# Contents

List of Figures xi

Acknowledgments xiii

Abbreviations xv

**1. Introduction** 3

The Problem of the Problem of Diversity 3
Terminological Issues 12

**2. The Field of Canadian Diversity** 16

Some Methodological Concerns 16
Canadian Diversity in State Policy 18
Canadian Diversity in Popular Culture 23
Canadian Diversity and the Academy 26
Identity, Identification, and the Desire for Recognition 32
Nation and State, Power and Resistance 38
Delimiting the Field 44

**3. European Antecedents to the Problem of Canadian Diversity** 46

How Difference Changes, How It Remains the Same 46
Herodotus, Father of Ethnography 48
Ancient Ionian Hellenism and the Destruction of the Inferior Other 57
Incorporation of the Other in Roman Imperialism 61

Early Christianity: The Missionary Urge 64
Renaissance Exploration and the New World 'Savage' 66
From Prehistory to History: A Summary of European Contributions to the Problem of Canadian Diversity 69

**4. Two 'Canadian' Solutions to the Problem of Diversity** 72

The First Others of the New World 75
Conversion and Extermination: The Cases of the Huron and the Iroquois 78
The *coureurs de bois* as a Repressed Hybrid Identity 84
The System of Difference in French Colonial Discourse 87
How Canada Became British 89
Ignorance and Extermination in the New Founde Landes 91
Microcontrol and Hybridity: The Hudson's Bay Company and the British Fur Trade 94
The Early Colonial History of Canadian Diversity 98

**5. Repetition and Failure in British North America** 101

The Conquest of New France 102
The Emergence of the Two Founding Races 107
Rational-Bureaucratic Tutelage: The Indian Problem under British Rule 110
Group Identity in British Canada 113

**6. The Dominion of Canada and the Proliferation of Immigrant Otherness** 115

Clearing the 'Empty' West 116
An Explosion of Racial Subject-Positions 122
Restoring Order: J.S. Woodsworth and the Great Chain of Race 127
Managing the Strangers within Our Gates: Assimilation, Transportation, Deportation, and Internment 134
Excluding the Strangers Without 140
Identity by Design in Early Twentieth-Century Canada 144

**7. The Rise of the Mosaic Metaphor** 146

Canadian Identity as an Emergent Phenomenon 146
The Canadian Mosaic as a Constrained Emergence Theory of Identity 149
Design, Designers, and the Social Sciences 153

WWII and the 'First Bureaucracy for Multiculturalism' 158
The Citizenship Machine 165
From Racial Assimilation to Cultural Integration 171

**8. Unhappy Countriness: Multiculturalism as State Policy** 177

The 'Liberalization' of Canadian Society 178
From Monopoly to Duopoly: The B & B Report 179
Multiculturalism in a Bilingual Framework as Strategic Simulation of Assimilation to the Other 184
Multiculturalism: Modern or Postmodern? 199

**9. A Revaluation of Canadian Multiculturalism** 209

A Critique of Kymlicka's Liberal Theory of Minority Rights 210
Charles Taylor and the Limits of Recognition 216
From Deep Diversity to Radical Imaginary 222

Notes 229

Bibliography 241

Index 259

# Index


Acadians 27, 29, 103–6, 167
Adachi, Ken 30
Adams, Howard 87, 221
Advisory Committee on Co-operation in Canadian Citizenship 163
African Canadians 17, 30, 132, 168, 235n10, 236n11
American Canadians 131, 142, 168
Anderson, Benedict 194, 201
Androphagi 49
Anglo conformity 8, 122–5
Angus, Ian 6, 237n1, 239n1
Aristotle 7, 60, 68
assimilation: and amalgamation 151, 155; and integration 47, 171–2, 175, 185, 192, 194–5; and language 156–7; passive vs. active 135–6; and Roman policy 61–2; seductive vs. coercive 154–5; and strategic simulation 88, 106, 158, 165, 185, 197, 219

Bannerji, Himani 31–2, 221
Baudrillard, Jean 182–3, 204
Bauman, Zygmunt 158, 200–1
Beothuck 29, 91–4, 167
Bhabha, Homi 14–15
Bibby, Reginald 9, 199
biculturalism and bilingualism 178–84
Bissoondath, Neil 5, 9
Bourdieu, Pierre 16, 40–1, 229–30n1, 230n4
British Canadians 5, 131, 142, 167, 168, 178, 179, 190. *See also* colonialism
Buchignani, N. 29–30
Butler, Judith 55

capitalism 15, 97, 141, 143, 166, 170, 226–7
Chinese Canadians 125, 140, 142–3, 166, 168
citizenship 21–2, 165–71, 205
colonialism 5, 7–8, 72; British 89–114, 117, 179, 212; Canadian 116–22, 213–14, 222; and Christianity 64–9,

70, 77; French 72–89, 179, 212; Roman 61–4, 70
communists, fear of 163–4, 237n5
Constitutional Act of 1791 107–8
*coureurs de bois* 74, 84–7, 226

Deleuze, Gilles 39, 42, 238n8
Derrida, Jacques 204–5, 230n8
*différance* 9, 179, 204–5, 225
differentiation of human beings 4–5, 12–15, 31, 48–53, 172–3, 191–2, 205; by built environment 49, 76, 150; by civilization 77, 125, 127; by culture 4, 154–5, 189; by dress 49, 76, 85, 129; by eating habits 49, 81, 85, 129; by ethnicity 19, 52, 154, 155–6, 172, 173–4; by ethnocultural origin 4, 185, 189–90, 202–3; by humanity 68–9, 125; by language 49, 128–9, 139, 150, 215; by nationality 4, 122–3, 129, 162, 189, 215; by origin 129, 159; by people 50, 105–6; by political persuasion 49, 52, 86–7, 129, 159; by race 4, 12–13, 105, 108–9, 122–6, 127, 141, 150, 161, 171–2, 180–1, 189–90, 215, 234n3; by religion 49, 68–9, 75, 81, 91–2, 103, 106, 129, 150. *See also* diversity; Great Chain of Being; Great Chain of Race
diversity: as crisis situation 20–1, 108, 110, 130, 154, 180; and equality 152, 161–2, 188, 191; fact of 6, 20, 26–7, 198; history of, official Canadian 6, 17–19, 27–30, 44–5, 103, 167–8; preservation of 148–9; and social science 26–32, 129–30, 151, 153–8, 161, 187–8; and state policy 18–23; and unity 4, 132, 148–9, 152, 157, 159. *See also* multiculturalism
diversity, management of, via: assimilation 47, 60, 83, 103, 106, 109, 132, 134, 135–8, 160, 170, 171–2, 175; civilization 83, 90–1, 133, 181; containment 92; conversion 65–6, 78–82, 133; deportation 116, 138; detention 139, 159; disenfranchisement 116, 139; displacement 92, 95, 102; education 137, 153; elimination 60, 79, 82, 135; exclusion 116, 125, 134, 138, 140–4; extermination 73, 83, 91–4, 95; ignorance 59, 93–4, 96; integration 47, 61–2, 102, 106–7, 148, 171–2, 175, 192–5; internment 28, 116, 139, 159; preservation 102; protection 110–11, 112; surveillance 164; toleration 104, 106, 149, 150, 155–6; transportation 103, 138, 159
diversity, naturalization of 4, 20, 31–2, 51; and climate 4, 51, 128, 132, 154; and geography 20, 51
diversity, problem of 4–5, 20–1, 133, 134, 178, 225–6; dissolution of 225–6; proliferation of 3, 5–6, 41, 102
Doukhobors 135, 142, 168
duBois, Page 53, 232n1
Dufour, Christian 221
Durham, Lord 108–9, 180
Dyck, Noel 74

England, Robert 8, 153–8, 164–5
English/British Canadians 107–10, 119, 122–5, 180, 193, 198, 226–7; and gift of recognition 222; as Invisible Selves 122, 132, 191, 205,

215–16. *See also* colonialism; nativism
ethnogenetic desire 44, 110, 178

Flood metaphor 19, 130, 133, 154
Foster, Kate 8, 151–3, 160, 161
Foucault, Michel 5, 16–17, 39, 41–2, 229–30n1; repressive hypothesis 41
French Canadians 5, 102–10, 119, 127, 167, 168, 183, 190, 193, 198. *See also* colonialism; nativism; Québécois

German Canadians 131, 139, 159, 168
Great Chain of Being 58, 60, 116, 147; and principle of plenitude 58, 69, 130, 174
Great Chain of Race 8, 116, 131, 175, 191–2
Gusfield, Joseph 4–5
Gypsies 140

Habermas, Jurgen 37, 39, 40, 219
Half-breed 14, 74, 98, 168
Hayward, Victoria 149–50
Hegel, G.W.F. 3, 35–8, 178, 183, 216–17, 230n10
Herodotus, and Western political anthropology 7, 48–57, 64, 67, 70–1, 72–3, 104–5, 128–9, 150, 154, 189–90, 205
Hobsbawm, E.J. 194, 201
Hodgen, Margaret 46, 48–9, 64, 68, 70
Honneth, Axel 37
Hopkins, J.C. 27
Huron 78–82
Hutcheon, Linda 199, 201
Hutterites 142
hybridity 14, 74, 86, 98, 147, 203–4. *See also* identity, multiple

identity 35; design theories of 9, 133, 144–5; and identification 32–3; melting pot 133, 148, 154; multiple 199, 202–3; official 178, 183; *See also* self/other distinctions
identity, emergent theories of 9, 86–7, 133, 146–9; constrained emergence theories 9, 149–53, 151, 155, 196–7; free emergence theories 12, 148, 155, 161, 225
Ignatieff, Michael 202
immigration: Acts 122, 138, 140, 141; from Asia 125, 132; Canadian policy 28, 122–7, 138, 140–4, 166–7, 184, 185–6; desirability of various types 123–5, 131–3, 140–4; from Europe 123–5, 131–2, 135, 156–65; from France 131; from Great Britain 131, 142; from the United States 107, 131, 142
Indo-Canadians 138, 168
integration: in Jesuit missionaries 81; in Roman policy 62–3. *See also* assimilation; diversity, management of
Inuit 168, 213–14
Ionian Hellenism 57–61, 171
Iroquois 78–9, 82–4
Italian Canadians 159

Japanese Canadians 30, 125, 159, 168, 190
Jenson, Jane 31
Jesuits 80, 160
Jews 63, 159, 162

Kingsford, William 27
Kirkconnell, Watson 158, 161–4, 187
Knowles, Valerie 28
Kymlicka, Will 9, 198, 205, 208–13, 219, 239nn1,2

Lacan, Jacques 56, 206–7; theory of subject 32–4
Laclau, Ernesto 17, 33, 34, 53
Lahontan, Baron de 85, 101–2
language and culture 182; dissociation of 185, 193–4, 196–7, 211–12; official 182. *See also* differentiation
Légaré, Evelyn 31
Lewycky, Laverne 31
line of capture 195
line of flight 226–7
Linnaeus 131, 161
Lovejoy, A.O. 58, 61, 232n1

Marx, Karl 39–40
Mennonites 135, 142
Métis 25, 29, 74, 87, 97–8, 118–22, 168
monsters 50, 68
Moodley, Kogila 30
Mosaic metaphor 8, 149–53, 160, 207
Mouffe, Chantal 53, 239n2
multiculturalism: as already achieved ideal 6, 21–3, 29, 177; bureaucratic support for 9, 158–65, 176; as Canadian state policy 4, 18–23, 158–65, 176, 177–208; and fantasy of fullness 3–4, 12, 32–3, 210, 223–4; and liberalism 4, 15, 178–9, 188, 196, 207–13, 239n2; as radical imaginary 4, 22–7; as social ideal 6; and unity 12. *See also* diversity; integration; recognition

nation: building 151, 223–4; and race 162, 181; and state 38–9, 44, 200–1
nationalism 201–2; ethnic 202
Native peoples (Canada) 5, 6, 73–4, 186, 211; colonial policies towards 5, 75–7, 84, 88–9, 110–13; and Great Chain of Race 132–3; and multiculturalism policy discourse 20, 168, 174, 179, 181, 183; resistance of 5, 25, 84, 187, 199, 226–7; and self-government 213–14, 220; and tutelage 74, 99, 102. *See also* Beothuck; colonialism; Half-breed; Huron; Inuit; Iroquois; Métis
nativism, British- and French-Canadian 28, 125–7, 131, 139, 186, 235n5
Nietzsche, Friedrich Wilhelm 39, 202
nomadic forms 42, 86–7. *See also coureurs de bois*
Nunavut 213–14

Oliver, Frank 138, 141, 186
Other ethnic groups 181, 183, 187, 193

Palmer, Howard 30
Peter, Karl 30, 221
Philipps, Tracy 158, 159–61, 163
Plato 7, 57, 60, 147, 231–2
Pliny 61
Porter, John 30
postmodernism 200–1
power 40–1
power law of sign flow 48, 109, 213

Quebec Act of 1774 106, 107–8
Québécois 25, 178, 183, 199, 211, 226–7. *See also* French Canadians

racialism 128, 172–3
recognition 34–8, 194, 197–9, 216–22
Red River 'rebellion' 120
Renan, Ernest 201
Riel, Louis 29
Rome, ancient 61–4
Royal Proclamation of 1763 108, 110–11

Scandinavians 122–3, 131
self/other distinctions 12, 35–8, 50–3, 56–7, 118; immigrant as internal Other 123. *See also* differentiation; diversity; identity
semiotic square, defined 54–5
Sifton, Clifford 123–4, 186
*Sittlichkeit* 3, 35, 38, 177
slavery 57
Smith, Anthony 231–2n3
social gospel 128, 136
state form 12, 38, 42, 86, 128, 171, 201–2, 222–3; and distant micro-control 94–8, 122, 138, 165; and rational-bureaucratic domination 42, 106, 110–13, 132–6, 144, 153, 170, 204, 208, 222; resistance to 3, 25, 42–3, 86, 103, 112, 120, 188, 209, 226–7; and striation 42, 122, 157, 204, 208; and unity 170, 222

Taylor, Charles 3, 9, 35, 194, 200, 210–11, 216–22, 230n10
*terra nullius* 78, 117, 167–8, 185
Thompson, John Herd 28
Todorov, Tzvetan 67, 68, 172–3

Ukrainian Canadians 159, 168, 194

Walker, James 236n11
Ward, Peter 30
Weber, Max 40
Winks, Robin 30
Woodsworth, J.S. 8, 127–34, 135–6, 146, 151, 160, 161, 187, 190–1, 235n8

xenophobia 59

Zizek, Slavoj 9, 33, 44, 206, 219