Canadian Multiculturalism:
The significance of being official policy

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Abstract: This article traces the history of Canadian multiculturalism and examines how multiculturalism became a strong component of Canadian heritage. What makes Canadian multiculturalism unique is that it is not only a philosophy but an official policy of the Canadian government. The declaration of multiculturalism as national policy, triggered numerous debates the public sphere. The government has explained the legitimacy of the policy repeatedly, in the context of social policies and jurisprudence. Interactions among government, academics, ethnic groups, journalists and citizens over multiculturalism as a form of deliberative democracy are converted into collective memory, which make multiculturalism an identity of Canadian people.
Keywords: multiculturalism, Canada, official policy, liberalism, social construction, deliberative democracy.

Introduction

Canada was the first county to proclaim multiculturalism as official policy. Multiple arguments regarding multiculturalism have been produced all over the world, because it has provided countries with a way to manage diverse society. Canadian sociologists Fleras and Elliott defined multiculturalism as "a technique for engaging diversity as different yet equal". This definition might be shared among any countries. But they also indicate that there are different levels of multiculturalism "from a fact or an ideology to a policy or practice" [Fleras and Elliott 1999:438]. Owing to such multiplicity of definitions, many countries have accepted multiculturalism in different ways.

Australia abandoned its White Australia Policy and introduced an official multiculturalism policy following Canada in 1973. The United States is well known for its melting pot ideology or cultural pluralism, but multiculturalism is regarded as a radical one which causes cultural wars and cleavages between ethnic groups. France gives priority to universal rights and prefers to use the term "right of difference" instead of multiculturalism. Britain tolerates diverse cultures and adopts multicultural policy especially in educational field. Germany has discussed multiculturalism since 1990s and developed multilingual education so as to lead immigrants to mastering German and to integrate them into society.

Generally most countries foster tolerance to ethnic cultures under an unofficial form of multiculturalism. Australian multiculturalism is official, but is not totally the same as Canadian multiculturalism. Unlike Australian multiculturalism, Canadian multiculturalism entrenches itself in Acts and the Constitution. Though the Australian government places it in social services, Canadian government places it in citizenship or heritage.

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After the 9/11 attack and subsequent ethnic incidents such as 2005 French Riots and London bombings, the backlash toward multiculturalism increased intensely. One after another, western political leaders have mentioned the failure of multiculturalism. In 2010 German Chancellor Angela Merkel stated that multiculturalism has "utterly failed". The next year British Prime Minister (PM) David Cameron, French president Nicolas Sarkozy and Dutch Interior Minister Piet Hein Donner expressed agreement with her opinion. Spain's ex-PM José María Aznar and Australia's ex-PM John Howard also reached the same conclusion. Their remarks heated arguments on multiculturalism in western societies.

While multiculturalism was condemned in European countries, Canadian government made it clear that they keep multiculturalism as a fundamental characteristic of Canadian society. *Annual Report on the Operation of the Canadian Multiculturalism Act 2010-2011* refers to such debates in Europe and acknowledges that Canada is not an exception. But the report maintains "unlike other countries, Canada's approach to diversity is embedded in a broad legislative framework and is supported by policies, programs and services developed and delivered by all levels of government across Canada," and "the Canadian approach to diversity has encouraged the evolution of a dynamic, successful and highly diverse society, which Canadians cite with pride." [11]

What distinguish Canada from other countries? The most significant factor is that Canadian multiculturalism has official status. The official multiculturalism policy, formally "multiculturalism within a bilingual framework", was declared by PM Pierre Elliott Trudeau in 1971. As noted later, this declaration meant a change in the image of the nation. Historically, dualism and federalism are the dominant concepts signifying the structure of Canada, denoting whether Canada consists of French society (Quebec) and English society (other provinces and territories) or 10 equal provinces. Announcing multiculturalism was essentially a denial of the dualist claim, even though it was recognized linguistically. Multiculturalism has been concerned with to the issue of national unity in Canada from the beginning.

The declaration triggered national public debates on multiculturalism between critics and advocates. The government has explained the legitimacy of the policy repeatedly and put it into the shape of public policy correlated with social policies and jurisprudence. In fact the earliest multiculturalism was nothing more than a second series of programs that the government provided for immigrants and ethnic groups after World War II. In 1971, however, the term multiculturalism policy appeared and programs were integrated under that category.

As Berger and Luckmann explained, language and knowledge are institutionalized, justified and embedded in society as social reality through persons and groups interacting over time. This language and knowledge are internalized into individuals and has an effect on their identity [Berger and Luckmann 1966]. It also can be said that multiculturalism as the process of social construction is a form of deliberative democracy. Having been the subject of substantial debates in Canada over 40 years makes multiculturalism a symbol, memory and identity shared by Canadians.

This article sheds light on Canadian multiculturalism which provides "a template" for intercultural education. Thornhill explains "Multiculturalism has formatted and pre-determined the nature and quality of both the philosophy and the praxis" of intercultural education in Canada. Then he suggests that before focusing on intercultural education in Canada, we should "open up a window on the background of Multiculturalism" because "in this country, it is the practice of Multiculturalism as

national policy that has set the stage for multicultural and intercultural education" [Thornhill 1999:81].[2]

In this context, this essay traces history of Canadian multiculturalism as official policy and examines how it became a strong component of the Canadian heritage. After the Trudeau era, the Liberal Party was deprived of its power by the Progressive Conservative (PC) Party of Brian Mulroney in 1984, then it retook the reins of government under Jean Chretien in 1993. The following sections will examine the background of the birth of multiculturalism, policy, and discourse in the days from Trudeau's declaration to the Chretien government (1971-2003), when major modifications of the policy were made.

Shift an image of Canada: from dual society to multi society

Multiculturalism became official policy of federal government of Canada when PM Trudeau made a statement in the House of Commons on October 8, 1971. He declared to implement "a policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework" and presented four principles of the policy: providing support for development of cultural groups, promotion of social participation of members of cultural groups and of an interchange among cultural groups, and for acquirement of official languages [House of Commons *Debates* October 8 1971, pp.8545-8546].

Intriguingly, only two years before the Trudeau statement, the federal government admitted that Canada is a bicultural society. From 1963 to 1969, the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (RCBB) had been established to discuss how to provide equal status for Anglophone and Francophone. RCBB published 6 volumes of reports dealing with official languages (Book I), education (Book II), work world (Book III), cultural contribution of the other ethnic groups (Book IV), federal capital (Book V), and voluntary associations (Book VI). All of a sudden, Trudeau made a statement of multiculturalism as a response to Book IV on Canadian citizens with non-French or non-British cultural backgrounds.

Generally the reason of Trudeau's decision has been explained in two ways. On the one hand, Trudeau wanted to undermine the separatist power of Quebec. In the1960s, as a new Quebec Liberal government enacted some social reforms, demands for independence increased. The radical separatist group FLQ (Front de libération du Québec) escalated its terrorist acts into the October Crisis of 1970. Trudeau demonstrated his unwillingness to give in to terrorists by introducing his multiculturalism policy [Isajiw 1983]. On the other hand, he complied with the request of ethnic groups other than English and French on behalf of a vote [Hawkins 1991]. Moreover some arguments described that it was policy of appeasement between French and other ethnic groups [Kallen 1982].

Reading his writings, however, Trudeau should have proposed multiculturalism in accordance with his belief in a just society. He was born and grew up in the suburbs of Montreal, Quebec in 1919. After he studied politics in United States, France, and Great Britain, he joined activities to establish a new government to secularize and modernize Quebec, intellectually as an editor of *Cité Libre* and practically as a lawyer of the labour movement. Trudeau and his colleagues seemed to achieve their objective when the Lesage Liberal government came to power of Quebec in 1960. But due to the unexpected secession movement, he decided to go into the

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[2] *UNESCO Guidelines on Intercultural Education* describes "interculturality presupposes multiculturalism" [UNESCO 2006:17] as well.

federal political arena, so that stronger federal power would offset Quebec nationalism.

Why did Trudeau oppose Quebec's secession from Canada? The reason was expressed in a phrase "just society," which was a keyword of his philosophy as well as his slogan for the 1968 federal election. It was a society in which every person could show his/her own potentiality, that is, a society in which self-fulfillment was possible, individual freedom was established, and equality of opportunity was put into practice. Trudeau's philosophy based on individualism and liberalism could not allow nationalism based on ethnicity, as demanded by Quebec. Citizens should be equal regardless of ethnic origin. So he thought nation and ethnicity should be separate and Canada should be a poly-ethnic, pluralistic society. Canada was an experimental model for Trudeau to create an ideal nation [Trudeau 1968, 1992, 1993]. He thought securing freedom and individual rights was the role of the nation. It was natural for Trudeau to introduce multiculturalism officially.

Anthony D. Smith says there are ethnic origins of nations [Smith 1986], but is ethnic diversity the origin of the Canadian nation? Canada established its own identity by emphasizing a difference from the United States. The symbolic term is a "Canadian mosaic". John M. Gibbon wrote *Canadian Mosaic* in 1939, describing immigrants' aspirations to contribute to build a new north nation. Mosaic became an important self-image for Canadians, in comparison with the American "melting pot;" it appeared later in the speeches of politician as a symbol of Canadian society or as a policy model. The mosaic metaphor has been inherited as "memory" to mean a Canadian pride, and since 1970s it has meant Canadians' commitment to multiculturalism [Fleras and Elliott 1992:317].[3]

Trudeau's multiculturalism statement was the presentation of the idea, not the concrete policy. He never made remarks on multiculturalism again, not even in his 1993 *Memoirs*. In addition, he did not show his intention to engage in multiculturalism policy administration. Consequently some scholars asserted that Trudeau was indifferent to multiculturalism [Lupul 1982]. However, the important thing is that Trudeau declared formally in a logical manner that Canada was multi-society and the federal government would take initiative in the policy.

The government and the policy

The federal government developed six policy programs following Trudeau's multiculturalism declaration in the House of Commons. The programs are: (i) to subsidize multicultural activities of the ethnic voluntary group, (ii) to begin research about the role of the non-official language, (iii) to edit the history book on the ethnic group, (iv) to proceed study on ethnic society, (v) to support the official language education of the emigrant child, (vi) to proceed display and collection focused on ethnic diversity at federal cultural agency [*Debates* October 8 1971, pp.8580-8585]. The announcement of multiculturalism was received favorably in Canada, other than in Quebec.

The Citizenship Branch of the Secretary of State was established as the responsible department. The predecessor of this branch was Nationalities Branch founded in the National War Services in 1942 in order to encourage the war efforts of immigrants. The above six programs were an extension of policies that were

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[3] Quite a few scholars focused on this subject, for example, Lipset "Mosaic and Melting Pot", Porter "Melting Pot or Mosaic: Revolution or Reversion?", and Palmer "Mosaic versus Melting Pot?: Immigration and Ethnicity in Canada and the United States" [Lipset 1991, Porter 1987, Palmer 1976].

implemented by Citizenship Branch after WWII[4]. When one year had passed after Trudeau's statement, the Multiculturalism Directorate and the new Minister of State for Multiculturalism (multiculturalism minister) was established. Though the department to which multiculturalism section belongs has changed from Secretary of State, Department of Multiculturalism and Citizenship (1991-1993), Department of Canadian Heritage (1993-2008) to Department of Citizenship and Immigration (2008-), the minister has been appointed continuously.

It is said that multicultural policies of the Trudeau period were characterized by lower attention level in the Cabinet and a vague policy [Jaworsky 1979]. However, once government declared the policy and appointed the minister, programs would develop. As the first multiculturalism minister, a MP (Member of Parliament) of Polish descent established the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism. Consisting of representatives of ethnic groups, the new Council increased the budget for multiculturalism and expanded six policy programs. The original multiculturalism policy placed emphasis mainly on promotion of cultural diversity, with emphasis on subsidies for ethnic culture and art.

The second minister shifted the focus from the first of four principles, support for development of ethnic groups, to other principles, including support for social participation, cultural interchange and acquirement of official languages. Afterwards, in the 1980s, multiculturalism placed importance on the elimination of discrimination against visible minorities. Along with the increase of immigrants from Asia, West Indies and South America, the violence against them or collision between them and the police began to occur frequently[5]. In 1981, a race relations research unit was established in the multiculturalism section and the multiculturalism minister specified that racism was the priority of multiculturalism policy [*Toronto Star* 23 July 1983].

In the parliament, interparty MPs discussed policy and programs to promote a reconciling of the relationship between visible minorities and other Canadians. Among 80 recommendations of the 1984 report entitled *Equality Now!*, was a proposal for an independent Ministry of Multiculturalism to take leadership in providing financial and practical support for increasing the social participation of visible minorities and expanding research on race relations [House of Commons 1984]. It was related to the 1986 Employment Equity Act, which regulates affirmative action for women, the disabled, Aboriginal people and visible minorities. In the beginning of the 1980s, multiculturalism program had started to focus on immigrant women who suffered a double disadvantage. This trend means multiculturalism was associated with not only cultural retention, but social justice as well. When in 1988 the Canadian government apologized and compensated for the Japanese Canadian internment of WWII, it was the multiculturalism minister who negotiated with the National Association of Japanese Canadians (NAJC).

The Canadian government has often maintained that multiculturalism is the policy for all Canadians, not just for ethnic groups. The Mulroney government adopted the term "mainstreaming multiculturalism" to emphasize that multiculturalism was equally useful to every Canadians in globalizing society and that Canadians could be proud of it. After a 1986 conference "Multiculturalism Means Business", Canadian Heritage distributed a list of ethnic business organizations. According to the

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[4] There is a view that finds the origin of multiculturalism not in Trudeau statement, but in establishment of Nationalities Branch [Joshee 1995].

[5] For example, in Toronto there were incidents that a young man from Jamaica was shot to death by Toronto Police (1979) or that Federal police (RCMP) searched the apartment of Sikh rudely in the name of disclosure of illegal immigrant and profaned their Bible (1980). Such incidents triggered off objections by visible minority groups.

conference report, equality of access to the economy and removal of discrimination in the workplace would promote the international competitiveness and future prosperity of Canada [Canadian Heritage 1993].

Two major points that I have reported were: 1. Canadian multiculturalism policy extended from retention of ethnic culture to social equity, and 2. multiculturalism was associated with the identity of and benefit for every Canadian. Furthermore, what makes Canadian multiculturalism unique is that it includes a legal basis, both in the constitution, and in the Multiculturalism Act.

Section 27 of Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms[6], which states "this Charter shall be interpreted in a manner consistent with the preservation and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canadians", is known as the multiculturalism provision. The Charter and other parts of constitution also contain provisions on official language (section 16-23) and aboriginal people (section 25, 35). There is a view that Canadian constitution revised in 1982 was the embodiment of Trudeau's vision of Canadian unity with the balance among ethnic groups, two founding peoples, and aboriginal people [Hudson 1987]. The first case of a Canadian court ruling on section 27 dealt with the Sunday Closing Law. The Supreme Court of Canada judged the Lord's Day Act unconstitutional, because enforcement of the Sabbath of one religion was inconsistent with this multiculturalism provision.

The Multiculturalism Act, which describes the aim and responsibility of federal institutions as well as mandates of the multiculturalism minister and the other ministers for implementation of multiculturalism policy, came into force in 1988. One aspect of the Act is to specify the relationship with other laws, namely, the Constitution (especially section 25, 27 and 35), the Official Language Act, Citizenship Act, and Canadian Human Rights Act. Another aspect is that the Act requires annual reports to the parliament, summarizing achievement of federal departments and agencies during the year. This Act consolidated Canada's commitment to multiculturalism.

Responding to strong criticism, as mentioned later, Canadian Heritage began a review of multiculturalism policy in the mid-1990s [Brighton Research 1996]. There had been regular reevaluation and revision some times, but "comprehensive review and renewal" was the first attempt since the multiculturalism declaration of 1971. Consequently the government announced the Renewed Multiculturalism Program in 1997, with fundamental goals specified as "identity", "civic participation" and "social justice". At the same time Canadian Heritage made a guideline of multiculturalism program to provide more transparency for funding. It was emphasized that not only ethnocultural organization, but community groups, NGOs, private sector companies and all Canadian citizens were qualified to apply for the financial assistance.

Another feature of 1990s was that federal government sought the way to use the unique experience of Canadian multiculturalism to promote universal values such as the human rights or the elimination of discrimination. The Canadian government was involved with the 2001 World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance (WCAR) in Durban, South Africa. The multiculturalism arm of Canadian Heritage took the leadership in preparing for participation, for example, holding national consultations to clarify Canada's position for WCAR in 2000. The federal government promoted the value of multiculturalism to

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[6] Canadian constitution consists of Constitution Acts, 1867 and 1982. The former was British North America Act being patriated from United Kingdom to Canada in 1982 and the latter was made in the same year which includes the Charter and provisions on aboriginal rights, equalization of regional disparities, and amendment procedures.

Canadian citizens by stressing that multiculturalism would make Canada's own international contribution possible.

Multiculturalism Discourse

Since Trudeau's statement, multiculturalism has been quite controversial in Canada. The arguments on multiculturalism in the 1970s and 1980s can be summarized in three themes: 1. reaction of French Québécois and other ethnic groups, 2. social equality and multiculturalism, and 3. symbolic ethnicity and limits of multiculturalism. These arguments were reflected in the multiculturalism policy in the 1980s as stated above.

Ethnic groups from western prairies were for, and French Québécois were against, multiculturalism. To Québécois, multiculturalism within a bilingual framework means retreat from "two founding peoples' equality", which was supposed to be entrenched by RCBB. Intellectuals from Quebec stressed the dual structure system of Canada, including two core cultures with cultural contributions from other ethnic groups to each society [Rocher 1976]. However, other ethnic people praised Trudeau's statement. A Ukrainian jurist approved the combination of bilingualism and multiculturalism in view of demographic composition and individualization in post-industrializing society [Tarnopolsky 1973]. Some advocates of multiculturalism demanded the recognition of ethnic languages other than English and French officially under the same rationale as Québécois who believed the tie of language and culture was important. However, because multilingualism has no reality, ethnic languages, also known as heritage languages, would be provided funding within multiculturalism policy.

There was criticism of multiculturalism from the standpoint of social inequality among ethnic groups. Porter revealed in 1960s that Canadian society was a "vertical mosaic" in which the hierarchical structure of social class was organized by groups of ethnic origin. He asserted multiculturalism contributed to the immobilization of social inequality [Porter 1965, 1972]. In addition, there was the skeptical view that the government policy of multiculturalism was designed to switch the issue of political power structure into a matter of song and dance [Peter 1981]. Whereas Porter suggested abolishment of multiculturalism to promote individual equality, Peter proposed that the focus of multiculturalism should be changed to establish an ethnic power base.

Another argument related to limits of multiculturalism policy, specifically, how far the government should interfere with an ethnic group's activity. Some opposed government subsidies to facilitate "symbolic ethnicity", which was explained as one of selective identity in standardizing and fluidizing society [Gans 1979, Roberts and Clifton 1982]. Others believed that preservation of ethnic identity needed structural support, using public policy to accommodate their lifestyles within the framework of multiculturalism [Dawson 1982, Magnet 1996].

In the late 1980s, the Canadian government faced a huge backlash against multiculturalism. In 1990, the government set up the Spicer Commission, which was a Citizen's Forum on Canada's Future, in order to discuss and develop a national consensus on Canadian issues. According to the report, which analyzed and summarized public opinions, Canadian citizens regarded the problem to be the threat of national unity and tension among diverse groups. While the commission represented their view that citizens' anxiety was mainly caused by conflict between the federal and provincial governments and by trade liberalization between Canada and United States, it severely criticized multiculturalism program funding for ethnic

heritage culture for being not only expensive but divisive [Citizen's Forum on Canada's Future 1991]. Reginald Bibby's *Mosaic Madness* has been often quoted as a criticism of multiculturalism as well. He argued that pluralism caused extreme individualism and relativism if it was emphasized excessively without a clear national goal and purpose of coexistence [Bibby 1990].

Around the same time, criticism of multiculturalism began to grow in the political arena. Since adopting multiculturalism policy, main parties (Liberal Party, PC, New Democratic Party) had consensus on approval of multiculturalism policy, though there was a slight difference in their view about the policy contents. The year 1987 was a turning point when the Reform Party[7], based on the principle of small government and free market, was founded at western Canada. Regarding multiculturalism, the Party clearly opposed public funding for fostering one's own culture. In addition, some Liberal MPs from ethnic community argued that multiculturalism introduced by Liberal Party might have been significant for immigrants in the past, but was inappropriate recently [*Debates* 1989 2 October, pp.4220-4244, 28 September, pp.3992-4009; *The Globe and Mail (GM)* 29 September 1989].

The federal government published *Multiculturalism--What is it Really About?* as a reply to these critical comments on multiculturalism in 1991. In the form of 14 questions and answers, the report emphasized that all Canadians, including immigrants, aboriginal peoples, the English, the French and other ethnic groups, could get benefits from multiculturalism economically, socially, culturally and globally. As for heritage languages and cultures, which were the first target of criticism, the government explained that support for heritage language and culture was limited. It proposed dual or multiple identities by which citizens of Canada could be proud both of being Canadian and their own ethnic origins.

In 1990s the force of criticism on multiculturalism did not decline and rather became stronger in connection to real social issues. The first issue was whether Canadian society should tolerate actions that were inconsistent with Canadian laws or norms, such as female circumcision, domestic violence, and taking Kirpan (ceremonial sword of Sikhs) in public. The second issue was whether or not special measures for some ethnocultural groups, for example, public funding for black schools or religious schools, should be taken. Consideration of different cultures in the public realm raised the issue of right or wrong. The controversy arose when multiculturalism became more than simply guaranteeing 'symbolic ethnicity' and led to subsidies and pressure for Canadians to change their values and institutions.

A commentator Robert Fulford questioned the preference for group rights over individual rights. Michael Valpy feared an apartheid-like situation, comparing multiculturalism to a cancer that threatened Canadian identity [*GM* 30 March 1994, 8 April 1994]. In this context, a book written by Trinidadian immigrant Neil Bissoondath caused a sensation as a critique of multiculturalism by a visible minority. He asserted as follows: 1. Multiculturalism reduced cultures to stereotypes and forced individuals to have identity through small ethnocultural groups, rather than as part of society at large, 2. multiculturalism failed to draw the limits of diversity and brought the confusion of values and ethics to Canadian society, and 3. the Constitution Act, 1982 and Multiculturalism Act led people to make selfish claims. Therefore, he said, multiculturalism resulted in eradicating "the centre of the nation's being" [Bissoondath 1994: 45]. His work was cited everywhere even in parliamentary debate. British immigrant columnist Richard Gwyn supported Bissoondath and questioned the

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[7] The Reform Party was succeeded by Canadian Alliance in 2000 and Canadian Alliance and PC merged into the Conservative Party in 2003.

present mood where the critical stance toward multiculturalism was considered to be racist [Gwyn 1996].

Among many advocates of multiculturalism who countered Bissoondath and Gwyn, political philosopher Will Kymlicka examined Canadian multiculturalism policy within the framework of theory of liberalism[8]. According to Kymlicka, multiculturalism provides "external protections" for immigrant groups, including revision of mainstream society's institutions to reflect cultural diversity, such as exemption of Muslims or Jews from Sunday closing law, permission of wearing turban for Sikh military or police officer, establishment of black schools, affirmative action, and so on. Even funding for ethnic cultures is supported because it promotes participation and integration of ethnic groups in mainstream society. On the other hand, he draws a clear line to limit multiculturalism if ethnic groups impose their members' "internal restrictions", such as female circumcision [Kymlicka 1998]. His argument proved that group rights could be recognized within liberalism and gave logical explanation to multiculturalism. It would have influence on the Government's "comprehensive review and renewal" of multiculturalism.

Conclusion

In tracing the history of Canadian multiculturalism in this article, there are three findings, summarized as follows. First, multiculturalism in Canada has not been the ad hoc policy to resolve the ethnic conflicts, but has connected historically with the debate over national unity and nation building. In dealing with multidimensional relationships--Anglophone and Francophone, Quebec and other provinces, two founding peoples (French and British) and other ethnic groups, indigenous people and newcomers, Canada and United States--Canadians have been obliged to define their country. Multiculturalism was an answer to longstanding, unresolved questions.

Second, government giving multiculturalism official status plays a significant role in arousing public opinion. Through consecutive dialogues between the government and the public, the implication of multiculturalism policy has evolved from cultural retention to social justice, and further to a shared identity among Canadians. The democratic process makes multiculturalism "our" policy, not "their" policy.

Third, the practice of multiculturalism policy raises the question of whether or not group differentiated rights can be allowed in liberal society. Trudeau introduced multiculturalism because he thought it was consistent with his philosophy of individual rights guaranteed by the nation. Nevertheless as soon as the government put multiculturalism policy into practice, a dilemma between liberalism and multiculturalism could not be ignored. Some objections to multiculturalism resulted from anxiety that Canadian liberal values might be dissolved. Because of a reconsidered theory of liberalism, multiculturalism became more acceptable for Canadians.

After years of Chretien government, critical voices against multiculturalism were also heard after shocking incidents such as the 2006 Toronto terror plot or the 2014 parliament hill shooting. However, writings on multiculturalism, such as those in

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[8] He suggested that there should be distinction between national minorities and ethnic groups: in the Canadian context, the former is Québécois and aboriginal peoples, and the latter is immigrants. According to Kymlicka a nation state which comprehends cultural difference ought to recognize not only individual rights but also group-differentiated rights.

special issues of *Canadian Ethnic Studies* and newspaper columns[9], show that such voices are not the mainstream. Canadian multiculturalism seems to have been born accidentally in Canada's own historical and social context, but the Canadian experience tells how the political initiative is significant.

Acknowledgement

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