone should have the same opportunities. However, in Thobani's work he explains that even though Canada is all about accepting different cultures and accepting everyone, it is just not that simple. The policy of multiculturalism is more than just a policy in Canada. It effects the citizen on how they are treated especially politically. Canada is on its way to figure out how to become fully multicultural but is not fully there yet. The indigenous adds another part to this discussion. In Jordan Abel's work shows the impact from the colonization of Canada from the founding nations. During this time, they lost their land, culture and needed to change the way of living because of the colonization of Canada. While Trudeau's quote speaks of compassion and diversity. Abel's literature highlights the issues of lack of compassion that still exists for the indigenous people. Abel's work exists to get the compassion and recognition that he feels is missing. Certain groups within Canada feels that they are missing the compassion and recognition that they need to live a normal life. Which instead creates a life full of self-hatred and pain. This contrast with the image of Canada that Trudeau gives in his quote.

In conclusion Canada still has a lot of challenges that need to be faced before Canada is truly the country that that Trudeau is describing in his quote. While Canadas policy of multiculturalism supports the country talked about in Trudeau's quote, there still are problems with how its implemented and judgement based on culture is still within the country. The indigenous people still are affected after the colonization's as seen in both Taylor and Abel's work. As Canada moves forward it needs to figure out these questions to become the country that Trudeau describes.

Note: The self-study course on academic integrity has been completed.

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The Canadian dream

Canada, a country embossed by bilingualism, a multicultural heritage and acceptance of diversity. A country welcoming of immigrants, who's citizens love to apologize and treats everyone with mutual respect. One might ask themselves if this idea of Canada is a reflection of a dream or reality. Trudeau stated in his 2012 article for The Star that:

” We have created a society where individual rights and freedoms, compassion and diversity are core to our citizenship. But underlying that idea of Canada is the promise that we all have a chance to build a better life for ourselves and our children.”

Judging by this quote, Trudeau seems to believe in this dream. For a politician well acquainted with the constitution, the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms and other Acts which support this claim one might understand why he would express these ideas. In the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, freedom of religion, equal democratic rights and the preservation of a multicultural heritage are all mentioned (Dyck et al., 2017), giving strength and perhaps inspiration to Trudeau's claim. Although, as we look closer at the current state of the Canadian society other voices might oppose.

First of all, let us look closer at the attitude on diversity in Canada, specifically through literature. Even though Canada now declares it self a country with a multicultural heritage one should always remember that it is simultaneously a bilingual country, not a multilingual one. What this means is that the two founding nations, the English and French will in a way always be more recognized, and that the other languages and cultures are put together in a group as *the others*. When studying multicultural Canadian literature this becomes specifically clear. Anything produced by someone who is not English or French Canadian is seen as part of multiculturalism, created by *the others* and put in a different category. This also accounts for anything produced in a minority language (Birk & Gymnich, 2016). This can be work by indigenous peoples, any generation immigrants; overall people with a different heritage than the two colonial founding nations. Therefore, one could assume that even though Canada is a diverse nation it still might separate people without realizing it. That being said, the importance of multicultural literature should be praised for giving these minorities a voice; telling their story for others to relate to and gain a better understanding to other cultures and perspectives. One example is the book, *If Home is a Place* by Linda K. Kivi (1995). Kivi paints a relatable picture of a family fleeing the second world war and coming to Canada from Estonia. By portraying the life of the family, she touches on many subjects of identity that

could help better understand the struggles of fitting in and finding one's own identity as a first- or second-generation immigrant. The theme of multicultural writing is typically just this, struggle of identity, exposing racial structures or inequality that the mainstream literature can not cover with the same clarity as someone experiencing these issues (Birk & Gymnich, 2016).

Secondly, *sorry!* might be a phrase most people think of when they think of Canada, and it is not only its' citizens who like to apologize. Canada as a country has had its fair share of apologies over the years. Two big instances when an apology has been necessary, yet not always enough is after the internment of Japanese-Canadians in camps and after the horrifying discoveries at former residential schools.

To begin with, it was during the second world war when Japan entered that 22.000 Japanese-Canadians were stripped of everything they owned, families separated and put into internment camps. It can be seen as a way of the government to remove anyone of that origin from the country (McAllister, 2008). When the apology came, 45 years later, it came with \$21.000 for every surviving internee. The apologies to survivors of the residential schools, where children of indigenous peoples were taken from their homes, stripped of their culture and language, and put into what we today would call boarding schools have been multiple, and rightfully so. These apologies have also come with money for indigenous communities (Dyck et al., 2017). Pursuing this further, it becomes clear that Canada throughout history has had a habit of trying to strip people of their identities, culture and language. Possibly with the goal of assimilation into what the government then saw as Canadian. Which in itself is interesting since Canada was a bicultural country before the inclusion of multiculturalism. Was the goal assimilation to adapt to the English Canadian culture or the French Canadian one? Whereas, Canada today encourages immigrants or anyone not English or French Canadian to take on a hyphenated identity and treasure their heritage. Exactly like how the character in Kivi's (1995) book identifies as Estonian-Canadian or the Japanese-Canadians mentioned earlier. This is often referred to as the mosaic of Canada, or as Dyck et al., (2017, 244) puts it "a "tossed salad" rather than a "blender"". The blender is referring to how the USA has handled immigrants and diversity, focusing strongly on assimilation. This over time has made Canada a more interesting place to live with a diversity of cuisine, entertainment and sports. Although, one could bare in mind that people with the same language and culture tend to live together in smaller communities, again creating a form of separation (Dyck et al., 2017). Perhaps Canada has learnt from history and through apologizing realized that a mixed salad is the ethical way to treat its residents. Though, one can only wonder if the two colonial nations would be the base of the salad with other identities, the diversity, sprinkled on top and again seen as *the others*.

Thirdly, the last part of the quote by Trudeau mentions everyone's chance to better their life. Could this be part of the dream or a reality in Canada? To better one's life, one generally speaking, needs money to do so. When observing class cleavages in Canada one will notice that the gap between the upper class and the poor is immense. Canada has some of the world's wealthiest families while a much larger number can not buy food for themselves or their families. The richest families usually inherit the majority of their wealth. Companies or

corporations are usually also passed down, keeping the wealth in the family (Dyck et al., 2017).

Inheritance could possibly play a role in poverty as well. As mentioned earlier, the Japanese-Canadian community suffered an economic devastation as they were put in internment camps (McAllister, 2008). Even though the late apology came with some funds, it could probably never make up for the loss of land, business and inheritance they would otherwise have received. Looking closer at the people living below the poverty line in Canada a similar pattern appears. The biggest groups represented below the poverty line is indigenous peoples, recent immigrants and other visible minorities; especially their children. Here racism makes itself known as most immigrants to Canada nowadays come from the Middle East, Asia and Africa, in other words visible minorities (Dyck et al., 2017). Kivi's (1995) book gives an example of white immigrants having an easier time to adjust to life in Canada based on the colour of their skin. Recent immigrants might have been forced to leave most of their belongings in the home country and being forced to start from scratch upon arrival. Much like indigenous peoples trying to find their way after leaving the residential schools. Additionally, indigenous peoples, First Nations, Inuit and Métis, are over represented when it comes to being incarcerated and growing up in foster homes. It can be very hard to break a circle of generational trauma, especially when the trauma was caused only one or two generations ago (Downsideupfilm, 2011). The lack of generational wealth and the possible generational trauma these groups might feel all make it harder to climb up the societal class ladder and with this in mind, it becomes hard to believe that everyone has the same chance to build a better life for themselves.

Finally, after reflecting on the quote by Trudeau (2012) and how diversity and opportunity is presented in Canada today and throughout history it perhaps sounds more like the Canadian dream than reality. The bowl of mixed salad, that is Canada, is filled with the two colonial founding nations, the English and French Canadians, a multicultural heritage that for some is seasoned with generational trauma and accompanied by a prize tag some Canadians can not afford. Nevertheless, it is easy to find flaws when studying a country with a critical perspective. That the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms acknowledges and protects Canadians multicultural heritage and tries to take responsibility and apologize at times when we know better sends the signal of a country trying to do better, to thrive of its diversity and take care of its citizens. Everyone can always do better for inclusion, and although they probably never will get away from English- and French-Canadian culture being seen as the only *Canadian* one, Canada seems to be on the way there.

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Trudeau's (2012) quote justifies multiculturalism and its core values on diversity and equality. Equal citizenship and equal access are required in a welfare system, which must be shared by the whole community despite their diverse characteristics. However, there is a question raised how is this possible for vulnerable-excluded citizens who are confronted as national threat and non-compatriots? Unfortunately, it is not as previously stated by well-intentioned Trudeau (2012). Terror and discrimination affect the shared inclusion and they result in a lack of recognition or a misrecognition by adopting stereotypes and generalized notions. Consequently, non-white outsiders are kept aloof from self-fulfillment, self-awareness and recognition, the pillars of the social identity as a construction of inclusion and exclusion in groups with shared values or traits.

As the "Canadian legal system is a regime of racial power" (Thobani, 2007: 54), history repeats itself. From Aboriginals to Japanese-Canadians and Muslims, white-supremacy had stabilized its superiority through repetitive racial profiling and set a racist precedent against to non-western groups of population (Thobani, 2007: 239). On Aboriginals' case, they were intentionally neglected as legal owners of the terrain, and the colonizers led a genocide against them by targeting on their physical and cultural extermination. Even on the early artifacts of the first colonial painters – group of the Seven- Indigenous people were never depicted and deliberately ignored by settler's perspective (Coates, 2023, online lecture), in order the latter to justify his territorial legitimacy. Consequently, native population/insiders recognised as outsiders and outsiders/settlers switched to insiders (Thobani, 2007: 14) with a mission to ennoble the savages and repudiate any of the colonized people's entitlement. which were in total characterized as self-centred with incapability to share (Thobani, 2007: 173).

Equally segregation and marginalization, faced in 1942-1945, Japanese-Canadians in British Columbia, who had been placed in internment camps. While Aboriginals were perceived as savages in Canadian understanding, Japanese-Canadians were attributed negative traits and their whole community was identified as "outsiders", "invaders", "non-preferred race" and unworthy to citizenship (Thobani, 2007: 85). In comparison to the exalted national subject/Canadian, Japanese-Canadians depicted as unauthentic Canadians and that happened because of their non-western appearance. This discriminatory angle from which were seen, it was proven via their citizenship's suspension, which occurred under the accusation of national threat, regardless of their shared citizenship with the exalted subject (Thobani, 2007: 14).

Citizenship's suspension was vital on their legal protection and its absence deprived them of their opportunities and rights. Financial development as well as a smoothly settlement wasn't available to Japanese-Canadians, which became vulnerable, isolated and devaluated. In other words, they ended up in a deserving situation according to Canadians' insight into the matter and that was supported as a vital measure to protect their exalted nation.

Nationals adopt a policy of exaltation and promote their ennoblement by demanding exclusivity in their social system as their rightful inheritance (Thobani 2007:87). Exaltation was used as a mirror by nationals, who foster their superiority in their encounter with the Others and exclude them from social programmes and claims. For the outsiders' exclusion, nationals imposed the colonial violent rule by underestimating them as inferior, perilous and uncivilized (Thobani, 2007: 58). It is evident that both residential schools and internment camps as extermination methods, eliminated Aboriginals' and Japanese-Canadians' identity, led to family separation, exterminated "unwanted" people and in the case of Japanese-Canadians, resulted in 20.000 extraditions to Japan (McAllister, 2008: 89). Notwithstanding, our examples are dated before 1970, even after the official adoption of multiculturalism as policy in 1971 by Pierre Trudeau, another group's cultural persecution has occurred again, Muslims. It had begun after the 9/11 terrorist attack in USA, when USA and their allies declared the war in terror and characterised Muslims as possible terrorists. One more time, in history of Canada, a negative trait is attributed to a whole community. By now, media are still reinforcing this war and construct identities of a "good Muslim" and a "bad Muslim". Any form of resistance to westernization from Muslims is discerned as lack of respect in Canadian values and that makes Canadians anxious about their cultural survival (Thobani, 2008: 221). Specifically, media owner's shape the national's perception and weaponize it according to their interests (Thobani, 2008: 240). Thankfully, Canadians recently appear to lose their trust in elites, who govern, and challenge the conception of democracy but unluckily, only by prioritizing economic and social freedom over political freedom (Dyck et al, 2017: 251). In order to be honest, that could be work if only immigrants too had an equal social and legal status and altogether redefine the political freedoms.

The recurrence of racial profiling (after Native population and Japanese-Canadians) demonstrates that multiculturalism as a principle with legal status, haven't succeed yet to restrict effectively the targeted oppression and injustice on non-white Canadian citizens. The racial solidarity preserves a notion of the "threatening non-western" (Thobani, 2007: 235) and results to the postponement of law with coloured people (Thobani, 2007: 240). These tendencies are clarified directly to the next negative evidence. While colonized Aboriginals were imposed a demeaning understanding of themselves that colonizers projected, the outcome was Aboriginals' dignity annihilation (Taylor, 1995: 26). This outcome is preserved until nowadays and the decolonized treatment of multiculturalism remains identical to colonial rule. Aboriginal children remain undignified, without restoration and compensation (Thobani, 2007: 142) despite the fact that "Canadian Law has recognised the principle of pre-existing, inherent Aboriginal rights and title to the lands" (Thobani, 2007: 40). Misrecognition of Aboriginal rights preserves a form of oppression (Taylor, 1995:35) and multiculturalism haven't managed to transform and reform it.

However, multiculturalism changed the Canadian society, enhanced its tolerance on diversity with acceptance and inclusion for strangers and enriched the traditional identity with modern elements. Canadian pluralism teaches them to esteem variation and cultivating a cultural of cooperation. With certainty, multiculturalism embraces civil movements and

assertion to identity without fear. Recognition of abusive discrimination sets a ground for apologizing and a reconciliation, for a descent future where particularities won't be a mark of embarrassment and history can act as a deterrent. Specifically, on Japanese-Canadians' case, only by 1988 they felt safe to demand justice of ignored violation in non-white people, for the purpose to avoid a repetition of similar violations, like the fluidization of immigrants' properties while they were temporarily evacuated (McAllister, 2008: 87). Another beneficial aspect of multiculturalism is noticed in the literature sources and writers, with alternative cultural context, which by then was applied to traditional British and French limitations. Striking example is Esto-Canadian group, who achieved to retain their cultural heritage, empowered the usage of their language (Aun, 1985: 40) and to some extent familiarized their readers with Estonian culture. Encounter and familiarization are key elements to a peaceful coexistence and the only solution to terror's threatening influence. Only by that level, multiculturalism will gain more ground and it could be applied in wider range in order to include as much as diverse groups of population.

By and all, the arguments given above prove that multiculturalism has a dual function. Firstly, it functions as a weapon of superiority enforcement by praising the values of the Canadian society and secondly, as a remedy to historical traumas in Canadian history that shaped the Canadian identity. The claim of identity remains timeless and fluid in a changing society that requires equal representation and inclusion without terror. Nevertheless, terror appears to be a powerful factor either on media's disposal to shape stereotypes and suspicion against minorities, or in minorities feeling of safety and belonging. Terror is identified in both sides: with Canadians in a worry about their cultural survival and minorities to be afraid of their legal survival and legal participation too. The element of terror is fundamental to Canadian identity, despite the fact that they depict themselves as pioneers. Actually, Canadian identity, as every coin has two sides. From settlers' perspective is strongly correlated with their civilized shared values of "accepting differences", "ethnically diverse", "tolerant", "humane" and "proud" (Thobani, 2007: 196) and from minorities' perspective as a western-masked terror, totally necessary in order to fit in (Thobani, 2007: 251). Consequently, terror eliminates the beneficial character of multiculturalism and sets barriers in trust-building of a unified nation.

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***I have completed the self-study course on academic integrity before writing the paper.**

Canada - a multicultural nation for everyone

In 2012, Justin Trudeau declared "We have created a society where individual rights and freedoms, compassion and diversity are core to our citizenship. But underlying that idea of Canada is the promise that we all have a chance to build a better life for ourselves and our children." How does this quote correspond to the current Canadian cultural model?

The quote reminds me of "The American dream" which the Oxford English Dictionary defines as "the ideal that every citizen of the United States should have an equal opportunity to achieve success and prosperity through hard work, determination, and initiative." With the word "diversity" in the quote from Trudeau (2012) it is emphasised that Canada encourages different (multi) cultures. Multiculturalism, and multilingualism, is the Canadian model of integrating immigrants. This approach encourages immigrants and their descendents to preserve important aspects of their cultures if they like. But it also allows each culture to have the chance to expand and grow, not only survive in a folkloric way. Canada is more like a multicultural "mosaic" allowing and promoting cultural differences, rather than the melting pot paradigm, as in the United States, where the goal is that all cultures assimilate with the

dominant group of “real Americans”. Canada is aiming for co-existence rather than assimilation. (Birk&Gymnich, 2016)

Canada can be seen as a model of how people with different cultures can live together peacefully. Cultural pluralism is the very essence of the Canadian identity. The adoption of the Multicultural Act in 1988 was not only a response to Quebec nationalism and Bilingualism and Biculturalism in the 1960s. Canadians whose heritage was neither French nor British demanded recognition, this also included the First Nations. Biculturalism with focus on the French and English became a question of multiculturalism. Multiculturalism as the official policy gave Canada a transition from a white settler colony to a multiracial, multi-ethnic, and multicultural society. It is of great importance to get recognition by the state so the Multicultural Act played a significant role for all the minorities and groups not being of French or English origin. Because before the Act was passed in 1988 not a lot of actual actions were made nor money spent by the government to adopt a multicultural society. (Adams, 2023, Thobani, 2007, and Gagnon&Raffaeli, 2007)

But is this multicultural approach just an illusion? Does it work in social reality? Well, that can probably be argued if you consider the problems that still exist with racism and the fight for equal rights. Canada developed from a British colony to a sovereign state, established in 1867. The French-English question and the role of Quebec has traditionally overshadowed other ethnic, linguistic and cultural identities. Historically British and French sovereignty over Aboriginal peoples and their lands had been legitimised through the thought that European civilization was superior. It could be seen as a ‘Euro-Canadian Government's apartheid system’ with the aim of conservation of white supremacy. (Birk&Gymnich, 2016, Cochrane, Blidook&Dyke, 2017, and Thobani, 2007)

Racism has been part of Canadian history and is still a problem to be dealt with. Throughout history there have been laws regulating immigration from for example South Asia, like special tax on Chinese immigrants or The 1910 Immigration Act which legislates prohibitions of immigration on the grounds of race. The restrictions on non-white immigration ensured that the majority of the immigration to Canada before the 1960s remained white. (Thobani, 2007)

It is very important to get recognition from the state, this to make citizens feel empowered and to make them feel like they contribute to the nation and feel proud to be a part of it.

When European settlers projected an image on natives (and later other non-whites) as uncivilised this caused a wound which led to self-hatred, and this image of themselves as a second class citizen or not smart enough, was sometimes inherited to following generations. So there is an importance of recognition and the awareness of how identity can be formed, or malformed, through our contact with other people. A person or a group of people can suffer real damage if the people or society around them mirror back to them a demeaning picture of themselves. Nonrecognition/misrecognition can inflict harm, and be a form of oppression, imprisoning someone in a false, distorted, and reduced mode of being. (Taylor, 1992)

Diversity is not only cultures or history that separate Canadians, it is also the concept of identity. Male or female, Newfoundlander or Albertan, Roman Catholic or muslim, francophone or Aboriginal, young or old, rich or poor. Identities evolve from these characteristics and from experiences that are most important to us as individuals or groups. One problem in any society is when citizens are concerned more with their own good or special interest than with the common good for the nation. (Cochrane, Blidook&Dyke, 2017) According to McAllister (2011) the survival of Canada as a country has depended on the willingness of Canadians to accept the basic fact that there are people who think, live, and act differently from themselves - and yet are Canadians just as anybody else. This is acknowledged in Trudeau's words quoted at the beginning of this paper; "We have created a society where individual rights and freedoms, compassion and diversity are core to our citizenship". We -meaning that all Canadians with their compassion and acceptance are playing a part in creating this nation built on multi ethnicities and cultures. And by saying that diversity is the core to Canadian citizenship he acknowledges and includes all cultures that can be found in Canada. It is interesting that the state says there is no official culture and that no ethnic group will have priority, that multiculturalism is their culture. This diversity I would also say is acknowledged by using terms like French-Canadians, Japanese-Canadians, Scottish-Canadians and so on to furthermore highlight the Canadian citizens' different origins. (McAllister, 2011 and Gagnon&Raffaelli, 2007)

One thing that is important in a multicultural society is that no one can sit back and expect "the others" to just do their part, it is a partnership. Recognition is an openness to other ways of being. One problem is the un-willingness of some people on different sides to accept this

diversity that you find in Canada, and elsewhere in the world. As a citizen you are part of a society and your country's politics are your responsibility. This is what is meant by living in a democracy. Being a nation of multi cultures makes Canada interesting to live in if you think of all the various food, sports, languages, and restaurants you are presented to and it provides links to virtually every country in the world. So even if there is no real Canadian core with no official culture, all Canadian citizens have diversity in common and as the lyrics in their Anthem says: "we are one" even though their backgrounds may be different. (McAllister 2011, and Cochrane, Blidook&Dyke, 2017)

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I have completed the self-study course on academic integrity.

The Canadian cultural model

In 2012 Justin Trudeau declared this quote about Canada:

”We have created a society where individual rights and freedoms, compassion and diversity are core to our citizenship. But underlying that idea of Canada is the promise that we all have a chance to build a better life for ourselves and our children.”

In Justin Trudeau’s article, he addresses the challenges with Canadian society and its great success. Four core ideas around the Canadian model are individual rights and freedoms, compassion and diversity (Trudeau, 2012). In this short paper I will discuss and analyze the Canadian cultural model in relation to Trudeau’s article.

According to Justin Trudeau, the Canadian model was at risk at the time, despite the Canadian economy having doubled. The middle class was not developing in the same way the economy was, however a small number of people acquired all the benefits from the growth. Trudeau wanted an liberal ideal to arise in Canada to secure the future for the people (Trudeau, 2012).

To understand Canada’s cultural model it is important to go back to the background of the nation. It started when the Europeans explored Canada, this was the start to change the lives of the native people such as the Inuit, Sioux and Iroquois forever. Many people died from diseases brought by the Europeans. This was however the foundation for Canada where the Aborigines lived with the Europeans in coexistence. The history of Canada is very complex. (Government of Canada, 2015). Canada historically has been colonized by several different nations with settlement colonialism. This affected Canada on a great scale with many challenges and especially with many peaks of immigration to Canada. Canada has not always been welcoming and looked at immigration and differences as something good. During the “identity crisis” multiculturalism was seen as disempowering and a threat to national identity (Thobani, 2007).

In the past there have been differences in the attitude towards the English and the French, and in the formation of the nation there were many obstacles. Those in power wanted to single

out and eliminate culturally distinct groups of “Indians”. This was done and the power was held by the English-Canadian ruling class and an elite of the French. For the nation to follow English societal customs and institutional systems (Thobani, 2007). In the past there were preferred races for citizenship and immigration, this was mostly white Europeans and other non-white migration groups were not included. This would however change with the Canadian Citizenship act and dismantled European domination over Canada after the second World War. This act also helped with minimizing the division between the European ethnicities, where despite coming from different parts of the world ultimately everyone was Canadian (Thobani, 2007).

To backtrack to the French and the English, Canada has had two official languages since 1969. There had been many conflicts and confrontations between these two groups. This in the end led to the commission called the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in 1963-1969. This commission led to recognition for not only the francophones but also other ethnic groups. This has been one of the most important commissions created in Canada which included changes to the language policy, where both groups (the English and the French) were seen as the two founding races of the nation, but also the inclusion of the contribution of other ethnic groups. This commission also led to the official state policy of multiculturalism in 1971 (Thobani, 2007).

Bilingualism in Canada is an important aspect of Canadian society, but also some challenges. English and French are the two official languages in Canada, this also meant two different cultures and bilingualism was coupled with multiculturalism. To unite the nationality as Canada several things were done such as Charter of Rights and Freedom and Bilingualism to unite Canada. The francophones and anglophones were to reconcile with the language reforms, and an equal partnership for the two -both politically and economically as the Canadian dualism. There have been two visions of Canada from both sides, the anglophones and the francophones (McRoberts, 1997). Quebec and French-Canadians were not happy with uniting the two as bicultural, and could not accept this for a long time. It was not only the fact about Canada having two official languages, but the recognition of French-Canadians in the English speaking community and society. Outside Quebec multiculturalism was easy to accept. There are many more languages and ethnicities in Canada than French and English and the state provided support for non-official languages too. It is important to include

languages even though they are not official, because how else could a culture be supported without the language (McRoberts, 1997).

The Canadian model is different from its neighboring country the US. There has been a transition from white colony settlements to a multicultural welcoming society. The Canadian cultural model has been changed, but this was not always the case. The US was more of a "melting pot", in contrast to Canada. Where the change had been led to a more liberal-democratic society (Thobani, 2007).

It is important to recognize the individual - and political identities formed, that is an important part in understanding the Canadian identity. In the article by Charles Taylor, discusses the importance of recognition. This is a significant part of the Canadian model. The importance of recognition also includes the importance of not misrepresenting and misrecognition. This harms groups and projects an untrue picture. Authenticity and morals are key concepts for the model (Taylor, 1994).

The article discusses the importance of the principle of equal citizenship, and how people should be recognized by their own individual identity. This model can be seen in Justin Trudeau's speech about the core ideas and in hopes of building a better future. Where it maintains the differences between different individuals and not being "difference-blind". All humans should be worthy of respect and in the form of "politics of equal dignity". All humans share some things even with the differences called universal human potential (Taylor, 1994). In the end the Canadian model is about hope, a key concept in both understanding others and in building a better future for the multicultural society of Canada. To understand identity there is much more to it than only where you come from. Stories told about historic events are a very impactful way to get an idea across. I think Thomas King's writing creates very real emotions that a normal article can recreate. At the same time as not being serious, but talking about real issues (King, 2007).

Canada can be said to be based on a multiculturalism "mosaic" denoting that there is a social framework which includes different smaller cultural groups into the national framework, and not be a "melting pot" as in the neighboring country. This is defined as there is one dominant and the other smaller cultural groups are not included in a national framework. The Canadian cultural model has rejected "melting pot", and multiculturalism has been a part of politics since the 1970s and with the Multiculturalism Act of 1988 it is confirmed to proceed in a

different direction (Birk & Gymnich, 2016).

Finally it can be said that the Canadian identity and cultural model has developed because of many different circumstances, but one thing that is important is the multiculturalism and bilingualism in Canada. Without the commissions and acts Canada would not be where it is today. As Trudeau said in his article is Canada's four core ideas: individual rights and freedoms, compassion and diversity. Also the recognition of the contribution of other cultures which makes up the mosaic that is Canada. For a better possible future for the children. The Canadian cultural model focuses on hope and compassion is given to all groups of people. Canada is an inclusive society, and it has not always been this way and there have been challenges to overcome. The most important aspect to think about is that the Canadian identity is not defined as the ones only being born there, it is a big spectrum from both Aboriginals to immigrants and being able to integrate into Canadian society.

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I have completed the self-study on academic integrity

Title: The Canadian Cultural Model: A Reflection on Justin Trudeau's Vision

In 2012, Justin Trudeau, the then future Prime Minister of Canada, encapsulated the essence of the

Canadian cultural model in a single sentence: "We have created a society where individual rights

and freedoms, compassion and diversity are core to our citizenship. But underlying that idea of

Canada is the promise that we all have a chance to build a better life for ourselves and our children." This statement is a testament to the multicultural, inclusive, and compassionate society

that Canada aspires to be. However, it also raises questions about the extent to which this vision

corresponds with the current Canadian cultural model.

The Canadian cultural model is characterized by its multiculturalism which according to

Multiculturalism Policy Index is at Score (7) which is one of the highest in the world (Canada |

Multiculturalism Policies in Contemporary Democracies, 2020).

Multiculturalism in Canada is a concept that has been officially recognized since the 1970s and

confirmed by the Multiculturalism Act in 1988. This policy was designed to foster a society where

all cultures are valued and respected, and where diversity is seen as a strength rather than a weakness. Trudeau's statement aligns with this policy, emphasizing the importance of individual

rights, freedoms, and diversity.

The Canadian cultural model places a strong emphasis on individual rights and freedoms. This is

evident in the country's commitment to universal human rights, its democratic political system,

and its legal protections for individual freedoms. However, as Trudeau's statement suggests, these

rights and freedoms are not just abstract principles but are closely tied to the promise of a better

life for all Canadians.

This promise is reflected in the Canadian social contract, which is based on the idea of equal opportunity. Trudeau's emphasis on the "chance to build a better life" suggests a focus on these

principles. However, there are concerns about the extent to which this promise is being fulfilled,

particularly for the middle class and for indigenous peoples.

The Canadian cultural model also recognizes the importance of compassion in society. This is reflected in the country's social policies, which include a strong welfare state, public healthcare,

and support for refugees and immigrants. However, as with the promise of a better life, there are

ongoing debates about the extent to which this compassion is being realized in practice, particularly in relation to indigenous peoples and other marginalized groups ("Diversity Is Canada's Strength," 2015).

The importance of migration in the Canadian cultural model is further highlighted by the country's

history of immigration. The shift in immigration policies in the 1960s and 1970s led to increased

diversity in Canadian society (Sunera Thobani, 2007, p. 97). However, Trudeau's statement acknowledges that this promise of a better life has not been equally accessible to all Canadians,

particularly the middle class and Indigenous peoples. This reflects the ongoing challenges in achieving equal recognition and opportunity in Canadian society (Taylor, 1994, p.36).

The history of the Estonian ethnic group in Canada provides a fascinating insight into the complexities of immigration and the shaping of multicultural societies. According to the 1961 census, there were 18,500 Canadians of Estonian ethnic origin, a significant portion of whom were

recent immigrants.

Canada's response to this influx of immigrants was initially cautious but became more welcoming

over time. In 1947, Prime Minister Mackenzie King stated that the government would seek to ensure the careful selection and permanent settlement of immigrants who could be advantageously

absorbed into the economy. This policy took into account the urgent problem of resettling persons

displaced and rendered homeless by the world conflict.

By 1949, Canada liberalized its immigration policy on refugees from Europe, leading to an increase in the number of Estonians immigrating over the next two years. Contrary to initial concerns, these refugees proved to be an asset to Canada and contributed its multiculturalism (Aun,

K. 1985, p. 21-26).

The Canadian cultural model is also reflected in its literature, which has become increasingly diverse and multicultural. Authors such as Michael Ondaatje, Joy Kogawa, and others have used

their works to explore their identities and negotiate their place within Canadian society. Their stories highlight the complexities of identity formation in a multicultural society and the importance of landscape and language in shaping these identities (Birk & Gymnich, 2016, p 513-

514).

Moreover, the Canadian cultural model is not without its dark moments. Trudeau acknowledged

the dark moments in his famous speech in 2015, where he mentioned the country's history of racism, the Chinese head tax, the internment of Ukrainian, Japanese, and Italian Canadians during

the First and Second World Wars, the turning away of boats of Jewish or Punjabi refugees, and

Canada's own history of slavery. These historical injustices have left indelible marks on the Canadian cultural model and continue to shape the experiences of marginalized communities ("Diversity Is Canada's Strength," 2015).

My Thoughts:

In my opinion, Trudeau's vision of Canada as a society where individual rights, freedoms, compassion, and diversity are core to citizenship largely corresponds with the current Canadian

cultural model. However, his emphasis on the promise of building a better life highlights the ongoing challenges in achieving equal opportunity and recognition for all Canadians. As Canada

continues to navigate its multicultural identity, it must continue to strive for a society where this

promise is a reality for all its citizens. The Canadian cultural model, while laudable in its

aspirations, must continue to evolve and adapt to ensure that it truly reflects the diversity and complexity of its people.

In the Canadian cultural model, the role of multiculturalism extends beyond policy and into the

lived experiences of its citizens. The multicultural model is not just about the coexistence of diverse cultures, but also about the interactions and exchanges between these cultures. This is evident in the vibrant multicultural neighborhoods in Canadian cities, where different cultures influence each other in terms of food, music, art, and even language. These multicultural spaces

are a testament to the dynamic and evolving nature of Canadian society.

However, the multicultural model also presents challenges in terms of social cohesion and integration. While diversity is celebrated, it can also lead to social fragmentation if not properly

managed. This is particularly evident in the experiences of new immigrants, who often face barriers

in terms of language, employment, and social integration. These challenges highlight the need for

comprehensive support systems to facilitate the integration of new immigrants and to ensure that

they have the opportunity to build a better life in Canada.

In my view, I believe also there is a correlation between the promise of building a better life and

the progression of the middle-class situation is a central theme in the Canadian cultural model.

This model views the status of the middle class as a crucial barometer of societal health and fairness. However, Trudeau highlights a concerning trend: the middle class, which constitutes the

majority of the Canadian population, is increasingly finding itself in a precarious position characterized by diminished stability and economic security. This observation implies that, despite

Canada's commendable strides in fostering diversity and inclusion, there is still a pressing need to

take further measures to guarantee equal opportunities for all its citizens.

The Canadian cultural model also places a strong emphasis on reconciliation with its Indigenous

people. This is a critical aspect of the Canadian identity, acknowledging the historical injustices

and ongoing marginalization faced by Indigenous communities. The process of reconciliation involves recognizing the rights and sovereignty of Indigenous peoples, addressing socio-economic

disparities, and preserving and revitalizing Indigenous cultures and languages. This commitment

to reconciliation reflects the core values of compassion and respect for diversity in the Canadian

cultural model.

The Canadian cultural model is also reflected in its approach to global issues. As a country, Canada

has been a strong advocate for human rights, peacekeeping, and environmental sustainability on

the international stage. This global outlook is a reflection of the values of compassion and diversity

that are central to the Canadian identity. It also underscores the interconnectedness of the world

and the importance of global cooperation in addressing shared challenges.

In conclusion, the Canadian cultural model, as encapsulated in Trudeau's vision, is a complex and

dynamic system that values individual rights, freedoms, compassion, and diversity. It is a model

that is constantly evolving, shaped by the diverse experiences and identities of its citizens. While

there are ongoing challenges in terms of social integration, economic inequality, and reconciliation

with Indigenous peoples, the Canadian cultural model remains committed to the promise of

building a better life for all its citizens. As Canada continues to navigate its multicultural identity,

it must continue to strive for a society where this promise is a reality for all its citizens.

In the Canadian cultural model, the environment is not just a backdrop to human activities, but an

integral part of our cultural and social fabric. This is particularly evident in the relationship

between Indigenous peoples and the land, which is characterized by a deep spiritual connection

and a commitment to sustainable stewardship. The recognition and respect for Indigenous land

rights is a critical aspect of the Canadian cultural model, reflecting its commitment to justice, diversity, and reconciliation (First Nations' Relationship to the Land, n.d.)

Footnote:

Academic Integrity

"I have successfully completed a self-study course on academic integrity. The principles and guidelines learned from the course have been diligently applied in the research and writing process

of this paper."

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The country that took immigration and demography to their advantage.

Introduction

The economic competitiveness of Canadian cities mainly derives on the quality and capacity of their urban, transport, trade, and digital infrastructure, as highlighted in the article Agenda for Growth. This aligns with Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's vision for

Canada. He refers that societies are built on the foundation of individual rights, freedoms, compassion, and diversity. However, achieving this vision requires a clear and comprehensive planning process, as well as a well-structured funding strategy for infrastructure. Without these essential factors, the country risks falling behind in business competitiveness, job growth, and overall quality of life.

Trudeau's aspiration for Canada is to "build a better life for ourselves and our children," a recurring theme that reflects the daily struggle to strike a balance between maintaining a well-established development for the country and ensuring that every citizen and city contributes to progress. As a divided Canada is from coast to coast, the challenge lies in finding ways to create optimal conditions for cities and citizens alike to flourish in the future.

This article will explore the question of what Canada can accomplish to pave the way for greater opportunities for the country in the future. By analyzing the Canadian Culture model, critical factors of infrastructure development, inclusivity, and the multicultural and demography influence, the path towards a more prosperous and united Canadian will be questioned.

The Canadian Culture Model

From the roots of Justin Trudeau principles, The Canadian Culture Model seeks a dignified balance between developing a thriving society that considers respect and values of the diversity for its citizens. The Model further illumine the importance to retain opportunities for personal growth and improvements as well as covering a vision for the nation that not only embraces their multicultural heritage. It also actively encourages inclusion, equality and social justice impact. (Trudeau. 2012)

I have completed the self-study course on academic integrity before I wrote this paper.

Other interesting aspects that Karl Aun already mentioning in the 90th century, that Canadas historical colonization has an impact at the Canadian roots towards cultural suppression, individual displacement and further the country's loss of identity. (Aun 1985) In more recent times Canada has grappling the need for reconciliation from the colonization to impact the country at a federal level, as preserve indigenous languages and cultures together with empowering, partially centralized regions, to reclaim their

original heritage and rights. (Birk, H. & Gymnich, M. 2016). Further on in the 20th century, the Canadian culture have encountered another type of (significantly lower degree of colonization, if we can call it that), “colonization” impact. A significant degree of immigration that influence Canada to questioning themselves, what the core purpose of the Canadian Culture Model really is. From a historical legalization of Constitution Act and Official Language Act, their purposes were to establish a more equal and empowered society among different communities wherever the location within the country. Today, citizens prioritize a thriving culture diversity that is an integral part of the Canadian identity and future.

Infrastructure development

One other perspective of Canada, that originates in their scattering cities across the country, is the country's mobility system between the cities. According to Agenda for growth Canada is in matter of fact an urban nation, but without any urban strategy. Canada has great consistent priorities towards being a leading country in diversity, multiculturalism and inclusivity and according to accomplish that, as Agenda for growth states, it is time for the future to set new urban goals and engaging cities that matches the country's priorities.

The article continues to explain that if Canada should continue to be a competitive country, globally, more investments is essential in both private and public sectors. As mentioned previously, Canada has important priorities, but their different regions and cities have different priorities depending on their own conditions. This aspect has opened the eyes for Canada as the approach of “one-size-fits-all” is ineffective and poorly fitted for the country today. In fact, this has led to actions from the Canadian Global Cities Council to develop different campaigning parties to urge funding in the private sector on building infrastructure and developing a National Urban Strategy that funds and align cities different infrastructure plans. Finally, the article enlightens that the path for a better development of cities infrastructure is to “Fund the plan, not the project”. (Agenda for growth, 2019)

Inclusivity and Multiculturalism

Professor at Queens University, Will Kymlicka declares that specific multiculturalism

issues are the key for further development for the country's future. Kymlicka further explain that the countries multiculturalism has there fostering in social cohesion and harmony among its diverse population. (Kymlicka, 2010) As Kymlicka stated multiculturalism has a significant role in Canada today, which also is discussed broadly about Canadian multicultural literary fiction in the article "Multiculturalism in Canadian fiction" by Hanne Birk and Marion Gymnich in "Handbook of Transatlantic North American Studies" edited by Julia Straub in 2016. Birk and Gymnich set the aspect of "multiculturalism" as an operating concept in every society that serving different ethnocultural group in one same nation. Moreover, the article explains in comparison to The Canadian model and the American culture. There is not the same pressure for Canadian immigrants to become a part of the national culture. One influencing factor for this statement is that the Canadian culture is always moving/changing and therefore simpler for new citizen to feel more inclusivity. (Birk, H. & Gymnich, M. 2016)

Demography and Future Canada

Another interesting perspective regarding multiculturalism together with demography, that I would like to enlighten is Laurent Martels, the director of the Centre for Demography at Statistics Canada, research that he mentions in the podcast of Eh Sayers (2023), of what demographic data can tell us about the fortieth million Canadian citizen. What implications of demographics change together with, as mentioned earlier, the driving factor of immigration brings Canada a rapidly growing population. Martels enlightens the percentage probability, if the frothiest million person is a child or an immigrant or else. The interesting part is not that probability, it is the further statistic Martels is stating regarding the population growth in the 80ths century verses the 2020ths century. In a 2021 sensis data, tells us that 1.9 million children within Canada, that is younger than 15 years has a parent that is born abroad. Another significant fact is that 95 percentage of the Canadian citizens is related to immigration. Since 2016's population growth, 71 percentage has been allocated to immigration and the purpose is mainly that people abroad come to work in the Canadian workforce or pursue studies. (Martens. 2023)

All in all, Canada has the fastest population and immigration growth in compared to all G7 countries and a matter-of-fact people coming to Canada is slightly younger. For a

long period, Canada has been built on immigration and according to Martels, Canada is prepared to take this advantage into act for Canadas future developments. He means that the ethnical position in religion and identity abroad has been changing Canada and it will continue to do so in decades ahead. Lastly, Martens explains that immigration is the way to maintain a positive demography growth in the country because it is filling many of the country's needs. As for example, filling the country's labor market needs and that immigrants bring new experience and other human capital. However, as this is positive effects for the country, Canada is still a country with functional systems and a further higher level of immigration will cause challenges with Canadas infrastructure overall. (Martens. 2023)

Summary and assumptions

In conclusion, the Canadian culture model has over the years been influenced by historical colonization and immigration. Today's economic competitiveness of Canadian cities is tied up to their infrastructure, which aligns with Justin Trudeau's vision of a compassionate and diverse society. To encourage Trudeau's vision to flourish, a comprehensive planning process together with a more well-structured funding in the right sectors will maintain or increase the quality of life within Canada's future. Moving forward, strategic infrastructure development must be prioritized in Canada, with a focus on urban goals and investments in both the private and public sectors. A cohesive National Urban Strategy is needed to address the varied infrastructure requirements of cities and regions across the country effectively.

Additionally, inclusivity and multiculturalism foster social cohesion, while demographics play a significant role in shaping Canada's future. Rapid population growth driven by immigration provides valuable human capital to meet the nation's needs. These aspects, sets a changing view of the Canadian culture model and as the country continues to change, so will the culture model. This means that the Canadian cultural model stands as a testament to its commitment to diversity and inclusivity. By focusing on infrastructure challenges and continuing reconciliation efforts. Further, the nation can move even more towards a more prosperous and united future, maintaining its unique multicultural identity and so on meet Justin Trudeau's vision of a better future for us and our children. Which Laurents Martels also states, those who are born in Canada today

is predicted to live 10 more years than those who were born in 80ths century.

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Justin Trudeau's remarks are what many foreigners and outsiders always thought about Canada. Canada and the USA have always been two quite different stories in terms of how people outside of North America perceive the two. However, is it just a national narrative that the Canadian government is trying to pursue to own the narrative of their country and create a friendly and positive image of their nation? What Trudeau is trying to say is that in Canada everyone is equal and diversity is a strong core of the nation.

The master narrative that Thobani speaks of is a collective image of the nation, such as the whites are the founders of the nation (French and English). The depiction that the Canadian nation as originally white creates a narrative and placement of white Canadians at the core of the nation. Whilst racialised groups and indigenous are rendered outside of the core idea. Throughout Canadian history there has been a silence around the colonization and racist government policies that the Canadian state has enacted in favor of promoting the myth of white domination as the product of meritocracy and not violence.

The current Canadian national enterprise is popularized as a new people building a new land which Thobani means that it is racist and romantic simplicity elides the complex history. Whilst Thobani remarks can be regarded as simplistic and calling the indigenous peoples home as new land to build on is indeed problematic. One can say that it rather means that it

is a new land for immigrants to build a new life. A common belief among immigrants which Thobani herself acknowledges. It is however important that the belief does not intervene or cause more suffering towards the indigenous and their land that was never ceded in the first place.

Thobani brought up the creation of the royal commission on bilingualism and biculturalism in 1963. In which the commission was given the mandate to develop the Canadian confederation on the basis of equal participation between the two founding races. Taking into account the contribution made by other ethnic groups. This mandate reproduced the colonial reassurance of aboriginal people as the original presence in the country. The commission report repeated this gesture in its reinforcement of the equality of the two charter groups (the British and the French as the two founders of the nation. Whilst it tried to commit to multiculturalism and make a transition from a white settler colony to a multiracial multi ethnic

liberal democratic society, imagined now as welcoming diverse immigrants and valuing their cultures and the nation state came to be seen, this perception was shared by many immigrants.¹ It does create a contradiction regarding equality when history is being rewritten to fit the white majority at the expense of the indigenous population along with the other minorities that are not considered white.

This commitment was unable to balance the foundational claims of the British and French with the demand for inclusion of the multitudes of other cultural groups. The nations as primarily bilingual and bicultural reproduce the definition of the nation as racialized constructs of the British and French. The policy of multiculturalism as a mode of managing internal differences within the nation and creating a nation to be imagined as distinct and

1 Sunera Thobani, 2007 'Exalted Subjects: Studies in the Making of Race and Nation in Canada' Page 142-146

differentiated from external countries such as the United states. And Canada has indeed reaped immense benefits from presenting itself internationally as distinct.²

This in turn reflects why former and current prime ministers of Canada have issued apologies for various matters that the Canadian government has done towards the other minorities and indigenous population. From Stephen Harper apologizing for the Japanese Internment during the second world war to Justin Trudeau regarding the massacre and forced assimilation of indigenous children. ³ These apologies can reflect different motives, to mark Canada as a distinct progressive nation that can self reflect past "mistakes" and try to unify as a nation as a whole. The other is the master narrative that Canada has built internationally. By distinguishing itself as a more mature nation in comparison to the USA and winning international support.

Whilst there has indeed been work to try to repair said damage towards minorities and indigenous groups, the foundation of the nation stays the same. Whilst there has been the creation of a Truth and reconciliation commission and aboriginal healing foundation. In response to the minorities organizing and making their voice heard after the forced colonization and removal of indigenous people and their territory and the violent and generational damaging harm towards the Japanese Canadians during the internment camps.⁴ These troublesome memories were not written about in history books that were available for children in schools. These remarks are not a unique Canadian issue of owning and whitewashing of history. By ignoring or simply not having the curriculum of some of the darkest events in Canadian history until the minorities become vocal.

The remarks made by the political leaders tries to promote openness and and recognize the damage it has done to several minority groups. Promoting an understanding of each other and where compassion and diversity is a core value. If these values have been carried by the current and former government is harder to say. With the bilingual issue being and

always been the highest priority by the federal government, once again the minorities seem to fall outside of the Anglophones and Francophones interests.

Historically the French-english question and role of Quebec traditionally overshadowed other ethnics, linguistic and cultural identities. However ongoing political developments justify a robot discussion of aboriginal peoples as well as Canada's minority ethnocultural groups.

The claims of various identifiable communities have been legitimated in policy, law and the constitution such as the recognition of aboriginal rights, official bilingualism and multiculturalism- However such recognition did not end conflict or discrimination. Partly due

to contrasting perceptions each group has over its history and evolving understanding of each group's status. Class is an important factor in Canadian politics even though it is often overlooked. Also common to point to the increasing importance of sex and gender in

Canadian politics, especially respect to women, sexual orientations and gender identity

4Kirsten Amiko Mcallister, Christophe Premat, Francoise Sule, 2010 "Politics of memory"

3 Micheal Adams, 2023 "Canada is sorry - a lot. We shouldn't apologize for that; We are a world leader in issuing apologies, and that speaks to an aspect of our culture that allows us to be able to create space for others" The Globe and Mail

2Thobani, 2007 "Exalted Subjects: Studies in the Making of Race and Nation in Canada" Page 145-148

however here too established rights do not always equate with equitable practice. However these new focus and importance to Canadian Politics within the system does reflect at least the idea of Trudeau's quote of diversity and equality.

The bilingual issue has created a very segregated and the Quebec obsession with retaining and prevailing the French language has led to the rise of xenophobia and racism in Quebec. Not only that but they claim that they have since Canada's independence been the minority, consisting of French Canadians and English Canadians. Due to the influence and importance Quebec has, the Canadian political system is biased towards the Quebecois at the expense of everyone else.

The requirement of French fluency in any important government job hinders most bilingual immigrants and English Canadians. Historically the French-english question and role of Quebec traditionally overshadowed other ethnics, linguistic and cultural identities. However ongoing political developments justify a robot discussion of aboriginal peoples as well as Canada's minority ethnocultural groups. The claims of various identifiable communities have been legitimated in policy, law and the constitution such as the recognition of aboriginal rights, official bilingualism and multiculturalism- However such recognition did not end conflict or discrimination. Partly due to contrasting perceptions each group has over its history and evolving understanding of each group's status. Class is an important factor in Canadian politics even though it is often overlooked. Also common to point to the increasing importance of sex and gender in Canadian politics, especially respect to women, sexual orientations and gender identity however here too established rights do not always equate with equitable practice. However these new focus and importance to Canadian Politics within the system does reflect at least the idea of Trudeau's quote of diversity and equality. 5

It is hard to justify or simply give a straight answer regarding if the current Canadian cultural model reflects Justin Trudeau's remarks. As mentioned the Canadian government during the last decades has tried to mark Canada as a distinct international counterpart of the USA.

Being a liberal progressive multicultural nation that prides itself on self reflection and diversity. Yet its core foundation works against what it is trying to work towards. By having the two white colonizers as the founders of the nation (anglophones and francophones) it ignores the indigenous population before them and the unceded land the settlers took. The Bilingual challenge seems to top the priority list for the government due to the Francophones power and influence which disables other minority groups to prevail and succeed at the

same level. Therefore the remarks that prime minister Tradue made can be answered as not fully true or representative of the current political and cultural situation in Canada. Work is being done but much gets ignored due to the federal priority over the Quebecois then any other minority group. 6

6 I have taken the self study session on academic integrity

5 Christopher Corchrane, Kelly Blidook, Rand Dyk, 2016, Eight Edition “Canadian Politics: Critical

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My reflection from previous reflection of Justin Trudeau’s quotation

introduction -

In that quote from the Canadian prime minister Justin Trudeau in 2012 A.D. : “*We have created a society where individual rights and freedoms, compassion and diversity are core to our citizenship. But underlying that idea of Canada is the promise that we all have a chance to build a better life for ourselves and our children.*”. It seems that Mr. Trudeau was trying to formulate his version of the Canadian concept which is equivalent to the American dream. Besides to determine whether this assesment of Trudeau by the Canadian cultural model is correct, one must first gain a deeper understanding of what he, as a male husband with a female wife called “Sofie Gregoire” beside their 3 children, whom have names “Xavier, Ella-Grace, Hadrien” is trying to say of an understanding of how this Canadian model has come about, I.e. what separates the 2 concepts of what citizens should strive for and the way in which it is done is the inclusion of figurative “diversity” and its compassion.

interpretation of the quote of Justin Trudeau on multiculturalism -

These are as central part of Canadian society nowadays. These 2 words represent the difference between how Trudeau’s views of Canada’s cultural model as opposed to the American one. Which everyone can differ between the kingdom of Canada and the republic of the United States of America. However, it is not only Trudeau’s point of view only, but also the official Canadian policy I general. The article “mutualism in Canadian fiction” by Hanne Birk and Marion Gymnich in the written-work of “Handbook of Transatlantic North American Studies” edited by Julia Straub in the year 2016 A.D. has discussed the Canadian multicultural library fiction, in addition also the multiculturalism in Canada more broadly. I.e., Canada’s multiculturalism that values compassion and “diversity” is differentiated in the text toward the cultural framework of the United States of America, and that is seen as a “melting pot”. Which here the melting pot metaphor implies that there is a main culture that is surrounded by less widespread cultures that either remain so there, or be absorbed into the

main culture and the cultural components of the smaller culture which have become part of the main culture. Furthermore, can someone see that a society that operates with concept of “multiculturalism” in mind is defined in the text as having a larger community that serves many different ethnocultural groups while all of these are parts of the same nation. With other words it is that the Canadian model as it is more a mosaic where the dynamics between the cultural elements are constantly changing while the American always has a culture that always remains at the top. It is implied that there is not the same pressure in Canada for immigrant mainstream culture.

question that you raise -

Anyway, I think that Trudeau had a right opinion in identifying what it means to be a Canadian citizen thru the depending on how someone choose to interpret prime minister’s quotes. This is a difficult aspect of trying to determine whether what a politician is saying is correct is that they often speak in a way that is largely open to interpretation. wherefore it is difficult to say definitively whether he had it right or wrong. Therefore, it makes more sense to focus more on analyzing the actual Canadian cultural model. The more appropriate way to determine whether Trudeau had right is by evaluating the political conditions that cultures have in Canad. I will do this by looking at the political conditions that cultures have in Canada instead of an idealized view of how some portions of Canadian inhabitants want the cultural model to work. However, I don’t see Canada as a purely multicultural society in the sense that Birk and Gymnich have defined it as certain aspects of culture resembling multiculturalism. The description was closest to the reality of how the Canadian cultural model works, and that which I've read is: “The politics of Recognition” by Charles Taylor {1992}. In this text, Taylor discusses how Canada has 2 different forms of rights liberalism that underpin the Canadian social model. One of forms is the idea that every individual in the country has equally inalienable rights comparable to the ideals of the United States of America was been founded on. When the current form that this rights, liberalism should have been formulated into law in the 1990s, with the Canadian Charter of Rights, it was met with criticism from those who wanted to see the survival of Aboriginal identities as well as French Canadian identity. The criticism was since this cultural model allegedly does not take into account the rights of these cultures to exist, since it was claimed that this model by its nature is homogenizing all the people who live under it. The Quebecers especially saw this as a threat to their survival as a group that led to the addition of collective rights for French speakers and Aborigens. The speech rights granted, among other things, give the province of Quebec the ability to force various intuitions to use French in various ways in an effort by the provincial government to ensure that that French society in Canada does not die out, and that their unique culture is protected. These collective rights are part of another form of liberalism, one that allows cultures to coexist in parallel in some form of multiculturalism. But this separate legislation for certain social groups is a front for the idea of equality rights for everyone in a society.

parts of the paper that correspond to your arguments based on the analysis of the sources -

One problem with trying to give more power to a particular group by valuing collective rights more than individual rights is that the only entity that can in any possible way, claim to

speak for an entire collective is a government in some form. This threatens to make the government more powerful at the expense of even those individuals who are parts of the group that collective rights are supposed to empower. Although Anglophones are in the majority in Canada and their language is an official national language, they do not have as many collective rights as Francophones. Immigrants have the least unique rights and must face a melting pot comparable to the American one; it is only the French and Aboriginal communities that have the right not to become part of the mainstream English-speaking culture and in Quebec there are far-reaching laws that try to assimilate new arrivals directly. Still, Canadians may have a different view of their culture as nothing more than a melting pot, but historical evidence shows that the integration process has worked in a very similar way as it has the United States of America. There are no similar rights granted to groups other than English-speaking, French or indigenous groups. There may be an idealized image of Canada as a country that does not put pressure on minorities to integrate, but if the legal system favors certain groups, others are in turn disadvantaged. One reason the elite in Canada may feel that: in addition to pressure from Indigenous peoples and Francophone groups that collective rights are important to protect is that they feel some kind of sympathy because the whole Canadian identity is a small identity trying to survive against the American culture trying to integrate it. Trying to promote a unique national identity when you are neighbors with the world's largest economy, who mostly speak the same language as you, have the most globally influential culture, and are about nine times more populous is difficult. That's why Canadian politicians feel the need to pass laws that determine the number of programs on television that must be Canadian. You could say that the whole project of creating a Canadian culture tries to value collective rights over the individual rights that all North Americans receive, which could be likened to how Canada's cultural model works but on a continental scale. In one lecture of this course, someone has mentioned that all Canadian identities are in somehow always based in some special way around their minority's relationship to a larger group.

and a conclusion where you highlight the most important arguments on Canadian identity -

I.e., native Canadians are a minority for Canadians of settler descent, immigrants are a minority relative to Canadians already established in Canada, French Canadians versus Anglo-Canadians, and finally the mainstream Canadian identity versus mainstream American identity. That's why Trudeau feels the need to try to articulate a similar yet unique version of the American dream may come from the anxiety of trying to ensure the survival and identity of his own culture with the globally dominant American culture on his doorstep. The Canadian cultural model can be described as a society in which there is a national framework that gives each citizen individual rights and freedoms and is based on the promise of being able to build a better future for Canada's current residents and their children. Furthermore, also the compassion is given to the Francophone communities, the First Nations, the Metis and the Inuit because their cultures and customs have a special legal status in law that is more important than the individual rights of each Canadian. The compassion which has been given to these groups and the ability of immigrants from all over the world to come to Canada and become part of Canadian society, which leads to make this nation diverse, yet immigrant communities are under pressure to integrate into mainstream Canadian culture.

References: {As this template}: Surname, firstname_letter. (year) title

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In 2012, Justin Trudeau stated the following about Canada: "We have created a society where individual rights and freedoms, compassion and diversity are core to our citizenship. But underlying that idea of Canada is the promise that we all have a chance to build a better life for ourselves and our children." ¹This quote stated the aspiration that Trudeau had for the Canadian cultural model, and these values have been exemplified through various different social policies, art and literature throughout history.²

Canada is a very large country, it is the second largest country in the world and it has a rich cultural history. Canada was built up by many culturally different individuals such as over 50 different Aboriginal people, Europeans, Africans and Asians.³ This has allowed multiculturalism to flourish in society throughout history, and even in this day of age. In 2021, Canada consisted of individuals with over 450 ethnic origins, whereas 36% of its citizens had multiple ethnic origins. The permanent resident immigrants in Canada have also reached quite a high number, they are now 23% of the total Canadian population.⁴ Therefore, it can be ascertained that individuals from all around the world seek to move to Canada as a chance for better lives for themselves and their families, and that Canada has a very diverse population.

Many artists depict the beauty of Canada's landscapes and its history through their art, such as Nelly-Eve Rajotte, whose art film⁵ grants an insight into what the culturally rich landscape looks like. Furthermore, the diversity of Canada could be seen in other art pieces throughout history, where the link between humans and nature is expressed through beautiful and inspiring art pieces. How Canada was depicted through art varied depending on where the

5 Rajotte, Nelly-Eve. 2017. Blanc.

⁴ Environics Analytics. (2022, October 26). Census 2021: Canada's Cultural Diversity Continues to Increase. Environics Analytics Blog. Retrieved from: <https://environicsanalytics.com/en-ca/resources/blogs/ea-blog/2022/10/26/census-2021-canada-as-cultural-diversity-continues-to-increase>

³ Thobani, S. (2007). Exalted Subjects. Studies in the Making of Race and Nation in Canada. University of Toronto Press. p.173-174

² I completed the self study course in academic integrity

¹ Trudeau, J. (2012, October 30). Canadian middle class left out of the growth equation. The Star. Retrieved from: https://www.thestar.com/opinion/editorialopinion/2012/10/30/canadian_middle_class_left_out_of_the_growth_equation.html

artists were from, since individuals from different places in the world had a different view of what Canada is. For example, the Europeans depicted Canada in a European style and also ignored the presence of Indigenous individuals, and Canada's multiculturalism. On the other hand, artists who were active in the 20th century, such as the Group of Seven and Emily Carr,

showed a higher emphasis on the Canadian-ness of the Canadian landscape.⁶ Regarding the diversity aspect in the Canadian cultural model, Canada has done a lot to encourage multiculturalism, diversity and a feeling of inclusivity for all its society members. Since 1971, when the first multiculturalism policies were created, Canada has allowed multiculturalism to flourish amongst its citizens. The policy made it easier for individuals to preserve their language and culture, although the main focus seemed to be on the preservation of the English and French language.⁷ Individuals that were not of French or English descent felt like they had to assimilate to the French and English culture, even though the whole point of this policy was to not pursue policies of assimilation.⁸ This backfiring effect led to changes being made in 1988 to the multiculturalism policies, and it led to the Multiculturalism Act being released. The act had a declaration that stated that even though the Official Languages Act states that English and French are the official languages of Canada, neither shall take away the rights or privileges that other languages have. It also stated that the government shall preserve and enhance the use of languages other than French and English, whilst those two official languages shall be strengthened. I believe that this was a step forward for making the individuals who do not speak the official languages feel seen, and feel like they, together with their culture, and language, are as much as important members of the society as the French and English speakers. Additionally, this also led to cultures other than French and English being more recognized, preserved and accepted, which is in line with the vision that Justin Trudeau had for the Canadian cultural model, where all different cultures shall be accepted. Additionally, after the Multiculturalism Act was passed, some provincial governments, such as Ottawa, even invested money in the preservation and encouragement for individuals to learn their ancestors' native languages, which were not the official

⁸ Thobani, S. (2007). p.172

⁷ McRoberts, Kenneth. (1997). *Misconceiving Canada : the struggle for national unity*. Toronto ; New York : Oxford University Press. p.128

⁶ Coates, C. (n.d.). *A History of Canadian Landscape* [Recorded lecture]. Retrieved from <https://athena.itslearning.com/ContentArea/ContentArea.aspx?LocationType=1&LocationID=20179>

languages of Canada.⁹ This, I believe, was also a big step forward towards acknowledging and encouraging multiculturalism in Canada to flourish, and for more individuals to feel at home in the society both for themselves and their children.

However, if the situation is analyzed from a different perspective, it can be noticed that the feelings that the Indigenous people experience even in today's day and age, are notably different from the rest of the Canadian population. Even though the situation for Indigenous individuals now is much better than it was a mere 100 years ago when they had to suffer from colonization, discrimination and dispossession of their lands,¹⁰ I believe that there is still some room for improvement to make the Indigenous people feel like they have as much potential for growth as the other citizens. As an example, individuals of indigenous descent born in the town of Tsawwassen in its Indian Reserve, have less of an 'economic opportunity' compared to those born a few meters away in the center of Tsawwassen.¹¹ Individuals of indigenous descent are also over-represented among the unemployed, poor and illiterate, and indigenous women are more likely to earn less and be unemployed than indigenous men.¹² Additionally, individuals of indigenous descent also receive extra cash, land, race-based rights and privileges to acquire fishery and agricultural land since it is believed that without receiving these benefits, the individuals will experience poverty and low economic standards. Therefore, the Indigenous people are treated much differently than the rest of the population, and this contradicts Justin Trudeau's quote by implying that not all individuals have the same chance, since some individuals, such as the Indigenous people, need extra help to achieve the goals, and even then with the help granted to them, they will still earn less than the

non-indigenous individuals. Therefore, they can not build a better life for themselves and their children, since they will be stuck in a rut of earning less than Canadian citizens of non-indigenous descent.¹³ Therefore, I believe that it is important to acknowledge that there are ongoing challenges that can be improved regarding the treatment of indigenous

13 Thobani, S. (2007). p.172-173

12 The Canadian Encyclopedia. (n.d.). Aboriginal People - Economic Conditions. Retrieved from

<https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/aboriginal-people-economic-conditions>

11 Thobani, S. (2007). p.172-173

10 United Nations. (n.d.). Economic and Social Development. Retrieved from:

<https://www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/mandated-areas1/economic-and-social-development.html>

9 McRoberts, Kenneth. (1997). p.134

individuals. By bettering this area, Canada will be much closer to fully realizing the ideals that Justin Trudeau had stated in his vision of Canada, particularly in terms of addressing historical injustice and achieving resolution with the indigenous individuals.

In conclusion, I believe that the quote: "We have created a society where individual rights and freedoms, compassion and diversity are core to our citizenship. But underlying that idea of Canada is the promise that we all have a chance to build a better life for ourselves and our children."¹⁴ by Justin Trudeau is an accurate depiction of how it is to live in Canada and Canada's cultural model when focusing on the diversity of its citizens, the flourishing multiculturalism, and when it is being compared to how it was to live in Canada a mere 100 years ago. Now it is much more acceptable to belong to a different culture than English and French, and judging by the large amount of permitted permanent immigration, Canada is also much more welcoming towards diversity and is allowing individuals from around the world to build a better life for themselves and their children. The art that has depicted Canada and its diversity throughout history is also a vital part of the Canadian cultural model, depicting how the perspective on Canada can influence the art pieces, and change the understanding of how the society functions. However, I believe that it is necessary to acknowledge that there still are ongoing problems and challenges that need to be faced, and overcome, to make Trudeau's vision become real. More steps need to be taken in order to create a more inclusive society, where everyone has an equal chance to build a better future for themselves and future generations, regardless of their background. For example, the treatment of indigenous people should be improved, and they should not be treated that differently from other Canadian individuals as they are now, since it impacts their chance of building a better life for themselves and their children.

14 Trudeau, J. (2012, October 30).

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<https://www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/mandated-areas1/economic-and-social-development.html>

In 2012, Justin Trudeau declared about Canada: We have created a society where individual rights and freedoms, compassion and diversity are core to our citizenship. But underlying that idea of Canada is the promise that we all have a chance to build a better life for ourselves and our children.

Canada is a mosaic of real values, according to the Multiculturalism Policy Index, country on fourth

place.¹ Multiculturalism means ‘in real’ a sort of of policies and programs which support First Nations (Indians) and other nations in this mosaic and it has been challenge to solve all conflicts

between these different cultures, and groups of people. Professor Francis Garon said at open lecture

that ‘Canada is most decentralized federation in the world.’² Pierre Trudeau, Justin’s father used to

say that ‘Canada has no official culture,’³ and created a policy of multiculturalism, a bilingual framework.

Multiculturalism in Canada is according to Eva Mackey: ‘a mode of managing internal differences within the nation and, at the same time, created a form through which the nation could

be imagined as distinct and differentiated from external others such as the United States.’⁴ It is

difficult to manage two nations which have very complicated history. French people used to be

catholic and it was religious war between England and France in the past. Besides, we have in Canada many problems with First Nations who want to be treat equally. Multiculturalism is a kind

of social agreement or consensus, adoption of state policy which respect cultural pluralism and

diversity. The liberalization of citizenship and immigration policy was adopted in the 1960s and

1970s. After tragic event which was called The October Crisis or in French Crise d’Octobre Pierre

Trudeau decided to change his political views. The Front de Liberation Quebecois (FLQ) kidnapped

Pierre Laporte (the deputy premier of Quebec) and James Cross (Trade Commisioner). Pierre Trudeau decided to sign the War Measures Act for peacetime. It was a sort of invocation and this act

changed Canada.⁵

‘Social contract’ is a theory in political philosophy. In Canadian history many philosophers and sociologists tried to create framework for this two- nations’ society with indigenous people.

Looking back at history, ‘social contract’ is the major subject during the Age of Enlightenment.

Philosophers like for instance Thomas Hobbes, Jean- Jacques Rousseau and John Locke discussed

1 The MCP Index Project, Queen’s University.

2 (Garon F., 2023).

3 (Garon F., 2023).

4 (Tubani, 2007, p. 145).

5 ‘Summary;’ Canada Declassified.

this moral or theory.⁶ In Canadian society I can list for instance Sunera Thobani and Charles Taylor

who tried to understand or explain major components, puzzles of Canadian mosaic.

Paul Litt wrote a book about ‘Trudeaumania,’ what this word means for people in Canada.

Many things. Sunera Thobani described in her book ‘Exalted subjects studies in the making of race

and nation in Canada,’ the Trudeau era, it was socio- economic mobility. Pierre Trudeau succeed in

keeping Canada united because of bilingual legislation and multiculturalism policy, his Chapter of

Rights and Freedoms kept country to the left of centre.⁷ Canada was against war in Vietnam.

When David Miller became new mayor in Toronto, in 2003 he decided to invest more money into art projects. Translocal art projects can help people overcome prejudices and stereotypes

in the society in Canada. I can list three projects: Free Dance Lessons, The South Asian Visual Arts

Collective (SAVAC), Reclaim the Streets (RTS) Toronto.⁸

Nowadays, Canadians are united, because of climate change issues. In Canada people are afraid that their beautiful nature will be destroyed by all consequences of climate change in the

world. If we believe in the same ‘climate values’, we can achieve environmental goals. The United

Nations used to support all sustainable development goals (written in Agenda 2030) or in other

words global goals. In Canada all indigenous population in Canada represent 4,3% and have increased rapidly in recent years almost 1,500,000 individuals. The Indian Act was established in

1876 and consists of all laws for indigenous groups. Sustainable development can be a sort of platform for people between two nations and of course indigenous groups.⁹ Canada is not free from

conflicts, many of them were described in literature. Historically, some conflicts between non-indigenous Canadians and Indian groups led to armed conflict, such as the Mi’kmaq conflict (2013)

and the OKA conflict (1990).¹⁰ In 1963, Prime Minister Lester Pearson decided to establish the

Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. This commission published report about the

equality of two 'founding nations', French and British people and that day adoption of multiculturalism policy was made too.¹¹

Jean- Jacques Rousseau was known as precursor of humanism, I mean a sort of freedoms to people like for instance freedom-in-equality, if it is possible to introduce these freedoms to society,

or not.¹² From business culture's perspective it can be problems with hierarchy, some countries like

for instance France likes to put hierarchy on first place but in Sweden, even if you ignore King's

title everybody will understand (usually). In hierarchic society it is more difficult to lead the discourse and of course difficult to manage people with different religions (protestantism and 6 'Contemporary Approaches the Social Contract,' Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy.

7 (Thobani, 2007, p. 169).

8 (Marchessault, 2011, p. 62).

9 (Maureira, 2015, p. 6).

10 (Maureira, 2015, p. 16-17).

11 (Thobani, 2007, p. 144).

12 (Taylor, 1995, p. 45).

catholicism). It was a war between England and France. "Maîtres Chez Nous" was a slogan of the

Quiet Revolution in Quebec, it means in English "masters in our own home." Quebec separatist

movement began from election in 1960.¹³ Quebec is a model of cultural pluralism in Canada: 'The

nation of a distinctly Québécois citizenship has seen a spectacular progression. In the space of a

lifetime, the dominant identification of Quebecers has been profoundly transformed. From Canadians, they became French- Canadians, then Franco- Québécois, and finally, Québécois...' ¹⁴

Both nations, have a long history about 'social contract' and have supported both liberal rights, and

democracy. I think from this perspective Canada could manage this change and introduce bilingual

culture. From artistic perspective both nations have big potential and ability to develop good solutions and co- exist together. French people have good sense of quality and are good in architecture, and English people are better in finding solutions for people, like diplomacy and peace

cooperations. French people love bureaucracy, and their laws used to be more complicated and

English people like social agreements and have better perspective how to talk with people in more

straightforward way. French people used to be more arrogant and close but on the other hand, can

be more formal and polite too. I think it is more a case how to manage Canada from, let's say Europe's perspective. First Nations need to have respect because of their ability to protect cultural

values. Globalisation used to create mass- culture and from Canada's mindset it is less good to be

casual Americans. Canada should take care of both English and French heritages.

Charles Taylor is a Canadian sociologist who made many studies about individual rights in

contemporary political and social philosophy. He published even work about self-depreciation and recognition. He was searching modern identity and freedom values and has conception of encompasses and selfhood. He represents more romantic point of view with his thinking about individuality and authenticity (goodness, control over the natural world and renewal).¹⁵

Charles

Taylor has had many reflections about recognition and misrecognition. He wrote: ‘the demand for

recognition in these latter cases is given urgency by supposed links between recognition and identity. (...) Nonrecognition and misrecognition can inflict harm, can be a form of oppression,

imprisoning someone in a false, distorted, and reduced mode of being.¹⁶’ Recognition is important

and should be perceived as individual ideality.

According to Leslie Armour, Canada has values: tolerance, community and responsibility.¹⁷

People used to say that Canada is country on True North, big, rich and cold but we need to take it

seriously that they try to be a champions of multiculturalism just like Justin Trudeau’s father and

prime ministers of Canada too. It will be always challenges like for instance people who prefer

13 ‘Maîtres Chez Nous,’ Parli. The Dictionary of Canadian Politics.

14 (Gagnon & Iacovino, 2007, p. 96-97).

15 ‘Charles Taylor,’ Britannica.

16 (Taylor, 1995, p. 25).

17 (Armours, 1996, p.15).

interculturalism, I mean Québécois. Stéphane Dion said that ‘Québec harbours the most powerful

secessionist movement in the West.’¹⁸ From Europe’s perspective we have many nations who want

to be independent: Flemish in Belgium, Basques in Spain and many more. Québécois has now political party in Canada Bloc Québécois.¹⁹ I think Canada respect freedoms and rights and can be a

good example how to manage people who have different backgrounds. According to Angus Reid

Institute (2018) a full 82 per cent of Quebecers think that Quebec should stay in Canada...²⁰Justin

Trudeau’s words about Canada and this song ‘We are ONE’ for Canada’s 150th birthday, It is not a

UTOPIAN SONG.²¹ Unity is possible and can make Canada better place to live, but in other hand,

EVERYONE NEEDS to make effort to create better future and this Trudeaumania’s socio-mobility

in the society needs to be on top or higher then ‘less good.’ People can have values, and establish a

kind of core in society by making better laws and rights for others. It is important to find, let’s say

founding values and both Justin’s Trudeau’s father and other Canadians understood that only unity

can make them stronger.

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From the 2012 Trudeau's quote, transpire the values of universality, equality and diversity, that are supposed to represent the backbone of the Canadian cultural model. While as a Canadian, I naively and strongly believe in those values, I will go beyond my convictions to academically study the radical point of view of the feminist and decolonialist UBC Professor Sunera Thobani. In the wake of more revelations regarding the horrors of the residential schools, it might be relevant to reflect on how as a nation we've come up to such a disastrous outcome. First, I will discuss how the author deconstructs the narrative surrounding the construction of Canada as a nation, and in what way she explains how systemic racism articulated and still articulates every state structure and policy involved in this nation building process. Although I don't share her more radical views, her intersectional approach remains pertinent, and demonstrates a deep understanding of the interplay of race and gender from the colonization era to the modern days. In this first part, I will demonstrate how she sees multiculturalism as the continuity of a racial oppressing system built on white supremacy and gender inequality. In the second part, I will explain how she is right in her intersectional interpretation of the past social fabric of Canada yet ignores that this Canadian cultural model, however born from necessity, can assert itself genuinely and in favor of a honest and benevolent multiculturalism. I will explain how ironically a seemingly racist Canadian welfare system, strongly helped by globalization, led to an essentially solid Canadian cultural model promoting diversity and inclusivity. I will conclude by providing the irrefutable proof of the good functioning of this model and why it is crucial for the protection of Human rights in the long run. When the author explains the violence of colonization, she ironically mentions why violence is a necessity for the implementation of a new system of laws that would then justify this same violence retroactively (Thobani, p.35). There is without any doubt something intrinsically pervert to this modus operandi. That new colonial racial order would also lead to a commodification and dehumanization of the colonized people (Thobani, p.38). The concept of sovereignty then departs from the realm of laws to represent a racialized system of domination fueled by pure violence. Beyond the laws, as to secure forever this state of affairs, a narrative depicting natives as violent and lawless savages is vehiculated to deeply penetrate the unconscious collective (Thobani, p.40) which is in reality a sad projection of the settlers' own actions. To this narrative the myth of a virgin land awaiting the settlers is also used to the same ends (Thobani, p.43). With the help of the

aforementioned elements, she postulates the argument that will structure the rest of her analysis: all the Canadian laws stem from that original violence and are designed to justify and legitimate that same original violence (Thobani, p.40). This could indeed be the most eloquent explanation of the origins of systemic racism against the native populations in Canada, taking it from the beginning, and identifying the sociological agents and their function within this colonial process. The author describes the structure of the pre-colonial native social systems, including the family, that was matriarchal in nature (Thobani, p.47), and this detail has its importance in the way the settlers will desintegrate the native social fabric to completely subdue them to what the authors calls “the rule of race” (Thobani, p.45). After the confiscation of the land, the dehumanization process, the isolation of the natives into reserves was solidified by the 1986 Indian Act (Thobani, p.48) that also infantilized them (Thobani, p.81). In modern terms, we can describe the colonial process as an illegal invasion followed by a genocide then an apartheid, and ultimately the creation of a second-class citizen status. This same Indian Act was instrumental in articulating gender in a way that perpetrated gender inequalities with the sole purpose of weakening the native communities and steal even more freely their land (Thobani, p.49). Gender was rearticulated by the settlers but also in relation to race with one native woman’s race now depending on her spouse’s. (Thobani, p.50). As she explains this colonial nation building process articulated by systemic racism against native communities, she brings up the second concept that is designed to solidify sovereignty: citizenship; and to me this explanation of the Canadian’s identity and citizenship that is so fragmented that it can only define itself by opposition to the natives is an interesting theory (Thobani, p.56). This same notion of nation defining itself by opposition is brought up again when the author explains the eurocentric politic of immigration and the subsequent advent of a minority that would reinforce the myth of a white original Canadian people (Thobani, p.76). This systemic racism then targeted the asian populations (Thobani, p.86) that were essential in the nation building and economic life of the country. While the author theorized on the roots of the nation building process, she proposes the two axes of the first Canadian immigration politics as being the necessity of capitalism and the imperative of keeping the nation white (Thobani, p.83). I think on my side that favoring an immigration from countries sharing the same language was more of a practicality than a racist

policy. Her argument lacks nuances. That being said, the history of Canada also has her darkest

moments, and the example of the treatment of Japanese-Canadians during WW2 is a great illustration of a citizenship that is not the same for whites and non-whites (Thobani, p.94).

The end

of this overtly racist immigration era came with the advent of the liberal era and globalization, and

more importantly the rationalization of the immigration system to respond to the pressures of a

capitalist world (Thobani, p.97). Yet the author sees this shift not as a paradigm change but as a

continuity of the colonial system. In this first part we described how the author explained the entirety of Canada's sovereignty, citizenship, nation building as well as immigration policy as having emerged from systemic racism that started with colonization and perdured with the subsequent immigration waves. She merely considers the actual multiculturalism as a continuity of

this heritage.

In this second part, while I concurred with most of the author's sociological and intersectional analysis of Canada's nation building, I will explain why Canada's welfare politic and globalization,

although inherently tainted by this colonial past, rose above to birth a truly progressive multiculturalism. The author reasons in terms of continuity, but discontinuity, change and novelty

also happened. The author recognizes the influence of the post-war feminist movement in the social

fabric of Canada (Thobani, p.112), and how the synergy between the welfare Canadian system and

the feminist movement contributed to more gender equality, as well as the advent of a woman citizenship (Thobani, p.118). This feminization of Canada rearticulated gender in a tremendous way

within the nation, and it is to me the first step before the rearticulation of race in a more progressive

way. As for the middle class question, it is true that the government facilitated the immigration of a

model that would reproduce the "Canadian" model of the middle-class family (Thobany, p.130)

however this is the growing of this same middle-class through its welfare system that according to

me allowed the ideal context for the birth of new progressive ideas. Even though the roots of it

might be questionable, this politic engendered positive results in terms of progressiveness, and

that's where I oppose the author's manichean view on the question. I think this period marks when

the old narratives end and Canada finally defines itself as a welfare state with progressive values.

The author explains that Canada rebuilds its identity around this notion of providential state, and as

its citizens Canadians became an extent of it (Thobani, p.140). If Canada is generous, so are

Canadians. To this day there is a consensus that most Canadians consider themselves as being the epitome of politeness, kindness and inclusiveness in comparison to the rest of the world, and it is deeply entrenched in the national psyche. The author concedes that the immigration model of Canada changed during the eighties with the majority of immigrants now coming from Asia (Thobany, p.97) however she ignores the implication of this shift on the demography of Canada and its social fabric. If Canada becomes more diverse through its cultural model and immigration policy, it will inevitably live by its promise. I would argue that the feminization of Canada leading to progressive measures as well as the pressures of globalization impacting the provenance of immigrants and Canadian values are contributing to a genuine multiculturalism. I would disagree on the premise that it is one that would perpetrate prejudice against the natives. Also in terms of constitutional rights with the work of Pierre-Elliott Trudeau on the matter (Cochrane et al, p.127), multiculturalism became part of the Canadian identity not defining itself by its homogeneity but by its diversity, a homogeneity found in the recognition of diversity per se! We also have to correlate the shift of values in Canada with its political achievements such as the 1982 Charter of Rights and Freedoms (Cochrane et al, p.128). This ideological framework is widely accepted in Canada and it even represents a point of strong divergence with the province of Quebec. To conclude I would say that systemic racism has indeed been part of the process of nation building, and that early sovereignty and citizenship have been constructed on not so noble bases. I would also be in line with the intersectional approach of the author, however I would oppose her conception of multiculturalism as merely the byproduct of the colonial history. I want to emphasize the importance of the feminization of Canada as well as the globalization effects on its articulation. We also have to examine the constitutional changes implemented that are in my sense more than aesthetic, given the fact that they have concrete judicial repercussions in the daily life of Canadians. To conclude this essay, I would share another quote of Trudeau "A Canadian is a Canadian is a Canadian" (Huffpost, 2016) that corrects the darkest decisions in Canada's history with a two-speed citizenship. With this precedent, Trudeau demonstrated that multiculturalism was not artificial and that it also protected the very notion of citizenship. It is in my way a historical quote as it protects multiculturalism, Canadian people (Canadian-born, Native, naturalized, racialized), as well as the very foundation of the country, one that is not a colonial remnant, but the promise of a better inclusive world.

Total words: 1764

* Academic Integrity course completed

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