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Multiculturalism in Canada (1971-2017): a Social Reality or a Political Policy?

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Dedications

I dedicate to this work to my parents, my siblings Hanane, Mahmoud, and Marwane for their care, great support, and encouragement to me to approach to success.

To my nephews: Safwane, Omayma, and Lokmane, the three joyful angels in my family who can forever change my mood to the better.

To all my best friends, colleagues, and every other that, it is unfair to mention some and neglect others who all wish me the best and success.

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Abstract:

This dissertation deals with the history of multiculturalism and diversity in Canada. Multiculturalism can be differently defined, and investigated on from different fields. Prime Pierre Elliott Trudeau marked the Minister. starting point of Canada's Multiculturalism as a policy in 1971, and at the same time announcing how socially Canadian society for real diverse ethnically, racially, linguistically. was and Notwithstanding, the historicity of Multiculturalism socially before being politically adopted. Further than this, Multiculturalism, is investigated on both politically and socially between 1971 and 2017 to find out how it is either or both, a social reality and a political policy; emphasizing on the rule of two leaders of a similar family name, and of a strong kinship. Therefore, to discover the acts they reinforced in order to protect freedom of faith and basic rights of equality of all under the law . Nevertheless, to make unity within diversity of Canadian society.

Table of Contents

Dedication	i
Acknowled gements	ii
Abstract	iii
Table of Content	iv
List of Abbreviations	vi
List of Canada's Provinces, Territories, and their Capital Cities	Vii
General Introduction	1
Chapter I : An Overview of Early Immigration to Canada and the beginning Multiculturalism	g of
1.1 Introduction	5
1.2 Geographic Distribution of Immigrants in Canada	6
1.2.1 Atlantic Provinces.	6
1.2.2 Central Canada	6
1.2.3 Prairie Provinces	7
1.2.4 The West Coast	7
1.2.5 The North:	8
1.3 Early European Settlements in Canada	8
1.3.1 French Settlement	9
1.3.2 British Settlement	10
1.4 Canada's Population and Cultures	11
1.4.1 First Nations	11
1.4.2 Inuits	12
1.4.3 Métis :	12
1.5 The Issue of Bilingualism	13
1.6 Early Waves of Immigration	14
1.7 Canadian Multiculturalism and Its Institutionalization	16
1.8 Conclusion	18
Chapter II : Multiculturalism : Liberal and Conservative, Its Protecting Cl Challenges	harter, and
2.1 Introduction	22

2.2 Conservative versus Liberal Multiculturalism in Canada	22
2.2.1 Conservative Multiculturalism	23
2.2.2 Liberal Multiculturalism	23
2.3 The Charter of Rights and Freedoms and Its Role	24
2.3.1 Overview of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms	24
2.3.2 The Role of Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms	25
2.4 Multiculturalism in Sociocultural /Religious Lenses	26
2.4.1 Multiculturalism in Sociocultural Lenses	27
2.4.2 Multiculturalism in Religious Lenses	27
2.5 The Era of Trudeaumania	28
2.6 Challenges for Justin Pierre Trudeau	29
2.6.1 Trump's Ban and Justin Trudeau's Response	30
2.6.2 Syrian Refugees	31
2.6.3 Quebec Mosque Attack	33
2.7 Conclusion	36
General Conclusion	38
Bibliographyand Web Source	40
Appendices	45
Appendix A	46
Appendix B	47
Appendix C	50
Appendix D	51

List of Acronyms

Bi and Bi: Bilingualism and Biculturalism

CMA: Census Metropolitan Area

CPR: Canadian Pacific Railways

ISIS: Islamic State Iraq and Sham

M-103: Motion 103

MP: Member of Parliament

NDP: New Democratic Party

OHRC: Ontario Human Right Commission

PM: Prime Minister

PQ: Parti Québécois

UK: United Kingdom

UNHCR: the United Nations High Commission on Refugees

USA: United States of America

List of Canada's Provinces, Territories, and their Capital Cities:

Newfoundland and Labrador (NL): St. John's

Prince Edward Island (PEI): Charlottetown

Nova Scotia (NS): Halifax

New Brunswick (NB): Fredericton

Quebec (Qc): Québec City

Ontario (ON): Toronto

Manitoba (MB): Winnipeg

Saskatchewan (SK): Regina

Alberta (AB): Edmonton

British Columbia (BC): Victoria

Nunavut Territory (NVT): Iqaluit

Northwest Territories (NWT: Yellowknife

Yukon Territory (YKT): Whitehorse

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

General Introduction

Canada is an immense country in its geographic area; it is the world's second largest country. It consists of ten provinces and three territories for that it is a federal state, a parliamentary democracy and a constitutional monarchy. More than this, a special diversity, bilingualism, and most of all multiculturalism which mark this country in the worldwide politics and sociology. Multiculturalism of Canada is said to be successful in comparison to the bordering USA and to some many European nations. A research being conducted about Canada and specifically about its *Multiculturalism* is the fact that the latter is changeable by the changes occurring to cultures and people, as well as the events daring the multiculturalism to be persecuted or rather challenging the government and its people besides to threatening the peaceful unity within diversity in Canada in various ways. This research is made to erase question marks from the minds of any interested person in this country, questions like:

- What is the history of Canada's diversity and Multiculturalism?
- How Multiculturalism was challenged and threatened and how laws and acts protected it?

This dissertation is made up to investigate and find answers to the previously stated questions. Therefore, this dissertation is parted into two chapters for the sake of better explanation and well-organization of the research:

The first chapter will deal with the historicity of ethnic and cultural diversity of Canada. Therefore, it is necessary to speak about early settlements, some early waves of immigration, which had a history of injustice and struggled to become members in the Canadian communities. Additionally, the social construction of Canadian society, which make the hypothesis that they are the reason that lead to the establishment of Multiculturalism politically.

The second chapter continuously will explain the type of multiculturalism in Canada. More than this, the chapter will also tell whether the Charter of Rights and Freedoms protects multiculturalism and diversity or not and how it is doing so if yes. Additionally, this chapter will review the different perceptions of multiculturalism in both

General Introduction

sociocultural and religious angles. At the end of the second chapter, a brief overview of the era of Trudeaumania that refers to Pierre Trudeau will be investigated on to further linking it or rather comparing it with modern Canada under the rule of another Trudeau to find out how each serves Multiculturalism. It all make the hypothesis that Multiculturalism is under control as long as it is kept under the rule of Liberal Party since both Pierre Elliott Trudeau and the actual Prime Minister Justin Pierre Trudeau belong to that party. The second chapter will be practical more than theoretical by taking a constitutional document basing on the need as it serves the research, taking information from a variety of speeches to analyse, and articles written by different authors.

The reason why the research on Multiculturalism of Canada is decided to be investigated on; politically and sociologically is that one often encounters a contradiction between the two angles. For which, it is substantial to find out whether or not they are act and react in harmony and conformity to each other. It is therefore, a need to find out if Multiculturalism from its first time being declared politically in 1971 aimed to serve the society or was rather a policy enacted in 1988 in sheets of paper without being at any degree reflected on the Canadian society realistically. This research work will investigate obscurity to find the truths.

CHAPTER I:

An Overview of Early Immigration to Canada and the beginning of Multiculturalism

Table of Contents of Chapter I

1.1 Introduction	5
1.2 Geographic Distribution of Immigrants in Canada	6
1.2.1 Atlantic Provinces	6
1.2.2 Central Canada	6
1.2.3 Prairie Provinces	7
1.2.4 The West Coast	7
1.2.5 The North	8
1.3 Early European Settlements in Canada	8
1.3.1 French Settlement	9
1.3.2 British Settlement	10
1.4 Canada's Population and Cultures	11
1.4.1 First Nations	11
1.4.2 Inuits	12
1.4.3 Métis	12
1.5 The Issue of Bilingualism	13
1.6 Early Waves of Immigration	14
1.7 Canadian Multiculturalism and Its Institutionalization	16
1.8 Conclusion	18

1.1 Introduction

This very first chapter entitled "Overview of Canada's Beginning of Multiculturalism and Early Immigrations to It" brings an overview of Canada's history of early European settlements and three out of many early waves of immigration emphasizing on two significant continents that are Europe and Asia, telling the challenges, reasons, and consequences of those early waves of immigration. Before all, this chapter shows a very brief overview of Canada's geographical divisions and the rate of immigration in each spot and essentially the origin of immigrants. Subsequently, the chapter aims to investigate the cultural diversity in general including Europeans and Aboriginal people as well as the other non-mentioned origins for the simple reason that are detailed in the section of "Early Waves of Immigration".

The initial chapter of the dissertation gradually moving throughout the early ages of the beginning of the cultural diversity in Canada towards the more modern ages as it became announced and declared officially by the famous Liberal Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau that Canada is multicultural in disagreement with previous Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson's establishment of Bi and Bi commission (Bilingualism and Biculturalism).

This chapter aims to answer the question of how did multiculturalism start in Canada before its official announcement in Royal Commission? In this chapter, two hypotheses are to be raised for the stated research question. First, the two founding races of Canada, taking control over Aboriginal people of the land made Canada consist of three significant races with their distinctive cultures. Second, the early waves of immigration from several places around the world where every immigrant brought their culture along with them to Canada, made the country full of various cultures and ultimately made it multicultural.

All data collected from a variety of resources from official governmental websites, informational available books, and dissertations. Thus, taking the advantage of the reliable resources in examining, developing, and contributing to a successful research.

1.2 Geographic Distribution of Immigrants in Canada

Geographically speaking, Canada consists of five regions; each consists of a number of provinces or territories. Furthermore, every region in general and every province or territory has a number of immigrants of their different origins floating dependently from high to low rates in small and big cities. The five regions in detail of immigrants rates basing on the study of the development of immigration in those regions provinces and territories throughout some modern years. The five regions are as follows: Atlantic Provinces, Central Canada, Prairie Provinces, the West Coast, and the Northern Territories. ("Appendix A" the map of Canada's regions) .The study of the annual reports of Census Metropolitan Area CMA in Statistics Canada and other provincial resources announced by each province in different years reveals the data of the origin of the majority of immigrants in each of the stated regions.

1.2.1 Atlantic Provinces

Each of the provinces in this region has a number of immigrants coming from different countries of their origins. Therefore, in Nova Scotia Province according to census of 2000-2011¹, immigrants from United Kingdom are the most visible majority. However, for Newfoundland and Labrador², and New Brunswick³ Provinces; Asian countries such as China, South Korea, and Philippines take the majority. Additionally, for the Province of Prince Edward Island⁴, China is the vast majority over all immigrants from other countries.

1.2.2 Central Canada⁵

The origins of immigrants and the number differs from Quebec to Ontario because of the language mostly. Thus for Quebec and its cities famously "Montreal" the number of

¹ The Canadian Magazine of Immigration. October 2016. http://canadaimmigrants.com/nova-scotia-immigration-by-country/

² The Canadian Magazine of Immigration. August 2016. http://canadaimmigrants.com/newfoundland-immigration-by-country/

³ The Canadian Magazine of Immigration. September 2016. http://canadaimmigrants.com/new-brunswick-immigration-by-country/

⁴ The Canadian Magazine of Immigration. August 2016. http://canadaimmigrants.com/pei-immigration-by-country/

⁵ Central Canada: is the region combining both Québec and Ontario Provinces.

immigrants coming from the UK is very few in census of 2011⁶. Therefore, a big number of immigrants from Haiti, Italy, and other countries that are either Hispanics or Francophones marks it. However, in Ontario's big cities such as Hamilton, immigrants from the UK are very numerous⁷. Additionally, Toronto is another sample of big cities in Ontario Province that is marked by a big number of immigrants coming mostly from India, China, and the Philippines⁸.

1.2.3 Prairie Provinces

In all of its provinces basing on census from 2000 to 2015, there is a big number of immigrants coming from Philippines most of all followed by both India and China,in Alberta Province⁹ as well as in Saskatchewan Province¹⁰. However, for the Province of Manitoba¹¹, Germany takes the third rank instead of China in terms of the number of immigrants. Moreover, immigrants rooted from UK besides to other several countries were like visible minorities in the three Prairie Provinces in comparison to Asian immigrants.

1.2.4 The West Coast

The West Coast region is an only one province, which is British Columbia. Therefore, according to census of 2011¹², in BC's capital city Victoria, immigrants coming from the UK are the vast majority. However, on the other hand according to census of 2011¹³, in Vancouver city, bigger numbers of immigrants coming from South Asia like China, India, Philippines, and Hong Kong mark it more than UK, USA, and other different countries.

The Councilian Managine of Land

⁶ The Canadian Magazine of Immigration. May 2016. http://canadaimmigrants.com/immigrants-in-montreal/

⁷ The Canadian Magazine of Immigration. May 2016. http://canadaimmigrants.com/immigrants-in-hamilton/

⁸ The Canadian Magazine of Immigration. March 2016. http://canadaimmigrants.com/immigrants-intoronto/

⁹ The Canadian Magazine of Immigration. October 2016. http://canadaimmigrants.com/alberta-immigration-by-country/

¹⁰ The Canadian Magazine of Immigration. September 2016. http://canadaimmigrants.com/saskatchewan-immigration-by-country/

The Canadian Magazine of Immigration. August 2016. http://canadaimmigrants.com/manitoba-immigration-by-country/

The Canadian Magazine of Immigration. June 2016. http://canadaimmigrants.com/immigrants-in-victoria/

¹³ The Canadian Magazine of Immigration. April 2016. http://canadaimmigrants.com/immigrants-in-vancouver/

1.2.5 The North

The number of immigrants from 2000 to 2016 in Nunavut Territory, according to statistics ¹⁴ reached a high level in the years 2007 -2008 and in 2015-2016. Moreover, for Yukon Territory during the same period that is from 2000 until 2016¹⁵, the number of immigrants was increasing and decreasing subsequently and it reached a very high level in the years 2009-2010, 2011-2012, and 2013-2014 then it decreased in the following years. However ,due to the fact that the region of territories is known of very harsh climate and mostly inhabited by groups of Aboriginal people than being a preferred destination for immigrants from any ethnic origins , no available resource about the ethnic background of immigrants landing in the territories .

1.3 Early European Settlements in Canada

As early as the 16th and 17th centuries, French and English competitively started exploring lands in Canada to settle in and expand territories. Both of which were the powerful countries in the world. That was before the rising of today's world powerful nation USA. Furthermore, French and English traders, explorers, and ordinary settlers sailed great distance in the sea to disembark on Canada's shores taking control over some specific places as according to the article written by Steve Beartone entitled "A brief history of immigration to Canada" written in CPA Magazine¹⁶. Moreover, both of French and English settlers whether traders or explorers compete each other in taking control over other better places for settlement and prosperity of their business, and each managed trips from Europe with heavily full steamships of people. The competitions evolved to become battles and wars to take possession of all the vast geographic land that is Canada and all its regions.

¹⁴ Number of recent immigrants in Nunavut, Canada, from 2000 to 2016. See the link: https://www.statista.com/statistics/609201/number-of-immigrants-in-nunavut/

¹⁵ Number of recent immigrants in Yukon, Canada, from 2000 to 2016. See the link: https://www.statista.com/statistics/609190/number-of-immigrants-in-yukon/

¹⁶CPA Magazine, Steve Beartone "A brief history of immigration to Canada" https://www.cpacanada.ca/en/connecting-and-news/cpa-magazine/articles/2016/june/a-brief-history-of-immigration-to-canada (June 1, 2016)

1.3.1 French Settlement

The French built settlements on Canada's east coast; in Acadia and New France. They built settlements precisely, New France is the area along the St. Lawrence River. That area of New France is today known by the name Québec city while Acadia is what is in the present-time named Nova Scotia.

French settlements and explorations in Canada began as early as the 1500s mostly by Jacques Cartier who explored places in the southeast of Canada and who encouraged the ownership of the land by King Francis I. Therefore, building settlements in the areas explored started rapidly in the 1600s by the French explorers Pierre de Monts and Samuel de Champlain¹⁷. Furthermore, other kings of France carried on the same path of supporting the growth of the number of settlements and colonies in the discovered lands.

Other several names of French people who participated differently in the explorations in Canada, trading with aboriginal people, and in establishing colonies and /or building settlements are to be Pierre de Monts, Samuel de Champlain, Jean Talon, Bishop Laval, and Count Frontenac.

French settlers were known to be traders more than missionaries were. They were known to make some sort of beneficial treaties of peace with Aboriginal people such as that in 1707 with Iroquois -a group of First Nations people, in order to profit from the fur of animals to produce and manufacture goods that brought profits for the economic prosperity of fur industry and its trading and everyone in the workplace.

In addition to all this, settlement in Canada was ultimately by English missionaries more than by traders. By the late coming of English settlers, the good portions of lands are already taken by the French. Therefore, the objective of both the French and the English people was the power and the more colonies to own. Wars and battles severely occurred for aiming to possess all lands in Canada. ¹⁸

¹⁸ Discover Canada: The Rights and Responsibilities of Citizenship, Struggle for a Continent, http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/publications/discover/section-06.asp

¹⁷ Discover Canada: The Rights and Responsibilities of Citizenship, Royal New France, http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/publications/discover/section-06.asp

1.3.2 British Settlement

The English built fishing settlements in Newfoundland. The fishing settlements grew slowly. Also, they built trading posts in the area of Hudson Bay. However, settlers found the climate unbearable in winter that could not afford to stay nor could remain dependent to make a living on the trading posts, Therefore, those posts were built for seasonal business.¹⁹

In 1583, Sir Humphrey Gilbert - an English sailor -had disembarked in the harbor of St. John's, Newfoundland. The discovery of the land that was rich in rich sea and water resources and eventually would prosper the fish trade. Consequently, England took the opportunity of taking control and possessing the land in 1610. However, the existence of French in some areas made the fish trade hard since they were competing. Moreover, Newfoundland was divided in two for the English and for the French and as a way to cease differences among them and to avoid battles. Therefore, Plaisance (today Placentia) was then the capital of the portion of French in Newfoundland, and St John was the capital of the English portion and remains up-to-date the capital of Newfoundland.²⁰

Newfoundland was known of very harsh climate in winter similar to some other places in all over Canada today. Therefore, the co-existence of English settlers who were mostly working in fish trading was seasonal. In other words, English settlers were leaving their homesteads before every winter to England and again sailing back to Newfoundland and other areas they occupy every spring and staying summer as well. However, some few fishermen from English ethnic origins were given permission to stay the year round for the fear of French to control over the best fishing spots and to prosper over fishing year round. Ultimately, it was the reason for the need to make permanent residence in the land.²¹

English and French settlers and colonists as long as each explored a land they strove to keep the other away from or rather out of it, for they benefited from all its riches. Furthermore, bloody battles and wars successively happened between the two European powers for the sake of taking control of all lands and become the only governor of Canada

canada/settlers/#English%20settler

20 Site for Language Management in Canada (SLMC) , https://slmc.uottawa.ca/?q=british_colonization

¹⁹ Fishing Settlements in Newfoundland , http://www.masters.ab.ca/bdyck/early-

Heritage Newfoundland and Labrador, http://www.heritage.nf.ca/articles/exploration/early-settlement- schemes.php

and its people including the Aboriginals. Ulimately, the English defeated the French in 1759 in the Battle of the Plains of Abraham at Québec City ending up the Empire of France in America.

Consequently, the French settlers found themselves compelled to leave their new houses either back to Europe or southward to the USA. However, some visible minorities remained in the area that later was named Quebec where they were following different religious faith than the English. To state it differently, French settlers were Christian Catholics following the Roman Church and Roman Catholics, while the English were Christian Protestants. Thus, English government in Canada at then found it a great necessity to make the Quebec Act in 1774 in order to keep the province under the control and the hands of English rules but it was given a sort of freedom of religion exceptionally for the fear rebellions as according to the Library and Archives Canada²²

1.4 Canada's Population and Cultures

Canada's population was anciently composed of three groups of Aboriginal people a long time before the establishment of the country. Those three groups are First Nations, Inuits²³, and Métis²⁴; that were the category of natives and the European settlers. In speaking about the culture that is a set of beliefs, customs, as well as languages that are found and shared among peoples of one community; each Aboriginal group from the differently stated have their own culture that differs from the other group. More than this, there are more than 50 languages spoken by the Aboriginal people.

According to the "First Peoples: A Guide For Newcomers" that is written by Kory Wilson and Jane Henderson ²⁵the Aboriginal peoples are summarized as follows:

1.4.1 First Nations

First Nations people have lived in all regions of Canada for thousands of years. They noticeably have many different languages, cultures, and spiritual beliefs. More than

https://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/confederation/023001-3010.52-e.html

 $^{^{\}rm 22}$ ARCHIVED $\,$ - Canadian Confederation , Library and Archived Canada .

²³ Inuits: Inuit historically lived along the coastal edge and on the islands of Canada's far north.

Métis: descend from the historical joining of First Nations members and Europeans.

Kory Wilson and Jane Henderson .2014 "First Peoples: A Guide for Newcomers" pp. 8-11 direct link: http://vancouver.ca/files/cov/First-Peoples-A-Guide-for-Newcomers.pdf

this, they had their own system of government and ruling that was complex as so were their societies. However, their governmental system changed and they were compelled to accept a system of "band" and have their chief either elected or hereditarily becoming a chief and representing them in council matters when speaking for their own concerns and needs such as education, housing, and any community service. Furthermore, the first nations hold festivals and celebrations publically in order to protect their traditions and customs from the extinction.

1.4.2 Inuits

Inuits have lived in the Arctic lands and waters of northern Canada for thousands of years. They live on hunting and on the land, resources and up-to-date many of them still do. Moreover, their cultures and traditions have changed by the contact with Europeans. However, in a way to preserve their culture and languages, many families leave their accommodations in the spring and summer travelling to the north, setting camps and living the old wild life of gathering food and hunting. Essentially speaking the Inuit dialects and languages for the young generation acquire and know their own traditions and customs and to preserve it from being erased from existence.

1.4.3 Métis

The term "métis" comes from the word "to mix." Historically speaking in the early European settlements, many French and Scottish men who migrated to Canada for the sake of trading and settled in the land. They made a family with First Nations women and formed new communities by having children from them. Those children were the first to be called Métis since they were a result of a mixture or hybrid origin. They created their own language, Michif, which is itself a mixture of Cree and French languages. The distinct Métis culture is known for its fine beadwork, fiddling, and jigging. The infinity symbol on the Métis flag symbolizes the joining of two cultures and that the culture will live forever.

By the establishment of the country, Canada that came from the term used by aboriginal people that was "Kanata" according to the story of Jacque Cartier in thinking the

name referred to the whole coutry ²⁶ immigration was advertised to European countries. By the long history of immigration from various places in the world for the sake of better living standards, and each bringing their own culture within luggage ,the society transformed from bicultural and bilingual into multicultural where every visible minority brought its tradition and customs and where was no discrimination or hatred shared nor political unwelcoming of the new cultures to seeking to be part of Canada .

1.5 The Issue of Bilingualism

The British colonists in Canada took control over Acadia and New France that were under the rule and possession of French colonists before being defeated in several wars with British. Therefore, Canada besides to Aboriginal inhabitants consists ultimately of the English-speaking population as well as of a considerable number of the French-speaking population mostly residing in Quebec. In a way to keep Canada as united politically even diverse culturally, the government established English and French languages both as official languages in the government and courts. Furthermore, the benefit from the estate of bilingualism in Canada grants freedom of speaking and education in either English or the French languages. Additionally, when speaking about Bilingualism it is also associated with Biculturalism spoken of in The Royal Commission stated by Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson in 1963. And on the subject, the co-chairmen André Laurendeau and A. Davidson Dunton in a Broadcast meeting with CBC considered how it is beneficial for Canada and making it experimental since according to them it is a commission made to equalize between two founding races of Canada. Moreover, they made a point that other cultures apart from French and English are not to be put a side²⁷.

Canada did not impose a unique and identical culture overall distinctive and various existing cultures nor did it stop at the level of Bilingualism and Biculturalism. It rather welcomed population from all continents as a mutual benefit in needing laborers and people needing working opportunities. Therefore, wars and poverty were push factors for most of Europeans and Asians to plan for a destination to Canada.

 $^{^{26}}$ Kanata : which means "village" first used by aboriginals to refer to the present-day City of Quebec $\underline{\text{http://canada.pch.gc.ca/eng/1443789176782}} \ .$

²⁷ CBC Digital Archives . http://www.cbc.ca/archives/entry/bilingualism-laurendeau-and-dunton

1.6 Early Waves of Immigration

Immigration to Canada by the 18th and 19th reached high levels from both Europe and Asian continents for the reason of wars, colonizations, and civil conflicts that each caused high rates of poverty, crimes, and diseases. Therefore, many chose Canada as a preferred destination for safety and working opportunities. However, there were certain restrictions on immigration to Canada, many challenged it from Asian continent that were mainly Indians and Chinese illegal immigrants. In addition to India and China, Pakistan also got its share from immigration to Canada for working opportunities and a better life. Moreover, European immigrants, unlike the Asians were advertised to go to Canada, serve to its development, and realize their dreams of becoming richer than in Europe. Among the noticeable European historical waves --other than the British and French, the Ukraine and Scandinavia with all its regions or most of them followed their dreams of benefitting from prosperity since Europe at that era was facing unbearable circumstances of economic and political instabilities as well as prior the threat of World Wars and following the consequences .In addition to all this, immigrants from both the stated continents who immigrated to Canada in particular and elsewhere in general, were holding dreams and goals to realize .

DEBRA BLACK's news report entitled "Canada's Immigration History One of Discrimination and Exclusion" reveals how early waves of immigration to Canada was full of discrimination towards some specific countries and people through the words of Harold Troper, an immigration historian at the University of Toronto, when he mentioned Chinese head tax ,Indian incident of Komagata Maru and the rejection of Jewish refugees of Europe who intented to flee from the Nazi regime that killed breat numbers of Jews .

For the Chinese head tax was a discriminatory tax started in 1885 at \$50, and increased to in the 1903 to \$500 on Chinese labourers who wanted to stay in Canada after finishing the Canadian Pacific Railways CPR, and also to those Chinese wanted to come to Canada. The head tax of \$500 was equivalent to two years wages for Chinese workers as explained by BETH DUFF-BROWN in her article entitled "Canada Apologizes for

Chinese 'Head Tax' '28. It was until the 1947 -as explained in a CBC New article²⁹, that Chinese families could be reunited in Canada without any discriminatory acts nor any imposed taxation on them for being Chinese. Apart from the historical injustice towards Chinese in Canada, they contributed in Canada's development not only by building the CPR but also culturally by making a places for their culture and cultural heritage which they name it Chinatown .The latter, according a CBC New article³⁰, is in many of Canada's major cities .Chinatown , is a place where Chinese people feel home by celebrating their Chinese festivals, eating their Chinese food in restaurants, and speaking the Chinese language at home and with their Chinese neighbours and friends in the Chinatown .

Indian Sikhs have also a history of discrimination from Canadian government. They and Asians in general were banned from entering to Canada via other routes than the direct one from their country of birth. Meanwhile, for India, that was totally impossible to be done. So that, the illegal immigration of 376 Indians in a Japanese steam ship "Komagata Maru" sailing from Hong Kong to land in Vancouver harbour in May 23,1914. The result was fatal for the 376 Indians of different religions as mentions PM Justin Trudeau in a speech apologizing for the incident ³¹

In 1914, a very remarkable incident for Indians more than Canadian history, which is known as "the Komagata Maru incident" 32 had happened and its consequences changed the fate of immigration for Indians. Furthermore, the incident back in history to the day in the year 1914 when a Japanese steamship was loaded of 376 Indians from different religious trends mostly Sikhs. That ship in its embarkation at the Vancouver harbor after a month of a sailing, it was compelled by the authority to be back to India. Meanwhile many died during the disembarkation by the shots of the Canadian military,

http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-

dyn/content/article/2006/06/22/AR2006062200940 pf.html

²⁸ BETH DUFF-BROWN .2006. Canada Apologizes for Chinese 'Head Tax' .

see also https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bq1bYDKTMlU

²⁹ Early Edition of CBC News .2016 . http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/chinese-head-tax- reparations-called-for-by-surviving-families-1.3432309

30 CBC New .2016. http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/exploring-chinatown-5-things-you-

may-not-know-about-vancouver-s-historic-district-1.3827852

³¹ Prime Minister ,Justin Trudeau. May 18,2016 . http://pm.gc.ca/eng/news/2016/05/18/komagata-maru- apology-house-commons
32 PM Justin Trudeau apologized for the incident on Wednesday, May 18, 2016

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0Wx1KLtRgQY

however, very few that Canada granted their admission and safety. According to the article in Ontario Human Right Commission (OHRC) "The Komagata Maru incident as a violation of human rights", which written by Kevin Nguyen, 20 or more Indian men were arrested and about 19 were killed in violation to three human rights³³. The discrimination and banning ended soon by launching a points –system of immigration that evaluated Indians, and other applicants for immigration objectively basing on education, skills, and linguistic proficiency. Indians today are freely celebrating their religious and cultural festivals in Canada.

According to an article in Herald News entitled "Canada turned away Jewish refugees" written by AARON BESWICK TRURO BUREAU ³⁴, 907 Jewish refugees - fleeing from the Nazi regime and the threat of being killed by Nazis ,in 1939 were almost all turned back to Europe. In spite of the rejection to a vast number of Jewish refugees wishing to live , the existing Jews in Canada --either the rare who were admitted entrance or those years before the incident, contributed in many fields serving Canada and Canadians according to an article entitled "Jewish Contributions to Canadian Society" by the Canadian Jewish Advocacy³⁵.

1.7 Canadian Multiculturalism and Its Institutionalization

Multiculturalism in its sense means the co-existence of more than two cultures in one geographic area --country. Clara M. Chu, in her report defining multiculturalism said: "Multiculturalism' is the co-existence of diverse cultures, where culture includes racial, religious, or cultural groups and is manifested in customary behaviours, cultural assumptions and values, patterns of thinking, and communicative styles" ³⁶. Furthermore, multiculturalism "is a social ideal laden with liberal democratic values of freedom, equality, and humanitarianism." as defined in Emerald Lee's book ³⁷. Additionally, multiculturalism politically is an enlightened policy that allows individuals to pursue a cultural life of their free choice (Li,

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³³ OHRC , Kevin Nguyen. http://www.ohrc.on.ca/en/komagata-maru-incident-violation-human-rights

Herald News, ARON BESWICK TRURO BUREAU .2013 "Canada turned away Jewish refugees" in the link: http://thec.hronicleherald.ca/novascotia/1174272-canada-turned-away-jewish-refugees

³⁵ Canadian Jewish Advocacy .2015. "Jewish Contributions to Canadian Society" in the link http://www.cija.ca/resource/canadian-jewry/jewish-contributions-to-canada/

³⁶ Clara M. Chu. 2005 .Taken from the link https://www.ifla.org/publications/defining-multiculturalism

³⁷ Emerald. Lee .2013. A Critique of Canadian Multiculturalism as a State Policy and Its Effects on Canadian Subjects .p7

1999)³⁸ Moreover, in speaking about multiculturalist countries that are numerous to present day due to the development and world economic rankings without forgetting the facility of transportation that leads to the variety of people with their cultures. Canada was the first country of all which applied multiculturalism as a policy³⁹ to value cultural diversity and to demonstrate or rather associate the cultures with the nation strength and economic progress in the speech and debate about the Multiculturalism at first in 1971 by the Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau and to be ultimately enacted in 1988 officially.

Canada was from old time culturally diverse in its languages, customs, religion and beliefs among the Aboriginal people themselves and the Europeans as well. By the charts and agreements, *The Official Languages Act*, the PM Pierre Trudeau announced on September 9, 1969, and made it in order to give equal respect and reliability to both the French and the English language, making Canada bilingual officially. However, when it comes to the culture, Trudeau claims that there cannot be one official culture for all the Canadians in the following statement in the House of Commons in 1971:

"It was the view of the royal commission, shared by the government and, I am sure, by all Canadians of British and French origins, another for the original peoples and yet a third for all others. For although there are two official languages, there is no official culture, nor does any ethnic group take precedence over any other. No citizen or group of citizens is other than Canadian, and all should be treated fairly." (House of Commons. Friday, October 8, 1971, p8545)

Additionally to the statement of Prime Minister about *Multiculturalism*, what makes Canada culturally diverse and drives PM Pierre Elliott Trudeau to announce the adoption of Multiculturalism politically is the fact that Canada from old history to forever more is known for different waves of immigration and early settlements. The Aboriginal people have a variety of languages and different traditions and customs. The French and British, early European immigrants, Asians and Africans all differently brought their cultures and taught them to their descents and becoming taught from generation to another

Department of Justice. Cultural Diversity in Canada: The Social Construction of Racial Difference. The Politics of Multiculturalism .SEE http://www.justice.gc.ca/eng/rp-pr/csj-sjc/jsp-sjp/rp02_8-dr02_8/p5.html (date modified: 2015-01-07)

³⁹ Government of Canada. Canadian Multiculturalism: An Inclusive Citizenship, http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/multiculturalism/citizenship.asp (Accessed: 05-04-2017 17:27)

Justice Laws Website . Official Languages Act . http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/o-3.01/FullText.html

which ultimately made each one's distinctive culture considered as part of Canada's and identifies them as Canadians regardless of the differences in the one neighbourhood.

Multiculturalism established by the liberal Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau was a debatable policy partly unwelcomed by the Conservative Party since they do neither favor the rise of immigration rates nor of foreign-born generations. They rather strove to unify Canada and make society's distinctive cultures to be melt in Canada.

The policy of Multiculturalism since its first application in the 1988, it rose the different pride and confidence to almost all old and new Canadians⁴¹. Therefore, a Canadian can count all the ethnic origins of theirs as being, for instance, a descent of Métis ancestry, half-Spanish and half-Italian and proudly Canadian. However, there are several conjunctions of cultures throughout the history of Canada. Nevertheless, no one is not proud of the variety of multicultural background they have which identifies them as a special person and essentially as fully Canadian citizens.

1.8 Conclusion

The first chapter entitled "Overview of Canada's Beginning of Multiculturalism and Early Immigrations to It" dealt with the progress of immigration following the era of early European settlements. It showed the geographic distribution of immigrants in Canada, and where do many prefer to live in Canada. Moreover, the research resulted in showing the significant and great contribution of immigration from various ethnic, religious, and cultural background in the economic prosperity of Canada and most of all in the social diversity and social construction of people in Canada. The reason why multiculturalism was declared in 1971 and later in 1988 officially was enacted. Additionally, this chapter highlighted how a politically PM Lester B. Pearson's commission of Bi and Bi lead to PM Pierre Trudeau's Official Languages Act, and resulting to finally adopting and enacting Multiculturalism in Canada by Trudeau.

The research on multiculturalism does not stop at this level, it rather requires more understanding of the image of multiculturalism in Canada, its famous types , how

18

⁴¹ Adam MacKay, Canada's Pride: Creating a Nation's Identity , http://www.cnh.bc.ca/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/Staff-Directors.htm

multiculturalism is protected, and essentially how it is to be perceived. It is all worth to be further investigated on through different time settings and different lenses .

CHAPTER II:

Multiculturalism: Liberal and Conservative, Its Protecting Charter, and Its Challenges

Table of Content of Chapter II

2.1 Introduction.	22
2.2 Conservative versus Liberal Multiculturalism in Canada	22
2.2.1 Conservative Multiculturalism	23
2.2.2 Liberal Multiculturalism	23
2.3 The Charter of Rights and Freedoms and Its Role	24
2.3.1 Overview of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms	24
2.3.2 The Role of Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms	25
2.4 Multiculturalism in Sociocultural /Religious Lenses	26
2.4.1 Multiculturalism in Sociocultural Lenses	27
2.4.2 Multiculturalism in Religious Lenses	27
2.5 The Era of Trudeaumania	28
2.6 Challenges for Justin Pierre Trudeau	29
2.6.1 Trump's Ban and Justin Trudeau's Response	30
2.6.2 Syrian Refugees	31
2.6.3 Quebec Mosque Attack	33
2.7 Conclusion	36

<u>Chapter II : Multiculturalism : Liberal and Conservative, Its Protecting Charter, and Challenges</u>

2.1 Introduction

The second and last chapter of this dissertation entitled " Multiculturalism : Liberal and Conservative Types, Its Protecting Charter, and Challenges "will deal with a set of collected data from different articles and news reports about the modern Canada and to further investigate about multiculturalism and diversity differently from its types to how it was and is protected. More than this, this chapter will present the different views of multiculturalism in Canada in two scopes that are both to be the sociocultural and the religious variously by politicians and by people throughout articles. Additionally, this chapter will brings a glimpse about the era named "Trudeaumania" upon the first liberal Prime Minister and the founding father of Multiculturalism, Pierre Elliott Trudeau. Further than the past, the chapter would examine new events, actions, and reactions to find out whether they challenge Multiculturalism in Canada, or they strengthen it. That is to say, the chapter ultimately would provides three utmost events that mark the Modern Canada under the leading of the Liberal Prime Minister ,Justin Pierre Trudeau -- The son of Pierre Elliott Trudeau, to find out how each of them has impacted on Multiculturalism; as well as to confirm whether or not, the new Trudeau carried on his father's path in encouraging, and protecting the diversity in Canada.

2.2 Conservative versus Liberal Multiculturalism in Canada

Multiculturalism in its self is distinctive from an area to another as well as from an era to another for different reasons. Furthermore, multiculturalism takes many types to be known by. Moreover, in Canada as the political conflicts or rather competitions between two parties Conservative and Liberal in social matters. Multiculturalism, thus, can be of a *Conservative* type as well as it can be seen differently as of a *Liberal* type. Nevertheless, there are other several types and shapes of multiculturalism in every country including Canada, those that do not matter for people in Canada in comparison to the two-stated ones. In addition to this, the aim of either of the two types, is to make Canada diversed socially, racially, and/or ethnically. Importantly to know how is each of Conservative and Liberal Multiculturalism defined.

<u>Chapter II: Multiculturalism: Liberal and Conservative, Its Protecting Charter, and</u> Challenges

2.2.1 Conservative Multiculturalism

Conservative multiculturalism is in its sense paradoxically to keep the country uniquely having a one dominant culture overall and at the same time accepting the co-existence of people coming from different ethnic background having distinguishably different skin colour. However, the contribution of the newcomers in the changing of social customs and publicly showing their own culture of origin is very much unwelcomed. Therefore, it is a must for them to be submissive to the imposed culture of the country. That type of multiculturalism is used in different context under the terms assimilation and integration. Thus, as generally explained by Susan K. Brown and Frank D. Bean in their article "Assimilation Models, Old and New: Explaining a Long-Term Process", assimilation in its meaning is differentiated from multiculturalism in term of culture and it is to show the colourful image in the society to make no place to racism and discrimination by skin colour. While for integration, similarly it is accepting the new colours to become belonging to the new country without sharing their culture outside their homes and to impose on them the culture and rules of the country they came to

Conservative multiculturalism in Canada does not exist massively, while for the assimilation and integration every skilled and professional different other is welcomed. However when it comes to the language that is part of the culture, immigrants from whatever country of origin must have a specific linguistic level and ability to be given admission to Canada. That is to say, the different languages in the world are not to be welcomed to neither to be used officially in Canada nor someone has the right to be taught in their own language unless it is French or English linguistic minority as scrutinized in the Preamble of the Official Languages Act².

2.2.2 Liberal Multiculturalism

Liberal Multiculturalism is to grant the freedom of choice for minorities in a country. Therefore, it opposes and comes against imposing assimilation or integration of

¹ Migration Policy Institute, Susan K. Brown, Frank D. Bean. 2006. Assimilation Models, Old and New: Explaining a Long-Term Process. See the link: http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/assimilation-models-old-and-new-explaining-long-term-process

² The Official Languages Act .See the link http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/o-3.01/FullText.html

<u>Chapter II: Multiculturalism: Liberal and Conservative, Its Protecting Charter, and Challenges</u>

them in the society. Thus, it aims to liberate people from social rules, which makes them melt socially and culturally. As all explained in Frederik Stjernfelt "Liberal Multiculturalism As a Political Policy: Will Kymlicka" pp50-51, for Canada, throughout the Constitutional Act, Official Languages Act, Charter of Rights and Freedoms, and several other political documents, minority people in Canada are given the freedom to show and share their culture in the Canadian society. Consequently, the many free cultures to co-exist in Canada; the more Canada is Multicultural —essentially Liberal Multicultural.

2.3 The Charter of Rights and Freedoms and Its Role

Canada as a multicultural country sets up throughout years, different laws and acts to please each category of its diverse society and to grant them some rights. Among those written documents comes the Constitutional Act, which later was edited to have a part of it to be named the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. It is important to have a brief overview about the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms and hence to know its role that it plays in the life of Canadian citizens since it took effect politically.

2.3.1 Overview of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms

As all shown in "Your Guide to the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms" in the Government of Canada's website⁴, the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms took effect on April 17, 1982. The Charter in fact is a one part of the Constitution Act of 1982 through which Canada governs itself. Furthermore, the Constitution Act has undergone some changes to become named the Charter of Rights and Freedoms instead. Moreover, it consists of several sets of sections that are all granting the Canadian citizens the rights and freedoms in their country Canada. Among those rights and freedoms bestowed upon the Canadian citizens are to be:

- > freedom of expression
- the right to a democratic government
- the mobility right that is to live and work anywhere in Canada

³ Frederick, Stjernfelt." Liberal Multiculturalism as a Political Policy: Will Kymlicka". (Accessed: 30-03-2016 14:23 UTC)

⁴ Government of Canada, Your Guide to the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms . See the link: http://canada.pch.gc.ca/eng/1468851006026

<u>Chapter II: Multiculturalism: Liberal and Conservative, Its Protecting Charter, and</u> Challenges

- The enforcement rights, that are those rights of persons accused of crimes to have as well as the ability to sue someone or a group of people who infringe his or her rights.
 - Aboriginal peoples' rights
- The right to equality, which is the equality under the law regardless of gender or ethnic background.
- Canada's official languages right and the minority language educational rights concerning French and English.

2.3.2 The Role of Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms

Through the scrutiny of the sections of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms⁵, it is highlighted that the latter plays an important role in protecting the multicultural heritage and multiculturalism as a whole in Canada. Therefore, guaranteeing to Canadian citizens – citizens either by birth or by passing successfully the test of citizenship-the freedom of expression, to work, and live anywhere in Canada. Further than this, Canadian citizens all thanks to the Charter are treated equally under the law which make the Marxism almost totally absent in terms of social classes as well as the equality for both genders in all fields of education and work and the wages.

Every section of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms guarantees the rights of either a category of Canadian citizens and /or of all the citizens .Another great utility of the Charter is that its sections each are categorized accordingly to situations in everyday life and what might struck a Canadian further . Thus, the Charter serves as a guidance in the different situations a Canadian might encounter in their life or pass through.

Comparably to the three essential rights of Americans in their Bills of Right 'Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness', Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms in the **Section 7** of it that protects the legal rights of Canadian citizens also grants protection in three aspects of the Canadian citizens. Those three rights granted and protected are to be the right to:

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⁵ Government of Canada, Your Guide to the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms . See the link: http://canada.pch.gc.ca/eng/1468851006026

<u>Chapter II: Multiculturalism: Liberal and Conservative, Its Protecting Charter, and Challenges</u>

- Life;
- Liberty ;and
- Security of the person

All in all the Charter of Rights and Freedoms plays an important role as a part of the Constitution in keeping the rights and freedoms of Canadian citizens guaranteed and protected. Additionally, the Charter organizes different rights accordingly to situations and categories of those citizens.

2.4 Multiculturalism in Sociocultural /Religious Lenses

Multiculturalism in Canada was forever dabated in different scopes to discuss its success and its failure or downfall. Additionally, multiculturalism in its written form signifies the existence of more than one and two cultures in the one society of a country. Therefore, multiculturalism is spoken of in terms of sociocultural fileds. More than this, in speaking about culture not to forget to mention the religious aspect mainly by the rise of the Islamophobia in the non-muslim countries. Nevertheless, it is important to know how multiculturalism is percieved and discussed in both sociocultural and religious lenses.

Osman Shah in his article in HuffPost entitled «Is Canada's Multicultural Identity Only Skin-Deep?" basing on his own experience of living in Canada. He examined multiculturalism in both sociocultural and religious scopes. Therefore, he mentioned how some people condemned for anti-islamophobia while some others claim that their freedom of speech is threatened by being careful from the Islamic response. Even though, multiculturalism calls for the freedom of cultural and religious trend as he raised these questions:

"Can we say we are a multicultural society if we're unable to fundamentally accept its most basic concept: tolerance of other cultures and religions? Why is there a discrepancy between the support many Canadians show to multiculturalism -- and who often feverishly argue is the basis of Canadian identity -- and combating Islamophobia? If we're (arguably) a

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⁶ Osman Shah ,http://www.huffingtonpost.ca/osman-shah-/islamophobia-canada-multicultural_b_15533854.html

<u>Chapter II: Multiculturalism: Liberal and Conservative, Its Protecting Charter, and Challenges</u>

multicultural society then why are we also not an anti-Islamophobia society? An anti-anything that's against our fundamental identity as a multicultural society?"

2.4.1 Multiculturalism in Sociocultural Lenses

From a sociocultural perspective, multiculturalism in Canada is spoken of differently. For instance, positively every Canadian is proud of being Canadian. In addition, Canada is said to be a land of 200 languages including the two official languages. Therefore, there is a big number of inhabitants or rather Canadian citizens who speak a foreign language at home other than English and French. To take it in reasonable sense, multilingualism is also in societies, streets like in the city of Toronto in the province Ontario the noticeable cultural communities such as Little Italy, Chinatown, and Koreatown show how Canada is a multicultural country. However, the multiculturalism of the society is not officially given importance or value in official matters such as education and paper-based documents. Notwithstanding that, still many foreign-born Canadian citizens feel such a pride to have a different cultural heritage in Canada.

2.4.2 Multiculturalism in Religious Lenses:

On the one hand and generally speaking about religion associated to multiculturalism, Christopher Stuart Taylor --Diversity and Inclusion Professional -- wrote an article entitled « If We Can't Say 'Merry Christmas' in Canada, Multiculturalism Failed » 7 which shows his own vision about a religious holidays for Christians in their country Canada and Taylor tells his disagreement with the fact of being too much careful about the *other* that is of a visible minority and a different religion or ethnicity if wishing them a Merry Christmas would offend them.

On the other hand, Islam is the religion that is massively pointed to before Sikhism for the reason that both have apparently different dresses that are religious symbols. On the case of supporting multiculturalism paradoxically restricting religion or rather eliminating all what is religious in public places, *Parti Québécois* (PQ) by the head of Quebec Premier

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⁷ Christopher Stuart Taylor , http://www.huffingtonpost.ca/christopher-stuart-taylor/saying-merry-christmas b 4490555.html

<u>Chapter II: Multiculturalism: Liberal and Conservative, Its Protecting Charter, and Challenges</u>

Pauline Marois made a move to secularize the public from all what is religious which was a proposed bill in 2013 named « *Quebec Charter of Values* » to become an amend in the Quebec Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms and it caused big difference between members of parliament between Conservatives and Liberals .

On the subject, the responsible for the outlining of the charter -- Democratic Institutions Minister, Bernard Drainville, said in a press conference⁸: "The state must be neutral because it must show the same respect for all religions -- regardless of their beliefs" as a matter of showing the advantage of the proposed charter .And in a response to that, Multiculturalism Minister ,Jason Kenney, said: "We will ask the Department of Justice if these proposals become law to closely review them and if it's determined that a prospective law violates the constitutional protections for freedom of religion to which all Canadians are entitled, we will defend those rights vigorously "Also the Federal leader of New Democratic Party (NDP), Thomas Mulcair, said: "To be told that a woman working in a day care centre because she's wearing a head scarf will lose her job is to us intolerable in our society," Mulcair adds. "This for us is completely unacceptable and the NDP will be standing up four-square against this project.". The Prime Minister (PM) ,Justin Trudeau, at a press conference in Montreal Quebec accused the Premier of Quebec, Pauline Marois, of playing "divisive politics" in saving: "Madame Marois has a plan, she has an agenda, she's trying to play divisive identity politics " Trudeau adds "I trust and want to reassure Canadians that Madame Marois does not speak for all Quebecers when she puts forward an idea of forcing people to choose between their work and their religion. To set out an idea of second class Quebecers who would not qualify to work in public institutions because of their religion." .Fortunately, for the multiculturalism and freedom of faith in Canada ,the Quebec Charter of Values died by the victory of Quebec Liberal Party in election of 2014 and remain social reactions of cons and pros to the idea of secularization of Canada as a whole.

2.5 The Era of Trudeaumania

Pierre Elliott Trudeau was Canada's 15th Prime Minister leading from 1968 until 1984 .Trudeau was Liberal PM. Moreover, his life as Liberal Prime Minister started when Lester Pearson resigned as Prime Minister in 1968. Later, Trudeau was invited to run as a candidate, to win the Liberal leadership convention and called an election immediately

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⁸ The Canadian Press, http://www.ctvnews.ca/canada/kenney-says-feds-prepared-to-challenge-quebec-s-values-charter-in-court-1.1447722

Chapter II: Multiculturalism: Liberal and Conservative, Its Protecting Charter, and Challenges

after. Furthermore, the era of Trudeau's leadership as a PM of Canada was given the term "Trudeaumania" by the press for several factors . Therefore, he was considered apparently an odd leader for his lifestyle as a minister in clothing and behaving openly to everyone including ordinary people .As also , during his time , he had dealt with many challenges politically wisely such as Quebec Nationalism .Additionally, he made some substantial political documents that remain up-today in effect for all categories of Canadian citizens and for the appropriate way of governing a diverse country. Those namely are, the Official Languages Act in 1960, War Measures Act in 1970, stating multiculturalism as a political policy in a

Commission in 1971 and ultimately being enacted in 1988. Also he made the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1982 as he also made the Constitution Act in the same year 1982.

All in all, Pierre Elliott Trudeau through all his political accomplishments besides to the joyful way of behaving, and his odd apparent style that marked him as a peculiar person for a Prime Minister shaped his era to be termed out "Trudeaumania".

Pierre Trudeau's elder son "Justin Trudeau -who is a Liberal Party leader and Prime Minister from 2015 until today 2017, is said to be following to a degree similar path of his father's in striving to keep Canada united and everyone to be guarenteed its freedom .Not to forget, that Justin Trudeau is also said to be apparently «cool» as Michael J. Fox 9-a Canadian actor, referred to him and his father since he lived in the time of Pierre Trudeau's leadership as he lives in the actual time of Justin Trudeau's leadership.

2.6 Challenges for Justin Pierre Trudeau

Justin Pierre Trudeau is Canada's 23rd Prime Minister, starting from 2015. He was born on December 25th, 1971. Moreover, Justin Trudeau as a Prime Minister of Canada and leader of the Liberal Party has that ideology as similar to a certain degree to his father's before him, in making Canada a place of freedom and social diversity. Therefore, in early times from the beginning of his leadership over Canada, he faced obstacles in his way to protect Multiculturalism and keep the social diversity in Canada. Among those obstacles he struggled to overcome namely are to be: Trump's Ban of immigration and

⁹ The Chronical Heral ,The Canadian Press "Canadian prime minister brings 'Trudeaumania' to White House "http://thechronicleherald.ca/world/1348306-canadian-prime-minister-brings-trudeaumania-towhite-house

<u>Chapter II : Multiculturalism : Liberal and Conservative, Its Protecting Charter, and</u> Challenges

asylum seeking for some specific countries such as Syria. Consequently, the welcoming of Syrian refugees with massive numbers was aimed purposely by Trudeau, as it was a new challenge for him and Canadians. Ultimately, a terrific event that was a terrorist attack in Quebec mosque made a fuss in Canadian society and was a great challenge to multiculturalism as it guarantees freedom of religion. As a reaction of a Muslim Pakistani Liberal Member of Parliament , Iqra Khalid for the rise of hate and threat to Multiculturalism ,she made Motion-103 to condemn Islamophobia .The latter motion caused great difference in the parliament and society.It is important to find the link between each and the impact of each of Trump's ban ,Syrian refugees , and the Quebec mosque attack on Multiculturalism in Canada .

2.6.1 Trump's Ban and Justin Trudeau's Response

USA as a southern bordering country to Canada may effect in a way or another Canada and its inhabitants. For instance by the victory of Donald Trump in the presidential elections —who was best known of racial campaign towards Mexican as well as Muslims, many people who fled from USA to Canada seeking for a better and safer life in the north. In addition to this, in January 27, 2017 Trump announced for the first time an executive which is a "Travel and Refugee Ban" for 7 of majority Muslim countries that are Iran, Iraq, Lybia, Somalia, Sudan, Yemen, and Syria to be denied entry to USA for a period of 90 days from the date the order being signed to effect for tourists and for 120 days for refugees except Syrians that were to be not welcomed at all. The executive order was halted and blocked for temporarily by federal court judges. However, repeatedly the order was reborn with modifications on March 6, 2017 and on March 16, 2017 and every time being blocked. Moreover, Trump ideology caused the rise of xenophobia in USA differently from that of Justin Trudeau.

For the sake of better understanding, the purpose of the Travel and Refugee Ban signed by the US president Donald Trump ,and also to discuss whether it may effect the northern bordering country or not; a press conference was held in the white house in February 13,2017 with the presence of Canada's Prime Minister Justin Trudeau and USA President Donald Trump.

<u>Chapter II : Multiculturalism : Liberal and Conservative, Its Protecting Charter, and</u> Challenges

The conference as according to CNN¹⁰ 's clear evident that is the video of the live press conference, there was a noticeable difference in the ideology of either of the two leaders. Therefore, Trump in his way to defend for his order of travel and refugee ban said: "We are going to get the bad one—the really bad ones, we are getting them out and that is exactly what we are doing". In contrast, Canada's Prime Minister responds in an opposite way that Canada is opened to everyone by saying: "keeping canadians safe is one of the fundamental responsibilities of any government and that's certainly something that we've focused on. At the same time, we continue to pursue policies of openness towards immigrations, refugees without compromising security".

Prime Minister of Canada, Justin Trudeau through the press conference ¹¹ as a whole showed how controversial is his ideology of leading a nation with that of the president of USA Donald Trump concerning refugees and immigration. For multiculturalism, the clear welcome and ideology of openness of the Prime Minister Justin Trudeau encouraged the refugees to seek asylum in Canada rather than US. Additionally, the illegal immigrants in USA who feared for their lives from Trump's America, took the risk to cross the borders to Canada wishing a better life there since politically they were welcomed by the Canada's Prime Minister himself despite the opposition ¹².

2.6.2 Syrian Refugees

Syria has been devastated by civil wars and terrorism since 2011. Consequently, many innocent children were killed in cold blood by the chemical weapons and many families were eradicated by bombs thrown to houses, education in school was dangerous by the unexpected thrown bombs to them at any time resulting the death of disarmed pupils and schools staff. All of these and more, are the push factors for many survivors to flee from their home country either individually or accompanied by their families to wherever in the world they find peace and safety and can live .Canada , among the many targeted countries for Syrian refugees with a gradually increasing number especially after the Trump's executive order of banning them indefinitely .In contrast to Trump , Canada's PM

¹⁰ CNN ,Jeremy Diamond and Kevin Liptak , http://edition.cnn.com/2017/02/13/politics/donald-trump-

iustin-trudeau-white-house/index.html

11 Full press conference video and transcription in CBC , http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/trump-trudeau-presser-full-1.3980629

http://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-immgration-canada-border-idUSKBN1602NG; http://www.cbc.ca/news/opinion/trudeau-message-to-refugees-1.4051008

Chapter II: Multiculturalism: Liberal and Conservative, Its Protecting Charter, and Challenges

Justin Trudeau welcomed them himself verbally in politically speaking in his speeches and tweets and personally for some in the airports as they landed in Canada.

On the topic, as several authors Zi-Ann Lum in her article entitled "Pay It Forward': Canada Resettles Nearly 39,000 Syrian Refugees" 13 spoke of the experience of a Syrian family that came to Canada as refugees as well as explained why Canada was their choice; the reason which is all about how to afford the living and about the job opportunities that are better in Canada than other countries as it is reported in Ashley Gold's article in BBC News magazine entitled "Syrian refugees settle into new lives in Canada" 14 how Syrian refugees are sponsored and helped to become gradually able to adjust in Canadian life and how even easily for some to get an accepted part-time job to become relying on themselves more than sponsors.

Justin Trudeau wrote a tweet in January 28, 2017 saying: "To those fleeing persecution, terror & war, Canadians will welcome you, regardless of your faith. Diversity is our strength #WelcomeToCanada"15. More than this, he welcomed many as they landed in the Canadian International Airport in Toronto, Ontario by smiles and gifting them coats to feel warmth as he also made a speech to encourage Canadians to welcome them saying:

"This is a wonderful night where we get to show not just a planeload of new Canadians what Canada's all about, we get to show the world how to open our hearts and welcome in people who extraordinary difficult situations they step off the plane as refugees but they walk out of this terminal as permanent residents of Canada with social insurance numbers, with health cards, and with an opportunity to become full Canadians. This is something that we're able to do in this country because we define a Canadian not by a skin color, or language, or religion, or a background but by a shared sets of values aspirations, hopes, and dreams that not just Canadians but people around the world share ".16

The Guardian, https://www.theguardian.com/world/video/2015/dec/11/canadian-pm-justin-trudeau-

¹³ Zi-Ann Lum, http://www.huffingtonpost.ca/2016/12/24/syrian-refugees-in-canada_n_13822554.html

¹⁴ Ashley Gold, http://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-35447113

https://twitter.com/JustinTrudeau/status/825438460265762816

syria-refugees-toronto-video. See also http://globalnews.ca/video/2394633/welcome-to-your-new-homejustin-trudeau-greets-syrian-refugees-arriving-in-canada

<u>Chapter II : Multiculturalism : Liberal and Conservative, Its Protecting Charter, and</u> Challenges

The CBC News reporter, Andrea Janus¹⁷, posted an article entitled "*I'm proud to be here': Syrian refugee has tearful reunion with Justin Trudeau* " attached by a video .The latter attachment was about a reunion of PM Justin Trudeau a year after with a Syrian refugee in Canada .Therefore, it is according to Trudeau's words considered as a challenge for him as he was newly elected at back then to welcome a big number of Syrian refugees to follow the path of his late father who was also a Prime Minister and achieved many goals essentially the Multiculturalism .Additionally , the meeting between Justing Trudeau and the Syrian refugee ended emotionally where Trudeau shed tears as he conversed with the Syrian man.

Accordingly to Trudeau's welcome to Syrian refugees raised questions about whether among them there are terrorists and threatening people to Canadian's security or not, Hijal De Sarkar wrote an article in HuffPost entitled "5 Reasons Why Canada Shouldn't Fear Accepting Syrian Refugees" 18 through which he explained the processes the Syrian refugees are screened before they land in Canada. Moreover, he told in his articles that the United Nations High Commission on Refugees selects them. The UNHCR, who priorities accepting families rather than single and individual Syrians . Therefore, Hijal De Sarkar reassures to Canadian people that everything is taken under control and welcoming Syrian refugees would better secure them from any threat of ISIS simply because the latter targets western countries who refuse Syrians and not those who accept them and welcome them with an open heart.

2.6.3 Quebec Mosque Attack

According to the report in Toronto Star written by Windy Gillis entitled « What happened the night of the Quebec mosque attack A tight-knit community's response to a heinous crime » ¹⁹ In Quebec City in January 29, 2017 in the Centre Culturel Islamique Québec by the time 7:50 p.m., Alexandre Bissonnette, a 27-year-old Université Laval student resulted to the death of six Muslim men few minutes after the Ishaa' prayer at night and others about 12 and more differently injured .What was informed about the killer, was

¹⁷ Andrea Janus ,CBC News http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/programs/metromorning/metromorning-justin-trudeau-refugee-reunion-1.3880485

¹⁸ Hijal De Sarkar, http://www.huffingtonpost.ca/hijal-de-sarkar/accepting-syrian-refugees b 8604588.html

¹⁹ Windy Gillis, Toronto Star https://www.thestar.com/news/canada/2017/02/04/what-happened-the-night-of-the-quebec-mosque-attack.html

<u>Chapter II : Multiculturalism : Liberal and Conservative, Its Protecting Charter, and</u> Challenges

that he was a fan of far-right politicians, France's racist politician Marine Le Pen, and the racist US President Donald Trump .As he was known to be a non-sociable person . The dead men are namely two Guinea brothers Ibrahima Barry and Mamadou Tanou Barry, two Algerian men Khaled Belkacemi and Abdelkrim Hassane, one Morrocan man Azzedine Soufiane, and one Tunisian man Aboubaker Thabti according to BBC News²⁰ with further details about each .Moreover, as a reaction to condemn the attack, Dr. Julien Clément who was the most important surgeon during the time serious wounded were in Hôpital de l'Enfant-Jésus said about the dead men : "Those guvs who were on the table were just like me...The same age, most likely two or three kids. The only thing is they are Muslim and got shot. That's all". Moreover, according to the article by the same reporter Windy Gillis in Toronto Star entitled "What now for 17 kids who've lost their fathers in Quebec mosque attack? Some children of victims of Quebec mosque attack are so young they can barely comprehend the loss of a parent", all the dead men were fathers of young children further details of how they were effected emotionally by the loss of their parents and how some very young children were yet not aware of the loss of a parent, also how it was inexplicable for some of the family of the murdered to tell the sons and daughters of the victims about the hate of some Canadians towards the Muslim community and Islam as a whole.

As an event attacking not just ordinary people in their time of peace and serenity, but rather attacking the security and freedom of religion in Canada; Justin Trudeau in the same night of incident that is January 29, 2017 made a speech in Ottawa, Ontario (See Appendix --) condemning the attack in his words saying: "We condemn this terrorist attack on Muslims in a centre of worship and refuge." As he consolidated the relatives and friends of the dead victims at the same time wishing recovery for wounded casualties in saying: "On behalf of all Canadians, Sophie and I offer our deepest condolences to the family and friends of all those who have died, and we wish a speedy recovery to those who have been injured." Essentially, he called for the importance of diversity in such a hard time in order not to let an act of terror to divide Canadians in his words saying: "While authorities are still investigating and details continue to be confirmed, it is heart-wrenching to see such senseless violence. Diversity is

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²⁰ BBC News , http://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-38807775

Windy Gillis, Toronto Star https://www.thestar.com/news/canada/2017/02/04/what-now-for-17-kids-whove-lost-their-father-in-quebec-mosque-attack.html

<u>Chapter II: Multiculturalism: Liberal and Conservative, Its Protecting Charter, and Challenges</u>

our strength, and religious tolerance is a value that we, as Canadians, hold dear."²² A day after the attack ,PM Justin Trudeau made another speech²³ (See Appendix --)to clearly consider it was a terrorist attack towards not just a group of people but towards the values of Canadians as freely multicultural in his words saying: "This was a group of innocents targeted for practicing their faith. Make no mistake – this was a terrorist attack. It was an attack on our most intrinsic and cherished values as Canadians - values of openness, diversity, and freedom of religion." Justin Trudeau also reminds Canadians of what is to be a multicultural and diverse country -that is Canada, by saying:" Canada has long been a diverse and accepting nation. We are kind. We are generous. And we embrace one another, not in spite of our differences, but because of them.". More than this, Trudeau calls Canadians all to stay united and strong in saying:"The people who commit these acts mean to test our resolve, and weaken our values. They aim to divide us. To sow discord and plant hatred.". Importantly he calls for staying aware and loving by saying: "We will not close our minds. We will open our hearts." Ultimately, he addresses the Muslims in Canada directly by saying:" To the more than one million Canadians who profess the Muslim faith, I want to say directly: We are with you. 36 million Canadian hearts are breaking with yours. And know that we value you. You enrich our shared country in immeasurable ways. It is your home." He adds: "Last night's horrible crime against the Muslim community was an act of terror committed against Canada, and against all Canadians. We will grieve with you. We will defend you. We will love you. And we will stand with you." In the end again he emphasized on unity in his words saying:" We will mourn this devastating attack, and we will heal, together. As one community, as one country, and as one family."

Additionally, Iqra Khalid –a Liberal MP, made a petition, a motion by December 2016, and the debates about it was held in February 15, 2017, which is the beginning of the month after the terrorist attack at Quebec Centre Islamique Culturel .The announced motion known as Motion 103 and M-103 was also debated about in March 21, 2017²⁴ (See Appendix --). The latter motion mainly called to condemn Islamophobia in Canada as

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²² The official website of the Prime Minister and the Government of Canada http://pm.gc.ca/eng/news/2017/01/29/statement-prime-minister-canada-fatal-shooting-city-quebec
²³ PM House statement on the terrorist attack in Quebec ,

http://www.pm.gc.ca/eng/news/2017/01/30/pm-house-statement-terrorist-attack-quebec ;see the video of the speech in http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/trudeau-canadians-will-not-be-broken-by-this-violence-1.3958476

²⁴ The text of the Motion in http://www.ourcommons.ca/Parliamentarians/en/members/lqra-Khalid(88849)/Motions

<u>Chapter II: Multiculturalism: Liberal and Conservative, Its Protecting Charter, and Challenges</u>

according to her words saying that hate and discrimination have risen in Canada towards Muslim people .Furthermore, the M-103 caused distinctive reactions about it between with and against it. For instance , Conservative Party members of parliaments all disagree as some considered the term "Islamophobia" not being defined in the motion as others said it would be appropriate to delete the term and call for anti-discrimination against all religions. However , she refused to do neither of the suggested ideas by raising how severe hate mails ²⁵she received from ordinary people against the motion who prefer to remain freely hating Muslims and discriminating them .Fortunately for Iqra Khalid , on March 23,2017 , her Motion-103 passed easily to the House of Commons by a vast majority voting for it that were all Liberal Party members except one and a big number of New Democrats Party NDP members for it .So that ,the Conservative Party members against it did not affect the passing of the M-103 to the House of Commons.

2.7 Conclusion

This very second and last chapter entitled " Multiculturalism : Liberal and Conservative types, Its Protecting Charter, and Challenges " ended up to show in brief how Canada is in cases multicultural conservatively as how it is in other cases multiculturally liberal. Furthermore, this chapter provided a brief definition of a very remarkable Charter, which is the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Elsemore, it highlighted the role of the latter document for elongating the life of Multiculturalism in Canada. Additionally, the chapter unfolded recent facts, truths, and perspectives towards the Canadian multiculturalism in two scopes that are sociocultural, and importantly the religious since religion is always debatable in a diverse country. Back to the past for a while, this chapter brought a glimpse to a famous political term was used in Canada which was "Trudeaumania" called after Pierre Trudeau, Thus, providing explanation of the term, and gradually finding that history may repeat itself in the actual leadership of his elder son Justin Trudeau. Ultimately, the chapter ends up by very recent political issues and events that remains up today challenging the Multiculturalism in Canada .The chapter further speaks about Islamophobia, actions, and reactions that came to effect the unity within diversity of the multicultural Canada.

²⁵ See the first video entitled "'We will burn down your mosques,' Muslim MP told after anti-Islamophobia motion" in http://globalnews.ca/news/3255751/iqra-khalid-islamophobia/

GENERAL CONCLUSION

General Conclusion

Canada is the land of immigrants since it is founded by two European races that are the French and the English, and was inhabited by Aboriginal people rooted from South Asia. By the establishment of the country, more waves of immigration marked the history and politics of Canada differently. Therefore, the social construction of population in Canada became more diverse as highlighted in this dissertation, with accompany to the geographical distribution of immigrants from different countries of origin.

Moreover, this dissertation showed how cultural differences could be taken under control by acts and laws that grants certain freedoms either to a specific category of Canadian citizens or to all. In this sense, Quebec Act of 1774 gave freedom to Quebecers in terms of religion, Official Languages Act similarly as the preceding commission of Bilingualism and Biculturalism granted the freedom to speak, study, and deal with people in either French or English languages. Additionally, the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, as explained in this work, which has a very important role in keeping Canada a multicultural country since it protects the basic freedoms of individuals who form a diverse society and making everyone equal under the law regardless of the gender, faith, or colour of skin.

This dissertation brought up new information in parallel to old historical ones. As far as different factors challenged multiculturalism. It was a great necessity to provide up-to-date political and social events that occurred in Canada and made multiculturalism to a certain extent in danger to fail or die similarly as happened in European countries. Among those namely, the Quebec Charter of Values, Trump Ban, and the Quebec Mosque Attack. Furthermore, this dissertation ended up by resulting to the fact that as far as there are risks of multiculturalism to be killed by people effected by Xenophobia and Islamophobia in the recent years, there are political reforms, laws, or acts to protect multiculturalism.

This research work on Multiculturalism in Canada was conducted with further details for the sake of examining whether or not the estate of multiculturalism in Canada has changed throughout ages since its early beginning. At the same time to know all what relates to multiculturalism from protections to threats more emphasizing on the modern Canada and events that filled the media's newspapers, broadcasts, and television with massive facts and various responses from both the politicians' side and the society's side. Which, at meanwhile, revealed through the scrutiny of each in parallel; that Multiculturalism in Canada, being a political policy makes it protected at any time differently as it is a social reality as long as the Canadian society is diverse. However, challenges to it would not stop at any year, the fact that makes it a subject of debate and further research in the future.

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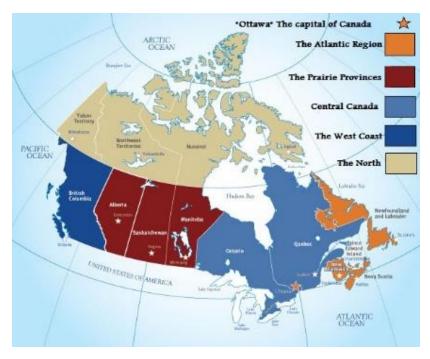
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Appendices:

Appendix A: The map of regions of Canada



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Appendix B: News, Komagata Maru apology in the House of Commons

Ottawa, Ontario

May 18, 2016

Mr. Speaker, I would like to begin by acknowledging the hard work done by many of my colleagues.

From my own caucus, I'd like to thank the Members from Surrey-Newton and Winnipeg North for their tireless advocacy. They have petitioned the Canadian government for years to make the apology that will be made today. I thank them for their commitment to this cause.

From the Opposition benches, special mention must be made of the Members from Calgary Heritage, Calgary Midnapore and the former Member for Surrey North. Each deserves recognition for the work they have done to seek resolution for victims and their families.

As do the many organizations that have sought the same, in particular, the Professor Mohan Singh Memorial Foundation.

Mr. Speaker, today I rise in this House to offer an apology on behalf of the Government of Canada, for our role in the Komagata Maru incident.

More than a century ago, a great injustice took place.

On May 23, 1914, a steamship sailed into Burrard Inlet in Vancouver. On board were 376 passengers of Sikh, Muslim and Hindu origin.

Those passengers, like millions of immigrants to Canada since, came seeking better lives for their families. Greater opportunities. A chance to contribute to their new home.

Those passengers chose Canada. And when they arrived here, they were rejected.

They were rejected because in the early years of the last century, the Government of Canada put in place a law that prohibited passengers from disembarking in Canada if the vessel they were on had stopped at any point during its journey here.

This would have prevented immigrants from faraway countries such as India from entering Canada, because in that era, it was impossible to travel great distances by sea without making any stops.

Because of this law, when the Komagata Maru arrived in Canada, only a small number of passengers were allowed to disembark. The ship, and all remaining passengers on it, was ordered to leave.

Members of the local Sikh community tried to convince authorities to reverse their decision, but those efforts were unsuccessful.

And on July 23, 1914 – two months after it arrived – the Komagata Maru was escorted out of harbour by the Canadian military, and forced to return to India, where 19 passengers were killed and many others imprisoned.

Mr. Speaker, Canada does not bear alone the responsibility for every tagic mistake that occurred with the Komagata Maru and its passengers.

But Canada's government was, without question, responsible for the laws that prevented these passengers from immigrating peacefully and securely.

For that, and for every regrettable consequence that followed, we are sorry.

I apologize, first and foremost, to the victims of the incident.

No words can fully erase the pain and suffering they experienced. Regrettably, the passage of time means that none are alive to hear our apology today.

Still, we offer it, fully and sincerely.

For our indifference to your plight.

For our failure to recognize all that you had to offer.

For the laws that discriminated against you, so senselessly.

And for not formally apologizing sooner.

For all these things, we are truly sorry.

I also wish to apologize to the descendants of the passengers of the Komagata Maru, including those who are here with us here today.

We can never know what your lives would have been like had your relatives been welcomed to Canada.

The ways in which your lives would have been different.

The ways in which Canada would have been enriched.

Those possibilities are lost to history.

For that - and to you - we apologize.

Just as we apologize for past wrongs, so too must we commit ourselves to positive action - to learning from the mistakes of the past, and to making sure that we never repeat them.

That is the unique promise and potential of Canada.

We believe that every person – no matter who they are, no matter where they came from – deserves a real and fair chance at success. Canada's South Asian community exemplifies this success every day.

We believe that our diversity is a source of strength. That we are strong not in spite of our differences, but because of them.

And we believe in the values enshrined in our Charter of Rights and Freedoms, including multiculturalism. Our government will ensure that these values are always upheld.

Mr. Speaker, before I finish, I would like to acknowledge one more Member who has helped to bring the Komagata Maru incident to our national attention – the Minister of National Defence.

Before entering political life, the Minister was the commanding officer of The British Columbia Regiment Duke of Connaught's Own – the same regiment that once forced out the Komagata Maru.

A century ago, the Minister's family might well have been turned away from Canada. Today, the Minister sits beside us, here, in this House.

In a House that includes immigrants. That includes the daughters and sons – the granddaughters and grandsons – of immigrants.

The very makeup of this House should remind all of us that when we have the choice between opening our arms to those in need or closing our hearts to them, we must always choose the more compassionate path.

When we see injustice, we must speak up, and attempt to make things right.

When we make mistakes, we must apologize, and recommit ourselves to doing better.

Mr. Speaker, Canada is a country unlike any other. We are blessed to call it home.

Let us always endeavour to do better, and to be better.

Let us do that in honour of the victims of the Komagata Maru incident, and every courageous person who leaves behind family and familiar things, to bring to Canada the very best of who they are.

Thank you.

http://pm.gc.ca/eng/news/2016/05/18/komagata-maru-apology-house-commons

Appendix C: Statement by the Prime Minister of Canada on the fatal shooting in the city of Québec

Ottawa, Ontario January 29, 2017

The Prime Minister, Justin Trudeau, issued the following statement today after hearing of the fatal shooting at the Centre culturel islamique de Québec located in the Ste-Foy neighbourhood of the city of Québec:

"It was with tremendous shock, sadness and anger that I heard of this evening's tragic and fatal shooting at the Centre culturel islamique de Québec located in the Ste-Foy neighbourhood of the city of Québec.

"We condemn this terrorist attack on Muslims in a centre of worship and refuge.

"On behalf of all Canadians, Sophie and I offer our deepest condolences to the family and friends of all those who have died, and we wish a speedy recovery to those who have been injured.

"While authorities are still investigating and details continue to be confirmed, it is heart-wrenching to see such senseless violence. Diversity is our strength, and religious tolerance is a value that we, as Canadians, hold dear.

"Muslim-Canadians are an important part of our national fabric, and these senseless acts have no place in our communities, cities and country. Canadian law enforcement agencies will protect the rights of all Canadians, and will make every effort to apprehend the perpetrators of this act and all acts of intolerance.

"Tonight, we grieve with the people of Ste-Foy and all Canadians."

http://pm.gc.ca/eng/news/2017/01/29/statement-prime-minister-canada-fatal-shooting-city-quebec

Appendix D: PM House statement on the terrorist attack in Quebec

Ottawa, Ontario January 30, 2017 Mr. Speaker –

It was with shock and sadness that Canadians heard about a despicable act of terror last night in Quebec City.

By current counts, six people worshipping at the Quebec City Islamic Cultural Centre have lost their lives, with many others seriously injured.

This was a group of innocents targeted for practicing their faith. Make no mistake – this was a terrorist attack.

It was an attack on our most intrinsic and cherished values as Canadians – values of openness, diversity, and freedom of religion.

Our hearts go out to the families of the victims. These people were just that – people. Ordinary Canadians. They were brothers, uncles, fathers, and friends. These were people of faith, and of community.

And in the blink of an eye, they were robbed of their lives in an act of brutal violence.

I know that, already, there's a deeply personal connection here, in this very House. The Member of Parliament for Louis-Hebert knew this community and has joined them at the Centre many times. He is with them now as we speak today.

And to each of my 337 colleagues in this House, Mr. Speaker, remember that we are all leaders in our communities. At times like these, our communities *need* our leadership. It is in these moments that we must show ourselves worthy of the honour of sitting in this place.

Reach out to your friends and neighbours. Gather your communities. Be there for your people. They need you.

To the injured, to the family members of these innocent victims, to the people of Quebec, and to all Canadians—

Know that we will get to the bottom of this. Such senseless violence has no place in Canadian society.

I'd like to express my deepest gratitude to the first responders, and thank local law enforcement officials, local government officials, and the Government of Quebec. I can assure Canadians that we will be working closely together in the days ahead.

I'd also like to thank the many political and faith leaders from around the world who have reached out since last night's events. Your thoughts and condolences are greatly appreciated.

Canada has long been a diverse and accepting nation. We are kind. We are generous. And we embrace one another, not in spite of our differences, but because of them.

It is in tragic moments like this that we must come together in order to move forward. Canadians will not be broken by this violence. Our sense of spirit, and our sense of unity, will only strengthen.

The people who commit these acts mean to test our resolve, and weaken our values. They aim to divide us. To sow discord and plant hatred.

We will not close our minds. We will open our hearts.

Mr. Speaker, my friends, my fellow Canadians: let us strive to be the best version of ourselves in this dark hour.

To the more than one million Canadians who profess the Muslim faith, I want to say directly:

We are with you. 36 million Canadian hearts are breaking with yours.

And know that we value you. You enrich our shared country in immeasurable ways. It is your home.

Last night's horrible crime against the Muslim community was an act of terror committed against Canada, and against all Canadians.

We will grieve with you. We will defend you. We will love you. And we will stand with you.

Over the coming days, take solace in one another. We will mourn this devastating attack, and we will heal, together. As one community, as one country, and as one family.

Canadians will not be intimidated. We will not meet violence with more violence.

We will meet fear and hatred with love and compassion.

Always.

Thank you, Mr. Speaker.

 $\frac{\text{http://www.pm.gc.ca/eng/news/2017/01/30/pm-house-statement-terrorist-attack-quebec}{}$