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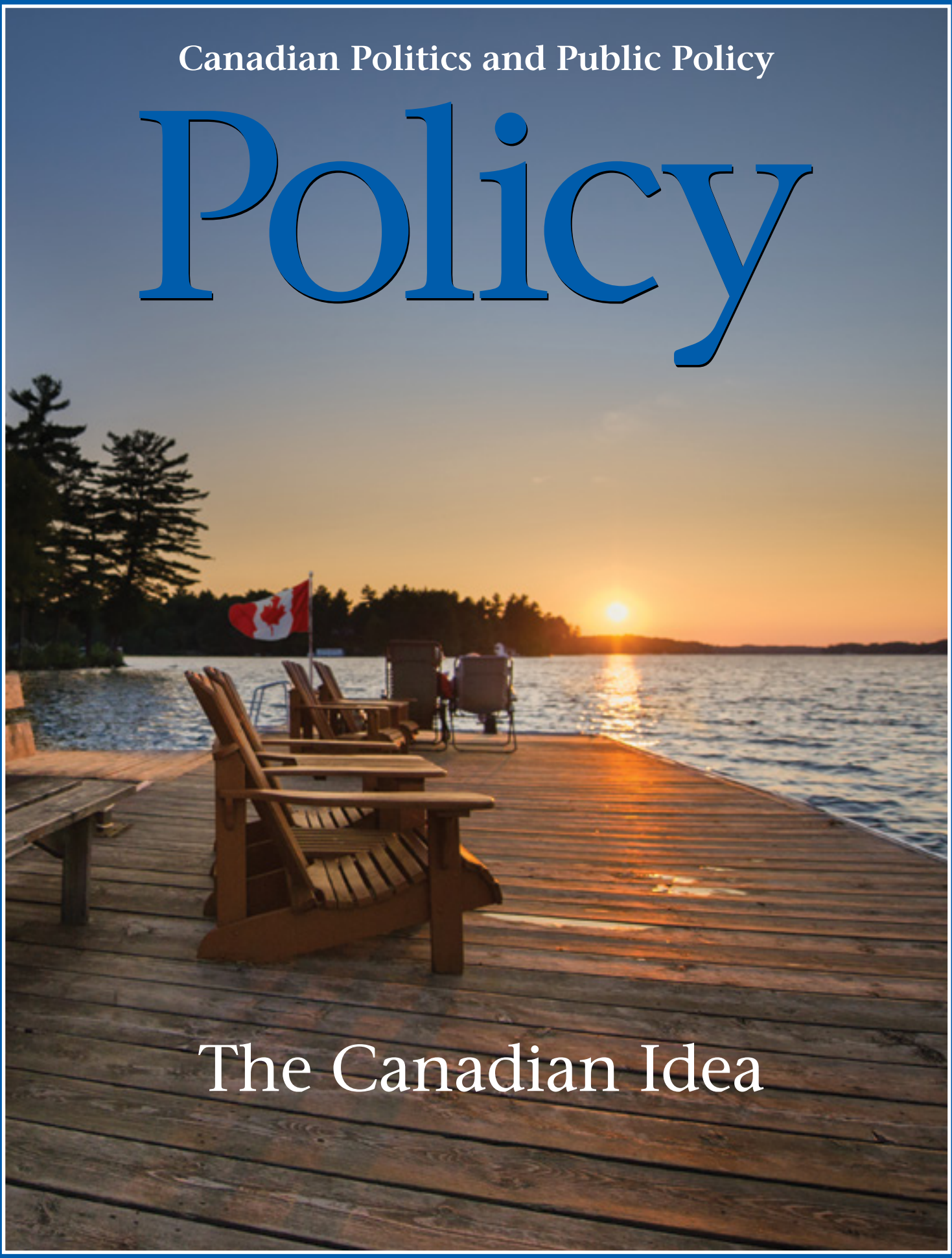
Canadian Politics and Public Policy

Policy



The Canadian Idea

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EDITOR
L. Ian MacDonald
lianmacdonald@policymagazine.ca

ASSOCIATE EDITOR
Lisa Van Dusen
lvandusen@policymagazine.ca

CONTRIBUTING WRITERS
Thomas S. Axworthy, Andrew Balfour, Yaroslav Baran, Derek H. Burney, Catherine Cano, Margaret Clarke, Celine Cooper, Rachel Curran, Susan Delacourt, Graham Fraser, Dan Gagnier, Martin Goldfarb, Sarah Goldfeder, Patrick Gossage, Frank Graves, Brad Lavigne, Kevin Lynch, Jeremy Kinsman, Andrew MacDougall, Carissima Mathen, Velma McColl, David McLaughlin, David Mitchell, Don Newman, Geoff Norquay, Fen Osler Hampson, Robin V. Sears, Gil Troy, Lori Turnbull, Jaime Watt, Anthony Wilson-Smith

WEB DESIGN
Nicolas Landry
policy@nicolaslandry.ca

SOCIAL MEDIA EDITOR
Grace MacDonald
gmacdonald@policymagazine.ca

GRAPHIC DESIGN & PRODUCTION
Monica Thomas
monica@foothillsgraphics.ca

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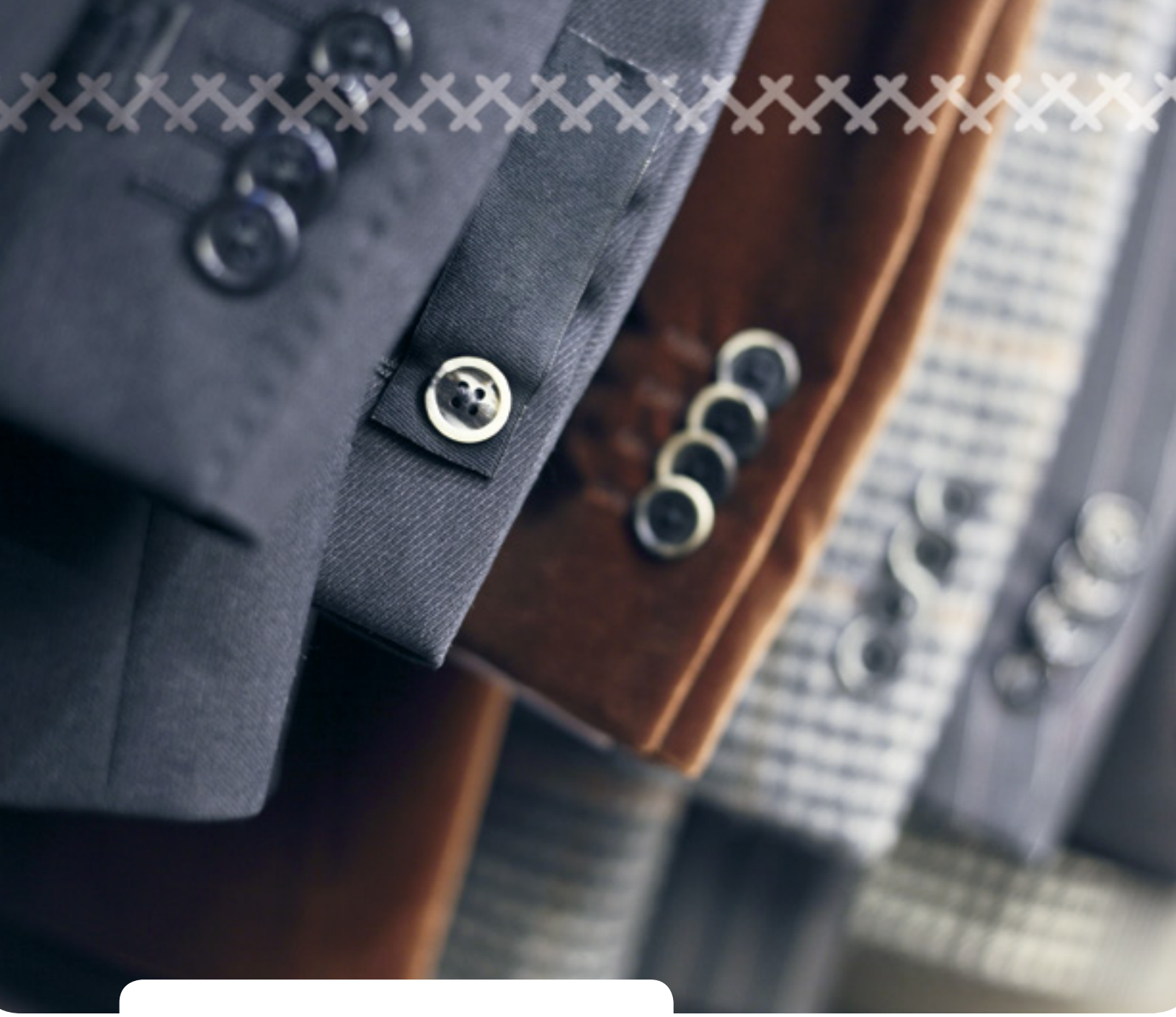

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From the Editor / L. Ian MacDonald

The Canadian Idea

Welcome to our special summer issue on The Canadian Idea. The American idea, abolitionist preacher Theodore Parker declared in 1850, comprised three elements: that all people are created equal, that all possess unalienable rights, and that all should have the opportunity to develop and enjoy those rights. There has never been a comparable articulation of the Canadian Idea, so for our *Policy* Magazine Summer Special: The Canadian Idea, we've asked an outstanding group of contributors for their sense of what Canada represents.

And there's a strong consensus that the idea of Canada is partly rooted in its geography and also in its status as a nation of immigrants, one whose national narrative has evolved from tolerance to inclusiveness.

As Peter Mansbridge, himself an immigrant from post-war Britain, writes: "The country has changed a lot in the sixty-five years since I walked down that gangway, not much more than a toddler, and I've witnessed Canada change and grow and mature." He concludes that Canada is a country of imperfections "and it's time we dealt with it."

As a reporter and author on Quebec, and for a decade as Commissioner of Official Languages in Ottawa, Graham Fraser has long seen the country through the lens of language. In the Canadian experience, he writes that "the longest history and the deepest fault line has been that of language."

Pollster Shachi Kurl, executive director of the Angus Reid Institute in Vancouver, considers the attitude of Canadians towards first-generation born Canadians of immigrant parents. She is one herself, her parents having immigrated from India. Her firm found that two-thirds of Canadians think of irregular border crossings as "a crisis".

Elizabeth May has a favourite way of seeing the country and talking to voters—on the train. As Green Party Leader, half her life is spent traveling back and forth across the country. "Honestly," she writes, "I do not think that anyone who has not seen the country by rail—or at least by leisurely road trip—can claim to have seen it at all."

Vianne Timmons grew up as one of six children in Labrador. She and her five siblings became the first generation of their working-class family to attend university. Vianne has served for more than a decade as President of University of Regina. She's a champion of Indigenous empowerment and inclusion in the halls of academic and political power. "I still believe," she writes, "that one of those little girls I have seen in Rankin Inlet can be our prime minister some day."

Sarah Goldfeder, now an Ottawa-based consultant, spent some 10 years with the U.S. State Department and stayed in Canada after her last posting. "When Americans ask me how I find living in Canada, it's a hard question," she notes. "I chose Canada but I love my country."

Canada has two constitutional frameworks—the federal-provincial bargain and division of powers in the British North America Act of 1867, and the rights of Canadians as individuals articulated in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms of 1982.

Tom Axworthy knows a lot about the Charter; it happened on his watch as principal secretary to Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau from 1981-84. He writes that without Canada coming of age as a federation under the BNA Act, there would have been no Charter.

For her part, Lori Turnbull sees Canada's constitution as unique in its design in that it has both written and unwritten parts, reflecting the influence of the American and British constitutions respectively.

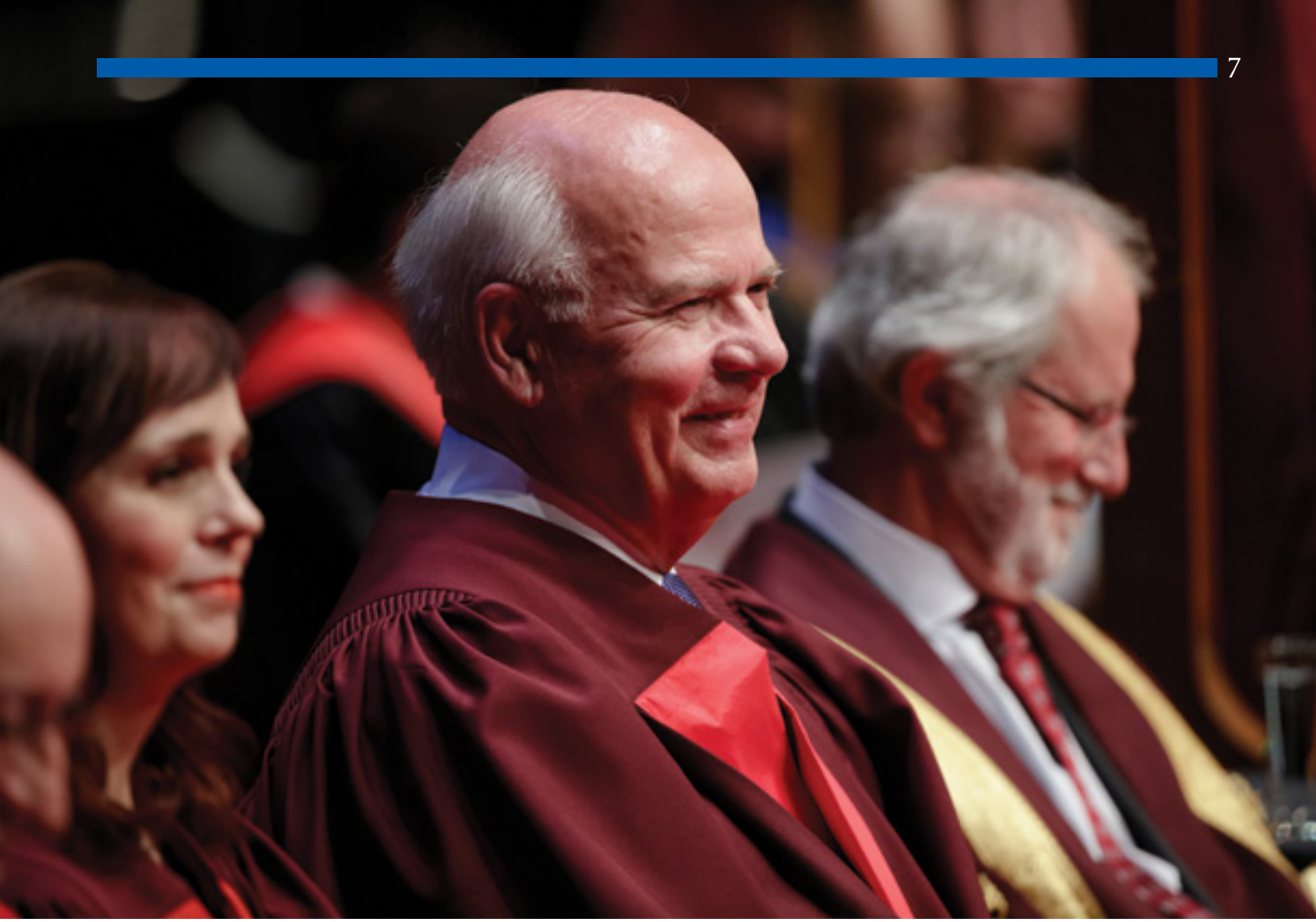
Don Johnston, former Liberal cabinet minister and Secretary General of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, writes that trying to describe the Canadian idea can be like the proverb about a blind man describing an elephant: "Many of us have impressions of particular regions, cities and people, but very few know it in much detail from sea to sea to sea."

After a career as an advocate for Nova Scotia's Black community and warrior against racism, Wanda Thomas Bernard became a Senator in 2016. "Despite being historically perceived as a 'Promised Land' and 185 years after emancipation," she writes, "people of African descent still do not have equitable access to opportunity in Canada."

Jeremy Kinsman has served Canada at home and abroad, as ambassador to Russia, the U.K. and EU. He considers how the world view of Canada has evolved in politics and culture, to a country that no longer passes unnoticed.

Finally, as Canadians approach a general election, they're seeing a lot of the tumult and turmoil of federal-provincial relations. Columnist Don Newman considers it, and concludes it's all in the Canadian nature of things.

Enjoy. P



Peter Mansbridge and his wife, actor Cynthia Dale, accepting their honorary Doctor of Laws degrees at McMaster University on June 12, 2017, more than 60 years after Mansbridge, as an excited 5-year-old, led his family down the gangway of the SS Samaria on what was for him, "day one of a great journey". *Photo by Ron Scheffler for McMaster University*

The Evolution of Arrival

It's hard to think of anyone who knows more about Canada than the man who, every night for nearly 30 years, told us what was happening here and around the world. Peter Mansbridge asked the questions Canadians couldn't and masterfully filled the gaps during royal visits, national tragedies and, perhaps most memorably, every Remembrance Day, when his appreciation of both history and sacrifice was unabashed. The country, and its newcomers, have changed since he arrived in what was then still an 'outpost of British civility.'

Peter Mansbridge

The morning broke cold and overcast in Quebec City on April 23rd, 1954 as the SS Samaria of the Cunard Shipping Line slid into port. It had left the United Kingdom only a week earlier. The old one-stacker had started life as a cruise ship in the twenties before being converted into a troop ship shuttling young men across the North Atlantic during the war. Now, less than a decade after the Second World War had ended, it was liv-

ing out its last days bringing immigrants on the voyage to what many still called the "new world". Anxious to step on land, an excited 5-year-old, braving the Canadian cold in gray shorts, gray socks and a sensible English knit sweater, led his family down the gangway to a group of waiting Canadian immigration officials. It would be, for him, day one of a great journey.

It was my first day in Canada.

My father, a decorated veteran of the Royal Air Force, had been offered a job in the Canadian public service. Along with my mother, they were anxious to find a safe haven to raise their young family. They'd been through the great conflict in Europe, and followed that with four years of tense times for British government officials when we lived in Malaya. We loved our new country and, as kids, my sister and I settled in fast. So fast, in fact, that even still clinging to our accents, we were chosen, just a few years after coming off the Samaria, to portray two typical Canadian students in a film for the National Film Board, "A Visit to the Parliament Buildings". It even included a scene with the new prime minister, John Diefenbaker. Twenty years later I showed "The Chief" a photo of that 1958 moment when I was a parliamentary correspondent for the CBC in Ottawa—amazingly, he remembered every detail of the encounter. He signed it for me and it remains one of my prized possessions to this day.

"The country has changed a lot in the sixty-five years since I walked down that gangway not much more than a toddler, and I've witnessed Canada change, and grow, and mature."

The country has changed a lot in the sixty-five years since I walked down that gangway not much more than a toddler, and I've witnessed Canada change, and grow, and mature.

Part of the change has been about immigration, not an issue that flatters our early history. Until the 1950s we were known more for erecting walls than laying out the welcome mat. Just ask the Chinese, or the Japanese, or the East Indians who tried to come to Canada at the dawn of the 20th century, or Jewish immigrants desperate to find a home in the 1930s. Or so many other examples that leave many of us embarrassed still.

But two world wars and the fear that other conflicts could start—that human slaughter could occur again—changed things. Fairly quickly, Canadians started to gain the reputation that, at least when a crisis was at hand, our shores welcomed those most threatened.

When the Hungarian uprising against the Soviets was crushed in 1956, hundreds of thousands of Hungarians fled across the border into Austria. Canada began an airlift, and 200 flights brought more than 37,000 Hungarians across the Atlantic. In 1968, the Prague Spring ended in similar fashion when the tanks moved into the cobblestone streets of the Czech capital. Another exodus, and this time Canada took in almost eleven thousand.

Our immigration records show that in the early 1970s, the United States was the largest source country for immigration. Why? It appears those trying to avoid the draft for Vietnam boosted the numbers. Estimates range as high as 40,000. In 1972, Idi Amin's butchery and forced expulsion of Ugandan Asians led Canada to organize another airlift and secure citizenship for almost 7,000 people.

In the summer of 1979, I found myself in a refugee camp in Hong Kong watching a lone Canadian immigration officer make decisions about which of the so-called Vietnamese "boat people" would be allowed to come to Canada. I've covered thousands of stories and interviewed tens of thousands of people since, but I've never forgotten the details of that moment. His name

Peter Mansbridge, 10, and his sister, Wendy, 14, with Prime Minister John Diefenbaker in 1958 during filming of the National Film Board's "A Visit to the Parliament Buildings".
Photo courtesy of Peter Mansbridge

was Scott Mullen and he was barely out of university but there he was, sitting at a makeshift table among thousands of ethnic Chinese who'd risked their lives and given up everything they owned to pay the exorbitant fees ship captains were charging to help get them out of Vietnam.

Mullen had to decide, in an instant, who got in to Canada and who didn't. I was in awe of the young man's determination to do the right thing for his country, and do the right thing for those desperate people who simply wanted to find a safe home for their families. Over the next year, Canada accepted close to one hundred thousand. Compare Scott Mullen's resources to what we witnessed as Canada swooped into the refugee camps in Lebanon to decide who we'd accept from the brutal and ugly civil war in Syria. Immigration officers, armed forces personnel, the RCMP. A full court press determined to ensure there were no terrorists hidden amongst the tens of thousands of refugees Canada would eventually welcome. What a difference thirty-plus years make.

What about the difference 65 years makes? Let's think about that for a minute. When the Samaria docked in 1954, the faces were white, the passports were mostly British. It's who we were then. It's how we defined ourselves. The statistics don't lie: we were, as the University of Toronto's Harold Roper told the *Toronto Star* in 2013, a country that saw itself as an "Anglo-British outpost of British civility".

> ***"If you find yourself in the crowd at a Toronto Raptors home game, the answer is a very firm 'yes' on the change question. You are surrounded by the new faces of Canada, a wonderful mix of everything a true mosaic can produce …. no one would call it an 'Anglo-British outpost'."***

So, what are we now? Have we really changed?

If you find yourself in the crowd at a Toronto Raptors home game, the answer is a very firm "yes" on the change question. You are surrounded by the new faces of Canada, a wonderful mix of everything a true mosaic can produce …. no one would call it an "Anglo-British outpost".

But outside of that venue, trying to describe, who we are as a nation in 2019 is a much tougher question to answer. Immigration has always been an issue for Canadians, and while time has changed the equation a bit, it remains a contentious issue.

Why? What does it expose about us? Why do we struggle with it?

Is it racism? Is it fear? Is it economics?

Is it a little bit of all of the above?

It's an easy bet that when Canadians head to the polls this fall, the big issue for some will still be immigration—how many new immigrants should be let in, from where, and with what impact. It remains a defining issue, perhaps the defining issue any country can ask itself—who are we?

When a five-year-old from Syria steps off the plane for his or her first day in Canada, is she or he as excited as I was all those years ago? Her parents are dealing with a lot more than my parents were—for them, the emotional and financial pressures must be, at times, overwhelming. Are we as Canadians as welcoming to that five-year-old and her family as the country was to me? I'm not sure.

There are real undercurrents out there across the land, that when exposed, call into question what we as individuals believe, and what we want and expect from our country.

It's unfinished business and it's time we dealt with it. P

Peter Mansbridge is the former anchor and chief correspondent of CBC's The National. *He is a Distinguished Fellow at the Munk School of Global Affairs and Public Policy at the University of Toronto.After 30 years in the anchor's chair, he is now producing documentaries and appearing as a public speaker.*

Peter Mansbridge with Canadian veterans and their families at Juno Beach on the 70th anniversary of D-Day and the liberation of Normandy, June 2014. *Stephanie Jenzer photo*

Through the Lens of Language

Between the experience of his career covering Quebec politics during the most crucial chapter of the province's—and the country's—history and his role as commissioner of official languages, Graham Fraser possesses a unique perspective on Canada's defining national issue: language. He also inherited his father's sense of the Canadian idea.

Graham Fraser

When I was in my last year of high school, 55 years ago, my father, Blair Fraser, spoke at the graduation ceremony, and used the occasion to talk about his idea of the country. It was an idea that he later used in A Centennial Sermon in 1967, and in the conclusion of his only book, published later that year, *The Search for Identity*.

His idea was that what defined the country was its nearness to the wilderness, to what he called "the cleansing experience of solitude." He posited that mutual affection is not a national characteristic. "Never in their history have Canadians demonstrated any warm affection for each other," he wrote. "Loyalties have always been parochial, mutual hostilities chronic." Born, raised and educated in the Maritimes, he moved to Montreal, worked as a reporter and editor, married, and learned French before moving to Ottawa from where he travelled the country and the world for *Maclean's,* and retraced most of the routes of the voyageurs in a canoe. The Canadian shield, its lakes and rivers, inspired him more than did politicians or clergymen.

He had intended to write a book on the Quebec independence movement, having written about Quebec nationalism since the 1940s; his last published article before he died in a canoeing accident in 1968 was a profile of René Lévesque.

> ***"The Canadian idea with the longest history and the deepest fault line has been that of language. Language has been for Canada what race has been for the United States and class has been for Great Britain: a defining tension, and a continuing challenge."***

Indeed, his view that the strains of biculturalism were "easing off, as English Canadians rush to learn French and English-speaking provinces move, still grudgingly but definitively, toward the establishment of schools in which French is the language of instruction" proved to be more optimistic than prescient. Language continued to be a dividing line and a source of tension for much of the half-century that followed. It remains a challenge.

My father ended his comments to my graduation class in 1964 with the advice—at a time when the Brain Drain was a Canadian worry—that they should not feel guilty if they decided to move to the United States.

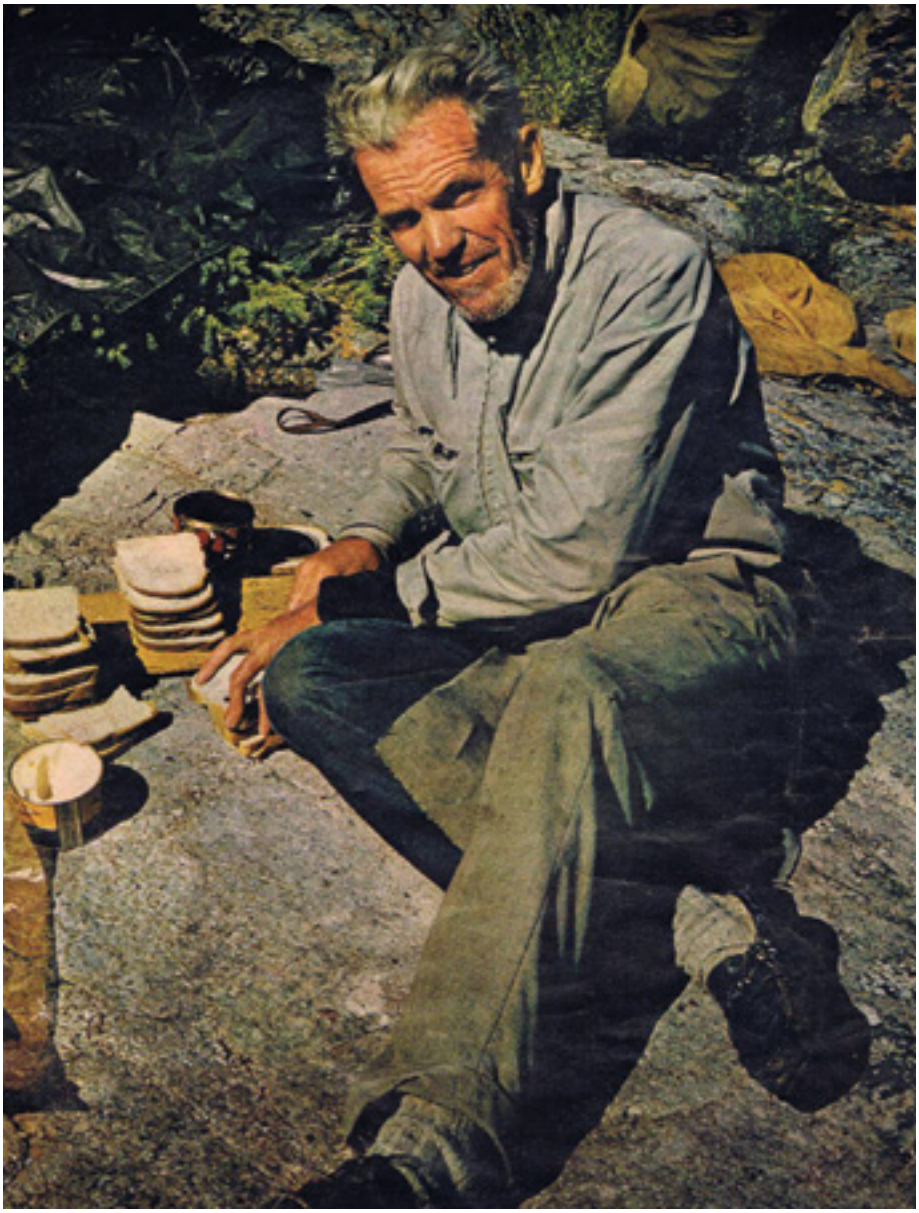
"But if you love it, stay, and it will make you very happy."

Good advice, and a modest Canadian idea. It moved me then, and it moves me now.

I followed my father into journalism—he died after my first week at the Toronto Star—and as things turned out, less than a year after his death I spent a week travelling with René Lévesque, and I would go on to spend the critical years of my career in journalism following him and his government. The story of Canada that I tried to tell was that of a country wrestling with language and constitutional tensions.

I grew up with my father's idea of Canada—the story of a country of networks through the wilderness created from the canoe routes paddled by French-Canadian voyageurs—and saw how it provided the underpinning for other stories: Harold Innis' story of the fur trade; Pierre Berton's story of the railway; Glenn Gould's idea of Canada's north; Marshall McLuhan's theories of communication ; F. R. Scott's idea of justice; Jane Jacobs' views of urbanism; Thomson Highway's indigenous mysticism; and Charles Taylor's and Will Kymlicka's ideas about community, language and diversity.

At the same time, Quebec was telling its own stories about the country—through debates between Wilfrid Laurier and Henri Bourassa and between Pierre Trudeau and René Lévesque and by voices as diverse as those of Gilles Vigneault, André Laurendeau, Michel Tremblay, Dany Laferrière, Rob-



Blair Fraser was one of Canada's pre-eminent journalists as a Maclean's reporter and editor. He died in 1968 during a canoeing accident, a week after his son, Graham, began his prolific journalism career at the Toronto Star. *Photo provided by the Fraser family*

ert Lepage, Kim Thuy, Gérard Bouchard and Boucar Diouf. Each of these in some way, whether intending to or not, articulated a Canadian idea. But the Canadian idea with the longest history and the deepest fault line has been that of language. Language has been for Canada what race has been for the United States and class has been for Great Britain: a defining tension, and a continuing challenge.

There are ways in which our struggles over the last half-century have been successful. The income disparity between English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians identified by the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism 50 years ago has been eliminated. (This is a success that contrasts with the continuing racial and class income disparities in the U.S. and Britain.) Bilingualism has become a critical qualification for political leadership—as he had hoped he would be, Lester Pearson is our last unilingual prime minister. But bilingualism is still very much a minority characteristic among English-speaking Canadians outside Quebec, with fewer than 10 per cent able to carry on a conversation in French. (Just over 40 per cent of French-speaking Quebecers can carry on a conversation in English—still a minority.)

Anniversaries are useful moments for reflection, and if Canada 150 was a lost opportunity, 2020 offers a more sobering moment for consideration of what the country has achieved or failed to accomplish. For that will be the 25th anniversary of the 1995 Quebec referendum, when Canada came within 55,000 votes of the kind of existential crisis that Britain is now living through following the Brexit referendum. What's changed? There was the transfer of certain responsibilities to Québec, a greater visibility of Canadian symbols (the unfortunate sponsorship program, riddled with corruption and kickbacks), and the Supreme Court reference on Quebec secession.

What was *not* done? There has been no effort made to increase the contact between the rest of Canada and Québec; there were no Québec studies programs established in English-Canadian universities outside Québec; there was no Canadian equivalent to the European Erasmus program established to encourage students in French-speaking and English-speaking universities to spend a year in an institution of the other language. In fact, the one such institutional program that existed, Collège Militaire Royal, which received students from Kingston's Royal Military College, was shut down and is only now close to resuming its previous status. There was no systematic attempt to make unilingual Quebecers aware that they could be served in French in national parks across Canada—and no renewed effort to ensure that this was, in fact, the case. Exchanges did exist, as they still do, but they still constitute a drop in the bucket.

In 2005, the Official Languages Act was amended to give federal institutions the obligation to take positive measures for the growth and development of minority language com-

munities. However, in 2018, Judge Gascon of the Federal Court issued a decision in which he gave a meticulous, word by word analysis to demonstrate that the language of the amended clause was not as binding as that in the other parts of the Act.

What are the other changes that have occurred over the last 25 years? We have seen a number of post-secondary institutions continue to take small steps to ensure that university graduates are fully bilingual: the immersion program at the University of Ottawa, the success of the Bureau des affaires francophones et francophiles (BAFF) at Simon Fraser, the transformation of Collège St. Boniface into a university and the continuing work being done by York University's Glendon College and Université Ste-Anne. However, these remain boutique programs. There is no equivalent to the European Erasmus program, which finances thousands of students to study in other European countries, to partake in the idea of Europe.

On the other hand, the government of Ontario has abolished the independent position of Commissioner of French-language Services and shelved the plans for a French-language university. We have seen a slight decline in bilingualism among Anglophones.

A columnist in *The Economist* wrote recently that "Canadian politicians are usually bilingual as a matter of course." If only that were true. It is true that bilingualism is a defining qualification for political party leadership, but many Canadian politicians do not meet that requirement.

We have seen a continuing series of Action Plans for Official Languages—which were renamed Roadmaps by the Conservatives. These have involved millions of dollars being directed towards minority language communities, and French Second Language learning. It is a proof of their success that they have survived two changes of government.

However, over the last two decades, under Liberal, Conservative and Liberal governments, these initiatives have had one thing in common: while they have been critically important for the vitality of Canada's linguistic minority communities, they have been virtually invisible to Canada' linguistic majorities. The Official Languages Act, understandably, is focussed on the linguistic minorities: their rights, their access to services, to education, to justice. So is the Charter, and the jurisprudence that has flowed from it.

But what has been missing from the discussion is a larger question of Canadian identity. If Canada's two official languages are seen and understood as key components of national identity, and the health and vitality of the two languages and the cultures expressed in them as critical elements in the definition of the country, then the policy is no longer simply about minority rights.

> ***"Canada's official languages, and the policies that support them, need to be understood and promoted for their importance to the linguistic majorities. Canadians need to feel that our two official languages belong to all of us—whether or not we speak them."***

Canada's official languages, and the policies that support them, need to be understood and promoted for their importance to the linguistic majorities. Canadians need to feel that our two official languages belong to all of us—whether or not we speak them.

This insight occurred to me when I heard Professor Jennifer Rattray of the University of Winnipeg say, in a discussion of indigenous languages, "I do not speak my language." That is the feeling that all Canadians should have about English and French: that they are *our* languages, even if we do not speak them.

We have two national linguistic communities in this country that enjoy national television and radio networks, that generate books, newspapers, movies, songs—not to mention jurisprudence. In some ways, the Francophone majority in Quebec suffers from insecurity, the Anglophone minorities from being misunderstood, that Francophone minorities are invisible and the Anglophone majority is insensitive. This latter phenomenon is not unusual: all majorities tend to be insensitive to the needs of minorities.

Legislation can go part of the way to address these challenges. But it cannot go all the way. When all you've got is a hammer everything looks like a nail, and at times, all that minority communities have had has been the hammer of legislation and the anvil of the courts.

But governments at all levels need to lift their eyes and raise their game so that they can convey to all Canadians the essential role that our two languages play in our identity, in the Canadian idea: that is to say, in our history, in our literature, in our films, in our music, in our television, in our welcoming of newcomers, in our presentation of ourselves to the world, and in our creation of a unique North American society, today and in the future. P

Graham Fraser is the former Commissioner of Official Languages, serving from 2006-16. A former Ottawa bureau chief of The Globe and Mail, *he was also a correspondent of* Maclean's, *the* Toronto Star *and the* Montreal Gazette. *He is the author of several national bestsellers, including* PQ: René Lévesque and the Parti Québécois in Power, *and* Sorry, I Don't Speak French: Confronting the Canadian Crisis that Won't Go Away.

From My Parents' Homeland to My Own

As a journalist and then a polling executive at the Angus Reid Institute, Shachi Kurl has explored the questions around immigration and its role in the Canadian experience and identity. As the Canadian-born daughter of immigrants herself, Kurl understands how emotional the issue can be. And, especially during an election year at a time when immigration has become a loaded issue across Western democracies, just how politicized it can get.

Shachi Kurl

Allergies. Specifically, a violent allergy to ragweed.

We've come to expect the origin stories of Canadian immigrants to be more romantic, or dramatic. Flight from conflict. First steps into a new culture. Canada as a deliberate destination, a conscious choice.

For my parents, it was an accidental affection. By the time they drove up to the Peace Arch border crossing between Washington state and British Columbia, they had already lived in the United Kingdom and the United States, having emigrated from India.

But the American dream was not to be for my father. His teaching options limited him to universities in the Midwest, which limited him to terrible health due to hay fever. So, he and my mother packed up their lives, (including their most precious possession, my sister) and set off for Vancouver.

The beauty of the Coast Mountains was a strong selling point, the salty crispness of fresh marine air wafting from the Pacific Ocean sealed the deal.

My story of Canada is one of a choice made for me. I was among the first generations of Canadian-born children of immigrants educated under official multiculturalism. When you're little, you're not alive to the importance of it. You just know that you're in a school full of kids whose parents—or who they themselves—were born in other parts of the world. We ate different foods. On special occasions, we wore different clothes.

Shachi Kurl, then a 7-year old daughter of immigrants from India, with an RCMP member at a community event in Vancouver. *Photo courtesy Shachi Kurl.*

They brought the RCMP in to pose with us. It made for a sweet tableau, but having kids in a school mostly populated by the children of immigrants put on "ethnic dress" and smile with a police officer wasn't just bromide, it was crucial to trying to build trust in a law enforcement institution that often suffers from a lack of it, particularly among visible minorities. Other facets of multiculturalism policy led to classroom discussions and events that exposed us to cultures beyond those of the so-called founding nations, French and English.

Just as Francophones took a sense of meaning, belonging and long-sought equality from official bilingualism, multiculturalism policy has helped solidify a sense of place in the centre of society, not on the margins, for visible minorities. It provided a sense of parity.

By design, the decades have revealed Canada to be successful in the way newcomers settle in this country. Employment rates among people born outside Canada are higher than many other Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) nations. Due to the points system, two-thirds of Canada's foreign-born adults have completed post-secondary education, notably higher than the rate for Canadian-born adults and significantly higher than the foreign-born rate for all other OECD countries.

These outcomes beget financial suc-

cess. In Vancouver, the country's most expensive housing market, the average assessment value of single detached homes owned by immigrants is nearly 20 per cent higher than the average assessment of single-detached homes owned by Canadian-born residents. In broad terms, most immigrants to this country are educated, working, and doing well financially.

And yet, for the first time in more than two decades, public opinion polling shows Canadians would prefer to see fewer, not more immigrants come to Canada. This feeling has spiked dramatically in recent years:

So, what's happening? To start, not everyone may be comfortable with what is literally the "changing face" of our nation. Consider that 2016 census data shows us the number of visible minorities in this country now roughly equal to the number of people in Quebec. By 2036, Statistics Canada projects immigrants will make up more than one-third of the total population. Perhaps it is not wholly surprising then, that two-thirds in this country when polled said newcomers need to do more to "fit in".

Still, conversations of assimilation and integration have been the perpetual undercurrent flowing parallel to the debate over immigration, even during times of support for acceptance of more newcomers. So, it can't explain everything. Instead, I would suggest two key occurrences that straddled the Trudeau government's mandate, and the political reactions to them, are more likely responsible for this unenthusiastic response to more immigration.

The first was the resettlement of Syrian refugees, the second, the arrival of thousands of people claiming asylum at undesignated border crossings.

In the fall of 2015, public opinion was overwhelmingly of the view that this country had a role to play in mitigating the human tragedy unfolding in the mass migrations from the Middle East and North Africa. But until the drowned body of Alan Kurdi—the three-year-old boy whose aunt was so desperately trying to get him and his family to sanctuary in Canada—washed ashore in Turkey, public opinion was also divided over whether people fleeing Bashar Al-Assad's brutal regime should be resettled here—and if so—how many? That began an election campaign bidding war that saw each of the main party leaders—Stephen Harper, Justin Trudeau and Thomas Mulcair—up the ante over the number of refugees who would be accepted, and under which timelines.

What we may have forgotten was the new Liberal government's initial insistence that 25,000 Syrians would be resettled within less than two months. Much concern and criticism over seemingly impossible timelines over security and vetting ensued. At the time, Angus Reid Institute polling showed half of those Canadians who said they were opposed to resettlement pointed specifically to the timelines as the reason why.

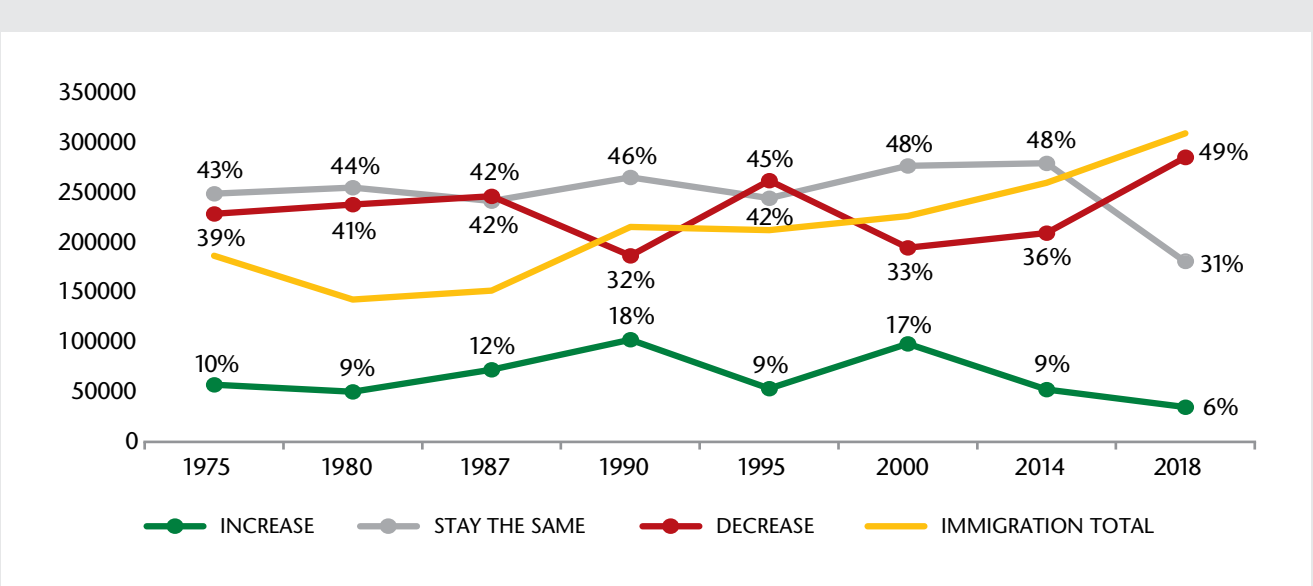
In response, then-Liberal Premier Kathleen Wynne's suggested such concerns "… allows [sic] us to tap into that racist vein when that isn't who we are."

Whether the federal government gave into the tapping of a 'racist vein', or whether bureaucrats convinced their political masters the timelines were indeed, too tight, the settlement date was extended.

Wynne's comments would not be the only example of political rhetoric took precedence over an important opportunity to communicate to Canadians about the country's immigration policies.

For the second time, a politician squandered a critical opportunity to strike a careful balance in response,

Chart 1: Should Immigration Levels Increase or Decrease. 1975–2018



Source: Angus Reid Institute

instead going for the feel-good factor that may ultimately have done more damage to the immigration debate overall. In January 2017, Prime Minister Trudeau tweeted, "To those fleeing persecution, terror & war, Canadians will welcome you, regardless of your faith. Diversity is our strength #WelcomeToCanada"

But what came to national attention as something of a curiosity—and for many a representation of the "best of Canada"—later gave way to pointed questions about how officials planned to deal with the tens of thousands who would later arrive, seeking to make a home on this side of the 49th parallel.

By September of 2017, slightly more than half of Canadians said the country has been "too generous" to the border crossers, more than eight times as many as those who said Canada hasn't been "generous enough". By August 2018, following another summer of asylum-seeking arrivals, two-thirds were calling the situation a "crisis", and the country was having to grapple with uncomfortable questions about how welcoming we really are.

Wynne's comments would not be the only example of political rhetoric took precedence over an important opportunity to communicate to Canadians about the country's immigration policies.

"I recognize this gift when I board flights home to Vancouver and give thanks that I am a woman living in Canada, free from much of the societal, cultural and official repression, harassment and barriers to economic upward mobility faced by so many of my sex around the world."

What has been the impact of these two narratives on our views towards immigration overall? Consider the potential damage that has been wrought by ideological reactions that failed, at least initially, to acknowledge or straightforwardly address the expressed anxieties of Canadians. I would posit that it has also had the effect of obscuring important differences over the *kind* of immigrants we mostly accept.

In 2018, the refugee and humanitarian class accounted for just 15 per cent of the number of permanent residents accepted into Canada—and *did not* include those who had crossed the border irregularly. Family class immigrants, those sponsored by a relative who is already in the country as a permanent resident or citizen, account for 28 per cent of the total.

The rest (57 per cent) are economic class immigrants, those who come fill jobs. You probably wouldn't know this based on the conversations about immigration today. And yet, we need work-ready newcomers to hold up our tax base, to fill labour shortages. To pay for the nice things we like to have in this country, such as health care and pensions and transit. We're neither having enough babies nor building enough robots to do that without our immigrants.

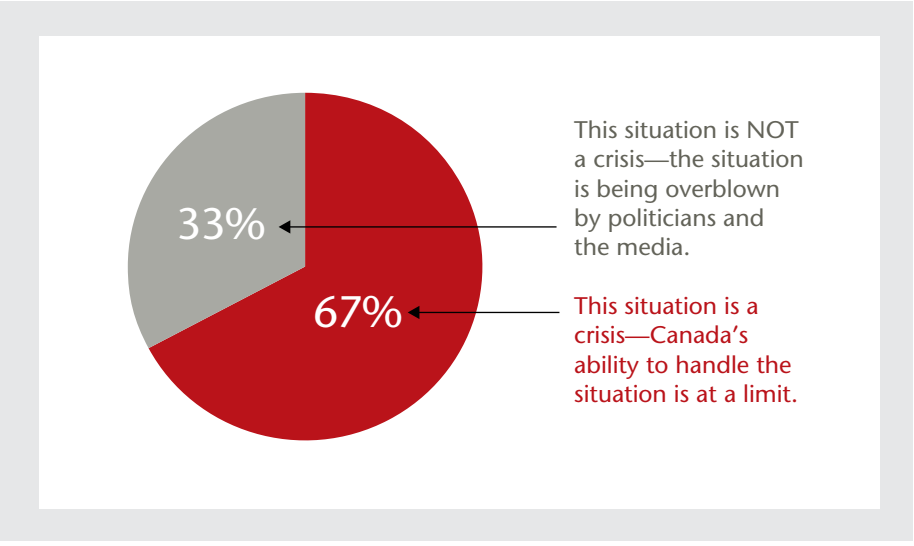
Can we absorb more newcomers of all classes into our nation? Arguably yes. Do our leaders need to make a stronger case for them? Very much so.

We can no more take for granted a perpetual approval in public opinion of more immigrants any more than I can take for granted the gift my parents bestowed upon me to make this my home. I recognize this gift when I board flights home to Vancouver and give thanks that I am a woman living in Canada, free from much of the societal, cultural and official repression, harassment and barriers to economic upward mobility faced by so many of my sex around the world. I feel it when we raise the flag on July 1 and marvel at the relative ease with which we live; no war, little corruption, a civil society that functions the way its supposed to.

We have a gift to bestow upon those who don't have these things. We also have a responsibility to ensure our quality of life is maintained by ensuring our workforce remains robust and skilled. Immigration is the key to both. We need to be more rationally, more frequently, and more emphatically reminded of this. P

Shachi Kurl is Executive Director of the Angus Reid Foundation, a national not-for-profit polling and public opinion research firm based in Vancouver. A former journalist, she writes a column in the Ottawa Citizen and is a frequent guest on broadcast panels such as At Issue *on CBC's The National.*

Chart 2: Canadian Views on Irregular Border Crossings



Source: Angus Reid Institute

"On a train, the scenery beckons," writes Elizabeth May, enjoying the VIA ride with her new husband John Kidder. "I still like to take the train as much as possible," adds the Leader of the Green Party. *Photo courtesy Elizabeth May*

Big Country, Small World

Between being naturally sociable and being the leader of Canada's Green Party for the past 13 years, Elizabeth May has likely met more Canadians than any other currently-serving politician in the country. Her notion of the Canadian idea has been formed by her engagement with so many people and informed by her travel to every corner of this vast country, especially by train."Canada is not authentically located in our large claims of 'super-cluster' this and 'superpower' that," May writes. "Canada is found in our daily small kindnesses."

Elizabeth May

Almost everywhere I go in Canada, people say, "In this community, we have at most two degrees of separation—maybe one!" Whether in London, Ontario, or Halifax, Nova Scotia, or Victoria, B.C., locals feel their community is exceptional for the degree of closeness. In my experience, all of us are that close—from coast to coast to coast.

I accept the statistics—we are a population of over 35 million. It is sim-

ply not possible that we all know each other so well. But, in the same way that I know the earth is round and orbits the sun, it doesn't feel like that. It feels flat. And Canada feels like a village.

Never more so than one day in Parliament last fall when I told Justin Trudeau that my new love, John Kidder, was Margot Kidder's brother. Public Services Minister Carla Qualtrough, overhearing Justin's affectionate response about how many fond memories he had of the late actress, asked what we were talking about.

I replied, "Just that the new man in my life is the older brother of Justin's father's old girlfriend." Carla remarked that it was a pretty big coincidence. Justin replied, "It's a very small country."

On the other hand, man oh man, are we BIG! I remember taking the train from Ottawa to Halifax around 1995 with a dear friend and fellow activist from Nigeria. After dinner in Montreal in the dining car, and breakfast crossing the Miramichi River in New Brunswick, we sat down for lunch in the dining car outside Moncton and he exclaimed, with those gorgeous melodic Nigerian cadences, "And we are *steel* in the same *countreee*!"

I am lucky to have had decades of travel across Canada. When I was executive director of Sierra Club of Canada, I frequently crisscrossed the country by train, bus, ferry and plane to connect with our vast network of volunteers. I avoid hotels and stay with friends and supporters. There is almost no little corner of Canada that is unknown to me. In most of Canada, I already know where my bedroom is in the friendly home of someone willing to host me.

I have been "storm-stayed"—temporarily stranded by weather and transport delays—almost everywhere. I loved being stuck on Fogo Island when the car ferry needed an ice breaker to get back to the main island, and none was available. I played pool by the hour with the then-head of the Newfoundland Sealers Association, Wilf Bartlett.

> ***"I still try to take the train as much as possible. Honestly, I do not think anyone who has not seen the country by rail—or at least by leisurely road trip—can claim to have seen it at all."***

Another treasured memory was of the time a freak early winter storm left my mum, me and my toddler daughter cozily ensconced on a picture-perfect farm outside of Lunenburg NS, for a glorious two days. Years later, blizzard conditions led to the derailment of a freight train outside of Trois-Rivières, stranding my daughter and me plus 800 VIA Rail passengers miles from anywhere. The valiant VIA crew had food delivered by skidoo to an increasingly exhausted crew of cooks and VIA staff who managed to do their best. I remember it for the time spent chatting with other passengers, organizing impromptu play groups for the several little girls on board around my daughter's age.

> ***"On a train, the scenery beckons. One's eyes are peeled for a moose in that wooded wetland, or a bear gorging on summer berries along the siding. And even the most familiar route changes with the quality of the light, the season, and the rain, mist, snow, hail or bright sun."***

I still try to take the train as much as possible. Honestly, I do not think anyone who has not seen the country by rail—or at least by leisurely road trip—can claim to have seen it at all.

I know our airports equally well. To my horror, I can close my eyes and describe the floor plans of every Air Canada lounge in all our larger airports, and I also know the ones too small to have lounges. Our airports are efficient and well managed, increasingly overflowing with luxury shopping, creature comforts and tiny way stations for the harried frequent flier. But let's face it: the experience is one of sameness. A traveler could be almost anywhere. And once in the air, you are aloft and aloof. What river winds beneath the plane, if you should be so lucky to have a clear sky and a window seat view, is rarely a question pondered.

On a train, the scenery beckons. One's eyes are peeled for a moose in that wooded wetland, or a bear gorging on summer berries along the siding. And even the most familiar route changes with the quality of the light, the season, and the rain, mist, snow, hail or bright sun. Toronto to Ottawa and the stretch on the Lake Ontario shoreline is never the same. It is eternally new.

Air travel is isolating. Train travel builds community. Train travel invites conversation.

For our Christmas in 2016, my daughter and I decided to avoid the complications of family (divorces and estrangements) and take VIA Rail leaving Vancouver December 23rd, arriving in Toronto December 28th.

We took a bedroom, with bunk beds and a private bath—all meals includ-

ed. We packed our *Scrabble* board and our favourite traditional Christmas movies, and put the new puppy (a surprise complication for the trip) in the baggage car. At every stop with enough time to get the puppy out of her crate and out into the snow, we made the trek back through over 24 cars, through sleeper cars and economy, to get to the baggage and the puppy. The first stop, along the siding in Kamloops, was a pretty large shock for a Vancouver Island dog who had not experienced the feeling of suddenly becoming a fluffy popsicle.

We met people throughout the train. Although, due to poorly accumulated statistics (based on filling out customer surveys in the seat pockets and primarily left in the bedrooms of better-heeled travelers), VIA does not have the data to prove it, many Canadians still take the train as a practical and affordable way to get from A to B. For seniors and families with young children, the VIA discounts make it cheaper than air for those in economy. The chairs (called "day-nighters") are well designed to recline substantially. The sleeping people in the economy car barely stir at the occasional stop, letting people out to the small stations found in places like Ashcroft, B.C., Armstrong, Ontario and Melville, Saskatchewan. With only one VIA trip every four days, and with the collapse of much of Canada's bus service, VIA economy is now seriously overcrowded and at risk of becoming unpleasant.

On that Christmas trip, in our walks back through an already crowded economy car, we got to know Nancy, a lovely woman from rural Manitoba who had left her car parked in Rivers two weeks before. A fierce winter blizzard howled and our train, having been repeatedly shunted to the sidings by the CN right-of-way system, was increasingly late. I was worried as our new friend was older than me, had a car on a dark and freezing street in a town in which she did not live. Instead of arriving by 5 pm as scheduled, she was now disembarking in Rivers, Manitoba after 10 pm on Christmas day. The only hotel in Rivers closed a few years ago, there would be no open restaurants or stores. I had no idea what she would to do if her car battery had died. And neither did she. I was so worried about her, I gave her my email—but without any reliable internet on a train, I am not sure what I thought I could do to help.

It was not until I got to Toronto that I received her email. Sure enough, once she unearthed her car from the mountain of snow, it did not start. She was alone on a deserted street in a howling winter storm. A man came out of nowhere, spotted her and told her he would phone the Rivers police to come help her. Sure enough, the young constable showed up and got out his jumper cables to start up the car. But he warned her sternly that the highway was closed. He told her to follow him. And so she was instructed to leave her car parked in the police station parking lot where it would be safe until she could get back to pick it up.

> ***"If you want to know Canada, get out of the cities. Get past our urban temples to air travel and out on the road. Find the policemen who rescue grandmothers. The farmers who pitch in when the neighbour's barn has burned down."***

And then, that wonderful young constable put all her luggage in his police car, installed her in the front seat, and putting on all his lights, drove at a snail's pace down the closed winter highway to get her home for Christmas.

On that train on Christmas Eve, in the pitch darkness, we sat in the dome car looking up at the stars. Miles from any discernible settlement, up ahead, we saw a small shack, incongruously festooned with Christmas lights. And just outside, a well-bundled older man held aloft a bright lantern, which he swung with enthusiasm and appeared to be shouting "Merry Christmas!"

If you want to know Canada, get out of the cities. Get past our urban temples to air travel and out on the road. Find the policemen who rescue grandmothers. The farmers who pitch in when the neighbour's barn has burned down. And in the cities, talk to the volunteers in the soup kitchens and food banks. Find the Indigenous woman who teaches the ways of the past in a local Winnipeg community garden (like being able to access Jerusalem artichokes under the snow, below a trap door and nestled in hay).

Canada is not authentically located in our large claims of "super-cluster" this and "super-power" that. Canada is found in our daily small kindnesses. Canada is the residents of south shore Nova Scotia who poured out to the frigid morning when Sikh refugees blundered ashore to find themselves wrapped in blankets and given strong tea. Canada is the first responders who never left their posts in Fort McMurray as the fire raged around them.

Canada may not be perfect, but we are a people who know that through love and faith, we are perfectable.

At least, that's what I see from the window of the train. P

Elizabeth May, MP, is the Leader of the Green Party of Canada, and an inveterate rider of Canada's passenger trains.

The Canadian Idea Hinges on a Promise Fulfilled

As a woman of Mi'kmaq ancestry who grew up as a miner's daughter in Labrador, Vianne Timmons never dreamed she'd end up as the president of a Canadian university—for more than a decade. A passionate champion of Indigenous empowerment, Timmons argues that education is the key to making the Canadian idea of opportunity for all a reality for all.

Vianne Timmons

As a young child growing up in Canada, you can take a lot of things for granted.

For the most part, Canadian children have access to decent public schools, quality, publicly funded health care, structured recreational opportunities, and nutritious food. Like many people, I took all of these things for granted when I was growing up in Labrador. There were six children in my family, very close in age. We all loved school, and we were all involved in sports. My father was a miner, so we didn't have much as a family, but we had freedom, a great childhood, and a good quality of life. I often say that, in many ways, I embody the Canadian dream.

These days, I think a great deal about what it means to be Canadian, and I can't help but wonder if newcomers to Canada will have the same opportunities I had—and that same opportunity to live the Canadian dream. My parents sacrificed a lot so that all six of us could attend university. Their selflessness provided all of us with a life in which we all had great careers and lots of opportunities.

I could not have imagined that one day I would serve as a university president. The fact is that, growing up, I knew no one in my family who had even attended university. My mother knew she would have to do something extraordinary to ensure we all could get a post-secondary education. Pregnant with her sixth child, she enrolled in a correspondence program offered by Queen's University. To this day I have vivid memories of my mother studying while we did our homework. She completed her program and received the designation of registered industrial accountant. Her hard work and dedication to her studies opened our eyes to a world that we had not previously imagined for ourselves.

Vianne Timmons, 6, as a schoolgirl in Labrador. "We had freedom, a great childhood, and a good quality of life," she writes today. *Photo courtesy of Vianne Timmons*

Could this happen today? Is the Canadian dream still available to children whose parents are not well-off financially? I do believe it is for many, but I worry about the ones who are being left behind.

In my job as a university president, I have the privilege of travelling in northern Canada. When I am there, it lifts my soul. When you have grown up in the North, it becomes part of your DNA. The air smells crisper, the colours are more vivid, and the space is endless. Paradoxically, in many of these beautiful northern communities the challenges that exist are dark, stark and daunting. There is little employment, and sometimes the sense of despair is almost palpable. I have seen little girls in communities like Rankin Inlet, Nunavut, who remind me of myself as a child—but in far more challenging circumstances. Situations like this make me realize that if we are to see the Canadian dream continue—or at least remain a possibility—for everyone, we must ensure that our children born in the north have the same sort of opportunities my family and I had.

In Yoni Appelbaum's November 2017 article in *The Atlantic* titled *Is the American Idea Doomed?*, he discusses the view that younger Americans have lost faith in an America that is not delivering on its promise of opportunity. He writes about the United States in this article, but there is a clear message for Canada as well.

Vianne Timmons and her mother, Georgetta Timmons, 85. "Her hard work and dedication to her studies opened our eyes to a world that we had not previously imagined for ourselves".
Photo courtesy of Vianne Timmons

Our nation is one built on the ideal of hope and opportunity for all. To fulfill this ideal, we need to continue to see Canada as different—as a country that encourages people to dream of a better life and then helps make those dreams a reality. That is the Canada I believe in. That is the Canada I want newcomers to experience, children in struggling communities to imagine, and Indigenous peoples to live.

In theory, we live in a country where everyone can have access to good health care, nutritious food and an enriching education. I know that is not the reality for many, but I also know that we can and must do better. We should measure the quality of our society by how the most vulnerable fare.

As an educator and as a mother of four children with three grandchildren, I often get frustrated about the inability for many to achieve something that is central to the Canadian dream of opportunity—a level of financial comfort. For too many people, the dream is denied because we still live in a society with barriers based on gender, religion, sexual identity or skin colour. The reality of my own experience is that I saw my three brothers have more opportunities than I did. They had summer jobs that paid significantly more than any job I had. They had different rules growing up, and never felt unsafe and vulnerable because of their gender.

"Our nation is one built on the ideal of hope and opportunity for all. To fulfill this ideal, we need to continue to see Canada as different—as a country that encourages people to dream of a better life and then helps make those dreams a reality. That is the Canada I believe in."

How can we still have inequity between men and women? In the coming years, do we want our granddaughters to be fighting to be treated with respect, to still be seeking pay equity, to still feel unsafe, and to still have to deal with inappropriate touches and comments?

For our nation to move forward and truly be a land of equal opportunity for all, we need to continue to challenge the *status quo* by recognizing that we are a society where some are less equal than others. The good news is that this is happening. Issues of equity and diversity are on the national agenda and are being discussed and debated. That is healthy for our country as a democracy and as a society.

Organizations are being challenged to take action and educate their employees. Reports are being released looking at gender equity on corporate and other boards. We have the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada's 94 calls to action which many are embracing and acting upon. The *Final Report of the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls* is shining a light into a dark corner of Canadian society and calling for changes to a system that clearly has been broken for a long time.

But our broken system actually has within it something that can help create a solution, as Senator Murray Sinclair, Chair of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, pointed out: "Education has gotten us into this mess, and education will get us out."

I too, believe that education will get us out of this mess and put more people on track to achieve the Canadian dream. I see it happening every day at the University of Regina, which fully embraces truth and reconciliation. Our unwavering commitment to Indigenization is core to our strategic plan, which informs all our decision making and academic activities.

Through the University's more-than-four-decade partnership with First Nations University of Canada (FNUniv), thousands of students—Indigenous and non-Indigenous alike—have benefited from a university education in an environment

that values, promotes and passes along Indigenous culture and traditions. Students from FNUniv get their degrees through the University of Regina, and University of Regina students have the opportunity to take classes through FNUniv as part of their own degree programs.

Over the years, FNUniv has faced governance and financial challenges—most recently in 2009-10 when the federal and provincial governments pulled the institution's funding. After months of advocacy (which included battling racist stereotypes of Indigenous people's inability to manage their own affairs), the funding was reinstated on the condition that the University of Regina provide administrative oversight for nearly five years.

A decade later, FNUniv is administratively independent and thriving—as the 104 students who graduated in early June will attest. The lives of these graduates and their families stand to be changed by the opportunities afforded by education—just as the lives of my family and I were changed in Labrador so many years ago.

Through the University of Regina's (above) more-than-four-decade partnership with First Nations University of Canada, (FNUniv), thousands of students have benefited from a university education in an environment that values, promotes and passes along Indigenous culture and traditions. *University of Regina photo*

We seem to be at a pivotal point in Canadian history. Around the world we are witnessing a rise in the dark forces of ethnic nationalism, where nations are putting up walls—both figurative and literal ones—and turning inward. The question that is before Canada is this: do we have the passion, compassion and resolve to see the Canadian dream get even better? Or are we going to be pulled into the damaging trend of nationalism that was responsible for two world wars in the last century, and currently is sparking a backlash against things like Indigenous rights, immigration, gay rights, and even women's rights?

At this time of my life I am both optimistic and fearful about Canada's future. I believe that the foundations of this country are still solid, and that we are overall a nation that values diversity and equal opportunity. But I also see an erosion of the principles that have made Canada what I believe to be the greatest country in the world. There is no question that racist attitudes have become more overt, evident in social media and in protests that marginalize many in our country and represent a backlash against ideas that, for generations, have been core to the idea of Canada.

> ***"I still believe in a country where a young girl can imagine herself among the leaders of our country, and where supports exist to ensure that she might someday become one of those leaders."***

At stake is the Canadian dream, which none of us can take for granted. I still believe in a country where a young girl growing up in a family that many would see as poor has every opportunity to forge her own path. I still believe in a country where a young girl can imagine herself among the leaders of our country, and where supports exist to ensure that she might someday become one of those leaders. And I still believe that one of those little girls I have seen in Rankin Inlet can be our prime minister someday.

That's the Canadian idea I believe in, and it is the Canada I believe we should all want to see. Together, we must build and protect the future for those little girls I have seen in Rankin Inlet—and for all our children. P

Vianne Timmons has been President and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Regina since 2008, with a strong focus on Indigenous education, internationalization, community relationships, and accessibility for students with disabilities.

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau with President Donald Trump at the G7 Summit hosted by Canada at Charelevoix, QC, in June 2018. *Adam Scotti photo*

An American in Canada: It's Complicated

Sometimes, it's the professional-observer expats—journalists, diplomats—who can provide the most interesting insights into a culture and country. Sarah Goldfeder is a former State Department official who was posted to Ottawa and stayed, carving out a career as a principal at Earnscliffe Strategy Group, a political commentator and a regular Policy contributor. She offers a unique perspective on Canadians, their Trump malaise and the inside dope diplomats swap on the arcana of Canadian social anthropology (can we please come up with something more exotic than taking off our shoes?)

Sarah Goldfeder

I was living in Mexico when I learned that I would be moving to Canada. As a pretty typical American, I knew of Canada but not about Canada. While growing up, I had hiked in Alberta, shopped in Vancouver, vacationed in Victoria, and even traveled to Toronto with the solitary goal to find credible Chinese food. I knew I was just scratching the surface and that I needed more information—so I set about looking for what to read.

My first purchase was the *Penguin History of Canada*—which delighted my son as he pointed out repeatedly that there were no penguins in Canada. It provided a soup-to-nuts dry and exhaustive history. There was nothing compelling about it, and while parts of it felt very familiar, most just felt…well, boring. Disappointed but undeterred, I continue to seek out books on history, politics, and Canadian fiction. But none of my reading satisfied me. The underlying differences between Americans and Canadians are far from obvious and don't make for compelling reading. It was only after living in Canada that I realized that all that reading I had done had paid off. Without registering it at the time, I had prepared myself.

As a diplomat, the first people you interact with when you arrive in country are your own. American to American, we have an assimilation heart-to-heart. "Careful with this, don't be put off by that, when they say this what they really mean is…" A short course in interpretation of culture, because even when the language isn't ours, we have learned of it enough to get by. Canada is no different. "Find yourself something to do in the winter," we advise each other, "they all do something—skate, ski, snowshoe. If you don't, you will lose your mind."

The habits die hard, even today when meeting a new expat or diplomat, I find myself in the same conversations. "Every Monday, they will ask you about your weekend, without fail," I say, "be prepared—have a solid nugget or two ready to go. And remember to take off your shoes."

When Americans ask me how I find living in Canada, it's a hard question. I chose Canada, but I love my country—going back, even to places where I have never lived, always feels like going home. The twang of the voices, the ease of the smiles—Canadians are nice, but Americans are friendly. I sometimes think of Americans as the Chocolate Labs of the world—friendly, eager, rushing to the door to meet you when you get home and in the process, busting through the screen door, a bit clumsy and prone to knocking over your glass of wine while chewing up your favorite shoe. Canadians are a bit harder to assign a breed to, but maybe Golden Retrievers—well-mannered, intelligent, kind but cautious, content to curl up at your feet but always up for a walk or a good game of catch. On some days I feel very much at home and others, disconnected—a little bit alien. Outwardly indistinguishable, but inwardly just trying to remember not to run through the screen door.

"Canadians are a bit harder to assign a breed to, but maybe Golden Retrievers—well-mannered, intelligent, kind but cautious, content to curl up at your feet but always up for a walk or a good game of catch."

"Americans are slightly bemused by the whole thing. If we're discovered to be polite, well-mannered guests anywhere outside of North America, we're often asked if we're sure we're not from Canada."

Canadians take great pride in being the North Americans that are the better dinner guests. They show up on time, take off their shoes, bring a bottle of wine or maple syrup as a gift, and hold up their end of the conversation without making it all about them. Being the trusty arbiter of the rule of law is a tradition for Canada—there is nothing more iconic than the crimson-suited member of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, symbolizing both helpfulness and commitment to the international rules-based order. Americans are slightly bemused by the whole thing. If we're discovered to be polite, well-mannered guests anywhere outside of North America, we're often asked if we're sure we're not from Canada. But here's my bias showing: who in the past 75 years has done more to enforce the global order than the United States of America?

No matter how unpopular the actions of our government are at any point in time, Canadians have always embraced Americans. You might not understand us, but you remind us over and over again that we are more than neighbours, we are family.

We are family, but our journeys have been notably different. While Canada's independence from the British is reminiscent of offspring growing up and leaving home, making the family proud, independence for the United States was more of a messy, contentious, epic, tabloid-headline divorce. And from the beginning, Canada has often watched its headstrong, difficult, and unruly cousin wage battles against foes real and imagined. Our differences are rooted in our beginnings.

When I arrived in Canada at the end of President Obama's first term, I was floored by how much Canadians loved the Obamas. Americans were decidedly of mixed opinions with much of the media reporting multiple perceived failings of his administration. The 2012 election was close—much closer than the Demo-

crats thought it should have been. But America is a divided population. We always have been. Nonetheless, Ottawa was particularly shocked by the election of Donald J. Trump. The Liberal government even instituted a war room to determine how to manage the president.

The Canadian approach to America reflects their belief in the durability of the relationship. There is a never-give-up-on-family mentality underlining it all. It is emblematic of Canada's understanding of its place in the world. Security, defense, trade, you name it—geography is destiny and Canada's biggest partner, strongest ally, best mate, is the United States of America. But even though Canada is afforded more conveniences than any other nation, Canada is just one of America's key partners. The United States has never fully realized what we've got in Canada.

> ***"Security, defense, trade, you name it—geography is destiny and Canada's biggest partner, strongest ally, best mate, is the United States of America."***

That's not entirely true. The U.S. Department of Defense understands. The relationship between the two military organizations is as close as it can be. Canadians serve shoulder to shoulder with Americans in just about every command. Despite Ottawa's best efforts to complicate the relationship (F-35s, BMD, 2 per cent GDP spending for NATO) the military leadership keeps it on track. The U.S. military establishment understands the value of a partner that trains with us, understands our values and ethical construct, and stands by us. Most importantly, the United States understands the incomparable value of having a tried and true ally along the entirety of our 5,525-mile shared border.

Sarah Goldfeder, then special assistant to the U.S. Ambassador, with Amb. Bruce Heyman (right) and Texas Senator Ted Cruz (left), at an embassy reception in Ottawa. *Photo courtesy Sarah Goldfeder*

When Canadians approach me and ask when my fellow Americans will regain their sanity or imply that in some way the presidency of Donald Trump is illegitimate, I get uncomfortable. The reality is far more complicated. Americans voted for Donald Trump to be their president not because they had lost their minds, not because Russia manipulated them to do so, but because he represented something to them. Talk to his supporters today and you will find that they believe that he understands them better than any other politician. His diplomatic missteps that make Canadians shake their heads in disbelief are proof points for his being just like his voters. He is doing exactly what he promised. Democracy is not lunacy, it means that at times you must accept that a plurality of your fellow Americans fundamentally disagree with you about the direction in which the country is headed. This happens in the United States pretty much every four years, this time it just echoed a bit louder.

In my time as an American in Canada, I have realized that baked into the American psyche is a deep distrust of authority and government. What Canadians often see as disrespect and teen-age rebellion is rooted in a sense that just because someone is in charge doesn't mean that they are right. The sense that better governance is found with less interference from government is a distinctly American concept, grounded in our founding document, the Declaration of Independence. And not at all Canadian. So when you ask me what's it like to be an American living in Canada—it's strangely unfamiliar and just like home all at the same time. I am more American here than at home—more stubborn, more outspoken, louder, stronger, braver. And the funny thing is that I get the distinct impression that the Canadians in my life wouldn't want it any other way. P

Sarah Goldfeder is a Principal with Earnscliffe Strategy Group in Ottawa. Previously she served as special assistant to two former U.S. ambassadors to Canada, and worked for the U.S. State Department for 10 years.

The Queen signs the Constitution Act with the Charter of Rights on Parliament Hill, April 17, 1982, as Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau looks on. Also, (L to R), Labour Minister Gerald Regan, Clerk of the Privy Council Michael Pitfield, and former PMO aide Michael Kirby, who later served in the Senate. *Library and Archives Canada, Robert Cooper photo*

The Canadian Idea That Spawned the Others

Tolerance is a word whose connotation has evolved. As Prime Minister Justin Trudeau has pointed out, we now associate it with a notion of coexistence whereby differences are permitted rather than celebrated. Tom Axworthy, who served as principal secretary to Trudeau's father, argues that the values of inclusion and pluralism that we now embrace as Canadian had to evolve from tolerance, and without it, there would be no Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

Thomas S. Axworthy

Tolerance is the first building block of civility and, as such, it is the pacemaker for a progression along a continuum from state coercion, through intolerance, to toleration, to rights and finally, as philosopher Michael Walzer writes, to enthusiastic endorsement of diversity, inclusion and pluralism. Canada has steadily evolved along that continuum throughout our history until today we are among the most diverse and inclusive countries on earth: 20 percent of Canada's population is foreign born,

and Toronto is one of the most multicultural and multiracial cities in the world: In 2016, over 51 per cent of the residents of Toronto belonged to a visible minority group. A culture of tolerance, nurtured by our history and sustained by the rule of law and our parliamentary institutions, is the preeminent Canadian idea and the foundation upon which all our aspirations and achievements for diversity, inclusion and pluralism rest.

Tolerance is a starter virtue. It denotes "forbearance from imposing punitive sanctions for dissent from prevailing norms" according to political theorist Andrew R. Murphy. It is a virtue based on the recognition, as Voltaire writes in his *Philosophical Dictionary*, "that discord is the great ill of mankind, and tolerance is the only remedy for it." A culture of toleration is a set of practices or arrangements that enables peaceful coexistence, or "live and let live". Its opposite is fanaticism or ideological belief so strong that it makes no allowances and brooks no compromise.

Tolerance is an individual attitude rooted in humility, (we all make errors), and respect, (your views may be as valid as mine). As a multiplicity of voices have risen since Canada's founding and as we have evolved along the Walzer continuum, the word itself has become contentious. Justin Trudeau, for example, was correct when he stated in a 2018 commencement speech at New York University that tolerance means only that, "I grudgingly admit you have a right to exist but just don't get in my face." "There's not a religion in the world," Trudeau added, "that asks you to 'tolerate thy neighbour'." My argument, however, is that the initial step of tolerance to gaining understanding is all-important and should not be dismissed. If it is absent, conflict is inevitable.

Others, most notably, the authors of *The Final Report of the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Women*, subscribe to the same definition as Trudeau, while deploring that tolerance has been notable for its absence: that toleration was not part of the colonial past, that Canadian authorities have denied Indigenous peoples the right to exist and that even "present-day Canadian state conduct" is an intentional "genocide" against Indigenous peoples.

> ***"Tolerance...it is the pacemaker for a progression along a continuum from state coercion, through intolerance, to toleration, to rights and finally, as philosopher Michael Walzer writes, to enthusiastic endorsement of diversity, inclusion and pluralism."***

In my view, such an exaggeration may have shock value in gaining headlines, but it in no way describes the governments in which I served or the Canada that I know. Still, such debates show that tolerance cannot be taken for granted, even in 2019.

> ***"Almost immediately, French Canadians showed a talent for politics by using the institution of the assembly to protect their rights and advance their cause."***

Canada's history is one of accommodation and compromise, and with each compromise tolerance grew. We are what we are today because of French Canada. The 60,000 inhabitants of the colony of New France refused to be assimilated after the British victory in the Seven Years War and this act of defiance was wisely tolerated by the British authorities (indeed, the first military governor, James Murray, used recently defeated Canadian captains of the militia to act as justices of the peace, giving Canada its first bilingual regime).

This initial wise act of administration was followed by legislation—the Québec Act of 1774—which established the principle that a conquered people should have the right to carry on their own customs and laws. Intelligent adaptation from Britain continued with the Constitution Act of 1791 which brought legislative assemblies to Upper and Lower Canada. Almost immediately, French Canadians showed a talent for politics by using the institution of the assembly to protect their rights and advance their cause.

Canada began down the road of tolerance not because we were virtuous but because of the facts on the ground—a majority of the population was French-speaking. There were also many reversals and setbacks in what Peter Russell calls Canada's Odyssey, such as the rebellions of 1837 against overbearing elites, the injustices to French Canadians in the Manitoba schools question, the stomping of the Winnipeg General Strike in 1919, the internment of Japanese Canadians in 1942 and the centuries-long betrayal of promises to Canada's Indigenous peoples. But enlightened political leadership gradually overcame these injustices: Baldwin and Lafontaine developed a partnership to bring responsible government to the colony; Macdonald and Cartier together created the idea of Canada itself; Laurier fought against the sectarian rage of his time and began the mass immigration that has defined Canada; and John Diefenbaker, the first prime minister not from French or English ancestors, fought for "unhyphenated Canadians"—that identity be decoupled from provenance—in his long career on behalf of human rights. And today, at last, Justin Trudeau has made reconciliation with the Indigenous peoples into a national priority.

Growing up in Winnipeg's North End, I saw the culture of tolerance grow firsthand: mine was a polyglot neighborhood of Ukrainians, Poles, Jews and members of First Nations. On the street or in the schoolyard, epithets like "DP" (displaced person), "bohunk" or "drunken Indian" were common. But Winnipeg changed: in 1957, Stephen Juba became mayor, the first Ukrainian to hold high political office in Winnipeg. Ed Schreyer, born to German-Austrian parents, became premier of Manitoba in 1969. Wab Kinew, a member of the Onigaming First Nation, became leader of the New Democratic Party and opposition leader in 2017. The step-by-step progress of Canadians in accepting, then welcoming, diversity has been very real.

> ***"Pierre Trudeau spent a generation arguing that constitutionally protected individual rights, including language rights, were the foundation for ensuring a just democracy. And in April 1982, his vision became Canada's vision."***

The apogée of Canada's historical arc toward tolerance, human rights and celebration of diversity was the proclamation of the Constitution Act on April 17, 1982 which brought Canada the constitutionally entrenched Charter of Rights and Freedoms. For my students at Massey College, April 17, 1982 is the birth date of contemporary Canada. The Charter is the singular achievement of Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau. As a young official in the Privy Council office in 1951, he was the note taker as a delegation of human right activists implored Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent to enact a Bill of Rights. Three years later, in 1954, he advocated a charter himself

Tom Axworthy served as principal secretary to Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau from 1981 to 1984 and served as a key advisor on the enactment of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. *Photo courtesy Thomas Axworthy*

in a brief submitted on behalf of the Québec Industrial Unions Federation to the Tremblay commission arguing for Quebec to "declare its willingness to accept the incorporation of a declaration of human rights into the constitution." Pierre Trudeau spent a generation arguing that constitutionally protected individual rights, including language rights, were the foundation for ensuring a just democracy. And in April 1982, his vision became Canada's vision.

But there were many other contributions to the Charter's evolution and acceptance beyond those of Pierre Trudeau's. As I've argued, tolerance leads to respect, respect leads to compromise, and compromise leads, eventually, to consensus. That is exactly what happened in the great constitutional battle of 1980-82. Trudeau had the initial vision, but Progressive Conservative and New Democratic party members of Parliament greatly improved the Charter in committee. The Charter is a multi-partisan achievement. The constitutional deal of November 1981 was a straight up bargain—the federal government accepted the Alberta amending formula in exchange for the Charter of Rights, though weakened by the compromise-within-a-compromise that allowed a notwithstanding clause to apply to several essential rights.

This was bitterly regretted by Pierre Trudeau, but he accepted the compromise, warts and all. And then when the premiers sought to weaken section 28 on gender equality by applying the notwithstanding clause, the women of Canada, including female members of Parliament from all parties, refused to accept it. They organized marches and delegations across Canada until the premiers finally gave way.

Tolerance, and the virtues it has spawned, have served us well. But does our success have any lessons for the rest of the world? Two authors with very different perspectives think so. Conrad Black, in his magisterial history of Canada, *Rise to Greatness*, writes that Canada "is one of the world's ten or twelve most important countries." Adam Gopnik, in *A Thousand Small Sanities* writes that Canada is a" model liberal nation."

We are not used to thinking of ourselves as a foremost nation. But in a world where extreme populism is on the rise, where minorities are still demonized, where religion and ethnic divides are shattering societies, perhaps Canada's culture of tolerance and our successful adaptation to changing times is something other countries could adopt with profit. Tolerance is a minimalist value—it asks only that you do not coerce and that you remain open to argument. But it leads, in turn, to civility, mutual learning and respect for human rights. In a world full of differing interests and ideas, humility and accommodation are wise and, above all, necessary. That is the Canadian way, and if such an ethic were more widely adopted it would prevent many cruelties. P

Thomas S. Axworthy is Public Policy Chair at Massey College, University of Toronto

Canada's Pipeline to Reconciliation

Indigenous ownership of the Trans Mountain pipeline and expansion project will enable Indigenous communities in B.C., Alberta and Saskatchewan to prosper while stewarding the environment. It will also ensure we get our oil resources to world markets.

The Question

Last year, a group of Indigenous and non-Indigenous trailblazers with experience in leading First Nations and in starting up and running oil and gas companies took a good look at what was happening in Canada.

They considered the events associated with Kinder Morgan's proposed Trans Mountain pipeline expansion project, an undertaking about which no one seemed to agree, and which, last year, resulted in the federal government buying both the existing pipeline and the expansion project from the company. The proposed expansion had triggered clashes between the B.C. and Alberta governments, between environmentalist-Indigenous allies and industry groups, and among federal political parties, and had resulted in an impasse.

They reflected on the work of Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). In 2009, the TRC had begun a multi-year process to listen to survivors, communities and others affected by Canada's Residential School system and, in 2015, had released *Honouring the Truth, Reconciling the Future*, a report outlining the 10 guiding principles and 94 Calls to Action it recommended Canada adopt to advance the process of reconciliation in our country. How, the group wondered, could these recommendations, as well as the articles under the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), be honoured in a way that would make a difference to Indigenous communities?

And they contemplated the fact that Canada—despite the global transition to lower-carbon energy—would need to produce and export oil for decades to come. Our country has the third-largest proven oil reserves in the world and we are the world's fourth-largest exporter of oil. Our oil industry represents more than 20 per cent of our exports and employs thousands across the country. And, compounding these facts, our biggest customer—the United States—has become one of our biggest competitors as an exporter, meaning that, for us to command fair prices, we need pipelines that enable us to get our product to world markets.

Given this state of affairs, the group wondered, could there be a way to tackle all of these challenges at once?

> *"We need to get to a place where Indigenous peoples in Canada are in control of their own destiny, making their own decisions about their future."*
>
> The Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau, Prime Minister of Canada

The Answer

"We concluded that, yes, we could do something," said Delbert Wapass, Executive Chair & Founder of Project Reconciliation. "We could buy a majority stake in the Trans Mountain pipeline and expansion project on behalf of Indigenous communities in B.C., Alberta and Saskatchewan, and structure the deal so the communities would not only have environmental oversight, but would profit from their ownership for generations to come."

So, in late 2018, they formed Project Reconciliation, and set about to do just that.

In addition to Wapass, who is a former Chief of Thunderchild First Nation in Saskatchewan, Project Reconciliation includes Shane Gottfriedson, a former Chief of Tk'emlúps te Secwepemc First Nation; Wallace Fox, a former Chief of the Onion Lake Cree Nation; Dr. Michelle Corfield, an entrepreneur and co-founder of Simon Fraser University's Executive Business program with a focus on Indigenous business; and a team of professionals with expertise in finance and business.

Since they launched Project Reconciliation, this group has developed a comprehensive plan for Indigenous ownership, and has invited all 336 Indigenous communities in B.C., Alberta and Saskatchewan to collectively buy a 51 per cent interest in the pipeline and expansion project. Their plan addresses Indigenous communities' right to economic development and environmental conservation and protection, and recognizes Canada's need to get our oil resources to world markets.

The following elements form the plan's foundation:

Benefit to all Canadians

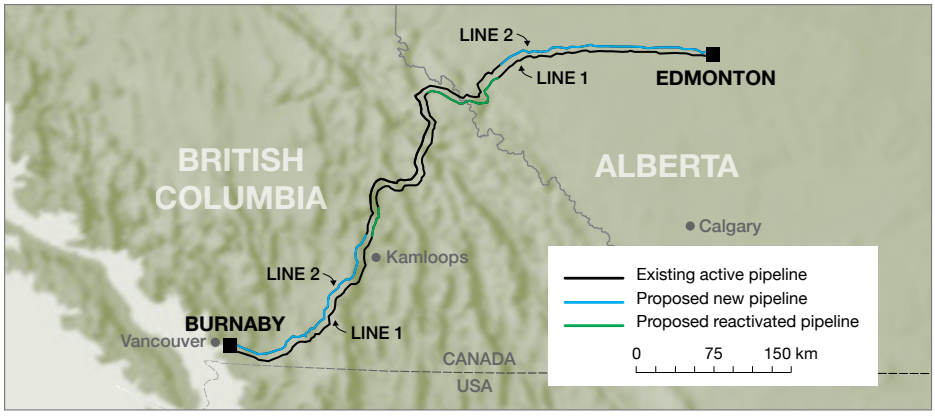
While maintaining environmental oversight, participating Indigenous community partners would share in Canada's economic prosperity and alleviate their dependency on federal programs; Canada would get badly needed oil export capability, and our economy would get the boost it needs, making everyone a winner.

Inclusion

The pipeline transports—and the expansion project will transport—oil from the Western Canadian Sedimentary Basin, which underlies the traditional lands of many Indigenous communities in Canada's three westernmost provinces. As well, the pipeline itself directly or indirectly impacts many Indigenous communities in B.C. and Alberta. For those reasons, Project Reconciliation's leaders decided it is only fair that all Indigenous communities in B.C., Alberta and Saskatchewan be invited to participate.

Environmental oversight

With a majority stake in the pipeline and expansion project, participating Indigenous community partners would have a seat at the table regarding how the pipeline and expansion project are operated and constructed, and the authority to ensure these activities meet high standards for environmental monitoring, assessment, conservation and protection, and for spill response and safety.



"We're offering Canada's Indigenous Peoples a place as equal partners in the economic and environmental landscape of our nation."

Project Reconciliation Executive Chair & Founder Delbert Wapass

A pipeline to long-term wealth generation

If Project Reconciliation is able to buy a majority interest in the Trans Mountain pipeline and expansion project, upon completion of the expansion project (expected to be in 2023), it would direct 80 per cent of the earnings from the investment—approximately $200 million per year—to an innovative Sovereign Wealth Reconciliation Fund.

This fund, which would be professionally managed in much the same way a pension fund is, would be invested in real estate and infrastructure-based assets that would yield an estimated $12.5 billion in earnings (before interest, taxes, depreciation and amortization) over the next 50 years.

The long-term wealth resulting from the fund would be a game changer for the participating Indigenous community partners, in that they could use it to invest in community priorities such as health, education, housing, recreation and low-carbon energy generation.

Project Reconciliation would distribute the remaining 20 per cent of the earnings—approximately $50 million per year—directly to the participating Indigenous community partners.

Marine protection
As part of their environmental oversight, the majority owners would engage the First Nations Fisheries Council's Marine and Environmental Response Program to train and certify marine and environmental response workers in coastal Indigenous communities, and to connect them with employment opportunities across the marine sector.

Short- and long-term wealth creation
Following the construction of the expansion project, participating Indigenous community partners would receive short- and long-term revenue that could be used to achieve economic independence, in alignment with Truth & Reconciliation guiding principles and Calls to Action, and with UNDRIP. The short-term revenue would come from quarterly earnings from the initial investment. The long-term revenue would come from earnings that would be re-invested under a Sovereign Wealth Reconciliation Fund.

No upfront cash or public funding
Project Reconciliation's financing plan would involve buying a 51-per cent interest in the existing pipeline and obtaining funding for 51 per cent of the cost to construct the expansion project. Upon completion of the expansion project, Project Reconciliation's entire purchase and financing costs would be refinanced through a syndicated, 20-year bond issue totalling approximately $7.6 billion. Participating Indigenous community partners would not require upfront cash to invest. No part of the financing would require public funding.

Financing and construction guarantees
Long-term shipper contracts would guarantee the bonds. Federal and provincial government guarantees would backstop any construction-related cost overruns associated with the expansion project.

Share classes that recognize proximity and impact
Project Reconciliation would offer differing classes of shares to participating Indigenous community partners in B.C., Alberta and Saskatchewan based on right-of-way proximity and impact level. Community partners on the right-of-way, for example, would be eligible for A-Class shares, which would generate the highest returns.

No financial or liability risk
As is the case with any other pipeline, the Trans Mountain pipeline carries—and would continue to carry—insurance that would cover the costs of an incident, should one occur. Participating Indigenous community partners would not be held financially responsible or liable.

Collaborative governance
Collaborative governance structures would control all aspects of the pipeline and expansion project, including the operations and the Sovereign Wealth Reconciliation Fund. These structures would depend on many factors, including the actual ownership percentage that Indigenous community partners are able to realize.

"Our plan offers Canada's Indigenous peoples a place as equal partners in the economic and environmental landscape of our nation," says Wapass. "And it paves the way for us as Canadians to get our resources to market. We have found a way to solve a lot of problems through one very good plan."

> *"We want [Indigenous peoples] to be partners in prosperity, we want them to share in the economic benefits of some of the natural resources projects that are available."*
>
> The Hon. Andrew Scheer,
> Leader of the Official Opposition

There's a pipeline to Reconciliation. We should take it.

The Trans Mountain pipeline is a chance to put words about Reconciliation into action. Majority Indigenous ownership of TMX will create multi-generational wealth for Indigenous communities across Western Canada. And it will ensure proper environmental stewardship of lands and waters.

Project Reconciliation's innovative structure allows more than 300 First Nations and Métis communities in Alberta, B.C., and Saskatchewan to join the ownership group.

Find out more at reconciliationpipeline.ca

Project Reconciliation

Saskatchewan Premier Allan Blakeney and Quebec Premier René Lévesque at the historic First Ministers' Conference in November 1981, which patriated the constitution with a notwithstanding clause advocated by Saskatchewan and Alberta, but without the consent of Quebec. Background, Pierre Trudeau (left) and Justice Minister Jean Chrétien (right). *Library and Archives Canada photo*

The Conscience of the Country

Nearly four decades ago, the process of patriating Canada's constitutional authority from Westminster and formulating a new Charter of Rights and Freedoms catalyzed an exploration and legal entrenchment of Canadian values. As constitutions around the world become targets for populists, Canada's remains a model for the protection of rights and the codification of democratic governance.

Lori Turnbull

The defining moment in the history of Canada's written Constitution was arguably its homecoming in 1982 and the concurrent signing into law of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau expressed the following sentiment at the patriation ceremony, attended by Queen Elizabeth II, that saw the power of Westminster to amend Canada's Constitution Acts transferred to Canadian legislators: "I wish simply that the

bringing home of our Constitution marks the end of a long winter, the breaking up of the ice jams, and the beginning of a new spring. What we are celebrating today is not so much the completion of our task, but the renewal of our hope—not so much an ending, but a fresh beginning."

Despite the optimism and positivity of his words, there is no doubt that the prime minister was relieved to draw the constitutional negotiations that had nearly torn the country apart to a close. The provincial premiers, with the exceptions of Bill Davis of Ontario and Richard Hatfield of New Brunswick, resisted Trudeau's campaign to entrench a new constitution for Canada. Trudeau warned the premiers that he was more than willing to pursue his goal alone and that patriation would happen with or without provincial participation. The Supreme Court confirmed that this was an option.

Quebec Premier René Lévesque was perhaps the most vocal opponent to the prime minister's plan, framing it as an attempt to centralize the federation and diminish the role and significance of the provinces. In November of 1981, the Prime Minister finally cracked the "gang of eight" by reaching a deal with seven of the eight outlier premiers. Levesque was not invited to these secret meetings and thus the new Constitution went ahead without Quebec's consent. As the new document was signed in Ottawa, protesters marched in Montreal. The consensus around the new Constitution was broad enough to move forward, but ultimately incomplete.

Canada's Constitution is unique in its design and evolution in that it has both written and unwritten parts, reflecting the influence of the American and British constitutions respectively. The Constitution Act 1982 and the British North America Act 1867 are the written components; essentially, they lay out the basics of how parliamentary and federal governance operate in Canada.

> ***"It is the job of a constitution to protect and preserve the institutions and values that define a place but, simultaneously, to adapt and to grow with enduring changes in cultural expectations and attitudes about ideas such as democracy, fairness, social justice, diversity, inclusion, and gender equality."***

The earlier document outlines the parameters of executive, legislative, and judicial powers and differentiates between federal and provincial jurisdiction, while the 1982 addition includes the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, an amending formula, and clauses recognizing Aboriginal and treaty rights and the federal-provincial equalization arrangement. The entrenchment of the Charter enhanced the role and significance of the judiciary and turned citizens into rights-bearers and therefore real stakeholders in the Constitution in ways that they had not been before.

The political landscape has changed a lot since 1982. It is the job of a constitution to protect and preserve the institutions and values that define a place but, simultaneously, to adapt and to grow with enduring changes in cultural expectations and attitudes about ideas such as democracy, fairness, social justice, diversity, inclusion, and gender equality. Is Canada's Constitution successful in meeting this challenge? I would argue that the record is mixed.

The amending formula that was included in the Constitution Act 1982 could be interpreted (positively) as a definitive step in Canada's gradual emancipation from British colonial rule and, therefore, a measure of our independence as a country. It could also be seen, in retrospect, as a significant barrier to constitutional reform—at least, to *formal* reform involving changes to the wording of the Constitution. The general amending formula requires that proposed changes have the support not only of Parliament but also of seven of ten provinces representing at least 50 per cent of the population of the country. Some constitutional changes require the unanimous consent of the Senate, House of Commons and legislative assemblies of every province.

Due to deep-seated differences among Canada's regions, provinces, and territories in terms of their approaches to politics and economics, these thresholds have rarely been met, even when there has been a strong desire for institutional change. As was proven during the Meech Lake process of 1987-1992, the risk that constitutional reform talks will fail is high, which has scared politicians away from meaningful discussions about formal constitutional reform. This stunts our growth as a democracy.

> ***"The real problem is the lack of political will to pursue and implement change, even when it is sought by many, and the seeming inability of governments to build a consensus around a preferred course of action."***

Of course, the amending formula is not the problem; the requirement for intergovernmental consensus on constitutional change is the only just and responsible way to go in a country as large and as diverse as ours. The real problem is the lack of political will to pursue and implement change, even when it is sought by many, and the seeming inability of governments to

build a consensus around a preferred course of action. The capacity for consensus building, essential to political leadership, would lessen the political costs of making difficult decisions and would mitigate the risk of failure.

Take Senate reform, for example. Though the traditional Senate model has its supporters, most Canadians are looking for something different. But there is no agreement on what a new Senate should look like, so there is no clear path forward for change.

> ***"For its part, Quebec remains outside of the constitutional fold in some ways as efforts to draw it in, including the Meech Lake and Charlottetown Accords, have failed."***

What has happened instead is that recent prime ministers have pursued Senate reform outside of the formal requirements of the amending formula. Prime Minister Stephen Harper sought to use legislation rather than constitutional reform to introduce term limits for Senators and plebiscites to select candidates for the Senate, only to be told by the Supreme Court that he was not permitted to do through the back door what he could not do through the front. Prime Minister Justin Trudeau has taken a different approach: he introduced a non-binding, independent advisory board to make suggestions for appointments based on merit and other criteria. This is a lighter touch and so has flown under the constitutional radar. To put it another way, the new appointments process has no constitutional significance whatsoever and could be undone in a heartbeat.

For its part, Quebec remains outside of the constitutional fold in some ways as efforts to draw it in, including the Meech Lake and Charlottetown Accords, have failed. However, in 2006, Harper tabled a motion, which was approved by the House of Commons, that recognized "that the Québécois form a nation within a united Canada." This was a nod to the distinct society clause that died with Meech Lake and Charlottetown. Though not constitutional in status, it was a meaningful symbolic gesture that signaled the desire of the federal government to repair relations with the province and to recognize Quebec's special role in Confederation. In connection with this, Dalhousie University's Jennifer Smith has argued in favour of the propriety of "asymmetrical federalism," an approach that has been used to make it possible for Quebec to opt out of federal programs in favour of pursuing the province's own priorities.

Further, bilateral negotiations between the federal government and the provinces allow for more tailor-made policies that are responsive to provincial needs—but, again, this approach allows politicians to avoid the difficult task of consensus building and nation making.

In the absence of the right conditions for formal reform to our governing institutions, our Constitution has grown and evolved in other ways. The courts have been granted a leadership opportunity in moving rights forward in many cases, including same-sex marriage, access to abortion, equal parental benefits, protections for persons with disabilities, and others.

The late Alan Cairns observed that the Charter produced a "vast, qualitatively impressive discourse organized around rights," through which those claims that meet the threshold to qualify as rights have been recognized not as mere political pursuits, but as non-negotiable entitlements that the state is obliged to honour. The courts' role in acknowledging rights has been fundamentally important to the Constitution's evolution and consistency with Canadian values, particularly in cases where the political will for change has been lacking.

Though there has been progress in some areas, Canada's constitutional maturity is more developed in some areas than others. The reconciliation project, and relations between Canada and Indigenous peoples in general, continue to be wrought with mistrust. Justin Trudeau emphasized Canada's relationship with Indigenous peoples as his top priority in the mandate letters he sent to his cabinet ministers on their swearing-in after the 2015 election.

The government followed through on its promise for an inquiry into missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls. Also, the former Department of Indigenous and Northern Affairs has been replaced by two departments: Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada, and Indigenous Services Canada. There are positive developments, such as a reduction in the number of on-reserve water advisories, but on more fundamental matters such as the Indigenization of Canada's Constitution and of institutions of politics and government, there is much to be done. A pre-requisite for progress on reconciliation is the development of a meaningful consensus on what reconciliation really means. This consensus must bridge the space between Indigenous and non-Indigenous persons in Canada to develop a true sense of shared responsibility and common project.

A government's greatest and most important challenge is to bring people together—not through the suppression of difference in interest or opinion, but through the power of reasoned argument, transformative dialogue, and the reinforcement of a common identity that exists simultaneously with an appreciation of what makes us unique. This was the ultimate challenge that framed constitutional debates in the 1980s, and it is the challenge that remains with us today. P

Dr. Lori Turnbull is the Director of the School of Public Administration at Dalhousie University and fellow at the Public Policy Forum.

Author Donald Johnston (second from left), former Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau (third from right), author Mordecai Richler (far right) and companions on Sable Island in July, 1994. *Photo courtesy Donald Johnston*

Better Than Good Enough

As secretary general of the Organisation for Economic Development and Cooperation (OECD), Don Johnston saw Canada as a nation among nations. As a longtime Liberal cabinet minister under Pierre Trudeau, he saw the country in ways most people never do. The Canadian idea, Johnston writes, requires perspective to get right. But it does include some fundamental truths.

Donald J. Johnston

Trying to capture the Canadian idea reminds me of the famous Indian parable of a group of blind men attempting to describe an elephant with each touching a different part of the beast; one the side, one a tusk, one the trunk, another the tail etc. Each then describes the whole elephant based on their own limited experience. It is not surprising that each describes a totally different animal than the reality.

Of Canada, a country of elephantine proportions, many of us have impressions of particular regions, cities and people, but very few know it in much detail from sea to sea to sea. With some exceptions, most Canadians of my generation could be likened to blind men describing an elephant. At the same time, many academics, students, journalists, workers in national businesses, in government bureaucracies, in the military and the RCMP, to name a few, do have opportunities not only to work in many areas of Canada, but to live in them. Even with the distance-obliterating power of the internet, it's day-to-day living that gives one a true sense of people, their values and cultures.

No doubt that the average Canadian knowledge base has expanded greatly since my birth in 1936 on a small dairy farm in eastern Ontario. That was before the introduction and expansion of radio, television, the internet and routine air travel.

Those of us who have been members of Parliament and ministers at the federal level are especially fortunate, enjoying opportunities in the course of our work to establish networks of people in all walks of life across this vast and physically beautiful country. These opportunities are not available to many Canadians. I campaigned during my 10-year career as an elected politician in many urban communities in all provinces. To that, I add my travels across the country for four years as president of the federal Liberal Party. To my regret, I've never campaigned in, nor even visited the great North, except for a bit of Ungava in Quebec. However, campaigning and conferences are not a substitute for even temporarily living somewhere.

Despite the desire and opportunities we may have, few of us have touched enough parts and elements of Canada to fully appreciate its richness in beauty, resources and peoples, although we should each do better than the blind men in the parable.

Travel is one gateway to greater perspective on the parts of the whole.

Then-Secretary General of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development Donald Johnston with Russian President Vladimir Putin in October, 2000. *Wikipedia photo*

In early 1994, I was in Ottawa with my wife Heather, former Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, author Mordecai Richler and his wife, Florence, journalist E. Kaye Fulton and my former senior aide Elizabeth Dickson, celebrating the opening of Parliament and the new Liberal government of Jean Chrétien.

> ***"Despite the desire and opportunities we may have, few of us have touched enough parts and elements of Canada to fully appreciate its richness in beauty, resources and peoples."***

After a small reception, we chatted over dinner, discussing the great beauty of Canada and wondering which areas none of us had ever seen, and which we could travel to as a group. Trudeau had the greatest grasp of the places and peoples. What place could we name where he, nor the rest of us, had been? Kaye and I suggested Sable Island, the massive sand bar off our East Coast known as the graveyard of the Atlantic because of its status as the cause of so many shipwrecks over the centuries.

Why Sable? Because some years earlier when I was in Trudeau's cabinet and Kaye was based in Halifax, I invited her to come with me by helicopter to an Oil Rig anchored on the Grand Banks. All of us had memories of the tragedy of the Ocean Ranger of 1982 and we wished to see what life was really like on such a rig. As we passed over Sable, we saw beaches covered with harbour seals, huge white sharks lurking offshore waiting for dinner and the famous ponies gamboling in the sand dunes. We thought it would be interesting to visit some day.

As it turned out, not even Pierre had been on Sable. Our destination was set. Elizabeth was commissioned to get the necessary permission from the federal government to visit Sable and I was mandated to organize transportation, which could only be by private air charter. The plan came together and we arrived by private plane from Halifax, landing on a hard sand beach the morning of July 4th, 1994.

It was a beautiful, even magical, sunny summer day thoroughly enjoyed by all, with Pierre even trying to cozy up to a pony with a handful of goodies, which was strictly forbidden. Elizabeth and Kaye took many photos, which I have mounted because they are a small part—one elephant section—of my notion of physical Canada, with its diversity and physical beauty.

After retiring from active politics, I spent 10 years living in Paris and traveling to many other countries because of my international responsibilities as secretary general of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). Almost every country has extraordinary beauty and important resources, but

TABLE 1: The World Economic Forum Inclusive Development Index 2018 Numbers on Inequality in Canada vs. the United States

Country	Net Income Gini Index	Wealth Gini Index	GDP per Capita (USD)	Employment Rate (%)	Median Daily Income (USD PPP)	Poverty Rate (%)	Life Expectancy (Years)
Canada	31.20	73.50	50,232	60.80	49.20	12.60	72.30
United States	37.80	85.90	52,195	58.90	48.90	16.80	69.10

most suffer from widening inequality. A glaring example is our neighbour, the United States, where income and wealth disparities continue to widen. I find comparisons help to describe the Canadian idea.

Nobel Prize winner Joe Stiglitz identified the society-wide negative impacts of this growing problem in his book *The Price of Inequality: How Today's Divided Society Endangers Our Future*. He writes that "politics have shaped the market, and shaped it in ways that advantage the top at the expense of the rest." He also says, "By 2007 the average after-tax income of the top 1 percent had reached $1.3 million, but that of the bottom 20 percent amounted to only $17,800. The top 1 percent get in one week 40 percent more than the bottom 20 percent receive in a year."

And that trend continues. See Table 1 for some statistics from the World Economic Forum's *Inclusive Development Index for 2018* which apply the widely used Gini coefficient to comparative income and wealth.

Certainly, Canada has challenges of governance, as does every country. But I would rather have ours than those of the U.S., where even the federal electoral system is a shambles. Looking at Canada from the vantage point of the OECD, I always felt pride in being a Canadian, but also very grateful. We have our challenges—economic and social—but there is no area where I would trade places with Americans. In making comparisons, I'm reminded of Chrétien's quip when he was running for the leadership of the Liberal Party:
Quand je me regarde je me désole
Quand je me compare je me console.

Canadians who express envy of the American way should take that saying to heart.

> ***"When I travelled extensively as head of the OECD, I saw Canadian flags on luggage and back packs everywhere. Some suggested they were a shield against being mistaken for an American. I disagreed. They were proud to be Canadians, as I am."***

When I travelled extensively as head of the OECD, I saw Canadian flags on luggage and back packs everywhere. Some suggested they were a shield against being mistaken for an American. I disagreed. They were proud to be Canadians, as I am.

Why are we proud? Because of the breadth of the Canadian idea. It's not just because we enjoy a physically beautiful country, as so much of the planet does. We had no hand in that.

It's more because Canada is generous and welcoming to immigrants, whether the famished Irish immigrants of the mid-19th century, the Vietnamese boat people of the late 20th century or the recent Syrian refugees. (Nonetheless, there have been some shameful policy exceptions such as the "None is too many" tragedy, when Jewish immigrants trying to escape the holocaust were turned away). It's because French and English Canadians fought valiantly together in both 20th century World Wars to defend our common values and to defeat both the Kaiser and Hitler. It's because Canada has overcome linguistic and cultural differences to unite English-speaking and French- speaking peoples in a peacefully enduring federation despite efforts by separatists to create an independent Quebec. It's because Canada has developed excellent and equitable education and health systems. Americans look at us with envy in both fields. It's because Canada has built one of the most successful societies in history, having drawn upon the incredible success of the best of capitalism and concomitant wealth creation, with the importance of income and wealth distribution being in equitable balance. The latter remains a work in progress, but it is far better than in the United States.

New Yorker writer, author of the newly released book *A Thousand Small Sanities: The Moral Adventure of Liberalism and transplanted Canadian* Adam Gopnik writes: "The truth is that Canada is a model liberal nation—meaning that it's a nation built on the two founding liberal premises. First, that good enough is good enough, that sustaining social sympathy, even if it means accepting a permanently imperfect existence, counts for more than Utopian schemes. Second, that compromise and conciliation are not weak words pointing toward a mediocre centre, but magical words pointing toward semi-miraculous consequences: sustained social peace and prosperity and successful pluralism."

Gopnik has perhaps captured in one paragraph the essence of the Canadian idea without describing each part of the elephant. P

Donald Johnston is a former Liberal federal cabinet Minister; former Secretary General of the OECD; founding Director and former Chair of the International Risk Governance Council (IRGC) and Chair Emeritus of the McCall MacBain Foundation, Geneva.

Wanda Thomas Bernard spent her career as a social worker, academic and anti-racism activist before being named to the Senate in 2016. "I encourage young people to find their political voice, and to use that voice to create change in their communities," she writes. "I plant seeds of change and action. I plant seeds of tolerance, acceptance, and above all, inclusion." *Senate of Canada photo*

Racism in Canada: Planting the Seeds of Inclusion

After a career as a social worker, academic, advocate for Nova Scotia's Black community and warrior against racism, Wanda Thomas Bernard became Senator Wanda Thomas Bernard in 2016. She has leveraged that platform to honestly and ceaselessly tell Canadians exactly how racism looks, feels and persists in this country despite our sometimes self-righteous illusions and good intentions, providing an invaluable public service without which there can be no progress.

Wanda Thomas Bernard

To many, Canada represents a land of freedom, a place of opportunity, and a country that prioritizes human rights. We are fortunate to live in a country where most Canadians feel safe, connected, and have a sense of belonging.

Some Canadians, however, do not enjoy this daily sense of belonging; they experience a lack of opportunity, exclusion, and an erosion of their rights.

Many Africans accessed the Underground Railroad to escape slavery in the United States and seek out the "Promised Land". They risked their lives during this journey to Canada, as slavery was also legally practiced here. Their freedom was not guaranteed upon travelling North. Even after the abolition of slavery in 1834, Africans in Canada continued to face discrimination. The emancipation, or freedom of enslaved Africans, did not mark the end of anti-Black racism. If anything, lingering sentiments of anti-Black racism from times of slavery created a strong foundation for segregation, exclusion, and marginalization. We continue to see deeply ingrained systemic anti-Black racism in health care, child welfare, education, employment, the criminal justice system, and the daily lives of African Canadians.

> *"We continue to see deeply ingrained systemic anti-Black racism in health care, child welfare, education, employment, the criminal justice system, and the daily lives of African Canadians."*

Despite being historically perceived as a 'Promised Land' and 185 years after emancipation, people of African descent still do not have equitable access to opportunity in Canada. Generations later we remain marginalized, othered, and overlooked. We lack representation in positions of power, our voices are rarely heard in policy development, and our communities are continuously fighting for enough funding to offer adequate services.

> *"Generations later we remain marginalized, othered, and overlooked. We lack representation in positions of power, our voices are rarely heard in policy development, and our communities are continuously fighting for enough funding to offer adequate services."*

The marginalization I have described overlaps and compounds the oppression felt by many Canadians with intersecting identities such as the LGBTQ+ community, people with disabilities and the Muslim community, among many others. Many of the people on this list are living in poverty, a circumstance created by intersecting oppression. As a result of racism and racial oppression, the reality of poverty, isolation and exclusion is overwhelming for many racialized communities.

I reflect on a time that my spouse, George Bernard was ill in February of 2004. He had recently begun a round of chemotherapy treatment and we were snowed in for several days after the "White Juan" blizzard hit our neighbourhood in Cole Harbour, Nova Scotia. I looked out my window and saw that a group of men in the neighbourhood had joined together and were taking turns shoveling out each of their driveways. Our house shared a driveway with one of the men in the group. I watched as they shoveled a line down the center of the lane, leaving the snow on our side untouched.

At that moment, not knowing yet that my husband was going to survive his cancer, I realized that I could not become a widow in this neighbourhood. I felt a deep ache of isolation that had been piling up over time. The exclusion from the snow cleanup was only the latest in an ever-growing list of daily events that had built up over years of fighting for equity in my workplace, in the community, and dealing with racism faced by African Nova Scotians across the province. This ache of isolation I have described is felt by other marginalized people in our country. It is directly linked to oppression and creates racism-related stress and other health issues.

George and I eventually moved to East Preston, my hometown. East Preston was a place where the men in the community habitually cleared the snow on the roads themselves. Due to systemic racism and segregation, East Preston historically did not have municipal snow clearance, which necessitated the community effort. East Preston was a place where neighbours drop in with food when we are ill, or wave and smile when they see us walking to church on Sunday. I felt welcome here; I felt at home.

Although East Preston has been a place where I have always felt a sense of belonging, it was not until 1992, when I left Canada to complete my PhD in England, that I felt that sense of belonging in Canada as a whole. My family was continually mistaken for American, and it was at this time that I reflected on what it meant for an African Nova Scotian woman whose family has been in this country for hundreds of years to be Canadian. For perhaps the first time, I reflected on my position of privilege. Although I experienced racism and oppression as an African Canadian, I also derived some benefit or privilege from being a Canadian citizen. The intersection of my African identity and my Canadian citizenship took on new meaning outside of Canada. Stepping away from Canada helped me to view my position through a different lens.

As a grandmother of two young grandsons, I often have a chance to

Thomas-Bernard with staff and students working in the Colour Me Truth group on anti-racism and anti-oppression at Sir Wilfrid Laurier Collegiate in Scarborough, Ont. *Photo courtesy Sen. Bernard's office*

view Canada through their eyes. At their young age, they have both already experienced racism. They are very aware of what exclusion means and how it feels. Already, they understand what it feels like to be excluded and can use this feeling to understand how other marginalized groups are excluded and face discrimination. I have conversations with them about oppression, inclusion, and empathy. These conversations can happen at any age, with appropriate levels of details gauged by their ever-changing level of understanding. Children understand much more than we give them credit for.

When I hear stories of racism, xenophobia and other instances of hate and discrimination in Canada, I think about how preventable these acts of violence are. Young children understand the harms of exclusion. This is why, when I am not in the Senate Chamber, I focus a great deal of my energy visiting schools and summer camps sharing my experiences and exploring topics of anti-Black racism with young people. Planting seeds with them.

> ***"I plant seeds of change and action. I plant seeds of tolerance, acceptance, and above all, inclusion. I plant these seeds with young people because I can see how attuned they are to issues of social justice, and how keen they are to grow their ideas into action."***

This act of planting seeds is what gives me hope for the next generation. I encourage young people to find their political voice, and to use that voice to create change in their communities. I plant seeds of change and action. I plant seeds of tolerance, acceptance, and above all, inclusion. I plant these seeds with young people because I can see how attuned they are to issues of social justice, and how keen they are to grow their ideas into action. After these conversations, I am moved by the passion that sprouts, and find such critical hope in the projects that blossom.

Many Canadians limit their idea of human rights violations to blatant acts of violence, hate speech, and other tangible events. Experiencing exclusion like the instance during the blizzard, facing daily microagressions, and feeling the effects of systemic barriers, all create a cumulative impact consistent with the impact of violent human rights violations against African Canadians.

As an advocate for human rights, race equity and social justice, the current social climate is not the future I had envisioned for my grandchildren. Although our reality may not be what I had imagined for 2019, I encourage us all to continue to plant seeds that will help us to strive for equality, equity and inclusion for all Canadians. P

Senator Wanda Thomas Bernard represents Nova Scotia (East Preston) and sits in the Upper Chamber as a member of the Independent Senators Group.

Prime Minister Brian Mulroney with Russian President Boris Yeltsin at the PM's Centre Block office in 1992. Under Mulroney and Jean Chrétien, writes Jeremy Kinsman, Canada played a significant middle role during the East-West thaw and the end of the Cold War. *PMO photo*

May You Live in Canadian Times

Having served in some of the most senior diplomatic postings around the world under a number of Canadian prime ministers over half a century, Jeremy Kinsman has witnessed firsthand the evolution of Canada's international image. One major change? People no longer think Canadians aren't interesting.

Jeremy Kinsman

"Oh. You're Canadian?"

In Delray Beach, Florida, meeting one more snowbird holds little mystery. But for a local's first-time encounter in Ulan Bator or Timbuktu, a Canadian can seem exotic. In London or Berlin, Shanghai or Santiago, people think they know us from hearsay but their impressions can be distorted.

In the autumn of 2000, before 9/11 changed our world, when England

was still basking in apparent prosperity and self-satisfaction, I opened London's *Sunday Times*. Headlining the Arts section was an interview with Margaret Atwood, short-listed for the Booker Prize for the year's best novel in English. The journalist declared he had just met that "rarest" of species—"an *interesting* Canadian."

Being the Canadian High Commissioner to the UK, hoping to upgrade Canada's image to a decent approximation of reality, my first temptation was despair. But is being "interesting" really so unexpected of a Canadian? And what in today's world *is* interesting?

Artistically, notably in fiction, we compete internationally. After all, Atwood won the Booker. And so did Michael Ondaatje, while Alice Munro won the Nobel. Our artists and innovators are everywhere.

Only a few years ago, *The Economist's* irrepressible impulse to inject every piece filed from Canada with lame parenthetical asides about moose, bears, and maple syrup finally pushed me over the edge. I wrote to ask how, amid their catastrophic post-Brexit mess, a serious British paper could so easily sneer at another country that actually works, from which the British have hired competent Canadians to manage such iconic assets as the Bank of England, the Royal Mail, and the Lawn Tennis Association. And they did, more or less, knock it off. *The Economist* can again be enjoyed by Canadians without acid reflux from schoolboy taunts.

Of course, how we appear to others depends on who's looking.

When a student in Paris, I noticed I got kinder treatment than American, German, or Iranian classmates from traditionally salty concierges, diffident train conductors, or morose cafe table neighbours, once they heard I spoke French though I looked more or less American. (Decades later, other travelling students would put maple leaf flags on their backpacks for such better treatment from locals.) Most French back then understood that Canadians came through for France in the War without trying to take anything over, something that De Gaulle forgot in his separatist dotage in 1967.

"But seeing one of Canada's young tennis phenoms—Denis Shapovalov—wearing daring floral tennis shirts and polka dotted shorts, draw love from European crowds, I get that our general image has changed, that Canada has gone from being soldierly and solid to becoming sort of "cool". "

Britain's War, their "Finest Hour," bestowed a very different narrative but left some recognition for the more than one million Canadian servicemen and women who passed through Britain to fight in the great European wars of the 20th century. But seeing one of Canada's young tennis phenoms—Denis Shapovalov—wearing daring floral tennis shirts and polka dotted shorts, draw love from European crowds, I get that our general image has changed, that Canada has gone from being soldierly and solid to becoming sort of "cool".

Justin Trudeau recently shot across the world as a fresh face who said hopeful things, and got a lot of initial attention from people hungry for some good news. Sunny ways suited their idea of Canada's example. But I wonder if we look better because most other people are feeling sort of bad? For postwar Europeans, Canada became mostly about opportunity, an emigration destination until Europe's economic recovery gained traction. As Liberal MP Alfonso Gagliano used to say on visits to his native Italy, "I sailed to Canada in search of labour and returned as Canadian Minister of Labour!"

Globally, tens of thousands of Canadian aid workers, engineers, doctors, teachers, diplomats, and peacekeepers have spread over Africa, the Caribbean, Latin America, and South Asia, where they seem like comfortable North Americans, but with a difference; they listen.

Meanwhile, the United States is busy throwing its vast weight around, now more than ever. Under "good presidents," it was for good causes. But when the effort turned to wars against poorer people in Vietnam and Iraq, a notion grew of Canada as the "other North America," an image we didn't seek, but began to take on from the eyes of others who saw Canada as fair-minded. At the United Nations in the 1970s, Canadians became the default choice to chair meetings meant to bridge differences between East and West and North and South. Pierre Trudeau invited Canadians to work that space between hawkish Washington and a truculent world.

When he burst on the scene in the template-shifting chaos year of 1968, Trudeau struck the world as a completely different Canadian—intellectual, glamorous. Truth be told, he struck us the same way, and we hoped it would rub off.

His search for fairer North-South accommodation didn't make many waves in geo-politically obsessed Washington, except with the idealistic Jimmy Carter, but it enlarged Canada's international playbook. Allan Gotlieb, Canada's best-known ambassador to the U.S., argued that our best card globally was actually showing how close we were to the world's superpower, believing our proximity and intimacy with America earned us reach and influence with others.

When presidents from Reagan to George H.W. Bush and Clinton responded to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's move to end the Cold War, Canadian leaders—Brian Mulroney, then Jean Chrétien—were

critically helpful allies trying to widen one-world cooperation. U.S. Secretary of State James Baker credited Canada with the vital talent for "getting things right." So did the post-Soviet Russians, at first.

Canada's internationalism and attention to human security also created real influence, at least among the internationalist like-minded. On issues like the International Criminal Court and land mines, Canada challenged the big powers and led the way. By 2002, the European Union recognized Canada as one of its six strategic partners—with the US, Russia, China, India, and Japan.

Alas, our early post-Cold War hopes for a harmonious North Atlantic-Europe axis, "from Vancouver to Vladivostok," and for a new era of global consensus fuelled by new technologies, were derailed by the rise of divisive and competitive nationalism, populist sectarianism, and the downsides of globalization.

> ***"These days, German ministers stream to Canada to explore how we manage pluralism, via community-sponsored immigration settlement, neighbourhood policing, and other integrating techniques learned over time."***

Three events in the new millenium sharpened Canada's image.

When fanatical enemies of the US changed the global agenda on 9/11, the American mood became vengeful and inward. Canada's working assumption that we were a neighbourly "buddy" became dulled as our shared border hardened. We strained to make it work. But we didn't buy into the catastrophic American march to war against Iraq in 2003 that has turned the Middle East into the world's first "failed" region.

Jeremy Kinsman, then Canadian High Commissioner to London, and his wife Hana Kinsman with Prince Philip who was the Guest of Honour at an Arts Festival at Canada House in 2001. *Image courtesy Jeremy Kinsman*

In 2007-08, Canadian governments did not succumb to the global urge of greed and carelessness that caused banking scandals and financial breakdown elsewhere, that undermined global confidence in political and financial leadership and democracy's commitment to fairness.

But in a troubled and uncertain world, what's really most interesting to others is what solves their problems, especially if it seems fair. These days, German ministers stream to Canada to explore how we manage pluralism, via community-sponsored immigration settlement, neighbourhood policing, and other integrating techniques learned over time. As global headlines turned to violence, jihadism and mass migration, Canada's image clarified as a society that succeeded in areas where others were struggling. It became increasingly clear that as one of very few settlement immigration countries left, which greeted new landed immigrants with a "Welcome Home" card, the composite face of Canadians had changed.

Managing inclusivity became our most admired brand. As long as our new Canadians join us in a collective cause, it works. When politicians corrupt foreign policy choices for electoral purposes in order to play to domestic constituencies, it undermines faith abroad in Canada's value as an international honest broker and consistent defender of human rights.

So, while we quarrel among ourselves over our own stuff, and respective styles, we should also acknowledge that our ways look good from the outside. We're a place that seems to work for most of its citizens, most of the time, and if others ponder the "genocide" against native women, we'll at least get some points for transparency.

In the off-colour White House these days, it is a slur to call someone a "globalist." A "do-gooder" is similarly mocked by populist right-wing nationalists in Italy ("bonfattore") or Germany ("gutmensch"). The Iran Nuclear Accord, the Trans-Pacific Partnership, the Paris Accord on Climate Change, and other key agreements on trade, migration, and security aren't disposable just because a nationalist-populist U.S. President wants to make them so.

> ***"Let's face up proudly to our Canadian vocation to be globalist do-gooders. It's partly a curse, but one we have earned and need to earn every day."***

Let's face up proudly to our Canadian vocation to be globalist do-gooders. It's partly a curse, but one we have earned and need to earn every day. It comes with the obligation to be willing to commit to the defence of democracy, inclusivity, and multilateral cooperation.

As a brand, in today's world, that ought to be "interesting" enough. P

Contributing writer Jeremy Kinsman is a former Canadian ambassador to Russia, the UK and the EU. He is affiliated with University of California, Berkeley, and is a distinguished fellow of the Canadian International Council.

Column / Don Newman

The Best of Times. Seriously.

Provinces suing the federal government. Provinces suing each other. Voices rising along with tempers and the temperature of federal-provincial relations. Is Canada coming apart at the seams?

Certainly, things have become more lively in Canada on the constitutional and national unity file. After 20 years of relative tranquility following a closely run and heavily contested referendum in Quebec on the future of that province in the country, things have started to heat up again.

But this time Quebec is not a principal player. At least not yet. And neither is the question of one or more provinces continuing as part of Canada a principal issue. At least not yet.

Instead, the main protagonists are Alberta versus British Columbia, and Alberta, Saskatchewan and Ontario fighting Ottawa over the federal government's carbon tax to cut greenhouse gas emissions and Canada's contribution to global warming.

Canada's two westernmost provinces are fighting over the expansion of the Trans Mountain Pipeline. The expansion will more than double the size, more than double the amount of the production from Alberta's oil sands crossing B.C. to arrive on the West Coast, and more than double the number of tankers in the Port of Vancouver to ship the bitumen to Asia.

Alberta needs the pipeline expansion to develop new markets for the oil sands. Pipelines both east and west are already filled to capacity. The recently elected Conservative government in Alberta says it will make certain the Trans Mountain extension is built.

But the New Democratic Party government in B.C. is equally determined to stop the expansion. The minority NDP are propped up by three Green Party members, and though they lost the first round in court they are appealing that decision as they try to stop the Trans Mountain expansion.

Alberta has retaliated by saying it will cut off all oil transmission to B.C. if the government there doesn't back off.

The federal government is involved in the dispute because under the Constitution, interprovincial pipelines and interprovincial trade are Ottawa's responsibility.

Ottawa is also under attack in the courts from the Conservative governments of Alberta, Ontario, Manitoba and Saskatchewan. The issue is the carbon tax the Liberal federal government has imposed on those provinces which do not have a carbon reduction program of their own.

But while tensions between some of the country's government are definitely higher today than they have been in recent years, before starting a lament for Canada, recall if you can how things were in the "Good Old Days," 50, 40, 30 or 20 years ago.

From the election of a separatist government in Quebec in 1976, to referendums on sovereignty in 1980 and 1995, from the negotiations over the Charter of Rights and Freedoms in the early 80s to the demise of the Meech Lake Accord in 1990, Canadian federalism has been a noisy work in progress.

At the same time the constitutional crisis was enveloping the country, Ottawa was engaged in an energy crisis with Alberta over the domestic price of oil, and how petroleum revenues should be divided between Ottawa and the producing provinces.

At the moment, things are heating up again, but ultimately the pipeline dispute between Alberta and British Columbia will be decided by the courts. And despite the court challenges over the carbon tax, it is really just a political fight between the Liberals and Conservatives.

And in an election year, this turns out to be a weapon of choice, with federal Liberals promoting a carbon tax to achieve reduced emissions, and provincial Conservatives opposing it as inhibiting their own capacity to act on the environment.

By Canada's very nature as a federation, the fundamental discussion between Ottawa and the provinces turns on the division of powers in the Constitution Act.

These are normal federal-provincial squabbles, but nothing to get too excited about.

Compared to what Canada and Canadians have gone through in the past half century, this seems very much like the best of times. P

Don Newman is Senior Counsel at Navigator Limited and Ensight Canada, and a lifetime member of the Canadian Parliamentary Press Gallery.

SIXTH ESTATE | Before the Bell

THE REVIEW

JUL-AUG 2019 VOL 2 ISSUE 4

Canada's ICT Infrastructure.

Chasing Answers.

Canada's National Housing Strategy.

The Future of Transportation.

SUMMER REFLECTIONS

SIXTH ESTATE Before the Bell

caffeine and content

President | Executive Producer
Andrew Beattie
abeattie@SixthEstate.ca

Vice President Executive Producer
Todd Charlebois
tcharlebois@SixthEstate.ca

Associate Producer
Bruce Libbos
blibbos@SixthEstate.ca

Host of Before the Bell
Catherine Clark

Guest Hosts
David Akin

Video and Streaming Production
Skyfly Productions

Contributing Writers
Dale Smith, Kevin Lee, Richard Threlfall, and Colin Earp

Editor, The Review
Andrew Beattie

FROM THE EDITOR

Ah summer! It's time at the cottage and moments to reflect. Where peacefulness envelops you, ridding us of the daily grind and time to unwind. And it is in these moments where we can afford the luxury of clearing our minds and thinking big. Because in this issue we are challenging you with some big ideas.

So let's begin by thinking about the future of transportation. Automakers are making great strides in autonomous vehicles and this will have a large impact on future of mass transit, how citizens commute and even how and where we work. It requires sound public policy to make sure we can fully capitalize on this opportunity. Dale Smith talks about these issues in his piece entitled The Future of Mobility.

Following, Colin Earp, partner, infrastructure with KPMG in Canada and Richard Threlfall, global head of infrastructure with KPMG in the UK team up to expand on their thoughts on what society, government and business should consider for Canadians to capture their share of the estimated annual USD $22 trillion dollar industry in their opinion piece called A new era of connected transportation.

From transportation we segue from what is in your garage to discuss national housing. Before the Bell invited a group of housing industry executives and the Hon. Jean-Yves Duclos, minister of families, children and social services to discuss the future of housing in Canada. Dale Smith's recaps the discussion and their proposed solutions in For Whom The (Door) Bell Tolls.

Next we went back to those panelists following the program to get answers to the top unasked questions during the show. You can read those answers in Chasing Answers on Housing.

Then, Kevin Lee, chief executive officer with the Canadian Homebuilders Association chimes in that homeownership is imperative in a piece entitled Time to unlock the door to homeownership.

Coming full circle, Before the Bell looked at ICT infrastructure in Canada. As the technological promise and future hold great potential for Canadians, Canada must look to ensure it has the infrastructure to capitalize on that. You can read Dale Smith's article recapping the Before the Bell discussion that featured a group of industry executives, thought leaders and the Minister of Rural Economic Development, Hon. Bernadette Jordan MP.

Finally, following the show on Infrastructure we went back to Minister Jordan to ask her opinion on some key issues raised by the audience during the show. You can read her response in Chasing Answers on ICT Infrastructure.

And if all that isn't enough to think about while you are sitting at the dock, in four months we are going to the polls. So enjoy the summer serenity!

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MOBILITY 2030: A Sixth Estate Spotlight

BY DALE SMITH
Sixth Estate

It is estimated that innovations in mobility, including autonomous vehicles and electric cars, will add an additional USD$10 trillion to USD$22 trillion annually to the global transit market by 2030, thanks to added productivity and changes to the insurance market. On May 9, Sixth Estate Spotlight hosted a session in Toronto that gathered industry leaders and experts in Toronto to talk about the future of mobility and the infrastructure needed to make it happen.

In a keynote address, Richard Threlfall, partner and global head of infrastructure at KPMG, said that we are on the verge of a transport revolution brought about by three major transformational changes in the industry – the electrification of transport, the automation of vehicles, and the rise of platforming known as "mobility as a service."

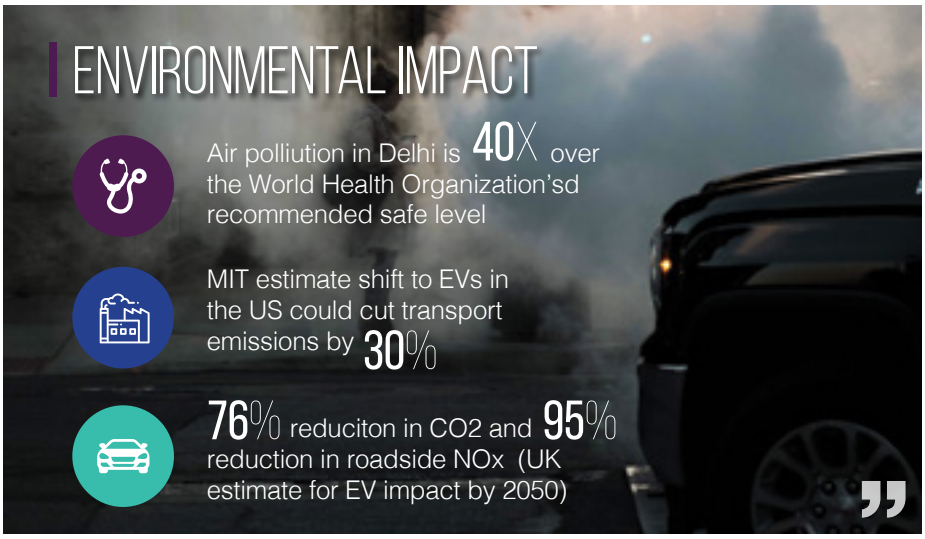
According to Threlfall, these changes will result in accident reduction, emissions reduction and improvement in service to people with disabilities and in rural areas where public transportation isn't economically viable.

Environmental impact Source: KPMG

"From a public policy point of view, there are both social and economic reasons to want this transport revolution to happen as soon as possible," said Threlfall. "The reason the impacts are so great is because we are talking about something that affects such a vast proportion of the population."

Threlfall added that the concept of shared mobility is still a long way off, given that there could be a tripling of car ownership with the advent of autonomous, electric vehicles, and that it's incumbent upon governments today to move policy levers in order to keep congestion from becoming an even bigger problem than it is.

"If we go into this in the right way, we could have way more liveable societies than we have today," said Threlfall. "But if we do it wrong, then we waste this fantastic opportunity that comes out of this period of seismic change."



During the panel discussion hosted by Catherine Clark, Greg Overwater, director of technical and regulatory affairs for the Global Automakers of Canada, said that the customer profile for automakers may change in years to come, perhaps with ridesharing companies buying cars outright.

"It all comes down to satisfying a customer need," said Overwater. "You have economic considerations — affordability for vehicles — and the regulatory side, with both safety and the environment. There is a great impetus to move societies to the point where transportation is a much cleaner prospect, and fewer people are losing their lives on a daily basis."

Kathleen Llewellyn-Thomas, chief customer officer with the Toronto Transit Commission, said that Toronto's transit system is looking to respond to the growing call from the public for mobility-on-demand services.

"In small communities, we are looking at micro-transit, and we're hoping it will eventually be autonomous, but are actually doing an [autonomous vehicle] pilot with the City of Toronto next year," said Llewellyn-Thomas. "The idea is that it would be on-demand and there would be an app so that the person can say I need the vehicle that's in my community to take me to the mainline service."

Raed Kadri, director of automotive technology and mobility innovation at the Ontario Centres of Excellence, said that behaviour drives technology at first, but when it comes to automation and connectivity, the premise becomes whether people want to even own a vehicle when shared vehicles become more widespread thanks to connectivity.

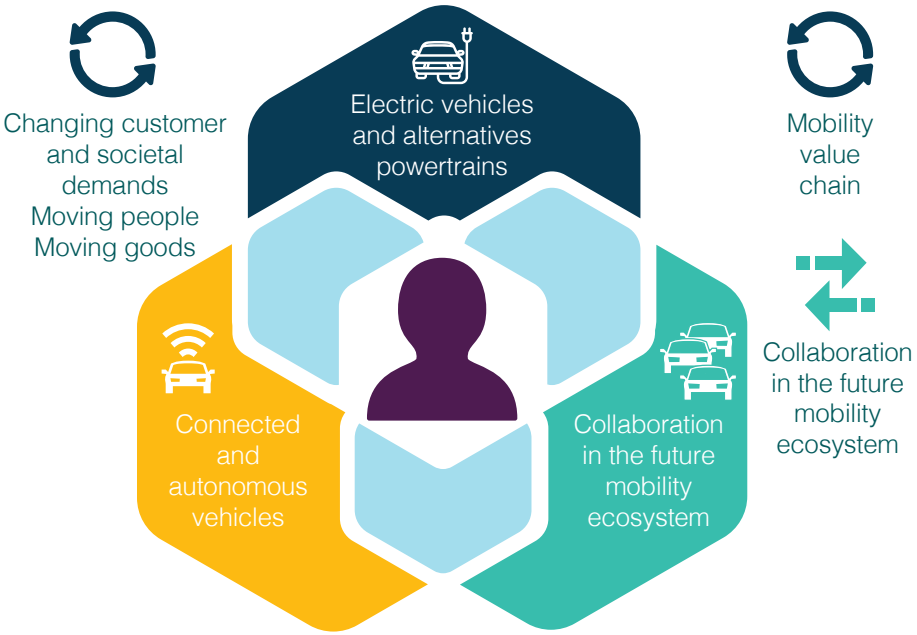
Kadri added that there is potential for shared mobility in communities where they don't have the established transit infrastructure, and options like ride-sharing are available, such as the pilot project in the Ontario municipality of Innisfil.

"The opportunities are endless," said Kadri. "Collaboration is paramount between private and public, and things are changing. Economically, the opportunities are there. We have companies that are smaller, that potentially would never have the opportunity to enter the mobility supply chain, now talking directly with potential customers or potentially public transit agencies."

A new era of connected transportation

Welcome to **Mobility 2030**; a revolution led by autonomous vehicles, electric networks, and on-demand transportation services. In addition to reshaping our roads and cities, this new era of mobility is driving massive societal changes and giving rise to a multi-trillion dollar industry.

In short, it is time to buckle up.



Colin Earp
PARTNER, INFRASTRUCTURE, KPMG IN CANADA

Richard Threlfall
GLOBAL HEAD OF INFRASTRUCTURE, KPMG IN THE UK

DISRUPTING FOR GREATER GOOD

The road ahead is rife with disruption and fueled by three key technology-driven trends. Consider the rise of self-driving autonomous vehicles; a movement fueled by public sector investments and private sector support for a smarter, cleaner, and more accessible way to commute. The potential of smart, hands-free driving cannot be overstated. Accessibility and infrastructure implications notwithstanding, research indicates we spend more than 600 billion hours in our cars every year – an average of 14 minutes per person per day for everyone on the planet. By repurposing that time for productive tasks, it is estimated the US alone would benefit from an economic boost of nearly US$1.3 trillion a year.

We are on the verge of a transport revolution brought about by three major transformational changes in the industry – the electrification of transport, the automation of vehicles, and the rise of platforming known as "mobility as a service."

— Richard Threlfall, *partner and global head of infrastructure at KPMG*

The electrification of transportation is equally promising; as is the advance of Mobility as a Service (MaaS) offerings which allow consumers one-click access to all their transportation options on a single, user-friendly platform. Taken independently, each of these trends would significantly disrupt the ecosystem: but in combination, they should drive unprecedented change.

These technologies are gaining traction well beyond Canada's borders. MaaS platforms have taken root in North American and UK markets, while every day brings news of autonomous vehicle (AV) initiatives in both the consumer and commercial spaces. We are also seeing progress in countries like Singapore where private sector companies are collaborating with public sector entities to trial 'smart' vehicle technologies, as well as in jurisdictions like Norway where 40 percent of new cars sold in 2017 were electric or hybrid.

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GAINING MOMENTUM

The momentum is building, but the path is far from smooth. As we move closer to making these technologies a mainstream reality, new and important questions come into view. How will self-driving vehicles be regulated? How will governments compensate for the loss of gas revenues as a result of electric vehicles (EVs)? Who will pay for the infrastructure of tomorrow (e.g. 'smart' roads, transportation telematics, 5G vehicle connectivity, etc.)?

Then there are the long-term considerations. Will the adoption of self-driving cars and on-demand services negate the need for public parking? Will the proliferation of smart vehicles in richer countries mean an excess of unwanted gas-powered vehicles in other markets? Will greater accessibility lead to more congestion? If so, who (or what) will determine commuting priority?

A NUMBER OF RECURRING QUESTIONS HAVE EMERGED, INCLUDING:

• How will customers respond to potentially radical changes to our daily lives and environments enabled by technology? What will their future behaviours be?

• Where will value be created across the future mobility ecosystem? How big will the 'value pools' be and how will they evolve?

• What will the new ecosystem look like and how will the various players' roles change? Who are the emerging customers for EVs, AVs and MaaS? What will these customers value?

• What are the potential participation strategy options, given existing asset bases and capabilities? Who are the key players across the value chain? Which organizations – or countries – are set to win?

• What are the implications for financial, business and operating models? How should financial ambitions change? Where and when should car companies, energy providers, etc. participate? How can they evolve to participate effectively?

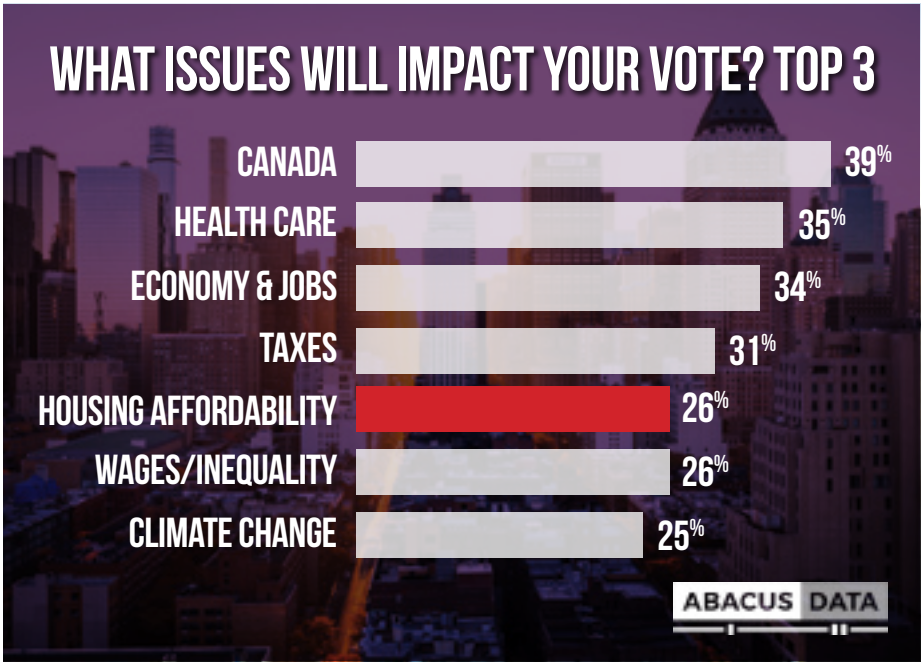
BIG CHALLENGES REMAIN

Indeed, while unfettered access to reliable transportation may be the Holy Grail for mobility, it is a destination marked by numerous logistical, financial, and societal challenges. It is also one that relies on significant investments, infrastructure, public participation, and the governments' ability to foster an environment that encourages private sector participation in the development of these technologies.

The change will be seismic, and one cannot assume it will simply be incremental from where it is today. Investing in this space is about more than funding new consumer products and services; it is about asking these questions, immersing oneself in these discussions, understanding what these technologies offer, and collaborating with public and private players to achieve outcomes for the greater good of society.

For Whom the (Door) Bell Tolls

BY DALE SMITH
Sixth Estate



With urban housing costs being inflated by gentrification, supply shortages and the global corporatization of short-term rentals, housing may be shifting from a millennial niche issue to a top-tier ballot question in the upcoming federal election. Before the Bell examined the topic of whether or not there is a brewing housing crisis in Canada.

David Coletto, CEO of Abacus Data, said that in a survey of Canadians, 26 percent of them felt that housing was one of their top three election issues, with cost of living coming in at 39 percent – something Coletto says is an interchangeable issue.

Just over a month ago, the 2019 federal budget unveiled the First Time Home Buyer Incentive — a measure widely seen to be aimed at millennials whereby the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) will use up to $1.25 billion over three years to help lower mortgage costs for eligible Canadians.

The Abacus survey of millennials found that 64 percent of them felt that the federal government was making housing affordability a high priority and that this was a national concern — not just concentrated in Toronto and Vancouver. Millennials also said that housing affordability is one of their top issues across the country.

During the pulse segment with host David Akin, Martin Joyce, KPMG's Canadian national leader for human and social services, said that a national housing strategy — something his native Australia doesn't have — is a good first step for Canada.

"It's an infrastructure play at its heart, so you have to build houses and maintain and repair housing, and that's a long-term investment," said Joyce. "My worry is that it makes through different political cycles. The risk is, if you change governments, you could change the path of a strategy like this."

Before the Bell host Catherine Clark in conversation with Hon. Jean-Yves Duclos, minister of families, children and social services.

Jennifer Stewart, president and founder of Syntax Strategic, said that governments need to be cautious that they're not simply providing a band-aid solution to housing affordability by providing too many subsidies.

"Look at what happened in the U.S. in 2008 — a whole economic collapse due to mortgage rules," said Stewart. "It's not black-and-white. It's a very multi-pronged strategy in terms of how you approach is so that there's not one response, and the government is approaching it from that point of view, and I think that's smart."

Jeff Morrison, executive director of Canadian Housing and Renewal Association (CHRA), said that the recent imposition of a stress test for first-time home buyers is, in the words of the

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CEO of the Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC), akin to Buckley's medicine in that it tastes awful but works to reduce the risk of a future housing collapse.

"He even went onto suggest that because of that reduced demand, it's had an impact on prices, and that in Toronto, because of the stress test, prices have come down approximately five percent," said Morrison. "Is it working, is it a barrier, is it a help? It depends on what you want to achieve both in the housing market and the economy overall."

During the policy segment, hosted by Catherine Clark, Kevin Lee, CEO of the Canadian Home Builders Association said that the federal housing strategy is more geared toward social housing than home ownership, and mortgage rules have been compounding since 2008 and they have all now taken root.

"We need to be really careful not to compare ourselves to the United States, because our financial system is entirely different and did incredibly well in 2008 and 2009," said Lee. "Were there accelerated house prices in some markets? Yes. Did we need to do something about it? Yes. Lots has been done, but we've overshot now."

Michael Bourque, president and CEO of the Canadian Real Estate Association, said that since the stress test was introduced, the volume of sales in Vancouver has gone down 44 percent, and in places like Calgary and Edmonton, it has dropped by 18 percent. Similarly, Toronto has seen a 20 percent drop.

"There's no doubt that it's had an impact," said Bourque. "We understand the concerns of policy makers about household debt, but the question is how do you balance? We think the government in their budget did a very good job of identifying balance with the shared equity program, and they also increased the home buyer's plan – these are good measures."

Catherine McKenney, councillor for Ward 14 (Somerset) in Ottawa, said that the private rental market in the capital is so tight that the low-to-medium affordability range is no longer absorbing as many people transitioning from community housing.

"We need capital dollars – we need to build more affordable stock," said McKenney. "We also need our systems to integrate. If we're going to take people out of shelters and house them, we need health dollars, and we need supports for people with mental health and addiction issues. And we need [income] supplements – in Ottawa, we have 50,000 households who are in poor housing need, spending more than thirty percent of their income on housing."

The Hon. Jean-Yves Duclos, MP for Québec City and Minister for Families, Children and Social Development, said that the government's national housing strategy is thanks to the collective effort of stakeholders in the sector who have been doing the groundwork for the past twenty-five years.

"When you look at the whole continuum of housing conditions in Canada through the national housing strategy, we achieved the goal of working for everyone in the context of the incredible benefits that investments in housing makes when it comes to making our communities more livable, our housing more affordable, and our partnerships more sustainable," said Duclos.

CHASING ANSWERS ON HOUSING IN CANADA

	Average household income in constant 2017 dollars, 2017 vs. 1980	Average home price in constant 2017 dollars, 2017 vs. 1980
CANADA	25%	156%
VANCOUVER	11%	263%
CALGARY	26%	57%
EDMONTON	31%	47%
WINNIPEG	22%	98%
TORONTO	26%	253%
OTTAWA	24%	107%
MONTREAL	15%	156%

Table courtesy of Canadian Real Estate Association

Following the Before the Bell edition on housing in Canada, For Whom the (Door) Bell Tolls,Sixth Estate editors asked panelists to respond to the most voted on unanswered questions from the show. Questions were posed to the Hon. Jean-Yves Duclos MP and minister for families, children and social services, Kevin Lee (KL) chief executive officer, Canadian Home Builders Association, Michael Bourque (MB), president and CEO with the Canadian Real Estate Association, Jeff Morrison (JM), executive director Canadian Housing and Renewal Association and Martin Joyce, partner KPMG Canada. Here are their responses.

Q. What about the fact that there's very little the federal government can do in a politically realistic manner to materially impact prices for first time buyers?

A. (Minister Duclos) *Our government has put measures in place that have helped temper house prices already. For example, with the Department of Finance's stress test, houses in Canada are now 3.4 per cent cheaper than they would have been without it. Budget 2019 introduced measures to increase the supply of housing, because it is the most effective way to address affordability in the long run. To help more middle class families, Budget 2019 is offering new targeted support for first-time homebuyers. Among other measures, a program called the First-Time Home Buyer Incentive will be created. For more information, visit: https://www.budget.gc.ca/2019/docs/themes/housing-logement-en.html*

Q. Forty percent of Canadians households live with less than $60 thousand per year, none of them will ever be able to buy any house. What about them?

A. (Minister Duclos) *Our government believes that all Canadians deserve a safe and affordable place to call home. Our mandate is to serve Canadians in all parts of Canada, and to support all forms of housing. Our focus with the National Housing Strategy (NHS)<https://www.cmhc-schl.gc.ca/en/nhs> is helping vulnerable Canadians meet their housing needs.*

The NHS' National Housing Co-Investment Fund, for example, will create the next generation of housing, and make communities more accessible and inclusive, while improving life outcomes for low-income and vulnerable people. Tackling housing supply is the strongest antidote to demand pressures that are driving prices higher and preventing Canadians in larger cities from buying or renting affordable housing. In 2018, Canada's average house price was $277,000

Q. Isn't the lack of wage growth the real villain in this discussion?

A. (MB) *The increase in home prices and household incomes have been largely decoupled over the last 30 years. Home prices have risen considerably as opposed to household incomes.*

There are complex economic factors and challenges for the government to consider in order to address this issue.

A. (JM) *Certainly the fact that wage growth has not kept up with CPI, and certainly not housing inflation in most markets, is a contributing factor in the overall lack of housing affordability, and has put greater pressure on non profit housing providers. Stagnant wage growth is one of many factors contributing to the demand side of affordable housing.*

Minister Duclos referred to the new Canada Housing Benefit that was included in the National Housing Strategy. Once it's implemented in April 2020, it will provide an average of $250/month to qualifying low income individuals to help offset the cost of housing. Although welcome (and of course, subject to many details that are still unknown), more must be done on poverty alleviation if we want to reduce the demand side of affordable housing.

A. (MJ) *It's a combination of factors of which wages is one input. House prices have increased significantly due to increased demand (newcomers, investors, and booms in certain cities for jobs etc) and supply not keeping pace. Wages affect people's ability to pay a certain amount for housing, but that doesn't affect the need for more housing (of all types).*

Q. How does the Canadian Home Builders Association see the connection between social/affordable housing and market-rate affordability?

A. (KL) *There is a clear connection as all aspects of housing markets are interconnected. A successful housing system has people moving up the housing continuum.*

First-time homebuyers moving out of rental have traditionally been the largest source of rental supply. That is why the federal government must adjust the stress test and restore 30-year insured mortgages for these buyers.

Every level of government can do its part by introducing policies that address the full housing continuum, including affordability of home-ownership and rental homes. Limiting access to homeownership has negative ripple effects through the rental market, as well as increasing demand for social housing.

Q. A large portion of the Millennial work force does so on a contract basis, further locking them out from mortgage lending. Do our banks need to change?

A. (MB)- *Almost one third of Canadians currently engage in some form of freelance, contract, part-time or otherwise precarious work. Non-traditional workers in Canada are facing*

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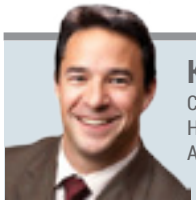

Kevin Lee
CEO CANADIAN HOMEBUILDERS ASSOCIATION

Time to unlock the door to homeownership

The 2019 federal election is nearly here, and housing affordability is top-of-mind for voters. And party platforms truly can unlock the door to homeownership, in responsible fashion.

At stake are the financial futures of the next generation of Canadians, local economies, and hundreds of thousands of jobs.

Housing affordability is determined by three factors: income, house price, and mortgage rules. Addressing housing affordability is tricky business—the mortgage system is built to enable buyers to enter the market with a down-payment and long-term financing. Too loose a system risks spurring price inflation; too strict a system and too many buyers are locked out.

Price inflation has been driven by many things in recent years, and certainly not just mortgage rules or low interest rates. Lack of supply has been a principle driver—not enough houses of the form people want drives up the prices of the few that are on the market (Vancouver and Toronto are perfect examples). Speculation, foreign investment, development taxes, and stricter codes are other factors that have all contributed to excessive price increases.

But today's mortgage rules, after over 60 changes since 2009, including the most recent stress test, have done more than "take out the froth" in Toronto and Vancouver. They've overshot their mark and caused a housing recession across the country. They have slowed or lowered prices, but that does not equate to affordability: when prices drop because you've locked tens of thousands of Millenials out of the market, that's not improved affordability. By definition, if mortgage rules lock out buyers, you've decreased affordability. The result is market instability, pent up demand, lowered homeowner equity, faltering local economies, and a whole generation of young and new Canadians with their financial futures hampered.

There is a better way.

Heading into the election, there are actions that the federal parties can introduce to tweak the system to enable access to homeownership while still mitigating against excessive consumer debt, excessive price escalation, and risky borrowing. These include:

1. Recalibrating the stress test;
2. Restoring 30-year amortizations on insured mortgages for well-qualified first-time buyers; and
3. Have all levels of government focus on getting more housing supply on-line—a key factor, but one that will take time.

These actions are prudent and can get new buyers into the market without driving up prices or causing undue risk. CMHC analysis shows that returning to 30-year mortgages for first-time buyers would only increase prices by 1 to 2.4%, a range that reflects normal appreciation; at the same time CHBA analysis projects this would allow some 33,000 well qualified first-time buyers into the market annually. Now that is improved affordability!

Younger Canadians are also the lowest risk group of buyers—they have the lowest rate of mortgage arrears and the longest timeframe to pay off their mortgages. Their incomes also rise the fastest, making mortgage payments increasingly affordable over time. And first-time buyers seeking entry-level homes do not cause excessive house price escalation in any market, period.

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CHASING ANSWERS ON HOUSING IN CANADA

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a harsh reality when it comes to applying for a mortgage. Since they do not have a regular pay check or access to financial statements such as the T4, "gig" workers have found themselves on the wrong side of conventional mortgage lenders. CREA believes that financial institutions and their regulators should adapt to the changing face of today's work force and ensure lending practices provide more flexibility for non-traditional workers

A. (MJ) *This is a larger question here for our societies and whether we need to ensure better security for employment. Unfortunately that might not be possible and lenders (including banks) need to factor in flexibility when assessing a person for a mortgage. Contract work is slowly becoming the new "norm" and if the banks don't take this into account, other lenders will which might start drawing customers from banks. At that point banks will have to take notice I suspect.*

Q. How much are code changes affecting affordability?

A. *(KL) With Canada's housing affordability crisis, policy makers need to consider well all the impacts involved when making changes to the Building Code that increase costs. While current building standards are excellent, there are many ways to continue to improve housing; but this needs to be done through innovation to avoid excessively increasing costs. When you add up all the changes that various groups want that "don't cost a lot", it costs a lot!*

That is why federal parties need to adopt CHBA's recommendation to enshrine affordability as a core objective of the National Building Code, to ensure that we are building better, more efficient houses for the same price or less.

TIME TO UNLOCK THE DOOR TO HOMEOWNERSHIP

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It is also time to adjust the 'stress test'. CHBA members reported a 33 percent drop in first-time buyer activity this past year after the stress test was introduced—this is much too extreme. Ratcheting the stress test down for longer mortgage terms can get more buyers safely into the market without increasing risk.

It is time to unlock the door to homeownership. We can no longer afford to see it locked—there is simply too much at stake.

Kevin Lee is Chief Executive Officer, Canadian Home Builders' Association

INFRASTRUCTURE: A look at ICT

Pictured left to right: Host Catherine Clark, Hon. Bernadette Jordan MP, Carole Saab FCM, Cara Salci Thales Canada and Colin Earp KPMG Canada

BY DALE SMITH
Sixth Estate

As the Canadian economy evolves, the country's infrastructure needs are moving beyond roads, bridges and sewers to digital infrastructure such as information and communications technology (ICT), including internet backbone, broadband, mobile telecommunications technology and more. Before the Bell assembled a panel of industry and government stakeholders to discuss what Canada's ICT needs are when it comes to building the next phase of our economy.

Ihor Korbabicz, executive director of Abacus Data, said that in a poll of Canadian millennials, 93 per cent rated a smartphone as necessary to their quality of life, as compared to 88 per cent who rated a car as necessary. Eighty-six per cent of all Canadians rated the internet as being crucial to Canada's economic prospects over the long term — more than immigration or automation.

During the Pulse panel, hosted by David Akin, Greg Weston, principal at Earnscliffe Strategy Group, noted that Parliament has been promising action on rural broadband since at least 2001.

"The auditor general last year put all of these [past studies] together and said for all of the agreement in them, virtually nothing in terms of action had changed, that nobody had come up with a national broadband strategy, much less implemented it," said Weston. "Part of the reason is that for all of the focus, it was money and the cost of funding this."

Joanne Stanley, executive director of Women in Communications and Technology (WCT), said that access to broadband helps foster innovation and entrepreneurship in young women, particularly in northern communities.

"In the context of distribution of digital infrastructure into rural communities, it's good for the country that we do that," said Stanley. "It allows young, talented people outside of major centres to be part of the innovation structure to start companies. It's important to us from a competitive perspective."

Craig Stewart, vice-president of federal affairs for the Insurance Bureau of Canada, said that at the C-suite level, businesses should be thinking about their exposure as well as the opportunities that come with increased digital infrastructure.

"Whole businesses and their viability are now relying on inoculating themselves," said Stewart. "When you can get a phishing attack that looks like it's coming from your boss or your best friend…it's scary because they actually know who your contacts within your organization are."

During the Policy segment, hosted by Catherine Clark, Colin Earp, partner and national transport lead at KPMG, said that society is reorienting itself around the ability to communicate through digital means, and is moving toward allowing systems to make decisions for us.

"Digital has a social equity dividend," said Earp. "Autonomous vehicles have a safety dividend. When we're talking about autonomous vehicles, we're talking about a $22 trillion trend going forward. Canada has all of the right ingredients."

Cara Salci, national director of public affairs and communications with Thales Canada, said that companies are investing in connectivity, Big Data, artificial intelligence, and cyber-security, and that industry can help backstop government delivery of those technologies.

"As the government is grappling with the regulatory and policy development of some of these topics, industry can help build the case as for a certain technology and how it's working," said Salci. "Closing the digital divide between remote and rural communities can really leave a legacy for the next generation so that they are connected."

Carole Saab, executive director of policy and public affairs for the Federation of Canadian Municipalities, said that municipalities are dealing with the on-the-ground challenges around things like "smart cities," and that can include figuring out how to implement new technologies over the existing built infrastructure.

"If you look at smaller municipalities in rural and remote areas, the face of this challenge is a lot different," said Saab. "It's about achieving access to adequate broadband right now. It is a serious economic and quality-of-life issue."

Hon. Bernadette Jordan, MP for South Shore — St. Margarets, Nova Scotia, and the minister of rural economic development, said that there is a sense of urgency in getting digital infrastructure to rural and remote communities because there has been such growth in the use of internet, and it makes it difficult for young people to stay in those communities if they don't have access.

"When we talk about a sense of urgency, our government has committed to 90 per cent by 2021, 95 per cent by 2025, and the last five per cent by 2030 because we know that rural communities are so vital to our economic growth as a country," said Jordan. "Thirty per cent of our GDP comes from rural Canada. When you have businesses that can't grow, or can't attract people, you can't access markets."

CHASING ANSWERS

with Hon. Bernadette Jordan Minister of Rural Economic Development on Canada's ICT Infrastructure

Following the Before the Bell edition on Infrastructure: A look at ICT in Canada Sixth Estate editors asked the Hon. Bernadette Jordan MP South Shore – St. Margaret, Nova Scotia and minister of rural economic development to respond to three of the top unanswered audience questions from the show. Here are her responses.

Q: Are rural communities at risk of being left out of smart cities?

A. *The application of connected technologies to improve local outcomes is not just for large cities but a true opportunity for rural communities too.*

Canada is encouraging all communities big or small, to explore how best to apply smart city approaches in their local context.

A Smart cities approach can improve the quality of life of residents in communities of all sizes. In fact, the Smart Cities Challenge includes a prize stream specifically geared to small communities, even while those communities can apply to any stream.

We were thrilled to get 63 applications from rural communities, representing nearly half of applications overall .

Q: The federal governments internet infrastructure is known to be archaic and inadequate. Is updating this costly endeavour the first step?

A. *The Government of Canada recognizes that students, families and businesses require reliable and high-speed Internet to participate in today's economy. In Budget 2019, the Government is making an ambitious new commitment to ensure every single household and business in Canada has access to high-speed internet by 2030. By working with provinces, territories and industry, the Government is planning to deliver up to $6 billion in new investments to achieve this target.*

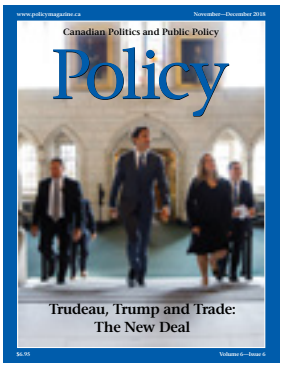
Before the Bell host Catherine Clark with Hon. Bernadette Jordan MP

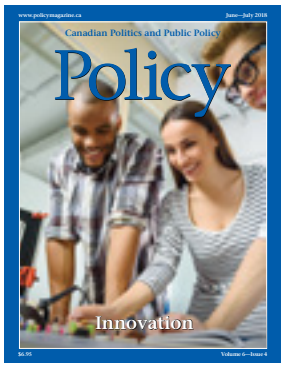
Q: Is the Canada infrastructure bank pushing broadband as a priority?

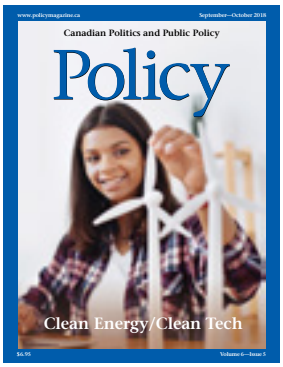
A. *The Canada Infrastructure Bank was established as an innovative new way to help our communities build even more infrastructure by bridging a gap between public and private funding. The investments made by the Bank will align with the Government of Canada's priorities in areas like broadband.*

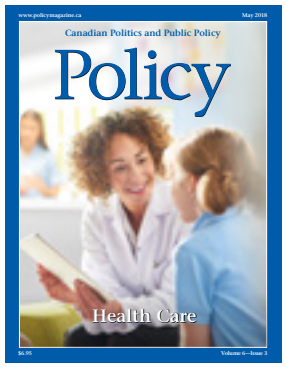
The Bank is also examining opportunities to attract private-sector investment in high-speed internet infrastructure for unserved and underserved communities. Working to maximize the contribution of private capital, the Bank will seek to invest $1 billion over the next 10 years, and leverage at least $2 billion in additional private-sector investment to increase high-speed Internet access for Canadians.

Policy RATE INFORMATION









Policy is a bi-monthly magazine. The guaranteed circulation of *Policy* includes leading Canadian policy makers and business leaders, including MPs, Senators, Deputy Ministers, Heads of Boards and Agencies, and members of the National Press Gallery. Distributed in Air Canada Maple Leaf Lounges across Canada and VIA Rail lounges in Montreal, Ottawa and Toronto.

Policy 2019 Publication Dates

Policy Issues	Deadline for submission of ads
September – October	August 15
November – December	October 15
January – February 2020	December 15

Policy Print Advertising Rates

Print	1 Issue	2 Issues	6 Issues
1 Page	$3,000	$2,500	$2,250
1/2 Page	$1,500	$1,250	$1,000
Inside Covers	$3,500	$3,250	$3,000
Back Cover	$6,000	$5,500	$5,000

Policy Print Advertising Sizes

Print	Trim Size	Bleed Size	Safe Area
Full Page	8.5" x 11"	8.75" x 11.25"	7.5" x 10"
1/2 Page	8.5" x 5.5"	8.75" x 5.625"	7.5" x 4"

Policy Web Advertising Rates

Web ads rotate at the top of the *Policy* home page. Note that policymagazine.ca is formatted to work well on desktops, tablets and mobile phones.

Web	Size	1 Issue	6 Issues
Horizontal	728 X 90 px	$1,000	$5,000
Square	300 x 250 px	$1,000	$5,000

THE WEEK IN Policy RATE INFORMATION

Policy Magazine presents *The Week in Policy,* our weekly look at developments in the world of policy and politics in Ottawa, Washington and points beyond. Written by *Policy* Associate Editor and *Hill Times* columnist Lisa Van Dusen, *The Week in Policy* hits the screens of Canada's political and policy community every Friday afternoon.

The Week in Policy Advertising Rates

Banner ads rotate at the top, centre and bottom of *The Week in Policy*. Note that *The Week in Policy* is formatted to work well on desktops, tablets and mobile phones.

The Week in Policy Banner	1 Month	1 Year
600 X 160 px	$500	$5,000

Advertising Specifications

POLICY MAGAZINE PRINT ADS: The preferred file format for ads is a press ready PDF. All fonts must be embedded or outlined. CMYK (4 colour process). Raster images at 300 dpi or higher. Convert all spot or Pantone colours to process. .125" bleed on all edges. Please ensure that all black text is 100% process black.

To send print files or for more information contact:
Monica Thomas: monica@foothillsgraphics.ca

POLICY MAGAZINE WEB ADS: The preferred file format is jpg or png.

To send web files or for more information contact:
Nicolas Landry: policy@nicolaslandry.ca

THE WEEK IN POLICY BANNER ADS: The preferred file format is jpg or png.

For more information contact: L. Ian MacDonald, E-mail: lianmacdonald@policymagazine.ca or Phone: (514) 943-3868

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Liaison	Nombre de départs par jour	Distance	Temps productif en train	Temps non productif en voiture*	Coût du voyage en voiture**	Coût du voyage en train (à partir de seulement)	Économies pour le contribuable (voyage en train)***
Ottawa ⟷ Toronto	Jusqu'à 20	450 km	**4 h 25 min**	4 h 46 min	487 $	**49 $**	438 $
Ottawa ⟷ Montréal	Jusqu'à 12	198 km	**1 h 50 min**	2 h 21 min	230 $	**37 $**	193 $
Ottawa ⟷ Québec	Jusqu'à 8	482 km	**5 h 39 min**	4 h 47 min	510 $	**49 $**	461 $
Toronto ⟷ Montréal	Jusqu'à 13	541 km	**4 h 49 min**	5 h 39 min	583 $	**49 $**	534 $

Les employés du gouvernement du Canada sont admissibles à un rabais de 10 % sur leurs voyages personnels réservés auprès de VIA Rail. Les employés du gouvernement du Canada peuvent profiter de tarifs spéciaux pour leurs voyages d'affaires réservés par l'entremise des Services HRG de voyage partagés.
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* Donnée issue d'une application de voyage en date du 22 mars 2019, à 17 h.

** Le coût du voyage en voiture est calculé selon la formule suivante : coût en $ du voyage en voiture (taux de 0,58 $/km établi par le Conseil du trésor pour l'Ontario pour une voiture conduite par un employé du gouvernement X distance parcourue) + frais en $ d'employé gouvernemental (taux horaire moyen d'un employé gouvernemental de 48 $/h selon un salaire de 100 000 $ par année, y compris les avantages sociaux X durée du voyage) = coût total en $ pour le contribuable.

*** L'économie pour le contribuable associée aux voyages en train est calculée selon la formule suivante : coût en $ du voyage en voiture – coût en $ du voyage en train = économies en $ pour le contribuable.

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