

Canada's Diversity: Policy Imperatives

Taskforce Report

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Independent Report

Requisitioned by the Liberal Renewal Commission, Canada

August 2006

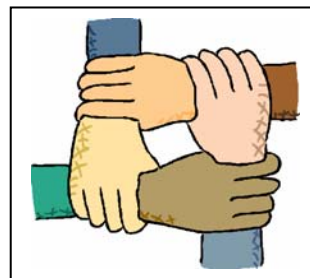
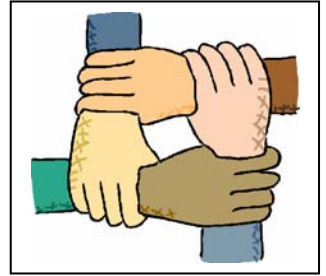


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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

A task force group, consisting primarily of non-political, non-partisan experts drawn from various walks of Canadian life across the country was set up as the “Diversity Taskforce” to make recommendations to the Liberal Party Renewal Commission; it worked between April 1, 2006 and August 30, 2006.

This taskforce examined various strategic policy themes as it related to Canadian diversity issues; its impact on Canadian society today (social, political, economic) and how future policy should be shaped to address current gaps.

This report addresses whether diversity, based on a common set of shared values, can be a framework through which we can define our national identity, citizenship and society. Furthermore, whether this idea of diversity can be leveraged to promote political dialogue both nationally and internationally, and utilized to promote global political and economic relations.

This report encompasses the following:

1. Multiculturalism vs. Diversity
2. Canadian demographic shift and global information connectivity
3. Disenfranchised ethnic aspirations and electoral shifts
4. Sustainable livelihoods
5. Strategic Canadian social and political issues
6. Implications for Canada
7. Recommendations

The recommendations are multifaceted and encompass areas such as strategy, policy, collaborative approaches and coordinating mechanisms with the objective of establishing a good dialogue between political, social and economic segments. The two main themes being addressed in this report are (1) the need for a diversity policy and (2) the leveraging of diversity in Canadian politics, economy and international relations.

Main Observations:

1. The Multiculturalism Policy (1971) and the subsequent Multiculturalism Act (1988), while historically very successful do not sufficiently or fully address the current needs and aspirations of Canada’s diverse populations as it relates to their sustainable livelihood, participation in policy making and mutual understanding of the diversity within Canada.
2. There is now more political activism by these diverse segments to be “electorally heard” and Canada could see major shifts in the standings of the current three national political parties. There is also a strong desire by ethnic communities not to be taken for granted and they want to leverage their large numbers in certain areas to make their voices heard. For example, the last federal election saw three

ethnic candidates run against established political candidates on separatist platforms in Quebec. While one defeated an established minister, the other two garnered 30% votes against the incumbent Prime Minister and another incumbent Cabinet Minister. One can anticipate further proliferation and political fragmentation in the future if attention is not paid to the issues of concern to Canada's diverse population.

3. With the shrinking global village and information interconnectivity, there is a rise in the ideological support for many international causes by Canadians, whether they be related to poverty, natural disasters, environment, health or political upheaval.
4. The absence of a national awareness campaign on Canada's foreign policy, as it relates to peace and security or the international war against terrorism or other engagements such as humanitarian relief, is causing grave concern in several minority communities and confusion about appropriate acts of involvement and intervention.
5. Domestically, we have seen that the political parties often lag behind significantly when it comes to recognition of the rights of certain sectors of Canada's diverse populations such as Aboriginal peoples, gays and lesbians, visible minorities, and people with disabilities; indeed Canadians are far more supportive of social inclusion than the current policies acknowledge.

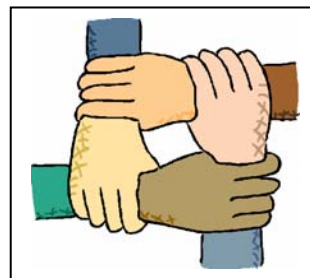
Recommendations:

1. A redefinition of Canada's social framework is required - from multiculturalism to cohesive diversity - which should include social cohesion, political inclusiveness and sustainable livelihood.
2. The term diversity should not be limited to a few ethnic characterisations (hyphenated Canadians) but should look across Canadian society to include, but not be limited to, elements such as economic, cultural, gender, age, ethnicity, disability, religion, sexual orientation.
3. Diversity should be identified as a framework based on shared values and core principles around which we can build our national identity. How we collectively practice diversity becomes our set of Canadian principles.
4. Focus a diversity framework on institutions as they are the best mirrors of society. Ensure diversity at governance, membership and decision-making levels of public institutions (including political parties).
5. Leverage diversity for domestic and international market expansion.
6. Identify a niche international role for Canada in promoting peace, respect for diversity and common global values.

The details of the above recommendations are given in Chapter 7.

In Closing:

These recommendations should be further examined within the context of political ideology (by the various political parties), debated through their policy generation mechanism and finally debated in front of Canadians during the electoral processes at the federal, provincial and municipal levels.



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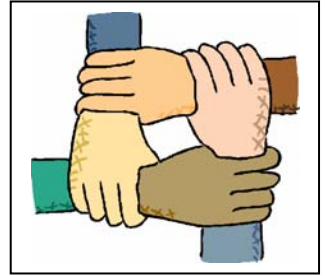
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1



1 CANADA IN THE 21ST CENTURY

Canada has held the proud record of many firsts in social policies. These can be considered radical progress if you factor in its time in history i.e. introduced anti-slavery act in Upper Canada in 1793 and slavery fully abolished in 1833 (long before USA); granted all women the right to vote federally in 1918 (before USA, France, Italy, Japan and Switzerland); made significant progress on issues such as equal pay for work of equal value (Equal Wages Guidelines, 1986); introduced formal maternity leave benefits (1971); Charter of Rights and Freedoms (1982); introduced legislation for national medicare program (1966) as well as other programs such as the Canada/ Quebec Pension Plan and the Guaranteed Income Supplement.

Based on the above, one can assert unequivocally that Canada has led the world in becoming the most progressive and open society with an ability to adapt and change as warranted. Yet, some may argue that Canada's population until the last three decades of the 20th century was largely white and of European descent and the track-record of treating visible minorities (including Blacks, the First Nations people and the indentured laborers from China and India) was rather poor. The Multiculturalism Policy championed by the Honorable Pierre Elliott Trudeau was an important step in recognizing and valuing the contributions of immigrants who came to Canada from different parts of the world.

Today, there have been further demographic shifts with greater numbers of immigrants coming from non-European countries and we recognize many more elements in the diversity mix that were not taken into account earlier – for example, colour, different religions and sexual orientation. Some significant variables are noted below:

- a. **Foreign-Born Canadians** - Today Canadian society has undergone a major transformation. About 18% of people in Canada are foreign-born and this is expected to rise to 22% by 2017. In Vancouver, Toronto and Montreal these ratios will be much higher. In British Columbia and Ontario, this segment will be the majority in a decade's time. To cap it all, this entire demographic group is much younger than native-born white Canadians.
- b. **Impact of Colour, Culture & Religions** – Most of the recent demographic shifts represented above are largely of Asian ethnicity, non-Christian religions and non-white societies. They bring their own languages, cultures, food, music and habits. They are fast establishing their own acceptable life standards that are very different from that of past Canadians.
- c. **Sexual Orientation and Diversity** – The increased awareness and recognition of the need to respect the rights of individuals who have been traditionally discriminated against (including gays, lesbians and transgendered people) is new for Canada as well.
- d. **Disabilities and socially disadvantaged groups:** There is increased awareness in Canadian society that there are profound social inequalities that result from circumstances not within the control of affected people, such as people with disabilities, and the need to use a social justice lens to address inequities.

- e. **Global Village and Communications Mix** – The instantaneous flow of information across the world has heightened international awareness. Also, there is a rise of consciousness to support international causes, which now go beyond poverty alleviation, improving health, and education, and include alleviating human misery (including those caused by acts of war, strife or terrorism).

It is fair to note that Canadians today are more inviting of cultural mixes, more supportive of differences (e.g. sexual orientation), than we were 30 years ago. This is essentially a result of Canada's multicultural policies. Our policies have delivered, but Canada needs to go further because not only have the demographics shifted dramatically so have the needs, wants and aspirations of Canadians as they seek a better future and shape a country that reflects their political, social, and economic values.

Some recent statistics indicate there is still room for improvement in this area. A few statistics are highlighted below:

- **Diversity**
 - Diversity has increased in 10 years with more than 200 ethnic groups living in Canada.
 - Visible minorities will be 20% of the population by 2016.
 - According to the 2002 Statistics Canada Ethnic Diversity Survey, 23% of Canada's population aged 15 and over (5.3 million) were first generation (born outside Canada). Not since 1931 has the proportion of people born outside of the country been this high.
- **Racism:**
 - In the 2002 Statistics Canada Ethnic Diversity Survey, 7%, or an estimated 1.6 million Canadians aged 15 and over, said they had experienced discrimination or unfair treatment in the past five years sometimes or often because of these characteristics.
 - One-in-five (20%) people aged 15 and over *who were part of a visible minority* (587,000 people), said they felt that they had experienced discrimination or unfair treatment sometimes or often in the five years prior to the survey because of their ethnicity, culture, race, skin colour, language, accent or religion.
- **Hate Crimes:**
 - In 2001-2002, twelve major Canadian police forces reported a total of 938 hate crime incidents. Overall, 57% of these hate crimes were motivated by race or ethnicity and 43% were motivated by religion. Sexual orientation was the motivation in about one-tenth of the incidents.
 - Blacks and South Asians were among those most frequently targeted in hate crime incidents motivated by race or ethnicity. The majority of incidents motivated by religion involved anti-Semitism followed by those targeting Muslims.
 - The most common types of hate crime violations included mischief or vandalism (29%), assault (25%), uttering threats (20%), and hate propaganda (13%).

The multicultural mix of our population and the successes we have enjoyed as a tolerant, pluralistic society is perhaps ebbing (or even faltering) under the dramatic shifts noted above. However, the successes we have experienced are, in part, due to better understanding of individual rights and freedoms and building up of expectations that will become even more profound in the years to come. Canadians will increasingly demand that their aspirations be fulfilled.

Today, Canadians exhibit the following key characteristics:

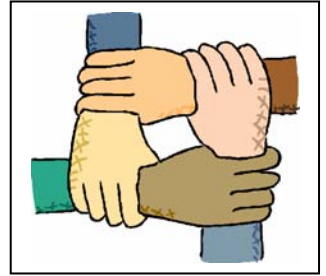
- Proud of their background (origin, culture, race and religion) and their desire to preserve it.
- Internationally connected and aware
- Wanting to be respected for their individuality and differences
- Seeking parity and participation in mainstream political, economic and social walks of life
- Articulate and vocal, with little patience for slow changes

Some of these aspects are already beginning to take shape as evidenced by:

- Preservation of current gay marriage rights and seeking other equality rights
- Women wanting a conducive work place to manage work-life balance
- Immigrants wanting acceptance of foreign qualifications
- Lack of misunderstandings between local minority communities and the mainstream society about international events
- Pride in one's own culture and background
- Challenge of "archaic" laws through courts

"Good political values become shared values"

*Dr. Hedy Fry, MP
Member, Taskforce on Diversity*



2 STRATEGIC ISSUES

Multiculturalism

The Canadian Multiculturalism Act is fundamental to our belief that all citizens are equal. Multiculturalism ensures that all citizens can keep their identities, can take pride in their ancestry and have a sense of belonging. Acceptance gives Canadians a feeling of security and self-confidence, making them more open to, and accepting of, diverse cultures. The Canadian experience has shown that multiculturalism encourages racial and ethnic harmony and cross-cultural understanding, and discourages ghettoization, marginalization, hatred, racism, discrimination and violence. Through multiculturalism, Canada recognizes the potential of all Canadians, encouraging them to integrate into their society and take an active part in its social, cultural, economic and political affairs.

Despite the recognition and promotion of Canada's multi-cultural population, various groups have not been able to gain all the benefits of living in Canadian society. A broad divide that multiculturalism has not been able to tackle is in the area of sustainable livelihoods of different communities. While a few segments live well and reap the benefits, other segments are not reaping the benefits of Canada's economic activity. In fact, these segments (typically new immigrants and visible minorities) have been slipping behind in their economic status in the last two decades. In such aspects, multiculturalism deflects such impasses and barriers to the free-market system and absolves any and all recognition that there is indeed a shared concern as Canadians. It is as if recognizing multiculturalism has actually led to obscuring other debates about full participation and access to benefits in society for all citizens, particularly for new immigrants and visible minorities.

Diversity

Respect for diversity in its basic interpretation means respect for the co-existence of differences without limitations or set boundaries. Within a societal context, diversity goes well beyond multiculturalism to include all attributes of society and its members without limitations. *It's about co-existence with social cohesiveness, mutual understanding, and mutual respect with the implicit obligation to the right to live and let live peacefully*

“Diversity is the peaceful coexistence of differences”

*Ratna Omidvar
Member, Taskforce on Diversity*

So, how would a diversity framework be any better than multiculturalism? For a start, the notion of a shared charter, social cohesiveness and sustainable livelihood for all should take precedence over merely celebrating

festivals of different ethnic communities. It would allow for a mechanism whereby common concerns are debated, understood and solved.

Principles and Values

Quite often one hears the term ‘Canadian values’ and immediately one associates that with principles. In fact the two are quite different. Values are stated beliefs, and principles are how you enact those beliefs.

As Canadian societies evolve we could see a long-term shift in principles (how we exercise our values) while the underlying values could remain the same all along. It can also be that different segments are practicing the same values in their own principled way.

*“A core set of principles based on shared underlying values
which transcend our differences, actually establishes unity through a respect for diversity”*

*Mohammad Al Zaibak
Member, Taskforce on Diversity*

Role of Politics and Government in Shaping Values

Should politics and the government be actively shaping shared principles and values? The answer is yes because shared values and principles define our political and social agendas, which in turn drives the economic engine in terms of production, consumption, job creation, etc.,

The articulation and recognition of opportunity for all to participate (diverse participation) within an economic diversity (multiple opportunities) would in itself be a shared national value on which policies could be shaped. Similarly public awareness, education programs, dialogues and discussions also promote shared values as each is heard and better understood by all.

“Transparency is a shared civic value in itself”

*Ravi Seethapathy
Chair, Taskforce on Diversity*

The state should be the agent of change, but cannot act on its own. It must engage various communities to provide input. The role of the state is to create a framework and outline the risks and rewards for others to debate and consider. That is how shared values are created and diversity respected.

Homogenous Political Systems

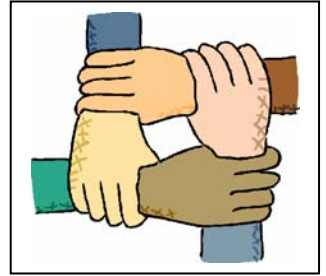
There is a need for a common set of social and cultural values in order to establish political values; otherwise there is nothing to be shared. While homogeneity needs to be maintained on core values, principles could be exercised in a diverse manner. This diversity could actually strengthen political systems. Indeed, political systems that are too homogenous can result in “group think”.

“We cannot legislate values.

What we need to create is a political environment, where all feel free to participate”

*Prof. Leona Anderson
Member, Taskforce on Diversity*

3



3 DIVERSITY MODEL

Diversity is made up of the following components:

- Innate or individual diversity (sex, colour, sexual orientation, etc.)
- Group diversity (cultural, linguistic, religious, etc.) and
- Institutional diversity (socio-economic, education, access, etc.)

The core values represented in a diversity framework would include social cohesion, political inclusiveness, shared citizenry, equity, equality, and a secular state. A diversity framework must also recognise that all individuals will have multiple memberships. Thus, diversity is open ended.

The diversity model is unified by having a secular state. That is, unity in diversity is achieved by having a secular state. In Canada, all individuals are equal under the law, while the law still recognizes difference. Indeed, citizenship is defined in secular language and, for the purposes of a diversity framework, can be embodied in a Citizenship Charter that can respect our diversity while also articulate a common set of social, cultural, and political values.

We must acknowledge that diversity is a social fact; we are all diverse as individuals. However, diversity is also a set of competing values which will, appropriately, always generate debate within a democratic arena.

Diversity Model

A diversity model is an equilibrium of several different forces i.e. the right to sustainable livelihood, individual vs. group rights, symmetrical and asymmetrical institutional responses, social cohesion, shared values and government support. While it appears that this model will tie society up in knots forever, the glue that holds it together is transparency and public participation.

The Canadian Diversity Model as articulated by Jenson and Papillon /CPRN 2001/ refers to the following attributes in the model:

The Four Dimensions of Difference

- **Uniformity—Heterogeneity:** the practices that acknowledge, or do not acknowledge, the diversity of political and social identities.
- **Individual Rights—Group Rights:** the rights extended to guarantee protection to groups as well as individual citizens.
- **Symmetry—Asymmetry:** the practices of the state that institutionalize differential representation of communities.
- **Economic Freedom—Economic Security:** the institutional forms and practices to achieve socio-economic equity and achieve substantive equality.

The Taskforce while recognising this model would like to add a few explicit components to the above model with emphasis directed at the grass-roots society level. At the outset, these appear to be captured in the overall theme of the Jenson-Papillon Model at the macro or at the market levels, but *it is essential that a differentiated emphasis and thrust be accorded “closer to the ground” at the community and/or group levels*. The following are the explicit components:

- Sustainable Livelihood amongst diverse communities (under Economic Freedom-Economic Security)
- Inclusive Political systems amongst diverse communities (under Symmetry-Asymmetry)
- Promotion of social cohesion amongst diverse communities (under Individual-Group rights)
- Articulated national values amongst diverse communities (under Unity-homogeneity)

A resultant model is given below:

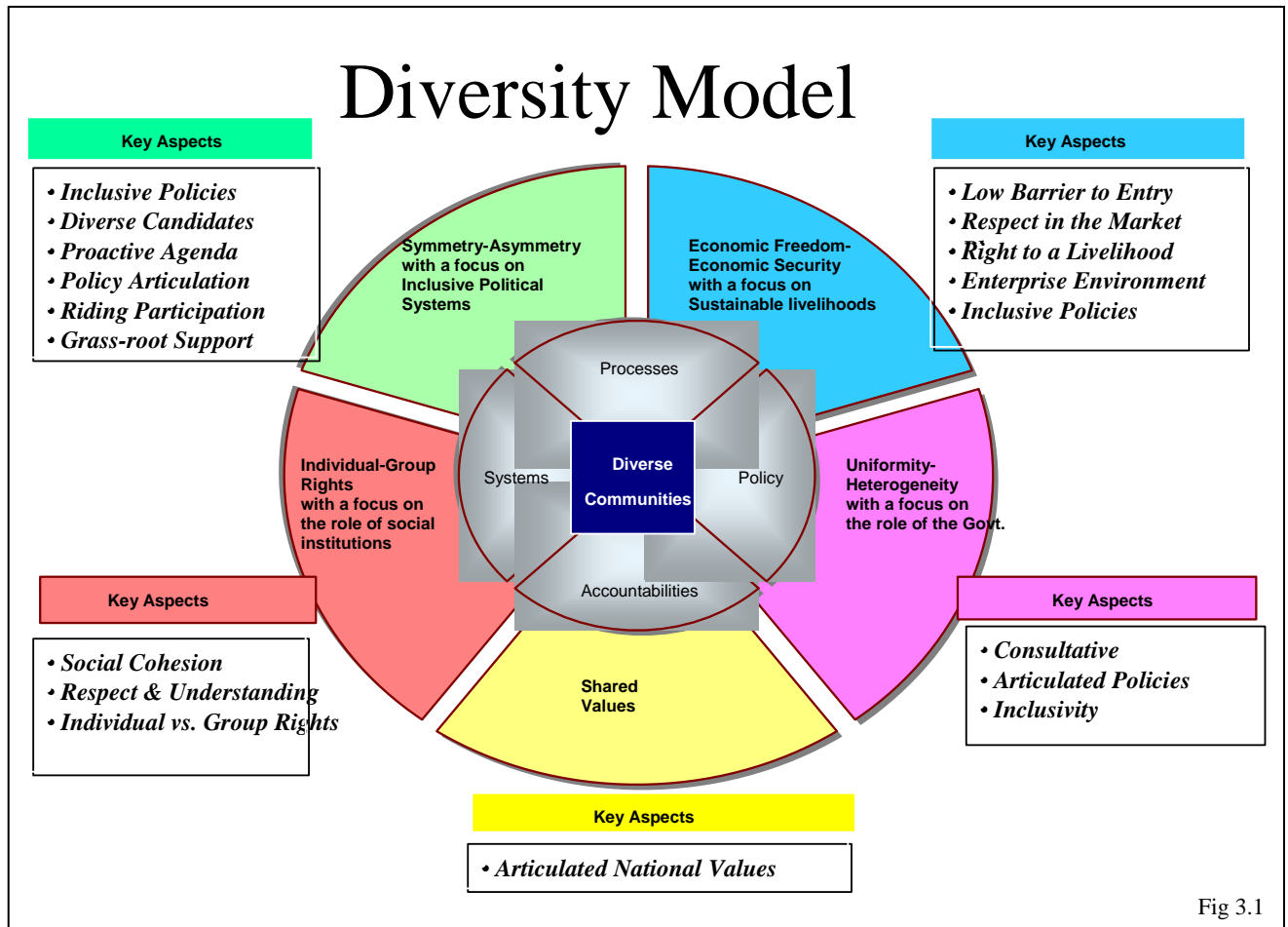


Fig 3.1

It is not instant consensus that builds a nation but rather a gradual honest transparent civic process that hears other’s views, their concerns and opinions. This should be imbibed in political, economic, social and policy processes. We should also recognize when consensus is not possible and when decisions must be made by governments that may contradict the outcomes of a consultative process, due to any number of factors. For example, the majority may want to limit the rights of some minorities, but the government’s role is to look

beyond simply the consultative process and think of broader goals that the consultative process may not have explored.

***“We are all Canadians, period.
Remove barriers for our diverse citizens to avail themselves of opportunities
without systemic discrimination”***

***Gary Singh
Member, Diversity Taskforce***

The current Canadian political and social processes have severe deficiencies in that a few make policies for the rest in the name of representative democracy. In doing this, the values and the diverse knowledge of others are widely excluded. This is true at all levels of government, federal, provincial and municipal.

The Canadian government consults extensively, arguably, more than any other country in the world. *The issue is not consultation, but rather to ensure diversity of input during consultation.* Also consultation does not simply mean getting authoritative informed input but rather informed and diverse input. Good diversity models would have (a) diverse elements already built into the collective participation process as opposed to seeking them post facto and (b) such consultations would be periodic to make the system proactive as opposed “fast tracking” when a solution is needed.

***“A policy supporting diversity could be the unifying concept
behind both personal and national identities”***

***Hussein Amery
Member, Diversity Taskforce***

The reach of a good diversity model would be reflected through:

- Diverse participation in all levels of political processes - national, provincial and municipal
- Diverse participation in all levels of government processes - national, provincial and municipal
- Mechanisms for continuous exchange of views and understanding between various communities
- Clear, articulate conveyance of a rationale for policies after consultations

Current weaknesses in the Canadian mosaic that should be addressed by the diversity model are:

- Overcoming disenfranchisement and barriers to select segments in labour markets
- Building harmony and social cohesion amongst communities
- Creating awareness and understanding of Canadian policies related to international events, particularly as they affect diverse domestic communities
- Promoting participation and representation of minority segments in political and government processes and offices

***“The role of the state in shaping policies
is to create peace, harmony and understanding amongst its citizens”***

***Dr. Shree Mulay
Member, Diversity Taskforce***

Citizenship Charter

If multiculturalism is not adequate and there are growing rebellious voices against current political and government establishments and policies, then what is the way forward? This is the fundamental question that Canadian politicians need to ask themselves. What is wrong? Why is there dissatisfaction?

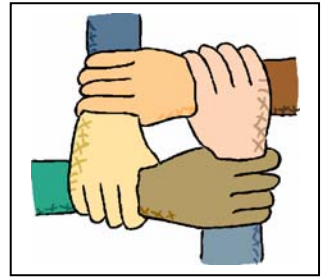
For reasons outlined earlier, Canada needs a new diversity model and a new Citizenship Charter that will:

- Replace the old multiculturalism policy
- Broaden current policies /legislations to reflect the values of diversity (e.g. Anti-hate legislation, Anti-terrorism Bill C-135, etc.)
- Modify existing statutes to make it diversity-friendly
- Support the right to sustainable livelihood for all by providing diverse opportunities
- Make social cohesion, communal harmony, and understanding a prime domestic priority
- Clearly articulate national and international policies as they affect diverse domestic populations

*“A Canadian citizenship charter should provide a clear vision
of obligations and responsibilities to each other
-- socially, politically and economically”*

*Ravi Seethapathy
Chair, Diversity Taskforce*

While it is not the intent of this report to be prescribing operative solutions, it may be worthwhile to note that any such comprehensive citizenship charter should have roots in the various existing statutes and legislations but would also incorporate elements outlined in the diversity model. Moving forward with a citizenship charter would require a consultative national process and a collective political willingness to initiate such a dialogue.



4

DIVERSITY IN POLITICS

The first step in accepting diversity within the Canadian mosaic lies in the domain of the political parties. There cannot be diversity in policy without accommodating diversity within a party. Current facts illustrate the weakness in all “big four” political party structures in Canada. Gender, ethnicity, disability and sexual orientation based diversities are heavily under-represented within the Canadian political spectrum. While there has been recognition of such imbalances of late, there are no concerted articulated efforts to remedy these gaps.

Lack of Diversity in Political Parties

The aspirations and struggles by Canada’s diverse populations to participate in Canada’s political processes are by no means a small order and temporary in nature. On the contrary, Canada is likely to see the emergence of new, albeit small political identities (on a segmented issue basis), which will chip away at the big four national parties. The current ideology to “wish away” this diversity is very evident at all levels. This denial is evidenced by lack of participation by women, ethnic minorities, gays/lesbians and the youth in our political and government processes.

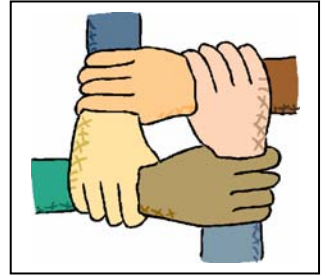
Recently, there has been more political activism by these diverse segments to be “electorally heard” and Canada could see major shifts in the standings of the current four national political parties. This will lead to proliferation and further political fragmentation. The last federal elections saw three ethnic candidates run against established political candidates on separatist platforms in Quebec. While one beat an established minister, the other two gained 30% votes against the sitting Prime Minister and another sitting Cabinet Minister. *All three of those immigrant candidates ran for the separatist Bloc Quebecois, something previously unheard of in the immigrant voter mind-set.* There are other similar evidences of political dissatisfaction collectively amongst immigrants that are beginning to tell a story.

“There has been a paradigm shift in immigrant voter expectations. Immigrant and ethnic communities expect action on specific public policies, not be made part of just feel-good photo-ops.”

*Gary Singh, Member, Diversity Taskforce
Speech to the Policy Dev. Conference, Ontario Liberals, Feb 2006*

Branding Diversity in Canadian Politics

Including diversity in politics at all levels is a political imperative. Political parties that do not brand diversity in their strategy and marketing will lose political support over time from the various segments of the diverse Canadian voter community. This branding exercise can only be fulfilled if the parties are able to “walk the talk” For this they would have to show significant evidence by inviting/appointing and nominating many people representing the various diverse segments of Canadian society.



5 ECONOMIC VALUE OF DIVERSITY

Canada has not attempted to think along the lines that its current diversity, made up of 60 “nations” and 120 languages, could be a huge economic benefit, both domestically as well as globally. Currently, 86% of its global trade is with the US; there are merits to this strategy (language, proximity, etc.), but so much of accretive economic potential remains to be exploited. To realize these benefits, there is a need for a mind shift to be able to expand markets beyond North America and to harness diversity for economic advantage.

Domestic Potential

The domestic potential in leveraging diversity economically is three-fold i.e.

(a) Unlocking the economic potential by removing barriers to promote:

- Conducive workplaces for women to manage work-life balance
- Recognition and acceptance of foreign credentials
- Asset-based lending practices
- Access and technologies to promote participation of the disabled in the workforce

(b) Spreading the concentration away from urban centers to less populated cities and towns:

- Potential access to under-served economies and better distribution of existing resources
- Counter balances diminishing opportunities in “blue-collar” jobs in urban centers
- Ameliorates urban poverty due to lower costs of living in non-urban centers
- Opens new non-traditional business opportunities such as ethnic foods, services, etc.

(c) Opening new markets within Canada that promote ties to technology, manufacturing and goods and services that are rooted in diversity:

- Food Processing, Food Services and Clothing,
- Sports, Media and Entertainment
- Alternative Health Services
- Tourism

(1)

A recently released Royal Bank Financial Group Report /Ref: 11/ notes that:

If foreign-born workers were as successful in the Canadian workforce as those born in the country, personal incomes would be about \$13 billion higher each year than at present.

If women had identical labour market opportunities available to them as men, then personal incomes would be \$168 billion higher each year.

If we achieved identical labour market outcomes for men and women regardless of their birth place, then personal incomes would be 21 per cent, or \$174 billion higher (after subtracting \$7 billion to take into account double counting between the two scenarios above), and 1.6 million more working-age Canadians would be employed.

“The cost of failure to fully realize the potential of immigrants and women in the workplace is significant. It reflects untapped economic opportunities that quickly tally up to billions in lost wages, productivity and output.”

***Royal Bank Financial Group Report
The Diversity Advantage: A Case for Canada’s 21st. Century Economy***

The above is a strong economic argument that all Canadians would be better off with the larger and more productive economy that would result if all Canadians were able to participate fully. All levels of government should significantly improve the ways they co-ordinate their policies on accepting, placing and integrating immigrants, as well as providing opportunities for diverse groups, such as women, youth and persons with disabilities .

(2)

Most ethnic groups tend to settle in Ontario, British Columbia and Quebec with even greater concentrations in Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal. A more concerted effort is needed to encourage immigrants to settle in communities across Canada where there are labour shortages, such as in mid-western Canada. Leveraging diversity across Canada would offer more opportunities in under-serviced markets and new investments in goods and services. But for this to happen, these provinces and their governments should set up programs that can help integrate diversity into their communities and workplaces. A simple comparison of economic changes evident in Ontario, Quebec and BC in the last two decades is testimony to the fact of how immigrants have created new small-scale sector jobs in these provinces. This in many ways has counter-balanced the loss of traditional manufacturing jobs in these provinces since the recession of the mid-80s.

“Even the existence of a relatively small degree of underperformance by immigrants in the Canadian economy represents foregone potential that is worth addressing.”

***Royal Bank Financial Group Report
The Diversity Advantage: A Case for Canada’s 21st. Century Economy***

(3)

The third reason for pushing a diversity agenda aggressively comes from the linkage that diverse communities bring positive impacts on city-level economic performance in terms of new markets, diversified services and other related business. Examples include new approaches in banking, insurance, real estate, food/food services, and other customer service related businesses.

For example, just one specific ethnic community (the Indo-Canadians) spends \$200 million in international airline tickets, \$250 million in weddings and more than \$500 million in automobile purchases and real-estate every year.

Women in Business

In Canada, the business landscape has changed over the years.

Industry Canada¹ has reported the number of women who head companies in Canada has doubled since 1990. As a result, women partially or wholly own nearly half of Canadian small businesses. Most women entrepreneurs in Canada work in either the service and retail sectors, however this is changing, as women are now beginning to own larger numbers of small and medium sized companies in emerging fields of technology and manufacturing.”

One million Canadian women will run their own small business by 2010 according to Women Entrepreneurs: Leading the Charge, a new report from CIBC². *"Canada is now home to more than 800,000 women entrepreneurs and this figure has been growing at an average annual rate of 3.3% since 1989, which is 60% faster than the growth in the number of small businesses run by men during the same period,"* said Rob Paterson, Senior Vice President, CIBC Small Business Banking.

Common characteristics of female entrepreneurs in Canada:

- More than 70% are married.
- Nearly 33% have children under the age of 12.
- For 32%, the business income is their sole source of income; 40% have a working spouse whose income supplements their business earnings.
- Between 2001-2004, the revenues for firms run by single women grew three times faster than that of their married counterparts.
- Fewer women (38%) than men (55%) believe they earn more money than they would have if they worked for someone else.
- The fastest pace of small business growth among women who are self-employed is in the over 55 age group, with an annual growth rate of around 4% since 1989, double the pace seen among self-employed men in the same age group.
- **Twenty-five per cent of Canada's self-employed women were not born in Canada.**

¹

(http://www.cbcs.org/servlet/ContentServer?cid=1107951461774&pagename=CBSC_ON%2Fdisplay&lang=en&c=GuideInfoGuide)

² Women Entrepreneurs: Leading the Charge - www.cibc.com/ca/womenentrepreneurs.
(Excerpted From: http://www.canadaone.com/ezine/briefs.html?StoryID=05Jun29_2)

Immigrant Overcrowding

On the flip side, the Government also needs to ensure that newcomers do not only gravitate to already overcrowded cities (Toronto, Vancouver, and Montreal). Such overcrowding lead to underutilization of skills leading to higher unemployment in these segments, lower wages, rising poverty levels due to high living costs in urban cities, stretched infrastructures such as schools and above all a sense of hopelessness in many. These then lead to ghettoization and social unrest in such communities.

Because Canada's largest cities are so overcrowded with immigrants, the infrastructure and social services challenges are felt more acutely in these cities. Added to this burden are the rising poverty levels in such immigrant communities. Canada's three largest cities alone have a growing number of immigrants with family incomes below the low-income cut off; (rising from 24.6 per cent in 1980 to 35.8 per cent in 2000).

Spreading out such concentrations away from urban centers to less populated cities and towns and their net benefit to the Canadian as well as the local economies is outlined earlier in this chapter (above).

International Potential

The recently released Royal Bank Financial Group Report /Ref: 11/ notes that:

Canada's current ranking in cultural diversity is the most ethnically diverse country in the world. It has the fifth highest foreign-born component in the world (behind Luxembourg, Australia, Switzerland and New Zealand), but the other four countries all have foreign populations that are not as diversified as Canada's. Canada arguably ranks as the most culturally diverse population among major industrialized nations.

This means that Canada also has the greatest incentive to realize the benefits of cultural diversity. We also have the greatest potential for rewards from our success. What is more, by many measures, the foreign-born population in Canada arrives with great potential and even sets a higher standard in average educational attainment than the born-in-Canada population. They arrive in similar or somewhat better health, more often than not are better educated than the native-born population, tend to have higher fertility rates, are multilingual, mobile, very open to naturalization, arrive in their peak working years and have similar desires to count themselves in the workforce.

Canada appears to enjoy a significant advantage over its G8 and OECD countries in many areas. These include:

- Positive overall balance of trade with the world
- Amongst the top 12 innovative countries in the world
- Lower cost and highly productive R&D base amongst the G8 countries
- A healthy Government-Academic-Private sector innovation model

Canada currently enjoys a healthy trade surplus of about \$100 billion with the United States. This surplus has steadily grown from 1984 to 2000 and has been stagnant thereafter. Since 2000 there has been a decline in exports from \$350 billion to about \$315 billion. The huge volume of trade in dollar terms largely compensates for the other trade deficits Canada runs with most other nations combined.

Exports to the United States total over 83% of Canada's worldwide exports. This poses both a benefit as well as a risk; i.e. the benefits of having a large stable consumer next door as well as a single paramount risk that any slight fall in exports to the United States would wipe out Canada's worldwide positive trade surplus overall. *In other words, the trade sensitivity with the United States is extremely high.*

Many have attributed this healthy surplus with the United States to be partly due to the North American Free Trade Agreement but perhaps more to the lower value of the Canadian dollar through the nineties.

The EU bloc is fast becoming a stable economic engine in the developed world after the United States. Here too, Canada's trade deficit with the EU (and its predecessor member countries) has doubled from \$10 billion in 1984 to \$20 billion deficit in 2003.

Canada has not developed significant exports to the new BRIC (Brazil, Russia, India and China) nations. A sample economic data is provided below on Brazil, China and India:

Summary of Basic Statistics	BRAZIL		CHINA		INDIA	
	1992	2002	1992	2002	1992	2002
Population, mid-year (Millions)	154.0	180.0	1172.0	1281.0	869.0	1055.0
Population Growth (average annual growth %)	-	1.4	-	1.0	-	2.0
GDP (US\$ billions)	390.6	509.0	454.6	1232.7	266.9	481.4
GDP per Capita (US\$)	2538.0	2832.5	388.0	962.3	307.2	456.3
GDP per Capita (average annual growth %)	-	1.4	-	8.0	-	4.3
Imports of Goods & Services (% of GDP)	8.4	13.6	18.0	26.5	8.6	13.9
Imports of Goods & Services (annual growth %)	-	7.6	-	12.8	-	3.7
Exports of Goods & Services (% of GDP)	10.9	15.8	19.5	29.5	8.6	13.3
Exports of Goods & Services (annual growth %)	-	6.5	-	14.3	-	12.8
Inward Foreign Direct Investment (US\$ billions)	40.0	236.0	40.0	448.0	2.0	26.0

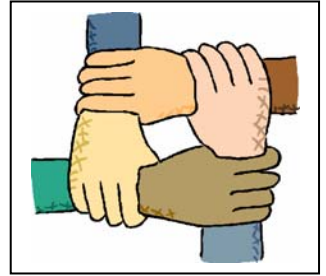
Ref: World Bank and Industry Canada

Canada needs to diversify the USA export market risk by increasing its trade with the EU as well as with emerging strong nations such as China, India, Brazil, Korea and Russia. Despite the

reconstruction efforts in 29 Eastern European countries, Canada's exports are very modest and have not shown any appreciable increase while imports have jumped during this time period. Canada needs to mitigate its USA export risk by targeting other global markets. There is a strong likelihood that the USA domestic market may soften in the next few years and this will not bode well for Canada's overall trade surplus (which could get wiped out and put it in a deficit situation).

Herein lies the diversity advantage that Canada has in its peoples. It has knowledge of almost any country in the world amongst its diverse population. It needs to leverage this strength and pursue other markets. Through engagement, consultation, and greater inclusiveness of the nation's diverse peoples in international economic and trade developments, Canada can increase its share of international markets and more effectively diversify its economy.

Canada also has a market leadership in all the environmental and energy technologies that emerging countries need, such as water, renewable energy, environmental and other technologies. This advantage can be leveraged more effectively if our diverse peoples are more engaged in helping to establish international market opportunities.



6

LEVERAGING DIVERSITY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

It is not the role of this taskforce to recommend foreign policy or Canada's role internationally. The focus needs to be that we have a diverse population that has existing international links. When Canada takes a position on foreign policy anywhere in the world, it needs to engage the relevant domestic population in consultations to ensure an understanding of the complexity of the situation and develop a position that is sensitive to the concerns of the affected domestic population (without being hostage to it).

Yesterday

Canada enjoyed a very unique place in the “hearts of the developing world” until about a decade ago. Like Switzerland for its neutrality, Canada was always known for its contribution to human development around the world, especially in Africa and Asia. Such efforts were aimed at the grass-roots and often delivered by the voluntary sector. The government, through its international policies and institutions such as CIDA and IDRC, gave such voluntary efforts guidance and credence. Most of such activities were without much political fanfare and quid-pro-quo. Such a mild mannered approach served as Canada's benevolent image in helping others in need in the developing world. From helping the “Green Revolution” in India in the 1960s, the world micro-nutrient Program (for young mothers worldwide), to water use/water-aid in Africa in the 1980s, Canada has left a mark in the hearts of the local NGOs, scientists and citizens in the countries it touched.

This vision of then Prime Minister Lester Pearson has been Canada's biggest achievement for a country that had limited military might, few people and was far away from most troubled spots (i.e. Asia and Africa). The respect that Canada had achieved from the populous developing world, has been par none. Even the rest of the G8 countries, who have poured more money in international development, had not achieved this brand recognition from the developing world. *The evidence of such brand recognition is not so much in political eyes but in the hearts of the people in these countries.* The main reasons for this were that Canada:

- Was never seen as a threat
- Took the side of ending conflicts and strife as opposed to taking sides between nations
- Participated in diverse humanitarian causes areas such as education, sanitation, health, law reforms, policy reforms at the grass roots level
- Participated in peace-keeping missions ONLY under a UN request

Today

This picture has changed much in the last decade. The fiscal reforms of the early 90s saw this area as prime for deficit reduction (both directly in federal program funding as well as indirectly through other support avenues). The role of the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), the International Research and Development Center (IDRC) and NGO support was consistently cut progressively year after year.

“A great gulf, has been opened between man's material advance and his social and moral progress, a gulf in which he may one day be lost if it is not closed or narrowed.”

Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson

Today, Canada's contribution to international development is very small. Canada is no longer looked upon as a bastion for international development causes by the developing countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. On the other hand, the developing world has effectively lost a good friend and a “big brother/sister”.

“Of all our dreams today there is none more important - or so hard to realise – than that of peace in the world. May we never lose our faith in it or our resolve to do everything that can be done to convert it one day into reality.”

Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson

The current weakness in multilateral bodies has created a major void in the camps of the developing countries especially Africa, Latin America and the poor Middle East states. *They have nobody to turn to, to redress their issues.* This multilateral/International Financial Institutions deficit will cause major misery and hardship for the poor, small and much stressed economic nations of the world. In the decades to come, they in turn will fall prey to fundamentalism and strife. Thus, the chances of this world being consumed in poverty and human misery are a very real scenario in the coming decades.

These poor nations and the multilateral bodies (much of the world essentially) would then wish for a few countries to play a non-partisan role in being the champions for the poor and their causes. *Much like what Canada did in the 1950s.*

Tomorrow

Canada needs to return to its international strength - promoting global peace, citizenry, harmony, human dignity and ameliorating pain and suffering through non-partisan grass roots help. To do this it needs to further leverage its diversity, get the youth to participate and support volunteer organizations. Every segment of diversity will be needed as the world goes into deeper crises – from HIV/AIDS, to environment to public health to education.

“Canada is best placed in the world to meet this diverse global development challenge since it has the best diverse assets in the entire world, its diverse peoples”

*Ravi Seethapathy
Chair, Diversity Taskforce*

Canada and its political leadership must be visionaries and seize this moment to be meaningful in addressing world humanitarian issues. In this lies its internationally recognized edge. The Canadian political leadership must also further think along the lines of leading other capable countries in setting up a “peace-making” role which would be proactive (having all the humanitarian elements outlined above) as opposed to a traditional “peace-keeping” role which is reactionary and after the fact. *Canada has all this in its mix... right here...its very own diverse citizenry.*

Mapping Diverse Volunteerism/Skill-Sets

Canada has several valuable skill-sets that can still be leveraged in the resurrection of the above cause. These existing skill-sets currently lie dispersed in various governmental organizations and in various big and small disparate NGOs.

Such skill sets include the work done by Canadians in promoting good governments, peaceful democratic institutions, electoral reforms/observers, legal-aid, development in law and order institutions (policing), water/sanitation/educational technologies, public health, and agricultural and biological sciences.

The voluntary sector that performs these many international charitable services exists right across Canada and they already leverage diversity in every form to acquire knowledge and skill-sets. Many of them derive their support and revenues from the private sector/private individuals.

The taskforce recommends that all these activities, skill-sets and institutions be mapped to form a national databank of international development resources. Such a databank would provide access to expert skill-sets when needed as well as enable a continuum for development work over time.

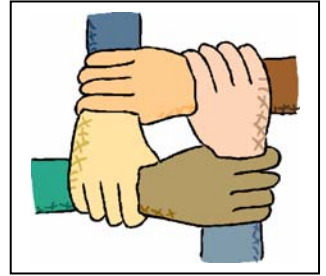
Peace-Keeping to Peace-Making

The world needs leadership in peace-making more now than ever in its history. This need is due to the following:

- A lot of these problems now lie in dealing with conflict between people’s groups or involving many peoples as opposed to dealing between two sovereign nations. The irony is that in many such conflicts it is the average person who suffers immense misery and such affected numbers are huge relative to the conflict perpetrators themselves. This upsets the economic livelihood for the general community.
- Understanding the root cause in many of these conflicts requires knowledge of local history, politics, religion and language. Long-lasting solutions will need deep introspection and a recognition that many conflicts are rooted in a lack of economic opportunities.
- Nations (and their military) are ill-equipped to deal with non-conventional warfare employing group tactics and/or prolonged civilian strife. In most such cases there is no such thing as total military “victory”.

The traditional role of peace-keeping (in which Canada has frequently lent a helping hand) is now considered by many as more “after the fact and often a little too late”. In most cases these efforts just deal with the political aspects and not in the area of rebuilding communities back to economic livelihood.

Canada has a unique opportunity to leverage its diversity and exhibit leadership in a global peace-making role. It has all these skills sets (and the international good will) to make a bold initiative. Multilateral agencies such as the United Nations would welcome such a Canadian initiative in providing leadership in this area.



7 SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

The following are the recommendations proposed:

1. Extend From Multiculturalism to a Diversity Model

Observations:

- Need for sustainable livelihood
- Articulated shared values
- Need for social cohesion and intercommunity understanding domestically
- Rise of disenfranchised minorities

Recommendations:

1. Introduce a Diversity Model that would extend Multiculturalism, with the following emphases:
 - Diversity as opposed to just “hyphenated Canadians” (ethnic, sexual, gender, disable, etc.)
 - Include the social obligation of sustainable livelihood
 - Build a frame-work for social cohesion and harmony amongst Canadians
 - Build in provisions for inclusion - balanced representation in policies, politics and government
2. Redefine multiculturalism so that it is more active
 - Full participation of people from different walks of life, backgrounds, etc.
 - Barrier-free participation in social, political and economic
3. Review other associated legislations (such as Anti-Hate, C156, etc.) to ensure consistency with diversity model
4. Build shared Canadian values for the 21st. Century
5. Provide for a Diversity oriented Citizenship Charter that reflects common values

Key Practical/Operational Success Elements:

- Awareness and educational programs for inter-community understanding
- Seek active consultation and participation at all levels
- National policy on sustainable livelihoods
- Initiate a committee to work on the framework for a new Citizenship Charter
- Articulation of International policies
- A transparent debate

2. Re-Brand Political Systems with Diversity Values

Observations:

- Little or no diversity representation in Canadian politics
- Rise of “electoral rebellion” against political lip service to diversity
- No policies that bring shared values and harmony amongst the diverse communities
- Disenfranchised/minority communities have no voice in politics
- Erosion of trust in political parties from diverse communities

Recommendations:

1. Introduce diversity within political systems (policies, nominations, riding presidents)
2. Empower members to actively seek opinions from diversity based groups
3. Identify success metrics
4. Initiate transparent processes in party work at all levels

Key Practical/Operational Success Elements:

- Active inclusiveness of diversity in party memberships, ridings
- Visible representation of diversity in nominations – at least around 30% or so to start
- Admittance of diverse peoples in party policy making

3. Focus Diversity Framework on Institutions

Observations:

- Little or no diversity representation in mainstream Canadian institutions – political, economic, government
- No proactive measures taken by these institutions to understand diversity
- Disenfranchised/minority communities with little or no say in mainstream affairs
- Institutions are the best mirror of society

Recommendations:

1. Ensure institutions are reflective of diversity – governance, membership and decision making
2. Do a Report Card on Diversity on an annual basis
3. Identify success metrics to see if the trending is right

Key Practical/Operational Success Elements:

- Active inclusiveness of diversity in public institutions
- Visible representation of diversity in governance and decision making in public institutions – government, public sector and publicly listed private corporations. – at least 25% or so to start
- Recommend the institutionalisation of “community advisory boards” at organizations that widely cater to the public – such as Media, Banks, Insurance companies as well as within Government service-focussed organizations (e.g. Service Canada and Canada Business)

4. Leverage Diversity for Market Expansion

Observations:

- Diversity has created many small service sector jobs lost by manufacturing
- Remittances from several immigrant groups are many times that of Canadian Foreign Direct Investments into these countries
- Canada's trading pattern still very US and Europe focused
- The Canadian trade figures not participating in the growth of Asia and Eastern Europe

Recommendations:

1. Develop farsighted policies and programs for leveraging Canada's diversity in both the domestic as well as the international markets.
2. Actively seek help from the diverse communities to help with this strategy
3. Seek active consultations and make them a part of the initiative

Key Practical/Operational Success Elements:

- Active representation in Economic Development – Municipal, Provincial and Federal level
- Enable proactive SME policies for economic growth

5. Create and Nurture an International Role for Canada as a model for Peace and Harmony

Observations:

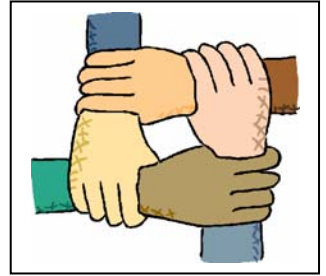
- Strife and political unrest on the rise in Asia and Africa
- Humanitarian and shared values missing in such countries
- Canada has a lot of experience and continues to do good work internationally except that it is splintered e.g. previous Canada Corp efforts, aid agencies, executive help, law reform, democracy reform, etc., are all being carried out.
- Canada has a very good international brand for being a kind helper in the areas of peace, justice and humanitarian causes

Recommendations:

1. Expand international developmental role from "peace-keeping" to "peace-making".
2. Consolidate fragmented international development effort under a central coordinating agency.
3. Leverage Canada's diverse population for international development efforts with a focus on building understanding of local environments (politically, socially, culturally).
4. Increase youth participation including a "Made in Canada Program" to go overseas.
5. Create an international ambassadorial function devoted explicitly to this purpose e.g. a Canada House model whose function would be to support and nurture civil society organizations overseas that are dedicated to peaceful nation building.

Key Practical/Operational Success Elements:

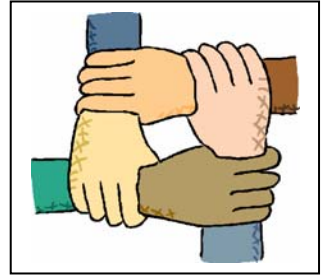
- Initiate policy and framework around “peace-making” with multilateral agencies
- Map the various skill sets and activities in a central agency and consolidate fragments
- Initiate the Canada House model overseas



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APPENDIX I BACKGROUND

Canada has evolved rapidly in the last century and continues to do so. In most instances Canadians have set up social, economic and judicial models that others aspire. This has shaped many aspects of Canadian domestic and foreign policies for decades. The highlight of this was the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms enacted in April 17, 1982.

With the shrinking of the global village, inter-twined global social and economic prosperity, the rapidly changing face of the Canadian “mosaic” and world religious/political events, it is important for Canada to examine the new emerging diversity issues as it faces the challenges and the opportunities of the 21st. century.

It has been argued that the Canadian Multiculturalism Act shaped the national identity of a generation of Canadians by recognizing and supporting the cultural or ethnic diversity of its populace as a key component of the country’s heritage and future. Briefly, the Act outlines the following policy objectives

(www.canadianheritage.gc.ca/progs/multi/policy/act_e.cfm):

- *Recognize Canadian society as culturally diverse;*
- *Foster understanding amongst different cultures;*
- *Recognize the freedom to preserve, enhance and share cultural heritage;*
- *Ensure equal treatment under the law;*
- *Encourage social, political, economic, and cultural institutions to be inclusive;*
- *Promote expressions of cultures.*

The focus on recognizing and respecting cultural or ethnic diversity (the Act also refers to racial diversity – a term that is not genetically accurate since there is only one human race) has been seen a key component in the evolution of a Canadian identity anchored in the concept of inclusive citizenship.

The Department of Canadian Heritage positions Multiculturalism in the following manner:

“Canadian multiculturalism is fundamental to our belief that all citizens are equal. Multiculturalism ensures that all citizens can keep their identities, can take pride in their ancestry and have a sense of belonging. Acceptance gives Canadians a feeling of security and self-confidence, making them more open to, and accepting of, diverse cultures. The Canadian experience has shown that multiculturalism encourages racial and ethnic harmony and cross-cultural understanding, and discourages ghettoization, hatred, discrimination and violence.

Through multiculturalism, Canada recognizes the potential of all Canadians, encouraging them to integrate into their society and take an active part in its social, cultural, economic and political affairs.”

(source: http://www.canadianheritage.gc.ca/progs/multi/what-multi_e.cfm)

The work of this Taskforce was not to examine and assess the outcomes of the Multiculturalism Act, nor to detract from the avant-garde nature of the policy for the 1970s, but to determine whether the Act fully captures the spirit of the nation today and the evolution in thinking and attitudes that has emerged over the last 30 years since the policy was first introduced.

A generation later, personal and national identities have become more complex and nuanced, particularly in light of the introduction of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms and the increasingly varied immigrant communities in this country.

Arguably, the focus on ethnicity represented in the Multiculturalism Act no longer captures the full spectrum of our identities; hence, the introduction and exploration of the notion of ‘diversity’ as a policy framework.

Defining the Boundaries:

Wikipedia, the popular online dictionary (source: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Diversity>) defines diversity in different contexts, including but not limited to: human, economic, ecological, business, and political. Wikipedia notes that “amongst humans, particularly in a social context, the term *diversity* refers to the presence in one population of a (wide) variety of cultures, ethnic groups, languages, physical features, socio-economic backgrounds, opinions, religious beliefs, sexuality, gender identity, [and] neurology.”

Moreover, the political context of this term raises a number of competing interpretations, claims and reactions and speaks to the challenge of defining a future national policy based on this concept. Indeed, given the breadth of the above definition, are there limitations to what can be defined by diversity?

In order to create a national policy on diversity, it is crucial to address the following questions:

- *What issue(s) is the policy addressing? (e.g. inclusiveness? national identity? equality? equity? individual versus groups rights? social cohesion?)*
- *What kind of mindset or values is Government trying to shape? (e.g. liberal democratic?)*
- *Why should government be trying to shape attitudes on this issue? (i.e. is there a state role for the ‘public good’)*
- *Who is affected by this policy?*
- *How, through what mechanisms, should Government be addressing diversity?*
- *What related topics might be affected by a proposed policy on diversity? (e.g. immigration? citizenship? national unity?)*

The Canadian Policy Research Network (CPRN) has undertaken evidence-based policy research on this topic and has published a number of research papers (source: <http://www.cprn.com/en/diversity.cfm>). Of particular note, for the purposes of the Liberal Party Renewal Taskforce on Diversity, is a paper by Jane Jenson and Martin Papillon entitled: *The Canadian Diversity Model: A Repertoire in Search of a Framework*.

The need to address competing values, respect cultural diversity, and promote social cohesion is the basis for the framework that Jenson and Papillon propose. They “describe the Canadian diversity model as a series of choices made along four dimensions of competing values:

- uniformity-heterogeneity;
- individual rights – group rights;
- symmetry – asymmetry; and
- economic freedom – economic security.

They place the accent on the rules of choice that are used, as well as the actual choices made.” Because of the interconnectedness amongst all these elements, “Canadians do not have the option of addressing only one dimension at a time, nor of treating one as hierarchically more important than another. The challenge for the Canadian diversity model is to reach a balance that respects fundamental values and is accepted by most Canadian citizens.” (source: *excerpted from the Forward*)

Each of these dimensions involves tension among values that lead to questions of the following sort:

- *How homogenous should the political community be? Must everyone share the same political identity and values, or can the community recognize the many ways its members are diverse in their feelings of belonging and values. Is it necessary to share common social and cultural values or simply to commit to a set of political values?*
- *How do individual rights and the principles of liberalism co-exist with the recognition of rights available to specific groups or communities?*

- *Should institutional arrangements be symmetrical, to reflect the principle of universal individualized citizenship, or they should they recognize and reflect diversity via a certain degree of institutional asymmetry?*
- *Finally, the last two hundred years of economic and social politics in capitalist democracies have asked where to locate the “saw-off” between the liberty of market behaviour and the need to address the inequalities and inequities that are inherent within it. How can we ensure economic and social security? To what extent does being “different” hinder individuals’ inclusion? To what extent can respect for and recognition of diversity foster economic and social security?” (page 7)*

In a country with a history of national unity debates, can a policy to establish and promote a Canadian diversity model be supported? Are support for diversity and national unity at opposite ends of a spectrum? Alternatively, can a policy supporting diversity be the unifying concept behind both personal and national identities? What should be the role of the state in supporting diversity?

Finally, as we think of ourselves in a global context, are national identities and citizenship relevant anymore?

Unity in Diversity ?

In “*The Construction and Constitutionalization of Canada’s Citizenship Regime: Reconciliation of Diversity and Equality*”, Joseph Garcea argues that “the monumental achievement in accommodating diversity and advancing equality within Canada’s citizenship occurred with the entrenchment of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms in the Constitution Act 1982” (Canadian Diversity, Volume 2:1, Spring 2003, page 62).

However, Joanna Anneke Rummens argues in “*Transcending Diversity: Envisioning Shared Citizenship*” that key issues have yet to be addressed in the shaping of Canadian citizenship:

- With all the focus on ethnic origins and multiculturalism, the mechanism to achieve a sense of national identity has not been fully worked out;
- Accommodating our diversity and constructing a national identity are unresolved;
- It is unclear how a policy of “cultural diversity within political unity” for a post-modern state can be reconciled or aligned within the global context/community. (Canadian Diversity, Volume 2:1, Spring 2003, page 77).

As such, Rummens argues for the creation of a Citizenship Charter anchored in our common political and economic values “...that both embraces our cultural, linguistic, “racial”, and religious differences and transcends the various dimensions of diversity. Such a Charter would clearly articulate our society’s overarching core values and locate the very responsibilities of a common citizenship in our active commitment to them. These shared values include: individual freedom of thought and expression; appreciation and respect for difference; peaceful co-existence; the rule of law; pursuit of equality; support for human rights; social “safety net” provisions; sustainable economic development; negotiation and compromise; all within the context of a parliamentary democracy. Participatory democracy would then be based on an expressed commitment to these existing core values, as well as a heightened sense of allegiance to Canada rooted in more truly inclusive collective decision-making. An explicit, consensual social contract such as a Citizenship Charter would move us beyond the definition of our rights and freedoms as outlined in the existing Citizenship and Multiculturalism Acts and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, to increased public awareness of our commonality and active commitment to the responsibilities of a shared citizenship firmly rooted in a clearer sense of our obligations to each other. National unity is thus concretely facilitated via a shared participatory citizenship firmly rooted in a joined sense of commonality and collectivity (Canadian Diversity, page 78).

Critics of a national policy on multiculturalism point to the ghettoization of groups within a country and the lack of common purpose amongst citizens. In *Rethinking Multiculturalism*, Robert Sibley highlighted the arguments of political philosopher Roger Scruton who noted that “the result of the multicultural ideal has been to create a system of “apartheid” in which various cultures within a country refuse to assimilate to any substantive degree with the large order and exist independently of each other as much as possible. Anyone who questions this system, much less criticizes a minority culture, is censored and silenced by accusations of racism. Consequently, immigrant groups conclude they can live in a western society “as an antagonist and still enjoy all the rights and privileges that are the rewards of citizenship” (The Ottawa Citizen, June 10, 2006, A4).

Does a Canadian diversity model exacerbate the concerns expressed about multiculturalism or is there an opportunity to identify a common set of core values that transcend our differences/diversity? Is there a way to establish unity through a respect for diversity?

The Role for the State and the Global Community

The role of the state in Canada has evolved over the last 150 years. In more recent times, the state role has shifted from a ‘cradle to grave’ protective and paternal role to one that focuses on removing barriers to participation in society.

Thus, the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, the Human Rights Act, the Citizenship Act, and the Employment Equity Act all function as tools aimed at removing discriminatory practices and thus enabling opportunities for the individual, balanced by societal responsibilities.

The Human Rights Act states that its purpose is:

“... to extend the laws in Canada to give effect, within the purview of matters coming within the legislative authority of Parliament, to the principle that all individuals should have an opportunity ... to make for themselves the lives that they are able and wish to have and to have their needs accommodated, consistent with their duties and obligations as members of society, without being hindered in or prevented from doing so by discriminatory practices based on race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, sex, sexual orientation, marital status, family status, disability or conviction for an offence for which a pardon has been granted.”

Given that the emerging role of the state is to enable individual opportunity, how would a policy on diversity support individual choices while building a national identity? What is the appropriate role for the state in identifying the core values of the nation and defining the balance between the 4 dimensions of competing values outlined by Jenson and Papillon. Given the existence of a set of legal frameworks in Canada and internationally (UN Declaration of Human Rights) that protect human rights, what added elements would be addressed by a Canadian policy on diversity? Are the state and a national identity simply an interim path toward something broader; are we all on the path to becoming global citizens with common political values?

If we are to respect and support the notion of diversity as one of the core values of our national identity, and given that individuals are increasingly part of a global community, how do the diverse identities of our citizens affect Canada’s participation in the global arena? Simply put, if we identify ourselves as global citizens, how should Canada position itself in the international arena? Should Canada continuously intervene in international issues on behalf of the diverse interests of its citizens? If so, will Canada become hostage to international activities and activism? What if there are competing interests from different domestic communities, how do we deal with these? What elements or values should distinguish a Canadian national identity from the historical and traditional tensions of other nations that may be ‘inherited’ by citizens of Canada?

Diversity and the Political Movement in Canada

Despite acceptance of diversity in the political platform, minorities of all forms (culture, gender, sexuality, religion) play little or no active role in shaping party policies let alone leading them. Why is this? What possible lessons could be learnt from the last elections? How can the political movement become more inclusive for diverse communities to participate and be represented?

Diversity and Economy

What, if any, is the economic value of diversity for Canada in world opportunities and markets? To date, little has been done to leverage this potential. How can Canada’s diverse population be leveraged for greater economic advantage? What kind of public policy should be in place to recognize and promote this opportunity?

Diversity in Canada:

Diversity in Canada has increased significantly over the past decade and will continue to rise. There are more than 200 ethnic groups living in Canada. Visible minorities comprised 13% of the population and 18% of Canadians are foreign-born. Immigration accounts for 53% of population growth and visible minorities will account for 20% of the population by 2016.

According to the 2002 Statistics Canada Ethnic Diversity Survey, almost one-quarter (23%) of Canada's population aged 15 and over, or 5.3 million people, were first generation, meaning they were born outside Canada. Not since 1931 has the proportion of people born outside of the country been this high.

Racism in Canada:

Racism is any action, practice or belief that negatively categorizes a person or group of person because of their race.

In the 2002 Statistics Canada Ethnic Diversity Survey, the majority of Canadians (93%) aged 15 and over said that they had never, or rarely, experienced discrimination in the past five years because of their ethno-cultural characteristics. However, 7%, or an estimated 1.6 million Canadians aged 15 and over, said they had experienced discrimination or unfair treatment in the past five years sometimes or often because of these characteristics.

One-in-five (20%) people aged 15 and over who were part of a visible minority, or an estimated 587,000 people, said they felt that they had experienced discrimination or unfair treatment sometimes or often in the five years prior to the survey because of their ethnicity, culture, race, skin colour, language, accent or religion.

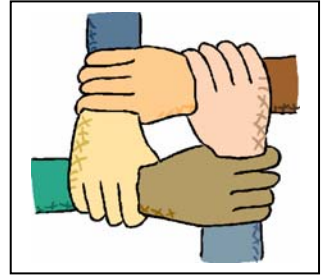
Hate Crimes in Canada:

A hate crime is an act of violence, threats of harm, intimidation or damage to property intended to harm and frighten someone because of their race, ethnicity, national origin, religion, sexual orientation or disability.

In 2001-2002, twelve major Canadian police forces reported a total of 938 hate crime incidents. Overall, over one-half or 57% of these hate crimes were motivated by race or ethnicity and 43% were motivated by religion. Sexual orientation was the motivation in about one-tenth of the incidents.

Blacks and South Asians were among those most frequently targeted in hate crime incidents motivated by race or ethnicity. The majority of incidents motivated by religion involved anti-Semitism followed by those targeting Muslims.

The most common types of hate crime violations included mischief or vandalism (29%), assault (25%), uttering threats (20%), and hate propaganda (13%).



APPENDIX II TERMS OF REFERENCE

Objectives:

The main objectives of this “Diversity Taskforce” were to:

1. Explore the leading and progressive diversity issues facing Canada and Canadians as it impacts their values, freedoms and lifestyles (both collectively as well as individually). The facets of diversity include economic, cultural, gender, age, ethnicity, disability, religion and sexual orientation
2. Review the Multiculturalism Policy of the 1970s (which officially became the Canadian Multiculturalism Act in 1988, C-93) and determine whether a new framework is required for understanding, respecting, and supporting an evolving appreciation of diversity, particularly in light of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms.
3. Assess the economic value of diversity to our national economy including an analysis of strengths, weakness, opportunities and threats (SWOT) including Canadian opportunities for enhanced global trade and commerce in the 21st. century.
4. Explore the opportunities for promoting Canadian values regarding diversity as we engage in trade with other countries so as to derive global social benefits.
5. Examine the new emerging Canadian political backlash and the ramifications of failing to address the factors that give rise to these reactions.
6. Examine possible future coordinating mechanisms for long-term impact

The ultimate objective of this study was to:

1. Initiate policy discussions
2. Provide inputs to national social and economic models
3. Develop a solid intellectual base of understanding in all aspects of diversity in the 21st. century

Scope:

The scope of work entailed:

1. Discussions/meetings in with interested stakeholders
2. Prepare preliminary recommendations
3. If financially viable, hold a meeting/conference
4. Prepare final report.

Approach:

Almost all communications and discussions will be emails and (if needed) by teleconference and meetings.

The study approach will include:

- Web-search of relevant and recent articles and speeches and their analysis (limited)
- Analysis and discussions of inputs submitted by stakeholders and taskforce members
- Discussions amongst stakeholders and participants

Funding:

No funding had been allocated for this taskforce. All costs, if any, were borne by the participants themselves.

Timing:

Time was of the essence. The following were the proposed time-lines:

Stage	Events	Start	Finish	Outcome
1	Project Set-up, Terms of Reference and Nominations	April 14, 2006	May 15, 2006	Project Team, Organization Chart, Final Terms of Reference
2a	Web search and analysis/research	May 15 2006	May 25, 2006	Paring down of important issues
2b	Generation of important issues, relevant emergent themes	May 25 2006	June 15, 2006	Submissions and discussions
3	Stakeholder and taskforce e-discussions	June 15, 2006	June 30, 2006	Draft recommendations
4	Prep of draft report and if financially viable, a meeting/conference of the taskforce members	July 1, 2006	July 20, 2006	Draft Report
5	Preparation of Taskforce Report	August 1, 2006	August 30, 2006	Final Report

Deliverable:

The taskforce deliverable was to provide a succinct report outlining issues and recommendations which would be an input for further national policy debates and initiatives.

Taskforce Members:

- Ravi Seethapathy, Toronto (*) - Chair
- Elena Mantagaris, Ottawa
- Dr. Hedy Fry MP, Vancouver
- Gary Singh, Toronto
- Dr. Shree Mulay, Montreal (*)
- Ratna Omidvar, Toronto (*)
- Hussein Amery, Ottawa (*)
- Dr. Leona Anderson, Regina (*)
- Mohammad Al Zaibak, Toronto

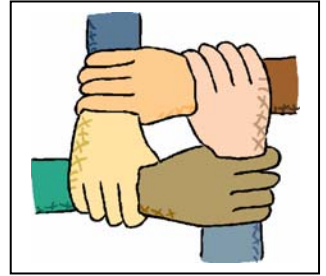
(*) Not affiliated with any political party

Secretariat/Research Coordination:

Due to the size, nature and logistics, it was necessary to coordinate activities from a central project secretariat. The secretariat was responsible for receiving, processing, disseminating information, coordinating responses and sending material back to the stakeholders and taskforce members

A small central secretariat managed the taskforce logistics (back-office, communications and research/analysis). It served as the backbone of the taskforce operations.

Elena Mantagaris served as the secretary as well as the Research lead to the team.



APPENDIX III QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSES

The following are questions to which the Taskforce responded in order to further this work. The questions posed highlights some key issues that need to be addressed in order to propose a policy position. The responses have been grouped, excerpted or summarized from each member's more detailed responses.

1. **Based on the definition provided in the Diversity Backgrounder, are there limitations to what can be defined by diversity?**
 - a. No Limitations
 - b. Definitions are limitations
 - c. Wikipedia definition does not include age or nationality
 - d. Diversity means co-existence of differences, thus no limitations. However, if by diversity we are referring to multiculturalism then the definition needs to be updated and reflect the transformation and exchange that takes place after generations of different people co-exist in Canada and must account for external influences like our globalized world and the widening urban/rural divide in Canada.
 - e. In principle there cannot be any limitation to the term diversity which is all inclusive including human rights, sexual orientation, economic, environment, ecological, business and political. In practice though it has got (wrongfully though) narrowed down to mean race, religion and cultures. Within the context of a nation and its policies, diversity should mean the right of individuals to lead their own lives (socially, politically and economically) free from discriminations and barriers. Essentially, it is all about sustainable livelihoods for all.

2. **What issue(s) is the proposed policy addressing? (e.g. inclusiveness? national identity? equality? equity? individual versus groups rights? social cohesion?)**
 - a. The policy should address equality, inclusiveness, equity, social cohesion.
 - b. All of the above
 - c. Issue of balance as well as the fostering of participation together with the elimination of systemic barriers to that participation.
 - d. Nation-building based on common ground
 - e. The proposed policy should address current framework weaknesses, i.e. Political diversity (read political and public policy roles) and Economic diversity (read business, corporate and employment opportunities). Going forward there should be a shift in emphasis away from "basic human rights" (which has been reasonably achieved) to more along the lines of a Citizenship Charter that provides for a clearer vision of obligations to each other (socially, politically and economically). A national unity facilitated by a shared participatory citizenship rooted in a sense of common collective purpose. Clearly all Canadians are not equally enjoying "barrier-free" political and economic opportunities.

- f. I consider equality and equity to be core Canadian Values that need to be foundational to any policy that addresses national identity, social cohesion and inclusiveness. Another core value is secularism - Canada is a secular state, respecting people's religious beliefs but maintaining a clear demarcation between the state and religion. Individual versus group rights at times can only be addressed by considering issues of 'public good' and must be considered on a case by case basis. The challenge is how do we maintain core values even if it seems to be in contradiction with the values of the incoming minority group?

3. What kind of mindset or values is the Government trying to shape? (e.g. liberal democratic?)

- a. Eliminate discrimination and barriers to participation in the social, political and economic areas
- b. The government needs to nurture Canadian values (without labelling them) in alignment with changing global realities.
- c. Address the systematic barriers that exist between the "saw-off" of free market systems and the inequalities and inequities that exist within them.

4. Why should government be trying to shape attitudes on this issue? (i.e. is there a state role for the 'public good')

- a. Because diversity is one of the most potent forces that drives the economic engine in terms of productions, consumption and job creation, which in turn affects our GNP which ultimately defines the political agenda and delivery of social services.
- b. Government should be welcoming to all and explaining that multiculturalism applies to all, including 'white' people.
- c. To expand and diversify opportunities for all to participate. Should aim for social diversity (read diverse participation) built within an economic diversity (read diverse opportunities) model.
- d. To ensure peace and harmony amongst citizens

5. Who is affected by this proposed policy?

- a. All individuals as well as institutions in the public and private sectors
- b. Are there target groups within the policy that need to be addressed specifically?

6. How, through what mechanisms, should Government be addressing diversity?

- a. Public awareness and education programs, promotion of dialogue and discussions that cross regional and ethnic lines, a focus on youth and on second generation immigrants. Promote active citizenship and civic participation, encourage a sense of belonging in our cities and communities. The media would be a key venue for addressing because they connect with the majority of the public.
- b. Mechanisms should include participation in civic issues, grass-roots political movement, public appointments, urban development and education.
- c. Through a re-examination of policies and legislation (e.g. hate legislation; anti-terrorism Bill C-35).

7. What related topics might be affected by a proposed policy on diversity? (e.g. immigration? citizenship? national unity?)

All of the above plus foreign policy, skills training/education, foreign credential recognition, urban/regional/community development, international trade, international aid, health/mental health, justice

8. How homogenous should the political community be? Must everyone share the same political identity and values, or can the community recognize the many ways its members are diverse in their feelings of belonging and values. Is it necessary to share common social and cultural values or simply to commit to a set of political values?

- a. As far as core political values are concerned, the political community should be homogenous. With respect to social and cultural values ethno-heterogeneities can be maintained, accepted, respected, and recognized. Both models can co-exist simultaneously. The political community should have plenty of diversity. However, there should be certain common liberal values which are held as common and which can unite the diverse communities.
- b. Good political values become shared values.
- c. A homogenous political community would result in 'group-think'. We cannot legislate values. What we need to create is an environment where everyone is reasonably secure (in a variety of respects) and feels free to participate. Transparency and accountability go a long way in this regard.
- d. The political institutions in Canada need to reflect the people who live in this country. Within a political manifesto there is room for difference and diversity, but there are certainly principles and common values that one should ascribe to. These values and principles should be of the highest level with plenty of room for discussion and divergence, allowing for diversity of approach.
- e. Diversity also includes the right to hold different political views and a different vision of society. The tricky part is how to ensure this right without creating large fissures in society along political fault lines. Proportional representation in Parliament may be one way to ensure that everyone is represented and feels that they are part of decision-making at the national level, and therefore minority groups do not feel marginalized.

9. How do individual rights and the principles of liberalism co-exist with the recognition of rights available to specific groups or communities?

- a. They can co-exist.
- b. Promote understanding through education
- c. Through active (not passive) government policies
- d. The ladder of "needs", "wants" and "aspirations" are often checkered. Rights give us the fundamental protections against "needs". Public policy should shape our "wants" and hence collective freedoms. Citizenship charter is what shapes our "aspirations" as a nation. Thus, it is possible for individual rights to co-exist with other collective rights.

10. Should institutional arrangements be symmetrical, to reflect the principle of universal individualized citizenship, or should they recognize and reflect diversity via a certain degree of institutional asymmetry?

- a. They can be asymmetrical and in some cases should be asymmetrical in order to be just
- b. Universal individual citizenship is a fundamental societal foundation and offers basic protection for all. However, the higher building blocks could be asymmetrical. Public institutions could (and should) be more symmetrical than the private sector with perhaps mandate for diversity, however, the private institutions could be enabled to access diversity through other policy instruments such as training, internship, qualification assessments, etc.

11. Finally, the last two hundred years of economic and social politics in capitalist democracies have asked where to locate the “saw-off” between the liberty of market behaviour and the need to address the inequalities and inequities that are inherent within it. How can we ensure economic and social security? To what extent does being “different” hinder individuals’ inclusion? To what extent can respect for and recognition of diversity foster economic and social security?

- a. It is a function of the integrity of the process, i.e. how do we recognize these inequities and inequalities and resolve the related issues with fairness in order to capitalize on the strengths of each participant?
- b. This is the basis of Liberal thought. The basis of a just society, the balancing and monitoring which are key roles of an active government.
- c. It is the role of the state to create opportunities for those who are systemically on the margins and to correct societal imbalances which create disadvantage. Greater social and economic prosperity can only result when more and more Canadians own their share of this prosperity.
- d. The real issue is not that diversity creates a hindrance in the market place but that we have not found market expansions that can be leveraged by diversity.

12. In a country with a history of national unity debates, can a policy to establish and promote a Canadian diversity model be supported? Are support for diversity and national unity at opposite ends of a spectrum? Alternatively, can a policy supporting diversity be the unifying concept behind both personal and national identities? What should be the role of the state in supporting diversity?

- a. Yes
- b. A policy supporting diversity can be the unifying concept behind both personal and national identities, by allowing people the pride of place in their historical origin, but placing that within the unity of the nation. The state should be the agent of change, understanding and facilitator for individuals to secure their position within society, to take up the liberal principals while encouraging groups to engage in dialogue to better understand each others concerns.
- c. National unity is all about recognising priorities after a transparent debate and review. It is the process that gives confidence to the diverse society that “their priorities can come in due course”. It is this lack of process that pits diversity and national unity at the opposite ends of the spectrum. Any policy supporting diversity would have to make transparency and inclusivity a fundamental platform in its political process.

13. Does a Canadian diversity model exacerbate the concerns expressed about multiculturalism or is there an opportunity to identify a common set of core values that transcend our differences/diversity? Is there a way to establish unity through a respect for diversity?

- a. We need a new policy with a focus on core values and a respect for diversity

- b. Diversity is not about endless debates, compromising common goals or threatening national unity. Diversity is about including all in the process of collectivity in formulating aspirations, priorities and agenda for the good of the nation.
- c. I believe there are a core set of values which transcend our differences. These are enshrined in our Constitution. We can only encourage and promote respect. I believe in Canada the principle of respecting regional and provincial rights and powers presents an excellent example and model for establishing unity through a respect for diversity. Constitutional conferences which allow parties to lay their issue on the table are a good example. Why not have “diversity conferences” which allow diverse interests to present their concerns to each other so we can offer mutual recognition to each other?

14. What is the appropriate role for the state in identifying the core values of the nation and defining the balance between the 4 dimensions of competing values outlined by Jenson and Papillon?

- a. State cannot do this on its own. It must engage various communities to provide input.
- b. The state has a regulatory role that should allow for the balanced expression of the four dimensions.
- c. The role of the state is to create a social, political and economic framework and outline the risks and rewards for others to debate and consider.
- d. Many of the core values are enshrined in the Canadian Charter. A public debate on what are core values (which may seem very theoretical to some people) would be very beneficial. Often we know what we don't want but rarely do we articulate what we want other than limiting our thinking about our own little group or community. The competing values only add to the complexity but very important to keep in mind while developing policy on diversity.

15. Given that the emerging role of the state is to enable individual opportunity, how would a policy on diversity support individual choices while building a national identity?

- a. Building an identity should focus on enabling individuals to better become part of the Canadian milieu. This could range from offering more language training in both of Canada's official languages, Canadian history lessons, support for ethnic groups to educate and assist their communities to become active in Canadian politics. The policy should reach out directly and there should be initiatives that embrace diverse cultures to make them feel warmly welcomed and active participants as part of the “system” that operates in the country.
- b. If we see diversity as peaceful coexistence of differences, there should be no conflict between individual and national identity. They can be different, but not antagonistic. National identity should be inclusive of individual identities. This will require our commitment as citizens and the role of the government to promote the national identity.

16. Given the existence of a set of legal frameworks in Canada and internationally (UN Declaration of Human Rights) that protect human rights, what added elements would be addressed by a Canadian policy on diversity?

- a. Remove all hyphenated clichés, i.e Indo-Canadians, Gays or Lesbians, Blacks or Chinese, etc. We are all Canadians. Period. Remove all the economic, social and political barriers in order for all our citizens to avail themselves of opportunities and ensure our system leverages the competencies and skill sets as offered by these diverse entities. Denounce and uproot all kinds of systemic discrimination. Develop a common and shared national agenda that invites everyone to participate.

- b. Maybe something along the lines of obligations and responsibilities that are involved in the human rights framework. Education here could play a major role.
- c. The international frameworks and declaration only serve as a guide, they do not say much about how these will actually be implemented. Legal frameworks are useful when there is a conflict or a dispute but the whole idea of a policy on diversity is to avoid such conflicts from arising, therefore a Canadian policy on diversity would seek to realize the objectives of the international covenants and the Canadian charter.
- d. Human rights protect fundamental freedoms. What needs to be added to Canadian policy on diversity is to offer the same rights on the social and economic fronts. Going forward there should be an emphasis shift away from “basic human rights” (which has been reasonably achieved) to more along the lines of a Citizenship Charter that provides for a clearer vision of obligations to each other (socially, politically and economically). A national unity facilitated by a shared participatory citizenship rooted in a sense of common collective purpose. Clearly all Canadians are not equally enjoying “barrier-free” political and economic opportunities.

17. As we think of ourselves in a global context, are national identities and citizenship relevant anymore? Are the state and a national identity simply an interim path toward something broader; are we all on the path to becoming global citizens with common political values?

- a. Global interconnectivity, communications has increased awareness and has made the world smaller. There is (and growingly will be) personal identification/support for many international events and causes happening around the world. We will take up more and more such “moral memberships” in such international causes and seek political support domestically. Global causes such as poverty eradication, Aids, and even wars have figured thus far. In this sense, yes it tends to diminish and dilute national agendas. But it is the state that has to create its national identity by building on these aspirations and establishing its international priorities.
- b. Canada is a sort of microcosm and our successes and failures can serve, in some measure, as examples of what is possible. Canada is a sort of case study in the global world.
- c. Yes, national identities and citizenship are relevant; however, these are means to an end (globalization) so there will be parallel political models.
- d. I hope so. That would be the hallmark of a post-modern world.
- e. The nation state has not dissolved; we do not have strong international institutions (with the weakening of the UN) that aspire to building social institutions. In fact the only ones that have become stronger are the financial institutions like the WTO, World Bank, etc. Therefore there is continued need for Canada to assert core values that it is best known for in the international arena.

18. How do the diverse identities of our citizens affect Canada’s participation in the global arena? Simply put, if we identify ourselves as global citizens, how should Canada position itself in the international arena? Should Canada continuously intervene in international issues on behalf of the diverse interests of its citizens? If so, will Canada become hostage to international activities and activism? What if there are competing interests from different domestic communities, how do we deal with these? What elements or values should distinguish a Canadian national identity from the historical and traditional tensions of other nations that may be ‘inherited’ by citizens of Canada?

- a. Canada has a long and proud tradition of promoting international peace and stability, as a middle power. We should maintain this position and avoid falling into the trap of taking sides in foreign conflicts which are often murky and stay on the side of international law, and support the UN. Naturally those of diverse backgrounds have positions on their former home or where they have an ethnic tradition but the party should not be burdened by allegiances which trump their Canadian values, which should be pre-eminent.

The party should formulate a rational and consistent foreign policy which captures Canada's interests, first and foremost.

- b. Where the line clearly needs to be drawn is that all issues cannot be supported nationally and there is a set of priorities which will govern our collective actions. National unity is all about recognising priorities after a transparent debate and review. It is the process that gives confidence to the diverse society. We must walk the talk. It is this lack of process that pits diversity and national unity at the opposite ends of the spectrum. Any policy supporting diversity would have to make transparency and inclusivity a fundamental platform in its political process. Canada has factored such aspirations in the past re: international development, food aid and peacekeeping activities which became Canada's central foreign policy at that time.
- c. If anything, the diverse population of Canada should allow the Canadian Government to have a "finger on the pulse" and a better understanding of global issues and tensions. The Canadian Government should tap into the vast hitherto untapped talent of its "new citizens", who have "chosen" Canada as their home because they value what it offers them instead of their citizenship being a mere accident of birth. Canada also plays an important role internationally, by example- e.g. legislation recognizing same-sex union. I wish I could say that this was also true when it comes to people with disabilities but we have much to learn from other countries in this regard.

19. How can political parties become more inclusive for diverse communities to participate and be represented?

- a. We have to re-brand the Liberal Party. We have to differentiate ourselves as an open and inviting party. We must get rid of "multi" rhetoric and tokenism and make real changes in the political process so that it is fair, accessible, and transparent, i.e. equal opportunity for all. It is all about political branding, position, responsibility, and relationship.
- b. By actually making room for, and giving, diverse communities the ability to participate at the decision making level and not merely as people to be used during elections. By ensuring that the executive and other decision-making bodies in the party reflect the diversity of the party.
- c. I think the liberal party (or any particular party for that matter) needs to listen more carefully and not make the mistake of thinking that one person or group represents an entire community.
- d. Value the aspirations and the wants of the diverse communities. Invite them into the political process. Please do not pay lip service with photo-ops. Such success metrics would be seen in terms increased policy advisors, electoral candidates, riding association leaders, senate appointments, etc.

20. What, if any, is the economic value of diversity for Canada in world opportunities and markets? How can Canada's diverse population be leveraged for greater economic advantage? What kind of Liberal Party policy should be in place to recognize and promote this opportunity?

- a. Diversity builds natural links with communities abroad. However, the party has failed to capitalize on large communities in Canada which could support trade development. India, China, the Arab World come to mind. The Liberal party should embrace its members and adopt a policy of maximizing their knowledge of foreign markets for all of Canada's benefits – and this should be accompanied by a strategy.
- b. The value is not only in economic terms but also in goodwill terms. The challenge is to articulate nationally what we are about and what strengths we derive from this diversity. From this should emerge what is our domestic and foreign activities that leverage this aspect. From an international trade perspective itself we should see gains (what with representation from 60 countries and 160 languages spoken). But these markets need to be identified invested in and pursued.