

Not Welcome in Canada

While the Canadian government was trying to attract certain immigrants to Canada, it was discouraging others. Blacks from the United States, for example, and people from India, China, and Japan were unwelcome.

Canadian government statements said that Black people were “unsuited to the climate of Canada.” Black Canadians faced open discrimination. In Nova Scotia, for example, separate schools for Black students were set up in 1918, and in 1921, the Québec Superior Court ruled that racial segregation was acceptable in the province’s theatres.

Chinese immigrants had been required to pay a head tax since 1885, and once in Canada, neither Chinese nor Japanese people were allowed to vote. Then, in 1923, Parliament passed the Chinese Immigration Act, which barred nearly all Chinese immigrants.

This law meant that male Chinese workers already in Canada could not bring their wives or children to this country. As a result, the Chinese community developed as a largely bachelor society in which fathers and husbands were separated from their families. Their wives in China were left to raise their children on their own, often in poverty. Fewer than 50 Chinese immigrants were allowed into Canada between 1923 and 1947.

In British Columbia, people from India had been barred from voting in 1907. They were not allowed to run for public office or become lawyers, accountants, or pharmacists. In a further effort to discourage immigration from India, Parliament passed the Continuous Passage Act in 1908. This act said that a ship carrying people from India could not stop in any port along the way — an impossibility on a two-month voyage.

The Komagata Maru Incident

In 1914, a ship called the *Komagata Maru* was hired to carry Indian passengers to Vancouver from Asia. The ship took on passengers in Hong Kong, Shanghai, and Yokohama. But when it entered Vancouver Harbour on May 23, Canadian officials refused to allow the passengers to get off the ship. The ship had violated the Continuous Passage Act.

For two months, the *Komagata Maru* sat in the harbour while the Indian community in Vancouver supplied the passengers with food and appealed to the courts for help. But public opinion was overwhelmingly against allowing entry, and on July 23, the ship was escorted out of the harbour and sent back to India.

When the ship arrived in Kolkata, India, it was met by British police, who treated the passengers as criminals. Some were killed and others were arrested and jailed.

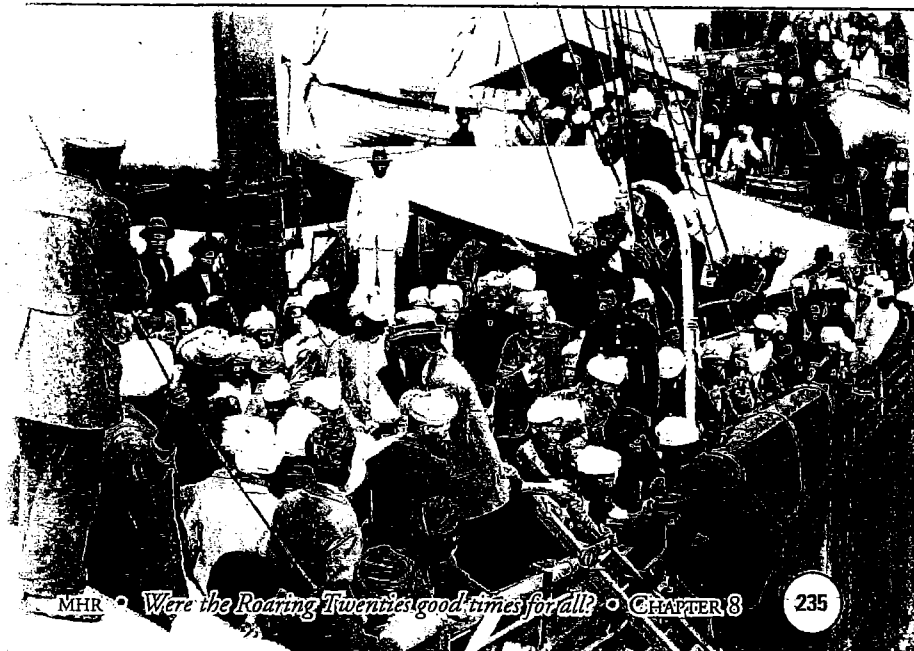
A

Voices

There are continual attempts by undesirables of alien and impoverished nationalities to enter Canada, but these attempts will be checked as much as possible at their source.

— Supervisor of European continental immigration for Canada, 1923

Figure 8–12 When the *Komagata Maru* entered Vancouver Harbour, it carried 376 passengers, mostly Sikhs. This photograph shows the crowding the passengers endured on the voyage and while waiting to hear whether they would be allowed to disembark. As the months went by, what thoughts might the passengers have had about the country they had chosen to make their new home?



Lessons of the Chinese Immigration Act

An old saying goes that we can learn from our mistakes. The same can be said for humanity. Our ancestors have not always made good decisions, but we can draw on that experience to help us see a larger picture about the problems that we face today.

One such episode from history was Canada's treatment of Chinese immigrants. In his 2006 apology, Prime Minister Stephen Harper has called it "a grave injustice, and one we are morally obligated to acknowledge."

In 1881, the federal government wanted to build a railway connecting the country from east to west. So it recruited thousands of Chinese labourers to help build it. But in 1885 when the railway was complete, Canada decided to curb immigration from China. All immigrants from China would have to pay a special head tax. This decision was the result of race-based discrimination. No other immigrants had to pay this fee.



HENRY H. STEVENS was a Conservative member of Parliament for Vancouver City Centre in the early 20th century.

I have no ill-feeling against people coming from Asia personally, but I reaffirm that the national life of Canada will not permit any large degree of immigration from Asia . . . I intend to stand up absolutely on all occasions on this one great principle — of a white country and a white British Columbia.

With the Chinese Immigration Act of 1923, the federal government went one step further, barring all immigration from China. Between 1923 and 1947, fewer than 50 Chinese immigrants were allowed into the country. In protest, Canadian Chinese businesses closed their doors on July 1, called it Humiliation Day.

The head tax slowed Chinese immigration to a trickle, and the Act of 1923 ended it altogether. Together, these laws condemned most Chinese men already in Canada to a life without their wives and children. Not only their families suffered, but also Canada. These policies didn't just result and reflect racism. They legitimized and encouraged racism within Canadian society.



KAREN CHO is a documentary film director based in Montréal, Québec. Her documentary *The Shadow of Gold Mountain* tells the story of the Chinese head tax.

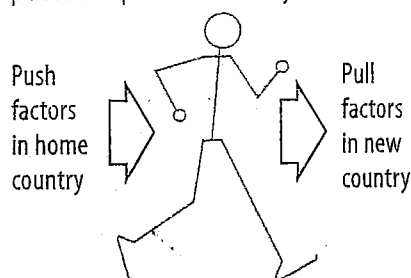
It was shocking. It was just grossly unfair. . . . Why were the Chinese the only ones who were asked to pay the head tax, while my family from Britain came with the promise of free farmland? I was born mixed-race. I'm not considered 100 per cent Caucasian; I'm not considered 100 per cent Chinese; I can only call myself 100 per cent Canadian. It is just terrible how my [Chinese] family was affected by that.

Explorations

1. What lessons would you draw from the history of the Chinese Immigration Act?
2. Today, potential immigrants to Canada must show some ability to speak either English or French. Is the language rule an underhanded way to exclude people from certain countries? Or is the requirement a sensible way to ensure that there will be common languages of communication in Canada? Explain your answer.
3. Develop a "Read First" warning for officials developing immigration policies. Use the Chinese Immigration Act or another historical example of your choice to support your recommendations.

Figure 8–7 Push and Pull Factors

Potential immigrants are affected by push factors, which urge a person to leave a country, and pull factors, which attract a person to a particular country.



Voices

I think a stalwart peasant in a sheepskin coat, born on the soil, whose forefathers have been farmers for ten generations, with a stout wife and a half-dozen children, is [a] good quality [immigrant].

—Clifford Sifton, former minister in charge of immigration, in an interview, 1922

Check Back

You read about the classification of some immigrants as enemy aliens in Chapter 6.

Figure 8–8 Immigration to Canada, 1914–1934

At each point identified on the graph, decide whether push factors, pull factors, or other factors were at work. Explain your reasoning.

- A** 1914–1918 World War I
- B** 1917–1918 Russian Revolution
- C** 1918–1919 Spanish influenza pandemic;
1919 Mussolini founds Fascist Party in Italy
- D** 1925 The Railway Agreement allows the CPR
to recruit immigrants directly from Europe
- E** 1929 The Great Depression begins

What were the impacts of immigration policies?

Before World War I, the Canadian government had actively recruited immigrants. About three-quarters of the more than 2.5 million immigrants to Canada between 1896 and 1914 had come from Britain and the United States. Most of the rest had come from European countries, including about 150 000 from Ukraine.

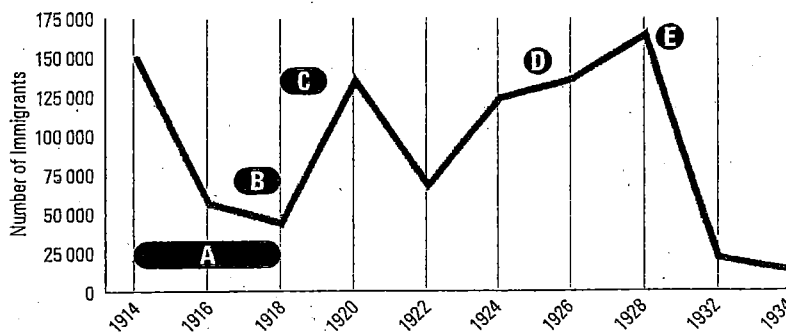
Immigration is affected by **push and pull factors**. Push factors are conditions, such as poverty, lack of political or religious freedom, and famine, that persuade people to leave their homeland. Pull factors are possibilities that exist in the place people are going to and may include the chance of a better life, as well as political and religious freedom.

In some European countries, for example, Jews and Armenians faced persecution. Meanwhile, advertising campaigns promised farmland for those who wanted to immigrate to Canada. Groups fleeing religious persecution, such as the Doukhobors and Mennonites of Russia, were attracted by the relative religious freedom in Canada.

Government Policies

Many of the restrictive government policies that had led to the internment of “enemy aliens” during World War I continued afterward. As Canadian soldiers returned home and unemployment increased, new immigration policies denied entry to more people. Canada’s Immigration Act of 1919 barred people from countries that had sided with the Central Powers, those who were illiterate or who held socialist or communist beliefs, and people who had “peculiar customs, habits, modes of life, and methods of holding property.” This situation improved in the 1920s, when railway and steamship companies persuaded the government to loosen restrictions on immigration from Europe. At the time, no separate category existed for refugees. People seeking refuge from persecution were treated the same way as other immigrants.

Cause and Consequence: Today, Canada recognizes refugees as a specific class of immigrant entitled to special consideration. Depending on where the refugee has come from, what push factors might be at work?



Source: Statistics Canada

Immigrants Who Were Welcomed

After World War I, the federal government created the Department of Immigration and Colonization and set out to attract British immigrants, especially farmers who had the skill and temperament to be successful on the Prairies. White Americans were also welcomed.

At the time, much of the available Prairie farmland was owned by the Canadian Pacific and Canadian National railways. Both companies launched advertising campaigns in Britain, often using materials that showed well-established communities with schools, churches, railway stations, and roads. British immigrants could borrow money from the railways to pay for their passage and to buy land. They could even buy houses and barns from the railway companies.

In 1923, the British and Canadian governments co-operated in the 1923 British Settlement Act, which promoted the immigration of British workers to Canada. The British government hoped that the scheme would relieve some of the social stresses that were affecting postwar Britain.

Ethical Dimension: Canada's federal government ran its campaign to attract immigrants like a serious public relations operation. Potential immigrants in Britain and Europe were bombarded with pamphlets, posters, and speakers. Was it ethical for the government to exaggerate the benefits of coming to Canada when the government wanted to populate the country?

Seeking Religious Freedom

For decades before World War I, Hutterites, Mennonites, and Doukhobors had immigrated to Canada to escape religious persecution. These communities, which trace their beginnings to 16th-century German-speaking countries and Russia, believed in pacifism — settling disputes by peaceful, rather than violent, means. They also believed in communal ownership of property.

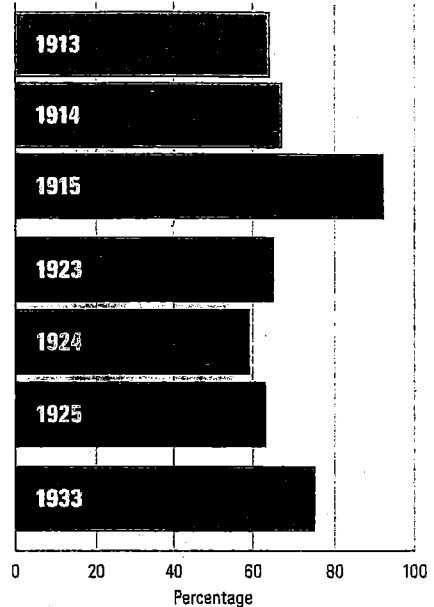
Through the centuries, these communities had been forced to move from country to country in search of a home where they could live and practise their religion in peace. Many Hutterites, Mennonites, and Doukhobors were prosperous farmers who had money to buy farmland in Canada, and the Canadian government welcomed them to settle in Ontario and on the Prairies.

Ironically, although Canada already had a large Francophone population, Canada did not advertise for French-speaking immigrants. The government preferred Eastern Europeans, who would be more likely to learn English.

Figure 8-10 In 1924–1925, Canadian Pacific Railway used the Canadian pavilion at London's British Empire Exhibition to campaign for immigrants. This poster was part of that campaign. What pull factors were designed to persuade British families to immigrate to Canada?

Figure 8-9 Percentage of Immigrant Arrivals in Canada from Britain and the United States

Compare the percentages in this figure with information from recent Canadian censuses (page 34). How does the new information reflect changes in Canadian immigration policies?



Source: Statistics Canada, *Canada Year Book*, 1937

Check Forward ➔

You will read more about the War Measures Act in Chapter 15.

The War Measures Act

E

In 1914, the Canadian government passed the War Measures Act to help it respond to the war. The act gave the government the power to pass laws without the approval of Parliament while Canada was at war. It could also overrule provincial laws, censor the news media, tell manufacturers and farmers what they must produce, imprison people without trial, and label some people enemies of Canada.



Figure 6–24 The Castle Mountain Internment Camp in Alberta was one of many similar camps across Canada. Most of those interned in Castle Mountain were Ukrainians. What details in the photograph tell you about conditions at Castle Mountain?

Enemy Aliens

In the years before World War I, the Canadian government had actively campaigned to attract immigrants from Europe. This meant that, by 1914, more than a million people from regions that were part of the German and Austro-Hungarian empires lived in Canada. Some were recent immigrants, but others were descended from immigrants who had arrived long before.

Some people feared that these immigrants could become spies who might sabotage the war effort. As a result, the government used the power of the War Measures Act to label more than 800 000 people **enemy aliens** — people who had come from an enemy country — and to restrict their rights.

Many so-called enemy aliens were forced to carry identification cards and report regularly

to authorities. They were not allowed to publish or read anything in a language other than French or English, and they could not leave the country without permission.

More than 8500 people, mostly of Ukrainian and German heritage, were placed in internment camps and forced to build roads and railways, work in mines, and clear land. The internees at Castle Mountain Internment Camp in Alberta, for example, helped develop Banff National Park.

At the time, the 400 000 Canadians of German heritage were the third-largest ethnic group in Canada, after the English and French. But schools and universities were not allowed to teach the German language, German-language newspapers were banned, and some German Canadians were fired from their jobs. In Montréal and Winnipeg, rioters destroyed German-owned shops, and the town of Berlin, Ontario, renamed itself Kitchener, after Britain's war minister, who had died when his ship hit a German mine.

Historical Perspective: Despite their treatment, thousands of Canadians of Ukrainian and German heritage enlisted in the Canadian Forces. Think about Canadian identity and nationhood, and explain what might have motivated them to respond to their situation by signing up.

Up for Discussion

Is suspending people's rights a reasonable response to war?

Figure 8–11 Rebecca Frey, shown here at the Kitchener Farmers' Market in 1994, is a member of the Mennonite community that continues many traditions. How might maintaining traditions help — and hurt — people's attempts to deal with change in society?

Fleeing Persecution

During World War I, about 4000 Hutterites, originally from Russia, immigrated to Alberta from South Dakota. In the United States, they had been persecuted because they spoke German and their pacifist beliefs had led them to refuse military service. When they asked American officials to direct their taxes to the Red Cross rather than to pay for the war, public opinion turned against them even more.

By 1919, public opinion in Canada was also turning against Hutterites, Mennonites, and Doukhobors. They were viewed by many as “foreign” and unpatriotic because of their pacifist beliefs. And some people were jealous of their success as farmers.

When the Conservative government restricted immigration after World War I, fewer members of these three groups were allowed into Canada. But in 1922, the Liberals returned to power and immigration became more open. Between 1923 and 1929, for example, more than 22 000 Mennonites fled the Soviet Union and settled on farms in Ontario and on the Prairies.

Youth Making History

A British Home Child

In the late 19th century and the first part of the 20th, as many as 100 000 British orphans and children of families who were poor were sent to Canada as part of a special immigration program. Called “home children,” they were sent to work, usually on farms, until they were adults. The following is part of Percy Brown's story of his experience as a home child.

I was fourteen, in 1927, when the opportunity arrived ...
I was asked if I would like to go to Canada ...

In March 1927, I boarded the *Montrose*. I don't remember a lot of details about the journey ...

After landing ... I took a three-day train journey to Hamilton. There I stayed with Mr. Hill until he found me a place to stay ...

The first place was a farm in Caledonia. There the owners viewed me and another young boy as workers only. I worked outside from about 5 a.m. to sometimes 10 p.m. I was allowed to stop only for a few minutes to eat my meals ...

After six weeks of very hard work for which I was paid five dollars a month, I was returned to Mr. Hill ...

My second place of work was in Drumbo. The farmer and his wife treated me as if I were their own child ... I spent a wonderful six-year period with them.

Am I glad that I came to Canada? Indeed, yes! Canada has allowed me to follow many pathways; it has granted me a successful living and an opportunity to have a wonderful family. I have been very blessed.

Explorations

1. Why do you think that both the British and Canadian governments supported the program for home children? List two criteria government officials might have used to justify their support.
2. Are there any circumstances today that might justify a program that involved sending orphans or children from families who are poor to another country to work?

New Beginnings

(F)

Millions of people had been uprooted by the war. Many had no home to return to; others were refugees fleeing persecution. Europe's postwar economy was in ruins, so jobs were scarce. Canada attracted many of these now homeless people.

At the time, Canada's immigration policies were restrictive. In 1923, for example, the government had closed its doors to nonsponsored immigrants unless they were farmers, British, or American. Eventually, men such as C.D. Howe — who became Canada's minister of reconstruction after the war — recognized the demand for labour in Canada's growing manufacturing industry. By 1952, the government had brought in a new Immigration Act, and between 1947 and 1953, more than 186 000 European refugees came to Canada.

Jewish Immigration

At the end of the war, 250 000 Jewish Holocaust survivors found refuge in temporary shelters in Germany, Austria, and Italy. These were camps where survivors could begin to recover and try to find relatives. But they had to decide where to go next, because many could not or would not go back to the places they once had called home. Their search for a new home was difficult, because many countries still would not accept Jews. Of the 65 000 refugees Canada admitted between 1945 and 1948, about 8000 were Jews.

As a result of pleas from the Canadian Jewish community, the government eventually agreed to permit 1000 Jewish war orphans to immigrate to Canada. Nearly 800 settled in Montréal and Toronto. When the new Immigration Act was made law in 1952, the number of Jewish immigrants increased. As many as 40 000 Jewish Holocaust survivors eventually made Canada their new home.

Figure 12-4 Jewish Immigration to Canada, 1928-1959

Examine the data in the bar graph. What changed? What factors do you think contributed to these changes?

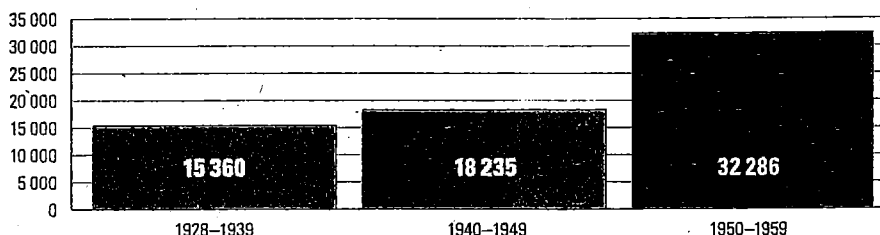


Figure 12-3 Two young would-be Canadians wait to be processed in the Immigration Examination Hall at Pier 21 in Halifax in 1952 — the year Canadian immigration restrictions were finally relaxed. Do you think it is easier for young people to move to a new country than it is for adults? Why or why not?

Voices

On the trip west, I couldn't get over the immensity of the huge spaces and the sparse settlements along the way. You could see forever. As I crossed Canada by train, it occurred to me that so many people could have been saved in this vast country. So much land and yet no room for Jewish refugees during the war.

— Robbie Waisman, a Czechoslovakian Jewish war orphan who came to Canada at the age of 17, 1948

Voices

We must nevertheless seek to keep this part of the continent free from unrest and from too great an intermixture of foreign strains of blood, as much the same thing lies at the basis of the oriental problem. . . . I fear that we would have riots if we agreed to a policy that admitted numbers of Jews. Also we would add to the difficulties between the Provinces and the Dominion.

— William Lyon Mackenzie King, prime minister, in a diary entry, March 1938

Figure 9–29 The *St. Louis* in the harbour of Havana, Cuba, and two passengers at a porthole. With land in sight and fleeing Nazi anti-Semitism in their homeland, the passengers were told they would not be allowed to stay. How might the outcome have been different if today's communication tools had been available to the passengers?

Did intolerance grow in Canada?

Germany was not the only place in the world to persecute Jews. While Jewish immigration to Canada had held steady during the 1920s, during the Depression, all immigration dropped dramatically. In 1936, for example, fewer than 12 000 immigrants arrived.

Anti-Semitism — prejudice against Jews — was widespread in Canada. Jews were often excluded from clubs and other social organizations and discouraged from buying homes in certain neighbourhoods.

Cause and Consequence: In Canada, hate groups, such as the Ku Klux Klan, sprang up. Encouraged by anti-Semitic activities in Germany, where the Nazis were persecuting Jews and other minorities, these groups targeted visible minorities, Jews, and Catholics. What strategies might governments use to deal with the rise of hate groups?

Canada had no refugee policy that allowed immigrants to be accepted on the basis of need. Jews who faced persecution in Germany were required to follow the same immigration procedures as other applicants. And because few immigrants were being accepted, German Jews had little hope of escaping to Canada.

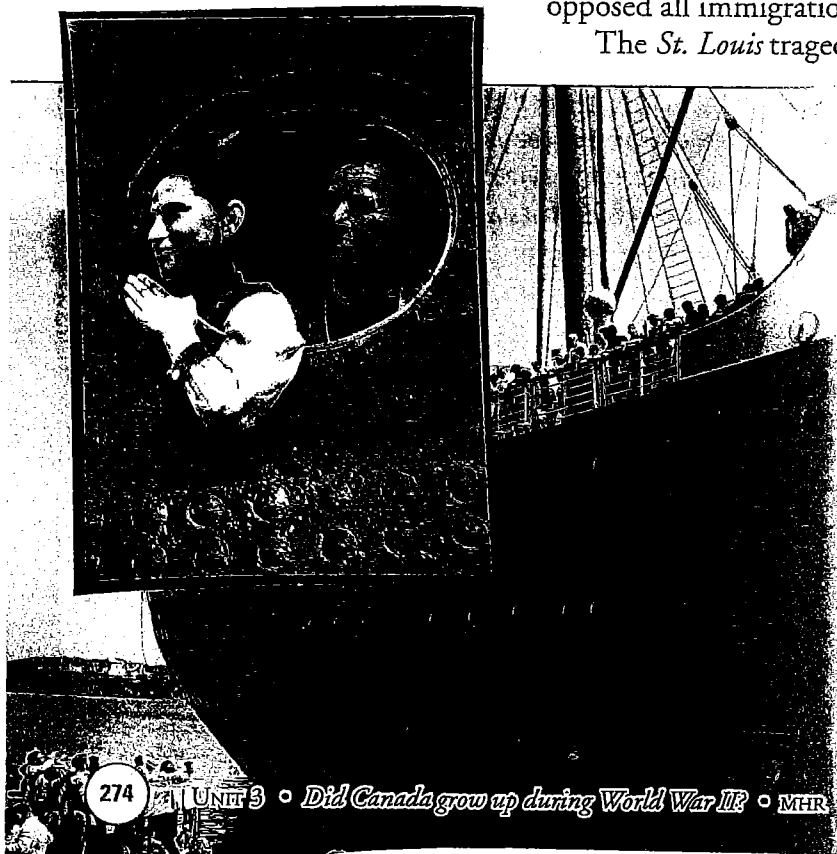
From 1933 to 1945, Canada admitted fewer than 5000 Jewish immigrants. During the same years, the United States accepted more than 200 000, Britain accepted about 70 000, and the city of Shanghai, China, received tens of thousands of Jewish refugees.

The *St. Louis*

Though Liberal prime minister William Lyon Mackenzie King was sympathetic to the problems of German Jews, he was also convinced that allowing Jewish refugees into Canada would threaten national unity and his party's political support in Québec. There, the provincial government opposed all immigration.

The *St. Louis* tragedy showed the depth of anti-Semitism in the upper chambers of the Canadian government. In the spring of 1939, the passenger liner *St. Louis* left Hamburg, Germany, with more than 900 Jews on board. Trying to escape Nazi persecution, they were bound for Cuba. They carried tourist visas but hoped to be accepted as refugees. But when they arrived, they were not allowed to disembark.

So they appealed for help to both Canada and the United States, but both countries refused to accept them. The *St. Louis* was forced to sail back across the Atlantic. Some of the refugees were eventually allowed into European countries that were taken over by Germany during World War II — and more than half the passengers were eventually killed by the Nazis.



Toward a Multicultural Society

Canada's various immigration acts had restricted the ability of many people, such as Asians, to enter Canada. This policy remained in force until after World War II. Then, between 1947 and 1952, nearly 200 000 European refugees were admitted.

Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King told the House of Commons, "The policy of the government is to foster the growth of the population of Canada by the encouragement of immigration."

This still did not mean that everyone was welcome. King also said, "The people of Canada do not wish, as a result of mass immigration, to make a fundamental alteration in the character of our population. Large-scale immigration from the Orient would change the fundamental composition of the Canadian population." Views like this go back to the early 20th century when Chinese people were not allowed to immigrate to Canada without paying a head tax.

In the 1960s, a new openness developed, in part because Canadians were learning through the media about humanitarian disasters and relief efforts in other parts of the world, such as India, Chile, and Yugoslavia. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which envisioned a world without discrimination, also played a role in changing people's attitudes. In 1962, the Conservative government of John Diefenbaker introduced changes to the Immigration Act to eliminate most discrimination based on ethnicity, religion, or national origin.

European immigrants were still able to sponsor a wider range of relatives than immigrants from other parts of the world. But attitudes toward immigration were shifting. Government officials began to focus more on who should be allowed into Canada than who should be kept out. In 1967, the government created a **point system** in an attempt to assess immigrants more fairly. All potential immigrants received points for meeting specific criteria, such as the ability to speak English or French, age, education level, and employment skills.

By the early 1980s, the point system had resulted in many more immigrants coming to Canada from Asia, Africa, and the Caribbean, forever changing the fabric of Canadian society and making its largest communities some of the world's most diverse. Although Canadian immigration still operates on a point system, the government can change the way it awards points, which it did in 2012. Canada continues to award the most points for the greatest amount of education and the ability to speak both French and English fluently. It favours younger applicants and those who have been offered a job that other Canadians would not be likely to take.

Cause and Consequence: How would you improve Canada's point system? What could result from your improvement? Give reasons for your answer.

Check Back

You analyzed statistics about Canada's immigration patterns in Chapter 8, and read about its post-World War II immigration policies in Chapter 12.

G

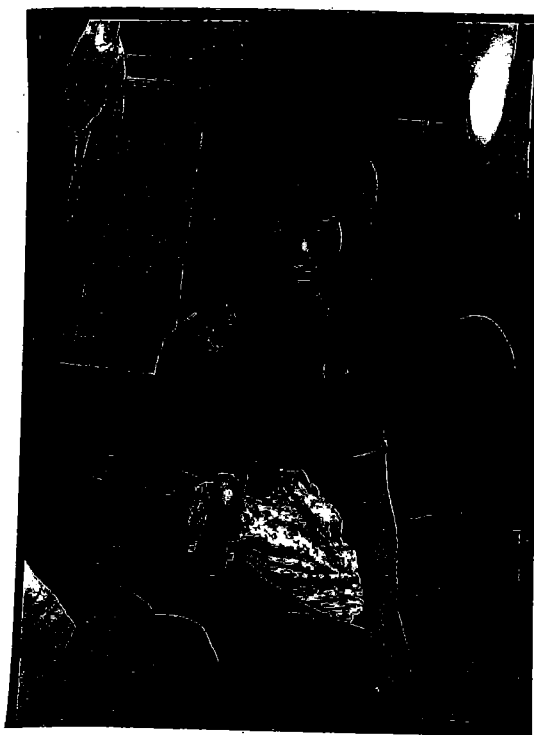


Figure 14-17 A mother and daughter in a boat called *Goela*. They had been picked up in the South China Sea by Médecins du monde — Doctors of the World. When the Vietnam War ended, thousands of Vietnamese fled the chaotic conditions in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Most fled by boat, and many died in the process. Canadians saw what was happening, and many wanted to help. Canada took in about 140 000 Vietnamese refugees.

Picturing Immigration Patterns

When studying a particular society in a particular year, it's always useful to gather specific statistics that give a "snapshot." For example, if you were studying Canadian society as it was in 1950, you might be interested to know that 73 912 people moved to Canada in that year.

But that fact on its own is somewhat limited. Can you tell if immigration is increasing or decreasing? Can you pick up on a trend? Can you see what is changing?



To get the bigger picture you might want to locate a data set that can reveal the process of change. Suppose you dug up statistics that told you 11 324 immigrants arrived in 1940 and 104 111 in 1960. By putting these two figures together with the 1950 statistic, above, you can suddenly see a country experiencing massive increases in immigration over the course of two decades. And you can better picture the societal change that 1950s Canada must have been experiencing.

Now look at Figure 12–6, a much larger set of data about immigration to Canada.

Figure 12–5 Immigrants to Canada, Selected Years

What can you tell from this graph that you couldn't if you had only one year of data?

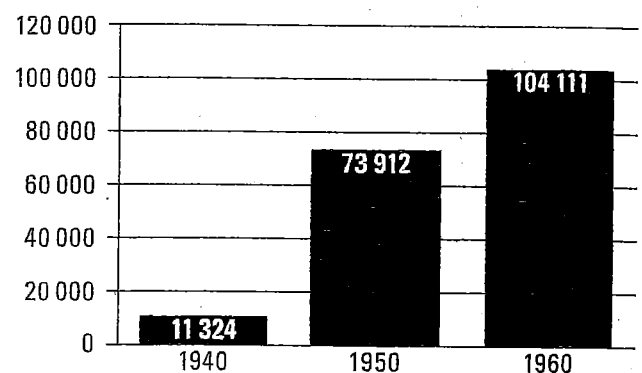


Figure 12–6 More Than a Century of Immigration to Canada

On first glance, which data seem most surprising?

Date	Top Countries of Origin
1900 to 1910	1. British Isles 2. United States 3. Russia* 4. Austria 5. Galicia (Ukraine)
1911 to 1920	1. British Isles 2. United States 3. Russia*
1921 to 1930	1. British Isles 2. United States 3. Poland 4. Russia* 5. Czechoslovakia
1931 to 1940	1. United States 2. British Isles 3. Poland 4. Czechoslovakia

*Many were German Mennonites

Date	Top Countries of Origin
1941 to 1950	1. British Isles 2. Poland 3. United States 4. Netherlands 5. Italy
1951 to 1960	1. British Isles 2. Italy 3. Germany 4. Netherlands 5. United States
1961 to 1970	1. British Isles 2. Italy 3. United States 4. Portugal 5. Greece
1971 to 1980	1. British Isles 2. United States 3. India 4. Portugal 5. Philippines

Date	Top Countries of Origin
1981 to 1990	1. Hong Kong 2. India 3. British Isles 4. Poland 5. People's Republic of China
1991 to 2000	1. People's Republic of China 2. India 3. Philippines 4. Special Administrative Region of Hong Kong 5. Sri Lanka
2001 to 2010	1. China 2. India 3. Philippines 4. Pakistan 5. United States

Source: Statistics Canada

History Is Full of Surprises

Have you ever seen a well-laid plan work out exactly as intended? Perhaps. But much of the time, life has a way of surprising us with unintended consequences.

History works the same way. A warmonger who launches a war may lose. A leader who patriates a constitution may end up with endless, fruitless political debate. A government that launches a program to improve the economy may hurt some of the very people the program was meant to help. History is full of surprises.

In the 1990s, the government created the Federal Skilled Worker Program (FSWP). The intention was to attract skilled, well-educated immigrants who would get jobs, help strengthen the Canadian economy, and help it compete globally.

To some extent that happened. Thousands of health care professionals, skilled tradespeople, and high-tech workers have come to Canada to start a new life. According to Statistics Canada, highly skilled immigrants accounted for about one-third of the increase in employment among computer engineers, systems analysts, and computer programmers in the period following the start of the program. In 2012 alone, more than 57 200 immigrants were admitted under the FSWP.

But for many of these highly skilled immigrants, the story did not play out as hoped. Many of them have had trouble finding work. In 2013, for example, the unemployment rate of all Canadians with a university degree was 4.4 per cent. In contrast, the unemployment rate of landed immigrants with the same education stood at 7.2 per cent.

One also has to consider the types of job they got. Many highly qualified immigrants ended up working but not in the jobs that they were trained for. They came to Canada hoping to be a dentist, for example, and ended up driving a taxi.

What is causing the problem? Some have difficulty getting Canadian certification in their field. Discrimination may also be a factor.

Figure 4-16 Edwardo Alvarez, a Cuban educated as an aerospace engineer in Russia, stocks shelves at the Fairmont Royal York Hotel in Toronto. Alvarez had immigrated to Canada but could not find work in his field. What could Canada do to help Alvarez change his circumstances?

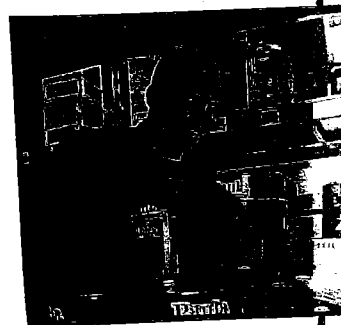
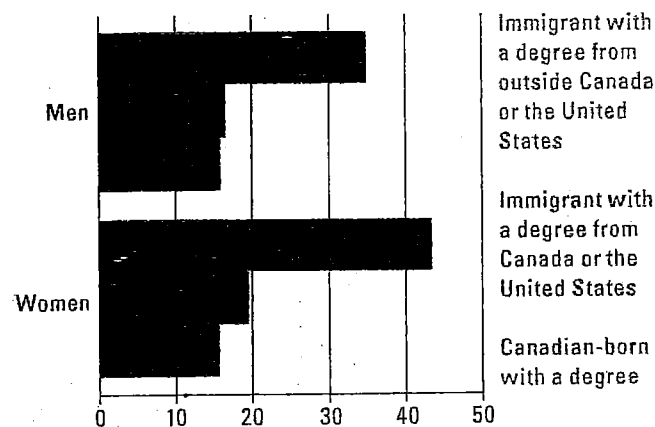


Figure 4-17 Percentage of Immigrants with University Degrees in Jobs with Low Education Requirements

Which gender is more successful at gaining employment that matches qualifications? What trends do you see?



Source: Statistics Canada

Explorations

1. Another unintended consequence of the FSWP was the negative effect on less-developed countries. Critics point out that Canada's actions have lured trained health care workers away from their homelands, where they are often desperately needed. What responsibility should

governments have for the unintended consequences of the policies that they put in place?

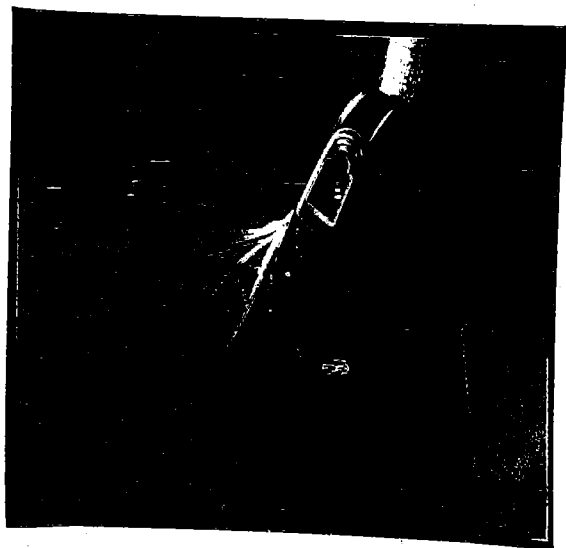
2. Describe the actions of any person from history and the unexpected consequences that resulted.

Voices

On the one hand, we're fighting against terrorism, but we are also fighting for human rights. And it would be the ultimate irony that once we win the battle against terrorism . . . that we are going to be doing it at the expense of civil liberties.

— Andrew Telegdi, Liberal member of Parliament, 2001

Figure 5–26 For seven years, Mohamed Harkat lived under strict house arrest and had to wear an electronic tracking device such as the one shown in this photograph. Harkat was suspected of being a sleeper agent — a person who blends into a target society for years before being directed to commit an act of terrorism. He denies the accusations. The house arrest rules were relaxed in 2013. How far should Canada go to protect its citizens from potential terrorism?



A Culture of Fear

Terrorism seeks to instill fear in a civilian population. The 9/11 attacks on the United States created a lot of fear. Many Canadians worried that Canada might experience similar attacks.

So, how should a government respond to terrorism? Canada went to war to catch the terrorists. And it started beefing up security at home. Screening of passengers at airports, for example, increased substantially. On the one hand, Canadians welcomed these measures because they wanted to be safe. On the other hand, they worried because increasing surveillance reduces individual civil rights.

On December 18, 2001, Parliament passed the Anti-Terrorism Act, which defined terrorism as an action taken “for a political, religious, or ideological purpose, objective, or cause.” In addition to making terrorism a crime, the act

- allowed police to detain suspected terrorists without charge for three days
- made it easier to conduct electronic surveillance of suspected terrorists and to make preventive arrests
- allowed judges to force witnesses to provide evidence during investigations
- allowed the government to designate groups as terrorist organizations

In addition, the Anti-Terrorism Act makes it illegal to contribute money to groups that support terrorism. As of June 2014, a government list identified 51 such banned groups. The World Tamil Movement, for example, was added to the list in 2008.

Deporting Non-Citizens with Security Certificates

One of the most controversial anti-terrorism tools is the security certificate. The government issues these to detain, try, and deport noncitizens whom it believes threaten national security. The proceedings are kept secret because the evidence may threaten national security. The evidence is never revealed either to the accused or to the public.

But Canada has signed an international convention that prohibits deporting people to countries where they face torture. In 2009, five people — all of Middle Eastern origin — were in this position. On the basis of secret evidence, they had been declared security threats and ordered deported. But they could not be deported because they faced torture in their homeland. So they stayed in Canada and spent years in detention or under house arrest. The Supreme Court ruled in 2014 that the security certificate system was constitutional.

Ethical Dimension: Security certificates can be used to deport only noncitizens. Citizens were protected by the Charter of Rights and Freedoms and other laws. Should Canadian law protect everyone equally?

Maher Arar: Canadian Defender of Civil Rights

In September 2002, Maher Arar, an engineer with dual Canadian–Syrian citizenship, was flying home to Ottawa after a family holiday in Tunisia. On a stopover in New York, he was detained by American officials. After receiving misleading information from the RCMP, the Americans accused Arar of being a terrorist and deported him to Syria. Why would they send him to Syria, where he had not lived for nearly two decades? Could it be that they knew the Syrian security forces would go further than Canada would to try to get answers out of Arar?

In Syria, Arar was jailed and tortured periodically over the course of a year. He says, “I stayed in Syria, most of my time, in an underground cell which is the size of a coffin, basically. It’s about three feet [1 m] wide, six feet [2 m] high and about seven feet [2.5 m] deep. It was a filthy place. It was dark.”

In the meantime, Arar’s wife, Monia Mazigh, brought her husband’s treatment to the attention of the media and human rights groups, which put pressure on the Canadian government to seek his release. Thanks to Mazigh, Arar was finally set free and allowed to return home.

In response to continued pressure, the Canadian government set up an inquiry to investigate the events that led to Arar’s deportation. The inquiry found no evidence that he was involved in terrorism, and in 2007, Prime Minister Stephen Harper formally apologized and announced that Arar would receive \$10.5 million in compensation.

Cause and Consequence: Arar worked passionately to clear his name and draw attention to national security issues. In 2007, *Time* magazine named Maher Arar as one of the 100 most influential people in the world. The United States still had him on a watch list, however, so he could not travel to the ceremony. As of 2014, the United States has still not apologized. How might the whole incident affect the Canada–U.S. relationship?

Figure 5–27 Maher Arar and Monia Mazigh consult during a news conference in 2004. How do you think their struggle to persuade the Canadian government to acknowledge that Arar’s rights had been violated may have affected their view of Canada?



Recall... Reflect... Respond

1. Two different Canadian news sources used the following headlines when reporting Maher Arar’s deportation:
 - “U.S. deports respected Canadian to Syria”
 - “United States deports suspected terrorist to Syria”

The two headlines are nearly the same. Which words are different? What biases do these words show? How might each headline have influenced people’s view of the fairness of the deportation?

2. The 9/11 attack hugely affected Canada and the world. Describe examples of both co-operation and conflict between the United States and Canada. Overall, did it lead to more co-operation or more conflict?

Social Change and Identity

K

Social change is fundamental change in how society works. It involves big shifts in behaviour and values. The feminist movement was social change. The abolition of slavery was social change. How we behave

toward one another is fundamental to our idea of who we are as a society, so social change affects Canadian identity.

At the beginning of the 20th century, Canadian laws discriminated against specific groups. Laws discouraged people of Asian heritage, for example, from immigrating to Canada. Laws prevented women, Aboriginal people, and certain ethnic groups from voting.

But as the country's demographics changed, ideas about whose rights should be protected — and how — began to change. By the beginning of the 21st century, Canada had become a society that emphasized respecting the rights of all people.



Figure 1–8 These Bhutanese refugees, who were once part of a religious minority in Bhutan, wait to apply to resettle in Canada and other Western countries. Canada stepped up to the plate and eventually promised to accept 6500. What does this say about the character of Canada?

Becoming a Nation That Welcomes Refugees and Immigrants

Every year, Canada welcomes about 240 000 to 265 000 immigrants and refugees. At one time, Canada did not accept refugees — people fleeing persecution in their homelands. The country accepted only immigrants.

Canada's behaviour has changed. For example, in late 2008, 24 Bhutanese refugees were welcomed to Saint-Jérôme, Québec. By June 30, 2013, the Canadian government said it had resettled nearly 5500 more Bhutanese refugees across Canada. These refugees were among 100 000 people — mostly Hindus of Nepalese heritage — who had been forced out of Bhutan in the early 1990s. They had been living in refugee camps in Nepal. Canada decided to help because helping refugees is a cornerstone of Canadian policy.

Immigration policies have shifted over the years, too. At one time, immigration law automatically rejected people of certain ethnicities or from certain countries. Canada has since changed its approach to accept immigrants from any country in the world as long as they meet certain unbiased criteria. We measure potential immigrants using a point system to ensure fairness. Higher points are awarded for qualities such as advanced education, fluency in either English or French, solid work experience, or a job offer. Age is also a factor. Applicants between 21 and 49 years old score highest. Ethnicity is not a criterion.

In the spring of 2014, the federal government proposed further changes to the Immigration Act that made it more difficult for immigrants to become citizens. Potential citizens would have to wait longer.

Cause and Consequence: In your opinion, do Canada's changes in refugee and immigration policy reflect Canadian identity, affect Canadian identity, or both? Supply the evidence that helped you form your opinion.

Voices

After all, everybody wants to become full citizens. But they are making this a really long path. . . . We have formed ties, socialized, worked, and paid taxes in Canada. At workplaces, hiring priorities are given to citizens. Without voting rights, you can't change things in your community, and you become an underclass.

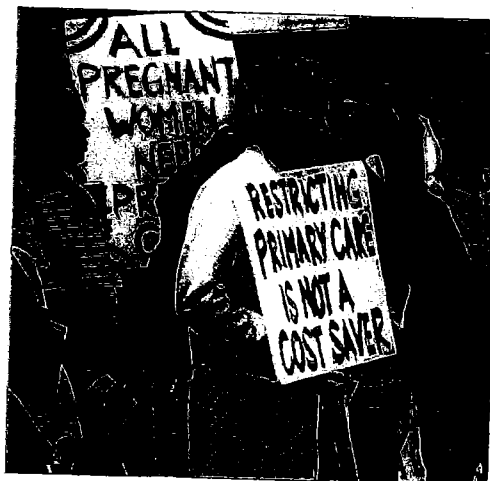
—Alex Linkov, a design engineer from Israel who waited four years to become a permanent resident



Refugees of War

Figure 5–17 Syrian families wait their turn in Lebanon to register as refugees of the Syrian civil war in 2014. About 6.5 million Syrians have been internally displaced and 2.5 million have fled Syria altogether. Canada agreed to take 1300 Syrian refugees by the end of 2014. How can we balance human suffering against Canada's ability to absorb new citizens?

Figure 3–21 In 1985, the Supreme Court of Canada ruled that the Charter guarantees not only Canadians but also refugee claimants in Canada life, liberty, and security of the person. Yet in April 2012, the federal government cut back on the level of health care it provides refugee claimants. An organization called Canadian Doctors for Refugee Care staged the 2013 protest pictured in this photograph. In 2014, they launched a court challenge. Should the Charter apply to everyone who arrives in Canada?



Equity for Refugee Claimants