

Chapter Two

DIVERSITY IN CANADA

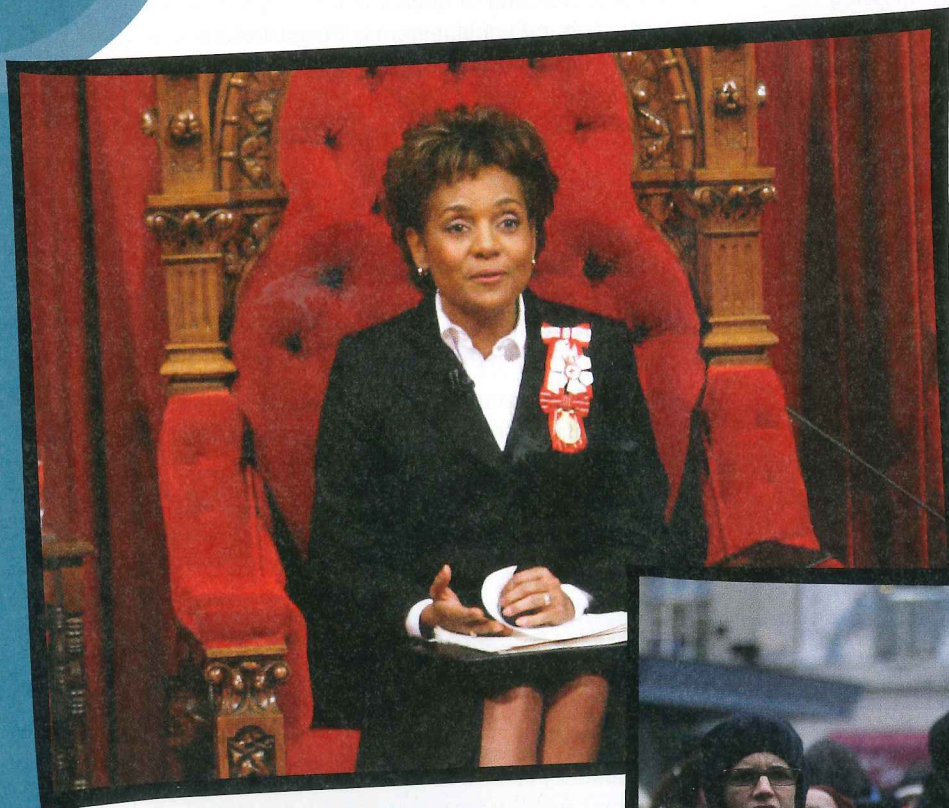


Figure 2-1 Former Governor General Michaëlle Jean (top left) reads the throne speech at the opening of Parliament in November 2008. In Canada, every parliamentary session begins with a formal ceremony that includes the reading of a speech describing the government's plans for the session. The photograph at right shows Idle No More protestors occupying a major intersection in Toronto on December 21, 2012. Across the country, Aboriginal peoples and other protestors staged similar demonstrations demanding that government meet its obligations to protect the land and the water.



CHAPTER ISSUE

How does diversity shape Canada?

The word **diversity** means variety. Canadians are a diverse family: We have more than 200 ethnic origins, speak many different languages, entertain ourselves in wildly different ways, and dream different dreams. We also sometimes disagree about how to run our country. Our differences say a lot about us.

How we resolve our differences may say even more about us. When we hold different political views, do we work toward compromise? When we see that some people are disadvantaged, do we give them a helping hand? Do our laws ensure that all people are treated equally? Do we appreciate one another's different contributions to society?

Consider the images on the previous page. Then discuss and respond to the following questions:

- How are the two images linked?
- Could all of these individuals be working for the same thing in their own way?
- What evidence do you see of discord?
- What do these images suggest about Canada's efforts to bridge our differences?
- Which kind of power does each photograph illustrate?
- Why does Canada welcome political diversity?
- Can our differences make us stronger? How?

Key Terms

diversity
regional identity
cultural diversity
assimilation
reasonable
accommodation
social safety net
economic recession
regionalism
federation
transfer payments
equalization
alienation
federalists

Looking Ahead

The following inquiry questions will help you explore how diversity is integral to Canada:

- In what ways are we diverse?
- What issues result from regionalism?
- Will our differences break up Canada?

LEARNING GOALS

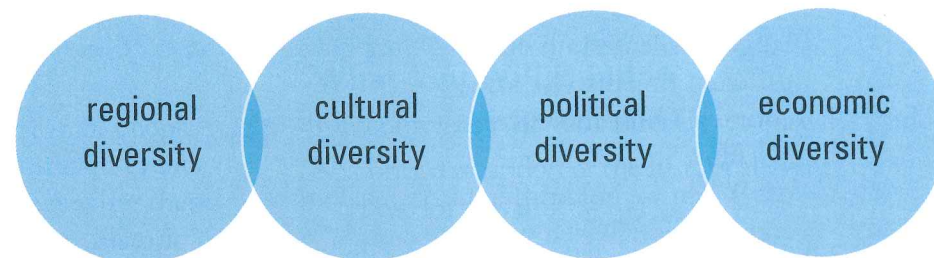
In this chapter you will

- identify the many differences that define Canada
- explore key economic trends that affect different regions
- assess the significance of key political developments
- analyze the effect of regionalism on Canada
- decide if diversity is dividing Canadians or bringing them together

In what ways are we diverse?

Diversity comes in many different forms. These types of diversity influence one another and affect who we are: Different geographies in different regions can lead to distinct cultures. Economic imbalance can result in political differences. A variety of skills and expertise can lead to co-operation for mutual benefit. In this section, we'll look at a few of Canada's most influential forms of diversity.

Figure 2-2 Here are the main diversities that you will explore in this chapter. Diversities overlap and affect one another. Think of examples of ways that these diversities connect. How would you rearrange these to show different connections?



Voices

When I'm in Alberta, I'm an Edmontonian or Calgarian; when I'm in Ottawa, I'm an Albertan or Westerner; when I'm in Washington or Singapore or Sydney, I'm from Canada.

—Preston Manning,
former leader of the Reform Party,
in *The Globe and Mail*, 2007

Figure 2-3 In 2008, the Dominion Institute asked Canadians to identify the symbols that define Canada. Canadians' first three choices, which you can see in this image, were fairly consistent across the country. But there were interesting differences lower on the list. Québeckers listed their historic Château Frontenac; Atlantic Canadians listed their famous sailing ship, the *Bluenose*; and people from Saskatchewan and Manitoba listed the Canada Goose and wheat. What conclusions might you draw about whether regional loyalties unite or divide Canadians?



Regional Diversity

Because of its vast size and geographic variety, Canada is often described as a country of regions. Different regions are inhabited by different First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples; have attracted immigrants from different countries; joined Confederation at different times; and enjoy different economic advantages. Factors like these lead to distinctive societies in different regions.

Newfoundland and Labrador, for example, is home to Inuit, Innu, Mi'kmaq, and Métis. It has attracted immigrants mainly from the British Isles, didn't join Confederation until 1949, and has an economy that depends heavily on its fisheries. Because of these factors, inhabitants of the province developed a distinct way of life, architecture, and culture (including a unique accent). Further, they have political concerns different from those of other regions.

People in Canada tend to develop a **regional identity** — a sense of self that is closely linked to a region. A regional identity does not have to be your only identity. Read the words of Preston Manning in Voices. Manning helped found the Reform Party and is fiercely loyal to his home province of Alberta. But he also loves Canada.

What is Manning's message about his identity as a Westerner and as a Canadian? Create a similar statement to describe your own identity.

Cultural Diversity

Cultural diversity includes the differences in who we are and how we live. It includes differences in the ways we make a living, the languages we speak, the arts and music we create, and the beliefs and values we hold dear.

Aboriginal Diversity

Canada's cultural diversity began with First Nations and Inuit peoples. More than 600 First Nations are now recognized in Canada. Although some First Nations share a language and certain beliefs or traditions, each nation retains a particular identity that is uniquely its own.

The Canadian government has not always respected Aboriginal diversity. For more than a century, the government tried to destroy Aboriginal cultures through **assimilation**. This is a gradual process by which mainstream culture replaces unique cultures. The government suppressed Aboriginal peoples' customs and took away their powers to govern themselves. It removed Aboriginal children from their homes and sent them to residential schools where they were taught mainstream ways.

In all, about 150 000 First Nations, Métis, and Inuit children attended residential schools. Discipline was often harsh, and children were taught that their culture was inferior. Many students were abused physically, mentally, and sexually. They were punished for speaking their own languages. Some schools even tattooed students with an identification number. In its 1996 report, the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples condemned residential schools as the government policy that did the greatest damage to Aboriginal cultures and family life.

Turning Back Toward Diversity

As attitudes toward human rights changed, First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples began to affirm their distinct identities and the government abandoned its assimilation policy. Day schools were built in Aboriginal communities so children were not forced to leave home to be educated. The last residential school, in Saskatchewan, closed its doors in 1996.

By that time, a lot of harm had been done to Aboriginal communities and cultures. For example, although there are 80 Aboriginal languages spoken in Canada today, the number of fluent speakers is dwindling. Anthropologist Christine Schreyer predicts that only three will survive: Cree, Inuktitut, and Ojibwa.

Many Aboriginal peoples decided to seek justice for the wrongs done to them. They launched more than 10 000 lawsuits against the Canadian Government and the churches that ran the residential schools. In 2006, the largest class-action lawsuit was settled with the Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement (IRSSA). The outcome was that the government would compensate all students who attended residential schools.

The IRSSA also created a Truth and Reconciliation Commission, and Prime Minister Stephen Harper apologized on behalf of the government and Canadians.

Ethical Dimension: The Truth and Reconciliation Commission could not change the past. How could it help Canada deal with the long-term effects of residential schools?

Voices

[Children] were forbidden to speak the only languages they knew and taught to reject their homes, their heritage and, by extension, themselves. Most were subjected to physical deprivation, and some experienced abuse. We heard from a few people who are grateful for what they learned at these schools, but we heard from more who described deep scars — not least in their inability to give and receive love.

—Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996

CONNECTIONS

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission had four goals:

- gather stories from former students
- recommend how to move forward
- set up a permanent research centre
- host events to promote awareness

Check Forward

You will read more about the federal government apology to residential school survivors in Chapter 8.

Voices

Our economic strength is derived from the combination of what we all have in common and what makes each of us different.

— Gordon Nixon, chair of the Toronto Region Immigrant Employment Council

Canada's Expanding Cultural Diversity

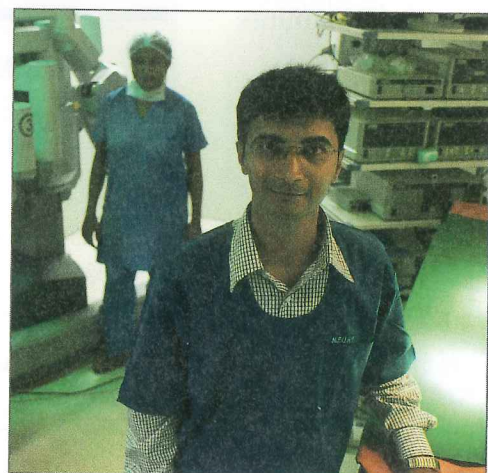
Different countries vary in their degree of cultural diversity. Some countries are culturally singular. In Japan, for example, 98.5 per cent of citizens share a single ethnic heritage, language, and culture. Canada is the opposite. We began with the incredible diversity of Aboriginal peoples. Then the French- and English-speaking peoples came to North America. But even the first English-speaking peoples to arrive were diverse, some coming from what is now the United States, some from England, and others from Scotland, Wales, and Ireland.

Our diversity continued to grow with immigration from many countries of non-English and non-French speakers who learned English and French when they arrived. Government policies have encouraged immigration, changing Canada forever. The country now has citizens with roots in virtually every country in the world. We include among our numbers Black and Arab Canadians, Italian and Jewish Canadians, Polish and Latin American Canadians, Irish and Somali Canadians, and Chinese and Bengali Canadians, to name just a few.

Over the long term, immigrants and their descendents have become Canada. What has this meant for new Canadians? Aboriginal peoples? Canada as a whole?

Picturing the Benefits of Diversity

Figure 2-4 After getting government training in how to start and run a business, new Canadian Roshan Shah's career as an entrepreneur took off. With one foot in Vancouver and the other in India, this former computer engineer started several website design firms and is now getting into the medical tourism business. Shah keeps on coming up with great business ideas. Who might benefit from Shah's eagerness to engage in the global economy?



New Business Opportunities



Outward-looking Attitude

Figure 2-5 Lara Romaniuc has worked since 2002 for Canada's Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development. She is a front-line worker, trying to improve the day-to-day lives of people in fragile countries. How might living in a country with great cultural diversity inspire Canadians to get involved in global issues?

Responding to Cultural Diversity

Embracing cultural diversity brings change. Canada has slowly changed from a mini Europe into a mini world. That means that some of Canadian society's ideas of "normal" and "customary" have had to change too.

In the 1980s, Baltej Singh Dhillon, a Sikh immigrant from Malaysia, entered the RCMP training program. Dhillon met all the RCMP's requirements — but he was ordered to shave his beard, cut his hair, and remove his turban. Mounties were not allowed to grow beards, and a Stetson was the traditional headgear worn with the dress uniform.

In the late 1980s, Singh challenged the RCMP's rules. He argued that his long hair, turban, and beard were integral to his religious identity. Getting rid of them would violate his religious freedom, as guaranteed by the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Although the RCMP initially resisted, in 1990 it changed its rules.

The idea of accommodating the needs of minority groups has come to be called **reasonable accommodation**. This concept suggests that public institutions such as the RCMP have a responsibility to adapt to the religious and cultural practices of minority groups, as long as these practices do not violate other Canadians' rights and freedoms.

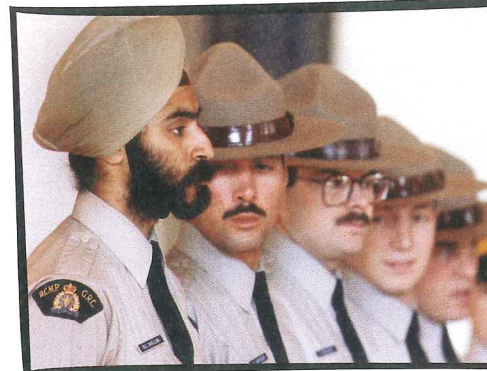
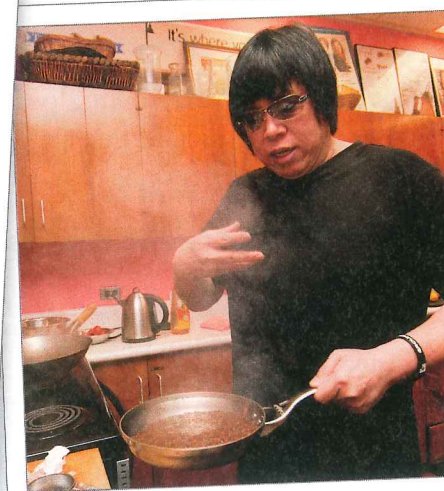


Figure 2-6 Baltej Singh Dhillon stands with other members of his 1991 graduating class. How significant were Dhillon's actions for Canadians in similar circumstances?



Artistic Synchronicity

Figure 2-7 Nadine McNulty first met Somali-Canadian hip-hop artist K'Naan by chance in Rexdale, Ontario. Before long, she'd arranged his first gig — to perform at Afrofest 2000. A huge fan of African music, McNulty went on to help many African-Canadian musicians find work. K'Naan's incredible musical talents launched his career, bringing him fame in Canada and around the world. What would Canada be like without our diversity of musical talents and musical fans?



Culinary Adventures

Figure 2-8 Alvin Leung is a celebrity judge on *MasterChef Canada* for a reason — he's a world-class chef credited with creating his own culinary style, which he calls "X-treme Chinese." He loves to combine the flavours of Chinese cuisine with food from other cultures. His two restaurants, in Hong Kong and London, England, are highly regarded, and he hopes to open a third in Canada, where he grew up. Which world cuisines do you see in the restaurants in your community?



Giving Back

Figure 2-9 Immigrants to Canada work hard and pay taxes that help pay for Canada's social programs. Dr. Dhun F. Noria, Chief of Laboratory Medicine with the Scarborough Hospital, has gone further. In 2014, she and her husband, Farokh Noria, donated \$1 million to the hospital for cancer care. She also volunteers extensively in the community. In Noria's words, "What drives me is the constant desire to help and make a contribution." How do we all benefit from Noria's enthusiasm?



Figure 2-10 At one time, people had few ways to get politically involved. The options have expanded considerably.

Up for Discussion

Political parties are always arguing. Wouldn't it be better if we had just one party and worked out our differences from there?

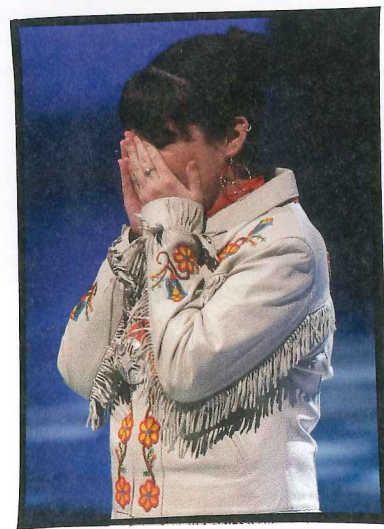


Figure 2-11 Seventeen-year-old Chelsea Lavallée from St. Ambroise, Manitoba, reacts as she receives a special youth award at the 2009 National Aboriginal Achievement Awards. Lavallée was honoured for her efforts to promote Métis culture. Does commitment to a single people reflect a commitment to Canada? Why or why not?

Political Diversity

What kind of society do you want Canada to be? Any action you take to achieve that vision is a political act. You might go door to door for a political party, or you might protest a pipeline proposal. It's all political.

Canadians hold a variety of political views that reflect factors such as their cultural heritage, the needs and interests of their regions, and their views on social issues. This diversity is reflected in the political parties and other organizations that people choose to join or support.

Working Within the Party System

Canadians have a long history of expressing their views by supporting a political party. Until the early 20th century, Canadian politics was dominated by two parties: the Liberals and the Conservatives.

When people don't see their views represented by existing parties, they start new ones. Westerners, for example, founded several parties in the 20th century. The National Progressive Party was formed to reflect farmers' concerns. The Social Credit Party was formed in response to economic issues. Some political parties are short lived, while others continue to exist, though sometimes in different forms or with different names.

As of 2014, 17 political parties were officially registered in Canada. But only five — the Liberals, Conservatives, New Democratic Party, Bloc Québécois, and Green Party — held seats in the House of Commons.

Evidence: Generally, fewer than 2 per cent of Canadians belong to a political party. What would that suggest about Canadians' interest in politics? In your experience, is that accurate? Why or why not?

Working Outside the Party System

There is more involved in shaping Canada than just voting in an election every four or five years. Many Canadians practise their politics outside the party system.

Some people choose to make change by influencing public opinion. To do this, they may form organizations that focus on particular social justice issues. The Miss G — Project, which you read about in Chapter 1, is a good example of an organization that successfully made change through advocacy. To achieve change, groups may launch social media campaigns, lobby politicians, commission surveys, maintain websites, stage protests, or publish books, pamphlets, or magazines.

Some people choose to take direct action to fix the problems they see around them. So they volunteer at a food bank, for example, or host a supper for homeless people. Organizations are often involved to co-ordinate volunteers. For example, the Elizabeth Fry Societies — named after a 19th-century British prison-reform activist — exist across Canada to co-ordinate volunteers to support women and girls in the justice system, particularly those who are marginalized, victimized, criminalized, or imprisoned.

Historical Perspective: Would our country's political diversity be possible if Canada did not guarantee the right to express political views? Explain.



Figure 2-12 Should Canadian courts be involved in protecting migrant workers? Why or why not?

Working Through the Courts

Another political strategy for shaping Canada is to address injustices through the courts. If Canadians experience an injustice because of an existing law, they can try to prove in court that the law does not meet the standards of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

Consider the case of migrant farm workers. Every year, Ontario's Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program allows 17 000 temporary farm workers to enter Canada and fill vacancies. Most of these workers come from Mexico and Caribbean countries. They do low-paid, seasonal jobs such as picking mushrooms and harvesting tomatoes. When the season ends, they must return to their home countries.

More than 80 per cent of migrant workers who come to Canada work on Ontario farms. These workers provide Ontario farmers with a reliable source of cheap labour. Their work helps ensure that Canadians have a supply of reasonably priced produce. But many of them work and live in difficult conditions. They may be required to work up to 15 hours a day, six days a week. Employers can send them home if they become sick or complain about working conditions.

For decades, Ontario law prevented migrant workers — and all farm workers in the province — from trying to improve their conditions by joining a union. The provincial government said that the law was necessary because farm work is unique. Farmers need labourers who will work long hours during harvest times.

The United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) of Canada decided to challenge the law in court. In November 2008, the Ontario Court of Appeal ruled that migrant workers are protected by the Charter and, therefore, have the right to unionize. But the Ontario government appealed to the Supreme Court of Canada. In 2012, the top court decided in favour of the Ontario government. Farmworkers would not be able to unionize after all.

This case is an example of a loss in the court system. Many challenges do succeed, however, and in those cases laws must be changed to fall into line with the Charter.

Ethical Dimension: The people's right to challenge laws in court encourages governments to make laws that will measure up to the Charter. Is this an unreasonable restriction on elected governments' power to make laws? Why or why not?

Voices

The reality is that appealing to the courts has ended. Appealing to the decency and the will of voters is next. . . . Most Canadians would be appalled at the working and living conditions of tens of thousands of Ontario agriculture workers. . . . There is an Ontario election coming and we and our allies and members will make this an issue.

— Wayne Hanley, union leader and former national president of United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Canada, 2011

The Shifting Significance of the Greens

When we decide that an event from the past is historically significant, we are deciding what is important to remember and study. But over the passage of time that significance does not stay fixed.

Just a century ago, Canadian history itself was viewed as insignificant. What did Canadian schools teach Canadian children? The history of the British Empire, of course. Canada thought of itself as a part of an empire. The famous story of the British defeating Napoleon at Waterloo in 1815 was considered a far more important topic than, say, the Red River Resistance of 1869. Yet, today, Canadian students do learn Canadian history, including the story of the Red River Resistance. Canadians changed their minds about what was important to remember and study about the past.

Consider the founding of the Green Party of Canada in 1983 at Carleton University in Ottawa. It was hardly noticed. As of 2014, the Green Party had two members in Parliament but is not a major political party. As a result, the founding of the party is not considered by many Canadians to be noteworthy. Could this change? It depends on the fortunes of the Green Party.

Canadians' concerns for the environment have grown exponentially since the 1960s, and the Green Party was an expression of those concerns. The founders of the party did not believe that the existing federal political parties were doing enough to protect the planet. So they formed the party with a goal to do things differently.

Green Party leader Elizabeth May was first elected in the 2011 general election and has served as the member of Parliament for Saanich-Gulf Islands. Her colleagues in the House of Commons might disagree with her politics, but they appreciate her as a worthy and witty opponent. In 2012, they awarded her the Parliamentarian of the Year award.

Figure 2-13 BC Premier Christy Clark, left, speaks with Green Party leader Elizabeth May in the foyer of the House of Commons on Parliament Hill in Ottawa on March 31, 2014. What could make such a meeting more historically significant over time?



We need to put the common good above private greed. We need to reduce the growing gap between the rich and the poor. We need governments that make decisions based on science, not ones that cook the books to find "evidence" to support wrong-headed decisions.

— Elizabeth May, Green Party of Canada website

Explorations

- How might the historical significance of the founding of the Green Party of Canada in 1983 change under the following possible scenarios?
 - The current Green Party members of Parliament are voted out of office in the next general election.
 - The Green Party wins more seats and becomes the Official Opposition.
 - A Green Party government is so effective that other countries follow suit and together halt climate change.
- It is not just the "winners" who are historically significant. What if the Green Party doesn't gain power in Canada? What if climate change worsens and future historians are seeking answers? Why might the founding of the Green Party of Canada be historically significant to them?

Economic Diversity

Economic diversity is the kind of diversity that most countries don't want. If some people earn extremely high salaries while others toil at the minimum wage, resentments can build up.

That's why Canada has a system of incremental taxation. In such a system, the percentage of income paid in income taxes rises as people earn more. So people who earn the least don't pay any income tax at all, while those who earn the most pay a substantial sum. For example, in 2014, Canadians paid 0 per cent in federal income tax on their first \$11 038 of income, and 29 per cent on any income higher than \$136 270. Provincial income taxes bring the total even higher.

Canada has such a system so it can create a more equitable society. Wealthy people pay a bigger share so that government can pay for social programs that help everyone in society.

The Balancing Act

During the 20th century, Canada built an extensive **social safety net** — a network of government programs to help people get through hard times. These programs included employment insurance, old age security, social assistance, universal health care, and support for people with disabilities.

Paying for all these programs is an enormous challenge. If an economy is growing, government revenues grow too and can cover the rising costs of social programs. When the economy is not growing, governments have three choices. The first option is to raise taxes. The second option is to run annual deficits — spend more than they have coming in. The third option is to reduce expenses by cutting social programs. All of these options have drawbacks.

In 1993, the federal government's debt reached nearly \$430 billion. At the same time, the country was in an **economic recession** — a period of economic decline. The Liberal government of the time decided to trim social programs. Workers who qualified for employment insurance, for example, would receive only 55 per cent of their salaries, down from 75 per cent. The changes helped the federal government deliver a balanced budget in 1997 — the first time in 30 years.

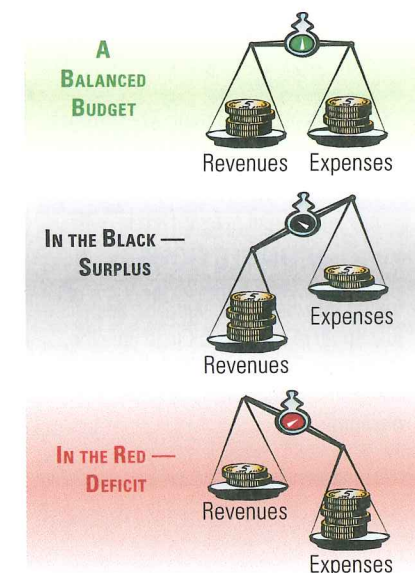
Figure 2-14 Canadian Income by the Numbers

The Hennessey Index tracks facts about Canada and its place in the world for the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives. These numbers were included in the May 2014 index. Which fact do you predict will affect you most in the short term? In the long term? Why?

\$1600	decline in median household income (2008 to 2011)
5%	increase in income of the richest 20% of households (2006 to 2011)
6%	decline in income of the poorest 20% of households (2006 to 2011)
59%	increase in Canadians working for the minimum wage (2006 to 2012)
11%	decline in private-sector workers covered by a defined benefit pension plan (1982 to 2014)

Figure 2-15 Balancing Budgets

The downside of operating at a loss is that the total debt rises.

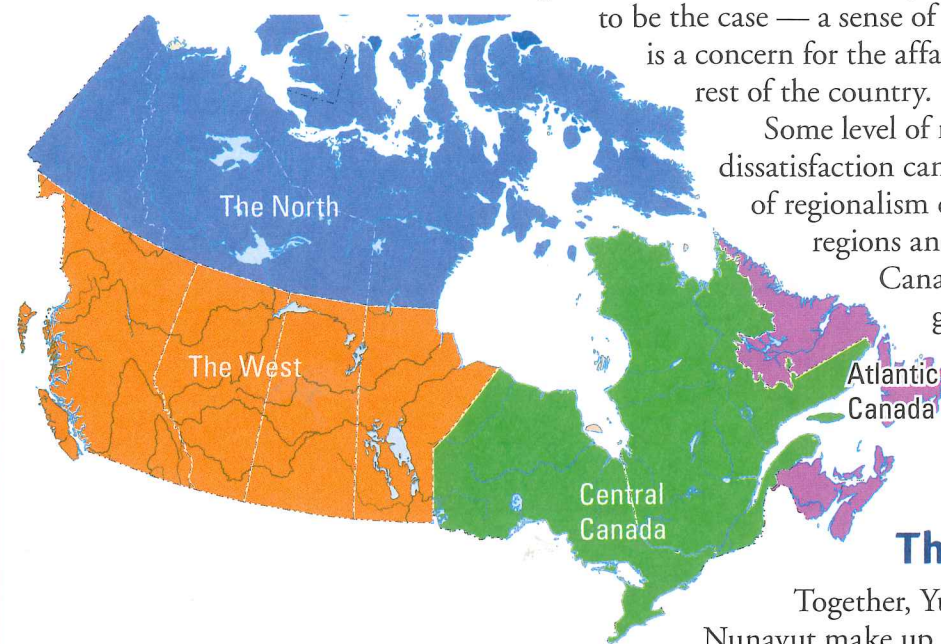


Recall... Reflect... Respond

- Create a graphic listing four kinds of diversity described in this section (not regional diversity). For each, identify (1) any benefits for Canada, (2) any challenges for Canada, (3) how government has worked to increase or decrease this type of diversity, and (4) how these actions have affected Canada.
- Describe one key development, program, or policy that is of particular significance to one group of Canadians. How has it improved or worsened their lives? What should future governments learn from this example?

Figure 2–16 Canada's Political Regions

What criteria might have been used to choose the four regions shown here?



What issues result from regionalism?

The federal government must always try to ensure that it has programs and policies in place to address the needs of all the regions. When one region is favoured over other regions — and even when that just appears to be the case — a sense of **regionalism** may develop. Regionalism is a concern for the affairs of one's own region over those of the rest of the country.

Some level of regionalism is healthy because expressing dissatisfaction can lead to solutions. But excessive levels of regionalism can lead to disharmony with the other regions and possibly the breakup of the country.

Canada is a **federation**, a group of self-governing states that share a central government to govern on matters related to the whole. Federations work only when the different provinces and territories find ways to get along.

The North

Together, Yukon, Northwest Territories, and Nunavut make up Canada's North. Life in the North differs markedly from life elsewhere in the country. Many Northern communities, for example, are isolated, with no asphalt roads connecting them. In summer, ships can bring in supplies. But in winter everything must be brought in by airplane or by transport truck on ice roads, which follow the frozen rivers.

Nunavut

The story of Inuit in Canada is different from that of First Nations and Métis. Inuit signed no treaties with British or Canadian governments, and many continued to follow their traditional way of life until well into the 20th century. For many years, the federal government had limited involvement in the affairs of the peoples in this region.

A new beginning came in 1993. After decades of negotiation, Inuit and the federal government settled the largest land claim in Canadian history. The Nunavut Land Claim Agreement granted Inuit legal title to 350 000 square kilometres of their traditional territory. This settlement led the way to the 1999 creation of a new territory called Nunavut, which was carved out of the Northwest Territories. If Nunavut were a country, it would be the fifth largest in the world. The word "Nunavut" means "our land" in Inuktitut. Nunavut covers one-fifth of Canada, although only 31 000 people (less than 1 per cent of Canada's population) live there.

The creation of Nunavut has allowed Inuit to have much greater control over their lives and future. The government of the new territory is open to both Inuit and non-Inuit. Because about 85 per cent of the residents of Nunavut are Inuit, most of the members of the government are Inuit, too.

CONNECTIONS

Iqaluit, the capital of Nunavut, lies just south of the Arctic Circle. In June, it receives 24 hours of daylight. In December, it receives only six hours of daylight.

Inuit chose a form of government that fits Inuit beliefs. Members are elected to the Nunavut legislature, but no political parties are recognized. The elected members choose the premier from among themselves, and the premier then picks the cabinet. Decisions are made by reaching consensus — general agreement.

Poverty in the North

Job opportunities are scarce in the North, so many people are unemployed. In addition, food is expensive due to high transportation costs. Put those two factors together, and the result is poverty. A 2007–2008 study by Statistics Canada, for example, reported that nearly a quarter of Inuit children experienced food insecurity. That means that 25 per cent of Inuit children go hungry, and sometimes have to skip a meal or go for a whole day without eating.

Hunger and poverty in the North are often alleviated by the presence of what the Inuit call country food — food obtained from the land. Inuit hunters and fishers possess a deep understanding of weather patterns and the natural world, so they use their skills to feed their communities. A 2006 Statistics Canada study showed that nearly two-thirds of Inuit reported living in a home where at least half the meat and fish eaten was country food.

Climate Change in the North

Climate change may be the most pressing world issue of the 21st century. Evidence of climate change is particularly evident at the poles. Many Inuit live and work on the land, and they have been noticing changes in the Canadian North for years. Ice forms later in the year and breaks up earlier. Because the ice pack is now different, polar bear, caribou, and seals, which many Inuit rely on for food, have changed their habits.

Sheila Watt-Cloutier, an Inuit activist and former chair of the Canadian Inuit Circumpolar Council and the international Inuit Circumpolar Conference, says that these changes are linked to global climate change. The scientific community agrees with her. It has reached virtual consensus that the climate has been warming and that human activities have been the cause. Scientists say that the Arctic ice cap is melting much faster than predicted. If melting continues at current rates, the Arctic Ocean could be nearly ice free in summer by 2020. This is a concern because ice reflects light and heat. If the Arctic ice disappears, less light and heat would be reflected. This would only speed up global warming.

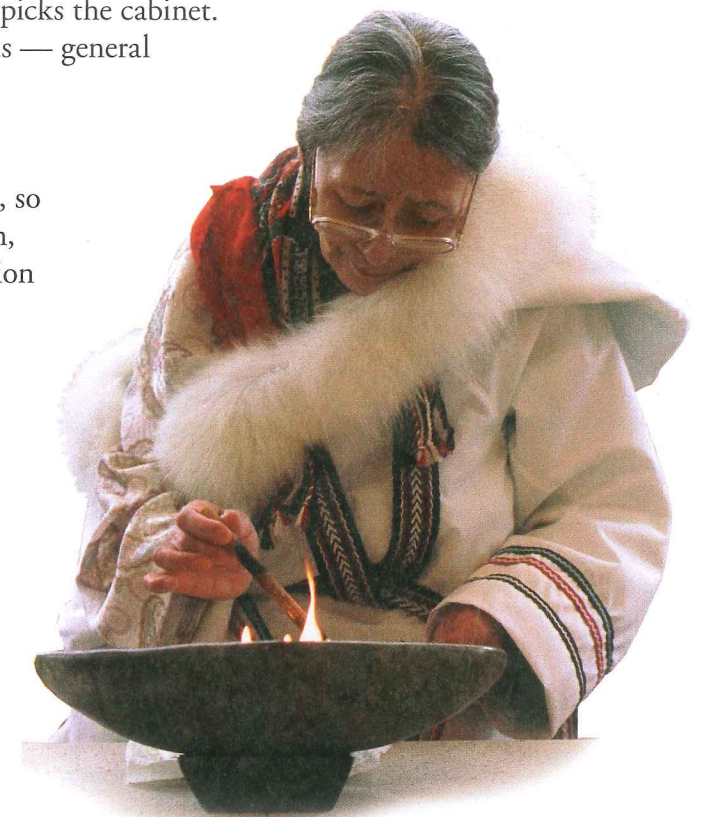


Figure 2–17 Inuit Elder Ekaloool Juralak lights a *qulliq*, a traditional stone lamp fuelled by animal fat, at the opening session of the Nunavut legislature. The *qulliq* appears on the Nunavut coat of arms and represents warmth and family. How might embracing Inuit ideas and traditions empower Nunavut?

Voices

Global warming connects us all. . . . The Inuit hunter who falls through the depleting and unpredictable sea ice is connected to the cars we drive, the industries we rely upon, and the disposable world we have become.

— Sheila Watt-Cloutier, former chair of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference

Up for Discussion

If climate change brings more economic activity to the North, what's the problem?

CONNECTIONS

A ship's route from London, England, to Tokyo, Japan:

- via Panama Canal: 23 000 km
- via Suez Canal: 21 000 km
- via Northwest Passage: 16 000 km

Time saved by taking the Northwest Passage: 2 weeks

The Northwest Passage

The Northwest Passage — a Northern water route between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans — was, until recently, little more than a dream. Ships could not use the passage because it was frozen year-round.

The passage runs between Arctic Islands that are part of Canada, which makes the Northwest Passage an internal Canadian waterway. But this assertion has been challenged by other countries, such as the United States. It claims that the passage is an international waterway that should be open to all naval and commercial ships.

If the Arctic ice cap melts, the passage to shipping will be open for at least part of the year. This issue cannot be brushed off as a concern for the distant future. In 2013, the *Nordic Orion*, a Danish commercial vessel, made history when it hauled 15 000 tonnes of coal from Vancouver to Finland through the passage. Many predict that the debate over ownership of the passage will become a controversial international issue.

Arctic Sovereignty

Canadians have long considered much of the Arctic — including the North Pole — to be part of Canada. But as the Arctic ice cap shrinks, other countries are claiming a piece of the Arctic for themselves. Their interest is sparked by the rich oil and natural gas reserves in the region. Recent estimates say that as much as a quarter of the world's undiscovered energy resources lie under the Arctic seabed.

Who really owns the Arctic Ocean? All countries have control of resources in and under the seabed for 370 kilometres from their coastlines. So the edges of the Arctic Ocean are controlled by five Arctic nations: Canada, Denmark, Norway, Russia, and the United States. At the centre, though, are 14 million square kilometres of the Arctic Ocean that is now an international zone controlled by the International Seabed Authority, established by the United Nations.

All five Arctic nations want a bigger piece of the Arctic. What's their justification? All nations have the right to resources on their continental shelf — a gently sloping underwater extension of land that extends from continents. The underwater mountain range called the Lomonosov Ridge extends from Siberia in Russia to Canada's Ellesmere Island. So Canada has been mapping the ocean floor, hoping to prove that the ridge is part of its continental shelf. Russia has been doing the same thing. In December 2013, the federal government submitted a claim that included the geographic North Pole. It is unclear when the UN International Seabed Authority will settle the dispute.

Cause and Consequence: How might the resolution of the dispute about the Arctic affect the lives of Inuit? Of all Canadians?

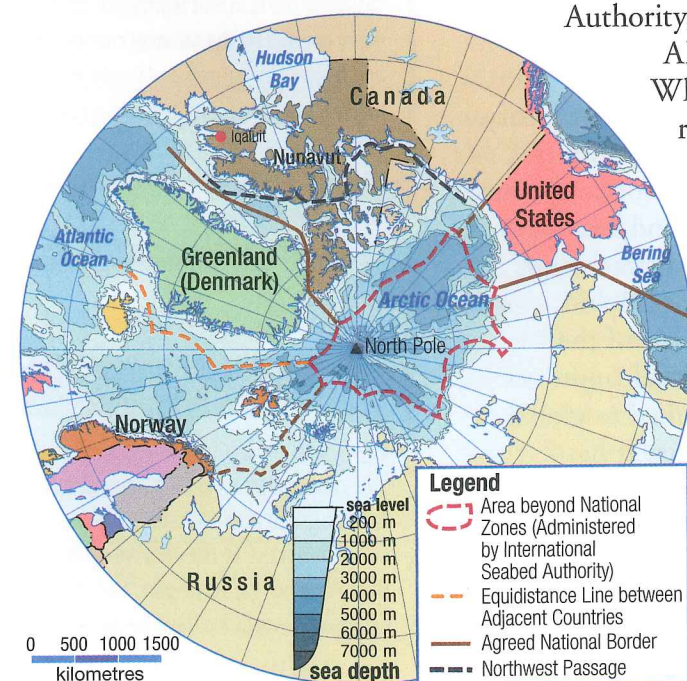


Figure 2-18 The Arctic

How might Inuit perspectives on Canadian sovereignty in the North be influenced by their location? By the formation of Nunavut? By interaction with other Arctic indigenous peoples?

The Canadian Rangers

Canadian Rangers are part-time army reservists who sign up to provide a military presence in Canada's remote, isolated, and coastal communities. In the Arctic, most of the rangers are Inuit. They help protect Canada's sovereignty by acting as the eyes and ears of the army. Their job is to report unusual activity, gather local data for the Canadian Forces, and conduct sovereignty patrols. In 2014, the number of Rangers stood at about 5000, most of them in the Arctic.

Figure 2-19 In 2007, Joe Amarualik and other Canadian Rangers made an 8000-kilometre Arctic patrol. How does their work help Canada show the world that the Arctic is Canadian?



Youth Making History

Project Naming

From the late 1800s to the mid-20th century, whalers, missionaries, RCMP officers, government officials, and other people who visited or lived in the North all photographed Inuit. But few of the photographers bothered to note the names of Inuit they were photographing. Over decades, many of these photographs came into the collection of Library and Archives Canada in Ottawa.

Project Naming was an effort to fix this situation. It was founded by Murray Angus, an instructor with the Ottawa-based Nunavut Sivuniksavut training program, in 2001. In that year and the next, about 500 photographs dating from the late 1940s and early 1950s were digitized and transferred to CD-ROM. Inuit young people then loaded the photos onto laptop computers and took them to show Elders in four communities. Together, the young people and Elders identified more than three-quarters of the people in the pictures.

Since then, the project has expanded and Inuit youth have helped identify many more people in photographs. In November 2008, for example, gatherings in Iqaluit helped identify more than 230 people in about 125 photographs.



Figure 2-20 This photograph of a young Inuit couple was taken in 1903 or 1904 by an RCMP officer stationed at Cape Fullerton on Hudson Bay. The names of the pair were not recorded. Who benefits if and when the names are discovered? How do they benefit?

Explorations

1. Project Naming is an example of co-operation in the interest of fixing a past wrong and recording history before it is lost. Speculate on why various people, including archivists, teachers, students, and Elders, became involved.
2. Why wouldn't the photographers have recorded the names of Inuit they photographed? How might Project Naming improve the relationship between the North and the rest of Canada?

Up for Discussion

People in most of Canada tend to identify first with their region and second with Canada. Ontarians tend to identify first with Canada and second with Ontario. Why do you think this is the case? What does it tell you about how Ontarians view themselves?

CONNECTIONS

In the federal riding of Oak Ridges–Markham, a single member of Parliament represents 228 997 Canadians. Compare that with the national average: 108 691.

Central Canada

In 2007, Toronto filmmakers Albert Nerenberg and Robert Spence made a documentary that was jokingly titled *Let's All Hate Toronto*. In the film, the two travelled to various parts of Canada to take a tongue-in-cheek look at why Toronto is often described as the city Canadians love to hate.

Although the film was a joke, it points out a troubled relationship. A number of Canadians resent Central Canada, especially Toronto.

The resentment has historical roots. For much of Canada's existence, Central Canada was the country's economic powerhouse. Newcomers settled in that region first. Big cities grew there first. Investors financed projects there first. Over time, infrastructure, transportation networks, and communication networks gave Central Canada a leg up. The region's proximity to markets in the United States encouraged manufacturing and trade, and its mineral and forest resources helped it flourish.

Cause and Consequence: How might the success enjoyed by Ontarians and Québeckers have affected how they viewed themselves and others?

Another factor that may have driven resentment against Central Canada is its sheer size. In 2013, 13.5 million Canadians lived in Ontario and 8.1 million lived in Québec. Together, they made up 62 per cent of the Canadian population, which has given the region a political advantage. The country's political system follows the principle of representation by population — provinces and territories with higher populations have proportionally more seats in Parliament. The result? Ontario and Québec have always held the most seats. Consequently, people in other regions sometimes feel their concerns may be ignored or overlooked by their own federal government.

Figure 2–21 Population and Representation in the House of Commons, 2013

According to this table, are Ontario and Québec fairly represented? Could they nonetheless dominate politically? How would you adjust the seat allocation?

Province /Territory	Population*	Percentage of Canada's Population**	Seats in House of Commons (Total = 308)	Percentage of Seats in House of Commons**
Newfoundland and Labrador	526 700	1.5%	7	2.27%
Prince Edward Island	145 200	0.4%	4	1.30%
Nova Scotia	940 800	2.7%	11	3.57%
New Brunswick	756 100	2.2%	10	3.25%
Québec	8 155 300	23.2%	75	24.35%
Ontario	13 538 000	38.5%	106	34.42%
Manitoba	1 265 000	3.6%	14	4.55%
Saskatchewan	1 108 300	3.2%	14	4.55%
Alberta	4 025 100	11.4%	28	9.09%
British Columbia	4 582 000	13.0%	36	11.69%
Nunavut	36 700	0.1%	1	0.32%
Northwest Territories	43 500	0.1%	1	0.32%
Yukon	35 000	0.1%	1	0.32%

* Population is estimated as of July 1, 2013. ** Percentages have been rounded. Source: Statistics Canada

A Reversal of Fortune

The global economic crisis that began in the fall of 2008 severely affected manufacturing in Ontario. Manufacturers across the province suffered, and the province's once prosperous automotive industry was hit especially hard. At the same time, other provinces were flourishing because of new oil wealth. Overnight, Ontario was not the powerhouse of the federation. By 2009, it had become a “have-not” province. It qualified for **transfer payments** — extra funds from the federal government. That year, it received \$347 million of extra help.

In 1867, the BNA Act gave control of resources to the provinces. Yet nature did not distribute resources equally across the country. Some provinces have better economic advantages than others. The **equalization** program began in the 1950s, when Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent persuaded prosperous provinces to share some of their wealth. St. Laurent's goal was to ensure that all Canadians received similar public services, no matter where they lived. To achieve this, the federal government used some of its tax revenue (which it collects from citizens in all provinces) and gave it to less prosperous provinces, such as Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Until 2009, Ontario was the only province that had never received equalization payments.

The federal government calculates the amount of equalization payments. It can choose to change how it calculates the amount each province receives, so any change causes a lot of tension between provinces and the federal government. Ontario, for example, was set to qualify for equalization five times before 2009. But every time, the federal government adjusted the calculation so that Ontario would not qualify. Now Ontario does qualify. In 2014, it received \$3.17 billion. But for 2015, the calculation rules were changed once again, and Ontario was to receive \$1.18 billion less than it had expected.

Is equalization working for Central Canada? Québec receives more in transfer payments than any other province. And now Ontario has received support as well. However, Ontarians receive less in public services per capita than do residents of most other provinces. The cost of living is higher in Ontario, so it simply costs more to pay the salaries of public employees such as firefighters, teachers, and nurses. Also, a 2013 report by the Mowat Centre revealed that Ontario sends \$11 billion more to the federal government than it receives back in transfer payments, so it continues to contribute to the well-being of other provinces, some of which have higher levels of public services.

Cause and Consequence: Is the equalization program an example of political co-operation? How does it make Canada stronger? How might unfair treatment threaten that positive result?

Check Back

You read about Ontario's financial difficulties in Chapter 1.

Voices

There's still a perception out there that Ontario is the fat cat. It's all part of a pattern where everybody assumes Ontario is big enough to look after itself. The answer is increasingly it isn't. It's not able to provide the level of public services that other provinces can.

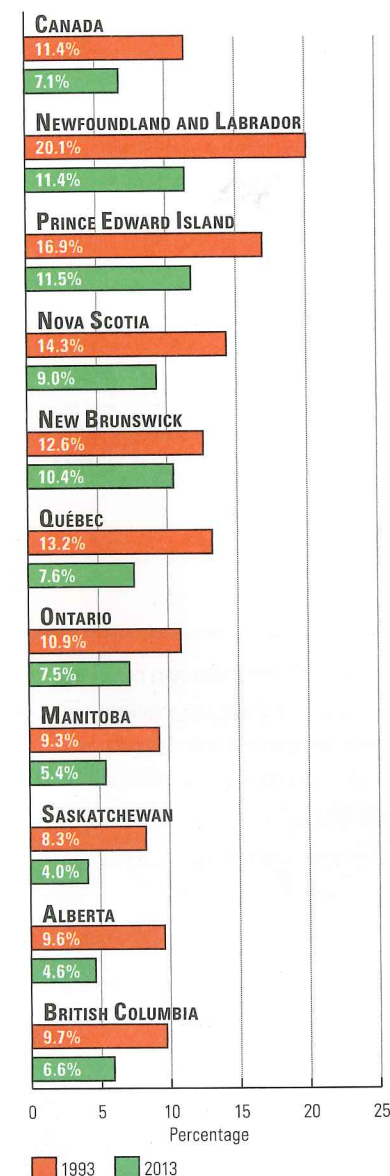
— Tom Courchene, economist with the Institute of Research on Public Policy, 2011

Figure 2–22 What thoughts or feelings are each of the characters experiencing? What is artist Brian Gable trying to communicate through this editorial cartoon?



Figure 2–23 Canadian and Provincial Unemployment Rates, 1993 and 2013

If you were planning a move to improve your job prospects, which province would you consider moving to? What factors besides the unemployment rate might influence your decision?



Source: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey

Atlantic Canada

Canada's Atlantic region consists of four provinces: Nova Scotia, Newfoundland and Labrador, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island. Through much of the 20th century, the region was defined by its economic troubles. Known as a have-not region, the Atlantic provinces have endured some of the lowest wages, employment rates, and incomes in the country.

In the 1980s, the collapse of the fisheries sent the already troubled region into a crisis. Many people who had fished all their lives had few skills that could be transferred to other jobs. To make matters worse, much of the other employment in the region was seasonal, linked to tourism or agriculture.

Unemployment rates in the Atlantic provinces were the highest in the country, with Newfoundland and Labrador being the worst off. There, the annual unemployment rate sometimes hit highs of more than 20 per cent.

A Changing Outlook

In recent years, the Atlantic region's outlook has begun to change. The discovery of oil reserves off the coast of Newfoundland and Labrador has resulted in a small economic boom, and in 2008 the provincial government declared its first budget surplus.

This surplus enabled the province to reduce its debt, increase spending on roads and other infrastructure, and upgrade water and hydro services. In 2009, as Ontario became a have-not province, Newfoundland and Labrador became one of the "haves." For the first time, it would not receive equalization payments. This situation continued into 2014.

Role Reversal

Atlantic Canadians have a history of migrating west, often to Ontario or Alberta, to look for work. In 2013, Alberta attracted more than 100 000 Canadians from other provinces and territories. But the change in the economic outlook of Newfoundland and Labrador means that, for the first time in years, young people in the province may be able to find work at home.

Although Alberta continues to attract Easterners, some are staying home or returning home. One young man who was working in the Alberta oil sands was able to move home after finding work as a welder in St. John's. He said, "I [have] no real reason to be up in Alberta when the work is here, and there's good money here."

Historical Perspective: How might the migration of young people to Alberta be viewed by Albertans? By the provinces and territories losing their young people? By young people who leave their homes to find work?

Viewpoints on History

New Hope for the Future

The Atlantic provinces have often been defined by their economic status as have-nots. Should they be? This label is sometimes hurtful. The following are two views on the future of the Atlantic region.



FRANK McKENNA is a former premier of New Brunswick. During his political career, he led three consecutive majority governments before retiring in 1997. This is an excerpt from his final speech as premier.

I can tell you that federal dependency is the opiate of this region, Atlantic Canada. Dependency — unemployment insurance, welfare cheques, transfer payments — have all become a narcotic to us . . . it shaped everything that we are. We know it to be true. We know it better than anybody else in Canada.

But the times, they are a-changin'. Those people who stand up and say that Atlantic Canada wants more unemployment insurance money are not speaking for Atlantic Canada. That is not the way we feel.

Now there are those, I think quite justifiably, who criticize aspects of reform that do not put the incentives in the right place and still create disincentives to work. That's fair criticism.

But to suggest that what we want in Atlantic Canada is more of the same is dead wrong. That's not what we want. That's not what we need.



DANNY WILLIAMS, a former premier of Newfoundland and Labrador, was frequently in the news because of his feisty defence of his province's interests. The following is an excerpt from a speech Williams made after signing the 2005 Atlantic Accord, an

agreement with the federal government over how his province's income from oil resources would affect equalization payments. In short, they would not affect the equalization calculation.

The effort to secure a better deal on the Atlantic Accord was about more than money for the people of Newfoundland and Labrador. It was about integrity and dignity and honour, and it was about pride . . .

The prime minister lived up to his commitment to the people of Newfoundland and Labrador, and equally as important, the federal government recognized the inequity our province has endured for many years. This is a defining moment in the history of Newfoundland and Labrador . . . [M]ost importantly, it represents a new beginning for the people of Newfoundland and Labrador. Today, we are finally turning the corner, and we are ready to seize the opportunities to stand on our own two feet. Today, we start a journey towards self-sufficiency and prosperity.

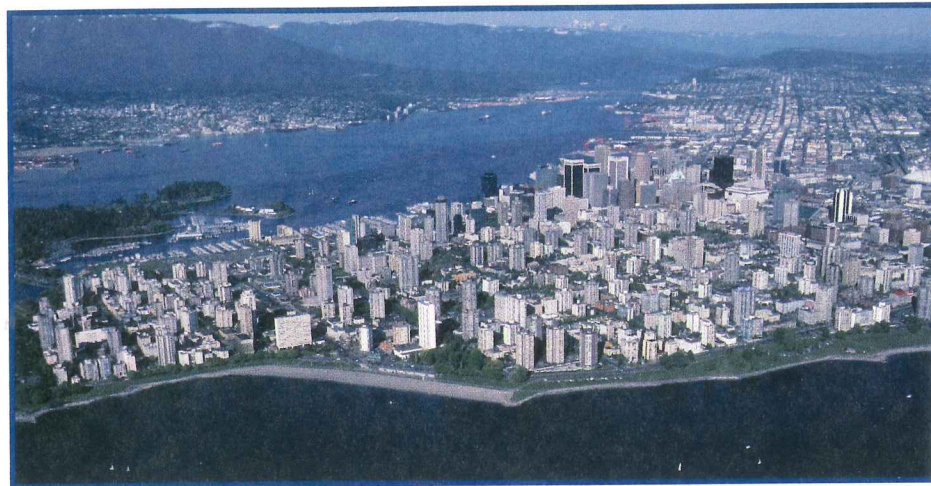
Explorations

1. One politician talks about attitudes. The other speaks about a specific deal. Paraphrase the message of each politician.
2. Danny Williams described the signing of the Atlantic Accord as "a defining moment in the history of Newfoundland and Labrador." What evidence would prove to you that he was right?
3. The Atlantic Accord kept Newfoundland and Labrador's oil and gas revenues out of the equalization calculation, giving the province a chance to catch up economically to the rest of the country. Considering the goal of equalization program, was the accord fair to the other provinces? Explain your opinion.

The West

Alienation is a sense of being left out when one should rightly be involved. In the late 20th century, feelings of alienation were boiling over in the Western provinces — Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia. Former Alberta premier Peter Lougheed summed up the situation when he said in 2001 that “western Canadians are turned off by the priorities and actions of the federal government. They feel that despite the efforts of some very good and able federal cabinet ministers from the West, Ottawa neither understands nor appreciates the needs and hopes of Westerners.”

Figure 2–24 Located on Canada’s West Coast, Vancouver hugs the Pacific shoreline at the foot of the Coast Mountains. How might this mountain range contribute to regionalism?



Voices

There is a bit of a feeling in [Alberta] that Québec has received special status and treatment and distinct privileges because it has talked the language of separation. As a strategic matter, there are people here saying, well, we have concerns; they may not be based in culture, they may not be based in language, they may be different historically, but we have our own set of concerns that we want to make sure are on the table.

— Sheilah Martin, law professor,
University of Calgary, 2001

The West Wants In

Feelings of alienation in the West were so strong in the 1980s that they led to the creation of a new federal political party in 1987. The federal Liberal and Progressive Conservative parties of the time had both been created in Central Canada and had been dominated by politicians from that region. The founders of the Reform Party of Canada believed their party would be different. Its purpose was to focus the federal government’s attention on Western concerns. The party’s slogan was “The West Wants In.”

Preston Manning, an Albertan and Reform’s first leader, called for provincial equality with no special status for Québec. His party also demanded parliamentary reform, including an elected Senate in which Canada’s various regions would be equally represented.

By 1990, the Reform Party had become a significant political force in the West. In 1993, it won 52 seats in the House of Commons. Then, in the 1997 federal election, the party won 60 seats — and Manning became leader of the Opposition. But all the Reform seats were in the West, so the Western politicians continued to feel like outsiders even in Ottawa.

How could the Reform Party gain real power? Manning noticed many similarities between the policies of the Reform Party and those of the Progressive Conservative party. So in 1998, Manning started a movement called the United Alternative. Its goal was to “unite the right” and create a conservative party with a national political base.

The West Gets In

In an attempt to persuade Progressive Conservatives to join them, members of the Reform Party voted in 2000 to dissolve their party and create the Canadian Alliance. In 2002, Stephen Harper, a Calgary politician, was elected leader of the Alliance.

Harper eventually succeeded in uniting the Alliance and Progressive Conservative parties. Together, they formed the Conservative Party of Canada and won the 2006 federal election. Stephen Harper became prime minister and his party won enough seats to form a minority government.

The May 2011 election won the Conservatives enough seats to form a majority government. Politicians from the West finally had the power to make their vision of Canada come to life.

The Alberta Boom

While Alberta has been gaining political power, it has also been gaining economic power. In 2012, its GDP per capita was \$80 200 — higher than that of any other province or state in North America. This success results in large part from a booming oil industry. Wages are high and unemployment is low.

Many Albertans see themselves as self-starters and belt-tighteners. Many prefer low taxes even if it means low levels of public services, so Alberta governments comply. Some Albertans feel resentful of provinces that have higher levels of public service. Québeckers, for example, enjoy lower university and college tuition rates, cheaper public daycare (\$7 per day in 2014), and more generous parental leave than any other province. But Québeckers pay for these extra services with higher provincial taxes than any other province.

Evidence: Examine the Voices feature for words, phrases, or arguments that reveal alienation. Do you accept Smith’s argument? Why or why not? In your opinion, should Albertans feel alienated? Justify your opinion.



Figure 2–25 Ali Walker drives a large road rolling machine at the Syncrude Mildred Lake oil sands plant. Being a part of something really big like the oil sands can affect one’s outlook. How would it affect your thoughts about being Canadian?

Voices

What we now tout as traditional Canadian values and virtues — unearned entitlements, paying people not to work, paying provinces not to succeed (and not to secede) — all these were unthinkable to the stalwart people who founded and built Canada. Today’s celebration of the easy ride . . . [is] the complete antithesis of [Canadian values and virtues].

— Danielle Smith, leader of Alberta’s
conservative Wildrose Alliance

Recall . . . Reflect . . . Respond

- Four provinces are resource rich: British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Newfoundland and Labrador. In 2014, these were the “have” provinces. Is it fair that they benefit from being resource-rich provinces while others don’t?
- For each region, describe factors that have increased or decreased levels of alienation over the years.
- What changes would you recommend to make Canada’s political system work more effectively for all Canadians?
- Should Canadians stay in a federation that isn’t perfect? Why do Canadians continue to try to get along?

Countless Causes, Copious Consequences

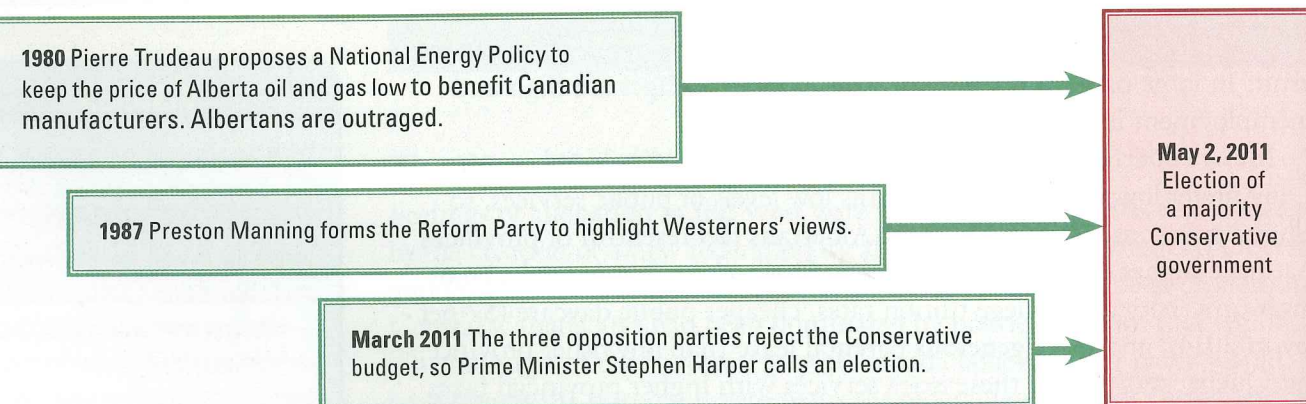
Every event in history happens for many reasons. Let's assume that while riding your bicycle you crash into the door of a parked car. How did it happen?

A car door was swung open in front of you! But that wasn't the only cause. Long ago someone invented the bicycle. Later, a city planner designed the street without a bike lane. Years ago, you learned how to ride a bike. Last year, you bought a new bike. Today, the rain let up so you decided to take your bike. Finally, while riding along a row of parked cars on Main Street, a driver swung open the car door without checking to see if a bicycle was coming. The result? You crashed into it.

Your crash would not have taken place at all if a single one of those causes hadn't happened. Every event comes about because of a combination of long-term, short-term, and immediate causes. The graphic below illustrates just three causes of the election of a majority Conservative government in 2011.

Consequences work the same way. Some are immediate, happening almost at once (you bleed after falling off your bike). Others happen in the short term (for years, you're nervous riding beside parked cars). And some are long term (you advise your seven-year-old daughter of the dangers of riding beside parked cars).

Figure 2-26 In this graphic, short-term causes are close to the event, while long-term causes are farther away. How else could you show this relationship graphically?



Explorations

1. The paragraph shown tells about Alberta becoming prosperous from oil. Turn it into a graphic that illustrates the causes and consequences of oil sands revenues taking off in the early 21st century. Distinguish between immediate, short-term, and long-term causes and consequences.
2. What do you think might be the short- and long-term consequences of Alberta oil wealth on Alberta's relationship with the rest of the country?

Mini History of an Oil Boom

Millions of years ago, dinosaurs and plants died, dropping to the seabed that is now Alberta. Over time, they turned into fossil fuels. Much later, in 1947, oil was discovered in Leduc, Alberta. This discovery boosted Alberta's economy, and by the early 1960s, the province stopped receiving transfer payments. The technology to separate the bitumen (thick oil) from the sand had been invented by Karl Clark in 1926. However, it wasn't until 1967 that the first plant began to process oil sands.

Oil sands revenue began to take off at the beginning of the 21st century. Since then, Alberta has had low levels of unemployment and high levels of revenue. The revenue will continue to benefit Canadians. Scientists predict, however, that the long-term effects of burning all those fossil fuels will be disastrous for the planet.

Will our differences break up Canada?

Canadians are diverse in multiple ways: culturally, politically, and economically. This diversity can bring great benefits to Canada. But what happens when people from one segment of society feel that their needs are not being met within Canadian federation? Could any of our differences be reason enough to break up the country?

Supporters of Québec sovereignty think so. They believe that Québec is so different from the rest of the country that staying within the Canadian federation is intolerable. They argue that Québeckers need to become "masters in our own house" by making Québec a sovereign country. They believe that Québec could better protect its language and culture if it did not have to endure what it thinks of as interference from Ottawa.

The 1995 Sovereignty Referendum

A particularly low point in Québec–Canada relations came in the mid-1990s. Canadians had resisted efforts to give Québec special status within federation. Québeckers elected a Parti Québécois government in 1994 and Jacques Parizeau became premier. Known for his fiery support of separation, Parizeau promised Québécois that they would be able to vote in a sovereignty referendum on October 30, 1995.

When the vote was held, **federalists** (those who favour staying in the Canadian federation) managed a narrow victory and Québec stayed in Confederation. But many Canadians were pessimistic about the country's future. A year after the referendum, a public opinion poll by Angus Reid and Southam News revealed that 63 per cent of Québécois and 40 per cent of English-speaking Canadians believed that Canadian unity was threatened.

A Need for Clarity

The margin of victory in the 1995 referendum was so slim that it did not resolve the sovereignty issue. Many Canadians, both inside and outside Québec, argued that it was not a victory at all.

In addition, many said that the referendum question had been so confusing that people were unsure of what they were voting for or against. The question asked: "Do you agree that Québec should become sovereign, after having made a formal offer to Canada for a new economic and political partnership, within the scope of the Bill respecting the future of Québec and of the agreement signed on 12 June 1995?"

Several other aspects of potential separation were unclear. For example, if a vote for sovereignty was won but Aboriginal peoples in Québec wanted to stay in Canada, they couldn't just pick up and move to Ontario. There would be no easy answers.

Up for Discussion

According to the 2006 census, 264 195 Québeckers were Aboriginal in that year. What happens if the majority of Québeckers want to separate but Aboriginal Québeckers don't?

Figure 2-27 To show respect for French Canadians, some Canadians have suggested redesigning the flag as shown in this photograph. The red and blue in the "duality flag" symbolize the importance of Canada's British and French heritage, as well as the country's official languages. The maple leaf symbolizes the land and the importance of Aboriginal peoples. What do you think of this idea?



Voices

In no democracy in the world can a government proceed with something as serious as the break-up of the country, and abdicate its constitutional responsibilities toward one quarter of its population, without having the assurance that this is what that population truly wants.

— Stéphane Dion,
former minister of intergovernmental
affairs and author of the Clarity Act

In Response to the Referendum

In response to the referendum results, the government of Prime Minister Jean Chrétien passed the Clarity Act in 2000. This act set up clear rules for all future separation referendums anywhere in the country:

- Before a vote, the House of Commons will decide whether or not the proposed referendum question is clear.
- Any question that does not refer only to separation will be considered unclear.
- After the vote, the House of Commons will decide whether or not a clear majority has been achieved — 50 per cent plus one may not be accepted as enough support for separation.
- All provinces and Aboriginal peoples will be part of the discussions.
- A constitutional amendment will be required before a province can separate.

Figure 2–28 On the one hand, if separatists have political support, they can return to the question of separation over and over until finally they achieve a “yes.” They only have to win once. Federalists, on the other hand, must win every time. Given this cartoon, what do you think Michael de Adder thought about this situation? What details in the cartoon tell you that he’s making fun?



A Change of Heart?

In 2012, the people of Québec tired of the Liberal provincial government, and they elected a Parti Québécois minority government. Was this a sign that Québec was ready for a third referendum? Premier Pauline Marois thought they might be, so in 2014 she called an election hoping for a majority so that she could hold a referendum. But Québeckers would have none of it — they gave the Liberals a majority government instead.

Further, a March 2014 Internet poll commissioned by Radio-Canada showed that only 39 per cent of decided respondents in Québec supported sovereignty. That means that 61 per cent favoured continuing Québec’s membership in the Canadian federation.

Recall... Reflect... Respond

1. The Canadian Press named the 1995 sovereignty referendum Canadian Newsmaker of the Year, suggesting that it was an historically significant event. This marked the first time that an event, rather than a person or group, had been chosen for this award. Do you agree with this designation? Explain your response.
2. Choose and describe either the 1995 referendum or the Clarity Act. Speculate about this development from at least two perspectives; for example, from the perspective of the federal government, Québec separatists, Québec federalists, and other Canadians.
3. Do you believe that diversity will break up the country or bind it together? Provide examples to support your conclusion.

Approaching Secularism

In 2014, the minority provincial government of the Parti Québécois proposed Bill 60, which it called a Charter of Values. The intended purpose was to reinforce the secular nature of Québec society. Secularism consists of two principles:

1. Religious institutions should not be involved in government.
2. All people, regardless of their religions and beliefs, should be equal before the law.

In Canada, no religious institution is involved in running the government, and all people are considered equal before the law, as guaranteed by our Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

Yet some government workers wear symbols of their religion or beliefs. Does this religious expression violate the first principle of secularism? One view is that true secularism in a government is accomplished when the state guarantees and respects individual expression of religion, even among its employees.

Another view is that the government should rid itself of even the appearance of religious influence. Premier Pauline Marois and members of her cabinet stated that by wearing obvious religious symbols, government employees would make it seem as though the government was not neutral. Through the Charter of Values, they wanted to ban “easily visible” religious symbols including the *hijab* (Muslim headscarf), *kippah* (Jewish skullcap), and turban (Sikh head covering).

Figure 2–29 Three Perspectives on What the Charter of Values Represented

Elections can be seen as the people’s opportunity to speak with one voice. What did the Québec public think of the government’s proposed Charter of Values? Just consider the election results: The Liberal party took 70 seats, while the Parti Québécois won 30.

Premier Pauline Marois saw the charter as a step to protect the public sphere from religious influence: “It will become, I’m certain, a strong uniting element between Québeckers. We’re moving forward in the name of all the women, all the men, who chose Québec for our culture, for our freedom, and for our diversity.”

Fariha Nazvi-Mohamed, Montréal-based blogger for the *Huffington Post*, saw the charter as something very different: “Bill 60 is government-sanctioned employment discrimination, pure and simple. It is being dressed up in the veil (pardon the pun) of secularization, to marginalize religious minorities, religious identities, and all those who are committed to a religion other than that which Québec was founded upon.”

Philippe Couillard, leader of the Québec Liberals, viewed it as a political ploy: “I see this as quite an obvious attempt to move citizens’ attention away from jobs and the economy.”

Explorations

1. Restate in your own words, the various perspectives on the Parti Québécois’ proposed Charter of Values. What did Québécois voters think?
2. How would your understanding of the Charter be limited if you had access only to the perspective of
3. The different perspectives of the Charter highlight differences among Canadians in Québec. What did the 2014 Québec election result tell us about whether or not those differences will break up the country?

Chapter 2 Review

Knowledge, Understanding, and Thinking

- List three types of diversity that have played a significant role in Canada's development since 1982. Rank the three in order of importance from most to least important. Explain the criteria you used to decide.
- Identify three economic developments that have affected three different regions and their relationships with the rest of the country. In each case, assess the significance for different people in Canada.
- Find a current news story that reflects how Canada's founding nations — Aboriginal, French, and English — continue to influence the country's politics today. Explain your choice.
- If Canadians believe that the current political parties do not represent their views, they can form a new party, as the Green movement did in 1983. Why is freedom to express diverse political views an important democratic principle?
- Canadian politics is influenced by the country's geographic, cultural, political, social, and economic diversity. What are some contemporary consequences of this diversity?

Communicating and Applying

- Unless you're Aboriginal, you or your ancestors came from somewhere else. So Canada's history stretches back to that immigration experience (see p. 60). The story of K'naan — a Canadian phenomenon — would not be complete without the telling of his idyllic childhood in Somalia, an encounter with a grenade, and an escape from civil war on the last flight out of Mogadishu in 1991.
 - Seek out stories about the immigration experience of you, a family member, your guardian, an ancestor, or a family friend.
 - Create a presentation of the story, using photographs, maps, drawings, family trees, or any media of your choice.
 - Present your immigration story to a group of students or your class.
 - After seeing all the presentations, discuss how the diverse experiences and contributions of various immigrants have helped shape Canada.
- Historical Significance:** Review the criteria for defining historical significance (p. 6) and choose one historically significant issue or event that you read about in this chapter. Record reasons for your choice. Compare your choice and the reasons you made it with those of a partner. After this discussion, revise your response if necessary.
 - Was the issue or event you chose significant to Canada as a whole or to a specific group of people or region? Explain your reasoning.
 - Explain how the event or issue you chose reflects the influence of diversity on Canada, and what it says about how we get along — or don't get along.
 - Will the event or issue you chose continue to be significant in 10 years? In 25 years? Explain the reasons for your response.
- Cause and Consequence:** To help understand causes and consequences, it is sometimes useful to think about intentions and results. This is because actions taken to achieve a specific goal often have unintended consequences.

Think, for example, about what happened after Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent first thought of setting up an equalization program.
 - What were St. Laurent's intentions?
 - What were the immediate consequences?
 - In the long term, who has benefited most and why?
 - What long-term imbalances or tensions resulted?
 - Which of these consequences might be considered intentional — and which unintentional?
- Form a small group to investigate cultural diversity in Canada's largest cities. Each student chooses a different city.
 - Individually, investigate the cultural diversity of your chosen city. What are the major groups? Are there unique neighbourhoods, dedicated commercial areas, or cultural events? What programs help people overcome differences?
 - Share your findings with your group. Together compare the cultural diversity in your cities. Discuss the major benefits and challenges of cultural diversity.

- Historical Significance:** Québec is not the only province to hear rumblings of separation. Alberta has had a few parties advocating for separation. At its peak, the Alberta First Party won 0.87 per cent of the popular vote in the 2001 provincial election. In the April 2001 issue of *Policy Options*, columnist Lorne Gunter pointed out some differences between Québec and Western Canada. Though some Québeckers really seem to want to leave Canada, Gunter wrote, Westerners do not.

Gunter wrote that Québec is actually "more entwined in Canada than the West is. Québec is a more central part of the country — always has been — with more influence on national policies and institutions. It's more dependent on federal cash, and would be more hurt by a split."

As a result of this situation, separating would be harder for Québec than for Western Canada. "[Separation] would more profoundly [split Québec's] population, do more damage to its economy, run more contrary to its history and culture. Western separation wouldn't be inconsequential, but it wouldn't be nearly as devastating on the region, either."

- Explain the arguments Gunter used to support his conclusion that Québec is "more entwined in Canada than the West is."
 - Do you agree with Gunter's conclusion that separation would affect Québec more negatively than it would the West? Explain your response.
- Examine the information in Figure 2–30. This table compares the population and area of four Canadian regions with the population and area of Sweden and Norway, which are independent countries.
 - On the basis of your analysis of the data, consider the following questions: Do you think Canada should be divided into four separate countries? Should it be divided in a different way? Should it be divided at all? Explain your judgments.
 - Do population and area alone provide a valid basis for deciding whether or not a region should become an independent country? Explain your judgment.
 - The needs of a particular country vary according to its size.* In what ways is this statement accurate? In what ways is it inaccurate? Use Canadian examples to support your responses.
 - Are a country's size and its diversity related? Explain your response.

Figure 2–30 Sweden, Norway, and Canadian Regions: Population and Area

Compare the relative sizes of the populations and areas. Which have the highest density? The lowest?

Country or Region	Population–2013* (Rounded)	Area (Rounded)
Sweden	9.5 million	450 000 sq km
Norway	5.0 million (2012)	324 000 sq km
The North Yukon, Northwest Territories, Nunavut	0.1 million	3 524 500 sq km
Atlantic Canada Newfoundland and Labrador, Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick	2.4 million	428 000 sq km
Central Canada Québec, Ontario	21.7 million	2 618 000 sq km
The West Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, British Columbia	11.0 million	2 906 000 sq km

*Estimated

- Across the country, economic opportunities — or lack thereof — affect whole communities. A small town in a remote part of Northern Ontario may not enjoy the range of job opportunities that are available to people who live in Southern Ontario. Access to services such as health care and public transportation may also be affected by where people live. Rural residents, for example, must often travel long distances to see a doctor. Work with a group to come up with the best answers to the following questions.
 - How does the economy affect your community? What are the major sources of jobs? Have there been any major changes to your community in your lifetime, such as layoffs or the appearance of new businesses?
 - What other kinds of diversity characterize your community, and what are the effects?
 - How does your region benefit from being in the Canadian federation?
 - What could your community do to improve relations with other regions of the country?