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Canadian Multiculturalism: the analysis of a current sociological fact

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INTRODUCTION

In the following thesis it will be discussed the topic of Multiculturalism and several aspects related to it, related to a topic as polyhedral as the same word suggests.

It will be drawn a path concerning Multiculturalism: starting from an analysis focused on the several interpretations and meanings of multiculturalism as a sociological fact, to the description of Canadian Multiculturalism in all its features.

Why then properly the Canadian Multiculturalism? The choice of moving into the details of Canadian multiculturalism derives from a personal experience, maybe one of the best in my life so far. I lived in Montreal for a semester, for a bilateral exchange study experience and this latter taught me a great number of things allowing me to increase my personal cultural baggage.

This experience enabled me to know and to be in contact with another culture, way of living. I did love the city but above all, I did appreciate the people and their multicultural “attitude”.

As mentioned above, it will be highlighted how the discipline of Political Science had defined and defines Multiculturalism. Furthermore, it will be shown the historical, legal and social paths that have contributed to “create” what today we call *Canadian multiculturalism*.

In the first chapter, it will be presented multiculturalism as a matter of study by many scholars and it will be given the main characteristics that define it. Hence, it will be given a general overview concerning the topic of discussion.

With respect to the second chapter, the attention will be focused on Canadian multiculturalism properly in order to understand and analyze why Canadian multiculturalism is identified as one of the best successful in the world.

Finally, the third chapter will be devoted to the interpretation of the main challenges that a multicultural country, such as Canada, has to face. This will be made in order to underline the abilities that make it a “model”. It will be highlighted even the main advantages and disadvantages that this “phenomenon” produces. All this will be carried on referring to other multicultural systems in the world.

CHAPTER I

Multiculturalism: “old and new world”

1. What do we mean with multiculturalism?

We tend to define as multicultural, all those countries that have been influenced and culturally determined by the migration of ethnic groups with linguistic or religious and racial minorities. Everything concerning multiculturalism is closely related to the conception that we have about the idea of a country, the sense of belonging to it. Thus, multiculturalism is inevitably linked to equality of minority rights.

Alternatively, it can even be defined as “a demographic fact describing the co-existence of peoples from different ethno-cultural backgrounds in a single society or organization; an ideological aspiration celebrating diversity, a set of policies aimed at managing diversity; or a process by which ethnic and racial groups leverage support to achieve their aspirations”¹.

Fukuyama proposed a version of “good multiculturalism”: according to him, the good multiculturalism would be a kind of corporate multiculturalism or “multiculturalism of globalization” attempting to spread the diffusion of the same consumptions among the different life styles that are heritage of the various groups, whether ethnic, social or even cultural. All of this is possible only through the set of economic and procedural techniques, undertaken by multinationals, a tested and well-established practice².

Unlike what has been performed by other sociological authors just analyzed, the Italian Sartori proposes a multiculturalism model that runs counter, giving it the traits of "evil." He justifies his point of view, claiming that multiculturalism encloses a component of nefarious inherent in the fact that multiculturalism imagine the company as an entity built on separate identities. Therefore, Sartori replaces the American model - proposed by Fukuyama - providing the European one, established and founded on pluralism and tolerance³.

¹ Dewing and Leman, 2006.

² Fukuyama, 2004.

³ Sartori, 2000.

It is now interesting to note that another sociologist, Michael Walzer, intends instead conferring to belonging to a community, a kind of a sense of primal need and almost feral, wanting to read in this an inalienable need since written in our DNA of humans. He focuses on the idea of attributing to the society a role of a community where social goods are distributed. Inevitably, both justice and equality are required in the distribution of those goods. Walzer talks about a “distributive justice” which is grounded on two concepts linked together: the recognition of the *need* and of *belonging*. Walzer suggests the fascinating idea that the social goods should be given to people needing them and in doing that, the sense of belonging has to be conserved. The distribution of the goods should respect the society as a whole. However, sometimes it happens that foreigners and minorities are excluded from it. Thus, the sole condition to be respected for the distribution of social goods to be executed is if there is a good collaboration within the society. This would explain why Walzer would have stated: “the strength of multiculturalism depends on the capacity of all its groups to deliver the cultural goods⁴”.

The concept of multiculturalism puts all the cultures of the world on the very same level. It can even be considered as a strategic policy adopted in order to manage the inter-ethnic relations and it aims to sponsor respect of habits, cultural, religious and ethnic differences.

At the empirical level, multiculturalism becomes a social “fact” as long as the ethnic and minority groups identify themselves with identities different from those of the countries in which they live. At the same time, they require the same juridical and social status proper of those belonging to the so-called “dominant culture”. This fact refers to a social claim, which is part of a “battle” for the recognition.

In any case, States tend to find an equilibrium between their interests and the social request in order to secure the unity and their respective social cohesion.

2. Multiculturalism’s evolution

The question we should ask ourselves could be: “In what way and how this complex "topic" is born”? At the beginning, there was the so-called “melting pot”. It was considered as the historical basis of the American integration policy and it represented a society made up of a huge number of peoples with different ethnic origins. However, reality seems had proved that this policy was not successful

⁴ Walzer, 1983.

and, then, multiculturalism imposed itself as a new “recipe” able to solve those problems concerning the ethnic differences in western countries.

It has been a matter of studying interest starting from the 1980s. More precisely, its roots were sprouted twenty years before, when in the 1960s there were the so called “youth social movements” looking for the cultural diversity and the ethno-national demand of the Decolonization process. Multiculturalism appeared, for the first time ever, in the United States of America and later in Europe. More inevitably than not, migratory phenomena and globalization have contributed to determine a model of a multicultural society. As a social and a political movement, multiculturalism, has been created by the action of various groups. These latter needed to abolish discriminations, oppression and they required equality in socio-economic treatments. Thus, during years, multiculturalism has become a “way of thinking” based on the promotion and protection of different identities, respecting human dignity.

Multiculturalism has represented and still represents, with no doubts at all, the relevant change of contemporary societies. This change is perceived at the global level, as a consequence of several events some of such can be enlisted as: globalization, the National State’s crisis, the enlargement of global barriers, the removal of borders and the unity of markets in the economic arena.

Actually, the existence of diverse peoples on the same territory is an old characteristic: this is, in fact, a direct consequence of colonialism and immigration. The guiding idea and at the base of what is written above, namely that each state is multicultural, has been formulated as effectively each state has been characterized by the migration of peoples (for many reasons, starting from those economic until the social ones). Indeed, all those countries that today are recognized and defined as multicultural; adhere to a pluralistic model based on the awareness of “the presence of the other”. Furthermore, those countries, by adopting that model, recognize also the importance of granting social values and the protection of minority groups. In this way, a participatory culture among diverse people is promoted, based on the knowledge of the differences and of the acceptance of coexisted cultural diversities. All this has been done in the name of celebrating the recognition of all universal values (liberty, freedom, equality, solidarity etc.) and human rights.

3. Multiculturalism: a matter of discussion

Even if the definition of multiculturalism seems to be commonly shared and recognized by everybody, as written before, its meaning has led and it still leads to different flows of analysis among

scholars. In one hand, there are those that attribute to multiculturalism the basis for democracy. On the other hand, there are those who recognize in multiculturalism the cause of the creation of isolated communities. Following what has been written so far, we can stress two main visions of multiculturalism that are analyzed. The former is the one we could refer to as *liberal one* where multiculturalism tends to manage cultural diversity in order to present it as inclusion, on all levels, of minority groups. By contrast, multiculturalism is placed, by *the republican view*, in the political sphere. Its main objective is that of changing societal principles into common interests. Besides, according to this view, identities fight one against another for gaining representation.

It can easily be said that multiculturalism concerns the defense and protection of rights. However, what kind of protection? We can differentiate two protection: *internal* and *external protection*. The former, advocates of “collective rights” and defends intra-group relations, but the ethno cultural group may seek the use of state power to restrict the rights of its own members in the name of group solidarity.

On the contrary, the latter, involves inter-group relations. In this case, the ethnic group may seek to protect its distinct existence and identity by limiting the impact of the larger society decisions⁵.

4. Multiculturalism in the world

In the *United States*, the incorporation of immigrants has been slowly and it occurred “step by step”. It developed according to an entire American “model”, the so-called *melting pot*. According to this statement, during time, a fusion between cultures, ethnicities and diverse traditions has occurred. This led to the creation of a new society with a personal identity, completely American-style. This model provided an interconnection of immigrants through various moments: the contact, the conflict, the adaptation and finally the assimilation. However, because of the claim of minorities (starting from the second half of the 19th Century), concerning the recognition of their identity and of their rights, the *melting pot* seems to be considered as mere old memory. Besides, the terrorist attacks of 2001 paved the way to an arrest in the adoption of multicultural policies and they led to the proposal of a closed society. They also led guide to new forms of intolerance, some of them adopted against certain immigrants, producing limitations of their rights.

In *Australia*, the entrance of immigrants in the country was faster and even more peaceful than in most other countries, without conflicts and social disorders. Actually, Australian immigration

⁵ Kymlicka, 2012.

history crossed various phases during the 19th Century. It started from a first search of a mono racial, mono cultural and white identity – where only the Aborigines could represent an exception -, to a progressive abolishment of prejudices according to which minorities would not have to deny their traditions in order to uniform themselves to the majoritarian culture. The very last step was concerned with the adoption of real and personal multiethnic model based on a new policy, a nondiscriminatory one and to a new, nondiscriminatory policy that would have granted social cohesion. Inevitably, the multiethnic cohabitation immediately became a strength and, today, the migratory policies are closely connected to the multicultural ones. Both have the goal of promoting equality and reciprocal comprehension.

Analyzing for a while the Asian side of the globe, the population of *India* was considered, for decades and even for centuries, a model of religious communities. However, it has demonstrated to be a country made up of diversities not only because of religions but also because of a plurality of identities and communities (Indus, Sikhs, Muslims etc.). India was born as a multicultural state because it has always been characterized by a multiethnic, multi religious and multicultural society. In fact, to the great number of linguistic minorities, we could even add a high rate of religious communities, a plurality of cultures and nationalities and finally yet importantly, a fragmented and stratified society – where it is possible to find disadvantaged economic categories, all different and helped by the state.

5. European multiculturalism

Even if multiculturalism presents generally the same features, nevertheless, it may differ from country to country.

In Europe, multiculturalism makes reference to many features: from the state structure to the differences of minorities. It happens, in some cases, that it assumes different interpretations. In the western European countries, for instance, multiculturalism has been considered as flows of immigrants. Because of this “effect”, those countries were required to host peoples, to grant them good conditions, and to respect their identities. Because of this, that some European countries started to adopt multicultural policies in order to protect minority rights. However, because of the complexity of multiculturalism, some of those policies were considered unproductive and they failed. As a consequence, there was no integration of minorities and isolation started to grow up. Inevitably, violence spread in many European countries as well as competition. Hence, as far as this description

is concerned Europe was not able to realize effective integration with immigrants and did not realize productive multicultural policies.

In the following paragraphs, the examples of the failed German and Bosnian multiculturalism will be provided.

Firstly analyzing the German case, it is possible to trace down what is following. Germany is the European country with the highest immigration rate, followed by the United Kingdom and France. The official data given by the German government⁶ are significant: in 2003, among a population of 82.531.700, immigrants are equal to 7.334.765 (8,9% of the total population) – meaning that close to one out of ten Germans is immigrant. The great immigrant flow that had occurred in Germany, could be explained mostly throughout two main “myths” because of two “myths”: the *Gstarbeiter* (the host worker) and the *Asylrecht* (right of asylum). The former started at the end of the 1950s, in that time the host workers were especially Italian, Greek and Turkish people. They were considered as temporary workers that, eventually, would have come back to their countries. However, this did not occur or it happened only in few cases.

The latter, starting from the 1970s, became the main way of immigration because of the law on the right of asylum. Related to this law, some political right wing parties tried to put some restrictions but they failed because their proposals were considered illiberal. The main problems concerning immigration are on the one hand, the problem of ethnic minorities (their cultural identity and the possibility of the protection of collective rights); on the other, the problem of ethical conflicts in a society with diverse cultures and religions.

The problems that exist in Germany are the result of different and wrong policies adopted. First, immigrants are represented with the term of “strangers”; this means that those people are considered extraneous, out of the society. Differently, just to cite an example, was done in the United Kingdom and France where immigrants are considered members of the society. The German multiculturalism has been, at least so far, the consequence of the certainty that immigrants do not integrate and do not assimilate themselves to the society. Thus, the country has built only a context of tolerance and respect of immigrants’ cultural diversities (“detached tolerance”). All this has been called multiculturalism but with respect to what has been described above, the German case is not properly an example of multiculturalism. Why then did this happen? Because the German society is built around the public recognition of a unique community, the only one coming from a specific ethno-cultural identity

⁶<http://www.bundesregierung.de/Webs/Breg/DE/Bundesregierung/BeauftragtefuerIntegration/Service/Statistiken/statistiken.html>

(German *Kultur*ation). Hence, the main problem develops from the contradiction of a country that celebrates the myth of an ethno-cultural homogeneity but from a social point of view, is completely diversified.

As a proof of what has been stressed out, in 2010, the Chancellor Angela Merkel recognized that the German multiculturalism had “totally failed”. She argued: “Germany needs immigrants because of work, but they have to integrate and to adopt German culture and its ideals”⁷. Thus, from what has been said, it seems that multiculturalism is denial of pluralism (instead of being its prosecution) because it originates a multiethnic disintegration. Pluralism defends but, at the same time, controls diversity and it requires the assimilation; multiculturalism from this point of view underlines the differences through recognition policies.

Bosnia is a country of the previous Yugoslavia whose capital is Sarajevo. This country has been the “new country” for many peoples coming from different part of the world.

In the 15th Century, Sarajevo was put under the ottoman occupation. Even if, in that time, the number of Catholics decreased, even during the Austrian occupation in the 19th Century the city remained cosmopolitan from a “religious” level, concerning its composition. Effectively, the different groups lived together pacifically and each of them met in small neighborhoods in which there were places of cult. However, the harmony among those groups was very fragile and difficult to maintain during centuries. Consequently, there was confusion among the nationality and the creed (confusion that lasted until today). Thus, people instead of being identified as members of the country, were classified according to their religion; they defined themselves as Muslims rather than Christians before defining themselves as Serbians or Croatians. This religious diversity is mirrored even in some practices and policies used in the country. Why then do we talk of a failure of multiculturalism in Bosnia? Because the main interest is that of creating a unity of the country under a common culture for all the individuals. Then, the objective is not that of creating unity within the diversity through the equal recognition of cultures rather than of religions composing the country.

5.1 Europe – Canada: in which way is Canadian Multiculturalism different?

A great number of studies recognize in the European multiculturalism a failure. Europe, according to some analyses, has been subjected to global anxieties that have led to its damage. According to this

⁷ Postdam, 2010. Youth Congress of Cdu and Csu.

opinion, European multiculturalism is responsible for many mistakes. More in depth, it is considered to have produced ghettoization and immigrants' social isolation. It even led to the growth of stereotypes and prejudices, creating groups' discrimination.

In brief, in Europe, multiculturalism has been tried but it has failed. Not all these features mean that Canada is immune to making mistakes but, its historical process has been different from that of Europe and, in addition, the country presents some important differences.

Above all, for instance, Canada has always been a multicultural country containing indigenous peoples, national minorities and as well as ethnic groups. Canada is considered, in fact, the cradle of multiculturalism, the prototype of the multiethnic society where relevance is given to the consideration of differences. There are, effectively, several studies demonstrating that multiculturalism seemed to be born in Canada, as an "evolution" of the previous biculturalism (between French and English people).

More in general, but it defines the main difference between the European and the Canadian multiculturalism, the Canadian concept acquires three main meanings. First, the term is used to designate a society characterized by its cultural or ethnical heritage. Second, multiculturalism designs an ideal of equality and mutual respect among the cultural or ethnic groups in a society. Finally, the noun stands for representing some measures realized by the federal government in 1971.

6. Conclusions

Finally, it could be argued, based on what has been analyzed so far, that the European model of multiculturalism seems to have failed. Furthermore, about what has been suggested, Will Kymlicka – a social humanities author - recognized a "global multicultural failure" starting from 2006, but more precisely he referred to the European system. In fact, he offered the example of the Netherlands. The country has adopted an entirety of the most ambitious multicultural policies in Western Europe, starting from the 1980s. Nevertheless, those policies were reduced (together with their role and power) from the first years in the 1990s and they were completely abandoned at the beginning of the 21st Century. The multicultural system, in the Netherlands, has been substituted by some severe and coercive policies, policies of social integration. According to the opposition, those policies have been considered as the mirror of the old assimilation.

Some European countries, such as Germany, have adopted those kinds of social integration policies. Nowadays, numerous are those who consider the example of the Netherlands as the prototype of the failure of multiculturalism. Other European countries use that example in order to justify the collapse of their multicultural policies.

Within this debate, concerning the “end” of the European multicultural experience, multiculturalism is deemed responsible of all kind of inconveniencies and mistakes made. Precisely, it can be argued that multiculturalism has caused the residential ghettoization and the social isolation of immigrants; the growth of prejudices and stereotypes, and consequently, the discrimination among ethnic groups; the political radicalization, especially within the young Muslims; the perpetuation of practices of intolerance between the immigrant groups. All what has been described has some consequences such as reducing the rights and liberties of children and women.

Today, multiculturalism is repudiated by countries, and sometimes, by European organizations. The remedy seems to be the following; that the new comers have recognized the priority of their new national identities rather than their ethnic or religious identity of origin. Kymlicka added that, according to his point of view, some countries have tended and tend to attribute to multiculturalism some faults, which are not produced by it but, instead, by other reasons and factors.

It could be possible to synthetize the failure of European multiculturalism in the following three explanations.

Firstly, Europe is a country for huge migratory flows and its role and duty were, and are still today, those of controlling and managing the entrance of immigrants together with the birth rate change. The central problem is that there is no precise model that can be used as parameter, it does not exist. This becomes more important if we think that there are no established criteria according which immigration can be managed and even regulated. Identity, immigration and integration are core and thus difficult topics to be analyzed. There is, often, uncertainty between multiculturalism and nationalism. It is difficult to satisfy the demand; on the one hand, there is request for the creation of norms to oppose immigration, on the other side, politics has problems in managing it. Thus, there is the need to establish, correctly, parameters in the relation between national identity, immigration and the necessity to integrate immigrants. Then, neither multiculturalism nor nationalism are able anymore to solve these problems.

Secondly, in Europe the birth rate is low compared if it is compared with that of the countries of the rest of the world. Germany, as well as Italy, is the country with the lowest birth rate. Then, other countries (Turkey, for instance) strive for entering Europe.

Finally, the multicultural ideology has created the raise of some values considered to be relativized. According to “relative multiculturalism”, for instance, there is no difference between culture and civilization; everyone is equal to others, with no traditions and history. It is inevitable to recognize that our societies are multicultural and even more multi ethnic. Hence, it is necessary to think to a model that better fits with all the diversities. The best system, according to the majority of scholars, is the democratic one: based on liberty and the recognition of fundamental human rights.

In the next chapter, it will be better discussed and analyzed what are the main features of the Canadian multiculturalism and how it has been developed.

CHAPTER II

The case: Canadian Multiculturalism

1. Introduction

In the following chapter, it will be analyzed and discussed the Canadian Multiculturalism case study, starting from its evolution and focusing, in the course, on its main features.

What mainly differentiates Canadian multiculturalism to that of other countries is the fact that it allows all its citizens to maintain their identity. Moreover, citizens are proud of their traditions and they experience a strong sense of belonging. The acceptance gives to Canadians a perception of security and self-confidence. Making them more opened to diverse cultures and more tolerant with them. The Canadian experience has witnessed that multiculturalism encourages racial and ethnic harmony and, consequently, intercultural comprehension.

The mutual respect aims to a community of attitudes. The “new Canadians”, as well as the “old”, respect the political and juridical processes and are interested in solving matters of discussion and conflict. Canada, in fact, encourages them to integrate into the society and to participate actively in the social, cultural, economic and political life.

All the Canadians are equal before the law and they have the same chances and possibilities. The laws and the policies recognize the diversity of the country on several levels: racial, cultural, ethnic belonging, religious and national. In this manner, the bunch of these laws as well as all these policies are able to grant and secure to everyone a complete freedom of conscience, of thinking, of creed and of expression.

Due to multiculturalism, the rate of Canadian naturalization has never been so elevate. Immigrants, in fact, choose with no impediments and pressures the new citizenship because they want to become Canadians and as Canadians, they share the same ideals and values with all the other immigrants arrived with them. At the same time, they have the liberty to identify themselves in their groups of belonging rather than in individual groups or in others; their individual rights are completely respected and protected.

However, in which measure could Canada be defined as multicultural? Then, to have a better idea, here some data: in 2001, among a population of 32 millions of people, 26 percent of Canadians had different roots of origin. Furthermore in 2007, around 17 millions of people presented British origins, the 34 percent were French. Nevertheless, it can even be counted some Germans (897.000), Italians (710.000), Polish (222.000) and many others as a proof of how much Canada is multicultural⁸. The actual population (in 2016) is around 36.286.000 people, made up of a great number of different ethnic groups⁹.

1.1 Canadian multicultural society in a nutshell

Before moving into the details, it is worthwhile to cite three different ways through which the concept of “Canadian multicultural society” can be interpreted. These three views are (i) descriptively, (ii) prescriptively and (iii) politically. Each of them can also be identified as sociological fact (for the descriptive interpretation), as ideology (prescriptively) and as policy (politically).

- (i) Descriptively
multiculturalism refers to the existence of people of different racial and ethnic backgrounds.
- (ii) Prescriptively
multiculturalism as an ideology, consists of a number of ideas and ideals concerning Canada’s cultural diversity.
- (iii) Policy
multiculturalism, in political terms, refers to the actions taken in several domains (federal, territorial, municipal and provincial) to manage the diversity.

⁸ Immigration Statistics, Employment and Immigration Canada.

⁹ Online: <https://populationpyramid.net/it/canada/2016/>

2. Canadian Multiculturalism: definitions

In Canada, multiculturalism tends to refer to a number of ideas and ideals, which celebrate diversities of different kinds. We can give some different definitions made by several scholars. At the policy level, it refers to the “management of diversity through formal initiatives in the federal provincial and municipal domains¹⁰”. Rosado defines it as “*a system of beliefs and behaviors that recognizes and respects the presence of all diverse groups in an organization or society, acknowledges and values their social-cultural differences, and encourages and enables their continued contribution within an inclusive cultural context which empowers all within the organization or society*¹¹”.

3. Historical Background

The lands of North America, because of their geographic strategic position, have always represented the goal of colonizers. These coasts represent not only the pleasures of the ancient settlers. The shores exposed to the sea, also offer convenient lifesaver for immigrants; therefore these very same coasts, have been of great attraction not only for the colonizers, but even for immigrants. These latter have imposed themselves over the aboriginal minorities who never disappeared and never submitted themselves to the foreigner – they maintained their historical traditions and their customs.

Historically, the first inhabitants were the Asians (Indians, Inuit, Metis etc.) over which Europeans imposed their own presence (from Portuguese and Spanish colonizers to the English and French ones) – initially arrived due to commercial and religious reasons and later settled definitively.

The first and relevant colonization was that of the French that, in the 17th Century, founded many colonies (*Nouvelle France*, for instance) and established itself for 150 years. It was during this century that the first migratory policies were taken in order to contain the first immigrants.

During the half of the 18th Century, the British conquerors occupied almost all the territories on the Atlantic side (*New England*) and the British population overcame the French one. Consequently, from that moment onward there were several battles¹², conflicts between the two European populations

¹⁰ Dewing and Leman, 2006: 1.

¹¹ Rosado, 1996: 2.

¹² The conquest of Québec; the battle of Abraham (1760) and others but above all the “War of the seven years” (1756-1763). This latter ended up with the Treaty of Paris (1763) where France ceased to the United Kingdom its Canadian colonies.

because of the control over the lands and the possession of the consequent power. Many were the clashes caused by the socio-cultural diversities and the existence of several ethnicities. The discontents did not cease; neither the *Royal Proclamation*¹³ nor the *Québec Act*¹⁴ were able to solve the problems. Only after the United States war of Independence, with the *Constitution Act*¹⁵ the tensions were put an end. The definitive “peace” was established in 1841 through the *Act of Union*, which recognized the two colonies together, guided by a unique governor and with a single Parliament.

After 1820, immigration was spread either on the “external level” (flows of Europeans, Africans and Asians) or the “internal level” (because of the growing interest by the United States). Moreover, the country started to be viewed as a multicultural one – because of the different ethnicities - and not anymore as bicultural. This “initial” multicultural Canadian feature formed itself and in the 20th Century, it had all its personal specificities. In fact, its singularity is represented by the expression of “ethnic mosaic”, similar but different from the American “melting pot”.

Multiculturalism, as a Canadian characteristic, has continued to be developed with also governmental recognitions: from the *Déclaration canadienne des droits* – the Canadian Bill of Rights - in 1960 to the institutionalization of a commission for the study of the relations between the British and French communities (including the study of bilingualism). Besides, other acts were approved and adopted: the adoption in 1982 of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms and many others, but above all, the recognition of multiculturalism as a public policy in 1971 – that will be better analyzed subsequently.

4. Evolutive Background in the Social Sciences

4.1 Multiculturalism as a Sociological Fact

We are analyzing the Canadian multiculturalism through the support given by the discipline of Political Science. Nevertheless, we can affirm that Canada has been characterized by a history of settlement and colonization of several cultures and ethnicities. Thus, we can summarize the founding

¹³ The Royal Proclamation (1763) provided the assimilation of the French population to the British one.

¹⁴ The Québec Act was proclaimed, in 1774, by the British government recognizing some French rights in order to have the loyalty of the French population and to put an end to the conflicts.

¹⁵ The *Constitution Act (1791)* divided Québec in two parts: one with British majority with British laws and rules and the other, with French majority with its own organization.

peoples in three “categories”: the Aboriginal, the French and the British. In order to better comprehend this sociological fact we should go through these first “habitants”.

The Aboriginal include First Nations (mainly Indians), Metis and Inuit. Their proportion in total Canadian population is increasing¹⁶. French and British colonizers arrived in the early 1600s counting as the 30% (French) and the 60% (British) of the population. Later on, in the 20th Century, the number of European immigrants grew because they were allowed to enter the continent¹⁷. Nevertheless, the British and French “rate” declined from 40 to 27% in the 1980s due to a declining birth rate. At the beginning of the 21st Century, the proportion of people with European origins dropped to 46%.

We have analyzed multiculturalism from the descriptively interpretation. From the prescriptively point of view, few things can be stressed out. Multiculturalism is seen as an ideology but as we have highlighted it is a fact, an existing and central feature of Canada. Finally, something more can be argued for the last interpretation (the politically one or the interpretation of multiculturalism as policy).

4.2 Multiculturalism as Public Policy

Scholars have recognized the existence of three different stages of the development of multiculturalism: the *incipient stage*, the *formative period* and *institutionalization*.

4.2.1 Multiculturalism’s stages

The *incipient stage* is the era preceding 1971 characterized by a first acceptance of ethnic diversity. The British colonizers influenced the Canadian Nation building; in fact, there was a cultural replication of the British society on the political, economic and social levels. All Canadians were defined as British subjects until the *Canadian Citizenship Act* (1947). With this act, citizens are

¹⁶ In 2011, in Statistics Canada’s National Household Survey, around 1.4 million people claimed to have Aboriginal origins.

¹⁷ The influx increased in 1912.

recognized as Canadians and not anymore as British. Besides, immigrants had the opportunity to get the Canadian citizenship after having lived in Canada for a period equal or greater to five years.

The idea and concept of multiculturalism appeared from the 1960s thanks to the assertiveness of Canada's Aboriginal peoples, the Québécois nationalism and the increasing minorities that wanted to be represented in society.

The *formative period* lasted from 1971 to 1981 and it was characterized by an important action made by the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. This latter, in fact, published in 1969 a report in which was recommended the "integration" into Canadian society of non-Aboriginal, non-French and non-British ethnic groups. Besides the report recognized to those peoples full citizenship rights and equal participation in Canada's institutional structure. This initiative led to the introduction of the Multiculturalism Policy in 1971. Its main objectives were the following: assist cultural groups to protect their identity; assist cultural groups to abolish barriers and to grant their full participation in Canadian society; promote exchanges among citizens and help immigrants in the acquisition of one official language. In fact, equality became the main interest of multicultural programs and, in addition, some other policies and programs were realized to abolish and avoid racial discrimination at any level. An example of what has been written may be Multicultural Directorate, approved in 1972, aimed at implementing multicultural policies and programs. In 1977 was adopted a law for the citizenship which guaranteed the equality in the management of immigration. Consequently, the members of the Commonwealth were not anymore privileged and the others could have the same possibilities of getting a permanent residence status.

The last phase is the one called of *institutionalization* (1982 to the present). The 1980s were characterized by an implementation of the institutionalization of multicultural policy also because of the growth of immigration in many cities that changed the composition of the population. Furthermore, some groups became to spread racial ideas. Hence, the government promoted institutional changes in order to allow Canadian structures to live with several ethnic groups and to be able to face problems related to immigration. Another initiative was that of introducing anti-discrimination programs realized to combat and destroy social and cultural barriers. An important step was made in 1982 with the adoption of the Canadian *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* that entered in the Constitution. The Charter guarantees equality "*before and under the law and has the right to equal protection and equal benefit of the law without discrimination and, in particular, without discrimination based on race, national or ethnic origin [...]*" – Section 15(1).

An important year needs to be remembered, 1988, when it was approved and adopted by the Parliament the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act*. Year after year, many institutions in favor of

immigration were created; many acts were passed and many developments in the field of multiculturalism were realized and taken into action. In 1994, the Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration has been instituted, for instance; it had the role of managing immigration with respect to the criteria of admissibility, to the number of immigrants admitted per year. Nevertheless, it had also the role to recognize the citizenship for those immigrants and to put into practice as much programs as possible necessary to facilitate the integration of permanent residents. These latter are part of the category that are admitted to Canada for three reasons: because of work, to meet again the family or because they need to be protected. These three conditions are inevitable to define a permanent resident.

Every year, some programs concerning immigration are adopted in order to count the number of immigrants that can be accepted. Immigrants are divided, generally and equivalently, in groups and the authorities are invited to respect these programs. Immigration has been managed and it continues to be managed in a perfect way. As a proof – if any needed – we can consider an indisputable number, that unveil the trend: immigration rate is higher than the birth rate.

5. Canadian Multiculturalism Act

Canada has been the first country in the world to approve a national multiculturalism law.

The Act has been implemented because of a debate concerning the Canadian society; more exactly, for the shake of precision, the matter was concerning Bilingualism and Biculturalism. This debate started in the 1970s and it continues to exist yet. In 1971, the Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, adopted the Multiculturalism policy of Canada. In 1982 the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms was adopted. Some years later, in 1985, was launched the Broadcasting Policy Reflecting Canada's Linguistic and Cultural Diversity. This law recognizes the existence of several "media scenarios" adopting non-official languages. Starting from that year on, many other policies would be adopted. These policies and others contributed to the realization of the Canadian Multiculturalism Act. In fact, it was only the quite recent 1988 the year in which the act was put in force, under the under the government of Brian Mulroney.

5.1 Basic Principles

The law was formulated and written, with the clear intent one hand of promoting and on the other hand recognizing the fundamental notion that multiculturalism is the ethno- cultural diversity of society. It affirms the freedom of all citizens to protect, implement and share their cultural heritage. It also promotes the principle that multiculturalism is a main feature of the Canadian heredity and identity. Another central principle is that of the full and equal participation of the population, including minorities. It is also recognized the existence of a collectivity of individuals to which all belong. The Act ensures that each individual receives the same and equal treatment and protection before the law, respecting others' diversity; it even encourages all the Canadian institutions to be respectful of the multicultural feature. Besides, it promotes even the comprehension of diversities and the use of languages, different from French and English but at the same time, it empowers the status of the two official languages. Furthermore, it encourages the recognition of diverse cultures and it let multiculturalism to be in harmony with national efforts.

The Act recognizes the preservation of culture, reducing discrimination and promoting cultural awareness together with institutional change. When we talk about "reducing discrimination", we mean that the Canadian government operates in order to ensure equal access and full participation to all citizens, including minorities – as already said; it is worthwhile to remark this concept, not just for shake of clearness but mostly because of the great importance of it. The Act presents multiculturalism as a tool that grants the possibility of a "*social climbing*", the movability between "unwritten, not structured and encoded caste" but still existing, in any society regardless of its typology. People have recognized the right to access to governmental institutions. They also are allowed to pursue a cultural life of their free choice¹⁸. The policy recognizes the two official languages: French and English while culturally, everyone is considered equal. This contributes to give people a sense of security and self-confidence producing, therefore, an acceptance of the diverse cultures. The Multiculturalism Act, together with the Canadian Constitution and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, recognizes to all Canadians complete freedom of thought, conscience, expression, belief, opinion, association and peaceful assembly.

What most the Act encourages is the recognition of equality and mutual respect, with regard to all kinds of diversities: it guarantees to minorities the protection of their rights and, in addition, it allows

¹⁸ Li, 1999.

them to preserve their cultural heritage. It could even argue that the Act emphasizes the enormous preeminence of equality, highlighting the importance of deleting social inequalities.

In 2010, the Multiculturalism Program has been implemented with the clear intent of concerning so many different subject matters, which can be summoned up in the following points: the building of a cohesive society; making the institutions more responsible in order to face the several needs of the population and moving multiculturalism at an international level. In 2012, an evaluation of multiculturalism policies were realized.

In brief, this Act highlights values and principles concerning multiculturalism, the diversity between several cultures. However, it reveals, at the same time, the presence of a harmonious coexistence among different cultural groups. This is possible because of *la mise en place* of the multicultural policy, of its legislative system particularly strict and strong. What makes the functioning of this Act possible is that it puts together multicultural and social facts.

All this can be realized only through the presence of culture, which fixes economic objectives, it realizes “economic bridges” either at communitarian level (within the communities of Canada) or at the external and international levels (between Canada and other countries). In fact, the Canadian multicultural policy is perfectly in line with the needs and necessities of the life and economy of the world.

6. Canadian Policies in the multicultural field

In order to allow a complete, proper and full function as required by law, in 1991 the Parliament has seen fit to have to establish a Department of Multiculturalism and Citizenship , which was specifically created, precisely with this clear “monitoring” purpose. This latter establishes some programs: Race Relations and Cross-Cultural Understanding (to promote acceptance of racial differences); Heritage Cultures and Languages (to preserve the cultural luggage – languages, customs etc.); Community Support and Participation created to ensure the participation of all citizens in Canadian life). Nevertheless, the Department was dismantled two years later (1993) and it was englobed in the Department of Canadian Heritage that was responsible for official languages, arts etc. In 1997, the Department launched a program whose interests were social justice, civic participation and identity. The scope was that of developing and creating an equitable community to which all Canadians could

participate and building a community that would have recognized, protected and promoted population's diversities.

Starting, precisely, from 2005 onward, other policies would then been adopted. We can cite *A Canada for All: Canada's Action Plan Against Racism*. Its aims were enforcing social cohesion and fighting against any form of racial discrimination.

On November of the same year, Canada accepted the UNESCO *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions*. It recognizes the possibility for countries to develop and implement different cultural way of being.

In 2006, because of the *head tax* imposed over Chinese immigrants (in force until 1923 and refused in 1947 by Canada), the federal government asked apology to the Chinese-Canadians.

Two years later, in 2008, the Department of Citizenship and Immigration received the responsibility for multiculturalism. This shift of power led to new priorities: support for new Canadians in respect to their integration; realization of programs that encourage volunteerism, leadership etc.; implementation of the knowledge of Canadian values and culture through several initiatives.

6.1 What are the territorial and provincial multiculturalism policies?

The Canadian cohesion is extremely strong. All the provinces have adopted differently a multicultural policy. Moreover, British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Quebec and Nova Scotia have legislated in the field of multiculturalism. We can even add that in eight provinces there are very fervid consultative meetings about multiculturalism. Ontario has an official policy with regard to multiculturalism; indeed, the ministry of Civil Affairs and of Immigration has the enormous responsibility of promoting social integration, as well as civil participation and recognition. A mole, if someone wanted to find it out, would be traced on the so-called territorial governments. The sin of which they are responsible is predicable in their inability to formulate multicultural policies to manage the problem. However, just as clearly, one cannot noticing that in expiation of this sin, these territorial authorities have adopted laws concerning the rights of individuals, measures to prevent discrimination (caused by reasons of race, color, ethnic origin, place of birth, religious creed etc.). As it will be seen later on provinces have adopted different acts and in different periods of time.

Just to give an example, result-oriented, the British Columbia has decided to adopt the Multiculturalism Act more than twenty years ago, precisely in 1993. This Act requires the

government to provide services and programs that are sensitive to the issue of multiculturalism and indeed to be adapted to the multicultural reality of the province. It is expected that each ministry and state institution write a detailed report, where there are counted all the initiatives undertaken in order to implement multiculturalism. The administrative process provides for a rigid procedural ladder: Minister takes responsibility for submitting a general report - by virtue of his position as head of multiculturalism – to the legislative assembly; he is suggested by the advisory body that provides advice to the minister on a broad multicultural issues.

Even a decade before the British Columbia, we record the virtuous case of Alberta, which adopted its first law of multiculturalism in 1984, the Alberta Cultural Heritage Act. It is a fundamental feature of Albertan society because it recognizes the same rights and benefits (ranging from purely economic to those inherent the social sphere) to all its inhabitants. But this is not all: the Alberta Cultural Heritage Act also had the merit of having promoted among all Albertans, the awareness of the multicultural heritage of the province and the creation of an environment in which every citizen can contribute to the social, cultural, economic and political life of every single person as well as all of the entire province. The new law has led to the creation of a multiculturalism commission, designed to help the government in the management of policies and multicultural programs. To do this, the preparations for the creation from scratch of a special fund in order to allow financing all programs and services in this domain, while allowing subsidizing some organizations. In 1996, it was decided to do something more, putting together programs on the rights of the person and of multiculturalism, gathering and enclosing them in a single act, called "the Human Rights, Citizenship and Multiculturalism Act." Since that time, Multicultural Fund was renamed the Human Rights, Citizenship and Multiculturalism Fund. In 2009, the fund changed further the name and became the Human Rights, Education and Multiculturalism Fund.

Continuing in this retrospective analysis, it is impossible to forget the first province, the pioneer in having adopted a multicultural legislation: the case of the province of Saskatchewan (with the Saskatchewan Multiculturalism Act) in 1974. More than twenty years later, the province would have approved a completely new law on multiculturalism, adopted in 1997, which included the traditional definition of multiculturalism including some social justice issues. The law included a number of specific objectives, with the clear intention of directing toward particular local interest stories. The main goal was just to emphasize how the diversity of the population of Saskatchewan (regarding the differences of the place of birth, culture, origin) constitute the fundamental characteristic of the province.

Besides, encouraging respect for the cultural heritage of the province, creating a harmonious environment of cooperation and encouraging the development of a multicultural society.

Manitoba adopted the Manitoba Intercultural Council Act in 1984. In the Manitoba's province, the Council had to inform the government about ethno cultural matters (concerning education, human rights, immigration, media, communications and cultural heritage). A new law about multiculturalism was adopted in 1992. This new law established the Secretariat of multicultural affairs, this latter helps and suggests the minister in the way to best use the law.

Although Ontario adopted in 1977 an official multiculturalism policy, which favored the cultural activities of various ethnic groups, the official law on multiculturalism has had real difficulty in being applied, and it was not until half a decade, coming into force in 1982. *The Law about the ministry of civic and cultural Affairs* provided "recognizing the pluralistic nature of Ontario society, to stress the full participation of all Ontarians as equal members of the community, encouraging the sharing of cultural heritage while affirming those elements held in common by all residents".

When we talk about Québec, we refer to "interculturalism" in the sense that there is acceptance and interaction between the different groups. In 1981, a revolution began. In the person of the Minister of Cultural Communities and Immigration, the province has sought to declare a program of development goals with the clear objective of protecting cultural groups by fostering the integration of the same groups as one. Just a few years later, in detail it was back 1984, it was created an organism, which suggests and provides advice to the Minister about the development and implementation of government decisions concerning immigration and cultural communities. Two years later, the government condemned the discrimination and racism trying to field all those actions and resources – both economic and political - aimed at solving these problems. Not content with this, and as if to underline the strategic importance of the cultural wealth and all that from this it derives, in 2005, it was established a minister of Immigration and Cultural Communities. Two years later (in 2007), the government would have even created the advisory committee on integration practices related to cultural differences. All this effort, both political and legal, had reason to exist only and exclusively guaranteed by the noble aim of ensuring the cohesion of the people.

In 1986, the Policy on Multiculturalism was passed in New Brunswick. The policy is based on the values of "equality, appreciation and preservation of cultural heritages and participation".

In the late 1980s, the sensitivity to these issues had come to fruition: a community has been created to help the government in general management of the theme.

The year of the adoption of the Act to Promote and Preserve Multiculturalism is 1989. This is the act of Nova Scotia; it recognizes multiculturalism as a main feature of the society and it encourages the government to maintain a good and peaceful relation between the communities. The act provides the existence of a Cabinet Committee whose role is that of overseeing the application of the policy. This latter is informed and advised by the Multicultural Advisory Committee.

Prince Edward Island passed a Provincial Multiculturalism Act in 1988. The Act is based on four values: equality, appreciation, preservation and participation. The Minister of Tourism and Culture is responsible of multiculturalism and the Ministerial Advisory Committee informs it.

The policy on Multiculturalism based on the ideal of guiding the government programs and services, is the policy of the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador proposed in 2008. The main objectives of the Office of Immigration and Multiculturalism are those of promoting multicultural activities.

7. Legislative Action

The first important parliamentary action, which was adopted in Canada, was the Multiculturalism Act in 1988. As it was described above, among the different interests of the Act there was that of representing and protecting minorities granting them the same access - as the other citizens - to government institutions.

In 1991, the Parliament adopted the Canadian Heritage Languages Institute Act.

This Act has allowed the fervor that led to the creation of a Canadian Institute of patrimonial languages, set up with the clear intention of creating the procedure set rules for future teachers. The revolutionary creation lies in the fact that future teachers may follow rules and specific suggestions for teaching methods in multicultural key. However, the law was repealed in 2012 latest.

In the same year, the Parliament adopted the Canadian Race Relations Foundation Act in order to eliminate, as far as possible, racism and racial discrimination. As to achieve such a desire, there was the idea of teaching young people, since the very early age, how to behave with others without making discriminations and appreciating diversities. This is also the guiding principles behind the idea of instructing children at school, teaching them the “social studies”, essential as to better behave in modern societies.

In 1993 before being dismantled, the Standing Committee on Multiculturalism and Citizenship made a report suggesting new policies to be adopted with respect to multiculturalism.

8. Conclusions

After having analyzed the Canadian multiculturalism, as a whole, with its facts and figures and after having put the attention on the main legislative laws; in the next chapter it will be examined the social impact of multiculturalism in the continent. More attention will be focused on immigration and its consequences (racial discrimination, for instance) and it will be conducted a “cost-benefit” analysis. It is namely a deep study aimed at proposing and offering some consideration concerning the main advantages offered by this complex social fact, without omitting an analysis of all those disadvantages that must be considered (understanding disadvantages, it is crucial as to better get the sense of the social impact of multiculturalism). All these considerations will be supported by some examples of adopted multicultural policies with the aim of reducing inequalities and fighting discriminations in the course of time.

CHAPTER III

The applied multiculturalism and the current challenges

1. Canada: a multicultural country

As it has been argued so far, Canada has always been a multicultural country. Starting from the arrival of the English explorers, in the 18th Century, to the conquest for gold, in the 19th Century. Even the colonization of the West, between the end of the 19th Century and the beginning of the 20th, has contributed to make Canada one of the most opened country to immigration in the world. We can say that Canada has maintained such a “status” during the 1920s and after the Second World War.

Thus, it followed the creation and use of the “melting pot” concept because of the several ethno-cultural groups, which lived the continent. More precisely, the term appeared for the first time in 1938 with the publication of the *Canadian Mosaic: The Making of a Northern Nation*. This latter, written by John Murray Gibbon, expressed the idea according to which Canada could have generated profits from the cultural diversity of its various groups. The metaphor of the “cultural mosaic” has been readopted in 1965 by the sociologist John Porter. In his book, *Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada*, the author criticized the privileges of those people with British origins, opposed to the marginalization of the other ethnic groups.

Later on, at the end of the 1960s, some changes were realized with respect to the discrimination of some ethnic groups. In fact, several initiatives that encouraged racial discrimination were abolished. The year 1971 designs the beginning of a feature that will characterize Canada from that moment onward: the majority of immigrants does no longer belong to European origins¹⁹.

As it can be understood, the diversity has led and even today leads to forms of racial discrimination. That is why several programs – Stop Racism Campaign, for instance – have been realized to combat the prejudices and the hate. Some recent programs are focused on the resolution of problems affecting immigrants. These latter, give help to the new arrived with, for example, the professional accreditation and the access to the employment. There are also some multicultural programs devoted to the protection and teaching of the features determining ethnic groups – educational program for the promotion of the month of the Black history, for instance.

¹⁹ According to the Census of 2011, almost the 21% of the Canadians were born out of the country and the 93.5% were able to speak one of the two official languages, including their mother tongue.

Nevertheless, the multicultural programs adopted in the 1970s did not satisfy all the needs and necessities of immigrants because they were more focused on those groups with European origins and not on the “visible minorities” which were growing.

Anyway, the multicultural policies adopted to encourage multiculturalism were not appreciated by the entire society. Some Canadians, the French ones, looked at those programs as “dangerous”; according to their point of view only the French and British communities should be determined, not the minorities. The hostility and mistrust about multiculturalism were the result of ambiguities in the declarations of principles because of the existence of a thin difference between the cultural assimilation and the structural integration. In order not to have conflicts, precision is required.

As it is clear, multiculturalism is a complex and immense topic, which may lead to many discussions and considerations. Will Kymlicka and Charles Taylor have expressed their points of view about this sociological fact.

On the one hand, Kymlicka, has developed a typology of rights of minority groups including rights to the governmental autonomy, to special representation, polytechnic rights. In underlying these rights, he exposes three arguments: (i) the simple value of the cultural diversity, what he calls “the argument of the equality” – (ii) the idea that the cultural minorities are vulnerable to the assimilation without a special protection, and finally (iii) the role of the historical agreements. Hence, he believes inevitable and useful for the legislators to establish a distinction between the national minorities and the immigrant groups²⁰.

On the other hand, Taylor approaches himself to the topic from a philosophical point of view. He stressed the existence of two contradictory tendencies in the equality policies: (i) the conviction that everyone should be treated equally regardless of any difference and, (ii) the respect of the cultural particularity²¹.

²⁰ Will Kymlicka, 1995.

²¹ Charles Taylor, 1994.

2. The Canadian Migratory Policy

Because, as it has been written, Canada has been one of the most opened country to immigration in the world it has needed the use of a strong and effective migratory policy.

The Canadian Federal State has the duty and power to manage the migratory process from the beginning to the end.

Thus, the immigrant in order to enter the country needs to pass an English language test, before entering in a more complex and long process. If the “applicant” succeeds the test, she/he will receive all the documents necessary for the immigration. Then, once the administrative practices have been completed, the individual has to overcome some hurdles such as passing a medical visit, paying fees for the documents, providing his/her diplomas and proving the non-existence of a police record. Furthermore, the immigrant has to own a sum of 5000 Canadian dollars before his/her departure, this bunch of money, must be augmented of 2000 \$ for every single person who immigrates with him/her. If the individual is in the working category, she/he has to prove to have sufficient earnings necessary to survive within next six months. The entire process is long (sometimes it could even take one year or even more) because Canada does not accept the entirety of requests. Every year, federal services fix some of the acceptation quotas of the permanent residents and these plans are rigorously respected. The category of “permanent residents” is accepted according to the needs of the country.

Once the new permanent residents have been welcomed in Canada, they are not abandoned by the Federal State. Besides, they are sustained by some services, which facilitate their economic and social integration. That is why the Canadian migratory policy is said to follow immigrants from the beginning to the end.

As it has been argued, Canadian society is made up of several nationalities but the great number is represented by the English and French. Related to other countries, France for instance, Canada presents a different migratory policy. In order to enter the country, immigrants need to hold a visa (obtained by a French embassy) – there are different types of visa, accordingly to the travel reasons (work, study etc.). Once the visa has been obtained, the individual can enter France; she/he can ask for a “long stay visa” within two months. In order to obtain this kind of visa, the applicant needs to provide some administrative documents, to pay taxes and to have a valid passport.

The main and most important difference between Canada and France is that in the European country the immigrant remains an “external element”, it does not constitute in any manner a part of the state.

In fact, France is the product of a historical population, which has developed within the same historical and geographical traditions. It is a centralized country, which was able to maintain its different regions together all under a common power. It is, at the same time, a colonizer country imposing its own power over other countries. Hence, the “foreigner” coming from abroad is negatively perceived. Besides the French citizen does not belong to anything, is neutral and thus is the fruit of a personal history and culture. The entirety of his/her histories determine the choices of action of other individuals in the public sphere.

By contrast, Canada has been built thanks to immigration; hence, the permanent residents are not seen negatively but the other way around: they are considered as giving a positive support to the economy of the country. This is why, as it has been previously widely treated, that Canada has a pragmatic and strict management of immigration.

3. Canadian Cultural Diversity: from the first generations to the recent changes

Canada can be defined as ethnically heterogeneous because of its population: its citizens come from many diverse countries. The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism identified, in the 1960s, three main cultural identities populating Canada: the French, the British and other Canadians. Effectively and from an historical point of view, between 1896 and the beginning of the First World War Canada was inhabited by those belonging to of the previous first two “identities”. The Census data of Canada show an increase of the British and French – from 8.5 percent in 1901 to 14.2 percent in 1921 and in 1941 17.8 percent²². Between 1941 and 1961, the population still increased (22.6 percent in 1961)²³. The amount of immigrants with European origin continued to increase, it reached the 97 percent of the total of the population in 1961, and it was of 96 percent in 1971.

²² Kalbach, 1990: 24.

²³ Immigration Statistics, Employment and Immigration Canada, 1995.

3.1 The Turning Point

Until the Second World War and even after the Great War, Canada preferred to open its barriers to those immigrants coming from the United States of America, Great Britain or other European countries. Nevertheless, starting from the second half of the 20th Century (more precisely, in 1967) the continent adopted new migratory prerequisites: the selection was much stricter, choosing to focus it on those immigrants with educational and/or occupational abilities. Consequently, Canada got a higher number of “professionals”, particularly from the United States – between 1968 and 1986 the continent gained 16.349 immigrants in professional occupations²⁴. However, if the adoption of new criteria, on the one hand, led to the growth of the professional sector, on the other it led also to the loss of European immigrants (between 1968 and 1988 the rate of European immigrants lowered to 1.1 million)²⁵.

From that period onward, the “visible minorities” grew and became more and more relevant. Furthermore, the Employment Equity Act of 1986 recognized to those minorities the right to be employed, as one of the four designated groups of the country²⁶. The policy adopted in 1967 allowed peoples with Chinese, South Asian, Black, African origins to enter Canada. Again, the statistics counted an increase of minorities and a decrease of people with European origins - from 38 percent (1973-77) to 22.6 percent (1988-92)²⁷.

Due to continuous, and ever greater, flows of immigrants racial and ethnic diversities were perceived as negative and detrimental to Canada’s stability. This is why that new multicultural policies were introduced; above all, we have to mention the Multiculturalism Act. It was adopted in order to recognize to minorities their rights and to grant them their own protection. At the same time, one of the purposes of the Act was sensitize the acceptance of cultural diversities and building harmonization among the several ethnicities.

²⁴ Li, 1992a.

²⁵ Immigration Statistics, Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1995.

²⁶The four designated groups, defined by the act in 1986, were “women, aboriginal peoples, persons with disabilities and persons who are, because of their race or color, in a visible minority in Canada” (S.C., 1986, c.31, s. 3).

²⁷ Immigration Statistics, Employment and Immigration Canada, 1973-1991 Annual Edition; Immigration Statistics, Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1995.

4. Social Impact

After the analysis conducted so far, is multiculturalism a reason of unity or a cause of mistrust? It is inevitable that, due to its complexity, it generates some effects. In the pages that follow, we intend to offer a high view in respect of all those effects that are defined as positive, as well as negative ones.

One of the main negative effects may come from problems concerning immigration. More precisely, an important topic related to immigration is integration. Integration is a very important aspect of multiculturalism. With “developments”, we would refer to as whether minorities have experienced a feeling of attachment and of belonging to the country; in brief, whether they feel as Canadian citizens. When we think about immigration and integration, we should consider that both topics do not simply concern the difficulties and challenges that Canada has to face. In fact, first, we should clarify that the first shock is for immigrants; they may feel anxiety, confusion, uncertainty because they find themselves in a reality completely opposed to the one in which they were used to live. It is also for this reason that the host country should try to find solutions and to be comfortable. Canada has realized the MEP (multicultural education program) in order to facilitate the involvement of immigrants in the host national habits.

Diversity is perceived differently by the society accordingly to the dimension of integration.

Many times, there have been examples of inequalities and they exist even today. *Visible minorities*, above all, do experience inequalities.

4.1 Social Inequalities

Many are the injustices that minorities have suffered and still today they do experience them. These inequalities constitute a relevant goal to be solved by governmental institutions using adequate policies. Generally, discriminations go together with different life chances. In the following paragraphs, we will try to cite the most important.

Before moving into details, we deem necessary to highlight what is the most difficulty that Canadian multiculturalism can meet. It is very hard, in fact, to equally maintain on the one hand, the recognition of equal dignity and respect for each individual and, on the other, the recognition of the peculiarities of groups' identities. Moreover, this situation has become worse due to the role of globalization that has modified the relations between peoples and states. It had even underlined the need of new forms

of social and civic cohabitation²⁸. After having established and clarified this aspect, of pantagruelian importance, it is right to proceed with the analysis of which was mentioned earlier.

We should start from the analysis of economic inequalities. In fact, visible minorities have the lowest household incomes and the highest poverty rates²⁹. The data census of 1996 has revealed that people with West Asian origins earned \$6,993 below the national average as well as Black people (they earned \$5,310, also in this case below the national average)³⁰. This means that there were differences in the Canadian labor market. Nevertheless, the income rate of minorities has changed during time and immigrants' children have higher levels of income and education.

Among other difficulties, one of the hardest experienced by the Canadian federal state is that of recognizing autochthons communities. Sometimes they were considered as foreigners, separated by immigrants. For this reason, several actions have been taken in order to allow their integration. The community of autochthons were in danger. In fact, in the 1990s, many actions were taken in order to reduce the powers of those communities and favor the state. This is a relevant problem that Canada has to face and needs to solve.

Besides, minorities tend to be the easiest target of discrimination and they even often feel discomfort in social situations compared to the white counterpart – 42 percent of discrimination of immigrants' children; the rate lowers to 10 percent for whites³¹. Consequently, minorities are less involved and integrated in the society. Many of these forms of discrimination arise due to skin color reasons or for other superficial characteristics.

Some form of inequalities also come from difference of religion: the creed has opened debates, rather than inequalities. This topic refers, especially, to the Muslim religion. People practicing that religion constitute, now, the 2 percent of the population. In fact, Canada can boast of being one of those countries with the greatest concentration of Muslim refugees. The modern Canadian Muslim community is made up of a number of people who were born and grew in a Muslim environment, a number of a minority converted to Islam and a great number of Muslim population immigrated in Canada for heterogeneous reasons. The greatest number of Canadian Muslims is in the province of Ontario, above all in Toronto. Data reveal that, in 2001, almost 254.110 Muslims lived in the area of Greater Toronto³². Consequently, the debate is around whether the Muslim principles may collide with the values of the Canadian society and may, even, create conflicts (or put social cohesion under

²⁸ Caccamo and Ferrara, 1998.

²⁹ Statistics Canada, 1996 Census of Canada, Public Use Microdata File on Individuals, 1999.

³⁰ Statistics Canada, 1996 Census of Canada, Public Use Microdata File on Individuals, 1999.

³¹ Statistics Canada, 1996 Census of Canada, Public Use Microdata File on Individuals, 1999.

³² Census of Canada, 2001.

risk.) Nevertheless, Canadian Muslims feel integrated in the society (about 55 percent of the respondents), differently from the other Muslims in other countries of the world. Because of this strong Muslim attachment to Canada and its way of living, some Muslim rules have been “modified”. Muslim Canadian women, for instance, do not wear the headgear (57 percent), only the 38 percent uses the *hijab* and a small percentage uses the *niqab*. Why do then Canadian Muslims feel so different from their other compatriots? Because Canada adopts policies that contribute to their integration, one of them is “My Canada”. A project offers – addressed to young Muslims - the possibility of participating to activities concerning religious dialogue, education, peace and the analysis of possible solutions to conflicts.

All this written is a violation and infringement of the principle of equality among peoples. It is clear that there is a portion of the Canadian population, which still considers visible minorities as the major problem of immigration. Finally, any form of discrimination related to minorities do not produce positive results but only the fragmentation of the society. This is why, sometimes, multiculturalism has been recognized as the cause of implementing recognition of differences.

Then, in order to impede clashes, a higher number and more multicultural effective policies should be taken in order to eliminate, or at least reduce, diversity and to allow an ever spread and common cohesion. Among those policies or solutions that have been taken, as to ameliorate the existing situation, **we** should remember the fulfillment of “inclusive citizenship”. This latter should grant, immigrants, to integrate and feel part of the whole society. It is based on important values: recognition, participation, appreciation of differences and capacities and developing a feeling of belonging.

4.1.1 Racism

Among the inequalities, as mentioned above, racism constitutes one of the most recurrent one and it produces negative effects, such as the fragmentation of the society and non-integration of people in it. Racism can be defined as “*the belief that race is the primary determinant of human traits and capacities, and that racial differences produce an inherent superiority of a particular race*”³³. We can distinguish two racist concepts: “institutional racism” and “racialization”.

³³ Merriam-Webster Dictionary, 2008.

1) *Institutional Racism*

It refers to “the collective failure of an organization or social structure to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture or ethnic origin [...]”³⁴.

2) *Racialization*

It refers to “the social process whereby certain groups come to be designated as different and consequently subjected to differential and unequal treatment”³⁵.

Data help us in having an idea of how much spread is racial discrimination in Canada. Almost 20% of visible minorities, related to only 5% of non-visible minorities³⁶, have had proved discrimination or an infringement of the right of equality. How then can Canada solve this problem? Unfortunately, racism is one of the hardest and unsolved obstacle. However, some suggestions can be proposed: the use of Racial Impact Analyses in all governmental institutions. These latter examine the potential impact of specific policies, programs that may decrease the level of discrimination and disparities between citizens. The main goal, as well as that of multiculturalism, is to avoid people to feel out of the society, to feel alone or abandoned. Hence, multiculturalism working with social inclusion policies may eliminate discriminations or, at least, maintain cohesion.

4.2 Multicultural Advantages

Even if some negative effects have been presented, the majority of Canadians considers multiculturalism as a positive and constituting Canadian characteristic. Besides, Canadian people give importance and relevance to the integration of immigrants into the society as a whole. As it has been stressed out more than once in this work, multiculturalism but even the people’s openness for the involvement of immigrants into the society constitute a fundamental piece of the huge picture that is Canada. Hence, what has been described in the previous lines can be defined as *popular multiculturalism*, which in any way is opened to immigration policies. The fact that multiculturalism is so well welcomed means that there is enthusiasm for immigration and its consequences (social, political, economic etc.). That is why Canada’s multiculturalism is celebrated as one of the most effective and successful in the world.

³⁴ Macpherson, 1999: article 6.34.

³⁵ Galabuzi, 2004; 2006.

³⁶ Canadian Ethnic Diversity Survey, 2003.

The public support of immigration policy has some positive effects. On the one hand, the good impact of immigration on the society allows policy makers to maintain multicultural themes in popular discourse. On the other hand, because immigration is a sensitive topic and requires specific means and initiatives, the search and allocation of resources can be less controversial. Canada, concerning immigration, is completely involved in the realization of social integration. This has three main indicators: language acquisition, residential location and intermarriage³⁷. It is a matter of fact that - thanks to the treatment that Canada has reserved to immigrants- the more new comers stay in the country, the more they “build” a sense of belonging. In fact, people of third generations are characterized by a sense of belonging higher than that of “natives”³⁸. Thus, this feeling seems to reveal a good interpenetration between minorities and non-minorities and between the minority participation and civic associations.

Finally, it can be argued that Canadian effort about ethnic groups’ integration seems to be effective and efficient and it can even be argued that Canadians have learned to live with diversity, they do not believe anymore in immigrants as responsible of crimes.

5. Can then the Canadian multicultural model be considered successful?

We should answer positively to the question we find in the title above; the program has been successful. Immigrants have been welcomed into Canada and they have become part of it. By their own, immigrants have contributed to develop Canadian economy. Inevitably, the Multicultural Act has given immigrants a different “value and weight” in the society, granting them the respect of their rights and providing them the same opportunities of the “first inhabitants”. For instance, in the domain of employment, in 1951 (in Ontario) was introduced at the provincial level a fair employment practices legislation, which was extended to the federal level in 1964 (in Quebec)³⁹.

We should wrap up and say that multiculturalism has created, and today it is still continuing doing that, a number of considerations regarding it, from the most controversial to the simplest ones. As in any debate, there are those who can be considered as “supporters” and those, instead, who tend to underline the negative aspects. Starting from the former category it can be argued that supporters of

³⁷ Banting, Keith, Thomas Chourchene and Leslie Seidle, 2007.

³⁸ Banting and Soroka, 2007.

³⁹ Ronald, 1985.

Canadian multiculturalism believe that it has facilitated immigrants' integration without forcing them to choose between their "original identity" – together with their traditions - and their "new way of being". By contrast, the latter, considers that multiculturalism has produced a further division among groups focusing on the differences rather than on Canadian values. Of this opinion is Neil Bissoondath⁴⁰ who believes that the governmental promotion of multicultural diversity leads only to the birth of division. The author attributes to multiculturalism the cause of having originated ethno cultural groups' isolation. He argues – moreover – that that in the name of unity and cohesion, malcontent and hostility separate peoples and this leads to the raise of clashes among them.

By contrast, Kymlicka⁴¹ argues that there are no reasons that would have created disintegration among immigrants. He recognizes – indeed – that that multiculturalism programs produced important and successful results; they contributed to avoid discrimination among ethnic groups. What Kymlicka has stressed seems to be confirmed by a survey that revealed that multiculturalism was perceived as a core aspect of the Canadian society.

On the shade of Canadian multiculturalism's supporters, it is possible to add the fact that multicultural policies have contributed and were interested in producing an integration process among minorities and groups with different origins (cultural, religious, social etc.). In fact, if people do not discriminate minorities and their differences, it would be easier for the same minorities, as well as for immigrants, to integrate themselves in the society and in its customs. In this process, Canada results to be the country that "best performed"; people of new generations feel as part of the country, they do not perceive discriminations and they hold a strong sense of belonging to the Canadian country. Furthermore, among all multicultural countries in the world, in Canada there are less religious minority ghettos and less anti-Muslim sentiments. Thus, this reveals that Canadian multiculturalism provides integration at any level, thanks to the efforts lavished by the government and all its institutions.

As mentioned above, Kymlicka has been in favor of Canadian multiculturalism and this opinion can be better supported by mentioning some of his quotations about it. He argued that the Canadian multiculturalism was working because "*immigrant groups integrate more quickly and more effectively today than they did before the adoption of multiculturalism policy, and they do so more successfully in Canada than in any other country that does not have such a policy*"⁴². Kymlicka recognized the effectiveness and the productiveness of Canadian multiculturalism because of the

⁴⁰ Neil Bissoondath, 1994.

⁴¹ Will Kymlicka, 1998.

⁴² Will Kymlicka, 2011.

policies that the country adopted. With respect to it, he even argued “*Canadian multiculturalism has enhanced the political participation, equal opportunity and social acceptance of immigrants*”⁴³.

6. Conclusions

In brief, it can be argued that Canadian multiculturalism, as well as many other complex topics, presents inevitably some advantages and disadvantages. It can even be stated that, from the analysis that has been conducted, the positive aspects superseded the negative ones. In brief, Canadian multiculturalism can be defined as one of the most successful “model” in the world.

⁴³ Will Kymlicka, 2011.

CONCLUSIONS

As it has been stressed out in the entire thesis, multiculturalism is a complex topic. Many scholars have contributed in giving a definition of it. Many are the characteristics affecting it. Some definitions have been given – Fukuyama, Kymlicka, Taylor and others -, but none of them has been equal to the others. This because reveals the complexity and peculiarity of multiculturalism.

About the basic characteristics it has been highlighted the presence of many of them, but differently from the definitions, they seem to be a little bit more similar one with the others. Those features seem to differ, even if the same, according to the country in which multiculturalism takes place.

It has been mentioned the case of European multiculturalism (focusing, above all, on the German case) but also examples of world multiculturalism have been given. The interesting aspect is that, from the analysis conducted, Canadian multiculturalism opposed to the other examples seems to be the only successful one. Perhaps, because the country is in itself multicultural, it has always been the “home” for new comers – differently from Europe (that has started to receive immigrants, more massively, only in the recent periods).

Above all, what is important to underline is the fact that even if Canada presents a heterogeneous population – made up of a great number of ethnic minorities- was able and it is able to carry on, facing all the difficulties related to multiculturalism. This is maybe due to the existence of a well-structured governmental system, because of the participation of the people or because of the full involvement of federal authorities and even for the great number of programs aimed at granting the same possibilities to all citizens.

These are the main reasons that explain the success of Canada in managing immigration, disparities, differences, integration etc., in a word multiculturalism. These are also the main differences that Canada presents with the other, not all, failing multicultural countries.

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INTRODUZIONE

Il seguente lavoro prevede la trattazione del Multiculturalismo in tutte le sue caratteristiche, presentandone le varie definizioni che ne sono state date e soffermandosi sulla sua evoluzione e sugli aspetti che lo caratterizzano e lo hanno caratterizzato in passato. Gran parte della trattazione verte sull'analisi del multiculturalismo canadese e sulla sua evoluzione storica e sociale, facendo luce sulle principali politiche multiculturali che sono state adottate nel tempo. Una analisi approfondita è stata svolta anche rispetto al tema dell'impatto sociale dello stesso multiculturalismo: gli aspetti positivi e negativi (discriminazione, razzismo e inuguaglianze sociali, per fare degli esempi) che ne derivano.

CAPITOLO I

MULTICULTURALISMO: “VECCHIO E NUOVO MONDO”

Con il termine multiculturalismo, argomento analizzato da molti studiosi ed in molte discipline – comprese le Scienze umane, tra cui la Scienza Politica - ci si riferisce solitamente a quel fenomeno che riguarda paesi che nella loro storia e realtà sono stati influenzati da elementi provenienti da minoranze etniche, linguistiche, religiose etc..

Quanto alla sua evoluzione, molte sono state le fasi. Come accennato precedentemente, il multiculturalismo è stato da sempre oggetto di interesse di studio ma, più esattamente, possiamo individuare negli anni Ottanta l'inizio dell'analisi ad esso relativa. Più precisamente, il fenomeno fonda le prime radici negli anni Sessanta con i movimenti studenteschi e si afferma, in particolar modo, prima in America e successivamente in Europa. Senza dubbio la globalizzazione e l'azione di molteplici gruppi e fattori hanno contribuito all'affermazione e stabilizzazione del multiculturalismo. Si tratta, di fatto, di una situazione in cui in una determinata società coesistono elementi autoctoni affiancati da un ampio numero di minoranze di varia natura: etniche, linguistiche etc.. I paesi che si possono definire multiculturali sono, quindi, generalmente più aperti ed attenti al rispetto dell'individuo che può essere percepito come “altro”. Sempre più, nel tempo, i governi sono intervenuti per cercare di creare una maggiore e perfetta integrazione tra immigrati e abitanti locali, di accettare le diversità e di approcciarsi ad esse positivamente, attraverso programmi *ad hoc*.

Molteplici sono le interpretazioni che vengono date del multiculturalismo ma tra tutte lo studio si sofferma su due di queste: l'interpretazione *liberale* e quella *repubblicana*.

L'approccio *liberale* presenta il multiculturalismo come in grado di gestire le diversità culturali presenti tra i gruppi per permettere alle minoranze una vera e completa integrazione. Dall'altro lato, l'approccio *repubblicano*, sposta il multiculturalismo dalla sfera sociale a quella politica il cui obiettivo centrale sarebbe quello di trasformare gli interessi dei singoli gruppi in interessi comuni. Ne consegue, inevitabilmente, una lotta tra gli individui per il proprio riconoscimento.

Fatta questa premessa, ci si domanda quali possano essere i paesi nel mondo da ritenersi multiculturali. Per riportare degli esempi, si può citare il caso degli Stati Uniti d'America. Questi ultimi descrivono il multiculturalismo come caratteristica intrinseca nel popolo americano: infatti la presenza, da sempre, di varie minoranze etniche ha portato alla formazione di uno stile completamente americano, il famoso "melting pot". Tuttavia sembrerebbe che il multiculturalismo americano abbia delle falle: mancherebbe infatti nel garantire e proteggere i diritti proprio di quelle minoranze che sostiene tenere in considerazione come il resto della popolazione. I fatti del 2001 hanno certamente influito sulla politica americana in merito, causando un arresto, più o meno temporaneo, nella realizzazione di programmi a favore delle differenze multiculturali.

Altro esempio importante è quello dell'India. Questo paese infatti ha sempre dimostrato di essere dimora di molte differenze non soltanto religiose ma anche etniche e linguistiche che convivono pacificamente. Le sue fondamenta sono proprio queste: le diversità del suo popolo cui l'attenzione dello stato non manca di offrire, nei casi di maggior disagio, la possibilità di uscire da situazioni di povertà e miseria.

Rispetto all'Europa invece, il termine multiculturalismo risulta essere definito da linee che sono imprecise ed equivoche. Dal momento che l'Europa, diversamente dai paesi sopra citati, presenta una storia alla cui base non ci sono immigrazioni ma popolazioni autoctone e fortemente radicate nel territorio di appartenenza, ha dovuto far fronte all'entrata di minoranze etniche adottando politiche multiculturali. Tuttavia, in virtù della sua inesperienza, spesso quelle politiche si sono rivelate controproducenti o errate. È per questa ragione che, in genere, il modello di multiculturalismo europeo viene valutato come fallito. Guardiamo ad esempio alla storia della Germania, il paese europeo con il maggior tasso di immigrati. Dal momento che intorno agli anni Cinquanta la Germania aveva bisogno di manodopera, aprì i suoi confini ed offrendo un impiego a molti, vide il trasferimento di numerosi stranieri nelle sue terre. Tuttavia quei "nuovi abitanti" erano ritenuti dal paese tedesco come lavoratori temporanei che, prima o poi, avrebbero lasciato la Germania. Per questo motivo, il paese non ha mai realmente integrato le minoranze tanto da definirle "straniere". Lo scarso impegno

e desiderio dello stato si è manifestato, infatti, nell'adozione di politiche sbagliate che hanno ostacolato l'adattamento dei nuovi arrivati alla società. Si parla, in questo caso, di multiculturalismo fallito.

In sintesi, il fallimento del modello multiculturale europeo può essere spiegato facendo alcune considerazioni. In primo luogo, l'Europa si è trovata ad affrontare il problema e la gestione dei flussi migratori ma non essendo mai esistiti dei parametri e delle regolamentazioni in merito, non ha mai trovato un valido modo per risolvere la questione. Altro motivo che spiega il fallimento europeo consiste nel basso tasso di nascite, la Germania tra tutti i paesi europei è quello con i dati inferiori. Conseguentemente, per soddisfare le richieste della società spesso i paesi europei sono costretti a ricercare manodopera e/o lavoratori stranieri per supplire alla mancanza di popolazione interna. Infine, l'evidenza della cattiva conduzione di tutto quanto riguardava la "questione migratoria" ha portato l'Europa ad effettuare politiche multiculturali, forse troppo tardi, che si sono rivelate inappropriate.

Rispetto a quanto scritto, come può essere valutato il Canada? È da ritenersi un paese multiculturale o simile all'Europa? L'esperienza multiculturale europea è considerata da molti come non riuscita e, in taluni casi, origine di discriminazioni. Il Canada, come l'America, è stata da sempre un paese multietnico e per molti aspetti è considerato il prototipo del multiculturalismo: diversamente dall'Europa ha saputo e sa valorizzare le differenze presenti rendendole parti integranti della società. Ciò che più differenzia il modello canadese da quello europeo consiste nel fatto che si tratta di una società con il suo bagaglio culturale ed etnico, alla base della quale esistono rispetto e riconoscimento.

CAPITOLO II

IL CASO: IL MULTICULTURALISMO CANADESE

L'elemento che tra tutti contraddistingue il multiculturalismo Canadese dal resto del mondo è rappresentato dal fatto che tutti i cittadini (immigrati ed abitanti locali) sentono di far parte di una sola comunità, si sentono cittadini canadesi e vedono riconosciuti i loro diritti insieme alle diversità. Inoltre, tutti i cittadini sono considerati uguali di fronte alla legge e sono invitati a partecipare attivamente alla vita politica e sociale della nazione.

Il concetto di multiculturalismo, come già accennato, è piuttosto complesso e per questa ragione verranno riportate tre definizioni che meglio lo delineano. Il multiculturalismo può intendersi come *fenomeno sociologico*, quando si riferisce alla presenza di persone con diversità etniche e sociali;

come *ideologia*, rispetto all'esistenza di idee ed ideali legati alla diversità culturale canadese ed, infine, come *politica* atta a risolvere questioni legate alla diversità culturale.

Il Canada è sempre stato un paese multiculturale, oggetto di interesse per colonizzatori e immigrati. Inizialmente la sua popolazione era costituita da Meticci, Inuit ed altre popolazioni locali presto soggiogate dai conquistatori Europei (prima Francesi – nel XVII secolo - e poi Inglesi, nel secolo successivo). Rispetto all'evoluzione sociale e storica verificatasi in Canada, possiamo identificare tre momenti: *la fase iniziale* (fase precedente al 1971), *il periodo formativo* (1971-1981) e *l'istituzionalizzazione* (dal 1982 ad oggi).

Soffermandoci sul primo periodo è possibile delinearne le caratteristiche centrali. Fino al 1947, anno del *Canadian Citizenship Act*, gli abitanti del paese erano classificati come inglesi mentre a partire da quell'anno i cittadini furono intesi come Canadesi. La seconda fase è invece caratterizzata da una importante svolta: furono annessi alla popolazione canadese e quindi considerati canadesi anche i non Aborigeni, non francesi e non inglesi. Questo passo anticipò l'introduzione, nel 1971, della *Multiculturalism Policy*, il cui obiettivo centrale era quello di abbattere le barriere culturali e garantire una completa integrazione. Gli anni Ottanta (caratterizzanti l'ultima fase) hanno comportato l'implementazione di politiche e pratiche multiculturali allo scopo di fronteggiare al meglio un sempre crescente numero di flussi migratori; a tal riguardo, di indiscussa importanza e centralità fu il 1988, anno di adozione de il *Canadian Multiculturalism Act*.

Più precisamente e scendendo nei particolari questo atto si sviluppa intorno a due obiettivi: quello di promuovere la diversità e quello di riconoscere il multiculturalismo come elemento sociale. Esso si prefigge di garantire la libertà dei cittadini e di promuoverne e proteggerne il bagaglio culturale (sociale, economico etc.). L'atto riconosce la presenza di una collettività fatta di persone, garantisce uguale trattamento, medesimi riconoscimenti e protezione di fronte alla legge e soprattutto identifica il multiculturalismo come eredità ed, insieme, identità canadese. La svolta del 1988 ha aperto la strada, più di prima, all'adozione di pratiche e soluzioni che potessero rendere la vita dei cittadini migliore; ad esempio si è decisa la costruzione di un dipartimento per il multiculturalismo e la cittadinanza nonché la realizzazione di molteplici programmi quali la comunità di supporto e partecipazione.

La questione del multiculturalismo è complessa *ex se* ma anche rispetto all'applicazione dei programmi ad esso relativi nelle varie province canadesi. Il Canada ha lasciato una certa libertà alle proprie province nell'attuazione di tali politiche. Ad esempio, in Ontario, il ministero degli affari civili e dell'immigrazione è responsabile dell'integrazione sociale, della sua promozione e protezione. La provincia di Alberta ha adottato la prima politica multiculturale nel 1984 riconoscendo a tutti i

suoi abitanti i medesimi diritti e benefici. Più tardi, nel 1993, è stato adottato il *Multiculturalism Act* dalla Colombia Britannica. Quest'ultimo prevede che il governo si impegni ad attuare programmi e politiche che siano sensibili al tema del multiculturalismo. Nella provincia di Manitoba, ad esempio, è compito del Consiglio occuparsi ed informare il governo delle questioni etnoculturali. La Nuova Scozia e il Nuovo Brunswick si sono mosse in questo ambito a partire dalla fine degli anni Ottanta. Entrambe le province con le rispettive politiche si sono impegnate, e continuano a farlo, nel riconoscere e promuovere pari diritti ed uguaglianza a tutti i cittadini. La provincia de l'isola del Principe Edoardo ha adottato il suo atto multiculturale nel 1988 fondato sui valori di uguaglianza, preservazione, integrazione e partecipazione. Infine il caso del Québec. Quest'ultimo, nel 1981, ha adottato un programma finalizzato a proteggere i diversi gruppi culturali e a garantirne l'integrazione. Qualche anno più tardi, il governo ha condannato la discriminazione e il razzismo e nel 2005 è stato costituito un ministero per l'immigrazione ed i gruppi culturali.

Sul piano nazionale, dopo il *Canadian Multiculturalism Act* altre importanti iniziative sono state realizzate ed a titolo di esempio ricordiamo il *Canadian Heritage Languages Institute Act*. Quest'ultimo prevede la realizzazione dei programmi di insegnamento per i futuri insegnanti affinché possano improntarlo "multiculturalmente". Nel 1991, il *Canadian Race Relations Foundation Act* prevedeva di eliminare la discriminazione razziale ed il razzismo ed insegnare alle nuove generazioni come comportarsi apprezzando la diversità.

Quanto è stato descritto dimostra l'impegno e l'azione attiva del governo canadese e di tutte le sue province ed organi. Essi hanno dimostrato e dimostrano di essere intenzionati a realizzare dei programmi e dei progetti che possano consentire un pari riconoscimento di diritti e opportunità evitando che le discriminazioni dividano la collettività. Questa caratteristica, insieme alle altre, dimostra la diversità del multiculturalismo canadese da quello degli altri paesi.

CAPITOLO III

IL MULTICULTURALISMO APPLICATO E LE SFIDE PRESENTI

L'apertura canadese verso l'altro non è sempre stata vista positivamente da tutta la popolazione. Questo ha originato discriminazioni tra la popolazione rispetto alle minoranze. Nei primi secoli di formazione del paese i canadesi aventi origini francesi non apprezzavano l'ingresso di nuovi abitanti che con loro portavano le proprie usanze ed abitudini. Ritenevano inoltre che i programmi e le politiche multiculturali messe in atto fossero pericolose e che soltanto quei canadesi con origini

francesi ed inglesi potessero essere cittadini. Questa convinzione derivava dal fatto che a partire dal 1986 fino alla Seconda Guerra Mondiale, il Canada era stato abitato da persone con origini europee (francesi ed inglesi soprattutto) o provenienti dagli Stati Uniti d'America. Tuttavia, a partire dalla metà del ventesimo secolo la nazione decise di aprire i propri confini a tutti coloro che fossero dotati di abilità lavorative o che avessero un alto livello di istruzione. Conseguentemente, il numero delle varie minoranze definite “visibili” crebbe a dismisura. Questa decisione portò da un lato ad una maggiore preparazione (lavorativa e professionale), dall'altro la popolazione di origine europea diminuì.

Una politica adottata nel 1967 riconobbe la possibilità di accesso in Canada anche a cinesi, sud asiatici, neri, africani e molti altri. Questo portò la maggior parte della popolazione a pensare che la diversità potesse essere dannosa per il paese e anche pericolosa. Per questa ragione fu applicato un numero più elevato di programmi e politiche multiculturali che riconoscessero i diritti delle minoranze e permettessero di garantire loro una perfetta integrazione.

Tuttavia, per quanto si sia cercato di far fronte a potenziali difficoltà, non sono mancate e non mancano discriminazione ed inuguaglianze. Tra queste possiamo citare quelle economiche: le minoranze etniche sembrerebbero guadagnare meno e avere minori opportunità lavorative se paragonate a quelle degli abitanti locali. Tra le altre forme di ingiustizia, spesso le minoranze sono oggetto di discriminazione (per ragioni di culto, di lingua o del colore della pelle) provocando così una sensazione di alienazione e distacco dalla società. Quanto descritto può essere supportato dai dati: il 20 % delle minoranze “visibili” testimonia di aver subito forme di discriminazione o violazioni dei principali diritti, tra cui quello di uguaglianza.

Uno dei più grandi e massicci problemi è costituito dal razzismo. Una soluzione potrebbe essere l'adozione dei *Racial Impact Analyses*: programmi che analizzano il potenziale impatto di alcune politiche evidenziando i possibili esiti in merito alla riduzione del razzismo tra la popolazione.

Rispetto alle discriminazioni di credo religioso bisogna sottolineare il fatto che il Canada sia uno dei paesi al mondo con il più elevato tasso di rifugiati musulmani. La comunità islamica canadese è costituita da persone musulmane, da altre con origini musulmane o semplicemente da persone convertite all'Islamismo. La più grande densità musulmana è presente a Toronto (circa 254.000 nel 2011). Qualcuno potrebbe interrogarsi sulla eventuale conflittualità tra società canadese e valori musulmani ma sembra siano preoccupazioni inutili dal momento che i musulmani in Canada si sentono molto integrati nella collettività e per questa ragione hanno adattato alcuni aspetti della loro religione al nuovo stile di vita (ad esempio l'utilizzo del velo per le donne). Ecco un'ulteriore prova

e conferma della validità dei piani, programmi e politiche volti all'integrazione e che mettono al riparo da conflitti socio-religiosi.

Sebbene siano state presentate le caratteristiche e conseguenze negative che possono derivare dal multiculturalismo, dobbiamo ricordare che il Canada è uno dei paesi più aperti e bendisposti ad accogliere gli stranieri. La maggior parte della popolazione, infatti, si impegna ogni giorno per poter offrire agli immigrati una migliore e completa integrazione nella società. Per questa ragione si può parlare di *multiculturalismo popolare* cioè un entusiasmo e un impegno esercitati dalla popolazione proprio per accogliere i "nuovi arrivati". Senza dubbio, un importante elemento utile alla integrazione fra popoli è una più equa e diffusa collocazione e distribuzione delle risorse. I tre fattori anche consentono una completa e piena integrazione nella società sono: acquisizione della lingua, residenza e matrimonio misto. È attraverso questi tre riconoscimenti che gli immigrati possono sentirsi parte della collettività e nuovi canadesi.

Possiamo quindi, senza dubbio, affermare che il multiculturalismo canadese sia stato e continui ad essere vincente. Una tra le caratteristiche che lo differenzia dagli altri paesi consiste nel fatto che il beneficio tra Canada ed immigrati è stato reciproco. Essi hanno contribuito notevolmente alla crescita economica del paese, che li ha ricambiati accogliendoli come nuovi cittadini e senza costringerli a scegliere tra la loro identità originaria e quella acquisita. Grazie alle fruttuose politiche multiculturali adottate su diversi e molteplici piani, il Canada è uno dei paesi con il numero inferiore di minoranze religiose ghettizzate. Si può quindi dire che la nazione abbia trovato le più forti ed efficienti soluzioni per una convivenza pacifica e serena. Inoltre il fatto che il paese controlli in modo severo ed attento gli ingressi di nuovi immigrati non fa che confermare che le politiche migratorie sono molto valide ed efficienti. Queste ultime prevedono che il nuovo cittadino superi un test di lingua inglese e solo dopo riceva i materiali per la pratica di immigrazione. Una volta che la parte amministrativa è stata completata, l'individuo deve sottoporsi ad una visita medica, fornire diplomi o/e attestati e pagare tutti i costi dei documenti. La persona deve anche possedere 5000 dollari canadesi prima della sua partenza e se si tratta di un lavoratore deve poter dimostrare di essere in grado di mantenere sé e le persone con le quali viaggia. La procedura segue degli altri passaggi ma quelli descritti sono i requisiti principali. Bisogna aggiungere, prima di concludere, che diversamente dagli altri paesi (come la Francia) il cittadino non viene abbandonato ma viene attentamente seguito: "i nuovi canadesi" hanno a disposizione dei servizi che facilitano la loro integrazione economica e sociale.

CONCLUSIONI

Dall'analisi che è stata condotta in tutta la trattazione possiamo affermare che il Canada, diversamente da esempi di multiculturalismo deboli o falliti in altri paesi del mondo, risulta essere uno dei migliori. Questo può essere supportato maggiormente dalla presentazione degli effetti prodotti da tale fenomeno sulla popolazione. Come tutti i fenomeni sociali, il multiculturalismo canadese ha presentato e presenta aspetti negativi ma soprattutto positivi come è stato evidenziato particolarmente negli ultimi paragrafi.