Identity and Citizenship After September 11th, 2001*

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I

I begin tonight with another's words—the words of someone who was stripped of her citizenship, and then her humanity, her home, and even, ultimately, her name. Who spent the last years of her life in hiding, and then in captivity. Who, because of her age and her gender, never voted. Who, because of her ethnicity and her faith, was put to death. She wrote, "How wonderful it is that nobody needs to wait a single moment before starting to improve the world."[1]

And how fortunate for every human being who will ever be inspired by her that Anne Frank did *not* wait. She chose to make a neighbour's attic home. She chose to be fully human, vulnerabilities and all, as is so apparent in her writing. In spite of oppression, persecution, the imminent threat of death and the atrocity of genocide, she chose to live, fully, in all the time that she had. She embodied a kind of citizenship that no institution can confer, and no terror can take away.

[1] Learning to Give, quotes on citizenship, online: http://www.learningtogive.org/search/quotes/Display_Quotes.asp?subject_id=48&search_type=subject ; accessed Friday, March 7, 2008

Dans le cadre de cette invitation, on m'a demandé de dire à quoi peut bien ressembler la citoyenneté dans le monde post-11 septembre ; ce qu'elle pourrait être ; et ce qu'elle devrait être. Devant l'intensification du volet de la sécurité qui continue d'ébranler les droits de la personne et la démocratie partout dans le monde, les courants dominants au sujet de la citoyenneté se sont fait clairement entendre et ont été surveillés de près au lendemain du 11 septembre. S'il fallait retirer quelque chose de bon de cette horrible journée, ce serait la possibilité d'avoir à choisir à nouveau ce que nous sommes – dans tous les sens de la question – et ce que nous voulons être.

What I want to focus on is the notion of identity as it relates to citizenship and how I think it can enlarge our concept of citizenship, particularly the so-called "global citizenship" we are promoting at universities around the world; I want to examine some of the results of our willingness to trade the power and responsibility of active citizenship for the false promises of absolute protection in the aftermath of September 11th; and I want to address a certain complacency I perceive around the Canadian "identity" and Canadian multiculturalism, and ask how we might set our sights higher in this country, beyond tolerance, to an acknowledgement of our deep diversity and a commitment to

fostering a genuine sense of belonging in all peoples—all races, faiths, political stripes and orientations; all self-determining communities; first peoples and the newly arrived; the old, and the very young.

Kofi Annan said, "No one is born a good citizen; no nation is born a democracy. Rather, both are processes that continue to evolve over a lifetime. Young people must be included from birth. A society that cuts off from its youth severs its lifeline."[2] It is no accident that I opened tonight with the words of a teenager. It's in our teenage years that we grapple most intensely with the questions, Who am I? What might I be? What shall I become?

En tenant compte de mes différentes identités à titre de professeur, de parent et de président d'université ; en m'entretenant avec vous aujourd'hui, et en songeant au chemin que nous sommes appelés à parcourir ensemble au cours des prochains jours, j'aimerais avancer ce que nous faisons réellement ici, c'est tenter d'apporter des réponses viables, sincères et même empreintes de noblesse à ces questions, de les apporter aux enfants que nous élevons et

[2] ThinkExist.com, Kofi Annan quotes, online: http://thinkexist.com/quotation/no_one_is_born_a_good_citizen-no_nation_is_born_a/151778.html ; accessed Friday, March 7, 2008.

éduquons dans ce monde terrorisé, militarisé et sécurisé – *et* d'écouter les réponses qu'ils ont à nous faire.

II

I … am … Canadian …. I say that neither as a political statement nor a statement of identity. It's a tagline for a beer commercial. Or, as the branding experts would have us say in Vancouver these days—regardless of our standings in the League—We are all Canucks. Citizenship as brand. A distinctly neo-liberal concept, no? Imperial globalization, identity as material success and an enduring mistrust of deep diversity are the major challenges facing the concept of citizenship, both nationally and globally, and these issues long predate the events of September 11th.

In James Tully's definition of 'modern citizenship,' "[t]he constitutional rule of law is the first condition of citizenship" and "a person has the status of citizenship in virtue of being subject to civil law in two senses: to an established and enforced system of law, and to the 'civilizing,' 'pacifying' or 'socializing' force of the rule of law on the subjectivity of those who are constrained to obey over time."[3] In short, citizenship as legal status.

[3] Tully, at 4.

Jane Jenson explains that, at a minimum, "citizenship defines the population to whom the state owes protection and persons who owe the state loyalty."[4] So, citizenship as relative, and transactional. She adds a third factor to her definition, saying that citizenship can also be described as "the institutionalization of a set of practices by which states use public power to shape and regulate markets and communities."[5] Citizenship as formalized interaction.

Bien que James Tully reconnaisse que la citoyenneté est une « notion politique complexe qui a une histoire »[6] et que notre[7] façon de concevoir la citoyenneté a évolué et qu'on lui reconnaît maintenant une dimension sociale[8], psychologique[9], morale, voire spirituelle[10], la citoyenneté – *en pratique* – demeure embourbée dans les limites de son cadre juridique. Et, comme nous en discuterons plus tard, aussi longtemps que nous regarderons la citoyenneté par le petit bout institutionnel, transactionnel et statutaire de la lorgnette, celle-ci demeurera conditionnelle, à la

[4] Jenson, "Fated to Live in Interesting Times," at 628.
[5] Ibid, at 628.
[6] Tully, at 2.
[7] Those of us who are engaged professionally in examining questions of citizenship.
[8] Tully, at 18.
[9] Carens, at 162.
[10] Tully, at 29. Tully's fourth 'diverse citizenship' practice is the grounding of the previous three in 'experiments with truth' – a spiritual relationship to oneself in one's relationship with others and the environing world.

merci des caprices de gouvernements qui sont conditionnellement démocratiques, et à la merci de la peur.

It is these "institutional preconditions and forms of subjectivity" of citizenship that the world's great powers have exported to the rest of the world, with varying degrees of success, first through colonialism and then through economic hegemony.[11] "As a result of the globalization of modern citizenship and its underlying institutions," Tully says, "the majority of the world's population of the dispossessed are … 'free' to exercise their modern civil liberty in the growing sweatshops and slums of the planet."[12]

American president George W. Bush said in an address to the Iraqi people: "The goals of our coalition are clear and limited. We will end a brutal regime, whose aggression and weapons of mass destruction make it a unique threat to the world. Coalition forces will help maintain law and order, so that Iraqis can live in security. We will respect your great religious traditions, whose principles of equality and compassion are essential to Iraq's future. We will help you build a peaceful and representative government that protects

[11] Tully, at 10.
[12] Ibid, at 17. See United Nations statistics from 2000 in Jeremy Seabrook's *The No Nonsense Guide to World Poverty* (2003), 52-3.

the rights of all citizens. And then our military forces will leave."[13] That was April 10, 2003.

What occurs to me is that for those—presidents and citizens alike—who tie their sense of security, entitlement and belonging to institutions, including that of divine favour, a conditional conception of citizenship is the only one that is possible. What is necessary, then, if the concept is to evolve, is to locate a sense of safety, rights and belonging elsewhere.

Mention of the current American president led me to ponder the subject of presidential hopefuls, which led me to the question of identity.

III

At the risk of repeating myself, I … am … Canadian… de Québec. As a white Anglo-Saxon male raised in Eastern North America, I have experienced few occasions where my identity was clearly at issue. I do remember one challenging moment, however. I was in my first year at Harvard as an undergraduate—a teenager, in other

[13] American Rhetoric Online Speech Bank, George W. Bush and Tony Blair, Address to the Peoples of Iraq, online: http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/wariniraq/gwbushiraq41003.htm ; accessed March 13, 2008.

words—and the Parti-Québécois was elected for the first time in my home. I remember walking around Harvard Yard that cool night and wondering if my assumptions about, and aspirations for, my future would be possible to fulfill. Would the country that I had known be changed utterly? Could I fit into my newly politicized "home?" Would I belong? *Est-ce-que nous nous comprendrions, mon pays et moi?* I was a typical Anglo product of the West Island of Montreal, with appalling high school French, *avoir* and *être* again and again and George Simenon's *Chien Jaune* thrown in. Let me tell you, that night, I redoubled my commitment to my French language skills, a commitment I kept throughout my university years.

Plusieurs années plus tard, je me demande encore si le Canada – et les Canadiens – sont réellement en mesure de relever les défis auxquels nous faisons face. S'ils sont même désireux de relever ces défis. Ou si nous pensons que c'est déjà fait. Je remarque la présence d'un sentiment de relâchement et presque de suffisance comme si nous avions dit notre dernier mot au sujet de la démocratie et du bilinguisme et du multiculturalisme. Je remarque la présence d'un sentiment de confort né d'un sentiment de certitude qui lui-même prend racine dans une tentative d'assourdir, d'aplanir et même de faire disparaître la véritable et profonde

diversité de ce pays. Je crains parfois que le sentiment profond que j'éprouve en tant que Canadien ne soit, en somme, qu'un sentiment de certitude, que rien d'autre ne peut être fait, qu'on peut se reposer sur nos lauriers.

Michael Walzer envisions a model for citizenship that attaches "a greater value to political possibility, and the activism it breeds, than to the certainty of political success. Certainty," he says, "is always a fantasy."[14]

Someone who has eschewed the certainty of political success in exchange for possibility is U.S. Presidential candidate Barack Obama. He has faced down more than one "identity crisis" in the past, and his opponents are looking to make identity the issue by which he is defeated. They've chosen their target well, because his fluid, overlapping identities are a big part of what has gotten him this far.

Who is Barack Obama? That's the question we're going to hear as the Clinton campaign and the Republican party mobilize their resources in attempts to defeat their popular opponent. "He's not

[14] Walzer, at 51.

who he says he is," is their underlying message.[15] He does in fact have a complex racial and personal heritage; born in America, he never knew his Kenyan father, grew up with his mother in Indonesia and with his white grandparents in multiracial Hawaii, and grappled with his African-American identity. Geraldine Ferrero accused him of having an unfair advantage in the primary race because he is black,[16] and he has also had to refute rumours that he is Muslim—polls show 45 per cent of Americans would be less likely to vote for a candidate if they knew he or she was Muslim—but he has had to do so without implying to Muslim American citizens that the assertions are inherently objectionable.[17] He seems comfortable with these complexities, and therefore comfortable negotiating the multiplicities of human identity that characterize American society.[18]

It has been said that "in Barack Obama, [the] biracial son of an immigrant, millions see themselves."[19] I would argue that as

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[15] Skelton, at A4-5.
[16] Alberts, Sheldon, "Clinton Fundraiser Ferraro Resigns Amid 'Racist' Allegations" *The Vancouver Sun* (13 March 2008) online: http://www.canada.com/vancouversun/news/story.html?id=30d3dd52-94bc-40a6-a3ab-f3122f15a296 accessed March 19, 2008.
[17] Skelton, at A4-5. Note: these so-far unidentified rumours have been spread via the Internet; this is an instance of the power of the Internet possibly working against Obama.
[18] Fellman, Michael, "It's President Obama," *The Tyee* (21 February 2008), online: http://thetyee.ca/Views/2008/02/21/PrezObama/?utm_source=mondayheadlines&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=250208 accessed February 25, 2008.
[19] Robinson, at 30-31.

powerful as his messages of hope and change in drawing supporters is his fluid identity, this "liminality," as he calls it. Liminality is from the Latin, meaning "threshold," and refers to a period of transition where normal limits on thought, self-understanding and behaviour are relaxed, allowing for new perspectives.[20] It is the state of the new immigrant, the state of the dual citizen, of the child of a mixed-race couple, of the minority striving to belong. It is the state of the artist immersed in creation, the scientist in experimentation, the researcher in exploration. It is perpetually the state of the teenager. And it is the domain of that threshold world we call the Internet.

On the Internet, Jane Jenson's "country of communities"[21] is already an uncontested reality. From chat rooms to discussion forums, from MySpace to Facebook, Internet users are in many places at once, presenting and identifying themselves in whatever way—or ways—they choose. On a site called Second Life, users create avatars, or second selves, animated characters that they can design to look just like them—or not. To act and interact with others' avatars just as they might in "real" life—or not. They are, in effect, citizens of an alternate reality. There are no borders on

[20] "Liminality," online: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liminality accessed February 25, 2008.
[21] Jenson, "Fated to Live in Interesting Times," at 640.

the Internet, and so you may find yourself in a community that is actually deeply transnational. On the other hand, you might not even be aware of that, and if you were, it probably wouldn't be relevant. Online communities are built on foundations of common interests, shared histories, need for information, desire for connection over isolation,[22] and even—or perhaps especially—a desire to disagree in a safe environment.[23] Your identity and the communities you identify *with* have nothing to do with actual place. Michael Walzer's "set of alternative centers and increasingly dense web of social ties that cross state boundaries"[24] takes on another level of meaning in the online context.

For those of us who may remain skeptical of the Internet's influence in enlarging our understanding of identity, or of its relevance to a discussion of citizenship, I have some stories and statistics:

The man who invented the term "cyberspace," Vancouver-based, bestselling novelist William Gibson, launched his latest

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[22] Referring to Webber, "The Hobbesian Premise," at 9. "Acquiescing [to society's precepts] is tantamount to choosing the benefits of society over the hazards of isolation. The commitment to live in society comes first; and that brings,in its train, the need to accept that the society's precepts will not be precisely those one might wish."
[23] Referring to Webber, "The Hobbesian Premise," at 5. "My principal focus is on the possibility of community in the face of deep normative disagreements."
[24] Walzer, at 52.

technological thriller, *Spook Country*, on the Second Life website, facilitated by UBC's Great Northern Way Campus. All guests attended online. Gibson's avatar conducted the reading, to wild applause … which was typed.[25]

The social networking site known as Facebook has over 300 million registered members—or seven times the population of Canada.[26]

Muslim novelist Rajaa Alsanea, whose book *Girls of Riyadh* was initially banned in her home country of Saudi Arabia, and where recent distribution has caused an uproar, says, "The virtual world of the Internet provided my generation with a perspective on the world that the old generation lacks, especially for women."[27]

Will.i.am of The Black Eyed Peas made a music video set to Barack Obama's campaign speech entitled "Yes We Can" and posted it on YouTube, the Internet video site.[28] The dissemination

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[25] Parsons, Michael, "William Gibson Brings Spook Country to Second Life," Times Online (3 August 2007) online: http://technology.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/tech_and_web/gadgets_and_gaming/virtual_worlds/article2192614.ece?openComment=true ; accessed March 13, 2008.
[26] Twenty-two percent of Canadians are registered members as of March 2008.
[27] Larenaudie, at 53.
[28] YouTube.com, "Yes We Can—Barack Obama Music Video," online: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jjXyqcx-

of that video is credited in part with the record turnout of youth voters in the US primaries,[29] and it is evident that for the first time in history, the Internet will play an influential role in a US Presidential Election.[30]

Je tiens à préciser une chose : je ne suis pas en train de suggérer de remplacer la citoyenneté avec un grand « C » par la cybercitoyenneté. Mais je *suis* en train de dire que voici un lieu où certains des idéaux démocratiques et des notions d'identité fluides auxquels, selon nos dires, nous aspirons, sont mis en pratique tous les jours, sans que quiconque en soit nécessairement conscient, par des gens qui viennent du monde entier – et particulièrement des jeunes. Voici un lieu où nous pouvons « essayer » un grand choix de réponses à des questions comme « Qui suis-je ? », « Que pourrais-je devenir ?, « Que vais-je devenir ? Il y a, bien sûr, une foule de problèmes – un accès qui est loin d'être universel, des violations de la sécurité, des vols d'identité, des fraudes, de l'intimidation, des réseaux de jeux et de pornographie, ainsi que

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mYY&eurl=http://google.blognewschannel.com/archives/2008/02/04/youtube-hit-barack-obama-yes-we-can-music-video/ accessed March 13, 2008.

[29] VOANews.com, "Youth Vote Growing in US Presidential Contests, online: http://www.voanews.com/english/archive/2008-02/2008-02-07-voa25.cfm?CFID=282973114&CFTOKEN=52219962 ; accessed March 13, 2008; "The Millennial Generation—Americans 30 and younger—is a growing force in U.S. politics. Political researchers say millennials of voting age now number nearly 50 million, close to a quarter of the electorate. By 2015, they will make up one-third. Conventional wisdom is that young people do not vote, but that trend is changing."

[30] It has been noted above that the Internet's influence may be both positive and negative.

l'isolement social – mais certainement pas davantage que dans la « vraie » vie.

A year before September 11th, 2001, Joseph Carens was already writing about "multiple forms of belonging and overlapping citizenships" and differentiating between social, psychological and legal citizenship. He noted that there was already an increasing multiplicity in citizenship even in legal conceptions, and that fears about problems such as taxation or applicability of legal rules proved to be largely unfounded.[31]

We *understand* identity, because we know ourselves to be complex beings with myriad aspects to our nature; to have the ability to hold in mind two opposing viewpoints at the same time; to be able to be fiercely loyal to our home country while possessed of an undying love for the country we left behind. Until now, we have slotted governments' restrictive, conditional definitions of citizenship within our understanding of our identity, the smaller concept finding a place somewhere within the larger. What I am suggesting is that we are being asked now to use our ever-expanding understanding of identity to enlarge our notions of citizenship, so

[31] Carens, at 162-163.

that the dynamic between the two may become one of interplay and interdependence.

As a window on identity- and community-building practices around the world, many of which still fall below the political radar, and as a forum in which to engage in or just observe some of these practices freely within and across borders, the Internet—and the exponential growth of social networking since September 11th—are tools from which we can learn.

And we need to use all the tools at our disposal. As we who work with and study these issues have acknowledged, the events of September 11th and their political aftermath have brought questions of citizenship, multiculturalism, minority rights and human rights generally to a crossroads, and what hangs in the balance may be nothing less than democracy itself.

IV

I happened to be in New York on September 11th, 2001, and I witnessed the sickening events unfold from a 49th-floor office in midtown Manhattan. I also witnessed first hand the response that asked for safety at any cost: 'Make me safe. Make my loved ones safe. Get me home.'

I preside over a university that was placed under security lockdown twice in the early part of this year. And so I understand the impulse to protect, the motivation to identify a target, and quickly, the desire to see everyone—all 50,000 of them—home safe.

When we are afraid, it is easy to mistake security for peace. But in the security culture we have constructed worldwide since September 11th, I think we have ample evidence that security is not, and cannot lead us to, peace. We would do better to call our Security Culture by a more accurate name; it is a Culture of Want and Fear.

Despite the power human rights has exercised in advancing international law and politics, particularly since the end of the Cold War, it has failed to deliver on at least two of President Roosevelt's famous four freedoms: millions of innocents continue to starve, so, despite progress in some parts of the world, the freedom from *want* has not been promoted effectively enough. Similarly, the scourge of AIDS, tyrannical (or as often) failed government and organized brutality subject innocents to a *fear* that undermines many other human rights gains. Since September 11th, all around the world, states have crafted laws nominally designed

both to protect citizens and advance the so-called "war on terror."[32] The West's response has been predictably regrettable: throw money at the security apparatus and round up the usual suspects.[33] The effect has been to exacerbate want and fear. Kim Scheppelle describes the UN Security Council resolutions following September 11th as the "second wave of international law,"[34] where international securitization demands override individual governments' decision making on human rights concerns and threaten to erode the gains made since the "first wave," post World War II.

Further, in much of the developing world, repressive regimes have used anti-terror rhetoric as a cover for a frontal assault on opposition forces or on peoples claiming a right of self-determination. And all the while, the West watches idly as new-found allies in the war against terror engage with impunity in systematic human rights abuses.[35]

An egregious example is in Russia, where President Putin cynically exploited Russia's membership in the coalition against terror to use scorched-earth policies in what was essentially a

[32] Toope, "Fallout from 9-11," at 285.
[33] Ibid, at 284.
[34] Scheppele, 2007.
[35] Toope, "Fallout from 9-11," at 282, 283, 286, 287.

domestic separatist conflict in Chechnya. Washington obliged by muting its criticism.[36] The West has also turned a blind eye to China's repression in the heavily Muslim Xinjiang region, where Beijing tendentiously claims linkages between Islamic militants and al Qaeda.[37] Egypt; Sudan; Tajikistan; Uzbekistan; Zimbabwe; Israel, the Palestinian Authority: the pattern repeats.

Another form the Security Culture has taken in western and European states is a demand for homogeneity in the name of national unity. Several countries, including the U.S., Australia, England and Germany have recently introduced compulsory hundred-question "citizenship exams" for immigrants, who are increasingly expected to sign on to shared values and commit to civic integration before being granted citizenship.[38] In Europe, the greatest concern is over Muslim immigrants who, in countries such as France, Spain, Italy and the Netherlands, comprise 80% of non-European immigrants and appear to be the greatest beneficiaries of European multicultural policies.[39] A particularly bizarre example

[36] Toope, "Fallout from 9-11," at 288.
[37] Ignatieff, in Toope, "Fallout from 9-11," at 288.
[38] For news on the British test, see: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/politics/4391710.stm ; the Australian test: http://www.smh.com/au/news/national/new-citizens-face-test-on-200-questions/2006/12/11/1165685615942.html ; the American test: http://www.nytimes.com/2007/09/28/washington/28citizen.html ; the German test: http://www.nytimes.com/2006/03/29/international/europe/29letter1.html?pagewanted=all
[39] Kymlicka, at 124.

of this loyalty test trend is the Netherlands' version, which requires would-be citizens to watch a film that includes scenes of two men kissing, and topless woman walking on a beach, to test their readiness for participation in Dutch liberal culture.[40] It is worth noting that these tests of loyalty and commitment are never applied to people who are born to a place, by accident as it were, but only to those who choose to live in a place, deliberately and consciously. Do we seriously believe that every native born Dutch citizen is completely at ease with publicly expressed homosexuality? Just ask members of the hard right or some Dutch Christian evangelicals.

The Security Culture's effectiveness is grounded in the assumption that want and fear are basic to the human condition.[41] It divides the world into forces of good and evil and dehumanizes the enemy. Thus it precludes on the part of the "good" any critical assessment of the policy choices that perpetuate "horrendous inequalities of life-situations" between rich and poor both in the North and in the South, and entrenches a dangerous level of frustration and despair.[42] A focus on external threats, real or perceived, distracts

[40] Richard Bernstein, "A Quiz for Would-Be Citizens Tests Germans' Attitudes," New York Times, March 29, 2006, online: http://www.nytimes.com/2006/03/29/international/europe/29letter1.html?pagewanted=all
[41] Young, "The Logic of Masculinist Protection," at 7 (paraphrased).
[42] Tully, at 12.

states from attending to the growing contradictions between the western world's promises and its outcomes. The push to bring "freedom and democracy" to oppressed people through militarization ignores these same people's need for social, economic and cultural rights. And a focus on "civic integration" for new citizens ignores the need for support and resources required to avoid the deep divisions and despair engendered by being stuck in a permanent under-class.

The imposition of a Security Culture is not wholly a top-down decision, however, but the result of a tacit agreement between governors and governed. The transaction, as stated by Iris Marion Young, is this: "Forgo freedom, due process, and the right to hold leaders accountable, and in return we will make sure that you are safe."[43] Young asks "how citizens and their representatives in a democracy can allow such rapid challenge to their political principles and institutions with so little discussion and protest," and offers a two-part answer:

First, most of us who are willing to trade certain rights for improved security generally believe that our own rights and freedoms will not actually be threatened. In effect, though, as one

[43] Young, "The Logic of Masculinist Protection," at 13.

of my Sudanese doctoral students told me: in saying they are willing to trade rights for security, most people think they are trading *his* rights for *their* security!

The second, and perhaps deeper, explanation, is the "mobilization of fear."[44] Young cites John Keane[45] on the subject; he says: "'Fear is indeed a thief. It robs subjects of their capacity to act with or against others. It leaves them shaken, sometimes permanently traumatized. And when large numbers fall under the dark clouds of fear, no sun shines on civil society... Fear eats the soul of democracy.'"

La culture de sécurité se sert de la peur pour élever le protecteur au rang d'autorité supérieure et rétrograder les citoyens reconnaissants à un niveau de dépendance.[46] Il ne s'agit plus d'une dynamique qui met en présence une personne qui gouverne et un citoyen, mais plutôt un État et son sujet. De la façon dont James Tully perçoit la citoyenneté dans une démocratie, le « bon citoyen » est tout le contraire du sujet silencieux soumis à un État de sécurité. Il soutient que c'est justement en contestant et en

[44] Young, "The Logic Masculinist Protection," at 13.
[45] Keane, at 235.
[46] Young, "The Logic of Masculinist Protection," at 13.

résistant que les sujets deviennent de bons citoyens et que, forcés d'écouter, les dirigeants apprennent à bien gouverner.[47]

V

It's comforting to view travesties of democracy at arm's length, to castigate other states for their apparent failures, while we hold, rather smugly, to the grail of Canadian multiculturalism. After all, as Will Kymlicka points out, multiculturalism's advances have been significant: we have navigated bilingualism with some success (though less than some believe) and grappled peacefully with the question of Québec as a distinct society or nation; multiculturalism has shone a light on "the plights of minorities around the world and helped legitimize their claims-making and political mobilization;" it has "made space for ethnic and other minorities [here at home] to peacefully and democratically voice their concerns and aspirations;" and "encouraged minority groups to formulate their claims within the framework of human rights norms."[48] But Canadian multiculturalism has demonstrated itself to be a movable concept in the wake of September 11th, as much subject to the mobilization of fear as the country's policies toward minorities have proven in the past.

[47] Tully, at 3.
[48] Kymlicka, at 315.

A year after September 11th, two immigration detention centres in Montreal, normally half-occupied, were filled to bursting, mostly with people who fit specific ethnic and religious profiles. One of my former students at McGill, a Sikh, was twice singled out for full-body searches at Canadian airports, when no "white" passengers were searched. Maher Arar, a dual Syrian-Canadian citizen since 1991, was visiting relatives in Tunisia in 2002 when he was detained in New York, held on suspicions of terrorism, and then deported to Syria where he was held and tortured for 13 months. Upon his release, he issued a statement in which he said, "I want to know why this happened to me ….What is at stake here is the future of our country, the interests of Canadian citizens, and most importantly Canada's international reputation for being a leader in human rights where citizens from different ethnic groups are treated no different than other Canadians."[49] I was the independent fact-finder appointed by the Maher Arar inquiry, and I remain both honoured by the role the inquiry played in Mr. Arar's rehabilitation and deeply saddened that such a thing could happen at all.

[49] MaherArar.ca, "Maher's Story," online: http://www.maherarar.ca/mahers%20story.php accessed March 11, 2008.

I am saddened, too, to realize that these repressive and indiscriminate actions fall into a distressing but long tradition in Canada, as in the rest of North America. The incarceration of Japanese citizens during the Second World War is a blot on our human rights record. The hasty invocation of the War Measures Act during the October Crisis of 1970 demonstrates again the understandable, but nonetheless dangerous, tendency to sacrifice human rights and civil liberties when confronted with terrorist violence.[50] And for Aboriginal people, Canada has almost always been a Security Culture. Church and state attempts to "civilize" and "assimilate" them were in fact a systematic eradication of their languages, cultures and community rendered through the Indian Residential Schools.

Il n'est toutefois pas inévitable que la sécurité triomphe sur les droits de la personne. De fait, on a pu voir des signes positifs de résistance au phénomène de sécurisation post-11 septembre. Tout récemment, plus précisément en février dernier, conformément à une décision de la Cour suprême, le gouvernement canadien a désigné des avocats à titre de « défenseurs spéciaux » afin de témoigner contre les preuves secrètes déposés dans des causes incriminant des immigrants soupçonnés de terrorisme. Il faut

[50] Toope, "Fallout from 9-11," at 285.

attendre que cette loi fasse ses preuves, mais le fait qu'elle existe oblige au moins à une certaine pondération. Une nouvelle loi interdit en outre de se servir des preuves qui sont extirpées sous l'effet de la torture dans les prisons étrangères.[51]

Je persiste à dire que les droits de la personne font partie intégrante du système de valeurs du Canada, que nous croyons collectivement en la valeur intrinsèque de l'être humain… que l'être humain est doté d'une dignité – quelle que soit son origine, laïque ou divine – qu'il faut faire respecter aussi longtemps que nous voudrons nous percevoir comme une société civilisée.

Canadian multiculturalism is one outward expression of that belief, and the trend toward liberal multiculturalism internationally, according to Will Kymlicka, is "a new stage in the gradual working out of the logic of human rights, and in particular the logic of the idea of the inherent equality of human beings, both as individuals and as peoples."[52] Going beyond the protection of basic civil and political rights, multiculturalism "extend[s] some level of

[51] Freeze, Colin and El Akkad, Omar, "New Security Certificates Issued" and "Legislation Bans Use of Evidence Tied to Torture" in *The Globe and Mail* (22 February 2008) online: http://www.theglobeandmail.com/servlet/Page/document/v5/templates/hub?hub=Search&searchType=Advanced&searchText=law&searchDateType=searchDateRange&searchDatePreset=all&from_date=20080222&to_date=20080222&sortType=first&start_row=11&start_row_offset1=0&num_rows= accessed February 23,2008.

[52] Kymlicka, at 88.

public recognition and support for ethnocultural minorities to maintain and express their distinct identities and practices."[53] But Kymlicka fears we've reached a "critical point" in multiculturalism's evolution, and that we must "move beyond platitudes about the value of 'diversity' and 'tolerance'" to address hard questions about how liberal multiculturalism relates to issues of democratization, human rights, development and regional security.[54] He argues that acceptance and adoption of multiculturalism in new democracies, and ongoing public support for it here in Canada, depend on feelings of both individual and collective safety, and that when these feelings are eroded, multiculturalism will face—and *is* facing now—backlash and retreat.[55]

He is quick to say, however, that:

> opposition to liberal multiculturalism is not solely the result of prejudice, ignorance or xenophobia. The reality is that [it] has costs and imposes risks, and these costs vary enormously both within and across societies. Multiculturalism not only challenges people's traditional understandings of their cultural and political identity, but

[53] Kymlicka, at 15.
[54] Ibid, at 23.
[55] Ibid, at 128.

> also has potential implications for processes of democratization, economic development, respect for human rights and even for geo-political security. Liberal multiculturalism, in some times and places, can be a high-risk choice.[56]

I must ask, though, whether Canada is really one of those places. Until September 11th, we had in place to greater and lesser degrees all five of the conditions Kymlicka identifies as providing the key foundations for liberal multiculturalism: (1) increasing rights consciousness; (2) demographic shifts in the majority-minorities balance; (3) multiple access points for safe political mobilization; (4) de-securitization of ethnic relations; and (5) consensus on human rights. Was our hold on those foundations so flimsy that our 20-year history with the Multiculturalism Act could be set aside after September 11th with relative political ease? Have we become so risk-averse a society that we are willing to forego the ideals enshrined in our Multiculturalism Act and Charter of Rights and Freedoms for the false promises of guaranteed safety?

Kymlicka, like many others, claims that we are at a crisis point in the history of multiculturalism, human rights and democracy itself.

[56] Kymlicka, at 20.

When a country as stable as Canada can set the rights of its citizens aside in the name of a dubious security, I admit it's tempting to agree with him. There is a Chinese proverb that says, "A crisis is an opportunity riding the dangerous wind." The danger is real; I think we've proven that to ourselves. And so we must remember now that the opportunity is no less real. This is a time for choice. An opportunity to choose anew—as individuals, as communities, and as nations—who we are, what we could be, what we most wish to be. I am placing my faith in the global citizen.

VI

Où que j'aille aujourd'hui sur la planète, toutes les grandes universités prétendent former des « citoyens du monde ». C'est ce que l'on fait à l'université de la Colombie-Britannique. C'est inscrit dans l'énoncé de notre vision. Mais j'avoue avoir été déconcerté lorsque j'ai entendu parler de cet objectif pour la première fois. J'ai tout de suite associé, dans mon esprit, l'expression « citoyenneté du monde » au phénomène de mondialisation et à tout le discours qui l'entoure. Il ne s'agit tout de même pas seulement de trouver un emploi excitant à Hong Kong, Londres ou à New York; de développer le commerce international du Canada ; de recoloniser la planète à l'aide de

« citoyens du monde » qui ne sont que des agents de domination économique ?

Il était important à mes yeux de « libérer » la notion de « citoyenneté du monde » du discours de la mondialisation. La citoyenneté du monde doit être animée par autre chose que le désir de faire des profits ou la soif de pouvoir. Elle doit être soutenue par la reconnaissance que – en tant qu'êtres doués de moralité – nous sommes ici pour nous aider mutuellement. Et nous ne pouvons pas tourner le dos à ceux qui ont moins de chance que nous sans nous compromettre nous-mêmes d'une certaine manière notre propre humanité.

To be clear, I have not entirely lost my faith in the *institutions* of citizenship. In fact I believe institutional support for civil rights, and for social and economic rights, is necessary in order to make such rights meaningful. However, I think it is misconceived to focus our limited resources on the creation of more and more structures that are intended to enforce rights norms that are not inclusively supported by people around the world.

I think, too, that citizens feel disenchanted with, and disempowered by, naïve platitudes about "valuing diversity" and "respecting our

neighbours" and "shared values" put forward by governments and international organizations that equate sameness with safety. We are *not* "all the same" under our skin! We are actually deeply different. But difference doesn't preclude belonging, or loyalty, or safety. In fact, it may be in acknowledging our deep differences that we find we are finally comfortable enough to belong, respected enough to be loyal, visible enough to be safe.

In a phrase I love, Iris Marion Young calls this process "the being together of strangers." She warns that the result of maintaining the illusion of homogeneity is to reinforce existing and entrenched inequalities among differently situated groups.[57] Jeremy Webber argues for "a deliberately rudimentary theory of political legitimacy" that would allow for "the possibility of community in the face of deep normative disagreement."[58] He posits that people have good reasons—such as friendship, mutual assistance, conversation, love—for "choosing the benefits of society over the hazards of isolation;"[59] and, there will always be disagreement, in every community.

[57] Young, "Polity and Group Difference," at 257.
[58] Webber, at 5.
[59] Ibid, at 9.

But because people have good reasons for choosing to belong, they will acquiesce to some norms in the interest of the community being peaceful and just. Tariq Modood argues that governments may promote civic integration and combat an apparent democratic crisis of inertia, not by demanding that people "sign on to shared values", as with the new citizenship tests, but by implementing policies that affirm the values of interdependence and human sociability.[60]

James Tully and others have coined the term "glocal" to describe the sets of negotiated practices by which peoples all over the world are living out what Tully calls "diverse citizenship." "Diverse citizenship," he says, "is not a status given by the institutions of the modern constitutional state and international law, but by negotiated practices in which one becomes a citizen through participation."[61] The diverse tradition places human actors and activities before rights, rules, institutions and processes.[62] It eschews taking one institutionalized form of citizenship as the universal model but instead allows for "a multiplicity of criss-crossing and overlapping

[60] Modood, "Multicultural Citizenship," at 153.
[61] Tully, at 3.
[62] Ibid, at 18.

practices of citizenship."[63] Citizenship exists, not in institutions or political hierarchies, but in relationships.

Tully notes that one of the most astonishing examples of this form of citizenship is "the survival and resurgence of 300 million Indigenous peoples with their traditions of governance and citizenship after 500 years of genocide, dispossession, marginalization, and relentless assimilation."[64] But he also notes that in the modernized West, a vast repertoire of local citizenship practices have survived within the structures of conventional citizenship, such as "traditional working class organizations and countless new and creative forms of co-ops and networks linking rural and urban citizens in countless ways and around countless civic goods ...". Most hopefully, Tully says, "If all the millions of examples of civic and glocal citizenship practices could be taken in a single view … perhaps this would help to dissipate the sense of disempowerment and disenchantment the present crisis induces."[65] What it comes down to, he says, is "the daily practice of making oneself an exemplary citizen."[66]

[63] Ibid, at 19.
[64] Tully, at 25.
[65] Ibid, at 28.
[66] Ibid, at 29. Tully uses the example of Mahatma Gandhi as someone whose "ordinary civic and glocal life continues to move millions of people to begin to act."

Which brings me back to the global citizen. I decided, in the end, to ask some UBC students what it meant to *them*. And what they said was, “it means caring and acting.” I would add “learning” in between. Caring about our fellow citizens in Canada, and about the challenges faced by our fellows in all parts of the world. Learning how to analyze ways of effecting change, and then acting by making choices in our own lives that support respect for others and fairness in consumption of resources. Acting by working in solidarity with our neighbours, and by volunteering. Acting politically as well, through NGO campaigns, through political parties and through global initiatives for change.

Acting on the opportunity present in this post-September 11th crisis, and in every crisis. Acting, not in some imagined future when our governing institutions have eradicated fear for us, but in spite of fear. Acting as citizens. And acting *now*. And how wonderful that we don’t have to wait a single moment.

Merci beaucoup.

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