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**MULTICULTURALISM IN THE CANADIAN FORCES:
AN EVOLUTION FROM OBLIGATION TO OPPORTUNITY**

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Abstract

Canada is a multicultural country. Our population is favourably disposed to multiculturalism and we are unique in being the only country in which multiculturalism is embedded in law. Canadian Human Rights and Multicultural legislation is reflected in Canadian Forces policy, first in the Interim Policy on Religious Accommodation and more recently the Chief Military Personnel Employment Equity Plan. While the Employment Equity Plan is forward leaning and expresses opportunity, current practice reflects obligation.

Canada's multiculturalism, experienced as fact, as ethos and as policy, combined with the Employment Equity Plan signals an opportunity to develop and implement practices which will see the Canadian Forces enriched. Far from an idealistic social experiment, intentional practices to enhance the expression of multiculturalism in the Canadian forces should yield operational capabilities not yet realized.

Preface

While employed as the Chief Instructor at the Canadian Forces Chaplain School and centre, the first of two Orthodox Rabbis was selected as a candidate for Chaplain Basic Officer Training. Aware of the need to provide religious accommodation, questions were raised with respect to the impact on training. Three areas of interest were identified: dietary needs, Sabbath restrictions and the utility of the CF Gas mask. The latter issue arose from the Orthodox Jewish tradition of wearing a pronounced beard.

Religious needs were determined through communication with the candidate and the Jewish representative on the Interfaith Committee on Canadian Military Chaplaincy (ICCMC). They were met through the provision of kosher meals, minor adjustments to the program and good fortune. The dietary limitations of Orthodox Jews do not fall under the broad or generic understanding of kosher. While there was some confusion, careful communication, good will and follow-up resulted in success in most respects. By the following year, the second Rabbi and the institution benefited from the experience.

 Modifications to the program were minor. Preparation for the arrival of the first Rabbi revealed mission creep, manifesting in training conducted on Saturday, which was not identified in the Training Plan. Whereas it was not uncommon for Christian Priests and Ministers to maintain Sunday obligations, there was no hardship in releasing a Rabbi to fulfil Sabbath responsibilities.

Of greatest concern was the Universality of Service requirement to successfully complete CBRN drills including the Gas Hut. While both rabbis were able to meet this requirement, it was the result of good fortune, not a good plan. The current CF gas mask normally requires a clean shave to ensure a functional seal. Three approaches to this

problem were proposed with no satisfactory outcome.

The first possible approach was to provide the Rabbis with a razor. This would, of course, ensure an adequate seal but would eliminate any form of religious accommodation. This outcome was unsatisfactory. Operationally, it would prove to be an irrelevant solution, as no Rabbi would have time to shave under CBRN conditions.

The second possible approach was to apply Vaseline to the Rabbi's beard and neck. This would respect Religious Accommodation; however, it would not be practical in an operational setting. Like shaving, applying Vaseline under CBRN conditions adds time and complication, thus eroding survivability. While effective under training conditions, it could prove less so in operations. Furthermore, placing a long beard into a mask in order to expose the neck obstructs the member's vision. This training success would have dubious application in operational conditions.

The third possible approach would be to allow the test to proceed with no modifications. However, failure of the gas mask would represent an embarrassing cultural failure. The prospect of a Jewish Rabbi not being protected from gas while wearing Canadian kit was unacceptable. More than a failure in protective apparatus, it would have represented cultural insensitivity given the experience of WWII. The potential impact of this failure upon the individual and the Jewish community made this option unthinkable.

The solution was Vaseline. While a training success, it was not conducted under field conditions. Success, therefore, may have been declared rather than real.

This declared success raised a question. Where does the cultural limitation lay? Does the limitation rest with the Orthodox Jewish tradition which requires the growth of

a beard? Does the cultural limitation rest with the Canadian Forces which designs or procures operationally necessary equipment based upon a Western Christian tradition of a clean shaven face? If gas masks are available to accommodate beards in other militaries, is the choice of our gas mask an operational requirement or a cultural choice?

The purpose of this paper is not to address Canadian Forces gas masks. This is a representative issue which precipitates questions with regard to the state of multiculturalism in the Canadian Forces. What limitations placed upon Canadian Forces members are thought to be operational requirements but are in fact cultural choices? Is the Interim policy on Religious Accommodation, with its limitations of "fundamental religious requirements" and "undue hardship" a reflection of operational requirements or cultural assumptions? What is the Canadian forces response to multiculturalism in Canada and is this response best suited to meet the needs of the Canadian forces and the realities of Canada's multicultural composition and disposition?

Thesis

While the Canadian Forces is thought to be a "cross section of Canadian society", the manifestation of pluralism as compared to Canadian society does not appear to validate this claim. As an institution of the state, the military is subject to an intentional application of national policy. Canadian demographics and multiculturalism policy indicate a need for the Canadian Forces as Canada's largest government institution to respond. The Chief Military Personnel Employment Equity Plan expresses a will to develop and implement an enhanced manifestation of pluralism and multiculturalism. By so doing, the Canadian Forces has an opportunity to adopt a leadership role among Canadian government institutions.

It is claimed by some that Canada is reluctant to define itself as a nation possessed of a single culture and as a result is favourably disposed to the ideal of multiculturalism.[1] However, it may likewise be argued that it is less bold in defining practice or mandating comprehensive change in institutional structures to reflect the ideal. Canada's policy response has been largely non-invasive.[2] The policy direction of the Canadian Forces seems to be consistent with that of the government, naming specific prohibitions without describing an end state.[3] However, the Canadian Forces has recently mirrored the positive affinity of the Canadian public in the Employment Equity Plan. It is time. The

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1   Augie Fleras and Jean Leonard Elliott, Multiculturalism in Canada: The Challenge of Diversity (Scarborough: Nelson Canada, , 1992), 179.

2   Clifford Jansen, "Canadian Multiculturalism", Chap 1 in Possibilities and Limitations: Multicultural Policies and Programs in Canada (Black Point, Nova Scotia: Fernwood Publishing, 2005), 30, 31.

3 This paper will demonstrate that the language of Canadian Forces policy with respect to the Interim Policy on Religious Accommodation and the Employment Equity Plan mirror that of the Canadian Human Rights Act and the Multiculturalism Act. However, Canadian Forces policy lags behind National policy by a generation in both respects.

Canadian Forces may become more closely aligned with a "cross section of Canadian society" by more comprehensive inclusion of minority cultural communities. Such inclusion may be achieved through the application of practices which have always been a part of the Canadian military tradition.

Canada's multicultural society has evolved, guided by pragmatism. Institutions, however, change by design rather than by default. While the principle function of any military is defence of the nation, militaries are also instruments of the state and may serve a function of nation building. It is in this nation building role that the Canadian Forces can support multiculturalism and enhance its operational capabilities.

Introduction

This paper is divided into five chapters. In the first, terms are identified. And the general effect of the meeting of cultures is outlined with particular emphasis on how the poly ethnic reality is managed in Canada. Multiculturalism will be presented as an attempt to maintain identity while encouraging mutually beneficial cross cultural relationships and interaction. The notion of universal values and the balance between this concept and multiculturalism will be introduced.

Chapter two will describe multiculturalism as fact, ethos and policy. As fact, Canada has an immigrant heritage and reality. Canadian cities and the workplace will be considered as primary venues in which this reality is lived. As ethos, Canadians have come to identify multiculturalism as part of our collective identity. As policy, chapter one will introduce the notion that governments and government institutions respond initially to the needs of society by creating law and policy.

Chapter three considers the policy responses of the Canadian government and military. The Canadian Human Rights Act and the Multiculturalism Act are national policy while the Interim Policy on Religious Accommodation and the Employment Equity Plan are military. The evolution of language and tone in these policies will be examined.

Chapter four illustrates the manner in which two dominant cultures responded to alien or minority cultures in the military context. First, the British experience with the Ghurkhas and second the Soviet response to a poly ethnic armed forces. While different in their approach, there experience is informative; similar lessons are demonstrated.

Chapter five explores multiculturalism in the Canadian Forces and is divided into

two sections. The first section explores how the Canadian Forces may support national

multiculturalism policy and has potential to address some of the challenges of

multiculturalism encountered in society at large. The second section considers the value

added to the Canadian military by adopting measures to create a hospitable environment

or environments for individuals and communities representing minority cultures.

Chapter One – From Culture to Multiculturalism: Definition and Direction

Volumes have been written on the types and effects of cultural interaction. The topic of multiculturalism in Canada continues to be explored. It is beyond the scope of this paper to outline in detail continuing research in this regard. The variety of research and opinion, however, is reflected in nuance in vocabulary. However, understood elsewhere, definitions and understandings have been selected or formulated for the purpose of this paper. While these may or may not represent general consensus, they are the principle vocabulary of interests and represent the meanings implied for this purpose.

Race, Culture and Human Communities

This paper is not about race or diversity. In the first instance, there is a popular understanding of race which categorizes people according to shared physical characteristics and a genetic or anthropological question as to whether race exists.[4] When references to race are made, it is in the popular sense. Some do not separate race from culture.[5] Others "differentiate between ... between ethnic and racial affairs, suggesting, for example, that the interaction of whites and blacks should be discussed in the context of race and not ethnic relations."[6] This paper will follow the latter practice, failing to so forgets, for example, the differences between African and Caribbean culture and language. It also ignores the heterogeneity of Islam which has a more significant impact

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4   Michael J. Bamshad, and Steve E. Olson, "Does Race Exist?" in Scientific American Magazine (December 2003), 8 Page(s)

5   Augie Fleras and Jean Leonard Elliott, Multiculturalism in Canada: The Challenge of Diversity (Scarborough: Nelson Canada, , 1992), 100.

6   N.F. Dreisziger, Ethnic Armies: Polyethnic Armed Forces From The Time of Hapsburgs to the Age of the Superpowers (Waterloo, Ontario, Wilfrid Laurier Press, 1990), 5.

on cultural identity than race alone.

Culture will be considered a combination of elements which enable a community to be identified as part of a larger recognized group. It will normally include "a relatively coherent system of meanings, more or less integrated with social relations, practices, and material objects."[7] While "religious groups, castes, classes, regions and [race] ... as such do not imply a totality of cultural patterns or institutions,"[8] these, combined with "a historical link to distinct total cultures"[9] will be regarded as collectively defining culture. Culture will imply common religion, language, law, relationships, values, attitudes, myth, legends, and celebrations. It will be regarded as belonging to a community and ought not to be confused with individual character or preference. Cultural or ethnic groups will be considered "an involuntary, community."[10] Cultural issues will be considered "essential to community identity and produces a multiplicity of distinct groups"[11] and not representative of choice or preference.

While culture will be considered as applying to communities, diversity will be considered as applying to individuals. Diversity may include race, religion and culture however; it may also be based on other forms of differentiation such as physical or intellectual differences. Where the term "diversity" appears it will reflect the language of

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7   Howell S. Baum. "Culture Matters-But lt Shouldn't Matter Too Much" Chap 8 in Urban Planning in a Multicultural Society (Westpoft, CT: Praege Publishers, 2000), 116.

8   Wsevolod W. Isajiw, Understanding Diversity: Ethnicity and Race in the Canadian Context (Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing Inc., 1999), 19.

9   Ibid, 18.

10   Ibid, 19.

11 Howell S. Baum. "Culture Matters-But lt Shouldn't Matter Too Much" Chap 8 in Urban Planning in a Multicultural Society (Westpoft, CT: Praege Publishers, 2000), 116.

reference material and should be taken to mean pluralism or multiculturalism.

Multiculturalism

While cultural groups may have geography as part of their heritage, this does not imply that culture is geographically static. The migration of peoples seeking opportunity or conquest, fleeing hardship or taken in capture is as ancient as myth and history. The effect on populations has been recounted and recorded as favourable or destructive, rarely neutral. Today, "two per cent of the world's population have found a home outside their country of origin."[12] Some "consider that we have to bow to the inevitable and accept [the] mobility of populations."[13] However, when one cultural community falls under the influence of another, the result is rarely passive. When cultural groups meet, possible outcomes include: annihilation, expulsion, segregation and stratification.[14] Assimilation and amalgamation are considered "the more positive."[15]

Assimilation has until recently been favoured. By this strategy "attempts are made to encourage… the minority to abandon their own culture and adopt the 'superior culture' of the majority."[16] It represents "the modernist worldview and its associated universalist... approaches [of the early to mid 19th century]."[17] While this approach may

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12   Richard Lewis Ed. Multiculturalism Observed: Exploring Identity (Brussles : VUB Brussles University Press, 2006), 7.

13   Ibid, 7.

14   Clifford Jansen, "Canadian Multiculturalism", Chap 1 in Possibilities and Limitations: Multicultural Policies and Programs in Canada (Black Point, Nova Scotia: Fernwood Publishing, 2005), 23.

15   Ibid, 23.

16   Ibid, 23.

17   Shanley Sheen and Thomas Harper. "The Paradox of Planning in a multicultural Liberal

have been effective in modifying the relatively minor differences between Western

societies, its application to the Aboriginal community was disastrous. Its application is

likewise ineffective with non-Western communities. It is, however, sometimes raised in

popular conversation despite the fact that it has proven less useful as policy or practice.

Amalgamation is considered more progressive than assimilation and is a process

whereby "cultures are melted and presumably the best qualities are kept to create a new

culture."[18] It is considered "inclusive" in that its goal is to "create a whole from different

parts,"[19] achieving "social cohesion and unity [by] integrating differences."[20] In some

respects, amalgamation is similar to assimilation. The minority culture will bear the

greater burden of change. The dominant culture will be "enriched." Like assimilation,

amalgamation assumes the presence of a single dominant culture.

Assimilation and amalgamation share the common intent of making the "many"

"one". Multiculturalism or pluralism does not. Assimilation and amalgamation share a

degree of simplicity. The management and practice of multiculturalism is "more complex

than many inhabitants imagine; more complex than governance institutions recognize or

can accommodate."[21] This complexity finds expression in multiple definitions and

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Society: A Pragmatic Reconciliation" Chap 5 in Urban Planning in a Multicultural Society (Westport, CT: Praege Publishers, 2000), 67.

18   Clifford Jansen, "Canadian Multiculturalism", Chap 1 in Possibilities and Limitations: Multicultural Policies and Programs in Canada (Black Point, Nova Scotia: Fernwood Publishing, 2005), 23.

19   Nan Weiner, Ph.D. Making Cultural Diversity Work (Scarbourough, Ontario: Thompson Canada Ltd., 1997), 1.

20   Augie Fleras and Jean Leonard Elliott, Multiculturalism in Canada: The Challenge of Diversity (Scarborough: Nelson Canada, , 1992), 2.

21   Howell S. Baum. "Culture Matters-But lt Shouldn't Matter Too Much" Chap 8 in Urban Planning in a Multicultural Society (Westpoft, CT: Praege Publishers, 2000), 115, 116.

practices.[22]

Assimilation, amalgamation and multiculturalism are all instruments employed by one culture managing others. While assimilation and amalgamation require modification of the minority culture to varying degrees, multiculturalism does not. "Multiculturalism is an official doctrine and corresponding set of policies and practices in which ethno racial differences are formally promoted and incorporated as an integral component of the political, social, and symbolic order."[23]

The essential element of Multiculturalism, which differentiates it from amalgamation, is that it seeks to bring together diverse cultures for a common purpose, allowing each to remain in tact. It has been described as postmodern and recognizes the "importance of identity [the] recovery and strengthening of difference, [and a] focus on identity, difference and culture."[24] The metaphor most commonly applied is that of the mosaic. There is an implication that rather than requiring the minority culture to merge with the dominant, the mainstream will accommodate the needs of the minority. The "multicultural ethos [reconsiders] any norms or practices that are perceived by minorities as unfair or exclusionary."[25] While laudable, the tiles in a cultural mosaic "are not the same size. The reality does not match the ideal."[26] The dominant culture, no matter how

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22   Augie Fleras and Jean Leonard Elliott, Multiculturalism in Canada: The Challenge of Diversity (Scarborough: Nelson Canada, , 1992), 21.

23   Ibid, 22.

24   Shanley Sheen and Thomas Harper. "The Paradox of Planning in a multicultural Liberal Society: A Pragmatic Reconciliation" Chap 5 in Urban Planning in a Multicultural Society (Westpoft, CT: Praege Publishers, 2000), 70.

25   Will Kymlicka, Disentangling the Debate: 137-156 in Uneasy Partners: Multiculturalism And Rights In Canada (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2007), 139.

26   Augie Fleras and Jean Leonard Elliott, Multiculturalism in Canada: The Challenge of Diversity (Scarborough: Nelson Canada, , 1992), 66.

favourably disposed, sets the conditions and terms of the multicultural environment and relationships. [27]

The difference between assimilation, amalgamation and pluralism (multiculturalism) is the degree to which change is expected and the means employed. According to Will Kymlicka, the expectation of multiculturalism is that "liberal democratic values will grow over time and take firm root across ethnic, racial and religious lines, within both majority and minority groups."[28]

Multiculturalism may be described as postmodern, complex and poorly defined. However, it is in this ambiguity that one can find opportunity. Our metaphors, models, definitions and policy are ours to mould to achieve the outcome we desire. Problems are sometimes declared "complex" because their solutions do not fit traditional responses. The presence of multiple cultures is a fact. Canada is poly-ethnic. The model Canada has elected is multiculturalism or pluralism.

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[27]   Wsevolod W. Isajiw, Understanding Diversity: Ethnicity and Race in the Canadian Context, (Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing Inc., 1999), 110.

[28]   Will Kymlicka, Disentangling the Debate: 137-156 in Uneasy Partners: Multiculturalism And Rights In Canada (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2007), 151.

Universal Values

The notion of "Universal Values" is that certain characteristics or ideals are or should be accepted by all peoples, nations and cultures in some commonly identifiable form. A claim that the "Golden Rule", for example, can be found in all religions is a manifestation of this. More broadly, it is an expectation that one experience as "good" as common to all. Often, this core value becomes blurred with the manner in which it is expressed. The assumption of "Universal Values" is that they are objective rather than judgements. This runs counter to multiculturalism in that it removes such values from the possibility of examination or negotiation. "It posits an underlying set of values ... that have a higher priority than the values and interests of any particular group. The notion of universal values does not serve multiculturalism."[29]

In Western convention, "universal values" may be confused with "Christian values" and pattern of life. This reveals confusion between "values" and the cultural narrative through which they are expressed. Confusing "Christian values" with the Christian narrative muddies the space in which meaningful negotiation and accommodation takes place in a pluralistic society. Concerns with respect to religious headdress, old and new, is a manifestation of this confusion. Notwithstanding confusion, Canada's choice is to pursue a path of pluralism while identifying characteristics of our society which will not be compromised.

While there is a contradiction between Universal Values and Multiculturalism, Canada champions both. Although Canada accepts that a policy of assimilation is

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29   Michael A. Burayidi. "Tracking the Planning Profession: From Monistic Planning to Holistic Planning for a Multicultural Society" Chap 3 in Urban Planning in a Multicultural Society (Westpoft, CT: Praege Publishers, 2000), 33.

ineffective and destructive and Canada follows a path of pluralism vice amalgamation, we remain tied to the notion of Universal Values upon which they are based.[30] We have identified characteristics which cannot be negotiated away. It is expected that new or emerging communities will recognize these. Canada reconciles this contradiction by changing the boundaries of "Universal". Whereas it was once assumed that all elements of Western culture were universally superior, we have settled on those that make pluralism possible, human rights, gender equity and toleration. In Canada, these are non-negotiable.

Summary

Race and culture are not synonymous. Neither are diversity and multiculturalism. Culture is a combination of elements held in common by a population, defining it as a distinct group. While culture may include a home land, it is not geographically static. When cultures migrate and share a common geography, the outcome may be annihilation, expulsion, segregation and stratification.[31] Assimilation and amalgamation are considered "the more positive."[32] Multiculturalism or pluralism represents a recent liberal, postmodern, approach.

Multiculturalism attempts to manage this meeting of cultures in such a way as to permit them to remain in tact while functioning in a mutually beneficial relationship.

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30 Michael A. Burayidi. "Tracking the Planning Profession: From Monistic Planning to Holistic Planning for a Multicultural Society" Chap 3 in Urban Planning in a Multicultural Society (Westport, CT: Praege Publishers, 2000), 33.

31 Clifford Jansen, "Canadian Multiculturalism", Chap 1 in Possibilities and Limitations: Multicultural Policies and Programs in Canada (Black Point, Nova Scotia: Fernwood Publishing, 2005), 23.

32 Ibid, 23.

While a combination of multiculturalism and universal values is counter-intuitive,

Canada, to a degree, champions both.

     In chapter two, multiculturalism will be explored in the Canadian context.

Multiculturalism as fact, ethos and policy will represent three broad headings. As fact,

Canada became poly ethnic with British and French colonization of a land already

inhabited by an indigenous population. The fact of continued immigration will be

explored in the urban and workplace manifestation. While social stratification is difficult

to quantify and its manifestation is subject to interpretation, its possibility will be

described as fact. As ethos, the attitude and disposition of Canada, particularly of the

mainstream will be considered. As policy, the need for the government to respond will be

introduced. However, chapter three will explore policy in greater detail.

Chapter Two – Canadian Multiculturalism: Fact, Ethos and Policy

Multiculturalism in Canada

Multiculturalism in Canada is experienced as fact, ethos and policy.[33] As fact,
Canada had an indigenous population before the arrival of Europeans. The early
composition of the European community was French and British which are now defined
as "Charter Groups." Subsequent European migration included many more than French
and English. Chinese were imported to act as labour in the building of our national
railway. Presently, Canada receives 250,000 immigrants a year and "more than 60
percent of our skilled labour requirements are being filled by the foreign-born."[34]

As ethos, Canada is favourably disposed to the concept of multiculturalism.
However, "we know pretty well what the 'multi' in 'multiculturalism' means but are much
less confident about the 'culture.'"[35] This lack of confidence may stem from the fact that
our experiment is as yet untested and boundaries have not been explored.
Multiculturalism in Canada rests "on the yet unproven assumption that national unity and
social cohesion can be moulded by integrating differences into a societal framework-not
denying them." [36]

Our policy commitment to multiculturalism is "unique among western liberal

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33   Will Kymlicka, Disentangling the Debate: 137-156 in Uneasy Partners: Multiculturalism
And Rights In Canada (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2007), 138.

34   Siddiqui, Haroon. No Room for Bigots in New Internationalist: The People, The Ideas,
The Action In The Fight For Global Justice: May 2009, 11.

35   Janice Gross Stein ... [et al.], Uneasy Partners: Multiculturalism and Rights in Canada
(Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2007), 4.

36   Augie Fleras and Jean Leonard Elliott, Multiculturalism in Canada: The Challenge of
Diversity (Scarborough: Nelson Canada, , 1992), 2.

democracies" [37] in its constitutional expression. In part through the Canadian Human

Rights Act and more specifically the Multiculturalism Act, we have "adopted a policy of

recognizing and accommodating ethno cultural diversity within our public institutions,

and celebrating it as an important dimension of our collective life and collective

identity."[38] These commitments are more than an articulation of a disposition but are

embedded legal commitments.[39] Their language is in some sense limited in important

respects they address multiculturalism on an individual level which is reflected in

institutions such as the military as obligations to accommodate individuals. Their

application, therefore, may not clearly address the needs of communities. This may be

consistent with a lack of clarity with respect to how multiculturalism is manifest apart

from public events and celebrations as displays of culture. This aids cultural education as

opposed to a real integration of communities. Legally, we are compelled to get along

together with no real definition or vision as to what that might look like.

Multiculturalism as Fact

History in Canada

Canada's multiculturalism has been shaped from the beginning. Our foundation as

a country has been poly ethnic and we have either by default or by design been

channelled toward our current reality in all respects, fact, ethos and policy. "The social

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37   Janice Gross Stein ... [et al.], Uneasy Partners: Multiculturalism and Rights in Canada (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2007), 2.

38   Will Kymlicka, Disentangling the Debate: 137-156 in Uneasy Partners: Multiculturalism And Rights In Canada (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2007), 138.

39   Nan Weiner, Ph.D. Making Cultural Diversity Work (Scarbourough, Ontario: Thompson Canada Ltd., 1997), 1.

fabric of Canada has been poly ethnic and multicultural since she very beginnings of the country."[40] This has shaped our attitude toward group rights and the kinds of relationships we experience between ethnic communities. The British North America Act (BNA) "codified specific rights for [Aboriginal, British and French]. Its natural outgrowth was the 1982 Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms... and the 1985 Multiculturalism Act."[41] While policy and law may be codified, our practice seems to have been much more "laissez-faire."

Canada's Need for Immigrants

Canada's affinity toward multiculturalism, while genuine, need not be an act of charity. "We invite immigrants not for altruistic reasons but because we need them. Without them, Canada would suffer a population decline and all the attendant economic woes."[42] While we may have difficulty understanding the nuances of multiculturalism, we do understand our need for immigrants. However, when we invite individuals we must understand that we will have created communities.

Immigrants enter Canada as individuals. Our initial concern, therefore, is the contribution of individuals. In our institutions we consider how to accommodate individuals, so that we can receive their full benefit. However, individuals form communities. Beyond accommodating individuals, Canada's institutions may gain greater

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40   Paquet, Gilles. Deep Cultural Diversity: A Governance Challenge (Ottawa, University of Ottawa Press, 2008), 56.

41   Siddiqui, Haroon. No Room for Bigots in New Internationalist: The People, The Ideas, The Action In The Fight For Global Justice: May 2009, 11.

42   Haroon Siddiqui, "Don't Blame Multiculturalism" in Uneasy Partners: Multiculturalism And Rights In Canada (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2007), 45.

advantage by learning how to better accommodate or include whole communities.

The Urban Experience

While governments and institutions may prescribe policy and describe goals, multiculturalism is lived in populations. Any consideration of how multiculturalism may best be manifest in an institution should include how it is manifest and managed in the community.

Since multiculturalism is largely an urban phenomenon[43] the urban experience is instructive. Cultural enclaves are an important feature of the urban experience. Policies of assimilation regarded enclaves as aberrations.[44] Policies of integration accommodate enclaves. A policy of multiculturalism accepts cultural communities as "enriching" and treats them as a resource and opportunity. In any case, macro diversity is "a defining characteristic of Canada's big cities."[45]

Ethnic Enclaves

In a free society, people live where they are comfortable. "Ghetto" has come to bear negative implications, suggesting, not only geographic clusters but economic and social disparity. However, communities or enclaves provide a degree of familiarity and

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43   Katherine A.H. Graham and Susan D Phillips. Another Fine Balance: Managing Diversity in Canadian Cities in The Art of the State III: Belonging? Diversity, Recognition and Shared Citizenship in Canada Keith (Montreal: The Institute for Research on Public Policy, 2007), 155.

44   Michael A. Burayidi. "Tracking the Planning Profession: From Monistic Planning to Holistic Planning for a Multicultural Society" Chap 3 in Urban Planning in a Multicultural Society (Westpoft, CT: Praege Publishers, 2000), 40.

45   Katherine A.H. Graham and Susan D Phillips. Another Fine Balance: Managing Diversity in Canadian Cities in The Art of the State III: Belonging? Diversity, Recognition and Shared Citizenship in Canada Keith (Montreal: The Institute for Research on Public Policy, 2007), 155.

comfort for new immigrants and quickly becomes home. "Immigrants have always congregated with their own kind, in so-called 'ethnic ghettoes' where they find help in the initial settlement process."[46]

While helpful in assisting the settlement process, these ethnic enclaves were once regarded "as aberrations to the normal development of the urban landscape."[47] Concern remains among some that in addition to being unhealthy for urban development that they "threaten to [unravel] the fragile bonds holding Canadians together."[48] These concerns are not new, "a 1909 'study' for the Methodist Church in Winnipeg... wondered about the ethical ghettoes created by the heavy influx of Eastern Europeans and others, including 'the Hebrews and the Orientals."[49] Whereas the "ethical ghettos" highlighted in the 1909 study have not unravelled the fabric of Canada yet, the fear may be unfounded.

People are not attracted to the familiar because of multiculturalism. They are attracted to their own because the familiar is more comfortable than the foreign. Far from discouraging this, the multiculturalists view is that we would be better served by recognizing this as one of our primary assumptions. Furthermore it accepts this reality as part of what has made Canada healthy. Just as Canada has been described as having "limited identities", ethnic heterogeneity (as opposed to segmentation) is one in which

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46   Siddiqui, Haroon. No Room for Bigots in New Internationalist: The People, the ideas, the action in the fight for global justice: May 2009, 11.

47   Michael A. Burayidi. "Tracking the Planning Profession: From Monistic Planning to Holistic Planning for a Multicultural Society" Chap 3 in Urban Planning in a Multicultural Society (Westpoft, CT: Praege Publishers, 2000), 40.

48   Augie Fleras and Jean Leonard Elliott, Multiculturalism in Canada: The Challenge of Diversity (Scarborough: Nelson Canada, , 1992), 2.

49   Haroon Siddiqui, "Don't Blame Multiculturalism" in Uneasy Partners: Multiculturalism And Rights In Canada (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2007), 40.

the ethnic grouping tends to involve "a partial form of identity."[50] This is consistent with

Canada's historical context and success as a country. We all gravitate toward those with

whom we have an affinity. The real concern is social stratification.

Social Stratification

While it is natural for communities to form in which one can experience the

familiarity and comfort of one's own culture, some argue that the promotion of pluralism

perpetuates a "vertical mosaic."[51] The charge being "racial and ethnic immigrant groups

are differentially incorporated into the larger society. [Members of the mainstream] have

historically ranked near the top of the hierarchical system."[52] Others, particularly

"Afghan, Colombian, Eritrean, Ethiopian and Jamaican ... insist that they face consistent

patterns of social and economic exclusion."[53]

Ethnic heterogeneity is not social stratification or exclusion. "It is a differentiation

that does not entail the degree of 'social enclosing' and of institutional

compartmentalization."[54] It expresses distinctiveness within the context of shared social

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50   Raymond Breton, "Types of Ethnic Relations: Segmentation and Heterogeneity" Chap 1 in Ethnic Relations In Canada: Institutional Dynamics (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press 2005), 8.

51   Augie Fleras and Jean Leonard Elliott, Multiculturalism in Canada: The Challenge of Diversity (Scarborough: Nelson Canada, , 1992), 6.

52   Patience Elabor-Idemudia, "Immigrants' Integration in Canada" Chap 3 in Possibilities and Limitations: Multicultural Policies and Programs in Canada (Black Point, Nova Scotia: Fernwood Publishing, 2005), 60.

53   Janice Gross Stein ... [et al.], Uneasy Partners: Multiculturalism and Rights In Canada (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2007), 3.

54   Raymond Breton, "Types of Ethnic Relations: Segmentation and Heterogeneity" Chap 1 in Ethnic Relations In Canada: Institutional Dynamics (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press 2005), 6.

and institutional resources and opportunity. According to Fleras, Canada's multicultural

ethos assumes that confidence in one's own tradition will manifest in confidence in

reaching out.[55] Interaction precipitated by this will be positive. However, "interaction

with others under negative circumstances may reinforce prejudices and dislike of out

groups."[56]

Exclusivity may be muted by the fact that "people have complex, multiple

identities. Many belong to several communities and they are normally untroubled by

seeming contradictions among formal tenets associated with different communities."[57]

This is consistent with the character of Canada. Later, the Canadian Military will be

highlighted as a forum in which multiple identities may be accommodated.

The Work-Place Experience

Culture is lived in the community and multicultural exchange takes place in the

workplace. The community serves to preserve cultural identity while it is in the

workplace that cultures meet. The workplace, therefore, is important in considering the

manifestation of multiculturalism in the military. Although members of ethnic groups

tend to gravitate toward their own communities, they are employed where work is

available. As a consequence, "we may be bowling alone, but we are working together."[58]

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55 Augie Fleras and Jean Leonard Elliott, Multiculturalism in Canada: The Challenge of Diversity (Scarborough: Nelson Canada, , 1992), 5.

56 Ibid, 5.

57 Howell S. Baum. "Culture Matters-But lt Shouldn't Matter Too Much" Chap 8 in Urban Planning in a Multicultural Society (Westpoft, CT: Praege Publishers, 2000), 117.

58 Cynthia Estlund. Working Together: How Workplace Bonds Strengthen a Diverse Democracy (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 6.

It is the workplace in which the second broad goal of multiculturalism policy, the integration of individuals, is most likely to take place. "If it is indeed important to have some significant domain of regular, close interpersonal contact and cooperation across group lines... then the workplace is the society's single best hope."[59]

Common tasks, requirements and the work environment bind people across cultural lines. Regulation of the workplace is a key feature in its effectiveness as a resource for integration. "The unique potential of workplace ties stems [from] regulability … and its lack of autonomy from the state; and the unfree, undemocratic, and economically driven nature of workplace organizations and relationships."[60] "Common conditions of employment often give rise to shared interests and feelings of solitary among similarly situated workers."[61]

If individuals who are culturally distinct remain geographically and or socially distinct, a policy of multiculturalism may benefit by creating a forum where cultures meet. As the largest government institution, which may be described as both a community and a workplace, the military is uniquely situated to benefit from both the urban and workplace dynamic. An environment in which both realties are present may allow interaction between cultures which might see integration at the boundaries without compromising core culture.

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59   Cynthia Estlund. Working Together: How Workplace Bonds Strengthen a Diverse Democracy (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 13.

60   Ibid, 13.

61   Ibid, 25.

Multiculturalism as Ethos

Success as a Country

Canada's multicultural practice may be described as laissez-faire but it is by no

means accidental. Nor does it represent disinterest. Canada has always been a complex

or nuanced society, composed of "more than two solitudes."[62] Regional loyalties have

always held more sway than national, hence Confederation and the complicated

relationship between provinces and Ottawa. These realities support "multiple identities.

...we have drifted into ... the development of a mosaic ... model of Canada."[63] This

mosaic of "Aboriginal, charter groups, and ethno racial minorities... are seemingly

engaged in Endless competition. That Canada has managed to persevere ... is a tribute to

the ... capacity for compromise."[64] According to John Ibbitson, "we owe our success as a

country to our failure as a nation. Canada never really had a chance to gel as a nation-

state because the French and English divide was too pronounced."[65] This intentional

"laissez-faire" was expressed by Joe Clark who believed "the best way to deal with

Quebec was to resist the temptation to define the relationship; better keep it vague."[66]

Others may say that immigrants integrate more easily into "the fabric of the

society because the design of the garment was a mosaic, a patchwork quit that welcomed

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62   John Ibbitson, Let Sleeping Dogs Lie: 49-69 in Uneasy Partners: Multiculturalism And Rights In Canada (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2007), 55.

63   Paquet, Gilles. Deep Cultural Diversity: A Governance Challenge (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2008), 57.

64   Augie Fleras and Jean Leonard Elliott, Multiculturalism in Canada: The Challenge of Diversity (Scarborough: Nelson Canada, , 1992), 1.

65   John Ibbitson, Let Sleeping Dogs Lie: 49-69 in Uneasy Partners: Multiculturalism And Rights In Canada (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2007), 55.

66   Siddiqui, Haroon. No Room For Bigots In New Internationalist: The People, The Ideas, The Action In The Fight For Global Justice, May 2009, 11.

and was enriched by new patches."[67] Some describe Canada's multicultural reality as an

"atomized, alienated, disjointed gaggle of religions and peoples kept together for lack of

any plausible alternative."[68] The current multicultural policy reflects this ambiguity.

While there is positive intent, comprehensive, deliberate practice seems less apparent.

This approach may reflect wisdom in maintaining a balance between peer societies;

however, states can afford to move with greater intent within their own institutions.

It has been argued that Canada intentionally does not have a single culture and

that our success as a country is a reflection of our failure as a nation. The military,

however, traditionally has had a unifying culture. In some respects the Canadian military

may be described as a melting pot within a mosaic. Far from representing an impediment

to pluralism, a more clearly defined culture within the Canadian Forces may prove to be

beneficial in ameliorating some of the challenges of multiculturalism and serve it well in

fulfilling a Nation Building mandate.

Values and Limitations

Canada's affinity toward multiculturalism does not come without limits. These

fall within the expectation of minimum standards with respect to law and values.

"Canadians generally recognize that the nation is the richer for ... imported memories,

ideas and cultures, so long as these do not violate the law."[69] While Canadians support

pluralism the "only qualifier is that immigrants had better respect Canadian values,

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67   John Ibbitson, Let Sleeping Dogs Lie: 49-69 in Uneasy Partners: Multiculturalism And Rights In Canada (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2007), 57.

68   Ibid, 56.

69   Siddiqui, Haroon. No Room For Bigots In New Internationalist: The People, The Ideas, The Action In The Fight For Global Justice, May 2009, 11.

including gender equity."[70] These qualifiers reveal an assumption that "immigrants do not subscribe to the same values as we do. Janice Gross Stein responds, "Of course, they do. Those who do not would, at some point, run afoul of the law and face the consequences."[71] If respecting the law and the minimum standards of human rights, gender equity and toleration represent the principle concerns of the majority of Canadians, our attitude remains quite open.

Our fondness for multiculturalism and national myth which includes fairness may be challenged by the experience of more recent immigrants. "Their incomes are significantly below those of Canadians with compatible skills and they are finding it much harder to find good jobs commensurate with their education."[72] Additionally, some struggle with the tensions between old and new values while the country in which they now reside continues to change and evolve.[73] Regardless of the seeming vagueness, caution, change and challenge, multiculturalism is a present reality and will only increase in significance as new Canadians continue to arrive.

Attitudes toward Multiculturalism

While attitudes toward multiculturalism in Canada are generally positive, assumptions and misunderstandings which feed fear are not absent. Haroon Siddiqui sites a 2004 Statistics Canada report which suggests a negative disposition toward

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70   Janice Gross Stein ... [et al.], Uneasy Partners: Multiculturalism and Rights in Canada (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2007), 24.

71   Ibid, 24.

72   Ibid, 2, 3.

73   Siddiqui, Haroon. No Room For Bigots In New Internationalist: The People, The Ideas, The Action In The Fight For Global Justice, May 2009, 11.

multiculturalism.[74] The report outlined concerns with respect to neighbourhoods with more than a 30 percent "non-white ethnic group". It is interesting that the report referred to a "non-white ethnic group" as ethnicity and culture are much broader than race. Notwithstanding this, Siddiqui's point is that the report was subjective and unsubstantiated while masquerading as statistics or analysis. Fears were raised with regard to ethnic enclaves and "isolation index". "The study warned that 'residential concentration of minority groups may ...reduce ... incentives to acquire the host-country language or to gain work experience and educational qualifications".[75]

The exchange between Siddiqui and the author of the report revealed weaknesses in the report such as, it did not take into account cities such as Toronto "that's more than 50 percept non-white; non-contact with whites constitutes the defining measure of "isolation"?[76] There was no actual evidence that living in "minority neighbourhoods" reduces the residents' incentive to learn English or French."[77] Work experience was discounted for non-mainstream employers.[78] The author of the report did not know if Asian students on university campuses came from Asian communities.[79] The author admitted that although it was a Statistics Canada report, it was based on "assumptions found in academic literature, without any empirical evidence."[80] This report illustrates

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74   Haroon Siddiqui, "Don't Blame Multiculturalism" in Uneasy Partners: Multiculturalism And Rights In Canada (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2007), 41.

75   Ibid, 41.

76   Ibid, 41.

77   Ibid, 42.

78   Ibid, 42.

79   Ibid, 42.

80   Ibid, 42.

subjectivity in understanding ethnic issues.

Likewise, proponents of multiculturalism may be subjective. "Social trends indicate a growing recognition and acceptance of ethno racial diversity as an integral and desirable component of Canadian society"[81] and "Canadians are proudly multicultural. Along with publicly funded healthcare, multiculturalism has become part of the stick stuff of Canadian society."[82] This despite the fact that Canadians are uncertain as to what it is or how it should be manifest.[83]

This growing affinity toward multiculturalism accompanied by uncertainty as to what it actually is and how it should be manifest, represents an opportunity for its proponents in that creativity can be employed in finding a way ahead. With no expressed restraints in terms of practice, Canada's largest public institution has an untapped resource supported by a generally positive affinity in the Canadian Public.

We have not seen multiculturalism's end state. However, a poly ethnic reality exists and will remain. The choice, therefore, may be to pause in subjective hesitation or adopt a forward lean. Attempts to assimilate or ignore the reality have not yielded positive results. Uncertainty and hesitation will see national institutions the recipients of chance or the managers of a reality which is thrust upon us. The choice is to accept any reality which might come or to lead. This choice resides in all Canadian Institutions, including the military.

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81   Augie Fleras and Jean Leonard Elliott, Multiculturalism in Canada: The Challenge of Diversity (Scarborough: Nelson Canada, , 1992), 179.

82   Janice Gross Stein ... [et al.], Uneasy Partners: Multiculturalism and Rights in Canada (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2007), 1.

83   Augie Fleras and Jean Leonard Elliott, Multiculturalism in Canada: The Challenge of Diversity (Scarborough: Nelson Canada, , 1992), 20.

Multiculturalism as Policy

It is not alien or unwise for people or groups to be differently treated based on different needs. While protests of preferential treatment are inevitable, this ignores the present imbalance. The needs of the mainstream culture are so thoroughly met in all structures of Canadian society that it is easy to be blind to the extent. A calendar peppered with statutory holidays based upon the mainstream culture is a single obvious example. The real concern becomes, determining the boundaries as to where groups or individuals should be treated differently. "Since communities differ in their needs and socio-cultural groups within communities seek different ends, it necessarily follows that effective planning would result in a plurality of plans to suit the needs of the diverse public."[84] "It is morally and ethically incumbent ... to treat different groups differently. People have different needs, come from different social and cultural backgrounds, and are exposed to different experiences."[85]

Summary

It has been argued that Canada's reluctance to define itself as a nation stems from sensitivity inherent in managing two or multiple solitudes. While culture is lived in the community, it is expressed in the workplace. Some believe that it is in the workplace that impediments to multiculturalism such as social stratification can be resolved. While Canadians may be described as generally favourable to the idea of multiculturalism, there

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[84]   Michael A. Burayidi, Ed. Urban Planning in a Multicultural Society (Westpoft, CT: Praege Publishers, 2000), 1.

[85]   Ibid, 2.

remains a lack of clarity as to what multiculturalism is. From a policy perspective, multiculturalism is a management tool consistent with the British North America Act which sought to maintain a working balance between Aboriginals, British and French.

In chapter three, policies which attempt to define multiculturalism and shape its expression will be examined in greater detail. The Canadian Human Rights Act will be considered as introducing parameters which the Multiculturalism Act will more specifically address. The evolution of language will be highlighted. As the largest Canadian government institution and the principle focus of this paper, Canadian Forces policy will be examined namely, the Interim Policy on Religious Accommodation of 1999 and the Employment Equity Plan of 2008.

Chapter Three – Multicultural Policy

Government Policy

The government response to a poly ethnic reality is to develop policy. While some believe the intent of multicultural policy is to meet the needs of minority groups, it is a management tool. Multicultural policy "serves as an interventionist strategy that ameliorates the conditions of life for various ethno-racial minorities"[86] and to "regulate internal institutional relations in the workplace."[87] "Institutions are presently under instruction to facilitate the integration and adjustment of minorities."[88]

Policy places limitations on cultural expression if there is a conflict between it and higher rights or values." "The state is not neutral in the uneasy balance between two competing constitutional rights - that of gender equality and the right to freedom of religion."[89] This raises questions of government support to institutions that do not maintain a balance such as the provision of public space for groups that segregate women in worship[90] In the Canadian Military for example; Chaplain applicants are queried as to their ability to accept the leadership of women. By placing limitations of law on Canada's institutions and articulating expectations in the workplace, discrimination which feeds social stratification is tempered. Thus, in this respect, policy is regarded by some as a

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86   Augie Fleras and Jean Leonard Elliott, Multiculturalism in Canada: The Challenge of Diversity (Scarborough: Nelson Canada, 1992), 95.

87   Ibid, 180.

88   Ibid, 180.

89   Janice Gross Stein ... [et al.], Uneasy Partners: Multiculturalism and Rights in Canada (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2007), 25.

90   Ibid, 27.

control mechanism.

Multiculturalism policy is also tool to extract the energies and resources of a poly ethnic state. "Increasingly, Canada's diversity is upheld as an invaluable resource, unlike in the past when differences were rejected as a liability to Canadian nation-building."[91] Politicians particularly understand the value of multiculturalism as a resource, extracting votes in ethnic enclaves. The Government tames the energy of ethnic groups by defining rights and granting a voice. Politicians extract votes and minority groups gain a voice and influence.[92]

As will be explored later, the Canadian Forces, as a public institution, has not yet formulated a policy or practice to harness the energy and resources represented in multiculturalism. The Employment Equity Plan of November 2008 leans in this direction by recognizing Canada's demographic reality and positive affinity toward multiculturalism. As such, it is a reflection of the Canadian reality and will. Canada's multiculturalism policy has as its purpose, Nation Building. As of yet, Canada's largest public institution has not received a specific mandate in this regard.

Canadian Human Rights Act

The Canadian Human Rights Act is written in a legal language which delineates the expectation that individuals, regardless of their distinctiveness, should not experience discrimination. While some differences are independent of community; ethnicity and religion are community based.

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91   Augie Fleras and Jean Leonard Elliott, Multiculturalism in Canada: The Challenge of Diversity (Scarborough: Nelson Canada, , 1992), 92.

92   Ibid, 92.

It is the intent of the Canadian Human Rights Act that: "every individual should have an equal opportunity with other individuals … without being hindered ... by discriminatory practices based on ... ethnic origin, religion,"[93]

The language in which this act is written is legal, describing obligations and prohibitions not possibility and opportunity. It may not, therefore, encourage creativity. The Multiculturalism Act which followed in 1985 is written in a tone which suggests choice and possibility.

The CHRA is written with respect to the rights, duties and obligations of an individual in the context of a larger society. Particularly with respect to ethnic origin and religion, key components of culture, it may be argued that it is difficult to ensure that the rights of individuals can meet the existing rights of mainstream society. An individual of non-Western Christian tradition does not have the same benefits that are "customarily" available to the larger group. Unless, of course, one considers that individual Sikhs have the same right to celebrate Christmas as the Western Christian community.

Accommodation of needs may be legally limited based on a "bona fide justification" which includes, "undue hardship on the person who would have to accommodate those needs, considering health, safety and cost." [94] The level of accommodation granted mainstream, Western Christians, practicing and nominal, is expansive. Work schedules of most institutions and places of employment, except for essential services are based largely on a Western-Christian calendar. All statutory holidays in Canada reflect mainstream culture and tradition. Cost associated with the

93   Canada. Parliament. House of Commons. Canadian Human Rights Act. [1976-77, c.33, s.1.].

94   Ibid

accommodation of needs outside of this pattern is the loss of capability at inconvenient times. For those within the mainstream culture, justification must be given *not* to grant time or holidays which have been mandated by the state. An individual of a culture other than mainstream does not receive the same level of accommodation.

The CHRA speaks to the needs of individual rights which differ from those of mainstream society. The protection described in this act is afforded the whole community of Western Christians by default. It is difficult to ensure the rights as individuals as compared to a society. Individuals and societies cannot be compared as peers.

Multiculturalism Act

The Canadian Multiculturalism Act of 1985 may be viewed as much more comprehensive than the CHRA with respect to culture and community. The tone of the Act communicates opportunity and choice. Minority groups are encouraged to contribute fully to Canada and all Canadians to receive the benefit of its multicultural reality. By addressing communities, the Multicultural Act better describes a relationship. This document presents multiculturalism as a nation-building tool and calls upon all federal institutions to participate.

Understanding the Acts

According to Raymond Breton, Canadian multiculturalism policy has four policy directions.[95] However, these four represent manifestations of two broad goals: the

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95   Raymond Breton, Social Origins Of Multiculturalism Chap 14 In Canada In Ethnic Relations In Canada: Institutional Dynamics (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press 2005), 274.

participation of cultural communities in nation building and the integration of individuals

into Canadian society. With respect to nation building, "Canada's diversity policies are

centrally concerned with constructing liberal-democratic citizens in a multiethnic

state."[96] The purpose is to ensure that while cultural minorities may differ, core values

and meaning will remain consistent with the character of the state. History, myth, legend,

celebrations and dress may remain. However, cultural manifestations cannot include

unlawful behaviour, violence oppression or intolerance.[97] In reality, behaviours which

are inconsistent with Canadian law may be treated as abuse by the cultural community[98]

just as they are in the mainstream. Suggestions that spousal abuse within a minority

culture is different than similar behaviour in the mainstream community, may reveal

misinformed interpretations of minority communities in Canada.

In addition to integrating new citizens, Canada's nation building strategy includes

educating the mainstream and exposing it to new and emerging communities. To this end

the   government promotes "creative encounters and interchange ... in the interest of

national unity.[99] The strategy adopted was the granting of assistance "to ethnic groups for

the expression and development of their cultures.[100] For a variety of reasons, government

involvement in these activities ceased. Rather than empowering cultural groups to

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96   Will Kymlicka, "Ethnocultural Diversity in a Liberal State: Making Sense of the Canadian Model(s)" in The Art of the State III: Belonging? Diversity, Recognition and Shared Citizenship in Canada Keith (Montreal: The Institute for Research on Public Policy, 2007), 64.

97   Ibid, 65.

98   Ibid, 66.

99   Raymond Breton, Social Origins Of Multiculturalism Chap 14 In Canada In Ethnic Relations In Canada: Institutional Dynamics (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press 2005), 275.

100   Ibid, 276, 277.

organize and fund their own initiatives, "the government... handed out grants."[101]

Cultural promotion was the emphasis of the policy. However, there was not a great deal of public support for the manner in which it was implemented. The public supports the free expression of culture but not at public expense. Also, members of ethnic groups did not want to remain isolated.

The thrust of cultural awareness was maintaining heritage, not integration. However, supporting cultural expression and exchange supported the multiculturalists' assumption that confidence in one's own culture, while making contact with others, would support a healthy heterogeneity within shared institutions. The Canadian Forces may represent an ideal public institution in which this strategy can be exercised. Kilts, sword dancing and bagpipes represent one form of cultural expression and celebration already in existence. Building new units in which other cultures can be maintained in the military context is consistent with this policy direction. Additionally, in the context of the Canadian Forces, minority groups may be viewed as contributing to Canadian society rather than being the recipients of public funds to support cultural expression. Creating a place in the Canadian Forces would be viewed as fulfilling obligations, not a special privilege extended to minorities.

With respect to integrating Individuals, it is a goal of multiculturalism to "assist members ... to overcome cultural barriers."[102] This agenda "focuses on social integration and social cohesion."[103] In practice "the multicultural legislation fails to "provide

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101 Raymond Breton, Social Origins Of Multiculturalism Chap 14 In Canada In Ethnic Relations In Canada: Institutional Dynamics (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press 2005), 278.

102 Ibid, 275.

103 Keith Banting, Thomas J. Courchene and F. Leslie Seidle, editors, The Art of the State

support" for ethnic and racial minorities and immigrant groups to integrate into society.[104] Policy statements represent ideas and legislation, not a mechanism or manifestation. The military is able to deliver effects. It may, therefore, introduce meaningful practice which includes not only individuals but communities.

Limitations

The appropriateness of Canada's multiculturalism policy as a tool for Nation Building and social integration has been questioned, "is it possible that diversity policies, by emphasizing our differences, are undermining the feelings of shared citizenship that generated them in the first place?"[105] This question seems to forget that the capstone of 'shared citizenship' is multiculturalism. Likewise, in addition to a perceived lack of a common ideal, some declare, "This strategy was never possible in Canada ... We cannot have a single monolingual public sphere ... given the federal structure. ... We have few such identical citizenship experiences...[106] The Canadian Military may provide excellent "identical citizenship experiences." The structure lacking in general society is present in the military.

Another perceived limitation of Canada's multiculturalism policy is that its

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III: Belonging? Diversity, Recognition and Shared Citizenship in Canada (Montreal: The Institute for Research on Public Policy, 2007), 1.

104 Carl James, "Perspectives on Multiculturalism, Introduction in Canada" in Possibilities and Limitations: Multicultural Policies and Programs in Canada (Black Point, Nova Scotia: Fernwood Publishing, 2005), 14.

105 Will Kymlicka, "Ethnocultural Diversity in a Liberal State: Making Sense of the Canadian Model(s)" in The Art of the State III: Belonging? Diversity, Recognition and Shared Citizenship in Canada Keith (Montreal: The Institute for Research on Public Policy, 2007), 71.

106 Ibid, 72.

language is persuasive rather than insistent, lacking any form of sanction,[107] "unless [the government] is willing to back it up with appropriate means to ensure that the policy is pursued, it becomes ... a "self-delusion"[108] This is not true, there is an affinity in Canada towards multiculturalism. Where institutional manifestation appears to be weak, it may relate to funding. Again, while Canadians express a positive affinity to an idea, they are less enamoured with the cost, particularly applied directly to opportunities not perceived to be available to all. Policy written in the language of obligation does not encourage innovation. Punitive language will likewise inhibit creativity. Policy which precipitates innovation must be written in the language of opportunity.

Working pluralism will be a function of will or affinity. While the law is not unimportant, if not accompanied by will it cannot succeed. The legal language of the Canadian Forces Interim Policy on Religious Accommodation may be limited in this regard. There is no lack of will to meet the requirements of Religious Accommodation. However, legal language defines boundaries; it does not grant authority or encourage exploration or creative application. Additionally, it considers principally what the institution is obligated to give, not what individuals or communities can contribute.

Canadian Forces Policy

While the Canadian Forces does not have a specific Nation Building mandate "the task of promoting multiculturalism should not fall on one office, but on all government

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107   Clifford Jansen, "Canadian Multiculturalism" Chap 1 in Possibilities and Limitations: Multicultural Policies and Programs in Canada (Black Point, Nova Scotia: Fernwood Publishing, 2005), 30, 31.

108   Clifford Jansen, "Canadian Multiculturalism" Chap 1 in Possibilities and Limitations: Multicultural Policies and Programs in Canada (Black Point, Nova Scotia: Fernwood Publishing, 2005), 31.

officials."[109] The Canadian Forces Interim Policy on Religious Accommodation represents the first step in fulfilling the second broad purpose of multiculturalism policy in Canada, the integration of individuals.

Interim Policy on Religious Accommodation

The 1999 Canadian Forces interim policy may be regarded as an interpretation of the Human Rights Act. While it addresses the manifestation of Religion which is a principle constituent of culture, it follows a similar language and form as the CHRA. Its tone is that of obligation and addresses the needs of individuals. It speaks of the responsibility of the Institution and defines minimum standards. While the possibility of doing more is not implied, it is not prohibited.

With respect to the institution's obligation to the individual, the Interim policy has three main objectives: to ensure the understanding of;

the legal responsibility of the CF,

fundamental religious requirements, and;

the point of undue hardship.

The purpose and tone of this policy suggests that the Canadian Forces had not yet seized the initiative and sought ways to apply or develop a process whereby we extract the potential of multiculturalism.

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109   Will Kymlicka, "Ethnocultural Diversity in a Liberal State: Making Sense of the Canadian Model(s)" in The Art of the State III: Belonging? Diversity, Recognition and Shared Citizenship in Canada Keith (Montreal: The Institute for Research on Public Policy, 2007), 45.

Legal responsibility

Terms such as "legal responsibility" frame the Interim Policy on Religious Accommodation in the language of obligation versus opportunity. Such language may allow interpretations that meet the minimum requirements of the law. This potentially cast religious accommodation in an adversarial environment. Canadian society, however, embraces multiculturalism. The only mainstream limitation is the absence of consensus as to what multiculturalism is; that it ought to support Canadian law and that it should represent a mutual benefit. Legal language may not match the positive affinity of Canadian society.

It may be argued that this policy represents a defensive posture as a response to an outside force rather than a proactive choice. Additionally, "the policy on religious accommodation is a first step in developing a comprehensive policy… which will cover our general obligations."[110] This language suggests that the more comprehensive policy will likewise be written in the language of obligation.

Fundamental Religious Requirements

Likewise, "fundamental religious requirements" as clarified in the policy as "not merely a religious custom or tradition" [111] may be interpreted as limiting. It is difficult for any institution to identify and accommodate all religious practices of all representative groups. However, Canadian Forces messes serve fish on Friday. Many Christians have a vague recollection as to why. This is far from "a fundamental requirement of the

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110   Department of National Defence, Interim Policy – Religious Accommodation. Ottawa, 1999.

111   Ibid.

religion." For some it may represent a vestige of a culture which has been fully and systemically accommodated. To remove existing structures or traditions to level the playing field is not necessary and it may raise the spectre of minority groups eroding the rights of the mainstream. To facilitate the religious tradition of all other groups to the same level may be unrealistic. However, a policy broader than accommodating "fundamental religious requirements" may achieve a more equitable manifestation of accommodation in comparison with Western Christian traditions.

With reference to Religious worship, the policy states, "Some religious groups have worship practices that conflict with the member's availability for duty."[112] "Some" suggests these needs are not manifest in the mainstream culture. However, the current model is based on a comprehensive and systemic accommodation of the mainstream. As already noted, all statutory holidays account for Western Christian traditions. Work and training schedules in the Canadian Forces reflect this fact. Instances in which the needs of the mainstream are not accommodated in this regard are normally regarded as exceptional or for the maintenance of essential services.

"Central" acknowledges practices which are not optional. Cultural or ethnic groups are considered "an involuntary, community."[113] The choice, therefore, may be to cease an essential practice, deny one's religious or cultural heritage or fail to meet military requirements. It may be argued that the institution cannot accommodate beyond "central" and "essential", however, the systemic accommodation of one cultural group

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112   Department of National Defence, Interim Policy – Religious Accommodation. Ottawa, 1999.

113   Wsevolod W. Isajiw, Understanding Diversity: Ethnicity and Race in the Canadian Context, (Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing Inc., 1999), 19.

may be noted and some form of real equality may be expected.

Point of Undue Hardship

Another limiting condition contained within the current policy may be expressed in "up to the point of undue hardship". This limitation does not take into account "hardship" related to denying religious accommodation is borne both by the institution which grants accommodation and the individual or group that requests it. "Hardship on the organizational element" should include or consider the low representation of minority ethno-cultural groups and the missed opportunities, capabilities and resources represented in a working pluralism. Finally, "Undue hardship" reflects the language of the CHRA which does not fully consider that individuals of minority cultural groups are not in a peer relationship with the collective mainstream community.

Currently, the response to "undue hardship" is denial of the member's request. However, it is measured by a comparison between the expressed need of an individual and the systemic accommodation of a group which has become invisible and not taken into account. This may be ameliorated by creating an environment in which there is a greater representation of a minority culture. With an increase in minority representation, relative hardship borne by the institution may be reduced by applying solutions to a whole community such as the procurement of culturally appropriate kit, adjusted work schedules and cultural leave. Thus consideration will be based on a comparison of communities or peers.

Making a Request

While not explicitly limiting, the requirement to "request an accommodation"

places individual members in the position of potentially challenging the institution to

receive what is their right by law as illustrated in the following account:

> I had a Sergeant Major ask if I really needed to pray when I said I did because
> someone had told him that Muslim prayers could be modified for military
> services. ... You have to be really tactful in these situations though because he
> wasn't flat out saying I couldn't pray, but my impression was that he thought I
> should be doing it on my own time. After some discussion and explanation it
> ended ok.[114]

This account may reflect discussion among the leadership team as to the

legitimacy of the request. In effect, an individual in a junior position may have been

required to make a request not only to the Commanding Officer but to the leadership

team. This multiplies the power differential. Additionally, this member was required to

defend his position. Due to the power difference, the member was careful to apply tact.

This is not equal treatment.

Some may argue that the way policy is structured protects institutional power.

While this may not be intentional, explicit discrimination may become implicit if making

a request for accommodation is intimidating. Additionally if permission is denied, the

appeal process is controlled by the same institution. All power rests in an institution

which is systemically Western Christian.

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[114]   Joanne Benham Rennick, Religion in the Ranks: Religion in the Canadian Forces in the
21st Century (Waterloo, Ontario, Unpublished Work, May 31, 2008), 177.

The Process

The Interim Policy on Religious Accommodation may be limited by its process. A

Padre recounts:

> One guy in my battalion wanted to grow a beard during Ramadan but the
> regulations on this are strict [because of health and safety requirements for gas
> mask use. ... so senior command wanted to know why ... I had to get outside help
> with that because I didn't know enough about Islam and what was required.[115]

While this account ends well, it may be experienced as convoluted. The member

must make a request for a fundamental religious requirement. The circumstances

surrounding his/her request must be confirmed by a third party. Whereas most Canadian

Forces Chaplains are Christian, this third party may not represent the faith of the member

making the request. Confirmation, therefore, comes from an agency outside of the unit. If

confirmation is secured from the leader recommended by the member, it seems

redundant. If the confirmation comes from another religious leader, it is possible to get a

variety of answers.

In this particular case, the need to grow a beard was part of one Muslim tradition,

not universally observed. Is this a fundamental requirement? If not, the Chain of

Command was more liberal than policy requires. Thus it may represent an expression of

good will rather than policy.

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115   Joanne Benham Rennick, Religion in the Ranks: Religion in the Canadian Forces in the
21st Century (Waterloo, Ontario, Unpublished Work, May 31, 2008), 177.

Understanding the Interim Policy on Religious Accommodation

The Interim Policy on religious Accommodation, while not intentional, may reflect an assimilationist understanding. This policy meets the minimum legal standards as defined by the mainstream to meet the basic needs of individuals. It does not address the needs of community or culture. This policy affords individuals sufficient latitude to function. It does not represent the same level of opportunity to maintain or celebrate culture afforded the mainstream.

While we are careful to guard against explicit ethnic control or dominance, power over other cultures may be implicit by the manner in which accommodation is managed. The military is characterized by obedience. Minorities are therefore placed under the obedience of a dominant culture. A cultural home in which members of a minority culture are represented as a group may ameliorate this. A culturally specific Reserve Unit, for example, may create a place of trust and community control.

As long as members of traditions other than Western Christian remain a minority in any Canadian Forces unit, their needs will be out of sequence with the larger community and they will be required to request accommodation. Units in which members other than Western Christian represent the majority will be able to meet the needs of the group. Their level of accommodation will, therefore, more closely resemble that of the systemic accommodation afforded the mainstream. This systemic accommodation will not be granted by request but will be included in planning. This will represent much more than "fundamental religious requirements."

Short of creating cultural units, a broader range of religious or cultural opportunities may explored so that members do not request but chose and inform. For

example, the current designation of Statuary Leave is based on Western Christian and national holidays. An allotted number of days which are designated "Special Leave, Cultural" creates choice. Failure to inform will maintain the mainstream as the default. Choice rather than request is consistent with the Multiculturalism Act.

Although religious accommodation is a legal responsibility, it can be accomplished by a proactive invitation to members to identify their special needs or requirements. Such invitation may be treated as naturally as the vegetation selection in the mess. The Canadian Forces has long ago taken this first step. It is time for a much more comprehensive approach to multiculturalism.

Employment Equity Plan

The Employment Equity Plan November 2008 is written in the language of opportunity and supports the thesis of this paper. The "Point of undue hardship" has been removed. There is no reference to fundamental religious beliefs. This policy places much more onus on the institution rather than the individual.

This plan recognizes the demographic reality of Canada and a positive affinity toward multiculturalism. In this sense it is not a response to Canadian Law but the Canadian reality and Canadian will. It is therefore much less legal in its language and represents opportunity.

With respect to Operational Imperatives:

The capacity of any group is greatly enhanced when it enjoys a diversity of contributions in terms of expertise and experience…The changing makeup of Canada's population makes it mission critical that the CF take proactive measures to be inclusive for men and women of all cultures.[116]

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116   Department of National Defence, MILPERSCOM (MPC) Employment Equity (EE) Plan Fiscal Years 2008/2009 to 2010/2011. Ottawa: Chief Military Personnel, 2008).

The impact on Operations has been reversed. Rather than limiting, diversity is now seen as enhancing. The tone of the new policy is much more positive in that it describes the advantages of embracing diversity rather than obligation.

The next step is describes as a review policies and practices. This new policy represents an opportunity to explore the possibilities of Multiculturalism. It is an additional positive indicator that the Canadian Forces is well positioned to take the next great leap forward into multiculturalism. Of the several points of main effort, two have potential to fundamentally change the CF, "Cultural Change" and "Principle of Merit." The significance of this will be discussed later.

The language of this policy is much more forward leaning than the Interim Policy on religious Accommodation to which it refers. Its tone is more positive than current Canadian Law. This document shows a desire for institutional change. While drawing from policy and law, it also draws from demographics and the attitudes of Canadians, which will inform practice. This disposition should yield a much better result and holds the potential to substantially broaden the range of possibilities.

Summary

Canadian Law with respect to multiculturalism and Human Rights is evolutionary in nature. While written in legal language, there is a change in tone, the first being obligatory in nature and the second defining a choice. Obligatory language describes prohibitions, limitations and minimum standards. The Military's Interim Policy on Religious Accommodation mirrors the language of obligation.

The intent of multiculturalism policy in Canada is not simply to manage through

limitation, to harness, but to extract mutual benefit, to bridal. The Employment Equity Plan moves into the language of opportunity, practice and effect. Whereas this new policy is positive in outlook, it represents a willingness to move beyond the limitations of the past and explore practices which will realize the mutual potential of multiculturalism

In chapter four, the British experience with the Ghurkhas and the Soviet Armed Forces application with respect to a poly ethnic reality will be considered. The goal of the British was to extract the fighting capacity of the Ghurkhas observed while they were a foe. The goal of the Soviet Armed Forces was to implement the national policy of creating Soviet citizens. One represented a strategy which bridled a cultural expression to achieve an increase in operational capability. The other represented a strategy which harnessed cultural expression in an attempt to fulfil political goals. The lessons of each will be considered in the Canadian military context.

Chapter Four – Militaries and Multiculturalism

Multicultural Militaries

While Canada's management of multiculturalism may be described as unique, the meeting of the poly ethnic state and its military is not. The distribution of rank, the division of Officers and Non-Commissioned Members may be disproportionate which may reflect policy or the "natural disposition" of ethnic groups.[117] In either case, it is evidence of social stratification in the civilian population. "Countries tend to use the "ethnic factor" in their armed forces for different purposes.[118] In a military context, the management of a poly ethnic reality may be highly regulated to reflect national goals. In some cases, this policy stems from a desire to "promote national [ethnic or racial] integration and unity."[119] Whether intended to maintain or eliminate social stratification, these policies are mandated upon the military for the purpose of Nation Building.

In the following two examples, the British employed the Ghurkhas because of their fighting ability. In order to secure their services, their culture was fully accommodated. This was accomplished by keeping their community and relationships in tact. In the soviet example, the Soviet Armed Forces was mandated to be a tool for creating the "The Soviet Man".[120] Employment of non Russian soldiers was, therefore,

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117   N. N.F. Dreisziger, Ethnic Armies: Polyethnic Armed Forces from The Time of Hapsburgs to the Age of the Superpowers (Waterloo, Ontario, Wilfrid Laurier Press, 1990), 2.

118   Ibid, 3.

119   Joanne Benham Rennick, Religion in the Ranks: Religion in the Canadian Forces in the 21st Century (Waterloo, Ontario, Unpublished Work, May 31, 2008, 3.

120   Teresa Rakowska – Harmstone. "Brotherhood in Arms: The Ethnic Factor in the Soviet Armed Forces" in Ethnic Armies: Polyethnic Armed Forces From The Time of Hapsburgs to the Age of the Superpowers (Waterloo, Ontario, Wilfrid Laurier Press, 1990), 133.

part of a nation building agenda. Non-Russian cultural needs were specifically not accommodated in favour of Russiaification. In times of extraordinary crisis, ethnic units were authorized.

The Ghurkhas

The formation of Ghurkha units by the British was precipitated by their admiration of the Ghurkhas as a formidable foe. The British desire to maintain the Ghurkha formations in tact was evidenced following their surrender. "Amar Sing was allowed to march out with his arms, accoutrements, colours, two guns, and all his personal property – a rare surrender ceremony in this part of the world."[121] Not wanting to interfere with any characteristic which may have contributed to the effectiveness of the Ghurkhas, the British were careful not to modify their cultural heritage and pattern of life.

The Ghurkhas were admired not just for their fighting prowess but for the cultural attributes which were naturally consistent with the military culture. Disciplinary problems were rare, bullying and intimidation were absent. "Toughness was not equated with harshness. The non-commissioned officers in charge of recruits used humour, example, persuasion and great patience."[122] Thus the British preserved an effective form of leadership which was culturally based.

Despite the fact that Ghurkha culture, religion and celebrations were alien to the British, no attempt was made to modify it. Of particular note was the preservation of those elements which would challenge the intuition of a Western culture or may have

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121   Farwell, Byron The Gurkhas. W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., New York, 1984, 31.

122   Ibid, 84.

been regarded as "curious". "The young men took pride in appearing as women [as part of a Ghurkha festival and] regarded as a social accomplishment."[123] The British were proud and interested in the abilities of the Ghurkhas, despite traditional elements which were well outside British norms. The Ghurkha's ability in war fighting won the unqualified acceptance of the British.

The advice of religious leaders among the Ghurkhas, who were not trained as British Chaplains were not formally embedded in the military organization, was respected. "The regimental bahun … had no rank and wore no uniform. He was responsible for advising the commandant on religious matters affecting the men and their families."[124] "British officers learned not to scoff at the bahun's advice."[125]

The British were careful to provide opportunities for group honour and mutually celebrated key holidays and regimental occasions. The use of group honour by the British, even for regiments which had not yet demonstrated "a notable feat of arms" is significant. "In addition to religious holidays each battalion had its own special holiday… which commemorated a battle or notable feat of arms. If the battalion was newly formed and had not yet fought, it celebrated its 'raising day'".[126]

Perhaps of greatest significance was the manner in which the British respected the communities and families which provided recruits. A positive relationship with the community was closely guarded. While Canada would not advocate such limitations on personal choice, this commentary illustrates the manner in which the culture of the

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123 Farwell, Byron The Gurkhas. W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., New York, 1984, 138.

124 Ibid, 140.

125 Ibid, 140.

126 Ibid, 142.

Ghurkhas was supported by the regiment, despite the fact that the tradition itself was

alien to the commanding officer.

> The soldier who wanted to marry had to obtain the permission of his commanding officer and such permission was routinely refused if the girl was a local Indian. This was at the request of the Nepal Durbar; marriages in western and central Nepal were often arranged by families, and such families did not take kindly to a young man who returned home with a strange wife.[127]

Requests of this sort were judged on cultural lines, not operational. This

represents great respect. By this, the British would not alienate cultural, community or

family support.

The British experience of the Ghurkhas is educational. The British did not tamper

with cultural norms, recognizing that the whole culture contributed to their superior

fighting characteristics. They supported a foreign form of leadership. They respected the

advice of religious and cultural elders. They maintained links between the Ghurkhas units

and their community. All this was possible because the British understood that cultural

considerations do not hinder operational effectiveness but enhance it. Also, the British

did not recruit individuals but the community. Those cultural elements which enhanced

operational effectiveness did not reside in individual representatives of a culture but in

the community. The recruitment of individual Ghurkhas into British units accompanied

with a practice similar to the Interim Policy on Religious Accommodation would have

failed to achieve similar results.

While integration was not a goal of the Ghurkha experience, it was achieved to

some degree. The Ghurkhas chose the elements of the British culture they wanted to

emulate and were consistent with their own. Their uniform represented an institution;

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127   Farwell, Byron The Gurkhas. W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., New York, 1984, 147.

symbols represented their community and culture. "Ghurkha family life grew increasingly westernized. One manifestation ... was the [Scout movement] ... charming; giggling Nepalese Brownies [with] the murderous crossed kukris as their cap badge."[128]

The Soviet Armed Forces

The experience of the Soviet Armed Forces was the opposite of the British. This is not surprising as their goals were opposed. Where the British were successful, the Soviets were not. The Soviet political goal was not consistent with operational effectiveness, as illustrated following the invasion of Russia by the Germans in June of 1941.

With respect to the poly ethnic policy of the Soviets, the Russian military is "an instrument of societal integration, more precisely, as a means of imposing an official culture and world-view upon Russia's various nationalities."[129] The Soviet Armed Forces was used for nation Building more precisely, assimilation of minority cultures. It was a tool to impose a Soviet vision of citizenship. "Military service is seen as an important educational experience which integrates young men of varying culture and ethnic origin into a common "Soviet" mould.[130] This Soviet mould was Russian. Consistent with an assimionalist agenda in which the dominant culture was regarded as superior, officers

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128   Farwell, Byron The Gurkhas. W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., New York, 1984, 149.

129   N.F. Dreisziger, Ethnic Armies: Polyethnic Armed Forces From The Time of Hapsburgs to the Age of the Superpowers (Waterloo, Ontario, Wilfrid Laurier Press, 1990), 13.

130   Teresa Rakowska – Harmstone. Brotherhood in Arms: The Ethnic Factor in the Soviet Armed Forces in Ethnic Armies: Polyethnic Armed Forces From The Time of Hapsburgs to the Age of the Superpowers (Waterloo, Ontario, Wilfrid Laurier Press, 1990), 123.

were Russian speaking.[131]

As is normally the case, minority cultures resist assimilation. Ethnic communities preferred autonomous military units while the national leadership insisted on "integrated army under a central leadership."[132] "Between 1924 and 1935 national divisions and units [were] formed in all republics and major autonomous entities. By the late 1920s and early 1930s nevertheless, national formations were already de-emphasized."[133] By 1938 declared doubts as to their combat value and reliability caused them to be disbanded."[134]

With the German invasion in June 1941 selected national formations were restored. "The official recognition of the units' specific ethnic character served to enhance morale, facilitate command and socialization tasks and mobilize the support of the soldiers' home communities."[135] War results in operationally expedient measures. While in peace time, culturally based decisions may use the language of operations as justification, true "operational requirements" are revealed in war. It seems, therefore, that the pre-war declaration of 'ineffectiveness' was culturally or politically driven rather than operational.

"Creating a 'new Soviet man' out of the divergent elements which comprise the Soviet population has not been easy."[136] It is resisted by minorities and supports social

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131   Teresa Rakowska – Harmstone. Brotherhood in Arms: The Ethnic Factor in the Soviet Armed Forces in Ethnic Armies: Polyethnic Armed Forces From The Time of Hapsburgs to the Age of the Superpowers (Waterloo, Ontario, Wilfrid Laurier Press, 1990), 130.

132   Ibid, 127.

133   Ibid, 128.

134   Ibid, 128, 129.

135   Ibid, 129.

136   Ibid, 133.

stratification. The result is a less operational efficient military. While a multicultural

Nation Building mandate may be interpreted by some as a "social experiment" based on

political goals, operational expediency sees the rise of cultural units. This was the case

with the Ghurkha experience and the WWII Soviet experience. Dissolving cultural units

and creating citizens of the mainstream would seem to be the "social experiment."

The Canadian Forces Context

It may be argued that Canada's military, is an institution with a dominant culture

serving a multicultural country. Institutional change of the kind precipitated by

multiculturalism is a response to national policy and cannot be immediately implemented.

Conditions must be set to facilitate change; this necessarily involves a new approach

normally corresponding with a change in generations. Consideration of the progress and

experience of multiculturalism in the Canadian Forces will be aided by this realization.

Canada wants and expects multiculturalism to work. The Canadian Forces is an

institution that may be positioned to deliver an effect in Nation Building. Our mandate,

however, is unclear. Far from being a liability, we are presented with space for creativity

and experimentation. If integrating Individuals is more closely akin to diversity while

integrating communities is multiculturalism. The Canadian Forces, as a federal institution

can explore the possibility of disentangling "diversity" and "multiculturalism" and move

forward with a community based model.

Summary

The British experience of the Ghurkhas and their inclusion was based upon an admiration of the Ghurkha fighting effectiveness as a foe. With the intent of maintaining this capability in tact, the British were careful not to modify any element which may have led to the Ghurkha success. This included cultural manifestations and community relationships which may have been alien to the British. Acceptance of these differences was not passive and included mutual celebrations and recognition. In effect, the British applied a strategy which bridled the strengths of a culture foreign to their own.

The Soviets, however, were principally concerned with a national mandate to create a "Soviet Man" out of disparate cultures. In times of national crisis, however, this policy was set aside to meet operational needs. This attempt to harness cultural reality, therefore, may be seen as counter to increasing operational capacity.

The British and Soviet examples are informative. With the Employment Equity Plan, the Canadian Forces seems poised to develop policy and practices relative to Canada's multicultural reality. While the British experience cannot be reproduced in Canada, it would be to mutual advantage for the Canadian Forces to explore fully how an application of practices which bridle the potential multiculturalism can enhance operational capability.

In chapter five, areas in which the mutual benefit of multiculturalism and the Canadian military can be extracted will be explored. The first section of chapter five will consider what some regard as multicultural challenges and the manner in which the Canadian military may be an instrument by which these are addressed. The second

section will consider ways in which an application of comprehensive multicultural

practices in the Canadian military will provide direct benefit to the institution and its

operational capability.

      In some respects, the themes presented in the following chapter are independent.

The structure, therefore, will resemble a list of concerns or capabilities. It may aid the

reader to be cognizant of this.

Chapter Five - The Canadian Forces and Multiculturalism

As the largest government institution in Canada, the military may be well suited to the task of nation building. Multicultural realities which are interpreted as "challenges" in the multicultural model may be ameliorated within the military context. While none of the challenges can be eliminated the military is possessed of unique characteristics which should serve a multicultural nation building mandate well. The nature of the military's social and cultural infrastructure, its meritocracy, its symbolic impact, regimental structure and service based ethos, may provide a natural forum for nation building in a multicultural state. Both effective nation building and increased operational effectiveness may be the result of moving forward with an enhanced multicultural model. In effect, the Canadian Forces may serve Canada's vision of multiculturalism while a multicultural military will have increased capabilities.

The introduction to the interim policy on religious accommodation indicates that it is a first step in developing a comprehensive approach. The Employment Equity Plan is much more forward leaning, recognizing the value of multiculturalism as a resource in enhancing operational effectiveness. "The concept of managing diversity implies a perspective on multiculturalism that stresses its resource value in the calculated attempt to achieve desired outcomes."[137] The Canadian military is poised to serve the national goal of creating a multicultural state and can be the recipient of valuable resources.

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137   Augie Fleras and Jean Leonard Elliott, Multiculturalism in Canada: The Challenge of Diversity (Scarborough: Nelson Canada, , 1992), 106.

Section One – The Canadian Forces as a Resource for Multiculturalism

How the Military Serves Multiculturalism

The Military is a government institution in which multiculturalism may be practiced in a manner which ameliorates the challenges otherwise experienced. Many of the impediments to the practice of multiculturalism in Canadian society do not exist in the military. Where they do, the military can apply practices which many other institutions cannot. The Chief of Military Personnel's new Employment Equity Plan is forward leaning. It represents opportunity and moves beyond policy and law. This may signal a disposition in the military to take a leadership role in Canada with respect to multiculturalism.

"Canada is widely renowned and globally admired as a country that has pushed the concept of managing diversity into unprecedented realms. Many foreign observers regard Canada as a successful example of a pluralist federal state."[138] However, policy and positive affinity do not equate to intentional manifestations of Multiculturalism in government institutions. Thus far, an effective, comprehensive model of multiculturalism has not been fully implemented. Some nations regard Nation Building is a legitimate function and responsibility of their Military. The mandate of "nation building" is not the Canadian Forces to declare. However, Nation Building may be an implied task as a government department as described in the Multiculturalism Act. A comprehensive model of multiculturalism for the military requires the will of the state and the military to implement. It also requires the will of ethnic communities to share in the creation of their

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138   Augie Fleras and Jean Leonard Elliott, Multiculturalism in Canada: The Challenge of Diversity (Scarborough: Nelson Canada, , 1992), 249.

place within the Military community or the Military's place in the ethnic community.

The Military and Ghettoization

As introduced earlier, attitudes toward ethnic enclaves vary depending upon national goals. An assimilationist approach would foster a negative view. The concern of those favouring incorporation would be that individuals have adequate interaction with the broader community, social, economic, and political structures,[139] to participate in a shared national identity. The multiculturalists' view is that maintenance of cultural distinctiveness is healthy, enriching and community associations or enclaves are natural occurrences. The Canadian multicultural policy echoes the latter; however, it also regards multiculturalism as a valuable resource. Interaction for the purpose of mutual benefit of the minority and mainstream community, while maintaining identity is encouraged. In any case, cultural enclaves will continue to be a reality in that they provide an important resource for the minority culture. "Not only does it cater to expressive needs (pertaining to identity, meaning or enjoyment). It also furnishes assistance in meeting instrumental concerns [including] discriminatory barriers to full societal involvement."[140]

The regimental structure of the Canadian Army in particular may be ideally suited to serve the policy goals of multiculturalism and the needs of the Canadian Forces in ethnic communities. It may be shaped to be "more receptive, responsive, and representative."[141] The presence of the Canadian Military in the form of integral units

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139   Raymond Breton, et al. Identity: Varieties of Experience in a Canadian City (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 1- 5.

140   Augie Fleras and Jean Leonard Elliott, Multiculturalism in Canada: The Challenge of Diversity (Scarborough: Nelson Canada, , 1992), 104.

141   Ibid, 123.

aligned with cultural or community themes has the potential to remove the requirement for the members of the ethnic community to leave their community to participate in and contribute in a Canadian institution, thus serving to "mediate the process of reworking the relationship between central authorities and ethno racial minority sectors."[142]

While existing Reserve units provide this opportunity, members of the ethnic community are required to adopt symbols of another culture to do so. Ethnic Chinese wearing Scottish kilts is an example. Ethnic units embedded or associated with ethnic communities may encourage ownership and support of the broader community and thereby serve the goals of Canadian multiculturalism policy. Such a strategy may heighten the ability of cultural groups to "participate fully in society and realize their ambitions while "maintaining their culture."[143]

Active participation and presence in the ethnic community may serve the goals of multiculturalism by providing a forum in which policies such as the Interim Policy on Religious Accommodation can find a full, expanded and comprehensive expression. Our policies and practices now pertain to individuals who represent a minority culture within a broader context which is structured upon a different cultural foundation. Units intentionally designed along cultural lines, embedded in cultural communities will have their own cultural foundation. At least in the context of that unit, accommodation can be systemic. Practices there could provide a template for a more comprehensive accommodation of minorities embedded in other units.

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142   Augie Fleras and Jean Leonard Elliott, Multiculturalism in Canada: The Challenge of Diversity (Scarborough: Nelson Canada, , 1992), 6.

143   Carl James, "Perspectives on Multiculturalism, Introduction in Canada" in Possibilities and Limitations: Multicultural Policies and Programs in Canada (Black Point, Nova Scotia: Fernwood Publishing, 2005), 13.

It is an assumption of multiculturalism that security in one's own culture assists in forming positive relationship with others. Cultures which interact with others as peers are more confident.

> An essential characteristic of amalgamation of contiguous territories is that it is a process that brings together groups that already exist as societies, each having their own social and institutional systems. In such situations, the character of the interethnic relationships – at the political, economic, social and socio-psychological levels – is likely to be substantially different than in other types of diversity.[144]

According to this observation, a military member who has a home unit that represents his or her cultural identity can interact with greater confidence when immersed in the broader institution. This may reduce a negative disposition toward, deployments as augmentees, training apart from the home unit and postings. A member of an identifiable unit may, therefore, interact with greater confidence in settings outside of their cultural home unit.

The Military and Social Stratification

A principle concern of multiculturalism is social stratification. While the Canadian Forces is largely representative of the mainstream culture it is disproportionately populated by members from disadvantaged regions. The military represents for some an excellent career choice in which holds the promise of advancement with increased pay and responsibility. This may likewise serve to ameliorate social stratification based on ethnicity. If with respect to ethnic relations "a

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144   Raymond Breton, "Types of Ethnic Relations: Segmentation and Heterogeneity" Chap 1 in Ethnic Relations In Canada: Institutional Dynamics (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press 2005), 4.

significant role is played by those groups whose members ... move to strategic

occupations that involve ... influence on the wider ... society."[145] The military provides

such potential. The military provides an environment in which all members have equal

opportunity to advance in rank and pay, to the highest levels depending upon their

abilities. With respect to the ethnic community, military traditions such as Regiment

Colonels will afford opportunities for ethnic representation in status positions.

The Military and Meritocracy

The military may be well suited to address issues with respect to social

stratification. "An important aspect of the question of social mobility of ethnic minority

groups is the extent ethnic minorities are represented in the elite positions in society and

to what extent the elite positions in society are open to them."[146] The military is an

institution in which an individual's progress is based upon merit. Entrance requirements

are standardized. Training is evaluated to encourage success to a common minimum

standard. Following training, expertise is developed through experience. The process of

annual performance reviews is closely monitored with clear guidance and rubrics to

match performance and potential with prescribed formats. The military is also a

bureaucracy. While this is most often a pejorative comment, policy and practice

uniformly applied likewise reduces social stratification.

As a meritocracy, in theory, any soldier, sailor or air person should advance on

merit alone, independent of ethnicity. However, it is impossible to guarantee that

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145   Wsevolod W. Isajiw, Understanding Diversity: Ethnicity and Race in the Canadian
Context (Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing Inc., 1999), 211.

146   Ibid, 209.

interpretation of behaviour, performance and potential is not affected by a cultural lens. "A question that has been much debated is Canadian sociology has been whether ethnic identity retention is a drawback to individuals' social mobility and change a group's ethnic status."[147] Ethnic units in which evaluations are made with similar cultural lenses would address this possibility. Cultural differences in communication, leadership or responses to authority will not be misjudged as adverse but will be uniformly evaluated in its cultural context.

A Working Mosaic

As previously described, "The single most promising arena of racial integration - at least for adults - is the workplace."[148] More than the typical workplace, the military represents an environment in which "people are compelled ... to trust and cooperate with others - whom they might not chose … - in the intensive and concerted pursuit of concrete, shared objectives."[149] It is due to the uniqueness of the military environment that it is an "instructive example of racial integration."[150]

The military has the combined benefit of being a workplace and a community. While members of cultural minorities may maintain contact with their cultural community, deployments and training will see them immersed in the military workplace to a degree not shared by other forms of employment. In such circumstances, particularly

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147 Wsevolod W. Isajiw, Understanding Diversity: Ethnicity and Race in the Canadian Context, (Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing Inc., 1999), 208.

148 Cynthia Estlund. Working Together: How Workplace Bonds Strengthen a Diverse Democracy (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 9.

149 Ibid, 9.

150 Ibid, 9.

under stressful conditions, interpersonal interaction and relationships are intense.

Additionally, the military is characterized by obedience and members are subject to

following direction. Therefore, the regulated nature of any workplace is amplified. While

referring to the American experience of racial integration, "the success of integration in

the military, and particularly in the Army, stands as a testament to the ...uses of

hierarchy."[151]

The military is particularly advantaged in that it can create organizations to

maximize the combined effect of community and workplace. The creation of home units

following cultural lines may provide a cultural anchor where traditions and symbols

reside without precluding common training, augmentation or postings. Such an

arrangement is not unlike Regular and Reserve Units in which members maintain

symbols of their Regimental culture while serving alongside other service members.

Alternatively multicultural policy objectives may be facilitated by the creation of

combined Regular and Reserve units in which individuals can be introduced to the

military environment and be seamlessly integrated into the Regular Force, should they

choose.

The Military and Effect

Citizens of a liberal democracy address their demands to the government which

typically responds with policy or law. Government institutions interpret policy into

bureaucracy. The military can likewise respond. However, militaries have a tradition of

translating intent into effect. Communities may respond through activism, leading to

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[151]   Cynthia Estlund. Working Together: How Workplace Bonds Strengthen a Diverse
Democracy, New York: Oxford University Press, 2003, 133.

change. It is in the interface of activism and effect that the military may have an advantage over all other government institutions.

With the appropriate mandate or will, militaries translate intent into practice. Militaries understand that plans, while carefully crafted, often do not survive first contact. An organization which is able to proceed with out being paralyzed when progress outpaces plans is ideal. The Military is such an organization. While after action reports will highlight inefficiencies, the military will have delivered the desired effect. While this is most commonly thought to refer to kinetic action, the military is also highly skilled in leadership and organization. The military is suited to lead, to act and to deliver effects.

In support of multiculturalism in general "new valves... must be adopted; organizational forms must be transformed or created ... producing new symbolic forms and eliminating those felt to be offensive or obsolete."[152] The Interim policy on Religious Accommodation was an initial response to diversity and might be viewed as reactive rather than proactive. However, transformation based on technology, communication, tactics and strategy has characterized the military. These transformations have, in the past been slow in initiation but once underway have been thorough. The result has been new infrastructure and command organization in support.

Canada's multiculturalism policy represents a responsibility and a resource. When ethnic communities form to maximize mutual support, agencies or institutions which recognize their value develop strategies to likewise extract benefit. The military can create organizations which parallel ethnic communities to deliver and extract benefit. The

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152   Raymond Breton, Social Origins Of Multiculturalism Chap 14 In Canada In Ethnic Relations In Canada: Institutional Dynamics (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press 2005), 271.

British experience with the Ghurkhas was intuitive and can be emulated by the Canadian

Forces in modified form.

With respect to nation building the creation of ethnic units within ethnic

communities may provide a forum in which conditions can be set to maximize the effect

of multiculturalism policy both for the ethnic community and Canada. One concern with

the multiculturalism policy is that "it is not easy to measure the degree to which it is

successful."[153] The effectiveness in a Military context is more easily measured.

The Military and Preservation of Symbols

While there are several consistent elements of culture; history, myth, lore and

celebrations; represent outward manifestation. The military has long been associated with

such. Ceremonial dress, music, dances, stories, the honouring of community and elders

are all part of the military experience. The military's affinity toward symbols is not

superficial. It is an important element in creating unit cohesion and pride in service.

Across cultures, group reward is more highly valued than individual world wide.[154]

However, Canada's military tradition, symbols and celebration are most often associated

with British, French and Highland lore. Commeration of battles and victories are

culturally neutral; however, there currently exists a place for balmorals to be imbedded in

tradition while turbans, for example, remain exceptional. This does not give "ethnic

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153   Clifford Jansen, "Canadian Multiculturalism", Chap 1 in Possibilities and Limitations: Multicultural Policies and Programs in Canada (Black Point, Nova Scotia: Fernwood Publishing, 2005), 32.

154   Nan Weiner, Ph.D. Making Cultural Diversity Work (Scarbourough, Ontario: Thompson Canada Ltd., 1997), 87.

minorities who affiliate with the symbols of their culture"[155] a similar forum to participate in an organization in which their symbols are embedded.

> Public institutions ... are involved in the distribution of symbolic, as well as material resources. They dispense recognition and honour. They allocate possibilities for identification with purposes that have significance beyond an individual's ... They distribute opportunities for meaningful social roles. These symbolic opportunities or resources can be unequally available to different categories of people.[156]

As an institution which has a particularly strong affinity toward symbols and celebration, tangential participation is inadequate. Whereas symbols are deeply rooted in culture and heritage, they cannot be simply superimposed upon another. Creating units with cultural themes that honour and celebrate targeted communities might address this.

Providing an Opportunity to Serve

Part of the preamble to the Canadian Multiculturalism Act reads: "the Citizenship Act provides that all Canadians ... are subject to the same obligations, duties and liabilities.[157] The military serves the goal of multiculturalism by providing such opportunities to serve. However, the Interim Policy on Religious Accommodation only accounts for religious practices "central" to one's religion. If accommodation is not granted, the choice is for the member to ignore his/her religious needs or fall short of meeting military requirements. Impediments to religious or cultural practices may

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155   Augie Fleras and Jean Leonard Elliott, Multiculturalism in Canada: The Challenge of Diversity (Scarborough: Nelson Canada, , 1992), 51.

156   Raymond Breton, "Social Origins Of Multiculturalism" Chap 14 In Canada In Ethnic Relations In Canada: Institutional Dynamics (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press 2005), 256.

157 Canadian Multiculturalism Act

discourage participation in the Military. One cannot assume that non-Westerners seek any less to serve than Westerners or have any less a sense of obligation to the broader community. However, current policy and structure make the cost of service much higher for non-Western Canadians.

The military may provide a more attractive forum to permit members of cultural minorities to fulfill their obligations by addressing those policies and practices which place an additional cost to their service. A comprehensive policy and practice of multiculturalism should remove these impediments. This is advantageous to both minority ethnic groups and Canadian Society as a whole since all groups will have equal access not only to their rights but to their responsibilities as well. As previously outlined, the establishment of culturally themed units may eliminate this impediment.

Creating Bridging Communities

Multiculturalism is poorly understood, or viewed as complex, because it is an attempt to manage a process of human interaction and change, on an individual and community level which spans generations. Additionally, ethnic groups integrate differently. The needs of one community are not necessarily identical to another. The multicultural approach of recognizing cultural communities as a resource reflects this. The ultimate goal of the host society and cultural community is that while identity remains in tact, functional relationships are established for the benefit of all.

Wsevolod Isajiw describes the challenge of socialization; second and third generations adopt a different identity than the first.[158] The second generation experiences

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158   Wsevolod W. Isajiw, Understanding Diversity: Ethnicity and Race in the Canadian Context (Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing Inc., 1999), 193.

a "double socialization" which "is a significant source of conflict between the first and second generations."[159] Finally, the second generation develops strategies of "handling this social-psychological doublness."[160] These strategies include: "Keeping the 'two worlds' apart",[161] "pushing the world of the broader society aside, and engaging oneself primarily in the ethnic world,"[162] "pushing the ethnic world aside and engaging oneself primarily in the world of the broader society,"[163] "pushing the ethnic world and the world of the broader society away and involving oneself in alternate activities"[164] and "bringing the two worlds together in creative activities."[165]

The military can provide a kind of bridging community, a link to soften "double socialization." If the choice is to keep the two worlds apart, or to abandon the ethnic community, the military can simply provide an alternative environment. If the strategy is to push the ethnic and broader society away, the military provides a third option. However, this may not be healthy. If the strategy is pushing the broader society aside or bring the two worlds together in creative activities, culturally themed units can provide a forum in which cultural ownership can take place, such as incorporating symbol and tradition. While not supported by data, Wsevolod's institution is that "keeping one's ethnic identity and one's identity with the broader society as two separate compartments

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159   Wsevolod W. Isajiw, Understanding Diversity: Ethnicity and Race in the Canadian Context (Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing Inc., 1999), 193.

160   Ibid, 193.

161   Ibid, 193.

162   Ibid, 193.

163   Ibid, 193.

164   Ibid, 194.

165   Ibid, 194.

is probably the most common strategy."[166]

As a national institution which recognizes and values the role of culture in creating cohesion, the military may act as "bridging community." This can be a resource for the cultural community as they assist their members in the process of socialization. This would require a partnership with the ethnic community as it and the broader society seek to attain the mutual benefit of multiculturalism. A bridging role would manifest as a community within a community.

Reaching Out to Communities

As a national institution, the Canadian Forces is a symbol of Canada. While Canada is by no means militaristic, it is normal for a military to be a focus of national pride or encapsulate some form of national character. The presence of a Canadian Forces unit in any community is a local expression of national identity. If forming cultural communities is a legitimate means of preserving culture and is consistent with the multicultural understanding of Canada, then creating a community within a community may likewise be a means of introducing the larger collective community. Although other national institutions may be present, their purpose is to provide services and as such do not present the same opportunity for mutual participation.

The military has the unique potential to import a cultural infrastructure. This cultural infrastructure represents the collective identity while providing room for local cultural expression. A presumed impediment is that members of other cultural groups may have experienced the military as oppressive. The Canadian Forces would, therefore,

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166   Wsevolod W. Isajiw, Understanding Diversity: Ethnicity and Race in the Canadian Context (Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing Inc., 1999), 194.

be inappropriate as an institution of choice to act as an ambassador to the Canadian identity. This intuition has not been described in the literature reviewed for this paper.

Culturally based units that represent the presence of the federal state, while maintaining local cultural symbols, are not new. Both the Regular and Reserve Force consist of British, French, Irish and Scottish themed units. Particularly in the case of Reserve units, this form of presence holds promise, and is consistent with historical practice.

Creating Communities within a Community

One of the assumptions of the dominant culture is that the minority enters the majority society to be socialized. However, if the dominant entered the minority, opportunities for socialization would likewise be present. A key difference would be that the relationship would be reversed. The representation of the dominant culture would be manifest as the minority.

Typically, it is the dominant culture that defines the boundaries. "At least initially, the majority group acts as a gate-keeper... it establishes the criteria of incorporation of minority ethnic groups and gives the process of incorporation its initial direction."[167] While the goal in multiculturalism is that both communities become interdependent, "In reality, this interdependence is never symmetrical"[168] Regardless of intent, the host community is in a position of power, expressed or implied. However, this does not preclude an approach in which the local community is in a position to act as gate keeper.

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167   Wsevolod W. Isajiw, Understanding Diversity: Ethnicity and Race in the Canadian Context (Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing Inc., 1999), 110.

168   Ibid, 110.

While the larger institution remains dominant in the larger context, in specific

communities, the dominant society will become the minority culture.

In creating a community within a community, the military, as a representation of a

national institution, becomes the smaller culture. This should place ownership and

responsibility in the hands of the local community to determine how the smaller

community is incorporated. In effect, the military may be incorporated into the life of the

community. The Canadian Forces, as a national institution, may then serve as a model of

incorporation achieved. Thus the Canadian Forces serves a nation building function.

A culturally themed unit can fulfil the same purpose as the cultural enclave; it

assists in socialization. These ethnic units can also inform the larger institution as to the

cultural needs of individuals who serve elsewhere. Therefore, religious accommodation

may be managed by the appropriate community not by representatives of the dominant

culture. Such culturally influenced matters such as leadership and conditions for

advancement will be mutually modelled.

Summary

As the largest government institution in Canada, the military is well suited to the

task of nation building. Challenges in the multicultural model may be ameliorated within

the military context. The military is possessed of unique characteristics which may serve

a nation building mandate in the multicultural context well. The nature of the military's

social and cultural infrastructure, its meritocracy, mission focus, symbolic impact, service

based ethos and relationship to the local community, represent characteristics which may

support the intent of Canada's multicultural policy. The Canadian Forces potential as a

contributor to Canada's identity in this respect ought to be considered and may be intentionally applied as the Employment Equity Plan continues to be developed.

In section two, exploration will move from the role the Canadian Forces might play in supporting Canada's multiculturalism policy, to the manner in which such a role holds potential to enhancing operational capabilities. While recruiting may be considered an obvious advantage, possible enrichments in leadership and problem solving will be considered. Of particular note will be an exploration of Cultural Intelligence and the cultivation of cultural language in general.

Section Two – Multiculturalism as a Resource for the Canadian Forces

How Multiculturalism serves the Military

Recruiting

The experience of the Soviet Armed Forces is important. With the invasion of the Soviet Union by the Germans, the expedient response was to authorize ethnic units which had been deemed ineffective during peacetime. While national emergencies generate its own motivation, culture matters. The British experience with the Ghurkhas illustrates the value of respecting cultural and community in recruiting. The British recruited a community. The recruitment of individuals became a partnership of the dominant culture with the minority. While the Canadian military cannot duplicate the scale of the Ghurkha experience, it is informative.

Political parties recognize multiculturalism as a political resource and use minority groups in urban areas for re-election.[169] Politicians appeal to communities. The military can learn from this. Politicians engage community leaders and promise to remain present in the community. While recruiting centres may be present in the community, their purpose is to pull individuals out. Politicians pour resources into a community in exchange for votes.

Given the reality of Ethnic social formations, a wise recruiting strategy may be not to recruit individuals from the group but to recruit the group in tact. Ethnic groups in the military can be a change agent. This would call for an intentional application of multiculturalism which would manifest in culturally themed units.

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169   Augie Fleras and Jean Leonard Elliott, Multiculturalism in Canada: The Challenge of Diversity (Scarborough: Nelson Canada, , 1992), 96.

Will to Fight

It is simplistic to characterize any single community or culture as having a particular propensity toward the military or greater ease in acquiring or employing military skill. However, attitudes toward the military are shaped by cultural influences. Some cultures may have a tradition of pacifism while others honour a military history. Understandings of war and peace, the appropriate use of violence and the difficult questions with regard to the taking of human life are all important culturally, particularly the religious element.

Joanne Benham Rennick in her unfinished work "Religion in the Ranks: Religion in the Canadian Forces in the 21st Century" describes how "religious values have been both a help and a hindrance to [an] ability to conform to the group and establish their right to membership within the group."[170] She suggests that "Sikhs have a long tradition of participation in the military that makes them more likely to pursue a military career"[171] and that "Aboriginals, Christians, and Muslims are among those who find their religion helps them in the military duties."[172]

The interpretation of one's cultural context may serve as an aid or hindrance to participation in any military. This is particularly relevant when violence is manifest and required. Col Dave Grossman's research indicates what the military has always known. Social and cultural distance is a contributing factor in eroding the natural reluctance to

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[170]   Joanne Benham Rennick, Religion in the Ranks: Religion in the Canadian Forces in the 21st Century (Waterloo, Ontario, Canada, Unpublished Work, May 31, 2008), 178.

[171]   Ibid, 178.

[172]   Ibid, 178.

conduct violence against another human being. "Often the enemy's humanity is denied by referring to him as a 'gook', 'Kraut', or 'Nip'."[173] As unpalatable as it may seem, forms of cultural distance exist and will be utilized. A latent or manifest sense of cultural superiority over the enemy is a common enabler in war. In this sense, culturally diverse militaries may have varying degrees of willingness to fight, depending upon the interpretation of one's culture or religion and the named enemy.

Leadership

Leadership is a process of influence, credibility is its basis. "At the core of any leader-follower relationship is communication, [which] requires understanding. The tremendous diversity of communication targets for modern military officers dramatically complicates the issue."[174] In cultural units, relationships or affinities on a cultural level are already present. Relevant and credible leadership models already exist. The military may train to this, however, cultural units can be the repositories of cultural and linguistic capabilities which inform and aid leadership.

New Perspectives

"Any organization that requires greater creativity in problem solving and decision making and that requires flexibility, particularly flexibility to make changes, can benefit from a diverse internal workforce."[175] A culturally diverse military will have a broader

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173   Dave Grossman, On Killing: The Psychological Cost of Learning to Kill in War and Society (Back Day Books, 1996), 161.

174   Jim Blascovich and Christine R. Hartel. Overview, Chapter 1 in Human Behaviour in Military Contexts (Washington, D.C.: The National Academies Press, 2008), 8.

175   Nan Weiner, Ph.D. Making Cultural Diversity Work (Scarbourough, Ontario: Thompson

base of perspectives which will manifest in an increased range of solutions and a greater

variety of problem solving methodology. Inclusion of diversities, therefore, introduces

"greater flexibility to deal with continued change in all areas."[176] The greatest strength of

a pluralistic environment rests in challenging the assumption that "decision-making

criteria are held in common ... and that there is some basic agreement on the relevant

constraints on the range of possible solutions."[177]

Arriving at the ability to appreciate and trust the perspectives of another

community requires time and intent. Individuals cannot apply their cultural lenses to

understand a society or group which is different. This may result in misunderstanding

because individuals are "using different rules to interpret the same behaviour or

situation."[178] Where "each culture has its own social realities that generate behaviour and

attitudes that ... seem illogical to other[s],"[179] it will not be by accident that the

superiority of cultural solutions will be recognized. "The benefits of diversity are many ...

The potential costs are time, commitment of organizational resources, discomfort with

change, and conflict."[180]

Canada Ltd., 1997), 32.

176   Nan Weiner, Ph.D. Making Cultural Diversity Work (Scarbourough, Ontario: Thompson Canada Ltd., 1997), 9.

177   Peter B. eyer dr Christopher R. Reaves. "Objectives and Values: Planning for Multicultural Groups Rather than Multiple Constituencies" Chap 6 in Urban Planning in a Multicultural Society (Westpoft, CT: Praege Publishers, 2000), 84.

178   Jim Blascovich and Christine R. Hartel. Intercultural Competence, Chapter 2 in Human Behaviour in Military Contexts (Washington, D.C.: The National Academies Press, 2008), 21.

179   Michael A. Burayidi. "Tracking the Planning Profession: From Monistic Planning to Holistic Planning for a Multicultural Society" Chap 3 in Urban Planning in a Multicultural Society (Westpoft, CT: Praege Publishers, 2000), 45.

180   Nan Weiner, Ph.D. Making Cultural Diversity Work (Scarbourough, Ontario: Thompson Canada Ltd., 1997), 35.

While "diverse groups need more time in order to gain their competitive advantage,"[181] the yield is "greater efficiency and effectiveness."[182] This requires an understanding of cultural differences and "how these can be harnessed to make an organization more creative and flexible."[183] While we may not understand all differences, we can understand that there are differences and expect that these, while representing challenges on one level, will yield a net gain.

"Valuing diversity ... can capitalize on the heterogeneity of perspectives and talent to find the superior solution for each particular situation."[184] It would seem that the ability to work together is learned through working together. "While carrying out this work, the interacting participants learn more about each other, rely on each other, and develop a commonly held body of knowledge."[185] The greatest benefit arises not as a single point of view emerges but precisely because there are different perspectives applied to a common task.

Collective Cultural Intelligence

Some would argue that the context of contemporary warfare has changed. However, nations have long been engaged in state on state and culture on culture warfare. The outcome is influenced by power and negotiation. It is anticipated that at least in the

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181   Nan Weiner, Ph.D. Making Cultural Diversity Work (Scarbourough, Ontario: Thompson Canada Ltd., 1997), 36.

182   Ibid, 36.

183   Ibid, 8.

184   Ibid, 6.

185   John Brown Childs. Transcommunality From the Politics of Conversion to the Ethics of Respect (Philadelphia Temple University Press, 2003), 59.

near term, military effectiveness will not be dependant upon technological or numerical

superiority alone but will require the kind of influence inherent in "Cultural Intelligence"

"Cultural Intelligence" describes "The ability to navigate and adapt to different

cultures [and] includes three components: cognitive ... physical ... and emotional."[186]

Whereas the contemporary battle space is highly influenced by culture, "a key issue for

the military is to select, train, and deploy individuals who possess these qualities and are

able to function in multiple cultures."[187] Furthermore, it is thought that particular

attention should be focused upon "Learning a second language and cross-cultural

negotiation.[188]

While it may be demonstrated that Cultural Intelligence can be cultivated in

individuals by training, Canada has the potential to heighten the cultural intelligence of

the institution by selection. Given the importance of an ability to "communicate in the

native tongue,"[189] it would seem that a native speaker would be more highly qualified

than a trained speaker, particularly where the desired outcome is not the exchange of

information but influence or negotiation. "When negotiators adopt similar ... perceptions

of the negotiating task itself, the outcomes ... are much higher."[190]

Cultural Intelligence requires more than language and cognition. Culture is much

more nuanced than training or education will allow. "One must be able (and motivated)

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186   Jim Blascovich and Christine R. Hartel. Intercultural Competence, Chapter 2 in Human
Behaviour in Military Contexts (Washington, D.C.: The National Academies Press, 2008), 21.

187   Ibid, 21.

188   Ibid, 21.

189   Ibid, 22.

190   Ibid, 27.

to ... produce a culturally appropriate response."[191] A native understanding and experience or ownership of a culture is important for an ease in and gaining trust. The military is well suited to train in specific skill sets and to enhance specific capabilities - these do not include cultural fluency. Whereas "cultural awareness as well as the competency to effectively develop and apply cultural knowledge is a significant requirement ... in achieving mission success,"[192] recruiting for cultural capability is key.

Available literature on Cultural Intelligence seems to focus upon its development in individuals as part of a leadership skill "this construct is meant to reflect the capability, to deal effectively with people from different cultural backgrounds."[193] Others assign it a high value in the culturally complex battle space. However, the Canadian Forces can consider a model of Cultural Intelligence on an institutional scale. Rather than developing individual capability as a leadership quality, Cultural Intelligence can reside in the institution by creating units or communities within the Canadian Forces which are representative of cultures other than the mainstream. Furthermore, having recruited for cultural Intelligence, it should be considered that maintenance of cultural fidelity may be achieved through continued interaction with the native community through culturally themed units.

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191   P. Christopher Earley and Randall S. Peterson. The Elusive Cultural Chameleon: Cultural Intelligence as a New Approach to Intercultural Training for the Global Manager in Academy of Management Learning and Education (Vol. 3, No. 1, 100-115, 2004), 107.

192   Kimberly-Anne Ford, Ph.D., Cultural Intelligence, Emotional Intelligence and Canadian Forces Leader Development: Concepts, Relationships, And Measures: Canadian Forces Leadership Institute Defence R&D Canada – Centre for Operational Research and Analysis Copyright, Her Majesty the Queen as represented by the Minister of National Defence, 2007, 10.

193   David C. Thomas, Domain and Development of Cultural Intelligence: The Importance of Mindfulness in Group Organization and Management; Simon Fraser University, 78.

Restoring Military Culture

In some respects mid nineties saw the erosion of military culture and community in Canada. Military culture was impacted by Somalia and later revelations with regard to the Canadian Airborne Regiment. Systemic issues implied a focus upon the Canadian Airborne Regiment and led to its disbanding. However, caution was much broader. Sensitivity to hazing cast suspicion on unique or informal exercise of tradition, particularly marking a rite of passage. This was illustrated by attention focused upon the Navy's "Crossing the Line Ceremony". While the Navy was able to defend the practice, a climate of apprehension with respect to military culture was evident. The events of Somalia signalled the beginning of significant change in Canadian Military culture. Remedial measures included prohibitions and constraints on behaviour. While important, the approach was focused on correction, not creating constructive relationships. In the years that followed, Canada's military promoted a professional environment.

Concurrent with growing cultural timidity was an economic environment in which government had become averse to competing with the private sector. A significant manifestation of this was the determination that PMQ rents should match those of the local economy. The gradual erosion of the military community and ultimate destruction of surplus PMQs across Canada has been the result. It may be suggested that these, concurrent with a climate of caution surrounding Military culture have diminished mess life and the military population of Chapels.

One of the assumptions of multiculturalism is that confidence in one's own culture enables creative and positive encounters with others. The military now emphasizes a Profession, while still speaking of the military community. Culture and

community imply mutual commitment on behalf of the individual and institution; however, professional services can be purchased or rented by contract on a full or part time basis. Culture and community are not required. Culture is now a private affair. We have become a professional institution. The Canadian Forces has become a modern institution in a postmodern world. If the assumption that confidence in one's own culture is an enabler in interacting with others, this may be an important consideration in today's operational environment.

The erosion of cultural language in the Canadian military may explain the slow advance of a multicultural environment. One of the advantages that multiculturalism may bring to the military is the relearning of cultural language. Creating a pluralistic environment may fortify culture itself.

Summary

While a progressive application of a multicultural model may assist recruiting and broaden leadership possibilities, other advantages may be applied directly to operational capability. Today's battle space has become increasingly complex not only due to the development of technology but the nature of the human environment. If current operations are not an aberration but represent the complexities of the future, multiple perspectives, particularly those that are culturally based will prove invaluable. Also, a collective, native based, cultural intelligence may be an operational resource that cannot be reproduced through training. A multicultural model which allows cultural perspectives, intelligence, skill and relationships to remain in tact ought to be seriously considered.

Summary of Chapter

Employing a model of multiculturalism in the Canadian Forces may serve the needs of our nation well. However, the advantages do not stop at nation building. Significant potential exists for recruiting, leadership development, flexibility and collective cultural intelligence.

While there may be a reluctance by some to view the Military as a test bed for "Social experiments", it is not uncommon for militaries to be used to fulfil a "nation building" role. In some manifestations, this has been judged to be counter productive. However, depending upon the desired end-state, the two goals of "nation building" and "operational effectiveness" are complementary.

The British employment of Ghurkha Regiments is a well known success. While not precisely parallel, similarities are substantial. One should expect that a similar model would be relevant to the Canadian experience. The Russian model was deemed to be counter to the needs of the Soviet Armed Forces; however, there were instances of success. These were deviations from the Russian "nation building" approach. These successful accidents, while dismissed by the Soviets, are informative.

Conclusion

Given the multicultural demographic of Canada, its favourable disposition and particularly law, it may be argued that the Canadian Military has an implied mandate to support and develop comprehensive practices in support of multiculturalism. Both the policy of the Canadian government and the Canadian Forces has evolved. Language which once suggested obligation now expresses choice and opportunity.

It is unclear whether the challenges presented by the multicultural reality are real or perceived. In either case, the unique nature of the military social and cultural infrastructure provides an environment in which these may be ameliorated. Particularly the tendency for cultural groups to form distinct cultural communities raised concerns with respect to social stratification but may also represent a resource. Multicultural policy is intended to manage such realities and extract its positive potential. In a sense, multicultural policy is both a harness and a bridal. The recent Chief Military Personnel Employment Equity Plan articulates a positive view of the multicultural potential.

The Canadian Forces has a unique advantage over other government institutions to extract the rich resources of our culturally distinct communities while providing a forum in which individuals can gain exposure to the broader context that the multicultural policy intends. Whether by default or design, the British experience with the Ghurkhas and the Soviet Armed Forces demonstrated the value of ethnic units. While the principle function of any military is defence of the nation, militaries are also instruments of the state and may serve a function of nation building. It is in this nation building role that the Canadian Forces can support multiculturalism and in so doing enhance its operational capabilities.

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c.33, s.1.].

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