

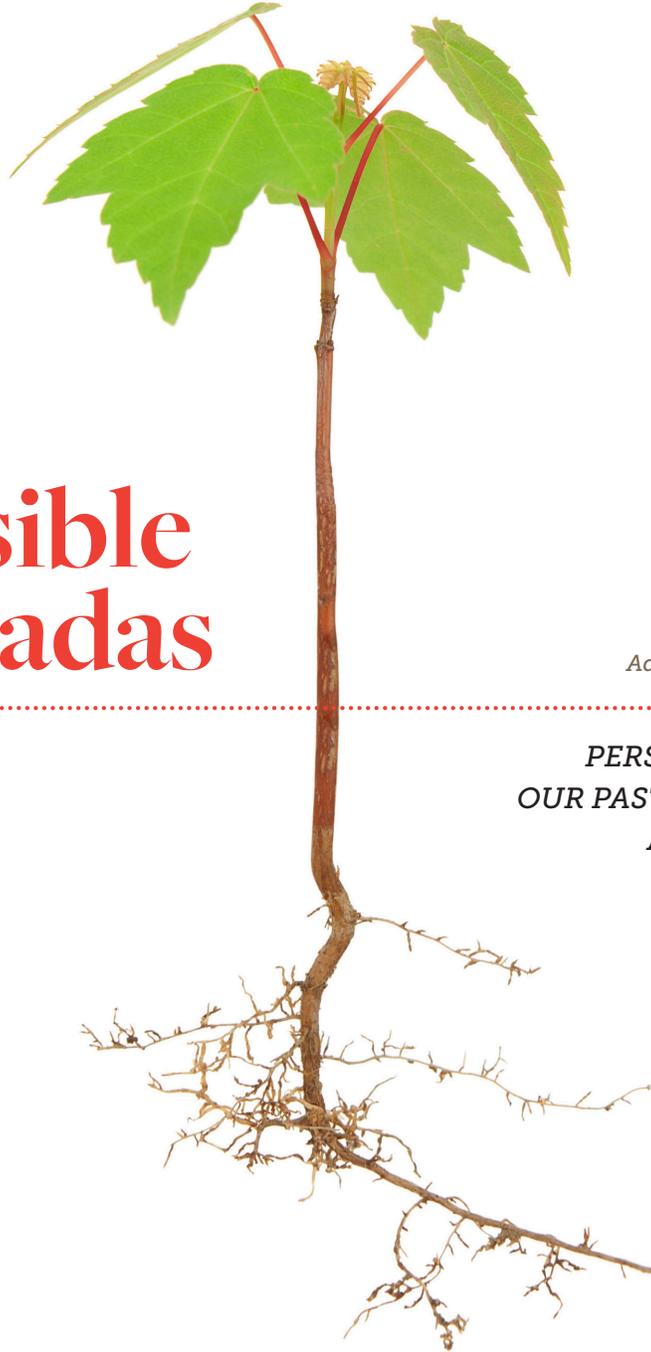
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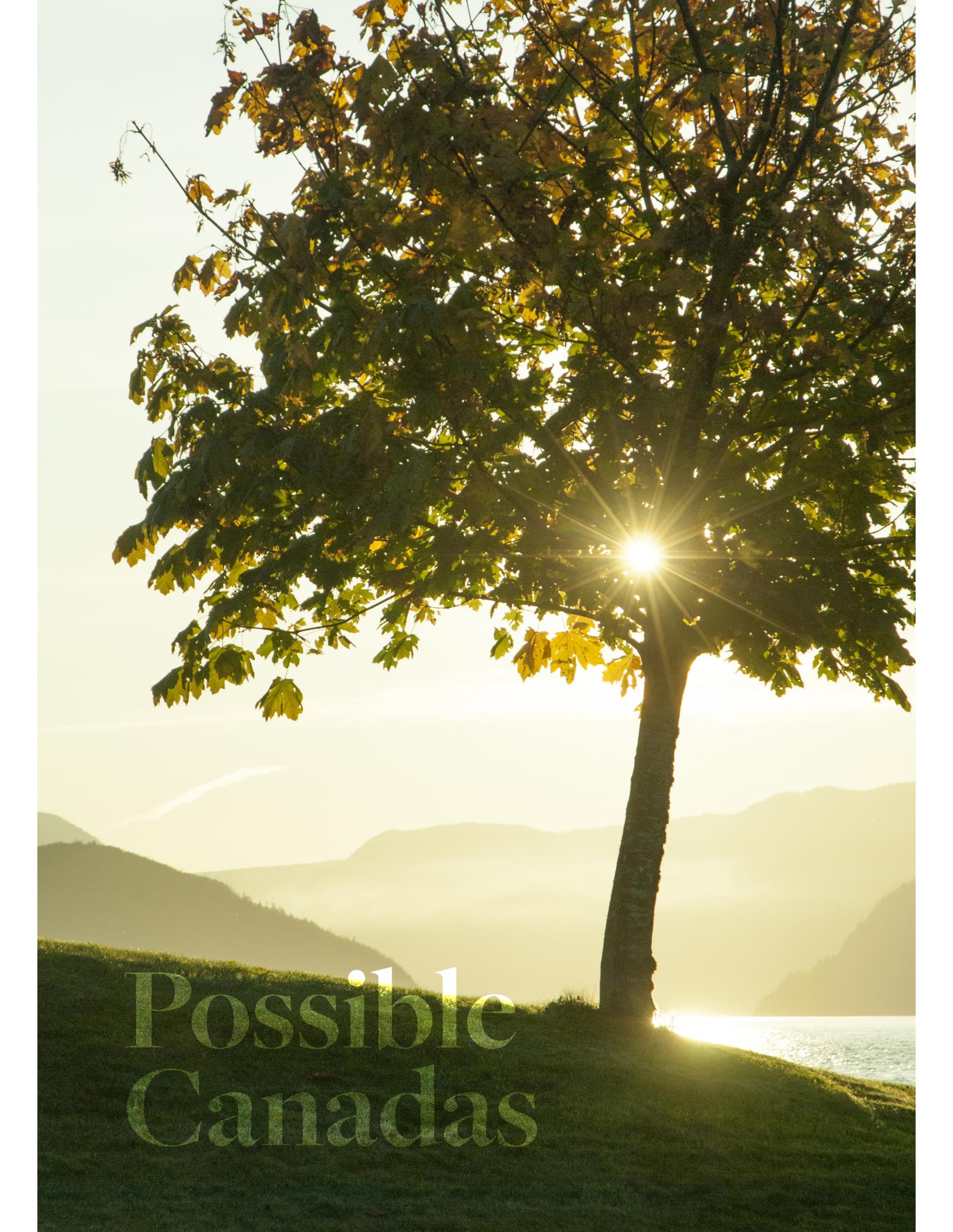
Possible Canadas

Adam Kahane, Editor

**PERSPECTIVES ON
OUR PASTS, PRESENTS,
AND FUTURES**

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Possible Canadas

“I love this one image
that I gather is a
traditional one in
the First Nations
worldview:

We all make up a circle. In the center of that circle is a tree, and everybody’s view of the tree is different. One person says, ‘There’s fruit that’s ripening.’ Another person says, ‘There’s a blight on the tree.’ A third person says, ‘There’s where it got struck by lightning.’ And it’s all of those things! If I’m not seeing the blight, I need the person who is to tell me so. I can’t operate without that intelligence or I’ll be going off half-cocked.”



- Michael Green
1957-2015

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How

By Stephen Huddart, President and CEO,
The J. W. McConnell Family Foundation



FOREWORD

to Build a Good *FUTURE*

The past divides us, but the future is a place where we can think and dream together. Possible Canadas has created a vehicle for those conversations, and Community Foundations of Canada is proud to be a part of it. — *Ian Bird, President, Community Foundations of Canada*

Maytree believes in basing its work on listening to the authentic voices of the community. Possible Canadas has opened up a conversation with Canadians from various communities, and holds the potential for attracting many voices creating interlacing narratives of our country in the years ahead. — *Alan Broadbent, Chair of Maytree*

It does not happen often that we take the time to think, reflect, and share our view of the future of Canada. This opportunity provided the space to take this challenge on and help build a strong, equal, and just Canada. — *Jean-Marc Chouinard, Vice-president, Strategy and Partnerships, Lucie et André Chagnon Foundation*

The Globe got involved in this project to provide leading thinkers a broad platform on which to articulate some of the challenges facing Canada in the decades ahead, and to give

What is Canada, and what might Canada become?

As we prepare to celebrate our nation's 150th anniversary in 2017, it is worth noting that this confederation is one of the world's great political collaborations. At the same time, to many Indigenous peoples, it has not been so collaborative and thus not so worthy of celebration. Canada was once a place of tribes, then a colony, and then a country. As a nation, Canada became known as a place talented at problem solving, future building, and open to immigration—in many ways a model for the world. Lately, we have also become a country that is confronting a suppressed part of our history and that is now working to reconcile Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples.

By 2017 there will be 38 million of us. On the threshold of this momentous anniversary, it falls to us all as Canadians to consider where we are today, how we got here, and where we are going. Governments and the private sector have valuable contributions to make. However,

they cannot take us into the future on their own. For that, we need the involvement of the community sector.

In proportion to the size of our economy, Canada's community sector is one of the largest in the world. We are committed to building a country that is more innovative, compassionate, inclusive, and sustainable. We seek justice and reconciliation. We are also a vital partner in advancing public discourse, raising inconvenient truths, and taking measured risks that illuminate improvements to the status quo.

As an expression of this commitment, The J.W. McConnell Family Foundation is pleased to be a founding partner in Possible Canadas, a project that is exploring the past, present, and future of the country. We have been joined in this effort by a coalition comprised of imagiNation 150, Community Foundations of Canada, the Rideau Hall Foundation, Mindset Social Innovation Foundation, the George Cedric Metcalf Foundation, Maytree, Tides Foundation Canada, and the Lucie and André Chagnon Foundation.

This project was led by Adam Kahane and his colleagues in the Canadian office of Reos Partners, an international social enterprise that helps people move forward together on their most important and intractable issues.

We want to thank the insightful Canadians who agreed to be interviewed for this initial—but by no means final—inquiry into what Canada could and should become. Their diverse, thoughtful and provocative views have kicked off the conversation. We also acknowledge the support of The Globe and Mail, which published a six-week series of excerpts from the interviews.

Our goal now is to stimulate continued dialogue among Canadians who care about the next 150 years of this extraordinary experiment we are fortunate enough to call home. We invite you to read, reflect on, and discuss the interviews; to visit the project website (www.possiblecanadas.ca); and to contribute your thoughts and energies to creating a good future for us all.

our audience an opportunity to advance the conversations inspired by Possible Canadas.
— *Gabe Gonda, Head of Features and Weekend, The Globe and Mail*

There seems to us a troubling gulf between the vigour, imagination and limitless potential of our country, and the truncated scope and ambition of our national conversation. Possible Canadas seeks to reignite a necessary and long overdue engagement in our collective future. — *Sandy Houston, President and CEO, Metcalf Foundation*

One of the joys of the journey to 2017—and a source of great hope—is the Possible Canadas partnership. At imagiNation 150 we are encouraging thoughtful and inclusive conversations about Canada's future to stimulate new relationships and actions to ensure a prosperous nation. The essays in this book will inspire Canadians to engage with each other from coast to coast. — *Colin Jackson, Chair, imagiNation 150*

We believe that everyone in Canada should have the opportunity to participate in determining our nation's current and future priorities. Possible Canadas demonstrates the rich insights that can come from engaging diverse perspectives, which we hope will spark further conversations and creative collaborations. — *Alison Lawton, Founder and Chair of Board, Mindset Social Innovation Foundation*

Tides Canada believes that Possible Canadas has the potential to reinvigorate a national conversation about the kind of Canada we want. These interviews provide a robust foundation to enable diverse Canadians to reflect on our country and the tremendous potential for our shared future. — *Ross McMillan, President and CEO, Tides Canada*

As we approach Canada's 150th birthday, Possible Canadas offers a thoughtful way to reflect on our past 100 years and the kind of Canada we might seek for the next 100 years. As a foundation for Canada, we believe there is extraordinary potential to catalyze and support collective leadership and action around areas of promise for our future.
— *Vinod Rajasekaran, Managing Director, Rideau Hall Foundation*



By Adam Kahane, Director, Reos Partners



INTRODUCTION

Plurality of CANADAS

Someone once told me that, for an individual, humility is the king of virtues. What is the king of virtues for a society—the virtue from which all other virtues and capacities stem? I wonder if the capacity for pluralism might be the source from which all others stem. — *Shariff*

Canada should renounce the idea of one interpretation or an official story. We need to keep alive a democratic and open discussion about how we see the past and the future. — *Brault*

I like the fact that we often don't know who we are, because there isn't an expectation in terms of needing to subscribe to certain things. This could be a weakness as well as a strength, depending on how we shape it. I've always seen this openness as my chance to be a part of our country's narrative. — *Merchant*

8/52

The year 2017, the 150th anniversary of the founding of Canada, offers Canadians an opportunity to reflect on where we have come from, where we are today, and where we could go.

To contribute to this reflection, we created a project called Possible Canadas. Our first activity was simple: to ask 50 people for their reflections on what it would take for Canadians to succeed in creating a good future. This book reports what we heard.

We wanted to hear from insightful Canadians with diverse experiences and perspectives, from across the country and from across civil society, business, and government. We asked around for suggestions as to whom we should interview, and ended up

having the 52 conversations with 56 people (one conversation was with 5 young activists) that form the basis for this volume.

Our objective for these interviews was to see Canada from each interviewee's perspective. We therefore asked open-ended questions intended to elicit what each person thought was most significant about the Canadian situation. We talked with each of them for between one and three hours (most of them in person, a few on the phone); transcribed a recording of the conversation; edited the transcript; and asked them to review and, if they wished, revise it. (We take responsibility for all final editorial decisions and errors.)

The result of this simple set of encounters surprised and touched us. Almost everyone we approached was interested in talking about Canada at 150. As we engaged in these conversations and then with the transcripts—respectfully, diligently, suspending our opinions and judgments—our appreciation for each interviewee, and for their unique and thoughtful views, kept growing. Moreover, our appreciation for our country and its challenges and possibilities also kept growing. This experience reaffirmed for us how powerfully empathetic dialogue can build insight, connection, and commitment.

IN THIS BOOK, THEN, 56 PEOPLE OFFER THEIR PERSPECTIVES ON CANADA. THE FIRST PART OF THE BOOK PRESENTS THESE PERSPECTIVES THROUGH EIGHT OVERLAPPING LENSES, AND THE SECOND PART THROUGH EXTENDED EXCERPTS FROM EACH CONVERSATION.

The resulting picture is not simple or straightforward: it is richly complex, in places contradictory, even confounding. To reach your own understanding of this picture, we suggest you read the text through slowly and several times. We offer only one, tentative conclusion of our own: that such intentional pluralism might be part of the best of what Canada is, and of what it would take for Canadians to succeed in creating a good future.

Questions We Asked:

- 1 *What is it about your personal story that has shaped what you do and the perspective you have?*
- 2 *When you look at the current situation in Canada, what catches your attention? What energizes you? What keeps you up at night?*
- 3 *If you could ask a clairvoyant about the future of Canada, what would you most want to know?*
- 4 *If things turned out badly in Canada over the next 20 years, what would have happened? What would the story have been?*
- 5 *If things turned out well in Canada over the next 20 years, what would have happened? What would the story have been?*
- 6 *What are important examples of situations when Canada has failed in addressing its challenges or in realizing its potential? In these examples, why did we fail?*
- 7 *What are important examples of situations when Canada has succeeded in addressing its challenges or in realizing its potential? In these examples, why did we succeed?*
- 8 *What are important lessons from the past?*
- 9 *What important upcoming decisions will Canada have to make? What are the upcoming forks in the road?*
- 10 *What is the legacy that you would like to leave? What do you want your epitaph to be?*

Part 1:

8 *LENSES*





What Energizes You About What Is Going On?

The determination of today's young people

Our young people. It's unfashionable to defend teenagers, but they give me hope. Young people are creative and subversive and tenacious and fearless. We can learn from them how to get angry instead of being complacent in the face of injustice. — *Wilson*

The places I find most inspiring are those where there are young people having conversations about what the future could look like. But we're not the ones with power. The political system—where formal decision-making power is held—seems like a barrier. That makes it easy to disengage. — *Possian*

Young people! I've spent my life working with young people, and **this is the most adventurous, clear-eyed, hard-nosed generation I've met.** They depend on themselves, are single-minded in their desire to get the best skills, have a global view, and are not risk averse. They have the capacity and the confidence to move out from under the big, cumbersome institutions. — *Stein*

As I travel across Canada, I hear a lot of Indigenous youth saying, “I am an activist” or “I want to go to law school, because I want to help our communities.” Because the 17 year olds are fighting for what they believe is right, our community is in great hands. In the Aboriginal community, our generation is what some consider the eighth fire, which is the generation that’s going to change everything. I get goose bumps when I think about it because I believe it. I can see the tides starting to shift.

— *Scrimshaw*

The creativity in our cities

I like what we’ve done in urban Canada. Despite the big challenges out there, we’ve been able to create urban environments that are pretty safe, interesting, and energetic. — *Gibbins*

I’m really glad I live in Toronto. This city is 50% non-White, and no one group is in the ascendancy. It is an incredible combustion of histories and politics. If there’s anything that stands a chance of blowing apart our terrible colonial history, it has to be this extraordinary mix of people together in one physical space. The people here won’t put up with oppression as easily as in other places. They’re not going to accept being left out. — *Razack*

Our municipalities are beacons of hope. In Montreal, we beat a 50-year-old record in terms of transit usage because we’ve invested in the transportation infrastructure. The green belt around Toronto is seen by many as a model in North America. Vancouver is probably one of the 10 best examples in the world of what needs to be done at the municipal level on sustainability. In each of these places, it’s not just about money, but also about a shift in mentality. People see this challenge as an opportunity to be better in what we do, to be more resilient, to be more efficient.

— *Guilbeault*

Over the past 20 years, every neighbourhood in Montreal has organized a multidisciplinary round table in which people from community organizations, local agencies, the city, the police, health providers, schools, and so on talk and work together. Before, only

agencies mobilized citizens, but now neighbourhoods themselves are the ones working on this mobilization.

— *Pereša*

We’re a very diverse nation and society. That contributes tremendously to our strength, and our ability to see things differently and create a different future. In Vancouver, 75% of young people 17 and under have a parent who’s not from this country. That brings a tremendous sense of renewal, energy, tolerance, and creativity for what’s possible. — *Vrooman*

We are a multicultural country that accepts and embraces people from all over the world. People come here for many different reasons, and that mixture of skill sets and viewpoints gives us huge opportunities. We have vibrant urban centres that continue to grow. When you bring people into close proximity and provide the right infrastructure, you can cause interactions that lead to new ideas and inventions. — *Rossant*

The way we are making diversity work

We’ve created a degree of political tranquillity in the country that in some ways is stifling but also has given us a great deal of internal comfort. In our national politics, we don’t tear people down. We’ve done reasonably well in knitting together a difficult country into a society that is remarkably inclusive and diverse. — *Gibbins*

It’s a good time to be a Canadian. We have a strong brand that is in very good shape around the world. We are a federation, so we’ve sorted out how to operate a functioning society with great levels of regional, cultural, and geographic diversity. In that sense, we can contribute a lot of new thinking to other countries about how to govern in this extremely diverse and rapidly changing world. — *Reid*

The thing that strikes me the most is our pride in Canadian pluralism. As a country, we have a set of values, including equal opportunity, individual freedoms coupled with a sense of responsibility, and the

possibility to retain our cultural and religious identities. As we face issues like energy security and religious extremism, this ability to have a national identity but still be a nation of many different cultures is going to become more and more important. — *Rempel*

We need to continue to make room for several Canadas to co-exist. This is something that we’ve done quite well—we’ve been able to accommodate a range of interpretations and perspectives. People from different cultures come here and give the country its unique character. We’re beginning to see that this is part of our richness as a country and that some of the opportunities we have come from the fact that we are not defined by just one role. — *Fortier*

Everywhere you go within this province, you find First Nations people fighting to sustain the ecosystems and to create sustainable economies based on them. We’ve created partnerships with everybody within our regions: corporations, unions, municipalities, and industries like sports fishing and mining. Local non-Native people embrace us, because they understand that we have to protect the place so that the air and the water and the land can continue to support us all. — *Sterritt*

In their advertising, the oil companies say the pipelines are nation-building projects, but what they are building is a nation of resistance. They are connecting people across constituencies and waking people up to the climate and health implications of different policies. The best antidote for fear or depression is engagement, and we’re seeing that in spades across the country. — *Berman*

The diverse make-up of our country is one of our competitive advantages. In an increasingly globalized, interconnected world, it’s a competitive edge for any organization or country to have a variety of opinions around the table. If the people involved are all from similar backgrounds, you can’t really understand what’s going on outside the room. We do a good job of celebrating diversity; now we have to figure out how to leverage it. — *Mohamed*



What Have We Inherited from Our Past?

A colonial history and mindset

This isn't Canada: this is Syilx territory. And it has been Syilx territory since at least the post-glacial period.

— *Armstrong*

In 2014, half of Canadians still don't know what a residential school is. If you don't know what it is, you don't understand the legacy it has for Aboriginal people. If more people understood how Canada was colonized, I believe we'd be a bit more reluctant to celebrate our nation's founding. For myself, why would I want to celebrate John A. Macdonald when I understand how he colonized Aboriginal men, women, and children? He made decisions that led to the mistreatment and deaths of thousands of people, but we generally don't teach that in our history classes. If we really want to honour the past, I believe we should learn from it. If we avoid it, we're simply hiding behind our own ignorance. — *Scrimshaw*

We have to learn that the colonial project that is Canada is not viable, because it is not structured on the principle of a common humanity. We could look at all the instances where spectacular meanness and repression have not produced anything good, moments when Canada was tempted to be extremely vicious to Indigenous peoples. **If that principle structures your country, which is what structures this country, then it's almost like you can't go anywhere good from there.** — *Razack*

Strong public institutions

Our greatest asset is our right to vote and our freedom to serve in Parliament without spending a fortune. If you run for Member of Parliament and spend more than the rules allow, you and your agent will go to jail. We should protect our freedom of access to the political system by anybody who has not been in jail.... By global standards, we don't live in an oppressive society. We have **personal freedom and the legislative rule of law** that allows people to achieve their goals and ambitions. Canadians can finance and implement an idea, and live the lives they want to live. — *Carney*

Canada is a lucky country. People often say it's because we have a vast endowment of natural resources, but that can't explain our success as a society. I can name 50 countries around the world with fantastic natural resource endowments that are hellholes you would never want to live in. So that's not what makes this a great society. We have a different endowment that is much more important than natural resources: the institutions and behaviours that we originally inherited from the British and have evolved to become our own. These include a well-functioning democracy, the rule of law, non-corrupt judges and police, a reasonable regulatory and taxation burden, well-functioning social services, a well-developed work ethic, enforcement of contracts, and respect for private property. — *Crowley*

We're known around the world for our education system. Public education is a respected institution; we pay our teachers relatively well; we do well on standardized assessments; and the equality gap here is not huge. Canadians value our education system in a similar way to how we value our healthcare system. That leads to pressure to innovate, from both the private and the public sectors. Toronto is home to perhaps the largest cluster of education innovation in the world. We have a high-quality university system and talented people coming out of universities. When you unleash them on a messy problem like education, you get some really interesting stuff. For example, MOOCs—Massive Open Online Courses—are everywhere now, but they were invented in Canada. When we go to New York or Silicon Valley or London, people are envious of what we're doing in education. — *Wilson*

.....
A capacity to collaborate

This is the 250th year of the Treaty of Niagara. In 1764, 2000 Native people representing 24 different nations met with the head official in British North America, Sir William Johnson, to enter into a treaty of peace, friendship, and respect. This was after the Seven Years' War. Together, they said, this is what Canada is going to look like. We

could've kept fighting, but we didn't. We chose the path of persuasion, not force. To me, that's the foundation of Canada. Why didn't we celebrate it? We've unfortunately taken a perspective that treaties were merely real-estate transactions. In taking that view, we've lost a part of who we are as a nation. We failed to see our nation as rooted in a higher aspiration. — *Borrows*

The most significant political decision with regards to the foundation of Canada was when the British realized they could not hope to govern this part of North America without some form of recognition of the French population. More recently, the Francophones and Anglophones have included First Nations in the partnership. But every time we have veered off the track of inclusion, we have gotten into trouble. I think we understand that diversity is an asset for us. We prefer to err on the side of tolerance. That's something precious. During the April election, people in Quebec chose to walk away from something that speaks to the darker nature of human beings. Quebeckers understand historically that they are a minority, and the way they treat others will reflect on the way they are going to be treated. They looked into the precipice and walked away, saying, this doesn't feel right, there's something wrong here, and I'm not going to go for this. — *Charest*

We have a tradition of working together, talking about things, and being tolerant of different opinions. But we don't see a lot of that anymore. Debates are becoming polarized and institutional rather than engaged and personal. There aren't opportunities for individual voices to be cultivated and nourished. I worry that in our race to get things right, to be competitive, to be efficient, we're making decisions that are not inclusive, are short term, and don't benefit from the perspectives of many. It may feel like we are making a decision and getting on with things, but ultimately, we will regret not including the many voices, because we won't have made the best decisions. In the end, then, this approach will slow us down and will cost us money, time, social capital, and natural capital. We

need to go back to our tradition of engaging, consulting, debating, listening, and reflecting. — *Vrooman*

I am excited about a new model we have created to accelerate the pace of environmental performance through innovation and collaboration. COSIA—Canada's Oil Sands Innovation Alliance—is the specific example. It is a network of 13 companies that represent more than 90% of Canada's oil sands production, with 40 Associate members from academia, government, and business supporting the effort. — *Lambert*

Scientific research will be an important driver of the economy of the future. It works best in environments and cultures that support collaboration and cooperation—something that we offer in Canada. When people come here, they are always amazed by the culture of collaboration and “cooperativity.” Some say that, to be the best, we have to be competitive. But by collaborating, we can bring new ideas to the table and also pragmatically share our limited resources in order to make an impact beyond the dollars that are invested. — *Rossant*

The last thing the fish talk about is the water that they're in: it's invisible. The scaffolding of Canadian society—this commitment to pluralism—is invisible to most Canadians. We don't always understand it explicitly, and we might take it for granted, but it is embedded in us. I believe this is underappreciated by Canadians themselves, if not by others. There's a danger both in Canadians not being humble enough and in being too humble about our pluralism. No one wants a bunch of arrogant pluralists running around; on the other hand, being too humble can serve as a way of devaluing an asset and somehow shielding you from assuming responsibility for sharing it. Of course, pluralism is not just a Canadian asset. It's an asset in Canada or of Canada, but it's also a global human asset. We're just custodians of that asset for the world. What does it mean for us to use this asset with the world as a beneficiary? — *Shariff*



3

How Is Our Situation Changing?

*We are recklessly altering
our ecosystems*

We are living in the Anthropocene Era and we know we are influencing the planet. The question is, how can we do so in a far less reckless way, especially today with respect to greenhouse gas emissions? — *Jaccard*

Now we are starting to understand that the lifestyle we worked so hard to build—our industries and our agriculture—might not be sustainable. We're learning that we actually need some of the wisdom that the First Nations thought they could teach us when we showed up looking sickly and dying off every winter. — *Green*

Nobody cared about the Arctic until the ice started to melt, but now that the resources are going to be exposed and easier to access, planeloads of people are coming up. I am concerned that digging the land we have held sacred for millennia and dangling the money and jobs card will deepen the struggles we face. — *Watt-Cloutier*

I travelled a lot around Ontario this past summer to the different reserves, and I heard from elders, “There used to be a lot of oak and maple in this forest, and it’s no longer there. We’re no longer seeing the kinds of birds and insects and fish that were once prominent here.” After hearing from them, I’m worried about the environment and about losing diversity in our ecosystem. — *Borrows*

Our international competitiveness is slipping

The oil and gas industry is undergoing its biggest change in 100 years. Environmental, political, resource, and demographic issues are all colliding at once to transform the way we supply and consume energy.... We’re not in an era anymore in which we can simply wait for energy prices to go up. We have to assume prices are going to be steady or potentially even go down. The way to compete in a cut-throat market is by offering a better product at a lower cost than others. The Canadian energy industry woke up to this fact a few years ago, and we’re getting good at it. But if we don’t start addressing environmental issues, if we don’t continue to be disciplined about containing costs, and if we don’t start making relationships with new customers and adapting to new systems, we’re not going to make it. — *Tertzakian*

We’re not going to be an immigrant magnet forever. The things that we offer aren’t unique to Canada anymore. Other parts of the world are becoming equally attractive in offering the comforts that are a part of our lives here. We work on the assumption that we’ll continue to attract immigrants and that they will come to our cities. All of that could turn on a dime, and we would suddenly have a very different future. — *Merchant*

Part of our future success is going to have to be **diversifying where we do business**. Today, a company may have offices in Montreal and Boston. To

succeed, that company may need to have offices in Montreal, Johannesburg, and Mumbai instead. Likewise, since World War II, our leading universities have built relationships with those in the UK and the United States. Now, we are going to have to do so with Brazil and China. — *Lynch*

We need to reorient both our domestic and our geopolitical engagements to ideas commercialization, particularly in the complex, predatory, and evolving realm of intellectual property rights management. Ownership and commercialization of intangible ideas is very different than for tangible natural resources. — *Balsillie*

Have you heard the term BANANA? Build Absolutely Nothing, Anywhere Near Anything. **Every special interest group now seems to have the ability to stop major economic development projects from going ahead.** Another country would think, Wow, you are lucky to have all these wonderful resources! Here, the message is, No, you can’t develop them! — *Swift*

We can do much better in our relationship with China. **We’re underperforming relative to our peers, but there is no sense of urgency or long-term strategy on how to catch up with the competition.** This complacency is partly due to an underappreciation of the shift in economic and political gravity across the Pacific. While Canadians may have legitimate reservations about all kinds of challenges in China and other Asian countries, it would be naïve not to recognize that an important shift is happening and that Canada has to engage vigorously with the global power shift in order to remain relevant. — *Woo*

Our culture is morphing

A huge number of assumptions that were at the foundation of our cultural spaces, policies, and tools 50 years ago—such as the notions of national borders, controlled airwaves, a certain hierarchy of cultural tastes and preferences, the undervaluing of the impor-

tance of the Aboriginal question—are **vanishing**. What I find most compelling right now is opening possibilities for reinvention and reimagination of what could be. — *Brault*

As the most Asian city outside of Asia, how will Vancouver evolve? About 45% of the population of the census metropolitan area of Vancouver today is of Asian ethnic descent. **Within 10 years, Vancouver will be a majority “Asian” city.** Will that lead to a shift in terms of trade, business, and popular culture? Will Vancouver plug into the dynamism—and challenges—of contemporary Asia and serve as a connector across the Pacific, or will Vancouver settle into a more typical North American trajectory—becoming a city with lots of Asian people, but one that does not have deep commercial and cultural ties with Asia? — *Woo*

People are starting to realize the importance of including Aboriginal perspectives in school curricula and in workplaces. I get a lot of interest from people who want to change the way they’re teaching, training, and doing advocacy to include Aboriginal cultural knowledge and identity, and anti-racism work. — *Restoule*

We will need to grapple with a concept of development that balances economic, ecological, Aboriginal, and other issues, such as demographic shifts, in order to achieve compatible goals. We have entered a much slower cycle of the economy, in which there’ll be less money available for social and economic measures. Many young Canadians are making lifestyle and work choices that are more consistent with a slower-growth economy. — *Carney*

Economic and political inequality is increasing

Will we be able to address the growing income divide and so blunt the harsh edges of capitalism? We had hoped that participation in a globalized knowledge economy would increase

living standards everywhere, that all boats would rise, but we're finding that the yachts are rising faster than the rowboats. In Toronto, you can see the stagnation of the middle class and very little improvement in the poorer classes. — *Golden*

Without structural change, it's hard to imagine how the younger people of today are ever going to be able to save the way that my generation did. Income differentials have resulted in a decline of the ability of lower, middle, and even upper-middle income Canadians to maintain a quality of life relative to high-income earners. A combination of cost inflation (particularly in housing) and lifestyle choices will impact how we look as a country. A lot of people are living okay today but they are not saving, they don't have big pensions, and they're certainly not going to be able to maintain their current standard of living with social security. — *Nixon*

How do we cope with the increasing problem of inequality? You see it everywhere. You can't go into an airport without seeing rich guys going through the fast lanes and everybody else waiting in line for an hour to get on an airplane. Factor that across our society many times, whether it's in healthcare or other services. — *Reid*

Compared to 20 years ago, there has been an increase in income inequality. It's increasing more slowly than in other regions in the world, but it is increasing nonetheless, especially between the richer and the rest of the society. We have also seen other gaps growing—a smaller part of the population goes to concerts and museums, sends their kids to private school. Who drops out of school? It is not rich people. This dollar issue concerns me, but I am more interested in the access to power. Poor people and young people tend to vote less than other groups. This has an influence on the way government policies are made. When you have fewer and fewer people voting in elections, decisions are made by a small group of privileged people who protect their own position and power. — *Venne*

Polling data shows that Canadians are losing faith in their democratic institutions. Voter turnout has declined precipitously in the last 20 years. In the last federal election, four out of 10 Canadians chose not to vote. That's one of the lowest rates among western democracies. — *Chong*

It's hard to have political democracy and engagement if we don't have economic democracy and engagement. The work I do is about making sure that people have access to information and support so they can make informed decisions. We're also looking for ways to include more people in the economy and in the finance system—people who may not have access to bank accounts and things that you or I would take for granted. To think that economic democracy and income inequality are unrelated would be like saying that the right to vote and use of universal suffrage were unrelated. — *Vrooman*

Extreme inequality is corrosive. When the people at the top and the people at the bottom are breathing such different air, it's hard to imagine them finding any common interest or shared purpose. When people at the top are so rich that they can decide they no longer need public services, they effectively secede from society. When the gap is extreme, they also seem to believe they somehow deserve all they have. Hence trickle-down meanness. If they don't need the services and deserve their wealth, why pay taxes? People at the bottom start to think that the game is fixed, and there's nothing in it for them. They don't want to vote and they too don't want to pay taxes. Why pay or play when the game is rigged? — *Himelfarb*

Our society is fragmenting

Our small communities across the country, not just in Newfoundland, are disintegrating in front of our eyes, and yet this is so entirely preventable. I believe that business and technology are powerful tools that, deployed properly, can contribute to place and can help create resilient, contemporary rural

communities. And our rural places are powerful sources of knowledge, creativity, and innovation: they are assets, not liabilities. — *Cobb*

I'm concerned by the fact that a lot of people feel lonely and are disconnected or marginalized. I don't think this was as much the case years ago. The divide between people who are in the system and people who are out is deeper and more brutal than before. — *Brault*

What keeps me up at night is the growing, institutionalized dehumanization towards specific groups. It's as though society is evolving based on the principle that human life doesn't matter. Every morning, I read about 10 things that make me think we're growing increasingly distant from each other. It begins with race and becomes a structure that invades everything. — *Razack*

In some areas of the country, we seem to be experiencing an era of migration motivated largely by greed. These "global migrants" come to Canada, park their money, and move on to live elsewhere. That's reflected in the number of empty houses and condos here in Vancouver. Much of the new housing is marketed to offshore residents who live in Canada part time, if at all. If you have a floating migrant population, the essential structure of community commitment and connections may be weakened. That's reflected in the waning volunteer base and support for the arts affecting some communities. — *Carney*

There are also some worrisome trends. We've lost our commitment to permanency. We used to say, "Come to Canada and after three or four years, you will become a Canadian citizen." We're making citizenship harder to get and easier to lose. We are importing temporary foreign workers who have no right to permanency, and so we're creating a two-tiered society. — *Omidvar*

Our political discourse in becoming increasingly polarized

Since the 1990s, there has been more edginess in our political leadership. Politicians are more dismissive and disrespectful of each other's ideas. Politics has become this crazy world where people are yelling at each other, "We're right and you're wrong, shut up, sit down, and pay attention to what I have to say." Attack ads are symptoms of this dynamic. The important point is that these messages are a symptom of a more polarized public who want—even demand—simple answers to complex questions. A fundamental

shift needs to happen for us to create a new balancing point. — *Graham*

It's healthy to have differences of opinion, but not when we reduce issues to black or white. When you're too far to the right or to the left on an issue, you very rarely succeed in solving problems. The gray area is where the resolutions happen. Right now, we're fighting on the details and not on the big issues. We have to **find more things we can all agree on.** — *Verschuren*

There were always elements of our society that were intolerant, but one of the great things about Canada has been our respect for different viewpoints and the idea that we can come

to consensus. We've always had this notion that we could disagree without being disagreeable. Today, the polite Canadian is disappearing. Conversations are no longer allowed. You're only allowed to yell slogans at each other across the aisle. — *May*

Our federal government is more highly politicized than at any time in our history. That's generally a bad thing. Once you get beyond economic issues, defence, border security, and a couple of other files, you end up with a federal government that doesn't seem to have a big vision for the country beyond devolving powers to the provinces and letting them sort it out. — *Reid*

“When the people at the top and the people at the bottom are breathing such different air, it's hard to imagine them finding any common interest or shared purpose.”

— *Alex Himelfarb*

4



LENS 4

What Risks Are We Facing?

Complacency: Not realizing that we are at risk

The infamous UN report of 20 years ago or so that described Canada as the best place in the world to live may have done us a disservice by making us complacent. We didn't get here by accident; we've created the kind of country we have through an act of will. If that will weakens or loses its focus, then a lot of what we have will be precarious. My fear is that we've solved the problems of the past but we're rapidly being overtaken by the problems of the future. We somehow need to crystallize our best thinking into a vision for the future. — **Gibbins**

Canada is vulnerable to a lot of different attacks. Because of our proximity to the United States, we've always taken for granted that we are a safe country, without the fear of war. But in today's world, where wars are often fought through electronics and terrorism rather than on the ground, we are way, way behind most other industrialized countries. We don't have the same level of intelligence as most European countries or the United States, and that leaves us very vulnerable to attack. Some massive event of terrorism could really change our country. — **Nixon**

There's not enough concern in our country about the economy. The jobs aren't there, the pension funds aren't there, people aren't living happily ever after. Maybe we haven't hit the wall hard enough. I am worried about where the new jobs are going to come from and that other countries are going to steal them away. We've got to catch up. — **Verschuren**

What quality of life can our children and grandchildren expect? One of my major concerns is the degree to which the present tends to steal from the future, whether it's through governments borrowing to support today's consumption, promises we've made based on projected future wealth, or waste that we don't think about and have trouble measuring. — *Robson*

We're becoming passive and run the risk of taking for granted the many things that have made Canada the tolerant, open, diverse, and welcoming society that we're privileged to live in. Our greatness didn't happen by accident. If we don't work at it enough, we are at risk of diminishing and losing it. Then what kind of country will we leave for our children and our grandchildren? — *Vrooman*

Dependence of our economy on natural resources

We are not managing our natural resource assets well. We pay insufficient attention to long-term growth, stability, and intergenerational fairness. I look at what we are doing with non-renewables, and I despair. We have allowed a gold-rush mentality to prevail.... In a similar vein, we have witnessed the erosion of manufacturing in the Canadian economy, and I am concerned about that. I believe a balance of manufacturing, resource extraction, technology, and services is important for a healthy, dynamic, and stable economy. — *Emerson*

If any jurisdiction ought to have the resources to keep up with growth, it would be Alberta. But the boom-and-bust cycle of using resource revenues to pay for ongoing expenditures is incredibly risky. You can't choose to fund all-day kindergarten and then, when oil drops below a certain price per barrel, eliminate all-day kindergarten. We made missteps in the past, first by allowing development to get out of control, and then by allowing the extractive business to crowd out the value-added business. — *Iveson*

We're living at a tipping point. In the last two years, global investment in

renewable energy technologies has exceeded everyone's wildest dreams. But we are banking our economic future on oil and gas resources that are going to become stranded assets, and so we will be behind the eight-ball in developing economic options. Our economic stability in the future is directly linked to our capacity to limit fossil fuel development now. — *Berman*

When Canadians think about resource development in the north, they seldom consider the human dimension. The current government sees the Arctic as an opportunity for the great energy superpower to feed the world, but in doing so it fails to recognize that Inuit families trying to feed their families are going to be negatively impacted by environmental degradation. People don't quite get why we would still want to hunt and eat seals rather than go to the supermarket to buy chicken and pork chops. They don't understand the importance to our communities of continuing to respect and take in the wisdom that a hunting culture teaches. — *Watt-Cloutier*

In Canada, over the past century we largely got the ecosystem right for a resource economy and continue to prosper because of it. This ecosystem includes physical elements like roads and pipelines, geopolitical elements like market access and investment protection, universities that appropriately educated students and researched key areas, courts that fairly addressed domestic commercial issues, and public sector-private sector structures to address the important issues of various time horizons. The critical challenge and opportunity for Canadian policymakers and business leaders is to fully understand the differences between the ecosystem for a resource economy and the ecosystem for an innovation economy, and then ensure that these all gaps are addressed. — *Balsillie*

Failure to develop and retain talent

How do you miss an opportunity on talents? You do two things: you don't develop them and you don't retain

them. We compete in the world, and the fewer unique skills we develop, the poorer our country will be. We can't shrink ourselves into greatness. At some point, we have some collective responsibilities to one another generationally. Future generations will pass a tough judgment on today's generations, saying, "Look at what they did through their obsession with an individualistic way of thinking." — *Ménard*

I worry about youth unemployment. We can't afford a lost generation. We cannot lose out on the way young people think, interact, drive change. We also need to think about stability: who is going to pay taxes and keep our social programs going? I would like us to be thinking a little less short term and a little more long term. — *Mohamed*

Our education system is not well suited to help students develop the skills that are going to be needed in the future economy. We need to be better at anticipating where jobs and opportunities will come from and providing our young people with the training and education they need. — *Swift*

We're failing the youth of Canada, Indigenous youth in particular, by fighting about ideology and not finding ways to get people basic skills. Even now, only 35% of the kids on reserves are graduating high school. Only 4% on reserves have post-secondary education. We've lost generations of young people to residential school, to child welfare, to the prison system, to drugs, to dropping out of school. The loss of human potential is staggering.

— *Borrows*

If things turned out badly, we would have failed to keep our young people. They will go where the work is interesting and challenging, and where they can contribute. That will be a huge loss. If we don't reorient our institutions to make them hospitable to members of this generation, they will just walk right around them and do other things. Our institutions will atrophy, because they won't have people to shake things up and say, no, we're not going to do it this way anymore. — *Stein*

I worry that we'll get stuck in a vortex of indecision and not have the capacity to recognize the moment where we could use the evidence we have to support taking a leap of faith. That inability to take risks is what is preventing us from leading in so many areas and is causing us to hemorrhage talent from our country. — *Ebrahim*

Deterioration of our democracy

Democracy only thrives if you have transparency, information, and participation. All three of those things are being restricted right now in Canada. The public's ability to participate in the decisions that affect our future has been dramatically limited. If you want to speak or send a letter to the National Energy Board on an issue, you have to fill out an 11-page form and be approved. During regulatory reviews, citizens and experts are not allowed to talk about the impact of proposed projects on climate change. — *Berman*

We're in real trouble if we start losing trust in unbiased, thoughtful institutions like the National Energy Board. Historically, these institutions had the final word on various decisions, but today, through social media and other communication techniques, an incredibly small minority of people are able to hold up projects. Everybody has to accept some sense of burden, even if it means having a power line not too far from you. That may be the thing you have to accept for the greater good of the country. The fact that small groups of people can circumvent the institutions that help make our country great is a national problem. — *Tertzakian*

We are a democracy only in theory. In practice, we're an elected dictatorship. Canadians no longer feel empowered; they are passive consumers. They have abandoned the notion that they have rights and responsibilities in running the country. It's very hard to wake people back up to the fact that they have power. Forty percent of Canadians don't vote. In the by-election in Fort McMurray-Athabasca last June, only 15% voted! Unless we change the system, the next elected dictator

could be Trudeau or Mulcair, and we might like the decisions better, but it still wouldn't be a democracy. — *May*

We have what we might call a "democracy deficit," particularly with younger people. The simplest measure of it is declining participation in elections. People feel that their votes don't count. Polls on Canadians' perceptions of the performance of government and the processes of democracy are overwhelmingly negative. In this climate, the few who do take an interest can control the whole system. I call it "The Iron Law of Democracy": if you choose not to involve yourself in the politics of your country, you will be governed by people who do. — *Manning*

In the short run, command-and-control models of governance can produce huge gains, but in the long run, they fall flat. Without checks and balances, at some point a bad leader comes along and undoes all of the gains made and then some. Democracies are frustrating in the short run, because the lack of concentrated power makes for less efficient decision making, but in the long run they get it right. If you look at the last 180 years, all evidence points to the fact that people in an educated, civilized, and enlightened society will make the right decisions. — *Chong*

Weakening of our capacity for collective action

One of the reasons that our institutions, including our political institutions, are so important is that, as former Prime Minister Trudeau observed, Canada is an act of defiance. Canada makes no sense: we are dispersed geographically; we have a terrible climate; we have two official languages and many non-official; we have no revolutionary moment that is binding; we are a country of great cultural and regional diversity. For all these reasons, we have to work at being Canada. And when we lose trust in our government and in each other, it weakens us.... The biggest impact of austerity is that it stunts the political imagination; it makes it seem like nothing's possible collectively. Each of us is on our own. So I see not

only this invisible, incremental, hard-to-talk-about growth in inequality, but also the loss of the collective capacity to do anything about it. — *Himelfarb*

I am worried that we are failing to invest sufficiently in our "sacred capital" (natural capital, social capital, cultural capital, community capital) and in protecting our ways of knowing. In our small communities, there is an increasing poverty of hope, and a despair is taking hold. I don't understand why we're not more alarmed and doing something about the fact that we're losing a fundamental part of our Canadian identity, ways of knowing, and sources of strength, imagination, and resourcefulness. Our identity and strength emerged—and emerges—from our relationship with this amazing piece of nature that we call Canada. — *Cobb*

Why do we allow for a good portion of our salary to be taken from us? To pay for collective services. When we are unaware of the link we have to others, and we don't trust that those around us are going to play their part, and we lose faith that we are all going to help each other, then we reject things like paying taxes. In our society right now, we don't trust the people with power, and we don't trust those without power. We live in a state of insecurity. And when we are insecure, we can decide either to turn our backs on each other or to stick together. I hope that we in Quebec and in Canada will choose to stick together. — *Venne*

We're losing our sense of community in terms of the country as a whole. Many people feel that, if you've got a great local community and you have a rapid rail line to an international airport, that's all you need. So the provincial and national communities become irrelevant. The opportunity to go and experience the world and then come back to a base is great, but I worry about a loss of purpose for Canada as a whole. We're losing faith in our political institutions and our capacity to do things together. There is a narrowing of perspectives that's not unique to Canada, but nonetheless, having people in this large, ungainly country turn inward is alarming. — *Gibbins*

*“Without checks
and balances, at
some point a bad
leader comes along
and undoes all of
the gains made
and then some.”*

— Michael Chong

5



LENS 5

If Things Turned Out Badly, What Would Have Happened?

We would have failed to recognize and adapt to a changing world

We didn't change direction. We continued to rely on things that compromise our environment. The same type of people ended up making decisions and serving in public office. We fell behind in building the infrastructure we need. We continued to operate from a narrative of scarcity, which ended up hurting the people who are most affected by social inequities. — *Penrose*

A dramatic increase in forest fires and beetle infestations will destroy the majority of our intact boreal forests. We'll be dealing with dramatic immigration from all over the world, but predominantly from Southeast Asia and Central Africa. Within the next 20 years, 30% of the population of Southeast Asia will lose their homes as a result of sea-level rise. A much larger population will strain the capacity of our cities, which will also be under extreme pressure due to flooding and extreme weather. Food prices for most crops will be triple to quadruple what they are today. — *Berman*

We'll be where we are now: **a little bit behind the rest of the world.** Innovation and creativity will still be a thing that sits on the outside and not within the DNA of organizations, and so their adaptive capacity will remain constrained. Our role in the global community will stagnate, and we'll still be trying to figure out how we can contribute to a global conversation about being more inclusive, more creative, and more human centred.

— *Ebrahim*

Our education and health systems would have failed

There's a huge disconnect right now between what we know we need from our education system and what our education system is set to deliver. In 20 years, we might look back and say, "We knew we had to double down on innovation and creative thinking for the sake of the economy and for solving complex problems. Instead, we insisted that everybody learn the same baseline knowledge, and we basically drilled creativity out of kids. As a result, we don't have the intellectual and creative capital to solve our massive problems." — *Wilson*

Education will be about learning trades or skills and not about learning to think critically. Most places where people can learn to think critically will shut down; the rest will be small or very, very restricted. The result is that you don't get to ask questions about why things are the way they are, why some people have a good life and others don't, what your relationship is to others in the social world. There's no way to break down the mythologies that you see reproduced every day in the papers. — *Razack*

We will have kept shrinking the resources we devote to higher education and research at our universities and institutions. We will have chosen to give all the money back to citizens and forgone our collective responsibility to foster a better educational system. That would have an impact on our record of achievement in the realm of innovation and patent development. Canada will have eroded and missed an opportunity to focus on our talents. — *Ménard*

In 20 years, our healthcare system may be completely overburdened. We are heading towards a kind of perfect storm with an aging population and an already stressed healthcare system. The stress may create a more unequal society. New immigrants, Aboriginal people, and at-risk populations may not get the healthcare they are entitled to. — *Wilson*

Healthcare costs continue to rise. Today, they are running close to 50% of provincial budgets. As researchers, my colleagues and I have to look quite hard at what we do, because the healthcare system has only restricted dollars to be able to invest. We have to look at the business case of whether what we are developing is going to be something governments will pay for. — *Rossant*

I wonder if this baby-boom generation is going to pursue its self-interest to the bitter end. If baby boomers insist on the maximum level of healthcare and the maximum technology right till the end, they're going to bankrupt the healthcare system and make aspects of it unavailable to the younger generations. — *Manning*

We would not have invested where we needed to

There's a growing awareness that tax cuts are not the solution to every problem. In the public sphere, people are beginning to recognize that what we're facing is less a spending problem than a revenue problem. Bridges are collapsing, and sewers and pipes built 100 years ago need to be repaired. We're awash in easy money but oddly have no money for these essentials. But we're paying a bundle privately to repair our homes and cars from the damage caused by deteriorating infrastructure. — *Yalnizyan*

We made it difficult to bring creative people here. We need to be open to people coming to and going out of Canada. We failed to invest in fundamental research, innovation, and the creative force. If we don't focus on the future and build on our strengths, we will become a so-so nation. We will not achieve the impact that we can across the world in the arts, science, business, finance, and politics. — *Rossant*

Pipelines critical to getting products to market won't be constructed in a timely way. Critical economic infrastructure, particularly transportation infrastructure, will be rejected in every strategic "neighbourhood," reflecting regulatory licence being

replaced by the amorphous "social licence." We will fail to restore momentum to multilateral trade talks, and attempts to forge regional trade agreements will falter. We will fail to adapt to the reality of global warming, and the world will be confronted with an urgent international public policy crisis. Related to climate and our failure to manage well our natural resources, we will see technological advances that result in consumers finding economic substitutes for carbon-based energy. Given our extreme dependence on carbon-based energy, our economy and public finances will take a serious hit. — *Emerson*

We will fail if we don't invest in the changes that are needed. For example, in Toronto, we've barely invested at all in infrastructure; since 2000, we've made some improvements but not enough to deal with our backlog. We need to invest in new construction and waste management and energy systems. We need to improve how we develop and grow, by linking our transit decisions to our development decisions. And we will fail if we don't address growing income inequality through a combination of tax changes and program innovations. — *Golden*

Our society would have fallen apart

Canada's going to be more and more separated by geography, in terms of the urban centres versus everything else. The rural communities are at a critical point in their evolution, and we're not acknowledging that they have a problem. They may not have enough people to support them. The people who are there are going to get older. More people are living in single households than ever before, in building types that breed isolation, not community. All of these factors compound to affect what kind of a society we become and what kind of lives people live. I see disruptions and anger happening. I see the Canadian identity getting a little fractured. — *Merchant*

I also worry about the unity of the country. We cannot take for granted that things will always be the way they

are. The separatist movement in Quebec has moved from the mainstream to the margin, but it is never going to go away. Our leaders need to make a constant, continued, and deliberate effort to forge a common identity based on what we share. It will not happen automatically. — *Charest*
A bad scenario would be one where universal education no longer exists, where everyone decides on their own what they are going to learn. We would lose a shared understanding of the world based on a compendium of knowledge that has been accumulating for centuries. — *Venne*

We allowed envy to become the predominant political emotion in Canada. Regionalism, which is driven by envy, is a deeply corrosive force in Canada. — *Crowley*

Our leaders didn't recognize the value in everyone moving together, including those who are less wealthy and less powerful. That's a risky way to go. If we continue on the trajectory of dismantling many of our social structures and welfare supports, and making drastic changes in our laws, we might create the sort of entrenched inequality that we see in the US and the UK. — *Jabir*

The state will continue disengaging, the educational system will abdicate from its independence, and citizens will become more disillusioned about the possibility for good things to happen. We will continue to develop societies where social status, the place you were born, or your level of education continue to dig deeper inequalities around human rights. Instead of looking at all the potential in our differences, we will

continue to create imaginary borders between us and create a self-sustaining system that constantly reinforces our limits. — *Duguay*

Demagogues thrive by cultivating insecurity and demonizing certain groups. They emphasize differences rather than the things we have in common. If that were to happen, we'd be in that spiral societies can end up in, where we lose the ability to trust each other and to have a common discourse. We would find ourselves living in a country where we were suspicious of each other and suspicious of other groups. — *Charest*

We would have allowed reductionist thinking to get out of hand. We would have forgotten that nature and culture are the two great garments of human life. We'd all live in mega cities and suffer from a kind of placelessness. We would have lost our intimate knowledge of and ability to learn from the natural world. We'd have lost what Pam Hall refers to as "the ways of knowing that come from an embodied, interdependent relationship with the still-wild world." We'd be eating industrial food that's produced by enormous companies that transcend all borders. We'd be subservient to financial capital, and we wouldn't have a clue who we were. We'd have no sense of continuity with the past. The wisdom and nuances of heritage, and of the natural world, would be lost. — *Cobb*

We failed to cultivate a healthy way of addressing, for a lack of a better word, spirituality. We weren't attentive enough to the non-physical way of being in the world and to questions of

community and connection. We should have had conversations that would have pulled us beyond the moment and towards thinking in broader "why are we here" ways. We failed to create a different relationship with our environment. We were more tuned into national and international energy flows and not attentive enough to the local energies and the way they were being harmed or could've been better harnessed. — *Borrows*

*“We allowed
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— Brian Crowley

6



LENS 6

If Things Turned Out Well, What Would Have Happened?

We would have become more ambitious

We have an ambition challenge in Canada. I'm not sure my generation is ambitious enough. We can do much better in the world than we think we can. Some of the younger Canadians think that they can beat anybody if they study hard, work hard, and are innovative and clever enough. We have to be sufficiently ambitious to keep those kids in Canada, so they can start their social profit enterprises and companies here, teach here, run for political office here. If we're not ambitious enough, they'll go somewhere else, because they want to make a difference. — **Lynch**

When Canada hosted the Olympics in Montreal and then again in Calgary, we didn't win any gold medals as a nation. We were deeply unsatisfied with our national performance. To our credit, we didn't rationalize our results by saying, "That's okay, gold medals don't matter." Instead we created and funded a coherent program called "Own The Podium" and realized its ambitious goal at the Vancouver Olympics by winning 15 gold medals—the most of any country in the world. These results thrilled and inspired our entire nation. It teaches us what **an ambitious, orderly, and systemic approach** can do. These are nation-building exercises, and they prove that if Canadians want to win, Canadians know how to do it. — **Balsillie**

Looking into the future, I see a different Canada, built on the momentum of today. We have doubled our population. As a result, **we have 10 big urban centres, not just four. In those urban centres are residents of unrivalled diversity.** This strengthens our economy and prosperity. Because we are a bigger economy, we're able to produce more, we're able to trade more, we're able to sell to more people, we have more people with big ideas. Our population growth has stabilized through immigration, and our economy has the capacity to absorb immigrants at all skill levels and many more refugees. — **Omidvar**

We took the risk of focusing. We focused on one big thing and we moved the bar. Perhaps the one big thing was poverty reduction, and we reduced dramatically the number of people living in poverty in our country. We did this not by wanting to create something the world would look to us as a leader in, but by harvesting the intelligence within our borders to make bold change happen. And this helped us to retain thought leadership by demonstrating that Canada has an appetite for taking risks. — *Ebrahim*

Canadians have to rethink what we want to be and how we want people to see us. We're not putting the right investment in the right places, because we don't know where we're going. We have to be more optimistic and find ways to move our society towards creating value. People want to rally behind a future, and right now, nobody is describing what that future is. Leadership can really create change, and people will follow behind a sensible vision for the country. If the vision is clear, we will find a way to get there. We need inspirational leadership—from unions, First Nation, business, government—to take us to that point. — *Verschuren*

We would have transformed our economy

Canada is one of the fastest-aging countries in the world. If we are to continue with our Canadian social and economic model, the generation of workers 25 years from now will need to be much more productive than my generation or that of my father. Therefore, we must become a leader in education and in our ability to stimulate innovation and creativity in sciences, healthcare, and service areas. — *Ménard*

Canada would be known as a world leader in terms of innovation and innovation policy. People across the political spectrum recognize that we need to use our enormous resource wealth to look into the future and develop secondary industries. I'm not just talking about making widgets but also

about innovating in terms of the public policies we need to become a nation of innovators. With a little bit of pushing and coordination, innovation is something we could be known for—it could become our international brand. — *Rempel*

Business is the most powerful force in society right now. Given what I just said, this may seem strange, but I think, with strong democratic institutions in place, that power could be harnessed to make a better world. We're on the edge of an explosion of technological change—from artificial intelligence to biomimicry to miraculous medical breakthroughs to the Internet of things. Canada could provide leadership on how innovations get applied. It starts with making sure we have all hands on deck, so we can make the most of the ingenuity that resides in our population and build their capacity to put good ideas into action. — *Yalnizyan*

Canada will be considered a hub of creativity and not the Canada of old that digs coal and makes cars. We have harnessed the concept of urban centres as being the driver for Canadian success and have invested in our infrastructure. Canada has become the place of choice for the most creative and innovative people in the world. — *Rossant*

A high-speed rail network will connect major corridors across the country. There will be a dramatic increase in public transit, cycling, and walking and a dramatic decrease in the number of cars in urban centres. More companies like Facebook will move to Canada and build their data centres here. Canada will make a big investment in renewable energy resources and in the capacity to export clean energy to the United States. We'll see a rise in the generation of tidal energy on both coasts and of geo-thermal energy, especially out of Alberta. More households will produce their own energy and feed that energy back to the grid. All of that will mean a democratization of energy and of the economy: if no one owns the inputs and everyone can generate the energy to fuel society, that changes who holds power. — *Berman*

We have an opportunity to serve as a world-class example of a resource-based economy that is an engine of innovation, through engaging across disciplinary, organizational, cultural, and governmental boundaries to achieve environmental, social and economic outcomes that benefit all Canadians. — *Lambert*

Resource extraction and exportation is such a 19th-century game plan for growth, complete with a 19th-century distribution of benefits and calculation of costs. We need another plan. Not a Plan B, because there's no Planet B. Canada's Plan A should help us become a 21st-century energy superpower by developing the world's most energy-efficient homes and forms of transit. We live in a cold climate and have to travel long distances. We should be world leaders in maximizing energy efficiency, whatever its source. Instead of Energy East, think Energy Least. Climate change is forcing every society to address this challenge. Nations can't succeed on a planet that fails. — *Yalnizyan*

If things turn out well in the next 20 years, there would be some changes in how resources are thought about: not as resources that are to be extracted by foreign corporations, but as resources that are part of that landscape and the people who live there. To a large degree, that is informed through Indigenous partnering and protection for the things that are required for the next seven generations. — *Armstrong*

The new economy is going to come from finding more productive ways to produce food and energy, to use water, to extract and refine oil and gas, to extract minerals. Why can't we be the country that takes on the challenge of reducing the carbon footprint? Why can't we be the country that most responsibly produces fossil fuels and minerals and the like? We're really good at so many things! — *Verschuren*

We would have restored our connections to one another and to our land

We will be able to imagine citizens, politicians, and organizations in society that listen to one another, exchange with one another, and recognize each other as complementary actors who have the capacity to collaborate and create real solutions. We will have understood that solutions will not be brought by organizations, researchers, or politics, but from society itself—through the capacity of individuals to recognize each other.
— *Duguay*

If we constrained our material demands, we would have more time for our personal, family, and social relations. If we spent more time looking after each other, we wouldn't have to go to the government for support. This is an alternative approach to trying to fix everything by regulation or law. It's easy to talk about the future in terms of what it should be economically, environmentally, socially, and politically. I would add the spiritual dimension.
— *Manning*

We'll be a country that has a high quality of life for all people, something we haven't achieved yet. We take it for granted that we can be born from a very modest or difficult environment and still succeed, but we need to continue to offer equality opportunities for all. — *Fortier*

Canada would be a national network of intensely local places, some big, many small. We would have found ways to localize and at the same time link communities together. Everything exists in relationship, and in healthy relationships I can be more me and you can be more you. That's the kind of relationships we need build. Our lives wouldn't be dominated by distantly owned hyper-businesses that optimize primarily for return on (distant) capital. Instead, we'd have right-scaled businesses that operate in ways that fortify the fabric of our communities. Of course there are instances when we need national distribution companies, but there are creative ways to achieve scale when and where scale is necessary: creative ways to keep the well-being of our communities at the top of our priority list and at the core of our decision making. — *Cobb*

Things really change when you start to see people as individuals, rather than as one aspect of their identity. You come together around common interests, and because you have slightly different ways of seeing the world or having experienced the world, learning happens. There's a common humanity, a shared sense of responsibility to the land and to each other, which is where we should be starting. — *Restoule*

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— Nadia Duguay

7



LENS 7

What Important Choices Do We Face?

How to use our natural resources wisely

Canadians need a dose of realism with respect to the economy. The resource sector is the horse that's pulling the current economic cart. We have to give more attention to strengthening those industries and recognizing what they're contributing. To maintain our high quality of life, the economy must be strong enough to pay for the social services network. As our population ages, the demands on our healthcare and pension systems will increase. — *Manning*

We are a resource-based economy. It is a pretty sound prediction that a resource-based economy is not going to serve us well 20 years down the road. We'll have to transform ourselves, but how do we do it? A lot of people want to establish Calgary as a leader in the energy field. But we're never going to out-compete the Chinese on solar power or the Germans on wind power. If we have a niche in the global economy, what is it? — *Gibbins*

We have to get rid of this idea that we are just hewers of wood and drawers of water, and that we don't have the intelligence to create secondary and tertiary industries. We can't continue to export every asset we have. I've watched for too many decades now as we've sent raw resources and the energy we could use to process them to other countries. Instead of depending on others, we should be a lot more intelligent about how we use our natural resources to enhance the lives of people in this country. — *Sterritt*

We are hypocrites, in that we're both riding the economic boom and criticizing its impact. **We want the money but we don't want the environmental destruction.** What are we doing about it? Have our habits around consumption changed? It may take two or three generations, but the things that we know and have known for the last 400-500 years are going to change, whether we cause that change or whether the planet makes that change happen. We're seeing it already: pests are moving north, the country is warming. I really want to know where we will land. — *Merchant*

The discussion of the economy versus the environment. We're never going to create innovation if we polarize ourselves on these two issues. Why can't we both **add value to our industries and take greater responsibility for managing our natural resources?** — *Verschuren*

I worry about Canada's north. Geographically, most of Canada is a huge, sparsely populated mass of land and water penetrating the Arctic, at the front line of climate change. Gradually, attention is shifting to northern issues and concerns. **But the challenge of the north will be akin to the challenge of developing early Canada.** It will require enormous investments with very long "payback." Issues around sovereignty and security will be paramount. Assessments and potential impacts will require intense discipline and focus. The costs of mistakes will be high, but the cost of neglect higher. Sir John A. Macdonald must be turning in his grave. — *Emerson*

As a global citizen, Canada can have more weight than we may realize. Back in World War II, we declared war on Nazi Germany before the Soviet Union and the Americans did. We showed real leadership. Of course, leadership isn't just about joining some military expedition; it's about setting an example. Similarly, Canada could play a leadership role on issues such as carbon capture. In 2005-2008, there was a real push for Canada to become a world leader in carbon capture and

storage. I'm extremely disappointed that we didn't play that role when there was a real interest, even among the corporate sector, in doing so. When Stephen Harper came to power, all that stuff died. Canada could still be a leader. We could say, "Here's what we're doing, here are the policies. Who can match us?" And we could be selling our technologies and know-how in ways that really help developing countries, like China, rapidly reduce emissions without the huge expense of closing all their coal plants. — *Jaccard*

If we're going to pursue the oil sands business, we need to learn from our past mistakes and demonstrate that we can be good stewards of this complex resource that we've inherited by chance. The activity is going to happen; as long as oil is higher than about \$50 a barrel, the extraction will continue. We need to orient ourselves single-mindedly to making it cheaper, cleaner, greener, faster, and safer, and then we need to apply that intellectual property to other environmental challenges and industrial processes around the world. **That should be our next nation-building project—create long-term value out of this one-time benefit.** — *Iveson*

At the same time, it is frustrating that the industry gets a bad rap and is not recognized for its achievements. In fact, the people who spend the most time beating up Canadians are Canadians. However, **because of our regulatory standards, rule of law, and the way we operate, Canada is one of the top five energy-producing countries in the world.** It does not make sense that a lot of effort and money is going into diminishing our role. If you want to make the world a better place, why would you want to shut down one of the top producers? — *Tertzakian*

What role we need to play in the world

We live in a global economy, and as a country we need to figure out how we want to position ourselves in the world. Canada's position today is very different from what it was 15 years ago.

We have to consider, from a cultural perspective, are we comfortable being an aggressive, outspoken advocate on the world stage? Or are we more comfortable in our traditional role as a peace-keeper and mediator—friendly, not aggressive or outspoken, and consensus-driven? Clearly that's not where we are today. — *Nixon*

We face constant challenges when it comes to how open to the world we're prepared to be on issues such as immigration, trade, investment. Canada talks about being internationalist, and many people identify with that aspect of our history. The question is, when you're looking at a particular issue, say freer trade with Europe or the Trans-Pacific Partnership, you've got to decide: **are you going to take a bit of a gamble, engage with the world, risk a few losses for the sake of the gains?** Or are you going to hold back, avoid risks, and try to keep things the way they are? Those choices matter. They add up. And they lead down two totally different paths. — *Robson*

We have to make some hard decisions about who we are going to be and what we're going to do in the world. We are a small country and we cannot do everything. In the attempt, we weaken our impact everywhere we go. We have to have this debate, and in the process, we will make Canadians proud instead of angry. — *Stein*

A couple of years ago, I had a conversation with an elderly European diplomat during the United Nations climate talks in South Africa. With tears in his eyes, he said to me, "I've been a diplomat for 35 years, and for many of the issues that I have worked on, my partners were the Canadians. This has changed. I don't understand, what's happening to Canada?" It was this visceral moment when I thought, I want to be proud of Canada again. We're the country that helped heal the hole in the ozone layer. **We need to decide if we're going to be the people who lead the world on sustainability and social justice and other intransigent problems.** — *Berman*

How to step up our capacity to take risks and innovate

We're the first generation that knows things are probably going to get worse. Sure, we can make it slightly less bad, but even if we stopped pulling any fossil fuels out of the ground tomorrow, there would be irreversible climate change that would impact how we live. We're trying to figure out what to do about it. **If we can build solutions in a way that changes the way things have been done and that challenges power dynamics, then we might come out of this even stronger.** — *Possian*

We have the opportunity to assert ourselves—to rebrand ourselves—as a bigger power in light of what's happening in the world. There will be 9 billion people to feed by 2050, and we've got some of the strongest agricultural policies. During the 2008 world financial crisis, we showed our financial prowess, and we continue to be a leader in our taxation and banking systems, our stability, and our relatively low unemployment rate when compared to other nations. But do we export enough of that knowledge? No! Do we showcase enough just how awesome we are? No! It's called the "Tall Poppy Syndrome"—we don't want to stand out by being the tallest poppy in the field, so when Canadians do amazing things, we won't take credit for them. I'd like to see us be more patriotic, but until the world applauds us, we don't applaud ourselves. Humility is nice, but not when it holds you back. — *Mohamed*

We have to decide what kind of country we want to be. There's lots of investment right now in innovation in the public service and other sectors, and that investment is going to dry up if we don't commit to implementing some of the great ideas that have

been talked about. Let's stop talking about experiments and start committing to new approaches to problem solving. If we can't do that, we should just commit to being a country that follows. — *Ebrahim*

For Canada to be on a positive trajectory in the future, **our systems would need to become more porous and more responsive to emerging ideas and disruptions.** Right now, it seems like the existing structures don't have the capacity to metabolize good ideas and new narratives, even if we were to come up with them. — *Glencross*

We are a rules-bound society. We don't like to take too much risk. Peace, order, good governance: that's us. Not taking risks means surrounding yourself with the same old ideas and the same old people that reflect those ideas. Research shows that if you want to produce the same rigid thinking, your team should be homogenous. However, **if you want to create something new, different, crazy, then you should ensure that your team is made up of people who are radically different from you.** It may create measured conflict and chaos, but it will result in creativity, and we need creativity. — *Omidvar*

Up till now, Canada has been a society that's comparatively open to innovation. We're quite comfortable with people coming in and doing things differently. Any individual instance of established interests trying to shut down something new or keep out a competitor may not seem critical. But it's part of a larger battle: what is versus what could be. **As a society, we want the people who are trying to do something new and different to win more than they lose.** — *Robson*

*“Let’s stop
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— Zahra Ebrahim

8



LENS 8

What Would It Take for Us to Succeed in Creating a Good Future?

Have the courage to acknowledge our challenges

People with vision, intellect, wisdom, and stamina must decide to step out of their comfort zones and dedicate themselves to persuading their fellow citizens that we have a lot of hard work to do. We will have controversy, and perhaps short-term sacrifice, but Canadians will have to embrace leaders who

will do the heavy lifting, not for self-serving reasons but for pride of country and belief in our responsibility to future generations. If people with unusual talents don't step up, and if Canadians don't offer support when they do, the negative scenario will become the base case.. — *Emerson*

The primary forces of change today are not Canadian; they're global. Canada thrives or is less successful depending on how well it understands the world around it. When it understands it, it does quite well. When it doesn't understand it, it does poorly.... We also need to create a context where today's important issues permeate public discourse. Pick up five newspapers and listen to five radio stations today, and they're not going to deal with these issues. Do the same sampling in Singapore or Sweden, and they would. — *Lynch*

We can't sleepwalk into the future; we need to clearly grasp where we're not happy with the direction we're heading and use our collective will to make a change in course. The race is on between what we can do by intentionality and will, and what the forces at work in Canadian society will do if there is no intervention. — *Reid*

With a four-year election cycle, politicians campaign and paint a nice, beautiful picture, but they're not telling the entire story. When they get in power, they realize they have to make tough decisions. Then people aren't happy because the politicians aren't doing what they promised. When we vote for people, we have to have the courage to let them do what they have to do and not succumb to the pressure to do what is popular. — *Pereša*

We've had spectacular moments when we should have stopped and said, "Wow, this is really bad." We have to keep taking these moments and being political about them, organizing about them, educating around them, exposing them. We need to say to White people, "I don't want you to help me. I want you to understand that your life will be really bad if things continue as they are." If you want to live behind barricades and have guns and shoot down everybody who confronts you, if you think that's a good life, then you're not going to see the common cause. But you cannot live enjoyably, let alone ethically, in a society where such bad things are happening to others. — *Razack*

In 400 years of human civilization, we went from a time when kings were the

sole owners of a power that, they said, came straight down from God, to the rise of democracy with power coming from the people. This proves that it is possible for humanity to overcome barbarism. We are, however, in the process of recreating the aristocratic elites that monopolize power. Fortunately, we have a strong sense of the past, and we are capable of turning trends around. This is why I do not lose sleep. But we need to persevere, and from time to time, we need to get mad. — *Venne*

.....
Engage and act in partnership to address these challenges

We aren't contributing inside our country and outside to the world to the extent of our potential. Being social democrats, we tend to defer too much, partly out of a sense of respect but also out of a kind of passivity that says, "Let's wait until we get guidance." The way we can do better is by taking responsibility for what Canada is to become. We have to remind ourselves that it's not going to come from government and it's not going to come from elsewhere: Canada will be what we make it. — *Ménard*

Our society has continued in a dynamic of dominators and dominated, where we consider that we have nothing to learn from First Nations people. We think we only have to help them. But there is nobody who helps anybody else. Each of us has something to learn or share with others, regardless of our social position. We cannot build the Canada of the future without all Canadians. Creating a truly inclusive dialogue means all of us positioning ourselves as learners, rather than as masters downloading our knowledge to others. — *Duguay*

The Governor General called for us to create a smart and caring nation. That's a good intersection: we need people with aspirations and ambitions who want to put their talent and efforts towards bettering both themselves and the community. To make the necessary leaps in terms of knowledge and creativity, our leaders must be

open to new ideas and be able to hear diverse points of view from people from different backgrounds, experiences, and cultures. — *Fortier*

If we fail to make the changes we need to, it won't be because the solutions aren't there or because they aren't economically viable. It will be because we didn't believe we could do it and didn't mobilize enough people from all the sectors of our society to make it happen. — *Guilbeault*

I have been reflecting on how we might be working together in the future to address environment or social challenges. The metaphor is inspired by Tour de France-type road cycling, which is intensely competitive, with many diverse teams and riders and strategies, and is also deeply collaborative. Free riders are not tolerated. Everyone has to do their part. Trust has to be very high. The purpose is to accelerate progress to achieve a defined outcome. Can we create such "pelotons" to mobilize joint efforts and talents to achieve our big, bold, positive outcomes? — *Lambert*

If we put our faith in people and include them more often in deliberations and decisions between elections—and not just for these single events—Canada would get back on the path towards being a vibrant, successful, sustainable, progressive country. The way forward is through processes that bring citizens into conversation with each other, especially around important, complex issues. — *Graham*

We need to develop a symbolic life that is strong enough to give Canadians a sense of belonging and possibility, and at the same time communicate our values to the rest of the world. It's easy right now to live anywhere in the world and be connected through screens and live in a virtual world that has nothing to do with a sense of place. But I still believe that by living together in communities and sharing institutions, values, and a political system, we will be able to generate a single symbolic space where we meet, exchange, dream, and imagine the future. — *Brault*

Part 2:

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INTERVIEWS





MOVING BEYOND Colonialist Understandings:

“Re-indigenizing means becoming responsible to the location that you’re in.”

PINNINGTON

What is it about your story that informs the perspectives that you have and the work that you do today?

ARMSTRONG

I’m Indigenous, and I’m Indigenous to this part of Canada, to the Plateau tribal areas, and Interior Salish. So *ONE OF THE THINGS THAT INFORMS MY PERSPECTIVE IS THAT FOR ME, THIS ISN’T CANADA: THIS IS SYILX TERRITORY*. And it has been Syilx territory since at least the post-glacial period, according to all the research that has been done by linguists and archaeologists. One culture, here on this land.

So that history informs how I see the settlement of Canada. When I was in high school and university, for instance, we all studied the history of Canada. I realized that the local history here was really skewed in terms of what was presented in the textbooks. What was presented made early settlement really positive and watered down to be more palatable for the Settler society. That

really affected the way that I feel about those injustices that haven’t been reconciled.

Reconciliation isn’t just about hearing the truth, it’s about acting on the truth, to make changes and to reconcile some of the really serious injustices that are still happening and still present (economic injustice for instance). Government proclamations continue to look at our lands as lands to be taken, resources to be taken—and continue to not look at the truth. We have legally occupied those lands for thousands of years and have the right to participate in decisions about those lands, whether the decisions are about development or protection. So those are some of the issues that are still outstanding in terms of how Canada can think about its 150 years of being.

So what does reconciliation involve?

Reconciliation isn’t about Canada’s view about it; it’s about the Indigenous peoples’ view about it.

I think society will be better for that, and I think Canadian people are to a large extent willing to do that if they’re informed about it. I have a lot of optimism that peoples in Canada are in a position to take the high road and be a model for the rest of the world in relation to that.

So I look at this 150th anniversary and I think, “If it’s an anniversary, then who got married here?” Partnership with Indigenous peoples is necessary to better the situation that currently exists in Indigenous peoples’ communities right across this country.

For instance, how we define Indigeneity itself might inform how we need to look at climate change. Indigenous people have survived these 150 years. Like George Manuel and other

leaders have said in the past, we were not meant to survive: we were meant to be totally assimilated and be like the rest of the Settler populations. Yet we have survived within our identities, and we will continue to survive within our identities, and that's to the betterment

of Canada, that's not to the detriment of Canada. Finding a way to survive has provided us with strengths, with tools, and with a better understanding of how we might be partners in this country.

If you could ask a clairvoyant three questions about the future of Canada, what would you want to ask?

Has Canada moved away from its colonialist understanding of who Canada is? Has it indigenized itself to the reality of this country and not to an old European construct of domination and governance?

Another question I would have is, has Canada taken a strong position in terms of working with its Indigenous partners to reconcile some of the issues that deep down are affecting all of society? For example, policies that create minorities or the idea that there are minorities. Really that's just a construct. This construct creates ethnicities and the idea that there are minorities. Really those don't exist; we're human beings that live in different parts of this country that require different ways and mechanisms by which we can cooperate locally in terms of our environment, our economic needs, and our social requirements. There are no minorities in that.

The other part I would ask is, how well are we doing aligning with other nations of the world that are much further ahead than Canada in looking at deeper issues that relate to Indigenous knowledge and Indigenous peoples? So with the example of climate change, are we really indigenizing ourselves to that area, and looking at how education systems and media systems might support that? What I mean is that very, very few people in any locality understand anything about their environment, their watershed, their local indigenous fauna and flora, and yet they are casting ballots to make decisions about those things. So re-indigenizing doesn't mean turning people into Indians or whatever; it means becoming responsible to the location that you're in from a knowledgeable point of view in making decisions that affect every one of us.

"So I look at this 150th anniversary and I think, 'If it's an anniversary, then who got married here?'"

If things turn out well over the next 20 years, what will have happened?

There would be some changes in how resources are thought about: not as resources that are to be extracted by foreign corporations, but as resources that are part of that landscape and the people who live there. To a large degree, that is informed through Indigenous

partnering and protection for the things that are required for the next seven generations. If in the 20 years the legal landscape has opened some doors and has moved towards real, balanced partnering with Indigenous people, then that will be a huge move forward.

COMMUNITY:

“The places I find most inspiring and energizing are those where there are young people.”

KAHANE

What keeps you up at night?

GLENCROSS

I’m particularly concerned about people’s inability to imagine an entirely different future, as individuals but also as a country. Some of my most connected and engaged friends spend a lot of time defending their current activities against the narrative that was given to them when they were younger: go to school, get a good job, work hard, start a family, settle somewhere nice, and be able to tell a simple story about what you do. This preoccupation prevents them from dreaming about new modes of operating.

POSSIAN

I think a lot about the inability of our political candidates to provide compelling visions for the future. The places I find most inspiring and energizing are those where there are young people having conversations about what the future could look like. But we’re not the ones with power. The political system—where formal decision-making power is held—seems like a barrier.

That makes it easy to disengage. At the same time, our social movements are fragmented. We agree on 99% of the things, we acknowledge that we’re up against systemic forces, but sometimes it seems as if we’re never going to be able to work together. We might share goals, but we don’t necessarily have the collective capacity to act.

JABIR

I come from an immigrant background, and my city, Toronto, is now a majority immigrant city. That has framed my understanding of people who consider themselves on the margins or aren’t part of the mainstream political discussion. I’m very concerned about inequality and who gets left behind in the way we move forward. When social services are cut, when youth unemployment isn’t addressed, when debt is put on the backs of young people—these actions limit people’s future prosperity and their ability to have a voice and participate equally in society.

If things turn out badly in 20 years, what would have happened?

PENROSE

We didn’t change direction. We continued to rely on things that compromise our environment. The same type of people ended up making decisions and serving in public office. We fell behind in building the infrastructure we need. We continued to operate from a narrative of scarcity, which ended up hurting the people who are most affected by social inequities.

POSSIAN

Somewhere along the way, we lost confidence in our vision. We’re in a situation right now where **ONE PART OF SOCIETY HAS BEEN SUCCESSFUL AT MAKING IRRELEVANT ISSUES IMPORTANT TO THE MAJORITY OF THE PUBLIC. IF THAT TREND CONTINUED, MANY OF US WOULD FEEL SO POWERLESS THAT WE WOULD COMPLETELY RETREAT.**

	<p><i>JABIR</i></p> <p>Our leaders didn't recognize the value in everyone moving together, including those who are less wealthy and less powerful. That's a risky way to go. If we</p>	<p>continue on the trajectory of dismantling many of our social structures and welfare supports, and making drastic changes in our laws, we might create the sort of entrenched inequality that we see in the US and the UK.</p>
<p>If things turn out well, what would that story be and how would it come about?</p>	<p><i>GLENCROSS</i></p> <p>For Canada to be on a positive trajectory in the future, our systems would need to become more porous and more responsive to emerging ideas and disruptions. Right now, it seems like the existing structures don't have the capacity to metabolize good ideas and new narratives, even if we were to come up with them.</p>	<p><i>JABIR</i></p> <p>We would be committed to working together to achieve one national project. Finland has been successful by focusing on building one of the world's best education systems. It's impossible to solve everything, but if there was one thing we could strive to be excellent at, that would give us some motivation.</p>

"Maybe we're just more attuned to barriers than an older generation who may have already found their way. There is a strong sense of anxiety among my generation"

<p>What I notice from the conversation so far is how much more despairing your initial comments have been than those made by many of the other interviewees. I wonder whether your position as young leaders enables you to see something that older people are missing.</p>	<p><i>JABIR</i></p> <p>Maybe we're just more attuned to barriers than an older generation who may have already found their way. There is a strong sense of anxiety among my generation. You see that in terms of the number of people who seek mental health counselling in universities and those who are stressed about finding jobs. Many people in the 20- to 30-year-old range don't know what their next step is or how they're going to get to where they want to go.</p> <p><i>BAKER</i></p> <p>It's easy for me to describe the worst-case scenario and difficult for me to describe the fantastic scenario and how we get there. That's probably very millennial. From the moment we started being curious about the world, we learned that things are getting worse</p>	<p>and worse and worse in most regards. We've also grown to understand the world as incredibly fast moving and unpredictable, and so in face of terrifying challenges, we have this faith that things tomorrow might be very different than they are today. That's what keeps driving me despite a lot of pessimism</p> <p><i>POSSIAN</i></p> <p>We're the first generation that knows things are probably going to get worse. Sure, we can make it slightly less bad, but even if we stopped pulling any fossil fuels out of the ground tomorrow, there would be irreversible climate change that would impact how we live. We're trying to figure out what to do about it. If we can build solutions in a way that changes the way things have been done and that challenges power dynamics, then we might come out of this even stronger.</p>
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<p>What energizes you?</p>	<p><i>JABIR</i></p> <p>As much as we talk about the policy changes and higher-level things that are needed, at the base of it all, we start in families and in communities. If those things aren't strong, then movement building and activism isn't possible.</p>	<p>One of the biggest things we struggle with is the great loneliness that many people feel. As we become more and more isolated, we lose the ground for anything that we want to do. I want to bring people together, because without that, the rest of it really isn't possible.</p>
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COMMERCIALIZING Our Ideas:

“With all our creativity and smart, hard-working people, why aren’t we more successful?”

POHLMANN

What concerns you
about Canada?

BALSILLIE

Let me first say I’m bullish on Canada’s prospects for the future. We have strong fundamentals and a creative workforce. But I’m concerned about Canada’s prosperity, specifically how we commercialize our ideas globally. In the past 32 years, growth in Canada’s multi-factor productivity (a measure of how we commercialize our ideas) has been zero. Yet during that same timeframe in the US, their multi-factor productivity soared. You can pay for a lot of social services, hospitals, schools, and transit systems with that kind of prosperity. As a country, with all our creativity and smart, hard-working people, why aren’t we more successful in commercializing our ideas?

In Canada, over the past century we largely got the ecosystem right for a resource economy and continue to prosper because of it. This ecosystem includes physical elements like roads and pipelines, geopolitical elements like market access and investment protection, universities that appropriately educated students and researched key areas, courts that fairly addressed domestic commercial issues, and public sector-private sector structures to address the important issues of various time horizons.

We got a lot of the macroeconomic elements right, such as our stable banking, monetary, and government fiscal systems. We invested generously in all of the right microeconomic areas like tax incentives, granting programs, and R&D funding, and so the issue is not more government money. The question we must ask ourselves is, why aren’t these micro inputs creating the macro outputs for us when our overall system is so stable?

THE CRITICAL CHALLENGE AND OPPORTUNITY FOR CANADIAN POLICY-MAKERS AND BUSINESS LEADERS IS TO FULLY UNDERSTAND THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE ECOSYSTEM FOR A RESOURCE ECONOMY AND THE ECOSYSTEM FOR AN INNOVATION ECONOMY, AND THEN ENSURE THAT ALL THESE GAPS ARE ADDRESSED. Once this is achieved, I am certain our commercialization performance will start rising as we have always expected given our levels of investment and world-class skills.

What important decisions will Canada have to make in these areas of ecosystem gaps to create an innovation economy?

We need to reorient both our domestic and our geopolitical engagements to ideas commercialization, particularly in the complex, predatory, and evolving realm of intellectual property rights management. Ownership and commercialization of intangible ideas is very different than for tangible natural resources. Sophisticated capacity here will increasingly be needed as new emerging economies seek to also advance their national innovation champions and as various carbon-pricing regimes are inserted into global trade. The academy needs to research it, our schools need to teach it, the courts

need a strategy to advance it, industrial programs need to encourage it, and public sector-private sector structures need to ensure it's addressed on a priority basis.

Commercialization is where the innovation game is won or lost: it's where you get paid for your ideas. When you get paid for ideas—otherwise called transferring intellectual property rights—then you get multi-factor productivity, you get prosperity and wealth, and you can spend it wherever you wish.

“If Canadians want to win, Canadians know how to do it.”

What important lessons can we learn from the past?

When Canada hosted the Olympics in Montreal and then again in Calgary, we didn't win any gold medals as a nation. We were deeply unsatisfied with our national performance. To our credit, we didn't rationalize our results by saying, “That's okay, gold medals don't matter.” Instead we created and funded a coherent program called “Own The Podium” and realized its ambitious goal at the

Vancouver Olympics by winning 15 gold medals—the most of any country in the world. These results thrilled and inspired our entire nation. It teaches us what an ambitious, orderly, and systematic approach can do. These are nation-building exercises, and they prove that if Canadians want to win, Canadians know how to do it.



RESISTING Climate Change:

“Oil is corroding our pipelines and it’s corroding our democracy.”

POHLMANN

What is it about your story that informs the perspectives that you have and the work that you do today?

BERMAN

Canada is now doing less on climate change and has a weaker regulatory system to address environmental threats than any other industrialized country. In the last two years, dozens of laws that protect our air, water, and biodiversity have been gutted or removed. The Fisheries Act no longer offers habitat protection, that is, we protect fish but not where they live. The Water Act no longer protects the water. These changes were made to remove impediments to the expansion of oil and gas exploration. The oil and gas sectors are having an unprecedented influence on the development of policy at a time when protecting the environment is crucial to the future stability of our economy and our climate.

We’re living at a tipping point. In the last two years, global investment in renewable energy technologies has exceeded everyone’s wildest dreams. But we are banking our economic future on oil and gas resources that are going to become stranded assets, and so we will be behind the eight-ball in developing economic options. Our economic stability in the future is directly linked to our capacity to limit fossil fuel development now. For every dollar we spend today on developing fossil fuel, we will spend four dollars in 2020 on dealing with the results of climate change, including extreme weather, floods, and immigration.

EVERY DAY, POLLUTION IN CANADA IS GOING UP INSTEAD OF GOING DOWN. Our national trajectory is the opposite of what it should be, and we’re out of step with most of the international community. Emissions in the US are going down, and they are dramatically increasing their spending on renewable energy. We are not. Our government refuses to talk about climate change and has systematically shut down much of the climate science in the country. It’s not just that we’re not acting on climate change; we don’t even have a process to have a conversation about it right now.

Democracy only thrives if you have transparency, information, and participation. All three of those things are being restricted right now in Canada. The public’s ability to participate in the decisions that affect our future has been dramatically limited. If you want to speak or send a letter to the National Energy Board on an issue, you have to fill out an 11-page form and be approved. During regulatory reviews, citizens and experts are not allowed to talk about the impact of proposed projects on climate change. These draconian restrictions make approvals much easier for industry. What we’re seeing in Canada is that oil corrodes: it’s corroding our pipelines and it’s corroding our democracy.

What energizes you?

The increasing role that First Nations are playing in the public dialogue on a range of issues. Many First Nations communities and leaders are tired of not being listened to and of having these oil and gas projects pushed on them. First Nations are fighting for their traditional territories, for their traditional way of life, and, as one of the chiefs said to me earlier this summer, in many ways for their lives.

In their advertising, the oil companies say the pipelines are nation-building projects. But what they are building is a nation of resistance. They are connecting people across constituencies and

waking people up to the climate and health implications of different policies. The best antidote for fear or depression is engagement, and we're seeing that in spades across the country. When I started running campaigns, the focus was on how many people you could get around your kitchen table. Now I'm meeting young organizers who can connect to tens of thousands of people in seconds. They have an enormous amount of information at their fingertips, and they're connected in ways we never imagined possible. That changes the impact we as individuals and as groups can have.

If things have turned out badly in 20 years, what would Canada look like?

A dramatic increase in forest fires and beetle infestations will destroy the majority of our intact boreal forests. We'll be dealing with dramatic immigration from all over the world, but predominantly from Southeast Asia and Central Africa. Within the next 20 years, 30% of the population of Southeast Asia will

lose their homes as a result of sea-level rise. A much larger population will strain the capacity of our cities, which will also be under extreme pressure due to flooding and extreme weather. Food prices for most crops will be triple to quadruple what they are today.

"Democracy only thrives if you have transparency, information, and participation. All three of those things are being restricted right now in Canada."

If things have gone well over the next 20 years, what will Canada look like?

A high-speed rail network will connect major corridors across the country. There will be a dramatic increase in public transit, cycling, and walking and a dramatic decrease in the number of cars in urban centres. More companies like Facebook will move to Canada and build their data centres here. Canada will make a big investment in renewable energy resources and in the capacity to export clean energy to the United States.

We'll see a rise in the generation of tidal energy on both coasts and of geo-thermal energy, especially out of Alberta. More households will produce their own energy and feed that energy back to the grid. All of that will mean a democratization of energy and of the economy: if no one owns the inputs and everyone can generate the energy to fuel society, that changes who holds power.

What important decisions are coming up for Canada?

The 2015 election: I think it is going to change the face of Canada. A couple of years ago, I had a conversation with an elderly European diplomat during the United Nations climate talks in South Africa. With tears in his eyes, he said to me, "I've been a diplomat for 35 years, and for many of the issues that I have worked on, my partners were the Canadians. This has changed. I don't

understand, what's happening to Canada?" It was this visceral moment when I thought, I want to be proud of Canada again. We're the country that helped heal the hole in the ozone layer. We need to decide if we're going to be the people who lead the world on sustainability and social justice and other intransigent problems. I think we are.



INDIGENOUS Legal Traditions:

“We’ve unfortunately taken a perspective that treaties were merely real-estate transactions.”

POHLMANN

What concerns you about Canada?

BORROWS

We have two legal systems, one from France and one from England, and yet we don’t sufficiently recognize the ones that originated here. The traditions that came from France and England have sometimes served us well, but they’ve also left gaps and further questions that aren’t being solved. I’m convinced that Canada can be enriched by Indigenous peoples’ legal traditions. I would love to see Salish, Cree, Blackfoot, Inuit, and Mi’kmaq legal perspectives and traditions form a part of our standards for judgment, not just within Indigenous communities but for

Canada as a whole. It could be exciting to learn what the Salish legal tradition says related to fracking or pipelines, or whatever the local issue might be. Maybe the answer is not totally in the Salish Law and not totally in the Common Law, but when you put the two together—that’s powerful! There’s something in the flowing together that gives you a new insight. Just as we have different forms of art, Indigenous peoples have different forms of law. We need to explore how we can take that law and carve it in new and beautiful ways.

If you could ask a clairvoyant about the future of Canada, what would you want to know?

Can we revitalize Indigenous languages? Many of them are close to extinction, and it’s hard to sustain the others, even if they are on a stronger footing—like Inuit, Ojibwe, and Cree. Part of the reason for this trend is that 50% of Native people are married to non-Native people. About 60% of Aboriginal peoples live in urban areas now; there are so many English-language media influences in the rising generation.

The good news is there are many second-language learners of Indigenous languages. They grow up speaking English, but they’re Salish and decide, “I

want to speak Salish!” There are handfuls of Salish speakers by first language, but now there are a growing number of second-language learners.

I’VE BEEN LEARNING OJIBWE FOR A FEW YEARS. WHEN I LEARN THAT LANGUAGE, I GAIN OTHER WAYS OF LOOKING AT THE WORLD. In Algonquian language, the world is divided between things that are living and things that not living. In Ojibwe, rocks and trees actually have life forces; you would address them as you would a person. You have a different relationship to the world.

What keeps you up at night?

We're failing the youth of Canada, Indigenous youth in particular, by fighting about ideology and not finding ways to get people basic skills. Even now, only 35% of the kids on reserves are graduating high school. Only 4% on reserves have post-secondary education. We've lost generations of young people to residential school, to child welfare, to the prison system, to drugs, to dropping out of school. The loss of human potential is staggering.

In teaching young people, I often sense a loss of hope or cynicism about what the future holds, about what they can do in the world. I try to encourage them to see

that they can make a difference and to help them identify what their gifts and contributions might be. It is exciting, though, that students are asking questions. They're not just letting it be.

I travelled a lot around Ontario this past summer to the different reserves, and I heard from elders, "There used to be a lot of oak and maple in this forest, and it's no longer there. We're no longer seeing the kinds of birds and insects and fish that were once prominent here." After hearing from them, I'm worried about the environment and about losing diversity in our ecosystem.

"We chose the path of persuasion, not force. To me, that's the foundation of Canada."

If in 20 years things have not gone well, what's happened?

We failed to cultivate a healthy way of addressing, for a lack of a better word, spirituality. We weren't attentive enough to the non-physical way of being in the world and to questions of community and connection. We should have had conversations that would have pulled us beyond the moment and

towards thinking in broader "why are we here" ways. We failed to create a different relationship with our environment. We were more tuned into national and international energy flows and not attentive enough to the local energies and the way they were being harmed or could've been better harnessed?

What are important examples from the past where Canada succeeded in realizing its potential?

This is the 250th year of the Treaty of Niagara. In 1764, 2000 Native people representing 24 different nations met with the head official in British North America, Sir William Johnson, to enter into a treaty of peace, friendship, and respect. This was after the Seven Years' War. Together, they said, this is what Canada is going to look like. We could've kept fighting, but we didn't.

We chose the path of persuasion, not force. To me, that's the foundation of Canada. Why didn't we celebrate it? We've unfortunately taken a perspective that treaties were merely real-estate transactions. In taking that view, we've lost a part of who we are as a nation. We failed to see our nation as rooted in a higher aspiration.



REINVENTING Ourselves:

“Canada should renounce the idea of one interpretation or an official story.”

ATNIKOV

How has your personal story shaped your perspective?

BRAULT

For more than 25 years, I have been preoccupied by ways in which we can revitalize cities. To me, arts and culture are essential components of any journey to empower people and for communities to reinvent themselves. We need artists to interpret, comment on,

and decode the state of the world and to point us in a direction of hope. To be relevant, art needs to have some kind of social impact. I profoundly believe that art and culture are components of freedom, of emancipation, of taking charge of our destinies.

What’s got your attention right now?

Our country is increasingly divided, politically and ideologically. We need to find themes, questions, and preoccupations that go beyond those divides and to debate ideas based on their merit and not on who expressed them. We still believe we need experts to fix things. But expertise is not enough; we need a broader view and understanding of the challenges and potential solutions. Canada must see its thinkers and artists and philosophers and researchers as people who have practical contributions to make to solving problems.

This work happens in our cultural spaces. Sixty years ago, the notion of developing that space in Canada was informed by the idea of a national identity that would be different and separated from the American one. We developed a set of rules, cultural

industries, and quotas for Canadian content to develop that cultural space. What I see as the challenge and opportunity right now is that this notion of a Canadian cultural space has to be revisited, questioned, and challenged. A huge number of assumptions that were at the foundation of our cultural spaces, policies, and tools 50 years ago—such as the notions of national borders, controlled airwaves, a certain hierarchy of cultural tastes and preferences, the undervaluing of the importance of the Aboriginal question—are vanishing. What I find most compelling right now is opening possibilities for reinvention and reimagination of what could be. It’s time to invite people who have been excluded from the conversation about arts and culture to imagine how we could build a new and trusted cultural space together.

If you could ask a clairvoyant anything about the future, what would you want to know?

HOW WILL WE PRACTICE DEMOCRACY OVER THE NEXT DECADES? DEMOCRACY—AND FREEDOM OF SPEECH, EXPRESSION, AND CREATION—REMAINS ONE OF THE MOST POWERFUL ENGINES TO DEVELOP A COUNTRY. Canada should renounce the idea of one interpretation or an official story. We need to keep alive a democratic and open discussion about how we see the past and the future.

Have we found ways to avoid isolation? I'm concerned by the fact that a lot of people feel lonely and are disconnected or marginalized. I don't think this was as much the case years ago. The divide between people who are in the system and people who are out is deeper and more brutal than before. It has to do with poverty, education, and language. Arts and culture have a role to play in advancing the ideal of a more inclusive society. The countries that succeed in being more inclusive will have a better future. The ones that continue to invest in exclu-

sion will have more and more difficulty performing well on any indicators.

What will be the future of our symbolic life—the music, images, movement, and narratives that we build? What will be the role of artists, who are the makers and interpreters and proposers of symbols? In society right now, we cannot ignore some attempts to control our symbolic life and to instrumentalize it for commercial or other purposes. We need to develop a symbolic life that is strong enough to give Canadians a sense of belonging and possibility, and at the same time communicate our values to the rest of the world. It's easy right now to live anywhere in the world and be connected through screens and live in a virtual world that has nothing to do with a sense of place. But I still believe that by living together in communities and sharing institutions, values, and a political system, we will be able to generate a single symbolic space where we meet, exchange, dream, and imagine the future.

"Our country is increasingly divided, politically and ideologically."

As compared to a Canadian city today, if I were to zoom in on a Canadian city in 20 years and it has a particularly vibrant symbolic life, what would I see?

Today, the architecture, the traffic flow, the organization in cities is done to facilitate driving in cars, buying, and consuming. There aren't enough meeting spaces, not enough places where people can exchange ideas, share, and help each other. In the Canadian city of the future, I would hope humans would be front and centre of everything.

Because we don't live in an infinite world, neighbourhoods would be organized in a holistic way around sharing, preserving, and safekeeping knowledge and commodities. Meeting places would be attractive, even in the poorest neighbourhoods. People would be connected and feel supported

What important lessons from the past can we draw upon to inform how we should operate in the future?

What interests me the most is how we recovered from different crises. Resilience is the ability to go back to a state of relative harmony and happiness after some kind of upheaval, whether in a neighbourhood, industry, sector, or part of the country. We can dig into our past to find out what individuals, proposals, and ideas served as catalysts of resilience and learn from those.

We also need to think much more globally than we are. We have a lot of regulations and protectionist ways of thinking. The best way to protect something is not to put it in a safe and close the door; it is to share it. Every time we think about something, we need to figure out if it is not only a proposal for the country, but also one that we want to share with the rest of the world.



CHALLENGES of Migration:

“We have survived strains that have broken other countries’ hearts.”

POHLMANN

What keeps you up at night?

CARNEY

Canada is a young country, built since Aboriginal times on waves of immigration. My own grandmother, Bridgit Casey, was born in Canada West five years before Confederation created Canada in 1867, the child of Irish immigrants who were committed to developing the land and putting down roots for their families.

For centuries people came here because Canada was a frontier; there was a new world to explore, with new opportunities to make a better life. Canada became a sanctuary for people seeking freedom from oppression and poverty at home. These new Canadians relied on communal support for clearing land, raising barns, building communities. And they introduced new customs, art, and culture into the Canadian mosaic. Cultural diversity became the new norm.

In some areas of the country, we seem to be experiencing an era of migration motivated largely by greed. These “global migrants” come to Canada, park their money, and move on to live elsewhere. That’s reflected in the number of empty houses and condos here

in Vancouver. Much of the new housing is marketed to offshore residents who live in Canada part time, if at all. If you have a floating migrant population, the essential structure of community commitment and connections may be weakened. That’s reflected in the waning volunteer base and support for the arts affecting some communities.

Other countries such as Switzerland and Japan have tackled this challenge by taxing non-residents or making it impossible for them to buy property. In Canada, because we need immigrants to grow our economy, we don’t have those kind of controls.

The waves of migration that built Canada have often put a strain on the existing community fabric. During Canada’s first 147 years, many immigrants still considered other countries as their “homeland.” *WHEN CANADA BECOMES THE “HOME PLACE”—A TERM USED BY MY HOMESTEADING GRANDPARENTS—FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS OF CANADIANS, THE COUNTRY WILL HAVE REACHED MATURITY.*

What energizes you?

The sense of opportunity in Canada. By global standards, we don't live in an oppressive society. We have personal freedom and the legislative rule of law that allows people to achieve their goals and ambitions. Canadians can finance and implement an idea, and live the lives they want to live. We have clean air in most places.

Our greatest asset is our right to vote and our freedom to serve in Parliament without spending a fortune. If you run for Member of Parliament and spend more than the rules allow, you and your agent will go to jail. We should protect our freedom of access to the political system by anybody who has not been in jail.

Are Canada's political institutions moving in the right direction?

Joe Clark famously called Canada "a community of communities." There's a much stronger sense of community in Canada today than when I entered politics in 1980. It's generally accepted that Canada has five regions. No one is raging about French and English texts on cornflakes boxes. Now people are more concerned about the fact that the Chinese language newspapers are in the top of the coin box and the English ones are in the bottom.

We have survived strains that have broken other countries' hearts. We survived Meech Lake. We survived the tensions between western and eastern Canada. We survived politicians like Pierre Trudeau, who were loved in

some regions of Canada and hated in others. We survived the antagonism between French and English Canadians. We are learning to acknowledge the important role and responsibilities of Aboriginal Canadians.

The question is whether we can build on our historical record and survive the conflicts created by the new wave of global migrants and the potential global population shift. If you have an ethnic population that feels disengaged from the political process, or an ethnic population in some ridings that excludes other groups, you wonder whether the political will to sustain the country will last or whether it will fracture the national or regional fabric.

"If you have an ethnic population that feels disengaged from the political process, or an ethnic population in some ridings that excludes other groups, you wonder whether the political will to sustain the country will last or whether it will fracture the national or regional fabric."

What upcoming decisions will Canada need to make?

We will need to grapple with a concept of development that balances economic, ecological, Aboriginal, and other issues, such as demographic shifts, in order to achieve compatible goals. We have entered a much slower cycle of the economy, in which there'll be less money available for social and economic measures. Many young Canadians are making lifestyle and work choices that are more consistent with a slower-growth economy.

We can preserve and grow our beloved country and the world's best lifestyle if we can maintain our connection to the country as a whole, to a sense of community, and to the reality that there are rural and non-rural elements of the country. Canada is not confined to the metropolitan areas of Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver.



TOLERANCE:

“Demagogues thrive by cultivating insecurity and demonizing certain groups.”

KAHANE

When you think about Canada and Quebec at this time in our history, what keeps you up at night?

CHAREST

When I look at the overall picture of Canada, I find that we often lack ambition. When we close embassies in Africa and wind down international programs, we're telling the rest of the world that we're really not that important. If we're not out there branding ourselves and selling ourselves, we'll be less relevant. We need to have a better sense of where we fit in the world, how we can distinguish ourselves, and where we could make a difference. We need to know what things we are good at, what assets we have that will allow us to better succeed, and how we can make our success last. Even though we

are not even 3% of the world's economy, we could play a bigger role in the world if we chose to.

I also worry about the unity of the country. We cannot take for granted that things will always be the way they are. The separatist movement in Quebec has moved from the mainstream to the margin, but it is never going to go away. Our leaders need to make a constant, continued, and deliberate effort to forge a common identity based on what we share. It will not happen automatically.

Given Canada's diversity, what does a common Canadian identity look like?

Regardless of people's backgrounds, Canadians do have common characteristics. We have a different view of the world, different experiences, and different attitudes from people in other countries. As a people, we Canadians are not aggressive; we're not over the top in political discourse; we're community oriented. Our exchanges among ourselves are civilized. We govern ourselves well in that way, and I like that about Canada. Some people think we're too nice. I've seen the other world, and I would choose the "too nice" world every time.

I think we understand that diversity is an asset for us. We prefer to err on the side of tolerance. That's something precious. During the April election, people in Quebec chose to walk away from something that speaks to the darker nature of human beings. Quebecers understand historically that they are a minority, and the way they treat others will reflect on the way they are going to be treated. They looked into the precipice and walked away, saying, this doesn't feel right, there's something wrong here, and I'm not going to go for this.

What could undermine our sense of tolerance?

Demagogues thrive by cultivating insecurity and demonizing certain groups. They emphasize differences rather than the things we have in common. If that were to happen, we'd be in that spiral societies can end up in, where we

lose the ability to trust each other and to have a common discourse. We would find ourselves living in a country where we were suspicious of each other and suspicious of other groups.

And why might that happen?

HUMAN NATURE IS SUCH THAT WE REMEMBER NEGATIVES BETTER THAN POSITIVES. IT'S EASIER TO VOTE AGAINST SOMETHING—OR SOMEONE—THAN FOR IT.

For politicians, it's always tempting to pit one group against the other because it works so well and so rapidly. In Canada, for the most part, we have resisted this temptation, but we need leaders who will always be committed to elevating the political debate. Otherwise, because there are so many

differences in this country, it would be easy for us to fall into this divisive trap. The most significant political decision with regards to the foundation of Canada was when the British realized they could not hope to govern this part of North America without some form of recognition of the French population. More recently, the Francophones and Anglophones have included First Nations in the partnership. But every time we have veered off the track of inclusion, we have gotten into trouble.

“I think we understand that diversity is an asset for us.”

Are you saying that we are at risk of being complacent?

Canada will forever be a work in progress. The challenge for our leaders is to lead Canadians in appreciating what we have, acknowledging that nothing

is forever, and accepting that we need to be more ambitious and challenge ourselves more.



PARLIAMENTARY Reform:

“The checks and balances on power in Parliament and in our election system have weakened.”

KAHANE

What keeps you up at night?

CHONG

One of our challenges is the need to renew our democratic institutions. Democracy is one of the greatest inventions of western society. The checks and balances on power that exist through a parliamentary or republican or other system of government are at the heart of western democracy. In Canada, the checks and balances on power in Parliament and in our election system have weakened over the last decades. If we are going to continue to meet the challenges of the 21st century, like the rise of developing economies, diversity in our country, and terrorism, we need to strengthen that foundation.

Canada is now an outlier among Westminster parliamentary democracies because of several changes in the way we do things. First, caucuses no longer have a direct say in the election or removal of party leaders. Second, party leaders now have unbelievable power to decide on party candidates. Third, caucuses are no longer decision-mak-

ing bodies and their decisions don't bind the caucus leadership. As a result, party leaders, in particular the party leader in power, the Prime Minister, have almost unchecked power.

THIS IS A SERIOUS, SERIOUS CHALLENGE TO THE STRENGTH OF OUR DEMOCRACY.

In the short run, command-and-control models of governance can produce huge gains, but in the long run, they fall flat. Without checks and balances, at some point a bad leader comes along and undoes all of the gains made and then some. Democracies are frustrating in the short run, because the lack of concentrated power makes for less efficient decision making, but in the long run they get it right. If you look at the last 180 years, all evidence points to the fact that people in an educated, civilized, and enlightened society will make the right decisions.

If things turn out badly over the next 20 years, what would have happened?

Polling data shows that Canadians are losing faith in their democratic institutions. Voter turnout has declined precipitously in the last 20 years. In the last federal election, four out of 10 Canadians chose not to vote. That's one of the lowest rates among western democra-

cies. If over the next 20 years, we fail to renew our democratic institutions, engage Canadians in a meaningful way, and make these institutions more relevant to them, it's not inconceivable that voter turnout could decline to 50% or even 40%. If that happens, these

institutions will lack the legitimacy to act in a decisive way. We'd be looking at a system with even greater executive power and a legislative branch that is no longer central in our public life.

If Parliamentary reform fails, that increases the risk that we won't be able to deal successfully with a range of issues. For example, as our economy has become more urban and more service-based, we face significant challenges in our large city regions, including Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver, Calgary, Edmonton, and Halifax. Look what has happened with Pittsburgh and Detroit. Both were manufacturing and industrial powerhouses throughout the late 19th and first half of the 20th centuries. Both became Rust Belt cities with the decline of manufacturing

and certain industrial sectors in North America. Today, Pittsburgh is a symbol of success; Detroit is not. Pittsburgh had good democratic governance that was able to respond to the decline of the steel industry and reinvent the city. The problem with Detroit wasn't that the auto industry declined; it was that its democratic leaders and institutions failed to respond to that challenge. It's clear from scientific research that the planet is being stretched to the limit of its sustainability. We have to make sure that the land we have inherited is passed on to future generations in as good if not better shape than we received it. The path to environmental sustainability is through Parliament. A weakened legislature makes it more difficult to achieve consensus on meaningful policies.

“The problem with Detroit wasn't that the auto industry declined; it was that its democratic leaders and institutions failed to respond to that challenge.”

Has there been any historical example where Canadian democracy has risen to such a challenge?

Many! The rebellions of 1837 in Upper and Lower Canada were a direct result of the concentration of power in the executive branch of government. People in what are now Ontario and Quebec rebelled because their democratically elected legislatures weren't being heeded. Out of those rebellions came the great reforms of the 1840s and the vital principle that the executive branch of government is not accountable to the governor in council but rather to

the legislature. We also had the great broadening of the franchise in the late 19th to earlier 20th centuries, when women and all males above a certain age were given the right to vote. In the 1870s, the right to a secret ballot in federal elections was adopted. We've been able to make reforms before, and I have no doubt that we will be able to restore Parliament to playing a central role in our public debate again.



VALUING

Our Small Communities:

“Nature and culture are the two great garments of human life.”

KAHANE

What can you tell me about yourself that would help me understand what you’re paying attention to?

COBB

I grew up in a fishing community on an island off the northeast coast of Newfoundland. For centuries, we’ve had a gift of place: a place that we love, a place we learn from. This wasn’t a capital-accumulating society. We caught as many fish and grew as many turnips and cabbages as we needed to get through the winter. It was a remarkable way to live, and as a result I understand deeply what community means: it’s a shared place and set of interests. Community means living like we have a shared fate. When I was nine, the factory ships arrived, and it took only 30 years to bring the cod to the brink of extinction. Over night, everything we knew about making a living on the North Atlantic was completely irrelevant. Parents could no longer teach their children anything.

We became economic refugees. My father said to us, “You have to get an education because there’s no work for you here; there’s no life for you here.” I studied business because I wanted to understand how this destruction could have happened.

Our small communities across the country, not just in Newfoundland, are disintegrating in front of our eyes, and yet this is so entirely preventable. I believe that business and technology are powerful tools that, deployed properly, can contribute to place and can help create resilient, contemporary rural communities. And our rural places are powerful sources of knowledge, creativity, and innovation: they are assets, not liabilities.

What concerns you about Canada these days?

I am worried that we are failing to invest sufficiently in our “sacred capital” (natural capital, social capital, cultural capital, community capital) and in protecting our ways of knowing. In our small communities, there is an increasing poverty of hope, and a despair is taking hold. I don’t understand why we’re not more alarmed and doing something about the fact that we’re losing a fundamental part of our Canadian identity, ways of knowing, and sources of strength, imagination, and resourcefulness. Our identity and strength emerged—and emerges—from our relationship with this amazing piece of nature that we call Canada.

We haven’t done nearly enough to fortify, invest in, and enable our special places in a time of rapid globalization, where bigger always seems better and the local and specific is too often allowed to become subservient to a quest for efficiency. I talk to people who grew up on small farms in Saskatchewan, and this way of life seems to have been lost. The fishery is another example: in many cases, it is controlled by people who do not live on the ocean and fish for their livelihoods, who don’t have “embeddedness” in place, who are not sensitive and responsive to place, who manage financial capital in boardrooms far away

from the smell of fish. They are not likely to optimize for place, and yet they have the power to bring 350-year-old communities to collapse with the stroke of a pen and without the benefit of a proper conversation about alternatives.

We're living through a time marked by the flattening of communities and a flattening of culture. Our landscapes are flattened by a monoculture of box stores and transnational chains that

compromise small, locally owned businesses—of course with their scale, they can destroy these institutions, which have been an integral part of our community fabric. In addition to the loss of locally owned businesses, I worry about what this kind of market domination does to our freedom of spirit—to initiate itself. For example, who is going to set up a small coffee shop with unique offerings when there are large multinationals on every corner?

“Our small communities across the country, not just in Newfoundland, are disintegrating in front of our eyes, and yet this is so entirely preventable.”

If things turn out badly over the next 20 years, what would they look like?

We would have allowed reductionist thinking to get out of hand. We would have forgotten that nature and culture are the two great garments of human life. We'd all live in mega cities and suffer from a kind of placelessness. We would have lost our intimate knowledge of and ability to learn from the natural world. We'd have lost what Pam Hall refers to as “the ways of knowing that come from

an embodied, interdependent relationship with the still-wild world.” We'd be eating industrial food that's produced by enormous companies that transcend all borders. We'd be subservient to financial capital, and we wouldn't have a clue who we were. We'd have no sense of continuity with the past. The wisdom and nuances of heritage, and of the natural world, would be lost.

What lessons do we need to learn from our past failures?

CANADA AS A WHOLE IS LIKE A LOVELY PATCHWORK QUILT. THERE ARE SO MANY CULTURES AND COMMUNITIES IN CANADA, AND THE WAY YOU SEW ALL THESE LITTLE PATCHES TOGETHER TO MAKE A QUILT IS THROUGH OUR BUSINESS AND GOVERNMENT SYSTEMS. WE USED TO PUT THEM TOGETHER IN A WAY THAT RESPECTED ALL THE PATCHES, BIG AND SMALL. NOW WE SEEM TO EXPECT ALL THE PATCHES TO BE THE SAME. If one or two fall off, we don't seem bothered by a hole in the quilt. Do we have a vision anymore

about the value of culture and identity? Are we able to work in a collaborative way among all the players—including businesses—to make decisions that are in the best interests of the fabric of our communities? There is an increasing presence of reductionist thinking that is causing us to lose the things that are essential and sacred. Maybe we can't save every community, but I would like to see a national statement that says, “As Canadians, we value our small rural communities.” That would be very encouraging and a good beginning to finding a way to optimizing for community well-being.

If things turn out well over the next 20 years, what would the story be?

Canada would be a national network of intensely local places, some big, many small. We would have found ways to localize and at the same time link communities together. Everything exists in relationship, and in healthy relationships I can be more me and you can be more you. That's the kind of relationships we need build. Our lives wouldn't be dominated by distantly owned hyper-businesses that optimize primarily for

return on (distant) capital. Instead, we'd have right-scaled businesses that operate in ways that fortify the fabric of our communities. Of course there are instances when we need national distribution companies, but there are creative ways to achieve scale when and where scale is necessary: creative ways to keep the well-being of our communities at the top of our priority list and at the core of our decision making.



OUR INSTITUTIONAL Legacy:

“You can only think that Canada is a bad place if you have never left here.”

KAHANE

What energizes you these days about Canada?

CROWLEY

Canada is a lucky country. People often say it's because we have a vast endowment of natural resources, but that can't explain our success as a society. I can name 50 countries around the world with fantastic natural resource endowments that are hellholes you would never want to live in. So that's not what makes this a great society.

WE HAVE A DIFFERENT ENDOWMENT THAT IS MUCH MORE IMPORTANT THAN NATURAL RESOURCES: THE INSTITUTIONS

AND BEHAVIOURS THAT WE ORIGINALLY INHERITED FROM THE BRITISH AND HAVE EVOLVED TO BECOME OUR OWN. These include a well-functioning democracy, the rule of law, non-corrupt judges and police, a reasonable regulatory and taxation burden, well-functioning social services, a well-developed work ethic, enforcement of contracts, and respect for private property. Canada is not a place where we are victims of a predatory state.

How did we end up with this strong institutional endowment?

It's not universal in all the former British colonies, but places like Australia, New Zealand, the United States, and Canada inherited these institutions from the same source. Hong Kong demonstrates that they are not unique to a certain culture, because Hong Kong is essentially British institutions with Chinese people living within them. Hong Kong has traditionally enjoyed the same kind of success: people can

think long term, they can create, they don't have to worry that if they invest something in the society, next year it will be stolen by the president's brother—although the recent demonstrations there show that these institutions are by no means untouchable. That underscores what a rare achievement such institutions are in the world, and Canada is perhaps the most successful of the inheritors.

Is this endowment at risk?

Canadians don't always understand what we have. I'm constantly battling a narrative that is popular in some quarters that Canada is a terrible place, that we're racist or we're destroying the environment. I'm not saying that our history is without blemish or that there

aren't things that we can do to improve. But you can only think that Canada is a bad place that must be torn apart and reconstructed if you have never left here and seen what other people live and work with. As the song says, “You don't know what you've got till it's

gone.” I worry that people sometimes want to undermine our institutions without understanding what these have achieved for us.

I’ve taken it as a personal mission to say, let’s appreciate what we have and understand the great success that it’s conferred on us. To pick a concrete example, even though it costs \$20 a

barrel to produce oil in Saudi Arabia and perhaps \$80 a barrel to produce it in Canada’s oil sands, the world’s oil producers are beating down the doors to invest in the oil sands. It’s because those natural resources are nested inside our endowment of institutions that investors can have confidence in the security of their investment.

Let’s say things turned out badly over the coming 20 years in Canada. What would the story have been?

First, we blew our chance to achieve reconciliation with Aboriginal people. Second, we allowed fear of terrorism to make us insular and frightened of others; Canada’s openness to the world and our willingness to embrace people from everywhere is one of our greatest strengths. And third, we allowed envy to become the predominant political emotion in Canada. Regionalism (which is driven by envy) is a deeply corrosive force in Canada. There’s a strong tendency here for people to blame

whatever difficulties they’re facing on somebody else and to not take responsibility for their own contributions. I spend a lot of time with Americans, and I’ve never heard anybody say, “Those goddamned Texans; they’ve got oil, and they’re screwing the rest of us!” But in Canada, you can hear people say things like that every day about different regions. We seem to think that someone else’s success comes at our own expense.

“I’m a big believer in a society that leaves room for experimentation, for initiative in every field, which is something that government is far better at shutting down than encouraging.”

What is the role of government in ensuring Canada’s future?

For me, government is not the solution for everything, and that’s true socially and culturally just as much as it is economically. I think that freedom is the indispensable condition of successful societies. I’m a big believer in a society that leaves room for experimentation, for initiative in every field, which is something that government is far better at shutting down than encouraging. Today, we need to recover our ability

to take initiative. There is an important role for government, but there are limits to what government can do. It’s a question of balance. It’s not always bad for governments to tax and always good for people to spend. The challenge is that when we get the balance between collective provision and individual choice out of whack, we start to undermine the institutions that have enabled us to be successful.



A CANADA for All:

“The level of citizen awareness about social challenges seems to be increasing.”

PINNINGTON

What do you find hopeful about what is currently happening in Canada?

DUGUAY

Our current reality in Canada is not that encouraging. However, the level of citizen awareness about social challenges seems to be increasing—about issues such as inequality, discrimination, the role culture plays in society, and the environment. I find this hopeful!

Recognizing the potential of individuals to move past prejudice and to think critically and creatively is not a utopian act, but rather a first step in social trans-

formation—something which is already happening here. Even if the road is long and we need many change agents along the way, it’s encouraging to see citizen initiatives arising all across the country. At the political level, looking at municipalities is encouraging. There you find openness, creativity, innovation, collaboration, and support for initiatives that move beyond prescribed sectors and social norms.

When you look at the current situation in Canada, what worries you?

Canada is one of the 10 most developed countries in the world, but we still have flagrant inequalities. And it’s even more discouraging to see how far-reaching disinformation is in this country. Many Canadians think it is unjustified to continue talking about rights, because they think everyone’s rights are already respected! The reality is that if you are born First Nations in this country, you will face serious housing challenges—

for example 68% of Inuit living in Nunavik live in overpopulated homes, and 53% live in homes that don’t respect the minimum building standard. You will be eight times more likely to be homeless in your lifetime and 10 times more likely to go to prison; in 50% of cases, you will have a longer sentence than other Canadians for the same crime. Serious questions arise from this.

If things don’t go well over the next 20 years, what will have happened?

If we think about the darkest panorama for the next 20 years, the state will continue disengaging, the educational system will abdicate its independence, and citizens will become more disillusioned about the possibility for good things to happen. We will continue to develop societies where social status,

the place you were born, or your level of education continue to dig deeper inequalities around human rights. Instead of looking at all the potential in our differences, we will continue to create imaginary borders between us and create a self-sustaining system that constantly reinforces our limits.

If things go well in the next 20 years, what will have happened?

We will be able to imagine citizens, politicians, and organizations in society that listen to one another, exchange with one another, and recognize each other as complementary actors who have the capacity to collaborate and create real solutions. All too often, we attack each other but forget that others are also probably thinking carefully about what can be done. We need to

increase our capacity to be open to sharing knowledge and experiences, and to look at the Other as someone who could nourish our way of thinking. If everything goes well in 20 years, we will have understood that solutions will not be brought by organizations, researchers, or politics, but from society itself—through the capacity of individuals to recognize each other.

What are some important lessons from Canada's history?

I think that residential schools are a very important notion from our history that often get silenced or minimized. *OUR SOCIETY NEEDS TO LOOK THIS TERRIFYING PERIOD OF OUR HISTORY IN THE FACE, IN ORDER TO LEARN FROM IT AND BUILD A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF OUR CURRENT ISSUES.* While Canada has not had great wars in our territory, we perpetrated a great cultural violence. It's

important to note that many involved in the residential schools had good intentions; they wanted to do good and to help. It is here that we have much to learn about the importance of cultural identity and also about the fact that we shouldn't help people just because we want to. It's only through a careful reading of history that we can extract such valuable learning for the future.

“Each of us has something to learn or share with others, regardless of our social position.”

What are some failures in Canada's history?

The relations between First Nations and non-First Nations people. Still today First Nations people are not considered full citizens. Our society has continued in a dynamic of dominators and dominated, where we consider that we have nothing to learn from First Nations people. We think we only have to help them. But there is nobody

who helps anybody else. Each of us has something to learn or share with others, regardless of our social position. We cannot build the Canada of the future without all Canadians. Creating a truly inclusive dialogue means all of us positioning ourselves as learners, rather than as masters downloading our knowledge to others.



DESIGNING a Better Future:

“I worry that we’ll get stuck in a vortex of indecision.”

ATNIKOV

How has your work shaped your perspective?

EBRAHIM

Designers are uniquely positioned to look at complexity, for two reasons: we understand people and we are comfortable testing prototypes. When charged with a problem, designers begin by looking at the people who are affected and their wants, wishes, needs, and fears. But many designers who want to

use their skills for social change find it difficult to be understood beyond their capacity to make artefacts. We need to understand that designers are a critical part of any strategic team, so that when tables are convened around healthcare or poverty reduction or the environment, a designer is always there.

What concerns you these days?

How can my generation take the skills we’ve developed in the entrepreneurship, social innovation, tech, and emerging sectors and use these to disrupt industry and government? A lot of my peers are migrating into positions of decision making, but they quickly get crushed by institutional accountability and lose their drive to take risks and make creative things happen. When people don’t succeed in transforming these institutions, it’s not that they weren’t creative and talented; it’s that they needed new capacities that previous leaders didn’t need. These things take a long time, and so we need to

start changing the way we support this new generation of leaders now.

I also worry about how inclusive we are of citizens’ voices. I worry that we will never create a culture of authentic engagement on critical national conversations. I worry that we’ll get stuck in a vortex of indecision and not have the capacity to recognize the moment where we could use the evidence we have to support taking a leap of faith. That inability to take risks is what is preventing us from leading in so many areas and is causing us to haemorrhage talent from our country.

If you could ask a clairvoyant anything about the future, what would you most want to know?

What were the biggest risks we took? How did we deal with success and how did we deal with failure? Did we grow in our capacity to listen to a more diverse set of citizens, to respond to their needs rather than react? Have

we learned how to align the efforts of people trying to do similar things across the country? Alignment and collaboration are in the Canadian DNA, but we haven’t figured out how to practice them yet.

If things turn out well in the next 20 years, what's the riskiest thing that Canada will have done?

We took the risk of focusing. We focused on one big thing and we moved the bar. Perhaps the one big thing was poverty reduction, and we reduced dramatically the number of people living in poverty in our country. We did this not by wanting to create something the world would look to us as a leader in, but by harvesting the intelli-

gence within our borders to make bold change happen. And this helped us to retain thought leadership by demonstrating that Canada has an appetite for taking risks. Instead of talking about how our cities are so metropolitan, we embodied this: we showed the world instead of telling the world.

If that kind of culture doesn't become the norm in Canada, where will we be?

WE'LL BE WHERE WE ARE NOW: A LITTLE BIT BEHIND THE REST OF THE WORLD. Innovation and creativity will still be a thing that sits on the outside and not within the DNA of organizations, and so their adaptive capacity will remain constrained. Our role in the global community will stagnate, and

we'll still be trying to figure out how we can contribute to a global conversation about being more inclusive, more creative, and more human centred. Where we are now isn't such a bad place: we're just limiting ourselves because we aren't comfortable trying out new processes in our old systems.

“How can my generation take the skills we've developed in the entrepreneurship, social innovation, tech, and emerging sectors and use these to disrupt industry and government?”

What decisions do we need to make?

We have to decide what kind of country we want to be. There's lots of investment right now in innovation in the public service and other sectors, and that investment is going to dry up if we don't commit to implementing some

of the great ideas that have been talked about. Let's stop talking about experiments and start committing to new approaches to problem solving. If we can't do that, we should just commit to being a country that follows.



GAME-CHANGING Leadership:

*“We have allowed a gold-rush
mentality to prevail.”*

POHLMANN

What keeps you up at night about what’s going on in Canada?

EMERSON

We are not managing our natural resource assets well. We pay insufficient attention to long-term growth, stability, and intergenerational fairness. I look at what we are doing with non-renewables, and I despair. We have allowed a gold-rush mentality to prevail. When markets are strong, we have massive investment in projects like the oil sands, leading to cost inflation, social and economic growth pains, and pressures on the environment. Then we take the revenue from these resources—the one-time revenue from the sale of a publicly owned asset—and use it to pay for healthcare, government programs, and services that are deeply embedded in our public sector expenditure base. But the cycle inevitably turns, and we end up with fiscal and economic devastation. The revenue is no more, but program expenditures continue. Costs that rose easily won’t come down. This approach to resource management supercharges fiscal and economic volatility, both nationally and among regions.

This volatility also has a troubling effect on that part of our economic base that is globally mobile. Costs and fiscal pressures created in a boom are very sticky, and correction is stubbornly slow and painful. Industry, capital, and the skilled people needed to drive innovation and

new products for the global marketplace can and do go elsewhere. You basically force the economy to rely on those activities that have to be near the resource—the opposite of economic diversification.

In a similar vein, we have witnessed the erosion of manufacturing in the Canadian economy, and I am concerned about that. I believe a balance of manufacturing, resource extraction, technology, and services is important for a healthy, dynamic, and stable economy.

We’re also struggling with a number of public policies that run counter to Canada’s dependency on international trade and investment for our economic future. We maintain protectionist policies in agriculture, telecommunications, and sundry other sectors. Our own protectionist policies undermine our reputation as a free-trading nation and hurt our ability to negotiate the kind of trade agreements needed to underpin a healthy economic future. While this is slowly changing, it remains a significant worry.

Finally, I worry about Canada’s north. Geographically, most of Canada is a huge, sparsely populated mass of land and water penetrating the Arctic, at the front line of climate change. Gradually,

attention is shifting to northern issues and concerns. But the challenge of the north will be akin to the challenge of developing early Canada. It will require enormous investments with very long “payback.” Issues around sovereignty and security will be paramount.

Assessments and potential impacts will require intense discipline and focus. The costs of mistakes will be high, but the cost of neglect higher. *SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD MUST BE TURNING IN HIS GRAVE.*

If 20 years from now, things haven't turned out well in Canada, what will have happened?

This negative scenario would reflect failures on a number of fronts. Pipelines critical to getting products to market won't be constructed in a timely way. Critical economic infrastructure, particularly transportation infrastructure, will be rejected in every strategic “neighbourhood,” reflecting regulatory licence being replaced by the amorphous “social licence.” We will fail to restore momentum to multilateral trade talks, and attempts to forge regional trade agreements will falter. We will fail to adapt to the reality of global warming, and the world will be confronted with an urgent international public policy crisis. Related to climate and our failure to manage well our natural resources, we will see technological advances that result in consumers finding economic substi-

tutes for carbon-based energy. Given our extreme dependence on carbon-based energy, our economy and public finances will take a serious hit.

The lead times for transformative initiatives, whether they're regulatory, legal, or infrastructural, are enormously long. We will have failed to tame the forces of short-termism, and this will feed the tendency of political parties to neglect a broader vision for the country in favour of playing to narrow, sectional political bases with baskets of goodies and favours.

In short, future generations of Canadians will be severely challenged to achieve the kinds of opportunities and standard of living enjoyed by the first few post-war generations.

“The lead times for transformative initiatives, whether they're regulatory, legal, or infrastructural, are enormously long.”

What decisions will Canada have to make?

People with vision, intellect, wisdom, and stamina must decide to step out of their comfort zones and dedicate themselves to persuading their fellow citizens that we have a lot of hard work to do. We will have controversy, and perhaps short-term sacrifice, but Canadians will have to embrace leaders who will do the heavy lifting, not for self-serving reasons but for pride of country and belief in our responsibility to future generations. If people with unusual talents don't step up, and if Canadians don't offer support when they do, the negative scenario will become the base case.

There have been many game-changing leaders throughout history. I love reading about them because many dealt with failure and setback, but they persevered. Steve Jobs had an obsessive, unambiguous vision for Apple. Not everyone liked it, but he is revered for his obstinate commitment to doing, not what was popular, but what he believed in. Canada needs that kind of game-changing leadership: people committed to doing what is difficult, exhausting, and at times unpopular—but right for the country's long-term future.



A SMART and Caring Nation: “There’s a sense of solidness about Canada.”

ATNIKOV

What energizes you about Canada?

FORTIER

Having the privilege of living and working with the new generation of our country. Students are concerned about things happening here in Montreal and in Canada, but also about issues we are facing as a planet. They are reimagining things like engagement and community. They want to be leaders, and it is our responsibility as a society to nurture them and give them the opportunity to develop the skills they need. Right now,

it is too easy to isolate yourself, to just observe what’s happening around you through the Internet, to be a critic. We need our youth to be people of action, to be builders. Hockey people say, “At the end, you need time on ice,” that is, you need to get in the arena, play the game, and be part of the action. Our young Canadians need to have their time on ice.

What kind of leadership qualities will Canada need to be successful?

THE GOVERNOR GENERAL CALLED FOR US TO CREATE A SMART AND CARING NATION. THAT’S A GOOD INTERSECTION: WE NEED PEOPLE WITH ASPIRATIONS AND AMBITIONS WHO WANT TO PUT THEIR TALENT AND EFFORTS TOWARDS BETTERING

BOTH THEMSELVES AND THE COMMUNITY. To make the necessary leaps in terms of knowledge and creativity, our leaders must be open to new ideas and be able to hear diverse points of view from people from different backgrounds, experiences, and cultures.

If you could ask a clairvoyant anything about the future of Canada, what would you want to know?

What role will Canada play globally around some of the huge challenges that the planet is facing? Canada is well positioned to contribute, because it’s been privileged with what it has in terms of resources. Because Canada is made up of people who come from everywhere in the world, people here are concerned not only about issues right next door but also about those that are more

global. They understand that whether we’re a businessperson or an agriculture expert, we aren’t going to solve issues by working alone; we’re going to do it by bringing people with different expertise together. Given these things, I wonder if we’re going to seize the moment and become a place that is central to the well-being of the planet.

If things turn out badly over the next 20 years, what will Canada look like?

We will be a more divided, less tolerant, and less safe country. There will be increased disparity in terms of people's

conditions, and that will cause a lot of social unrest. We will waste our precious resources.

And if things turn out well over the next 20 years, what would the story be?

We'll be a country that has a high quality of life for all people, something we haven't achieved yet. We take it for granted that we can be born from a very modest or difficult environment and still succeed, but we need to continue to offer equality opportunities for all.

We also need to continue to make room for several Canadas to co-exist. This is something that we've done quite well—we've been able to accommodate a

range of interpretations and perspectives. People from different cultures come here and give the country its unique character. We're beginning to see that this is part of our richness as a country and that some of the opportunities we have come from the fact that we are not defined by just one role. To me, part of our success will be come from continuing to define ourselves in ways that accommodate different points of view.

“Our young Canadians need to have their time on ice.”

What is an example of when Canada has been most successful?

Over the past few years, most places in the world have been under the shock of the brutal economic crisis. We have the right dose of smarts and prudence, so we built some really solid bases here. Although it wasn't exactly an easy period, it was not as bad as what many others

have faced. There's a sense of solidness about Canada. We've done a good job with the fundamental things that are important in society. Of course, we always have to think of how we can do better, but we've got a strong foundation.



DECIDING

Where We're Going:

“We created the kind of country we have through an act of will.”

POHLMANN

What concerns you about Canada these days?

GIBBINS

We're losing our sense of community in terms of the country as a whole. *MANY PEOPLE FEEL THAT, IF YOU'VE GOT A GREAT LOCAL COMMUNITY AND YOU HAVE A RAPID RAIL LINE TO AN INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT, THAT'S ALL YOU NEED. SO THE PROVINCIAL AND NATIONAL COMMUNITIES BECOME IRRELEVANT.* The opportunity to go and experience the world and then come back to a base is great, but I worry about a loss of purpose for Canada as a whole. We're losing faith in our political institutions and our capacity to do things together. There is a narrowing of perspectives that's not unique to Canada, but nonetheless, having people in this large, ungainly country turn inward is alarming.

Overall, the situation with Aboriginal people is positive, with a lot of energy and innovation. But at the same time, I

fear First Nations will become more and more isolated rather than part of the national mainstream. That isolation is not going to be healthy. When groups are close to the larger society, all of the positive things about integration can work. It's the small, remote communities that concern me. That's not a future.

We have a fetishlike approach to the environment: we focus on these seven trees or this particular lake, and fail to engage in trade-offs. You would hope that if I'm in my neighbourhood protecting my trees, there's a local attachment, but also in the back of my head there's something about, how does this work for the province? How does this work for Canada? You want that internal debate in people's heads, and I don't think that's there right now.

What important decisions do we have to make?

We are a resource-based economy. It is a pretty sound prediction that a resource-based economy is not going to serve us well 20 years down the road. We'll have to transform ourselves, but how do we do it? A lot of people want to establish

Calgary as a leader in the energy field. But we're never going to out-compete the Chinese on solar power or the Germans on wind power. If we have a niche in the global economy, what is it?

What lessons do we need to learn from our past failures?

You've heard the old Alberta expression, "Give me another oil boom, and I promise not to piss it away!" Alberta is a great example of where we took in huge amounts of wealth but it didn't leave us better off. In BC, Premier Christy Clark has a vision that the resource wealth from liquid natural gas will generate a bounty that can be used to do different things within the province. She is on the right track, in that we have to use that bounty in a transformative way.

At the same time, if you're in the travel business, you sell the destination, not

the trip. Christy Clark is trying to sell the trip, and that's not good enough. Harper has a destination in mind, but he hasn't clearly articulated it. If people fear the end that Harper has in mind, they are not going to buy into the means. If we had a clear vision of where we are heading as a country or as a province, a vision that is a bit better than lower taxes or higher salaries, then it would be easier to sell. We haven't articulated that vision. As a consequence, it's hard to counter the opposition that comes up.

What energizes you about Canada?

I like what we've done in urban Canada; despite the big challenges out there, we've been able to create urban environments that are pretty safe, interesting, and energetic. We've created a degree of political tranquillity in the country that in some ways is stifling but also has given us a great deal of internal comfort. In our national politics, we don't tear people down. We've done reasonably well in knitting together a

difficult country into a society that is remarkably inclusive and diverse. We have been a significant international player. We beat ourselves up all the time about our track record on the environment, and yet we've accomplished quite a bit at the local scale. There are exceptions, but nonetheless, we have done things pretty well. We should take pride in what we've accomplished in this country.

"If we have a niche in the global economy, what is it?"

As a country, what should we be talking about that we are not?

The 150th anniversary provides an opportunity to push Canadians into thinking about the future. In 1967, the premiers of Ontario and Quebec hosted a conversation called the Confederation of Tomorrow Conference. It's time for us to have another national conversation about a whole set of pressing concerns. The world seems to be going to hell in a hand basket in ways that are quite discouraging. It makes it even more important for Canadians to begin to talk in constructive ways about our own country, what can we do here, and how can we protect the kind of prosper-

ity and social harmony that we've had. The infamous UN report of 20 years ago or so that described Canada as the best place in the world to live may have done us a disservice by making us complacent. We didn't get here by accident; we've created the kind of country we have through an act of will. If that will weakens or loses its focus, then a lot of what we have will be precarious. My fear is that we've solved the problems of the past but we're rapidly being overtaken by the problems of the future. We somehow need to crystallize our best thinking into a vision for the future.



RESILIENT Cities:

“We’re finding that the yachts are rising faster than the rowboats.”

KAHANE

What is going on in Canada that you think needs attention?

GOLDEN

Two forces are transforming the world, globalization and urbanization. Both focus on cities. By globalization, I mean all of the changes that have been facilitated by the technology revolution, including the restructuring of the economy, the intensification of competition, and the growing speed at which all of these things are happening. The information technology revolution is reshaping everything—every industry and job, education, healthcare, democracy, even how people think and communicate. The second major force, urbanization, is a demographic revolution. A few years ago, we passed the

point where more than half the world now lives in cities. In Canada, 80% of us live in towns of 10,000 or more inhabitants. Combined with the aging of the population and the dependence of our economy on immigration, our cities face huge challenges. And that’s where people are going, where innovation is occurring, where the wealth of the country is generated, where our major educational and healthcare institutions are concentrated. Cities punch above their weight when it comes to creating the country’s GDP. The future success of our cities is pivotal to Canada’s ability to compete in the global economy.

If things turn out badly over the next 20 years, what would have happened?

We will fail if we don’t invest in the changes that are needed. For example, in Toronto, we’ve barely invested at all in infrastructure; since 2000, we’ve made some improvements but not enough to deal with our backlog. We need to invest in new construction and waste

management and energy systems. We need to improve how we develop and grow, by linking our transit decisions to our development decisions. And we will fail if we don’t address growing income inequality through a combination of tax changes and program innovations.

What would lead us to make wise or unwise decisions?

We need a public that is enlightened enough to understand that cities and city regions are on the threshold of a new era, and that we have to make decisions looking forward not backward. We have to look at the evidence and be very careful when we make these decisions because they have consequences. We have to be willing to pay our taxes as the

price of a civilized, safe, and progressive society. *WE ALSO NEED LEADERS LIKE NAHEED NENSHI IN CALGARY, WHO PROMOTE MATURE DISCUSSIONS, ARE NOT AFRAID TO TELL THE TRUTH, AND DON'T JUMP TO JUDGMENT BUT WAIT TO SEE AND WEIGH THE EVIDENCE.*

If you could ask a clairvoyant anything about the future, what would you want to know?

Will we address the congestion and connection issues that are so fundamental to the prosperity of our cities? If we don't entice people out of their cars and if we don't connect all parts of the region, we will pay a steep price in terms of productivity losses and lessened quality of life. With the arrival of new groups, will we be able to continue to achieve the openness and tolerance that has been key to our success, or will it result in tensions as it has elsewhere in the

world? Finally, will we be able to address the growing income divide and so blunt the harsh edges of capitalism? We had hoped that participation in a globalized knowledge economy would increase living standards everywhere, that all boats would rise, but we're finding that the yachts are rising faster than the rowboats. In Toronto, you can see the stagnation of the middle class and very little improvement in the poorer classes.

“Two forces are transforming the world, globalization and urbanization.”



CITIZEN

Engagement:

“I have tremendous faith in ‘Joe Public’.”

KAHANE

What concerns you about what’s going on in Canada?

GRAHAM

Since the 1990s, there has been more edginess in our political leadership. Politicians are more dismissive and disrespectful of each other’s ideas. Politics has become this crazy world where people are yelling at each other, “We’re right and you’re wrong, shut up, sit down, and pay attention to what I

have to say.” Attack ads are symptoms of this dynamic. The important point is that these messages are a symptom of a more polarized public who want—even demand—simple answers to complex questions. A fundamental shift needs to happen for us to create a new balancing point.

What might that shift look like?

The game changers are deep democratic reform and in particular citizen engagement. The essence of democracy is collective wisdom. If we put our faith in people and include them more often in deliberations and decisions between elections—and not just for these

single events—Canada would get back on the path towards being a vibrant, successful, sustainable, progressive country. The way forward is through processes that bring citizens into conversation with each other, especially around important, complex issues.

Can you think of an example where we have managed to engage in the way you think is required?

Back in the 1990s, the public and political leaders felt that the Young Offenders Act was resulting in young criminals who committed serious offences getting off scot-free. The reality was that Canada was sending youth to jail more frequently than almost any western country. In response to the public outcry, Ralph Klein, the premier of Alberta, who wanted tougher criminal laws, brought together a citizen assembly of 150 Albertans to set the direction for

the criminal justice system in Alberta. Some people expected that the group was going to recommend tougher penalties. During the three-day process, those citizens were informed in depth about the choices they had. What emerged from this deliberation was a set of excellent common-sense recommendations about the direction of the criminal justice system that was born from the best practices and evidence, and not from rhetoric.

Are you saying that average citizens have a greater capacity to be sensible than politicians do?

I'm not sure if I would say that. But *BEING IN POLITICAL OFFICE IS A TREMENDOUSLY DISTORTING EXPERIENCE, AND YOU CAN LOSE YOUR COMPASS WHEN YOU PAY TOO MUCH ATTENTION TO THE MEDIA AND COMMUNICATIONS ADVISORS.*

I have tremendous faith in "Joe Public." Research has shown that if you give him or her the opportunity to apply their wisdom to something, they will usually arrive at a wiser decision, and the rest of us generally accept the outcome. Consider the extent to which our general public accepts jury decisions.

Do you think the current political narrative can change with a different set of leaders?

Not a chance! Zero chance. It can't happen just from the top down, for a variety of reasons: decline in trust in institutions; a lack of informed discussion around the real challenges; and the complexity of issues.

One hundred years ago, we lived in a time when people trusted the elite more

because of the lack of education and the limited exchange of information. But in this day and age, people just aren't going to buy a solution unless they've had a chance to spend time with it. So any fundamental changes have to be both top-down and bottom-up.

"The game changers are deep democratic reform and in particular citizen engagement."

Do you think that Canadians care enough about Canada to do what you want them to?

Let me tell you a story about a latent passion I've witnessed for Canada. I took my youngest son, Colin, to the 2010 Winter Olympics in Vancouver, where we witnessed something about the love that regular Canadians have for our country that I did not expect. We were lucky enough to be on Robson Street on the last day of the games, after Canada had won several gold medals. We were walking along with tens of thousands of complete strangers, and everyone

was high-fiving each other. In the celebration, I was with an Indo-Canadian conga line, an elderly Asian man wearing a Crosby jersey, and even homeless people who walked over from the other side of town to smile and share their zeal for our country. A magical ingredient exists among Canadians that doesn't get expressed very often. If we were to till it up and unearth it, it would release potential and possibilities that we don't yet fully know.

If we were sitting here 20 years from now, and things had turned out really badly, what would have happened?

We would have become even more polarized. When you look at the extreme examples of what's happening in places like the Middle East and some African countries, you see that the greatest challenge is not around ideas; it's around relationships and process. Nobody has created enough opportunities for

opposing ideas and political parties to come together in a constructive way.

I think that the sweet spot of innovation and possibilities is not on the edges, it's in the middle, where there is a blend of perspectives. The acceptance that all things are possible creates magic.



→ Michael Green, Creative and Executive Producer of *Making Treaty 7*, was interviewed on July 30, 2014 by Brenna Atnikov. *Making Treaty 7* is a cultural event that invites Calgarians to imagine a shared future through the frame of the signing of Treaty 7 at Blackfoot Crossing in 1877

TELLING

Our Story:

“There never was any conciliation.”

ATNIKOV

Do projects like “Making Treaty 7” indicate that we are at a new time of reconciliation in Canada?

GREEN

A friend of mine, Adrian Stimson, who is a visual artist from Siksika, refuses to use the word “reconciliation.” He says there never was any conciliation. The Settlers came here with a decidedly Victorian idea of what success looks like, what wealth looks like, and what role everyone plays in this “machine.”

The Europeans saw people living on the land, and they were utterly incapable of valuing their way of life. They sent First Nations children to residential schools and basically beat their culture out of them.

But now we are starting to understand that the lifestyle we worked so hard to

build—our industries and our agriculture—might not be sustainable. We’re learning that we actually need some of the wisdom that the First Nations thought they could teach us when we showed up looking sickly and dying off every winter.

We’re going to see a time soon when the First Nations people overcome the generations of oppression and take their place as leaders of our country. The fact that we’re producing “Making Treaty 7” demonstrates that we’re ready for this conversation now in Canada, and I don’t know if we were before.

What are your hopes for “Making Treaty 7”?

“Making Treaty 7” is a theatrical experience, but it’s got very serious intentions. Most people have absolutely no idea what Treaty 7 is, and even if they do, chances are they’re seeing it only from one perspective. We worked with many different cultures—the Blackfoot and the Stoneys and the Tsuu T’ina—to produce the show. Trying to get to a shared vision is an adventure. When it’s working, though, all of a sudden something really interesting comes out.

I love this one image that I gather is a traditional one in the First Nations worldview: we all make up a circle. In the center of that circle is a tree, and everybody’s view of the tree is different.

One person says, “There’s fruit that ripening.” Another person says, “There’s a blight on the tree.” A third person says, “There’s where it got struck by lightning.” And it’s all of those things! If I’m not seeing the blight, I need the person who is to tell me so. I can’t operate without that intelligence or I’ll be going off half-cocked.

If we all start to appreciate that way of looking at life together, then we can work to make the world a better place. That is what we’re trying to do with “Making Treaty 7.” It really is everybody’s story.

If “Making Treaty 7” contributes to the changes you hope for, what might Canada be like in the next 20 years?

We have to move beyond mere tolerance and embrace an enlightened and expanding paradigm of what humanity is all about. I think that’s the promise of Canada.

I CAN’T GET OVER THIS FEELING THAT WE WERE MORE OPEN AND ACCEPTING DURING THE TRUDEAU ERA. He got the church and courts out of our bedrooms, so we can be who we are without fear of reprisal;

women’s role in society took a huge step forward around that time; and we began to learn what it means to be multicultural.

It’s not like we’ve been some tolerant utopia for much of our history, but we were heading in the right direction for a while. The challenge will be to try and get back to that earlier vision that Trudeau’s Canada was all about.

“We’re learning that we actually need some of the wisdom that the First Nations thought they could teach us when we showed up looking sickly and dying off every winter.”



GREEN

Innovation:

“Our municipalities are beacons of hope.”

PINNINGTON

What energizes you about what is happening in Canada right now?

GUILBEAULT

Our municipalities are beacons of hope. In Montreal, we beat a 50-year-old record in terms of transit usage because we’ve invested in the transportation infrastructure. The green belt around Toronto is seen by many as a model in North America. Vancouver is probably one of the 10 best examples in the world of what needs to be done at the municipal level on sustainability. In each of these places, it’s not just about money, but also about a shift in mentality. People see this challenge as an opportunity to be better in what we do, to be more resilient, to be more efficient.

We recently organized an event to celebrate Quebec’s achievement of its 2012 greenhouse targets, the most

ambitious in North America. Mr. Charest spoke at the event and said, “When you look around the world, the countries that are able to solve problems and rise to challenges can do so because these issues transcend political affiliation or ideology.” Across the country and world, where sustainability initiatives are taking place, it’s because these issues are transcending political affiliation or political mentality. Obviously, from one political party to another, there will be differences, but as long as we can agree that we share the same goal and need to achieve the same objective, then it becomes a conversation about how do we do it. We’ve seen that happen in many parts of Canada, and this really energizes me.

What about the current situation in Canada keeps you up at night?

IF YOU LOOK AT THE FEDERAL SCENE, IT IS NOT PRETTY. CANADA USED TO BE A LEADER WHEN IT CAME TO ENVIRONMENTAL AND HUMANITARIAN ISSUES. WE WEREN’T ALWAYS THE BEST, BUT WE WERE PART OF THE LEADING PACK OF COUNTRIES. The Montreal Protocol was signed in Montreal in 1988 to slow down depletion of the ozone layer.

Canada led the effort to ban antipersonnel landmines, culminating with the Ottawa Convention in 1997. We used to be a country that had a good reputation. Now when I go to UN meetings abroad, senior ministers from different countries come to me and say, “What’s happening with Canada? We don’t recognize what you’ve become.”

If things turn out badly in the next 20 years, what will have happened?

Canada as a whole right is now focused on developing a kind of 19th-century resource-based economy. The economy of the 21st century will be one that focuses on knowledge, on know-how, on innovation and creativity. If we are stuck in oil and gas, we will be forced to import technologies that others have developed. We are not preparing for the world that will be.

Also, the reality is that many people are talking the talk of sustainability, but fewer are walking it. We have a role to play both as citizens and as consumers.

I have a friend who says, "Buying is voting." We need to become more aware of the choices we make every day as individuals, including in the political arena. These issues have to be a bigger part of people's choices.

If we fail to make the changes we need to, it won't be because the solutions aren't there or because they aren't economically viable. It will be because we didn't believe we could do it and didn't mobilize enough people from all the sectors of our society to make it happen.

"We can't have a prosperous society at the detriment of the planet."

If things go well over the next 20 years in Canada, what will have happened?

People will have realized that we can't have a prosperous society at the detriment of the planet. Fortunately, we're seeing more and more business leaders become vocal about some of these issues. They need to be part of the solution, because they can do things that I,

as an environmental advocate, can't do, that governments can't do. If I'm side by side with someone in business, then all of a sudden we've increased the weight of our message and enlarged the audience that will be receptive to it.

Why are some business leaders beginning to advocate for environmental sustainability?

Beyond the moral imperative to think and act more sustainably, there are material benefits. I had a conversation with Robert Dutton, the now-retired CEO of RONA, the hardware store. Under his leadership, the company took a superb shift towards sustainability. He said, "Today, I interview people to come and work for me. But people's values have changed a lot. It's about the pay cheque, but also about what kind of company you are. Are you a responsible

corporate citizen? Soon, I will be interviewed by people who I want to come and work for me. It's going to be a totally reverse dynamic. Unless my company is a responsible actor, it's going to be hard to attract new people." He also told me that when RONA reduces waste at their large hardware stores by 80%, they save about \$80,000 a year on waste collection. If that's not good business, I don't know what is.



OUR WEAKENING Collective:

“Extreme inequality is corrosive.”

KAHANE

What keeps you
up at night?

HIMELFARB

The number one issue for me is inequality. Let's think of the bottom, middle, and top of society. On the bottom, even if, as some argue, over the past few years things aren't necessarily getting worse, they aren't improving and certainly not at the rate that we see in many other rich countries. Compared to other rich countries, we're doing badly, and on First Nations and Aboriginal issues and on child poverty, unforgivably badly. Most troubling, we are moving in the wrong direction. Austerity at every level of government—largely self-imposed through years of unaffordable tax cuts—has eroded our key redistributive institutions, which are welfare and employment insurance, and continues to squeeze the programs that mitigate the consequences of inequality, including Medicare. Austerity has yielded a kind of trickle-down meanness. Its consequences inevitably fall hardest on the most vulnerable. Just think of recent policies that seek to deprive refugee claimants of needed medical care or social assistance. And how is it that we always find money for war but cannot find the resources to serve our veterans well? The list is long and the direction is wrong.

The middle class is also unquestionably stretched. Two things mask the extent of the problem. First, over the last decade, women have worked more hours than before, so many households have not actually fallen in income,

although people are working longer to stay in place. The second thing is petro jobs. The oil-rich provinces have done pretty well for some working-class folks, because they have relatively high-paid jobs, but this success is regionally focused and fragile. And even in Alberta, inequality is high; the benefits are unevenly spread. Mostly our labour market performance has been shabby, wages have not kept pace with productivity gains and only barely with inflation, and more and more Canadians (especially young Canadians) are finding themselves with precarious jobs, with no security, benefits, or prospects, and high levels of debt. So you've got significant middle-class problems that, if unattended, are just going to get worse. But because we have all these headlines about how well we're doing compared to the US (which has, among rich countries, the most serious inequality problems), you can't get any traction on it. Many, especially in my age group, have done pretty well—which no doubt is another reason for the dangerous level of complacency.

Then at the top, we have witnessed the very rich getting very much richer. Capital always talks louder than labour—that's why it's called “capitalism” and not “labourism”—but now the bargaining power of capital is through the roof. So money talks louder than ever.

What is the impact of this growing inequality on our society?

Extreme inequality is corrosive. When the people at the top and the people at the bottom are breathing such different air, it's hard to imagine them finding any common interest or shared purpose. When people at the top are so rich that they can decide they no longer need public services, they effectively secede from society. When the gap is extreme, they also seem to believe they

somehow deserve all they have. Hence trickle-down meanness. If they don't need the services and deserve their wealth, why pay taxes? People at the bottom start to think that the game is fixed, and there's nothing in it for them. They don't want to vote and they too don't want to pay taxes. Why pay or play when the game is rigged?

Does government have a role to play in countering these problems?

WE HAVE HAD 30 YEARS OF AN ASSAULT ON GOVERNMENT. THE RIGHT'S GREATEST SUCCESS HAS BEEN TO REDEFINE TAXES AS A BURDEN OR PUNISHMENT AND AN UNJUSTIFIABLE CONSTRAINT ON OUR FREEDOM, AND TO EQUATE GOVERNMENT WITH INEFFICIENCY AND CORRUPTION. For decades we've heard that our main problem is the size of government. Is the problem climate change? No, the problem is the size of government. Is the problem inequality? No, the problem is the size of government. And the solution is to make government smaller. That's

a conjurer's trick! That's a distraction! And it has worked profoundly. Of course government has to be made better, but that won't happen so long as the very idea of government is seen as the problem.

The biggest impact of austerity is that it stunts the political imagination; it makes it seem like nothing's possible collectively. Each of us is on our own. So I see not only this invisible, incremental, hard-to-talk-about growth in inequality, but also the loss of the collective capacity to do anything about it.

“When the people at the top and the people at the bottom are breathing such different air, it's hard to imagine them finding any common interest or shared purpose.”

But doesn't our weakened trust in one another make it harder for us to act collectively?

One of the reasons that our institutions, including our political institutions, are so important is that, as former Prime Minister Trudeau observed, Canada is an act of defiance. Canada makes no sense: we are dispersed geographically; we have a terrible climate; we have two official languages and

many non-official; we have no revolutionary moment that is binding; we are a country of great cultural and regional diversity. For all these reasons, we have to work at being Canada. And when we lose trust in our government and in each other, it weakens us.



BOOM AND BUST:

“We seem to avoid some of the conversations we need to have.”

ATNIKOV

If you could talk with a clairvoyant about the future of Canada, what would you most want to know?

IVESON

What an opportunity! How will climate change affect this country in the coming decades? I worry that Canada may be less resilient to it because of scale. The vastness of the country is one of the things that makes us beautiful and means we have massive resources to benefit from. But because things are so spread out, we have thousands of miles of roads and pipes. All of that stuff is potentially vulnerable to changes in climate.

YOU CAN WAIT FOR YOUR COUNTRY TO FLOOD, OR YOU CAN BUILD DIKES TODAY, OR YOU CAN BE PART OF A LEGITIMATE EFFORT TO REDUCE CLIMATE CHANGE. The federal government’s not talking about climate change because it has been incompatible with their approach to the development of the country as an energy superpower. We should have a national strategy for dealing with physical infrastructure that is at risk due to severe weather events, and frankly, we’re going to need pots of money to pay for it.

The other thing I would ask is, where are we with reconciliation with Indigenous people? Because that’s one of the huge unfinished pieces of work in this country. In spite of all the attempts to assimilate them, we haven’t been successful, and it’s only because of the resilience of the Indigenous people that they’re still here.

A third question would be, does the country still exist or does it break apart because there’s nothing pulling it together anymore? We’ve become allergic to constitutional crises, but other countries go through them and they’re healthy. It’s like a marriage—if you let everything fester, and then you finally say what you think, it’s hard to work things out. If we can fight it out as a country and come out stronger, we’re good. But we seem to avoid some of the conversations we need to have.

How has resource wealth contributed to Edmonton’s complex issues?

If any jurisdiction ought to have the resources to keep up with growth, it would be Alberta. But the boom-and-bust cycle of using resource revenues to pay for ongoing expenditures is incredibly risky. You can’t choose to fund all-day kindergarten and then, when oil drops below a certain price per barrel, eliminate all-day

kindergarten. We made missteps in the past, first by allowing development to get out of control, and then by allowing the extractive business to crowd out the value-added business.

If we’re going to pursue the oil sands business, we need to learn from our

past mistakes and demonstrate that we can be good stewards of this complex resource that we've inherited by chance. The activity is going to happen; as long as oil is higher than about \$50 a barrel, the extraction will continue. We need to orient ourselves single-mindedly to making it cheaper, cleaner, greener, faster, and safer, and then we need to apply that intellectual property to other

environmental challenges and industrial processes around the world. That should be our next nation-building project—create long-term value out of this one-time benefit. So when we're done up north, when we've extracted the last of the extractable, economically feasible resource, there's still some reason for Edmonton to exist.

What has shaped how you see things and what you do?

In 2002, I participated in a workshop about the need to build cities that can attract and retain talented, creative, and innovative people. I had a political science background, and this question provoked me to think a lot about what Canadian cities must become in order to offer a complete urban experience and remain competitive.

A few years later, my partner and I started thinking about where we wanted to build our life. My friends were not attracted to Edmonton as a place to live, and we were torn between several Canadian cities, but if you consider where you might want to settle

down, raise a family, and build a career, Edmonton actually scores better than Toronto in terms of the affordability of housing and the quality of public education. We ultimately decided to stay here, and we have no regrets about that decision.

I'm mayor of Edmonton now, and obviously I am fully invested in the city. There are people who get into local politics because they see room for improvement, and then there are people who like everything exactly how it is. I'm firmly in the category of someone who loves the place but sees a lot of room for improvement.

"If we're going to pursue the oil sands business, we need to learn from our past mistakes and demonstrate that we can be good stewards of this complex resource that we've inherited by chance."

What would you like your personal legacy to be?

I want to contribute to building the kind of city that my kids are going to want to stay in. I can imagine that in seven generations' time, this place is still vital, and the things we invested so much of our time and energy building have endured,

and the values that make us a great place to live are still there. The physical infrastructure may have changed entirely, but the things that bind people together are still real.



RESPONSIBLE Growth:

“We are living in the Anthropocene Era and we know we are influencing the planet.”

POHLMANN

What concerns you about Canada these days?

JACCARD

Our current federal government and its rapid expansion of fossil fuel industries is unconscionable. There’s an unwillingness to take on the powerful forces that make a lot of money from this endeavour. The thing is, what I call true conservatives aren’t inherently keen to expand the fossil fuel industry regardless of the planetary implications. Many right-of-centre politicians, including Gordon Campbell in British Columbia and Arnold Schwarzenegger in California, have implemented effective climate policies.

We are living in the Anthropocene Era and we know we are influencing the planet. The question is, how can we do so in a far less reckless way, especially today with respect to greenhouse gas emissions? If you look at Quebec with its recent link up to California’s cap-and-trade, if you look at what was achieved in British Columbia just five or seven years ago with our zero-emission electricity policy and carbon tax, if you look further afield to examples like California with its regulations on fuels, vehicles, and electricity, you see there are things that can be done.

If things turn out well over the next 20 years, what would the story be?

Canada will continue to grow economically, but it won’t be pollution-intensive growth. That growth will be distributed more equitably so that the children from less advantaged families have opportunities that are similar to those from well-off families. I’m a fairly optimistic person, and I see humans grappling effectively with all sorts of huge

problems. As a grad student, I studied environmental problems that we eventually were able to address fairly effectively, such as urban air pollution, the depletion of the ozone layer, and acid rain. When people try to make a bigger deal out of climate change than I think they need to, I bring up those earlier successes.

What important decisions do we have to make?

My focus has been on helping our society achieve growth while preserving and conserving the natural world. *WE SHOULDN'T DEMONIZE FOSSIL FUELS; FOSSIL FUELS ARE AN*

INCREDIBLE FORM OF CHEMICAL ENERGY THAT HAVE LED TO OUR WELL-BEING TODAY. IT'S CARBON POLLUTION THAT'S THE PROBLEM.

What are important lessons from the past for Canada?

As a global citizen, Canada can have more weight than we may realize. Back in World War II, we declared war on Nazi Germany before the Soviet Union and the Americans did. We showed real leadership. Of course, leadership isn't just about joining some military expedition; it's about setting an example.

Similarly, Canada could play a leadership role on issues such as carbon capture. In 2005-2008, there was a real push for Canada to become a world leader in carbon capture and storage. I'm extremely

disappointed that we didn't play that role when there was a real interest, even among the corporate sector, in doing so. When Stephen Harper came to power, all that stuff died.

Canada could still be a leader. We could say, "Here's what we're doing, here are the policies. Who can match us?" And we could be selling our technologies and know-how in ways that really help developing countries, like China, rapidly reduce emissions without the huge expense of closing all their coal plants.

"As a global citizen, Canada can have more weight than we may realize."



COLLABORATIVE Innovation:

“Climate change is a critical challenge.”

POHLMANN

What is energizing you these days?

LAMBERT

I am excited about a new model we have created to accelerate the pace of environmental performance through innovation and collaboration. COSIA—Canada’s Oil Sands Innovation Alliance—is the specific example. It is a network of 13 companies that represent more than 90% of Canada’s oil sands production, with 40 Associate members from academia, government, and business

supporting the effort. By pooling our resources and sharing knowledge, best practices, and even intellectual property, we hope to improve our economic, social, and environmental performance as individual companies and as an industry. To date, member companies have shared approximately \$1 billion of intellectual property.

What is happening in Canada that has caught your attention?

We have an opportunity to serve as a world-class example of a resource-based economy that is an engine of innovation, through engaging across

disciplinary, organizational, cultural, and governmental boundaries to achieve environmental, social, and economic outcomes that benefit all Canadians.

What keeps you up at night?

Certainly climate change is a critical challenge. **CANADA’S REPUTATION HAS DECLINED AROUND PERCEPTIONS OF OUR LACK OF ENGAGEMENT ON SOLUTIONS.** There have been many stops and starts in the effort to confront this global crisis. Many solid plans have fallen prey to changing political winds. Even when governments have made a good start and have a decent draft plan, there has usually been criticism of outcomes not being bold enough to protect the climate or being too bold and damaging to the economy. We end up with gridlock.

Twenty-first-century problems are much more complex than earlier environmental challenges such as acid rain. In the case of greenhouse gas emissions to the atmosphere, we are all part of the problem, and we all need to be part of the solution. Yet even today we default to a blame-based narrative. We can’t separate our supply of energy from our demand requirements. Complex problems that don’t honour boundaries require convening diverse expertise and interests and broad-based, solution-oriented engagement—instead of being siloed and divisive.

If things turn out well in Canada over the next 20 years, what will have happened?

I have been reflecting on how we might be working together in the future to address environment or social challenges. The metaphor is inspired by Tour de France-type road cycling, which is intensely competitive, with many diverse teams and riders and strategies, and is also deeply collaborative. Free riders are not tolerated. Everyone has to do their part. Trust has to be very high.

The purpose is to accelerate progress to achieve a defined outcome. Can we create such “pelotons” to mobilize joint efforts and talents to achieve our big, bold, positive outcomes? Canada’s Oil Sands Innovation Alliance is an example of 13 companies creating the rules for how we ride in a peloton together. This could inform other new models for collaboration.

“Can we create such ‘pelotons’ to mobilize joint efforts and talents to achieve our big, bold, positive outcomes?”

What about your personal story has shaped what you do and the perspective you have?

My first job out of school was in Cold Lake, Alberta, and I worked with the community, including First Nations and local business. I was working on the Imperial Oils Cold Lake project as an environment specialist. I began to learn what it takes to create the human-to-human relationships and trust that enable constructive and mutually

beneficial collaboration. We had areas of agreement, areas of concern, and disagreements, but it was through dialogue and mutual respect at a personal level that we began to resolve differences and created solutions. How we engage with one another is essential to what we want to achieve.



PIVOTING Internationally:

“Canada thrives when it understands the world around it.”

KAHANE

What concerns you about what’s going on in Canada right now?

LYNCH

The primary forces of change today are not Canadian; they’re global. Canada thrives or is less successful depending on how well it understands the world around it. When it understands it, it does quite well. When it doesn’t understand it, it does poorly.

It is really important to our success that we make sure that we are not parochial in our mindset. All politics are local, but in a globalized world, the definition of local needs to be broadened.

What is an example of how we need to broaden our perspective?

At the moment, our trade relations are largely patterned on the last 40 years, not on the future. So 90% of our trade is with the OECD [Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development] countries and only 10% with the emerging world. But if you look at where globalization is taking economic growth, all of the growth is in the emerging world.

succeed, that company may need to have offices in Montreal, Johannesburg, and Mumbai instead. Likewise, since World War II, our leading universities have built relationships with those in the UK and the United States. Now, we are going to have to do so with Brazil and China.

Part of our future success is going to have to be diversifying where we do business. Today, a company may have offices in Montreal and Boston. To

We have the opportunity to diversify better and faster than the Americans, Brits, or French. If we could build brand and presence and relationships in emerging countries, we would be part of a giant market.

What kind of infrastructure do we need to support this kind of effort?

As in the past, we need ports and roads, but we also need the soft infrastructure of things like language skills. Today, our kids are more likely to take German, Italian, or Greek in high school than

Mandarin. That’s not where the growth is going to be. To ensure personal, societal, and economic success, we need to reorient our educational system.

What will it take to shift the national narrative?

Most people will take the status quo unless either there's a force for change or they are enticed to change. Who wouldn't? It's human nature. So I either have to scare you, that if we don't do this the world will fall apart, or I have to entice you and engage you in a realistic dialogue.

We also need to create a context where today's important issues permeate public discourse. Pick up five newspapers and listen to five radio stations today, and they're not going to deal with these issues. Do the same sampling in Singapore or Sweden, and they would.

Are there instances when were we able to overcome the status quo? What made these efforts successful?

THE FREE TRADE AGREEMENT WAS A SPECTACULAR PIVOT BY CANADIAN CITIZENS AND TAXPAYERS. Likewise, in the mid 90s, we made a big fiscal pivot. It stands out as being pretty abrupt and aggressive, and frankly it turned out brilliantly. But it wasn't our typical incremental change; it was a big change.

Public opinion polling wasn't in favour of either plan. At the time, if you asked somebody, "Do you want to fundamentally change all of our trade agreements with the biggest country in the world?" most said "No."

These pivots succeeded because of leadership—not just from government but also from the business community and others. Especially in the case of the Free Trade Agreement, Canadians could see business people, academics, and others honestly debating. It required enormous leadership to convince the average Canadian that, in a balance of risks and opportunities, the Agreement was actually on the positive side.

"Part of our future success is going to have to be diversifying where we do business."

Are the conditions ripe for large-scale change to occur in Canada now?

It's easier to convince people to do big things if there's collective trust in those proposing the changes. Polling

research in western countries shows that, over the last 20 years, trust throughout society is way down.

Are you confident in our ability to make the needed changes?

We have an ambition challenge in Canada. I'm not sure my generation is ambitious enough. We can do much better in the world than we think we can. Some of the younger Canadians think that they can beat anybody if they study hard, work hard, and are innovative and clever enough. We have to be

sufficiently ambitious to keep those kids in Canada, so they can start their social profit enterprises and companies here, teach here, run for political office here. If we're not ambitious enough, they'll go somewhere else, because they want to make a difference.



RECONCILING Economy and Environment: “Canadians need a dose of realism with respect to the economy.”

ATNIKOV

When you look at Canada, what’s got your attention?

MANNING

I’d like Canada to be the best-governed democracy in the world, with the strongest economy and the highest quality of life. One way to strengthen democratic governance is to raise the knowledge, skill, ethics, and capacity of elected officials. Many more think tanks, interest groups, and training programs exist for elected provincial and federal officials than for the more than 25,000 municipal officials. You need 30 hours of training to be a barista at Starbucks, but you can become a lawmaker in Parliament without one hour of training. Is that smart? It is becoming impossible to persuade competent people at the peak of their abilities to get involved in the political arena, because they are not willing to subject themselves or their families to the personal attacks and scrutiny that occur in the media.

We have what we might call a “democracy deficit,” particularly with younger people. The simplest measure of it is declining participation in elections. People feel that their votes don’t count. Polls on Canadians’ perceptions of the

performance of government and the processes of democracy are overwhelmingly negative. In this climate, the few who do take an interest can control the whole system. I call it “The Iron Law of Democracy”: if you choose not to involve yourself in the politics of your country, you will be governed by people who do.

At the highest level, politics is about reconciling conflicting interests. The hardest ones to reconcile are the ones in which both sides are good. As a nation, we’ve desperately been seeking the middle way right from the beginning, and that’s helped keep the country together. It’s why we’re bilingual; it’s why we chose a combination of the British Parliamentary system and the American Federalist system. We need to continue to seek that middle way on newer fronts, including the economic-environmental front. Otherwise, we could be heading towards another national unity crisis, prompted by the Western provinces and their sense of subsidizing everything east of the Ottawa River.

What keeps you up at night?

Canadians need a dose of realism with respect to the economy. The resource sector is the horse that’s pulling the current economic cart. We have to give more attention to strengthening those industries and recognizing what

they’re contributing. To maintain our high quality of life, the economy must be strong enough to pay for the social services network. As our population ages, the demands on our healthcare and pension systems will increase.

We also need to address environmental concerns, particularly as they interface with resource development. We can't continue to engage in a polarized environment-versus-economy argument. Nobody is out to destroy the environment or the economy—you need both—but a lot of people are willing to take one side or the other. There are different ways of reconciling the economy with the environment, some of them on the supply side and some of them on the demand side. Few groups in society talk about constraining demands.

A SPIRITUAL AWAKENING AMONG CANADIANS COULD BE A PART OF A RENEWED WILLINGNESS TO TEMPER OUR DEMANDS FOR THE SAKE OF THE FUTURE. Instead, environmental groups focus on using regulations to stop certain activities. But if you look at the development of the oil sands plants in Alberta, the reason the companies

have delayed the projects isn't because the National Energy Board issued some regulatory order; it's because of economic factors. When the price of gas went sky-high, it led to a slowdown of the development of the oil sands because the companies are using natural gas to fuel the extraction. The signals that get through most strongly to the oil sands developers are financial and market signals.

Conservatives can play a big role in reconciling these interests. The words "conservative" and "conservation" come from the same root. Living within your means—something that fiscal conservatives believe in—is actually an ecological concept. You can't take more out of a natural system than goes back into it. Conservatives could make the harnessing of market mechanisms to environmental conservation their signature contribution.

"People feel that their votes don't count."

If things unfold badly over the next 20 years, what would the story be?

I wonder if this baby-boom generation is going to pursue its self-interest to the bitter end. If baby boomers insist on the maximum level of healthcare and the

maximum technology right till the end, they're going to bankrupt the healthcare system and make aspects of it unavailable to the younger generations.

And if things turn out well over the next 20 years, what would have happened?

The central doctrine of the Christian faith is reconciliation, whether between people and whoever they conceive God to be, people and others, people and themselves, or people and the physical world. The renewed interest in environmental stewardship—in restoring the relationship between people and nature—has some spiritual elements to it. That spiritual perspective has a role to play in helping people recognize the need to sacrifice immediate satisfaction for something in the

future, the next generation, the environment. If we constrained our material demands, we would have more time for our personal, family, and social relations. If we spent more time looking after each other, we wouldn't have to go to the government for support. This is an alternative approach to trying to fix everything by regulation or law. It's easy to talk about the future in terms of what it should be economically, environmentally, socially, and politically. I would add the spiritual dimension.



OUR ELECTED Dictatorship:

“Our constitution is based on the premise that those with power will not abuse it.”

POHLMANN

What keeps you
up at night?

MAY

We are a democracy only in theory. In practice, we're an elected dictatorship. Canadians no longer feel empowered; they are passive consumers. They have abandoned the notion that they have rights and responsibilities in running the country. It's very hard to wake people back up to the fact that they have power. Forty percent of Canadians don't vote. In the by-election in Fort McMurray-Athabasca last June, only 15% voted! Unless we change the system, the next elected dictator could be Trudeau or Mulcair, and we might like the decisions better, but it still wouldn't be a democracy.

Today, democratically elected governments have little sense of sovereign power and are beholden to transnationals through things like investor-state agreements. We need to reestablish that democracies (and citizens) can choose what they want to do, whether it's saying no to something like the Enbridge Northern Gateway pipelines or weighing in on the Canada-China investor treaty. For many years, we've gone through deregulation, privatization, and trade liberalization. Taxes and anything collective are demonized. Our kids have

been raised in an era in which the message has been “government is bad.” When I talk to young people, they say, “I don't want the government doing this or that.” But in a democracy, you should feel as though your government extends from the end of your fingertips to do collectively what you can't do as an individual.

Our capacity to know what's actually going on has been diminished. The Internet has opened up the possibility for massive amounts of disinformation, masquerading as information. Social media has amplified the voices of the intolerant, the racists, the misogynists, the homophobic. I am on Twitter, and the stuff I get sent sometimes is horrific. There were always elements of our society that were intolerant, but one of the great things about Canada has been our respect for different viewpoints and the idea that we can come to consensus. We've always had this notion that we could disagree without being disagreeable. Today, the polite Canadian is disappearing. Conversations are no longer allowed. You're only allowed to yell slogans at each other across the aisle.

What lessons do we need to learn from our past failures?

We're like a little popsicle stand. If you're ruthless, you can knock us over. Our constitution is based on the premise that those with power will not abuse it. There are no rules against the abuse

of power; it's just not done. Stephen Harper doesn't have any real respect for Westminster parliamentary democracy. I don't think he is working in the interest of Canada.

What concerns you about Canada's role on the international stage?

Right now, we're irrelevant in any international negotiations on climate, because the rest of the world knows we're going to do the wrong thing. We're out of step with a large global shift that is happening. Some of the strongest voices for action on the climate crisis include the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the International

Energy Agency, and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. Christine Lagarde from the IMF said at the Davos meetings last year, "If we don't act on the climate crisis, future generations will be roasted, toasted, fried, and grilled." Shell and BP are saying that it's time for some form of carbon tax.

"We are a democracy only in theory. In practice, we're an elected dictatorship."

What energizes you?

The provinces offer a glimmer of hope on climate change. The premiers are saying, we need an energy policy. In the absence of a federal policy, we have "ad-hockery," which has allowed corporations to rule. If we had a national energy policy, energy security would matter, so we would export only after we met domestic needs. Climate action would matter. And maximizing the number

of jobs for every barrel of bitumen produced would matter. **ALL THESE PIECES WOULD COME TOGETHER IF WE WERE AROUND THE SAME TABLE SORTING OUT OUR PROBLEMS, IF WE RETURNED TO COMMUNITY VALUES AND TO TAKING CARE OF EACH OTHER.** We're not going to be able to resolve the climate crisis if we're not a functioning democracy.



FULFILLING

Our Responsibilities:

“We tend to defer too much, partly out of a sense of respect but also out of a kind of passivity.”

KAHANE

What do you see going on in the country that needs paying attention to?

MÉNARD

As Canadians, we have certain rights. We also have duties and a responsibility to contribute to the public good, especially if we are blessed with a certain level of influence. That’s also true of the country. We have a country that’s blessed. We moan and groan about some of our shortcomings, but when we look at the news, we can see how Canada is the envy of the world. We are blessed because we happen to be in this hemisphere and because our culture allows us to govern ourselves in the way we do. The 2008 crisis did not have the impact here that it did elsewhere. How can we share our expertise, experiences, and values in a way that shows solidarity with other folks in the world that have not been blessed as we have?

We aren’t contributing inside our country and outside to the world to the extent of our potential. Being social democrats, we tend to defer too much, partly out of a sense of respect but also out of a kind of passivity that says, “Let’s wait until we get guidance.” The way we can do better is by taking responsibility for what Canada is to become. We have to remind ourselves that it’s not going to come from government and it’s not going to come from elsewhere: Canada will be what we make it. Caring, fairness, solidarity, resourcefulness, and innovativeness are all Canadian values. Canada will be a better place if our leaders and citizenry take more responsibility for practicing those values and creating better opportunities for people to succeed.

If you could ask a clairvoyant about the future, what would want to know?

Has Canada become a model in the realm of education? Canada is one of the fastest-aging countries in the world. If we are to continue with our Canadian social and economic model, the generation of workers 25 years from now will need to be much more productive than my generation or that of my father. Therefore, we must become a leader in education and in our ability to stimulate innovation and creativity in sciences, healthcare, and

service areas. Economically, we are a small country, and the only way we’re going to grow is by becoming much more effective and by regaining our role as a powerful exporter of ideas, services, and certain products. We need to wean ourselves off of being totally dependent on our national resources. We can still be a resource-based country, we can still ship oil and minerals, but we need to have a more balanced economy.

If things have not turned out well over the next 20 years, what would the story have been?

We will have kept shrinking the resources we devote to higher education and research at our universities and institutions. We will have chosen to give all the money back to citizens and forgone our collective responsibility to foster a better educational system. That would have an impact on our record of achievement in the realm of innovation and patent development. Canada will have eroded and missed an opportunity to focus on our talents.

HOW DO YOU MISS AN OPPORTUNITY ON TALENTS? YOU DO TWO THINGS: YOU DON'T DEVELOP THEM AND YOU DON'T RETAIN THEM. We compete in the world, and the fewer unique skills we develop, the poorer our country will be. We can't shrink ourselves into greatness. At some point, we have some collective responsibilities to one another generationally.

Future generations will pass a tough judgment on today's generations, saying, "Look at what they did through their obsession with an individualistic way of thinking."

A lot of our imaginative, energetic, and highly schooled kids would have left the country. Many smart kids have already left Quebec. In response, here in Montreal, we've realized that we can do one of two things: we can keep harping on our weaknesses or we can decide to work on our strengths. We can wait for someone else to define us and our potential and our calling as a city, or we can act on the leverage that we do have as a community and as citizens. There is energy and creativity and talent in this city, and one of the challenges is figuring out how to retain, attract, and develop it.

"We can't shrink ourselves into greatness. At some point, we have some collective responsibilities to one another generationally."



HOW WE LIVE:

“I see disruptions and anger.”

POHLMANN

What keeps you up at night about what’s going on in Canada?

MERCHANT

Our education system focuses on the attainment of status, not on the quality of education. Going forward, it’s going to be a challenge to get the right people for the kinds of things we need to do in the workforce. Young people also need to develop basic skills in terms of being able to articulate their thoughts and have conversations. It’s not just about whether or not someone tweets; it’s about how to engage them in the community and in political discourse. And it’s not just about importing people with skills from somewhere else; it’s about figuring out what things we want to be good at.

Some of our conversations about diversity need to be reframed. For example, we still use the term “visible minority” for a populace that is no longer a minority. We’re not doing a good enough job of engaging newcomers. We use models of engagement that may be alien to them or may not be relevant anymore. We are also creating ghettos. Go to Rexdale or Mississauga or Brampton to understand how we’re focusing ethnic communities in one place. Immigrants make choices to go there, but we’re not doing a good enough job of integrating these communities into the city’s fabric.

What energizes you?

I like the fact that we often don’t know who we are, because there isn’t an expectation in terms of needing to subscribe to certain things. This could be a weakness as well as a strength, depending on how we shape it. I’ve always seen this openness as my chance to be a part of our country’s narrative.

We still have the economic clout and resources to be able to make a big difference in the world. Whether we want to is something that we need to start talking about. We throw money at problems, but it comes down to whether we have the political will to

have difficult conversations. If we can’t do that, how can we do anything else? If we identify and own the issues, we could do some wonderfully creative things. Canada has been willing to bring people together without ideology, to talk things through and work things out. I like that in my life and I like that in my nation—one that’s not polarized, that’s inclusive, that encourages conversation, and that doesn’t decide what’s right and wrong before you’ve started talking. We do that well. We’re still a young country, and there are many stories yet to be written. We can start to shape them in a positive way.

If you could ask a clairvoyant about the future of Canada, what would you want to know?

I'd want to know what path we take on the environment. *WE ARE HYPOCRITES, IN THAT WE'RE BOTH RIDING THE ECONOMIC BOOM AND CRITICIZING ITS IMPACT. WE WANT THE MONEY BUT WE DON'T WANT THE ENVIRONMENTAL DESTRUCTION. WHAT ARE WE DOING ABOUT IT?* Have our habits around consumption changed? It may take two or three generations, but the things that we know and have known for the last 400-500 years are going to change, whether we cause that change or whether the planet makes that change happen. We're seeing it already: pests are

moving north, the country is warming. I really want to know where we will land.

We're not going to be an immigrant magnet forever. The things that we offer aren't unique to Canada anymore. Other parts of the world are becoming equally attractive in offering the comforts that are a part of our lives here. We work on the assumption that we'll continue to attract immigrants and that they will come to our cities. All of that could turn on a dime, and we would suddenly have a very different future. I'd like to know where we go with that.

"We're not doing a good enough job of engaging newcomers. We use models of engagement that may be alien to them or may not be relevant anymore. We are also creating ghettos."

If in 20 years things have gone badly in Canada, what's happened?

Canada's going to be more and more separated by geography, in terms of the urban centres versus everything else. The rural communities are at a critical point in their evolution, and we're not acknowledging that they have a problem. Politically, they still have clout because of the way seats are distributed, and they're expecting a certain quality of life that they can no longer get. In 30, 50, 100 years, they're going to be very different places. They may not have enough people to support them. The people who are there

are going to get older. In some municipalities in Ontario, 60 to 70% of their population will be above the age of 65 by the year 2040.

More people are living in single households than ever before, in building types that breed isolation, not community. All of these factors compound to affect what kind of a society we become and what kind of lives people live. I see disruptions and anger happening. I see the Canadian identity getting a little fractured.



OUR COMPETITIVE Advantage:

“Humility is nice, but not when
it holds you back.”

ATNIKOV

When you look at
Canada, what’s got
your attention?

MOHAMED

The diverse make-up of our country is one of our competitive advantages. In an increasingly globalized, interconnected world, it’s a competitive edge for any organization or country to have a variety of opinions around the table. If the people involved are all from similar backgrounds, you can’t really understand what’s going on outside the room. We do a good job of celebrating diversity; now we have to figure out how to leverage it. We could start by having more diversity—of ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, people with disabilities—in our federal, provincial, and municipal governments. We also have to change the curriculum in schools. Students still learn more about the first and second World Wars than about the positive contribution of Aboriginal Canadians or of immigrants.

We have the opportunity to assert ourselves—to rebrand ourselves—as a

bigger power in light of what’s happening in the world. There will be 9 billion people to feed by 2050, and we’ve got some of the strongest agricultural policies. During the 2008 world financial crisis, we showed our financial prowess, and we continue to be a leader in our taxation and banking systems, our stability, and our relatively low unemployment rate when compared to other nations. But do we export enough of that knowledge? No! Do we showcase enough just how awesome we are? No! It’s called the “Tall Poppy Syndrome”—we don’t want to stand out by being the tallest poppy in the field, so when Canadians do amazing things, we won’t take credit for them. I’d like to see us be more patriotic, but until the world applauds us, we don’t applaud ourselves. Humility is nice, but not when it holds you back.

What keeps you
up at night?

I WORRY ABOUT YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT. WE CAN’T AFFORD A LOST GENERATION. WE CANNOT LOSE OUT ON THE WAY YOUNG PEOPLE THINK, INTERACT, DRIVE CHANGE.

We also need to think about stability: who is going to pay taxes and keep our

social programs going? I would like us to be thinking a little less short term and a little more long term.

We have to be careful regarding policies that affect the ability for people from other countries to come here and

to work. The growth of our population still needs to come from immigration. If we don't have open immigration laws, we're not going to have that growth. As a result, the best of the best—the inno-

vators and scientists and Nobel Peace Prize winners—are going to choose to go somewhere else, and we can't afford that. We haven't lost our lustre in this area, but we need to polish it.

How can we better ensure we don't let opportunities go to waste?

We need to cultivate people's ability to make informed decisions. It is absolutely ridiculous that we do not have mandatory voting. If you were forced to vote, you would care about your leadership, the risks that your country is taking, and its reputation abroad. You would be more engaged with the policies and the people who represent you. People in other countries die for

the right to vote. Some in this country will take the position that, "It's raining, I'm not going to vote today." If I ruled the world, you wouldn't get your passport, your health card, or your driver's licence if you didn't vote. To be engaged, people need to feel hopeful, they need to feel like they can play a part, they need to feel like their opinion matters.

"We have the opportunity to assert ourselves—to rebrand ourselves—as a bigger power in light of what's happening in the world."



OUR STRENGTHS and Weaknesses:

“It’s great to have commodities, but that sector is certainly not going to be an engine for growth.”

POHLMANN

When you look at Canada today, what’s keeps you up at night?

NIXON

Historically we’ve been a commodity-based economy with a strong manufacturing sector, and now we’re a commodity-based economy with a weak manufacturing sector. It’s great to have commodities, but that sector is not a big employer, and it’s certainly not going to be an engine for growth. Canada has to find its way in the world of innovation, emerging technologies, and advanced manufacturing methods. We also have to ensure that we continue to stay disciplined from a fiscal perspective. We talk about how well the country is doing financially, but Quebec and Ontario both have significant financial burdens and deficits. In the past we’ve seen the negative impact of a lack of fiscal discipline.

We live in a global economy, and as a country we need to figure out how we want to position ourselves in the world. Canada’s position today is very different from what it was 15 years ago. We have

to consider, from a cultural perspective, are we comfortable being an aggressive, outspoken advocate on the world stage? Or are we more comfortable in our traditional role as a peace-keeper and mediator—friendly, not aggressive or outspoken, and consensus-driven? Clearly that’s not where we are today.

Finally, Canada is vulnerable to a lot of different attacks. Because of our proximity to the United States, we’ve always taken for granted that we are a safe country, without the fear of war. But in today’s world, where wars are often fought through electronics and terrorism rather than on the ground, we are way, way behind most other industrialized countries. We don’t have the same level of intelligence as most European countries or the United States, and that leaves us very vulnerable to attack. Some massive event of terrorism could really change our country

What energizes you?

Few countries in the world offer the quality of life, stability, security, and consistency that Canada does. In terms of income equality, quality of governance, and even economic performance, it’s a pretty good story. We

have worked really hard to overcome our geography, our elephant to the south, and our history.

DIVERSITY IS PROBABLY OUR GREATEST SOURCE OF STRENGTH.

It is one of our core values as a company, and it is one of our core values as a country. In 1980, we had one female executive; today our chairman is female, as are 40% of our executives. And we are an example of how the mosaic of multiculturalism can work well. When you look across our employee base, almost every country in the world is represented in a significant manner.

Everyone knows the country was built by immigrants, but we don't often acknowledge that the country is still being built by immigrants. You don't want the diversity we have made work so well to turn from an incredible strength into a weakness. If we are complacent, our multicultural success could turn into ethnic challenges.

If things turn out badly in Canada over the next 20 years, what would have happened?

We aren't able to compete in terms of innovation and advanced manufacturing, and end up underperforming the rest of the world economically. Underperformance in terms of economic growth would result in a snowballing effect of higher unemployment, government deficits, and a less optimistic country as a whole.

We also have a mismatch of training and future jobs. Universities are probably the least innovative sector of the economy, when you think of traditional lectures and tenured professors and everything else. Every other sector of the economy has been forced to adapt as a result of technology and other changes, but our educational system really has not adapted. In terms of learning the skills they need for tomorrow's jobs, university is probably the

wrong decision for more than half of our young people.

So without structural change, it's hard to imagine how the younger people of today are ever going to be able to save the way that my generation did. Income differentials have resulted in a decline of the ability of lower, middle, and even upper-middle income Canadians to maintain a quality of life relative to high-income earners. A combination of cost inflation (particularly in housing) and lifestyle choices will impact how we look as a country. A lot of people are living okay today but they are not saving, they don't have big pensions, and they're certainly not going to be able to maintain their current standard of living with social security.

***“Without structural change,
it's hard to imagine how the
younger people of today
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my generation did.”***



GROWTH through Diversity:

“Canada has the skeleton bones for how a future society should function.”

PINNINGTON

What excites you?

OMIDVAR

Canada has the skeleton bones for how a future society should function. We are today what many other societies likely will become; we are home to many nationalities, many races, many religions. Diversity is part of our DNA, primarily in the urban centres. We function generally well—nobody is rioting on our streets, people are civil to each other, you go on the subway with people packed in tight and nobody is shouting racist remarks.

Local institutions have contributed a great deal to this narrative. For example, in Toronto, schools have been remarkably progressive in reflecting the multicultural face of Canada in the curriculum. It's no longer “Jenny and Thomas go to the store to buy sugar” it's “Fatima and Ali go to the store to buy rice.” These things make a difference.

In other ways, business has taken the lead in adapting to our new diverse reality. An interesting example from the

financial services sector is the changing rules for who qualifies for a mortgage. In the past, the bank only counted the incomes of two individuals: a couple. Immigrant employees at one financial institution pointed out a missed business opportunity. They said, “Wait a second, immigrant families don't always live as husband and wife; they live as husband and wife, brother, sister, aunt, uncle.” The whole family works together to purchase a home which, along with citizenship, is a significant indicator of belonging. Consequently, financial services institutions in Canada changed mortgage criteria to allow families to be defined differently and to pool their income to qualify for mortgages. Business goes where the market is, and our financial services sector has realized that if we want to serve the customer, we have to know the customer. We're making progress. It's just taking a very long time.

If things turn out well over the next 20 years, what would the story be?

Looking into the future, I see a different Canada, built on the momentum of today. We have doubled our population. As a result, we have 10 big urban centres, not just four. In those urban centres are residents of unrivalled diversity. This strengthens our economy and prosperity. Because we are a bigger

economy, we're able to produce more, we're able to trade more, we're able to sell to more people, we have more people with big ideas. Our population growth has stabilized through immigration, and our economy has the capacity to absorb immigrants at all skill levels and many more refugees.

Second, we are an economic powerhouse because we are trading with many more countries rather than relying so heavily on the United States. We have addressed our overreliance on one market by aggressively diversifying our political and business relationships. Through immigration and through diaspora networks, our natural links to the outside world have expanded.

Canadians are adept at interpreting the written and unwritten rules and regulations in different markets, and are nimble in moving from one culture to another. Canada's future is in paying attention to and releasing this latent power of the immigrants of today and yesterday, and strengthening the connections between places, markets, suppliers, and ideas.

What keeps you up at night?

We are a rules-bound society. We don't like to take too much risk. Peace, order, good governance: that's us. Not taking risks means surrounding yourself with the same old ideas and the same old people that reflect those ideas. Research shows that if you want to produce the same rigid thinking, your team should be homogenous. However, if you want to create something new, different, crazy, then you should ensure that your team is made up of people who are radically different from you. It may create measured conflict and chaos, but it will result in creativity, and we need creativity.

In Toronto, whilst our visible minority population is roughly 49%, it only fills 13% of leadership positions. The people who sit in boardrooms and hold corporate power look like Old Canada; they don't look like New Canada. Why is it that we're not Silicon Valley, apart from sunshine? Because in Silicon Valley, the price of entry is not where you were born, the price of entry is your idea. We're not there yet.

There are also some worrisome trends. We've lost our commitment to permanency. *WE USED TO SAY, "COME TO CANADA AND AFTER THREE OR FOUR YEARS, YOU WILL BECOME A CANADIAN CITIZEN." WE'RE MAKING CITIZENSHIP HARDER TO GET AND EASIER TO LOSE.* We are importing temporary foreign workers who have no right to permanency, and so we're creating a two-tiered society. We know from the United States and Europe that many guest workers don't leave; they overstay their visas and go underground. Imagine coming in as a temporary foreign worker from Mexico, China, or the Philippines. You're tied to an employer. You do not have the freedom to quit. If that employer abuses you, are you going to complain? We're losing sight of the values we built this great nation on. Another of those values is compassion. We've made a stark departure from compassion in our negligible effort to resettle refugees from Syria and Iraq.

"Not taking risks means surrounding yourself with the same old ideas and the same old people that reflect those ideas."

What legacy do you hope to leave?

Through the Global Diversity Exchange at Ryerson, we are creating movements for change that are locally embedded and grounded in ideas that work, on diversity, migration, and inclusion.

Local communities have an enormous potential to reach out across borders, connect with each other, and learn and replicate from each other. This is far more difficult for nation states.



MAKING Tough Choices:

“We’re fed up with bad news and our scepticism is high.”

KAHANE

When you look at what’s going on in Montreal, in Quebec, in Canada, what keeps you up at night?

PEREŠA

MY MAIN CONCERN IS THAT SOCIAL INEQUALITY KEEPS GROWING IN CANADA—EVEN THOUGH IT’S NOT AS HIGH AS ELSEWHERE. Around the world, growing inequality is creating a lot of tension. In Canada, we have been safe from some of that tension because we don’t share borders with any country that has extreme inequalities and so don’t have the pressure from migration.

Still, we have a responsibility to be more open than we have been lately. When my father arrived here as a Croatian immigrant, this community welcomed him wonderfully. Canada has a long history of welcoming refugees or people who are being discriminated against in their countries.

But there has been a decline in the welcome we give people. Immigrants generally arrive and experience what we call “transitional poverty.” In Canada, it used to take around seven years before somebody would feel financially comfortable, and after that they would move out to the suburbs. But now it takes 14 years for somebody to reach financial independence. The poverty rate in Montreal is 23%, which means almost one person out of four lives below the poverty line.

We have a collective responsibility to make sure that those who are in the most vulnerable positions are protected and have the same opportunities as the rest of us.

If things don’t turn out well in Canada over the next decades, what would have happened and why?

We—both citizens and politicians—would have failed to show courage in making the tough, long-term decisions we face. With a four-year election cycle, politicians campaign and paint a nice, beautiful picture, but they’re not telling the entire story. When they get in power, they realize they have to

make tough decisions. Then people aren’t happy because the politicians aren’t doing what they promised. When we vote for people, we have to have the courage to let them do what they have to do and not succumb to the pressure to do what is popular.

Do you think we're currently making wise investments for the future?

Right now, we're investing a lot in healthcare. Why is that? Because people fear that they and their loved ones could become ill, and want assurance that if they do they will have access to quality care. But since the population of deprived areas has poorer health and lower life expectancy, reducing poverty reduces the pressure on our

health system. And since there is a link between low educational attainment and poverty, investing more in education would be more sustainable than sinking more and more money into healthcare. But how can elected officials who serve four or five years have the courage to invest in such a long-term, preventive approach?

Does Montreal have the capacity to make needed change?

Over the past 20 years, every neighbourhood in Montreal has organized a multidisciplinary round table in which people from community organizations, local agencies, the city, the police, health providers, schools, and so on talk and work together. Before, only agencies mobilized citizens, but now neighbourhoods themselves are the ones working on this mobilization. They define neighbourhood priorities, such as security or making sure that all kids go to good schools, and then they work together to make it happen. They don't say, "Okay, we'll choose the one that is easier"; they say, "What is the most important one for us to move on first?"

I think that we're fed up with bad news and our scepticism is high. We want good news, and we know that we have to rely only on ourselves to create that good news. Even if we don't have the same political vision, we know we have to stick together to move forward. Despite the degree of poverty in Montreal, when you look at statistics on the levels of happiness and quality of life, it is one of the top places to live, because we have a strong community network. The reason we have a low crime rate, a high quality of life, and a society that mobilizes in a peaceful way is because we have an open culture and because our social fabric allows people to have hope.

“Despite the degree of poverty in Montreal, when you look at statistics on the levels of happiness and quality of life, it is one of the top places to live, because we have a strong community network.”



OUR SETTLER Legacy:

“Almost everything we do came out of that colonial moment when we tried to figure out how to steal the land.”

PINNINGTON

What keeps you up at night?

RAZACK

The growing, institutionalized dehumanization towards specific groups. It's as though society is evolving based on the principle that human life doesn't matter. Every morning, I read about 10 things that make me think we're growing increasingly distant from each other. It begins with race and becomes a structure that invades everything. White people routinely dehumanize Indigenous people. I'm talking of

a spectrum of violent acts, like police officers who drive a man out of the city and leave him to freeze to death. The principle that this person's life is not worth as much as yours is both an everyday act and a state practice. Look at the "tough on crime" initiatives that conservatives love. What kind of cruelty and disregard for human life do these kinds of policies come out of?

What are some important lessons from the past for Canadians?

I always think about how dominant subjects make themselves dominant. You're not born that way. I tell my class, "No one is born White." You have to learn it and you have to keep performing it every day. People don't easily believe in their own superiority or that others are lower forms of humanity. They have to convince themselves, and they're terribly haunted by it. The Settlers had to learn that Indigenous people were inferior, were savages. But it was a very hard lesson to learn, because for one thing, they're not. Indigenous people had a lot of knowledge about this place and clearly had a developed society. Because we have to be taught not to recognize the humanity of others, maybe we can interrupt this process.

We have to learn that the colonial project that is Canada is not viable, because it is not structured on the principle of a common humanity. We could look at all the instances where spectacular meanness and repression have not produced anything good, moments when Canada was tempted to be extremely vicious to Indigenous peoples. If that principle structures your country, which is what structures this country, then it's almost like you can't go anywhere good from there. We can't move into recognizing the humanity of refugees or other people if our day-to-day life is intensely structured by the inhumanity with which we have treated Aboriginal people. Almost everything we do came out of that colonial moment when we tried to figure out how to steal the land. We have to confront this colonial paradigm before we can open the way to others.

How can we confront it?

WE'VE HAD SPECTACULAR MOMENTS WHEN WE SHOULD HAVE STOPPED AND SAID, "WOW, THIS IS REALLY BAD." We have to keep taking these moments and being political about them, organizing about them, educating around them, exposing them. We need to say to White people, "I don't want you to help me. I want you to understand that your life will be really

bad if things continue as they are." If you want to live behind barricades and have guns and shoot down everybody who confronts you, if you think that's a good life, then you're not going to see the common cause. But you cannot live enjoyably, let alone ethically, in a society where such bad things are happening to others.

If you could ask a clairvoyant about the future, what would you want to know?

I would want to know if the wholesale damage and destruction of Indigenous communities continued. White people destroy Aboriginal communities because they get in the way of gold, of oil, of White people feeling like this is their land and they have a right to do what they want with it. I would want to know if, in the long run, Aboriginal people lost out.

I'd also like to know what we did with the tar sands. This is the moment to confront what we as humanity are doing to wreck the climate. If we can't confront it now, we're too far along. I hope people suddenly find themselves asking, why are we doing this?

"Every morning, I read about 10 things that make me think we're growing increasingly distant from each other."

If things turn out badly in the next 20 years, what will have happened?

Education will be about learning trades or skills and not about learning to think critically. Most places where people can learn to think critically will shut down; the rest will be small or very, very restricted. The result is that you don't get to ask questions about why things are the way they are, why some people

have a good life and others don't, what your relationship is to others in the social world. There's no way to break down the mythologies that you see reproduced every day in the papers. If you are taught that Aboriginal people are a dying race, you don't have a way to question that statement.

What energizes you?

I'm really glad I live in Toronto. This city is 50% non-White, and no one group is in the ascendancy. It is an incredible combustion of histories and politics. If there's anything that stands a chance of blowing apart our terrible colonial

history, it has to be this extraordinary mix of people together in one physical space. The people here won't put up with oppression as easily as in other places. They're not going to accept being left out.

What legacy do you want to leave through the work that you're doing?

That it is possible and necessary to stand up and say what's happening is wrong. But I can't just do that as an individual. Writing a book or teaching a class is like throwing a pebble into a

pond. I hope to be part of a community of people who feel this way and who can act collectively without getting shut down.



THE STATE of Our Democracy:

“We elect a Prime Minister who has almost dictatorial power.”

POHLMANN

What’s on the mind of Canadians these days?

REID

Twenty years ago, healthcare was number five on the list of issues of concern to Canadians. It is now number one. They sense that the quality of the system has deteriorated. In 1994, fewer than 40% of Canadians thought that wealthy people in this country had

preferential access to our healthcare resources; that’s now up to 65 or 70%. And yet despite Canadians’ concerns about some parts of the system, when you ask what really makes it special to be Canadian, their answer is increasingly healthcare.

When you look at Canada today, what makes you feel optimistic?

It’s a good time to be a Canadian. We have a strong brand that is in very good shape around the world. We are a federation, so we’ve sorted out how to operate a functioning society with great levels of regional, cultural, and

geographic diversity. In that sense, we can contribute a lot of new thinking to other countries about how to govern in this extremely diverse and rapidly changing world.

What concerns you?

The voting system here is broken. We elect a Prime Minister who has almost dictatorial power. We have issues with voter turnout and political literacy, especially with young voters. There is an appalling lack of understanding of even some of the most fundamental aspects of our democracy.

it is possible to have a Prime Minister whose French isn’t perfect but who has a lieutenant who is bilingual. That’s not a popular idea, but it’s one that I care a lot about, because leadership development is critical to the future of the country.

AT THE FEDERAL LEVEL, OUR RECRUITMENT OF STRONG LEADERS IS SOMEWHAT DIMINISHED BY THIS UNWRITTEN RULE THAT TOP ELECTED OFFICIALS MUST BE FULLY BILINGUAL. We basically disenfranchise the majority of English-speaking politicians. We have to understand that

The decline of newspapers and the significant decline of what I call consensus-building media is a big concern. Local newspapers no longer cover stories in the community. When you just rewrite a bunch of news wire reports, how do you cover city hall or local crime or other issues?

If you could ask a clairvoyant about the future of Canada, what would you want to know?

How do we cope with the increasing problem of inequality? You see it everywhere. You can't go into an airport without seeing rich guys going through the fast lanes and everybody else waiting in line for an hour to get on an airplane. Factor that across our society many times, whether it's in healthcare or other services. Our society ended up enriching a lot of people through technology and other changes. We need to figure out how bring things back into some kind of kilter. Are we going to be a society that is increasingly unequal, or are we going to find some mechanisms to reinvent the middle-class dream?

What are households going to look like 20-50 years from now? We're seeing massive changes in the definition of

family and the legitimizing of all kinds of different arrangements. For some people who see traditional families as the foundation of society, rapid movement in the other direction is of concern. I have other friends who think we should be celebrating the death of the traditional family.

What is life going to be like 20-25 years from now, when my five grandchildren enter the labour force? Are they going to see their lives as a step down from what their parents or grandparents achieved? Are they going to have access to high-quality healthcare? Will Canada continue to be a fair, compassionate society, or are technology and global forces going to compromise those elements that have created the Canadian experience?

“The tide is moving against the quintessential idea of what it is to be Canadian and of the Canadian dream.”

What important trends do you see?

The tide is moving against the quintessential idea of what it is to be Canadian and of the Canadian dream. That's why leadership is so important—if we can find leaders who can galvanize the nation to counter this tidal movement, we'll be okay. We can't sleepwalk into the future; we need to clearly grasp where we're not happy with the direction we're heading and use our collective will to make a change in course. The race is on between what we can do by intentionality and will, and what the

forces at work in Canadian society will do if there is no intervention.

Our federal government is more highly politicized than at any time in our history. That's generally a bad thing. Once you get beyond economic issues, defence, border security, and a couple of other files, you end up with a federal government that doesn't seem to have a big vision for the country beyond devolving powers to the provinces and letting them sort it out.



PLURALISM and Innovation:

“We’ve got a huge creative class in this country.”

ATNIKOV

What are you paying attention to in Canada right now?

REMPEL

The thing that strikes me the most is our pride in Canadian pluralism. As a country, we have a set of values, including equal opportunity, individual freedoms coupled with a sense of responsibility, and the possibility to retain our cultural and religious identities. As we face issues like energy security and religious extremism, this ability to have a national identity but still be a nation of many different cultures is going to become more and more important. We need to insure that, as our country grows and matures, we still have equality of opportunity for all people, both those coming to Canada and those who live here now.

Several months ago, when the conflict between Israel and Palestine flared up, there were demonstrations in Calgary. A physical assault took place at one of

those demonstrations between groups representing the two sides. I thought, “That’s not Canada!” There are certain things we just don’t do as a country. We can completely disagree on policy or other things, but at the end of the day, that discourse of ideas and positions is how we develop as a nation. We have to be able to talk about difficult issues without coming to blows. For example, we value religious freedom, but we also value gender equality and equality in terms of sexual orientation. How do we square those circles? My hope is that we recognize that there are certain values that trump any sort of discrimination and that we call discrimination for what it is rather than veiling it. What we’ve built here is unique and special. If we don’t hold on to it and celebrate it and speak out when it’s threatened, then I worry for us.

If things turn out well over the next 20 years, what would the story be?

Canada would be known as a world leader in terms of innovation and innovation policy. People across the political spectrum recognize that we need to use our enormous resource wealth to look into the future and develop secondary industries. I’m not just talking about making widgets but also about innovating in terms of the public policies we

need to become a nation of innovators. With a little bit of pushing and coordination, innovation is something we could be known for—it could become our international brand.

If you look at the innovation ecosystem in Canada as a constellation, you’ve got the innovators—the people who are

actually doing the thinking or designing the widgets. Those innovations have to go somewhere. If it's a widget, is it going into industry? If it's a new economic model, is it going to affect the federal budget development process? Then you've got all the other actors in the innovation community—government funders, not-for-profits, chambers of

commerce, think tanks—but it's kind of a disparate system right now. To bring order to this universe, to the big policy questions, we're identifying where each component fits in terms of that conveyor belt and making sure that those pieces are well financed, well linked, and driving towards a common purpose.

What do you see as going particularly well in Canada?

Our political system is a good one and is relatively equal in terms of opportunities for people to enter. *IF A YOUNG WOMAN FROM A MIDDLE-CLASS FAMILY IN SOUTH WINNIPEG CAN BECOME A CABINET MINISTER, ANYBODY CAN.* We've got a huge

creative class in this country. People from all walks of life are innovators. More importantly, we've got the vehicles by which to get their best thinking plugged into our public policy decision-making process.

“As we face issues like energy security and religious extremism, this ability to have a national identity but still be a nation of many different cultures is going to become more and more important.”



BUILDING

Relationships:

“Canadians need to include Aboriginal people in Canadian institutions—but on Aboriginal terms.”

PINNINGTON

What keeps you up at night?

RESTOULE

There’s a lot of optimism among young Aboriginal people. While the birth rate for Canadian citizens is relatively low, the Aboriginal population is young and growing fast. This population needs to be courted to help address gaps in the workforce. With education and training, there’s great potential there.

However, you still see strong currents of racism in places, like the comments section of major news websites, where some people say terrible things about Aboriginal people. Some media personalities spread outright lies about Canadian law, Aboriginal law, and Aboriginal

communities. They twist the truth to get people on their hateful bandwagons and play up the fears and tensions that are a part of Canadian history.

PEOPLE DIG IN THEIR HEELS WHEN FORCED TO GRAPPLE WITH THE FACT THAT CANADA EXISTS ON STOLEN ABORIGINAL LAND. THEY’RE AFRAID THEY’RE GOING TO LOSE SOMETHING IF THEY TALK ABOUT WHAT IT MEANS TO SHARE WHAT’S BEEN STOLEN OR TO GIVE UP SOME OF THE POWER THAT WAS TAKEN.

These are legitimate fears, but the discourse is often uninformed and hateful.

What are helpful places from which to build this dialogue?

People are starting to realize the importance of including Aboriginal perspectives in school curricula and in workplaces. I get a lot of interest from people who want to change the way they’re teaching, training, and doing advocacy to include Aboriginal cultural knowledge and identity, and anti-racism work. It has been about 20 years since Ontario first introduced a First Nations Studies course into the high-school curriculum. I’m starting

to see some impact in the graduate courses I teach. Ten years ago, if I asked, “Who has heard of residential schooling?” one or two hands might go up. Now, it’s maybe a quarter to a third of the students. I think in 20 years dialogue will change because instead of having to back up and cover the foundation from which to start talking, people will at least have the history, they’ll know that.

What are important crossroads that we’re facing as we move forward as a collective or as a nation?

Having Aboriginal overrepresentation in the criminal justice system versus having proportional representation of Aboriginal people in education and the workforce. So much is spent on treating

symptoms as opposed to preventing these kinds of choices in the first place. Canadians need to include Aboriginal people in Canadian institutions—but on Aboriginal terms.

How can we build mutual respect?

When we open up workplaces and schools to Aboriginal participation, that tears apart the stereotypes people have. Relationships break down fear. Things like exchange programs between Indigenous and non-Indigenous youth replace some of the stereotypes we get from film and media with real relationships that are rich and complicated. The more we can do to encourage these relationships, the better.

For example, Aboriginal education enhancement agreements in BC, where making outreach to parents and communities is something that the staff has to do, have resulted in much greater involvement of students and parents in the life of the school and the community. This means that instead of teachers having to manage tensions between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal students and families, these relationships are opportunities for enriching activities in the school. Aboriginal students and families are more likely to want to be involved and to do things together that help the school or to share experiences. This also helps to enrich non-Aboriginal learners, as they get opportunities to visit in the local Aboriginal community and see the kinds of things that they're doing, like restoring the health of the river, which everyone is drawing from. Those kinds of things make a meaningful difference.

We can build mutual respect in other ways. For example, at the beginning of the school day, teachers and students can acknowledge that we are on Sechelt territory or Nuu-Chal-Nuth territory, in the same way that we play the national anthem, show the Canadian flag, or hang pictures of the Queen. Some activist circles also have elders do an opening before meetings. Once this becomes commonplace, the next step is to go deeper and find meaningful ways for the elder to participate in the event.

Many people have been welcomed into communities because they have shown good faith and integrity and humility. They say, "I'm interested in learning more, what can I do?" From there it's a simple process: "Come to the community gathering, to the feast, to the pow-wow." It deepens and becomes, "Come to the ceremonies." And before you know it, friendships and relationships form.

That's where things really change, when you start to see people as individuals, rather than as one aspect of their identity. You come together around common interests, and because you have slightly different ways of seeing the world or having experienced the world, learning happens. There's a common humanity, a shared sense of responsibility to the land and to each other, which is where we should be starting.

"There's a common humanity, a shared sense of responsibility to the land and to each other, which is where we should be starting."



HUMAN CAPITAL:

“Societies tend to stagnate when the forces that resist change become entrenched.”

KAHANE

What about Canada are you paying attention to these days?

ROBSON

The degree to which we are able to develop and attract talented people. In the future, barriers to the movement of people, goods, services, and capital around the world will stay low, and people will be increasingly able to locate in attractive places to live and work. When you ask people who are establishing businesses in Toronto, including in high-tech industries, why are they here, they often say that it's one of the few places in the world where they can get together with people who do all the things they value, from suppliers to potential employees. Those people like

living here, and therefore, this is where the physical capital investments are happening, the financial capital is flowing to, and the technology they need is being developed. This is encouraging, because Canada already has a human capital advantage. We have relatively good elementary and secondary education, and huge post-secondary enrolment. We have a successful history of immigration that brings in lots of talented people. We need to build on that advantage and continue to be a good place for talent to develop or to come.

If you could ask a clairvoyant about the future, what would you want to know?

WHAT QUALITY OF LIFE CAN OUR CHILDREN AND GRANDCHILDREN EXPECT?

One of my major concerns is the degree to which the present tends to steal from the future, whether it's through governments borrowing to support today's consumption, promises we've made based on projected future wealth, or waste that we don't think about and have trouble measuring. I'm anxious about the degree to which Canadians 20 or 30 years down the road are going to find themselves discharging commitments we made on their behalf. For Canada to continue to attract and retain talent, people need to feel a sense of expanding possibilities for themselves and for

their children. Am I right in wanting my children to stay in this country?

I also would want to know the degree to which we're able to continue to reconcile liberty and order. People who lived during the spread of totalitarianism around the world in the 1930s would be pleasantly surprised by the freedom and dynamism and opportunity that exist in so many places today. It's been a remarkable flourishing, and it's natural to wonder whether we're going to be able to continue. The debate over the use of quarantine in the face of the challenge from Ebola is a concrete example of where the tension plays out. Even as we fret that we've lost a lot of

freedom with the growth of the regulatory state and that we're under surveillance so much at the time, we've still managed so far to do a pretty decent

job of maintaining the balance between individualism and public order. It's certainly one of the things that has made Canada so successful.

If things turned out badly over the next 20 years, what would have happened?

Societies tend to stagnate when the forces that resist change become entrenched. I'm following with some interest the battle of the cab and hotel industries with services like Uber and Airbnb. There are good reasons why regulations exist in those areas, but we should worry when defenders of the status quo bring the state in to protect their positions. If the people who like monopolies are able to persuade the government that new players shouldn't be allowed, it limits consumers' choices and stifles innovation. Worse, entrenchment of

the status quo can adversely affect people's attitudes towards change. Up till now, Canada has been a society that's comparatively open to innovation. We're quite comfortable with people coming in and doing things differently. Any individual instance of established interests trying to shut down something new or to keep out a competitor may not seem critical. But it's part of a larger battle: what is versus what could be. As a society, we want the people who are trying to do something new and different to win more than they lose.

"Those choices matter. They add up. And they lead down two totally different paths."

What important decisions do we have to make?

We face constant challenges when it comes to how open to the world we're prepared to be on issues such as immigration, trade, investment. Canada talks about being internationalist, and many people identify with that aspect of our history. The question is, when you're looking at a particular issue, say freer trade with Europe or the

Trans-Pacific Partnership, you've got to decide: are you going to take a bit of a gamble, engage with the world, risk a few losses for the sake of the gains? Or are you going to hold back, avoid risks, and try to keep things the way they are? Those choices matter. They add up. And they lead down two totally different paths.

What would you want your epitaph to be?

Most people are motivated by a vision of society where tomorrow is going to be better than today. If you can figure out how to solve that next problem so you're one step further along, the person who comes after you is going to be able to see that much further ahead.

It's like clearing brush—when you start off, you often wonder how you'll get anywhere. So you begin by clipping a few branches. Once they're out of the way, you can see a bit farther. I'm a branch clipper.



CREATING A HUB of Creativity:

“When people come here, they are always amazed by the culture of collaboration and ‘cooperativity’.”

ATNIKOV

What keeps you up at night?

ROSSANT

With our aging population, we have to relook at how we deliver health-care. Among other things, we have to develop a more integrated model that moves healthcare back into the community and into the home. Treating chronic diseases at home can offer a much better quality of life than doing so in a hospital, and the cost is less. But to do so, we need strong homecare systems to provide appropriate support for patients and their families.

Healthcare costs continue to rise. Today, they are running close to 50% of provincial budgets. As researchers, my colleagues and I have to look quite hard at what we do, because the healthcare system has only restricted dollars to be able to invest. We have to look at the business case of whether what we are developing is going to be something governments will pay for. They’re going to ask, “Is this treatment really going to save us money? Is it so much better than anything done before that it’s worth the investment?”

If things turn out well in Canada over the next 20 years, what would have happened?

We will start to see technological changes in health delivery that are not necessarily going to cost more than we currently spend, including new drugs and one-time curative treatments. A whole new area will be patient-specific medicine, for example, identifying the genes that are wrong in a cancer and using a particular drug to treat it. You’re saving money because you’re only treating the right people at the right time with the right drug. Patient-specific stem cell therapies will be available to cure diseases like diabetes, Parkinson’s, and vision loss. When we spread that sort of personal-

ized approach out across many different diseases, it will reduce our overall costs, improve treatments, and make for a healthier society.

Canada will be considered a hub of creativity and not the Canada of old that digs coal and makes cars. We have harnessed the concept of urban centres as being the driver for Canadian success and have invested in our infrastructure. Canada has become the place of choice for the most creative and innovative people in the world.

If things turn out badly in Canada over the next 20 years, what will the story have been?

We made it difficult to bring creative people here. We need to be open to people coming to and going out of Canada. We failed to invest in fundamental research, innovation, and the creative force. If we don't focus on the

future and build on our strengths, we will become a so-so nation. We will not achieve the impact that we can across the world in the arts, science, business, finance, and politics.

What energizes you about Canada?

We are a multicultural country that accepts and embraces people from all over the world. People come here for many different reasons, and that mixture of skill sets and viewpoints gives us huge opportunities. We have vibrant urban centres that continue to grow. When you bring people into close proximity and provide the right infrastructure, you can cause interactions that lead to new ideas and inventions. At the same time, vibrant urban centres almost always have an underclass. We have to provide stepping stones for people to move through the system and a social net to support them when they can't. If we don't enhance our urban centres, then we stand to lose against the rest of the world.

SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH WILL BE AN IMPORTANT DRIVER OF THE ECONOMY OF THE FUTURE. IT WORKS BEST IN ENVIRONMENTS AND CULTURES THAT SUPPORT COLLABORATION AND COOPERATION—SOMETHING THAT WE OFFER IN CANADA. When people come here, they are always amazed by the culture of collaboration and "cooperativity." Some say that, to be the best, we have to be competitive. But by collaborating, we can bring new ideas to the table and also pragmatically share our limited resources in order to make an impact beyond the dollars that are invested.

"When you bring people into close proximity and provide the right infrastructure, you can cause interactions that lead to new ideas and inventions."



LEARNING

from Our Past:

“There’s a tremendous amount of empowerment.”

POHLMANN

Why do you do what you do?

SCRIMSHAW

I’ve always felt a responsibility to the next generation of Indigenous youth. When I was 19, I had a summer internship in Regina. Late one evening, about ten of us were at a friend’s house. One of the guys was enthusiastically telling the group that his dad, uncle, and brother were RCMP officers, and how he was applying to become one too. In a moment that will stay with me for the rest of my life, he said, “I can’t wait to become a police officer so I can shoot some f-ing Indians.” There was absolute silence. About five or six people in the room knew that I was First Nations, and no one said anything. But perhaps more unjustly, I didn’t say anything. I just remember feeling ashamed and

embarrassed that this guy thought I was worth shooting, and I didn’t want to stir up trouble with an argument. A month later I told my sister about the incident. She told me, visibly shaken, “Who cares what you felt in that moment? What if that guy does become an RCMP officer and the Native he decides to shoot is Ethan?” Ethan is my nephew who was a year old at the time. In that moment I realized that the things I said and did made a difference, but just as importantly, the things I chose not to say also had a consequence. I decided to summon my courage to try to make a difference, and I promised myself that I would always stand up for what I believed what right.

What keeps you awake at night?

The relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in this country. When Canadians travel around the world, we say, “We’re the land of opportunity.” I believe that’s who we want to be, but it doesn’t actually reflect who we are today. The truth is there are a lot of people who have been left behind, who are living in our own backyard. My hope is that Canadians can sincerely begin to engage with Aboriginal people across this country. Why is this important? The Aboriginal population is the fastest-growing demographic in Canada. By 2026, about 400,000 Aboriginal

youth are going to enter the workforce. Three out of every 10 Aboriginal people are under the age of 14. We have a tremendous opportunity to educate and equip these young people from a place that’s culturally centred. If we don’t talk about this opportunity now and work to get it right, we’ll be living with the consequences of our inactions for generations to come.

Muhammad Yunus, a Nobel Laureate and the founder of Grameen Bank, uses a great analogy. He says, if you put one seed in a large pot and one seed in a small pot, of course the

seed in the larger pot will grow to be much bigger. The same can be true with children, because each child is equal and born full of potential. The smaller pot is poverty and less access to education. In Canada today, young Indigenous people are born into the

smaller pot. We invest 40% less in their education than for other kids, then we say, why aren't you growing? What's worse is that we consistently use antiquated methodologies for trying to come up with solutions to help address this gap.

What energizes you?

AS I TRAVEL ACROSS CANADA, I HEAR A LOT OF INDIGENOUS YOUTH SAYING, "I AM AN ACTIVIST" OR "I WANT TO GO TO LAW SCHOOL, BECAUSE I WANT TO HELP OUR COMMUNITIES." BECAUSE THE 17 YEAR OLDS ARE FIGHTING FOR WHAT THEY BELIEVE IS RIGHT, OUR COMMUNITY IS IN GREAT HANDS. Idle No More was also a unique force for our community. With it you had a youth tweeting from northern Saskatchewan and somebody from

Quebec re-tweeting it. There's a tremendous amount of empowerment through that process—the youth are engaging in a conversation and getting their voices validated by their peers. In the Aboriginal community, our generation is what some consider the eighth fire, which is the generation that's going to change everything. I get goose bumps when I think about it because I believe it. I can see the tides starting to shift.

"The truth is there are a lot of people who have been left behind, who are living in our own backyard."

If you look at where Canada failed in the past, what can we learn for the future?

We wouldn't be facing a lot of the challenges we face and be making a lot of the decisions we're making if we actually taught our true past and learned from it. For over 100 years, Aboriginal children were put through residential schools, whose mandate from the government was to "get the Indian out of the child." Kids were taken away from their parents, separated from their siblings, and not able to speak their language. Many suffered physical, mental, and sexual abuse. It's because of the residential schools that I grew up without a mother. I've never known what it feels like to come home after a bad day and cry into a mother's shoulder. I don't speak my language. I live with the legacy of residential schools every single day.

In 2014, half of Canadians still don't know what a residential school is. If you don't know what it is, you don't

understand the legacy it has for Aboriginal people. If more people understood how Canada was colonized, I believe we'd be a bit more reluctant to celebrate our nation's founding. For myself, why would I want to celebrate John A. Macdonald when I understand how he colonized Aboriginal men, women, and children? He made decisions that led to the mistreatment and deaths of thousands of people, but we generally don't teach that in our history classes. If we really want to honour the past, I believe we should learn from it. If we avoid it, we're simply hiding behind our own ignorance. Do we want future generations to say that we avoided something because it made us uncomfortable, or do we want them to say that we moved past that feeling so we could make informed decisions for the future?



THE VIRTUE of Pluralism:

“Canada has developed a kind of civic intent to make diversity work.”

KAHANE

Is there something about Canada that you think is distinctive in the world today?

SHARIFF

Canada has developed a kind of civic intent to make diversity work. In our society, there is a broad sense that we’re not willing to indulge in the political opportunism of division in any serious way.

Like every country, we face challenges, difficulties, and sources of division, some of which are natural and some of which are open to exploitation. What’s interesting for us to understand is how our country responds to these kinds of shocks—and what it would look like if the same shocks happened in other kinds of settings.

The fact that the secular charter was debated in the Quebec election campaign, for example, where the stakes were high and the positions were clear and strong, and yet we just worked through it, is in a certain way shocking. It didn’t escalate! In some way, our institutional, cultural, historical, and political environment channelled everyone’s anxieties. To me, the expression of values that this event brought to light is unique in the world. It suggests something fundamental about Canada, which is that Canadian pluralism has very, very deep roots.

Why is pluralism so important?

In the world as a whole, the notion of homogeneity is quickly disappearing for two reasons. First, we’re more aware of our individual differences—our “selfness”—than ever before. Second, we have experienced demographic movements that historically were unheard of. These two factors mean that the idea of managing difference and being able to live in some kind of common framework might be fundamental for any society today.

Someone once told me that, for an individual, humility is the king of virtues. What is the king of virtues for a society—the virtue from which all other virtues and capacities stem? I wonder

if the capacity for pluralism might be the source from which all others stem.

IF YOU CAN BUILD THE SOCIAL CAPACITY TO DEAL WITH PLURALISM, THEN YOU CAN DEAL WITH A HOST OF OTHER QUESTIONS. You can’t sustain a vibrant pluralist society if you haven’t thought hard about the nature and structure of your economy. Large economic inequities or exclusivist or extractive institutions are incompatible with pluralism. So in order to underwrite pluralism, you need to have a certain kind of economic system. Political institutions and the ability to respond to the great diversity of human needs, aspirations, and identities are

big drivers of pluralism. You can't have political institutions that are bent on divisiveness or that pit people against each other: things will fall apart. And to sustain a pluralist society, you also need

a certain kind of cultural life that balances unifying themes with lots of room for individual cultural expression and creative cross-cultural collaborations.

Are Canadians actively aware of the importance of pluralism to our society?

The last thing the fish talk about is the water that they're in: it's invisible. The scaffolding of Canadian society—this commitment to pluralism—is invisible to most Canadians. We don't always understand it explicitly, and we might take it for granted, but it is embedded in

us. We see it most starkly in Canadians working abroad. Canadians are able to operate in a lot of diverse and difficult places, and I think that's because we have a certain sensibility for how things work in a pluralistic society.

So pluralism is one of our untapped or underappreciated assets?

I believe so, at least underappreciated by Canadians themselves, if not by others. There's a danger both in Canadians not being humble enough and in being too humble about our pluralism. No one wants a bunch of arrogant pluralists running around; on the other hand, being too humble can serve as a way of devaluing an asset and

somehow shielding you from assuming responsibility for sharing it. Of course, pluralism is not just a Canadian asset. It's an asset in Canada or of Canada, but it's also a global human asset. We're just custodians of that asset for the world. What does it mean for us to use this asset with the world as a beneficiary?

"No one wants a bunch of arrogant pluralists running around; on the other hand, being too humble can serve as a way of devaluing an asset and somehow shielding you from assuming responsibility for sharing it."

What would you want your epitaph to be?

"He made a small Canadian contribution to the great issues of the day." For me, the Canadian element isn't a sloganeering notion; it isn't about the maple leaf. It's really about encapsulating a certain portfolio of ideas and ideals that this country has come to represent and using that as a platform for making a contribution to the world.

Jennifer Welsh, in her book *At Home in the World*, said that we shouldn't be a middle power, we should be a model power. She suggests that the best contribution that Canada could make is to be excellent at being Canada. So there's a sense, I suppose, in which what we're seeing is a Canada-shaped hole in the global puzzle.



SMUGNESS:

“Comfort is our biggest enemy.”

POHLMANN

**What keeps you
awake at night?**

STEIN

Canadians aren't change leaders. We're deeply, deeply risk averse. If you give us a choice, we prefer the status quo, because we think it's less risky. What we don't understand is the cost of inaction. Most of our public sector institutions are buried in process. In the last year, minute scandals about minute amounts of money have consumed the public agenda. It's all about the evaluation of process as opposed to a conversation about what we want to accomplish together. We don't use process to enable, we use it to obstruct. Process also drives you to the middle. If you're unwilling to offend anybody, you don't get imaginative, innovative solutions. Ultimately, that approach could degrade our quality of life.

The corporate sector is the least risk averse. It has a better-developed sense of risk and understands that the status quo is not sustainable. If you look at where real environmental leadership is coming from in this country, it's the

private sector—the insurance industry and the energy sector. As soon as the insurance industry starts to create a marketplace around environmental risk, we're going to move on this issue much more quickly than we are now. The energy sector is the one saying that we need environmentally responsible policy, because it's overwhelmingly in their interest.

We need more entrepreneurial spirit in this country, most of all in the public and not-for-profit sectors. We have to look beyond government for doers. The not-for-profit sector is getting more and more entrepreneurial all the time. Part of what is driving its innovative activities is that there is so little money and so much ambition. Under these circumstances, you're driven to find new ways to do things. The good news is that we have a greater capacity for self-organization in this country than we give ourselves credit for.

What energizes you?

Young people! I've spent my life working with young people, and this is the most adventurous, clear-eyed, hard-nosed generation I've met. They depend on themselves, are single-minded in their desire to get the best

skills, have a global view, and are not risk averse. Our students in the Munk School of Global Affairs are starting start-ups! They have the capacity and the confidence to move out from under the big, cumbersome institutions.

If things turn out badly over the next 20 years, what would have happened?

We would have failed to keep our young people. They will go where the work is interesting and challenging, and where they can contribute. That will be a huge loss. If we don't reorient our institutions to make them hospitable to members of this generation, they will just walk right around them and do other things. Our institutions will atrophy, because they won't have people to shake things up and say, no, we're not going to do it this way anymore.

We will also fail if we do not recover from our terminal illness of smugness

and self-satisfaction. Otherwise, we are not going to push ourselves hard enough and will ultimately slide into mind-numbing mediocrity. The rest of the world is changing faster than we are. Look at what China was 50 years ago and what China is today. Unimaginable! Look at the social experiments going on in Brazil. We have a lot to learn. What's missing here is urgency. Comfort is our biggest enemy. The leaders of our established institutions have to wake up and understand what is going on in the world.

If you could ask a clairvoyant anything about Canada's future, what would you want to know?

Will we be able to leverage the enormous intelligence and creativity we have in this country to enrich the quality of innovation? My colleagues and I are looking at what policies governments and the private sector can use to enhance the benefits of innovation as you go through the innovation frontier. The question of who benefits from innovation and who doesn't is really going to matter. In some innovative societies, the

benefits of innovation are evenly distributed, and in some societies, they're not. If, in our society, those who innovate are hugely rewarded but those who are outside of that process are hugely disadvantaged, we will not have the kind of Canada that we want. And how can you involve minorities, including young Aboriginal people, in a vibrant innovation economy and society? These are important policy questions.

"I've spent my life working with young people, and this is the most adventurous, clear-eyed, hard-nosed generation I've met."

What important decisions does Canada have to make?

WE HAVE TO MAKE SOME HARD DECISIONS ABOUT WHO WE ARE GOING TO BE AND WHAT WE'RE GOING TO DO IN THE WORLD. WE ARE A SMALL COUNTRY AND WE CANNOT DO EVERYTHING. IN THE ATTEMPT, WE WEAKEN OUR IMPACT EVERYWHERE WE GO. We have to have this debate, and in the process, we will make Canadians proud instead of angry.

We are wholly dependant on immigration for our future. We're very good

at it, but again, there's a risk of smugness. We know from good research that our big cities are not doing as well in opening doors to employment and advancement to immigrants as they were two decades ago. Yet if we're going to thrive, we have to attract even more immigrants than we have in the past. To many people around the world, we are the most attractive country to come to. We have to live up to that record.



Art Sterritt, Executive Director of the Coastal First Nations Great Bear Initiative, was interviewed on October 7, 2014 by Monica Pohlmann

SUSTAINABLE Economies:

“It’s time for people to begin to control what we do in this country again.”

POHLMANN

What about your background shapes your perspective?

STERRITT

I grew up in a very rich area in the upper Skeena at a time when most of the logging in the area was done by First Nations. My grandfather and uncle had a sawmill, as did other First Nations people. First Nations basically ran all of the industry in the area, and there was no unemployment. There were strict rules about what we were to take from the natural environment. My father and his cousins and most of his friends had licences for logging that were called “limits”—they were limited as to how much they could take. After the large corporations moved in with tree farm licences assigned to them by provincial government, I remember going to a clear-cut area, and I was horrified by what I saw. Trees that were maybe a foot around were lying on the ground rotting; they had been cut down just because they were in the way of the logging. When trees were gone from the area, the companies then shut down the sawmills.

The same thing happened on the coast of British Columbia. When I arrived on

the coast 47 years ago, First Nations were running all of the fisheries. First Nations were operating seiners, gillnetters, trollers, packers, the shellfish industries, and the halibut fishery, including black cod. Forty-seven years ago, all of the fisheries were sustainable. Then the corporations began to rationalize these fisheries and push the First Nations aside. As they did this, the natural capital that sustained us for millennia was beginning to be wiped out.

Before, there was no unemployment. Our social safety network was our place! If anybody needed a job or food, it was there for them. But over the last 30 years, the corporatization of the coastal economy has eroded our place. Today, people often look at First Nations people as some kind of impoverished race. Don’t ever make the mistake of looking down your nose at us! We have lived well and have sustained ourselves forever. We know it is possible for us to return to the great riches we once enjoyed.

What energizes you?

EVERYWHERE YOU GO WITHIN THIS PROVINCE, YOU FIND FIRST NATIONS PEOPLE FIGHTING TO SUSTAIN THE ECOSYSTEMS AND TO CREATE SUSTAINABLE ECONOMIES BASED ON THEM. WE’VE CREATED PARTNER-

SHIPS WITH EVERYBODY WITHIN OUR REGIONS: CORPORATIONS, UNIONS, MUNICIPALITIES, AND INDUSTRIES LIKE SPORTS FISHING AND MINING. Local non-Native people embrace us, because they understand that

we have to protect the place so that the air and the water and the land can continue to support us all. When I grew up, there was no “them” and “us.” Our old

chiefs always talk about making sure that we share everything, sometimes to our detriment. I see a future where we all work together again.

If things turn out well over the next 20 years, what would have happened?

Canada would have used a fraction of our non-renewables to create a more sustainable society. That’s the responsibility that we have. We have spent the last 40 or 50 years taking non-renewables out, with total disregard for the natural capital and the region. We are

now at a point where we need to protect those resources. Our natural environment always used to look out for us. Now we have to look after it. That’s the kind of Canada we are going to look to in the near future.

“It’s time for people to begin to control what we do in this country again. It doesn’t take a great deal of intelligence to know the difference between right and wrong, but it does take a lot of courage to choose between doing right and doing wrong.”

What important decisions do we have to make as a country?

We have to get rid of this idea that we are just hewers of wood and drawers of water, and that we don’t have the intelligence to create secondary and tertiary industries. We can’t continue to export every asset we have. I’ve watched for too many decades now

as we’ve sent raw resources and the energy we could use to process them to other countries. Instead of depending on others, we should be a lot more intelligent about how we use our natural resources to enhance the lives of people in this country.

What lessons do we need to learn from our past failures?

Some companies are saying, we don’t have enough people to do what we need to do, so we’ve got to bring them in from other countries. Why do we need to take more than we have people to do it with? The only purpose for that is to enrich corporations. If we have enough people to sustainably catch 300,000 fish a year, we could do that forever. But corporations say, let’s double our workforce so we can take twice as much. But that will only be sustainable for the next 30 years. People who live in these regions don’t

necessarily want to keep taking and taking. They’re looking for sustainability and for a good quality of life.

We’ve had about three decades of corporations taking control and drawing down our natural capital. It’s time for people to begin to control what we do in this country again. It doesn’t take a great deal of intelligence to know the difference between right and wrong, but it does take a lot of courage to choose between doing right and doing wrong.



WHAT BUSINESS Needs:

“Every special interest group now seems to have the ability to stop major economic development projects.”

POHLMANN

Every special interest group now seems to have the ability to stop major economic development projects?

SWIFT

The extent to which organized labour dominates our agenda. We're the only country that still forces every employee in a unionized workplace to pay dues. The unions have an enormous amount of money, and they can use these dues however they want. I heard they spent tens of millions of dollars in the Ontario election on advertising alone. That's way more than any political party spent. And just last week, the postal union marched with Hamas in Ottawa. That kind of thing wouldn't be permissible in other countries.

Ultimately it's a financial issue. Here in Ontario, our public servants are paid excessively high wages. The same job in the private sector would not have anywhere near the same wages and benefits. Unions give people

more than they should be paid. When government becomes increasingly expensive, you can effectively bankrupt an economy. We've seen it happen in Greece and in Detroit.

I also worry about this from a sociological standpoint, because our education system is heavily dominated by organized labour. Teachers fight having their performance evaluated, but everybody else on the planet has to meet some kind of performance goals. In a union-based workplace, promotion of people is based on seniority and not on accomplishment. When the bad actors don't face consequences and the good ones don't get rewards, what incentive is there to excel?

If you could ask a clairvoyant any question about the future of Canada, what would you ask?

What is our new middle class going to be? Because it certainly will not be the old version—the kinds of fairly low-skilled but high-paying jobs we've lost to technology and globalization will not be coming back.

Our education system is not well suited to help students develop the skills that

are going to be needed in the future economy. We need to be better at anticipating where jobs and opportunities will come from and providing our young people with the training and education they need.

I would also want to know if we will find some way to deal with all the

opposition to making the most of our resources. *HAVE YOU HEARD THE TERM BANANA? BUILD ABSOLUTELY NOTHING, ANYWHERE NEAR ANYTHING.* Every special interest group now seems to have the ability to stop

major economic development projects from going ahead. Another country would think, Wow, you are lucky to have all these wonderful resources! Here, the message is, No, you can't develop them!

As a country, what should we be talking about that we are not?

We should be paying more attention to where we're going to find our workers. Right now, many businesses are crying for help, saying, "We'll train them, we'll pay them well, we'll do anything to find workers!"

Even if we crank up immigration, we can only reasonably bring in around 200,000 to 250,000 people a year. Part of the problem is that our current immigration policy is biased almost exclusively towards the highly skilled. We bring in people who are relatively highly educated, but then we often make it difficult for them to work in their field. As a result, you get PhDs driving taxis.

We need highly educated people, but we also need unskilled workers.

Canada has one of the world's most disproportionately large baby-boom populations, and people aren't having kids like they used to. When you have a population that's aging, it means that people will be leaving the workforce, not buying as much, not stimulating the economy. These trends mean we could end up with a stagnant population, which always leads to a stagnant economy. Once you have a declining population, which Japan is facing now, it takes you a very long time to recover from it.

What energizes you about what's going on?

We have way more entrepreneurial energy than people give us credit for. The US is usually held out as entrepreneurialism writ large. But we've done research showing that, in terms of its propensity to start businesses and other indicators, Canada is very much neck and neck with the US. Where

we compare unfavourably is in the amount of red tape put in the way of businesses and in the demonization of business. You don't see that in the States. Here, there are still people who think business is evil. Without profit, we wouldn't have anything, folks! Including government.

"We have way more entrepreneurial energy than people give us credit for."

What is the legacy that you hope to leave?

I would hope to leave Canadian small businesses in a better state of affairs than they would otherwise be in. There's data that shows that a higher proportion of young people today

come out of school and say, "I want my own business." That's part of moving public opinion: making it a more respected choice of profession.



OUR GREAT Energy Industry:

*“The people who spend the most time
beating up Canadians are Canadians.”*

ATNIKOV

**What is happening in
Canada that is catching
your attention?**

TERTZAKIAN

The oil and gas industry is undergoing its biggest change in 100 years. Environmental, political, resource, and demographic issues are all colliding at once to transform the way we supply and consume energy. It's true that the oil and gas business has been complacent: the industry knew that people were addicted to the commodity and so didn't innovate. Since 2008 or 2009, though, the level of innovation has been profound. We're going to continue to see innovations all the way through the middle of the next decade.

Since the Model T, we've been shackled to a petroleum-based system of driving. That's set to change in a meaningful way. The cumulative introduction of things like electric vehicles, hybrid electric vehicles, and different modes of transport will be consequential to the Canadian oil and gas industry. No one thing on its own is an oil buster, but together, they will be significant enough to take the edge off the unsustainable levels of oil demand growth that the world has been witnessing over the past decade.

**What keeps you
up at night?**

We're not in an era anymore in which we can simply wait for energy prices to go up. We have to assume prices are going to be steady or potentially even go down. The way to compete in a cut-throat market is by offering a better product at a lower cost than others. The Canadian energy industry woke up to this fact a few years ago, and we're getting good at it. But if we don't start addressing environmental issues, if we don't continue to be disciplined about containing costs, and if we don't start making relationships with new customers and adapting to new systems, we're not going to make it.

At the same time, it is frustrating that the industry gets a bad rap and is not recognized for its achievements. In fact, the people who spend the most time beating up Canadians are Canadians. However, because of our regulatory standards, rule of law, and the way we operate, Canada is one of the top five energy-producing countries in the world. It does not make sense that a lot of effort and money is going into diminishing our role. If you want to make the world a better place, why would you want to shut down one of the top producers?

If things turn out badly over the next 20 years, what would have happened?

When you walk around downtown Calgary and travel in this great province, you sense the prosperity. We're often ranked in the top five or 10 of the greatest places to live. That's the good news. The bad news is, if we're not careful, we really have only one way to go, which is down. The sense of polarization around wealth creates animosities.

WE'RE IN REAL TROUBLE IF WE START LOSING TRUST IN UNBIASED, THOUGHTFUL INSTITUTIONS LIKE THE NATIONAL ENERGY BOARD.

Historically, these institutions had the final word on various decisions, but today, through social media and other communication techniques, an incredibly small minority of people are able to hold up projects. They might

say, "I don't want a wind turbine in my backyard, I don't want this hydroelectric plant on my river, I don't want solar panels taking up that acreage." At the same time, you're telling me you want cheap energy. Everybody has to accept some sense of burden, even if it means having a power line not too far from you. That may be the thing you have to accept for the greater good of the country. The fact that small groups of people can circumvent the institutions that help make our country great is a national problem. The other end of that spectrum is authoritarianism, which we don't want either. I always felt that we had a nice balance, but now I am getting a little nervous about where we're headed.

"The bad news is, if we're not careful, we really have only one way to go, which is down."



PARTICIPATION:

“Decisions are made by a small group of privileged people who protect their own position and power.”

KAHANE

Is there something in your own history that illuminates what it is that interests you?

VENNE

In 1971, when he was 48 years old, my father died of cancer. The Quebec Health Insurance system had just been created and the Quebec Pension Plan was very recent, and his death plunged my family into poverty. We quickly went from middle class to disadvantaged. It doesn't take long to realize that when you are poor, you are excluded—you aren't playing the game, you're not even on the playing field, you're nothing more than an observer. I chose journalism as a career because

information is power. I always thought of my role as follows: look for information, make it accessible, and deliver it to those without power so that they can have more power.

I ultimately came to understand that yes, information is power, but the real power is through participation. When I talk today to business people or politicians about the importance of participation, I tell them that participation means sharing power.

Is Quebec an egalitarian society?

We are the most egalitarian society in North America. But compared to 20 years ago, there has been an increase in income inequality. It's increasing more slowly than in other regions in the world, but it is increasing nonetheless, especially between the richer and the rest of the society. We have also seen other gaps growing—a smaller part of the population goes to concerts and museums, sends their kids to private school. Who drops out of school? It is not rich people.

THIS DOLLAR ISSUE CONCERNS ME, BUT I AM MORE INTERESTED IN THE ACCESS TO POWER. Poor people and young people tend to vote less than other groups. This has an influence on the way government policies are made. When you have fewer and fewer people voting in elections, decisions are made by a small group of privileged people who protect their own position and power.

What do you see as the long-term impact of this trend?

If we continue as we are today, in 20 or 30 years Canadian society will be even more fragmented along economic, social, and cultural lines. I am not a maniac of consensus, because it is possible to have debate in an

integrated society. So it is not about unanimity, because unanimity would lead to dictatorship. But we need at least a common core, things that bring us together.

Why do we allow for a good portion of our salary to be taken from us? To pay for collective services. When we are unaware of the link we have to others, and we don't trust that those around us are going to play their part, and we lose faith that we are all going to help each other, then we reject things like paying taxes. In our society right now,

we don't trust the people with power, and we don't trust those without power. We live in a state of insecurity. And when we are insecure, we can decide either to turn our backs on each other or to stick together. I hope that we in Quebec and in Canada will choose to stick together.

What are some of the forces that could drive us farther apart?

A bad scenario would be one where universal education no longer exists, where everyone decides on their own what they are going to learn. We would lose a shared understanding of the world based on a compendium of knowledge that has been accumulating for centuries.

The way we consume information is also a factor. Before the rise of the Internet, the 350,000 people who read La Presse in print each morning would

all see the same pages. The million people who watched the news every evening were all subject to the same discourse. These media sources were like a public plaza where we gathered to share and debate the issues of the day. Now, I read La Presse on my iPad, and I look specifically for articles I want to read. My neighbours do the same but don't read the same articles. This segmentation again undermines our sense of being part of a collective.

What impact might fragmentation have on our political system?

I see our parliamentary form of government cracking, but I do not yet see what will replace it. Institutions were made to die and be replaced by new

ones. For me, the real challenge is how will we make decisions in ways that continue to serve our common needs.

"I see our parliamentary form of government cracking, but I do not yet see what will replace it."

What have we learnt from the past that might be useful in the coming years?

In 400 years of human civilization, we went from a time when kings were the sole owners of a power that, they said, came straight down from God, to the rise of democracy with power coming from the people. This proves that it is possible for humanity to overcome barbarism. We are, however, in the process

of recreating the aristocratic elites that monopolize power. Fortunately, we have a strong sense of the past, and we are capable of turning trends around. This is why I do not lose sleep. But we need to persevere, and from time to time, we need to get mad.



ECONOMIC Innovation:

“Why can’t we be the country that most responsibly produces fossil fuels and minerals?”

ATNIKOV

What keeps you up at night?

VERSCHUREN

The discussion of the economy versus the environment. We’re never going to create innovation if we polarize ourselves on these two issues. Why can’t we both add value to our industries and take greater responsibility for managing our natural resources? It’s healthy to have differences of opinion, but not when we reduce issues to black or white. When you’re too far to the right or to the left on an issue, you very rarely succeed in solving problems. The gray area is where the resolutions happen. Right now, we’re fighting on the details and not on the big issues. We have to find more things we can all agree on.

THERE’S NOT ENOUGH CONCERN IN OUR COUNTRY ABOUT THE ECONOMY. THE JOBS AREN’T THERE, THE PENSION FUNDS AREN’T THERE, PEOPLE AREN’T LIVING HAPPILY EVER AFTER. Maybe we haven’t hit the wall hard enough. I am worried about where the new jobs are going to come from and that other countries are going to steal them away. The clean technology that’s happening in Korea, China, Japan, and in parts of Europe is so advanced relative to what we’re doing. We’ve got to catch up.

If things turn out well over the next 20 years, what needs to happen?

The new economy is going to come from finding more productive ways to produce food and energy, to use water, to extract and refine oil and gas, to extract minerals. Why can’t we be the country that takes on the challenge of reducing the carbon footprint? Why can’t we be the country that most responsibly produces fossil fuels and minerals and the like? We’re really good at so many things! We’re one of the leaders in the world at brain research and

cancer diagnostics. We also have some great stuff happening in information and communications technology, in data management, in big data analytics. With our educated workforce and the myriad of research facilities across the country, we have enormous potential to solve all kinds of problems.

I would love the story to be that Canada was a little bit stuck for a few years on where it was going, but look at what it

did. It reduced its energy footprint. It's got the best cities and transit systems. For these things to happen, we need to

take a longer-term perspective; we can't just wait for the next quarter and see what the results are.

What important upcoming decisions does Canada have to make?

Canadians have to rethink what we want to be and how we want people to see us. We're not putting the right investment in the right places, because we don't know where we're going. We have to be more optimistic and find ways to move our society towards creating value. People want to rally behind a future, and right now, nobody

is describing what that future is. Leadership can really create change, and people will follow behind a sensible vision for the country. If the vision is clear, we will find a way to get there. We need inspirational leadership—from unions, First Nation, business, government—to take us to that point.

“The gray area is where the resolutions happen.”



ECONOMIC Democracy:

“Debates are becoming polarized and institutional rather than engaged and personal.”

POHLMANN

What keeps you up at night?

VROOMAN

We’re becoming passive and run the risk of taking for granted the many things that have made Canada the tolerant, open, diverse, and welcoming society that we’re privileged to live in. Our greatness didn’t happen by accident. If we don’t work at it enough, we are at risk of diminishing and losing it. Then what kind of country will we leave for our children and our grandchildren?

We have a tradition of working together, talking about things, and being tolerant of different opinions. But we don’t see a lot of that anymore. Debates are becoming polarized and institutional rather than engaged and personal. There aren’t

opportunities for individual voices to be cultivated and nourished. I worry that in our race to get things right, to be competitive, to be efficient, we’re making decisions that are not inclusive, are short term, and don’t benefit from the perspectives of many. It may feel like we are making a decision and getting on with things, but ultimately, we will regret not including the many voices, because we won’t have made the best decisions.

In the end, then, this approach will slow us down and will cost us money, time, social capital, and natural capital. We need to go back to our tradition of engaging, consulting, debating, listening, and reflecting.

What energizes you about Canada?

Relatively speaking, we’re a very diverse nation and society. That contributes tremendously to our strength, and our ability to see things differently and create a different future. In Vancouver, 75% of young people 17 and under have a parent who’s not from this country. That brings a tremendous sense of renewal, energy, tolerance, and creativity for what’s possible.

I’m energized by the fact that we’re starting to have a long overdue conversation of reconciliation with Indigenous and Aboriginal people. Non-Indigenous people are only beginning to understand what a gift it is to share a country with Indigenous people, who have lots to teach us. The wisdom of Indigenous people is a tremendous part of our history as well as our future. I’m just so impressed with how the reconciliation effort is being taken up across the country.

What are important lessons from the past that you think we should be reflecting on as we move ahead?

It's hard to judge the actions of others who operated in a different context, but in retrospect, when things have not gone well, it is because we failed to listen to, understand, and collaborate with others. The residential schools are an

example. Aside from the obvious racism and personal suffering for which we're responsible, we missed out on a whole generation of opportunity to learn and grow together. It was a huge loss of human capital, of human potential.

What do you aspire to contribute through your work?

IT'S HARD TO HAVE POLITICAL DEMOCRACY AND ENGAGEMENT IF WE DON'T HAVE ECONOMIC DEMOCRACY AND ENGAGEMENT.

The work I do is about making sure that people have access to information and support so they can make informed decisions. We're also looking for ways to include more people in the economy and in the finance system—people who

may not have access to bank accounts and things that you or I would take for granted. We're increasingly hearing about income inequality. To think that economic democracy and income inequality are unrelated would be like saying that the right to vote and use of universal suffrage were unrelated. Of course they're related.

“When things have not gone well, it is because we failed to listen to, understand, and collaborate with others.”



THE RIGHT to be Cold:

“The resource development companies are basically like the missionaries and fur traders were.”

KAHANE

What keeps you
up at night?

WATT-CLOUTIER

Canadians hear about the high rates of suicide, addiction, and violence in the Inuit population. They look at these symptoms, but they don't understand the context, so they formulate judgments about our people. It's that whole issue of the "other." They just can't get with the program, they don't know how to do this or that. Adaptation is one of the strengths of Aboriginal peoples, so it isn't about us not adapting; it's about the speed with which things happened, the historical traumas and the policies that created dependencies and led us to lose a sense of who we were.

WE GAVE UP OUR WISDOM AND CONTROL TO A POWER THAT WE FEARED. That's why it's important to empower people to make the choices we feel are good for us in terms of alleviating the problems we face, whether it's addressing addictions and joblessness or fixing our health and education systems. My book is called *The Right to Be Cold*. It's not that we want to be cold and shivering; it's about what it means for the people of the Arctic to defend our right to make our own choices by protecting our environment and hunting culture that depends on the cold.

It's easy for governments to come in and dangle the carrot of resource development with the promise of alleviating poverty by giving everybody jobs. But when they continue to perpetuate the same model of saying, "We know what's best for you," they still haven't gotten it. When the resource development companies come in, they are basically like the missionaries and fur traders were. The missionary approach says, "If you do what I say, you will be saved." With these new institutions, it's the same.

Nobody cared about the Arctic until the ice started to melt, but now that the resources are going to be exposed and easier to access, planeloads of people are coming up. Some companies are offering good money to the Nunavut education department to start developing programs for children as early as Grade 3, so they can eventually be streamed into working for them. But what happens after the mining has pulled out? Are those skills transferrable to other situations? These companies have come and gone in other places in the world, leaving devastation for communities. I am concerned that digging the land we have held sacred for millennia and dangling the money and jobs card will deepen the struggles we face.

If you imagine a future where things have gone well, what would that story be?

It's not too hard to interview companies, choose which you want to come in, and sign on the dotted line. But it's much harder to think through and really plan how we're going to do this for our communities. It's important for us to not feel trapped by this one avenue that is being dangled in front of us. We can tap into Inuit ingenuity, creativity, and wisdom to find other means to

create sustainability in our communities. My own people are moving in the direction of developing businesses around the mining and of finding ways to empower themselves through that process. They're taking on the skills to be able to control how they will survive and thrive in the kind of setting that's coming our way.

What are you paying attention to these days?

When Canadians think about resource development in the north, they seldom consider the human dimension. The current government sees the Arctic as an opportunity for the great energy superpower to feed the world, but in doing so it fails to recognize that Inuit families trying to feed their families are going to be negatively impacted by environmental degradation. People don't quite get why we would still want to hunt and eat seals rather than go to the supermarket to buy chicken and pork chops. They don't understand the importance to our communities of continuing to respect and take in the wisdom that

a hunting culture teaches. The land, ice, and snow is a training ground for developing your sense of self and your character. You're being taught patience. You're being taught how to be courageous and bold at the right time. You're being taught how to not be impulsive, because impulsivity can put you and your loved ones at risk. You're learning how to withstand stressful situations and to have sound judgment and wisdom. You're not only learning how the world works, but you're learning about how you work. In institutionalized schooling, those things are very separate, but in a hunting culture, they're holistic.

"They're taking on the skills to be able to control how they will survive and thrive in the kind of setting that's coming our way."

What can other people learn from the Inuit?

Few people know and appreciate that Inuit are the inventors of the qajaq, which is the best-engineered boat in the world. We are the architects of a snow house warm enough to sleep in naked with fur. We know how to read the weather conditions and to travel using constellations as our guides. All of the ways in which we've been able to not just survive but thrive in the Arctic is ingenuity at its best! We have been able to

thrive in an environment in which most people would die within an hour.

We know a lot about sustainability. In hunting cultures, the main pillars are respect nature, respect one another, share, and take only what you need. These are all the pillars of a sustainable world. Inuit culture can serve as a model of a sustainable Arctic and a sustainable planet.



LEARNING:

“When we go to New York or Silicon Valley or London, people are envious of what we’re doing in education.”

POHLMANN

What keeps you up at night?

WILSON

We’re known around the world for our education system. Public education is a respected institution; we pay our teachers relatively well; we do well on standardized assessments; and the equality gap here is not huge. Canadians value our education system in a similar way to how we value our healthcare system. That leads to pressure to innovate, from both the private and the public sectors. Toronto is home to perhaps the largest cluster of

education innovation in the world. We have a high-quality university system and talented people coming out of universities. When you unleash them on a messy problem like education, you get some really interesting stuff. For example, MOOCs—Massive Open Online Courses—are everywhere now, but they were invented in Canada. When we go to New York or Silicon Valley or London, people are envious of what we’re doing in education.

What concerns you about Canada these days?

The lack of attention to Aboriginal education is shameful! It’s going to be one of those things we’ll look back on and say, I can’t believe that in 2014, Aboriginal education was so underfunded! The latest proposal from the federal government on Aboriginal education failed, and I worry that it’s going to be another 10 years before there’s an opportunity to truly address this issue again.

Sexism is still endemic in society. I heard a stat the other day that if we

funded female entrepreneurs at the same level as we fund male entrepreneurs, it would create 6 million jobs over the next five years. Venture capitalists tend to favour people they understand, which is mostly White men. But some of the best ideas we see, especially in education and social innovation, come from women. If they’re getting shut out of the traditional kind of funding, that’s a problem, not just ethically but for our economy and for job creation.

What energizes you about Canada these days?

Our young people. It's unfashionable to defend teenagers, but they give me hope. Young people are creative and subversive and tenacious and fearless. We can learn from them how to get angry instead of being complacent in the face of injustice. We adults tend to elevate our governmental, religious,

familial, and economic institutions to a place of reverence that they don't deserve. We need our kids to ask hard questions about where these systems came from and why they are the way they are. We need them to dig and not to be satisfied with the status quo.

If things turn out badly over the next 20 years, what would have happened?

THERE'S A HUGE DISCONNECT RIGHT NOW BETWEEN WHAT WE KNOW WE NEED FROM OUR EDUCATION SYSTEM AND WHAT OUR EDUCATION SYSTEM IS SET TO DELIVER. In 20 years, we might look back and say, "We knew we had to double down on innovation and creative thinking for the sake of the economy and for solving complex problems. Instead, we insisted that everybody learn the same baseline knowledge, and we basically drilled creativity out of kids. As a result, we

don't have the intellectual and creative capital to solve our massive problems."

In 20 years, our healthcare system may be completely overburdened. We are heading towards a kind of perfect storm with an aging population and an already stressed healthcare system. The stress may create a more unequal society. New immigrants, Aboriginal people, and at-risk populations may not get the healthcare they are entitled to.

And if things turn out well over the next 20 years, what would the story be?

You cannot start to embed a culture of entrepreneurship with 25-year-old grad students. We're teaching entrepreneurial thinking in middle school and high school and more recently in kindergarten. The habits of mind of good entrepreneurs closely match the 21st-century skills taught in elementary school,

including communication, resilience, and teamwork. Entrepreneurs who work alone don't get funded. It's always teams, and those teams need to show that they can work together, deal with adversity, and know their weaknesses and strengths. These are skills you start to learn in kindergarten.

"We need our kids to ask hard questions about where these systems came from and why they are the way they are."

What lessons do we need to learn from our past failures?

The continuing plight of Aboriginal people and the inability of many new immigrants to flourish here is a moral and economic failure. All of that untapped potential and creativity is a tremendous loss to our society. We need to acknowledge that the kind of

self-righteousness that comes with success can be used as a tool of oppression. Unfortunately, the arrogance of imposing your structures and systems on somebody else doesn't seem to be a lesson we've learned very well.



OUR RELATIONSHIP with Asia:

“We overlook the fact that China saved Canada from a more severe recession.”

POHLMANN

What keeps you up at night?

WOO

Complacency. Canada has been blessed with numerous natural endowments and political and institutional assets. But we are slipping on many indices, and our position in the world could deteriorate sharply.

The usual story for why Canada didn't fall into a more severe recession in 2008 is that we have strong banks and a good financial regulatory system—for example, that we didn't have a sub-prime mortgage problem like the US. That's all true. But we overlook the fact that China saved Canada from a more severe recession. If you look at what kept growth from falling even further between 2008 and 2011, the answer is Chinese demand. Exports from Canada to China doubled between 2008 and 2013. Exports from Canada to the rest of the world, including to the US, still have not caught up to the levels they were in 2007.

We can do much better in our relationship with China. We're underperforming relative to our peers, but

there is no sense of urgency or long-term strategy on how to catch up with the competition. This complacency is partly due to an underappreciation of the shift in economic and political gravity across the Pacific. While Canadians may have legitimate reservations about all kinds of challenges in China and other Asian countries, it would be naïve not to recognize that an important shift is happening and that Canada has to engage vigorously with the global power shift in order to remain relevant. For example, it would be a mistake to assume that with the US recovery now underway, Canada can return the pre-2008 status quo ante and forget about market diversification. The US economy is undergoing structural change, with the emergence of US shale gas and oil just one factor in a changing economic environment that will impact Canada negatively. There is a strong tendency on the part of our political and business leaders to yearn for a pre-2008 world and not make the effort to become more globally oriented.

What energizes you about Canada?

Canadians who realize that their future, and hence Canada's future, is about being connected to the world. However, there's a discrepancy between individual Canadians who have global aspirations and many of

our institutions, structures, and laws, which discourage Canadians from going global. There is a lot of reluctance to embrace Canadians who live abroad and see them as part of a globally connected strategy for the country. For

example, Canadians who have been living abroad for more than five years are ineligible to vote in an election. ***THIS LAW IN EFFECT SAYS THAT A CANADIAN WHO IS LIVING WITHIN THE GEOGRAPHIC BOUNDARIES OF THE COUNTRY IS MORE OF A CITIZEN THAN A CANADIAN WHO IS LIVING OUTSIDE THE COUNTRY.*** We should be proud of Canadians pursuing excellence in their careers and other pursuits abroad, and make Canada's international footprint a positive aspect of the country's global brand.

Whenever I talk about the need to become more globally oriented, a typical response is, well, just walk on the streets of Vancouver or Toronto and you'll see 30 different nationalities and ethnic backgrounds in the space of one city block. The implication is that since we have multicultural cities, we can get our "globalization" without leaving the country.

If you could ask a clairvoyant about the future of Canada, what would you ask?

As the most Asian city outside of Asia, how will Vancouver evolve? About 45% of the population of the census metropolitan area of Vancouver today is of Asian ethnic descent. Within 10 years, Vancouver will be a majority "Asian" city. Will that lead to a shift in terms of trade, business, and popular culture? Will Vancouver plug into the dynamism—and challenges—of contemporary Asia and serve as a connector across the Pacific, or will Vancouver settle into a more typical North American trajectory—becoming a city with lots of Asian people, but one that does not have deep commercial and

cultural ties with Asia? A lot of people say to me, "I'm okay with immigrants, as long as they become Canadian." Indeed, immigrant integration is a very important issue and one that we have to constantly work on. But what is the definition of being Canadian? Is it fixed? Can newcomers over time shape what being a Canadian means? The answer surely is yes, but how will it happen, and what will be the trade-offs? To take a simple example, shouldn't there be more teaching of Asian languages in Vancouver schools when so much of the population is of Asian descent?

"There is a strong tendency on the part of our political and business leaders to yearn for a pre-2008 world and not make the effort to become more globally oriented."

What important decisions do we have to make?

We have to figure out our energy relationship with Asia. Asia is investing massively in renewables, but in the meantime, those countries are going to need to get oil and gas from somewhere. They would much rather get it from Canada than from the Persian Gulf. Asian countries understand our situation very well: we have stranded assets that are worth very little unless these assets can make it to market, which today increasingly means Asia rather than the United States. From

an Asian perspective, their need for a secure source of energy supply is a perfect match for our need to have security of demand. They see it as a marriage made in heaven and cannot understand why we have so much difficulty making it happen. If we are in fact unable to make trans-Pacific energy trade a reality, our Asian friends are naturally going to wonder, "Well, what can you make happen?" And that will in turn affect the broader Canada-Asia relationship.



SELF-DEFEATING Policies:

“We are becoming a corporatocracy, a state that serves the interests of corporations first and foremost.”

POHLMANN

What keeps you up at night?

YALNIZYAN

The way we are transforming our views about immigration in Canada. In the coming decades, nation states will be competing to attract people, not just capital. Population aging is occurring in all advanced industrialized nations. Without newcomers, the Canadian labour force would start to shrink in the next year or two. An unsettling trend has emerged in Canada. Public policy now favours a rise in temporary foreign workers over permanent economic immigrants. When companies say they face a skills shortage, all too often the solution is bringing in a foreign worker temporarily for what is often not a temporary shortage. These workers are tied to their employer and can get deported if they complain about anything.

The problem arises from a common view that low wages and low taxes are “good for business.” What may be good for an individual business is a dead-end path for society and the

economy as a whole. Wages and taxes are never low enough for businesses. Their job is to maximize profits. But the continuous drive to lower wages and taxes erodes the economic heft of a country. The message to workers is “expect less,” even when companies grow and profits rise. The idea that labour is simply a cost, rather than the essential building block of performance, is destructive nonsense.

Middle-class jobs are being cut, replaced by more low-paid and some higher-paid work. Wages aren’t keeping up with costs for most people, and savings rates are falling. A rising proportion of Canadian households don’t have enough funds to last a month should they lose their pay cheques. We pay tribute to a large and resilient middle class as the mark of a flourishing economy around the world, but our own middle class is being squeezed in every way, ironically in the name of economic growth.

Do you see any positive shifts happening?

There’s a growing awareness that tax cuts are not the solution to every problem. In the public sphere, people are beginning to recognize that what we’re facing is less a spending problem than a revenue problem. Bridges are

collapsing, and sewers and pipes built 100 years ago need to be repaired. We’re awash in easy money but oddly have no money for these essentials. But we’re paying a bundle privately to repair our homes and cars from

the damage caused by deteriorating infrastructure. Some communities are putting their money where their mouths are, investing in preventive

oral care for all school-aged children, to improve health and reduce costs down the road.

What's your sense of the state of our democracy?

We have a troubled relationship with our democratic institutions. We need to get over the idea that government is something and someone else. The government is us. The idea that governments are largely useless, that they're more likely to make a mess than fix things, is exactly what corporations would like us to think. It gives them more freedom to use the enormous power of the state to their advantage.

We are becoming a corporatocracy, a state that serves the interests of corporations first and foremost.

Business groups write legislation, lobby, use campaign finance to shape the public sphere—how big it is, what it does, who it serves. This is the biggest test democracy faces today.

There is the beginning of a pushback, an awakening that began with the Occupy movement. It's not very effective yet, but I don't think it's going away. Hundreds of years ago, people decided to separate the church from the state. Now, we're looking for ways to separate corporations from the state.

What energizes you about Canada

Business is the most powerful force in society right now. Given what I just said, this may seem strange, but I think, with strong democratic institutions in place, that power could be harnessed to make a better world. We're on the edge of an explosion of technological change—from artificial intelligence to biomimicry

to miraculous medical breakthroughs to the Internet of things. Canada could provide leadership on how innovations get applied. It starts with making sure we have all hands on deck, so we can make the most of the ingenuity that resides in our population and build their capacity to put good ideas into action.

"We have a troubled relationship with our democratic institutions."

What important decisions do we have to make?

Resource extraction and exportation is such a 19th-century game plan for growth, complete with a 19th-century distribution of benefits and calculation of costs. We need another plan. Not a Plan B, because there's no Planet B. **CANADA'S PLAN A SHOULD HELP US BECOME A 21ST-CENTURY ENERGY SUPERPOWER BY DEVELOPING THE WORLD'S MOST ENERGY-EFFICIENT HOMES AND FORMS OF TRANSIT.**

We live in a cold climate and have to travel long distances. We should be world leaders in maximizing energy efficiency, whatever its source. Instead of Energy East, think Energy Least. Climate change is forcing every society to address this challenge. Nations can't succeed on a planet that fails.

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