



# WE'RE NOT RACIST: WE'RE CANADIAN~!

Race and Racism as One Societal Pre-Condition in the Scapegoating  
Social Imaginary



# SCAPEGOATS AND 'OTHERING' BY RACE

- Scapegoating is not the same as racism.
- Racism is a form of 'othering' which often leads to scapegoating.
- Understanding racism and how it functions as an 'othering' practice opens the possibility of living beyond it.
- Understanding how racism has been operative in the Canadian story opens out the possibility of a new social imaginary for our nation- beyond racism as a normative practice.



# BE CAREFUL HOW YOU SEE THE WORLD...IT IS LIKE THAT

Every society creates a social imaginary: the world we imagine is the world our labour, our laws and our energy then produces.

As Canadians we have had a self concept: we are a just, fair, peace loving peace making nation.

We are the Mosaic not the Melting Pot.

Unlike other nations who will remain nameless...we ARE NOT racist: we are Canadian~! BUT.....



# THE STORIES WE TELL ABOUT OURSELVES...ARE ALWAYS SELECTIVE

- the national characteristics we prize are good ones....lauded on the world stage
- in some ways we have realized them
- in many other ways we have colluded with ourselves to deceive ourselves by learning only a partial story
- to become who we believe we are we must first expand the story of our becoming as a nation, to include the chapters which tell a story which is more complex than a simpler narrative

# SO WHO ARE WE IN A RE-TELLING OF THE NATIONAL STORY?

- we are : both who we say we are as a nation –Canada is a great country
- AND we have a history of deeply embedded racism which has coloured much who we have been
- we have used the category of race to marginalize and discriminate against many groups of peoples
- the legacy of harms caused by our practice of legalized racism leaves a cultural legacy which needs redress in the present

# CANADA'S MOSAIC: 1938

- the idea was first coined in 1938 by writer John Murray Gibbon: *Canadian Mosaic: The Making of a Northern Nation*
- this work celebrates the idea of immigration creating a richly diverse Canada reflecting the prior decades
- 1930's were a profoundly racist decade in Canadian life
- educational institutions and religious organizations seen as the CEMENT which would glue the new nation together around the common values (HEGEMONY) of Anglo white-defined culture

# MULTI-CULTURALISM CIRCA 1971

- MOSAIC imagery was picked up by Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau as he brought forward his policy of official MULTI-CULTURALISM in 1971
- in 1971 Canada became the first country in the world to adopt multi-culturalism as an official policy
- this vision: affirms the value and dignity of all Canadian citizens regardless of race or ethnicity
- encourages racial and ethnic harmony and cross-cultural understanding; all are guaranteed equality before the law

# WHO DO WE THINK WE ARE: THE MOSAIC IMAGINARY





# RACE: A NEW INVENTION

- is an invention of the modern era
- prior to the Enlightenment the idea of separating people according to the category we have come to know as race did not exist (we 'othered' in other ways~!)
- the word race existed in the English language from the time of the Renaissance as a literary or poetic construct (1508 poem by William Dunbar talking about a 'race of things')
- not used first to denote peoples but categories of things as a **romantic ideal** more broadly: nations; traits; animals

# ANTHROPOLOGY GIVES THE IDEA OF RACE A NEW TWIST

- Francois BERNIER wrote an anthropological essay at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century : human beings according to varieties
- Georges CUVIER (1769-1832) took this idea to new climes postulating three major races of human beings: white; yellow; black
- Cuvier argued that all human beings were descended from the 'white' race and that skin colour variation was the result of catastrophic event which had led to the separation of peoples away from the Caucasians

# CUVIER'S THEORY OF WHITE PRIMACY

- *“The white race with oval face, straight hair and nose, to which the civilized people of Europe belong and which appear to us most beautiful of all, is also superior to others, by its genius, courage and activity”*



# RACE AND THE COLONIAL PROJECT

- the division of human society by racial classification was inextricable from the need of colonizing powers to establish dominance over subject peoples
- although race was not an invention of imperialism, it quickly became one of its most supportive ideas
- the idea of white superiority supported dominance of racialized peoples: economics and enlightenment
- Re-making the colonized in the image of the colonizer

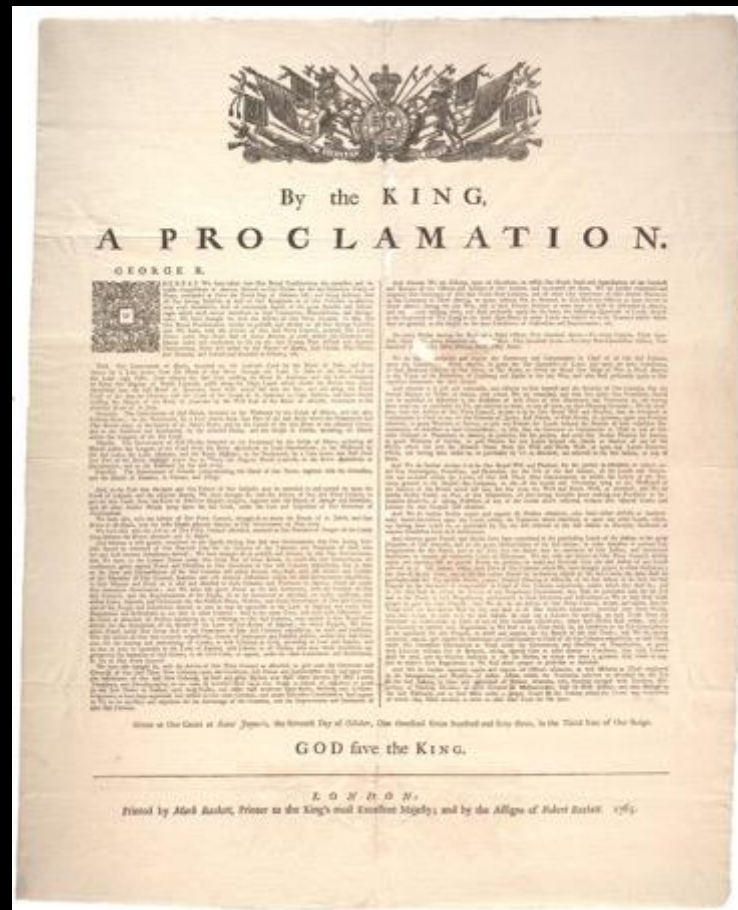
# 3 TYPES OF RACISM ON THE CANADIAN STAGE

- LEGALIZED: laws protect discrimination based on race (1867-1982)
- SYSTEMIC: a concept coined by sociologist **Joe Feagin**; even though racism has been set aside legally it persists in the systems by which societies order themselves leading to unequal distribution of resources for racialized communities; overlaps with other forms of discrimination
- PERSONAL: in many ways is immeasurable; lives inside persons who act out their prejudices against their neighbours
- Virginia Satir's ICEBERG

# MOVE OVER AND MAKE ROOM: INDIGENOUS PEOPLES AND THE COLONIAL PROJECT



# 1763-1867: MOVING FROM FRIENDSHIP TO ASSIMILATION



# LET'S BE FRIENDS~!

- **\*1763: Imperial Proclamation**
- when Britain defeated the French and assumed control of the lands which would become known as British North America, King George III issued a proclamation which announced a policy of friendship toward First Nations peoples and acknowledged their right to self-government
- treaties with FN peoples developed during this time focused on peace and friendship (as had treaties between the French and FN) and the guarantee of SELF-GOVERNMENT

# CIVILIZATION...UM...WE NEED YOUR LAND COULD YOU PLEASE MOVE OVER?

- **1857 Gradual Civilization ACT** for the Gradual Civilization of the Indian Tribes was introduced (making them “like us”)
- CIVILIZATION THROUGH EDUCATION and RENUNCIATION of tribal status
- THEN: rights and privileges of others but not until

# ASSIMILATION: WE REALLY MEAN IT NOW-BECOME LIKE US OR ELSE

- **\*1867 CONFEDERATION** meant ASSIMILATION

-The new government set its course toward eradication of indigenous culture

- ***1869 Abolition of Self-Government***

Canada's first Prime Minister Sir John A. MacDonald announced **the end to native self government**

The goal of assimilation was the end of all tribal groups

# CREATING THE INDIAN ACT

- first introduced in 1876 building on the prior *Gradual Enfranchisement Act* and consolidating prior colonial legislation
- its purpose was the ASSIMILATION of Indian persons
- the ACT from the beginning restricted the rights and freedoms of First Nations peoples and communities in a variety of ways:
- creation of reserve lands; residential schools, restrictions on movement including transit to and from reserve lands; enforced enfranchisement (loss of tribal status) of any Indian person admitted to university; prohibition of the sale of alcohol and arms; land expropriation; imposition of the band council system; prohibition of indigenous ceremonies and regalia; denial of the right to vote

# WE NEED YOUR LAND...WE'LL GIVE YOU SOMETHING REALLY GOOD INSTEAD

- RESERVES are analogous to the homelands of the apartheid era in South Africa: the Canadian connection circa 1946
- under the Indian Act a reserve is land held by the Crown “for the use and benefit of the respective bands for which they are set apart”
- there is no private ownership distinct from Crown oversight – lacks the legal status deeds
- control of the land remains the preserve of the Canadian government

# CRIMINALIZATION OF INDIGENOUS CULTURE

- true assimilation was seen as possible only through the eradication of indigenous culture
- 1880: *Section 3 of An Act to Further Amend the Indian Act* brought the Potlatch Law into Effect
- the Potlatch and other indigenous ceremonies were criminalized;
- criminalization along with education became the primary tools of assimilation

# “IF WE TAKE THEM YOUNG ENOUGH”....CANADA’S RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS



# RESIDENTIAL SCHOOL: WHO CAME UP WITH THIS IDEA..?~!

- 1879: Davin Report
- adoption of the American model which was: COMPULSORY; partnership with churches; per capita funding;
- 1907: Bryce Report: “A National Crime”
- Peter Bryce Chief Medical Officer for the DIA finds that there is a TB epidemic rampaging through the schools; called for a Parliamentary inquiry
- -death rates in the schools ranged from 24% to 69%
- 1911: Management Agreements: in 1890 20% of Indian children were in residential schools (80% in day schools); by 1911 78%---take them younger- Not 7- now 4 years old



# DIA QUOTE FROM 1911 MANAGEMENT AGREEMENTS DEBATE

*“We must take the children younger if we are to have any hope of defeating the negative influence of the wigwam”*

# DR. CORBETT'S MEDICAL REPORTS

## 1922-24

Old Sun School, Blackfoot Reserve:

*"the buildings are dilapidated; ventilation is poor; children are far below par in health and appearance; 70% are infected with tuberculosis; the children have large lymphatic glands many with scrofulous sores requiring prompt medical attention; one little girl has a large tuberculous abscess of the neck and jaw; another is suffering from tuberculous ulcers of the chest and neck requiring urgent treatment; 60% of the children have scabies in an aggravated form; this is unnecessary and a sign of gross neglect- this condition could be remedied with simple care such as washing; found were hands, arms and whole bodies of children covered with crusts and sores; 2 girls had sores on the back of their heads nearly three inches across and heaped up with crusts half an inch deep"*

# DR. KENNEDY'S EXPERIMENTATION

- 1924 Corbett did another tour and found that two years earlier a **Dr. Kennedy** had been employed to save the department money by conducting **multiple surgeries** on children in Crowfoot; Old Sun; Blood; Sarcee; Hobbema and St. Albert's schools

\*Kennedy was experimenting with the effect of various surgeries on TB; he removed the tonsils, adenoids, glands and teeth of more than 60% of the children in some schools; anesthetic was not available in all cases

- it was estimated that he saved the department between \$1000 and \$1,500 by doing the operations in the schools rather than in hospitals

# DR. MOORE'S REPORT 1944-45

- Dr. Moore was the DIA Director of Medical Services during the war; he initiated a study through the Nutritional Services of the **Red Cross**
- -laboratories in Toronto analyzed the nutritional content of food at 3 residential schools (Mount Elgin: UCC- Southern Ontario; St. John's Chapleau: Anglican- Northern Ontario; Spanish: RC- Alberta)
- **Findings:** all three schools: nutritional content lacking in basic vitamins and calories were over 1,000 less a day than considered necessary and proscribed by DIA standards
- -staff did not have even an elementary knowledge of sanitation and hygiene;
- lack of cleanliness and sanitary care in handling food; it was not uncommon to see food black with flies; in one case were counted 30-40 flies on a single slice of bread; cockroaches everywhere.

# CHRONIC UNDERFUNDING

- When the Canadians adopted the American Residential school model they had an idea: " we can do this cheaper"
- From the beginning the Canadian government 'did it on the cheap'; chronic underfunding defined the Canadian experience leading to suffering and harm on many levels
- **Funding Cuts:** terrible conditions in the schools through under funding continued and worsened during the decade of the depression (an across the board **funding cut to the schools of \$840,000.** per annum was put in place) and then again **further reductions** during the second world war as resources were re-directed to support the war effort

# TAKING THE INDIAN OUT OF THE CHILD...



# NEWCOMERS: IMMIGRATION AND THE MEANING OF RACE



# IMMIGRATION WAVES..MAKE ROOM FOR THE NEWCOMERS

- French Canada notwithstanding, prior to 1867 almost all immigration into what would become Canada was from English speaking Caucasians
- general immigration practice was allowing British subjects as newcomers: these were the newcomers which needed the land previously occupied by First Nations peoples for the purpose of farming and agriculture- symbols of civilization on the British model
- Waves: after 1776; after 1812

# 1901 CENSUS..HOW WILL WE COUNT?

- 1901 Census: census takers were instructed as follows:
- *The races of men will be designated by the use of “W” for white, “R” for red, “B” for black and “Y” for yellow: The whites are of course the Caucasian race, the reds the American Indian, the blacks the African or Negro and the yellows are the Mongolian, Japanese and Chinese. But only the pure white races will be classed as whites. The children begotten of marriages between whites and any one of the other races will be classed as red, black, yellow, as the case may be, irrespective of the degree of colour.*



# IMMIGRATION LAWS AS RACIALIZED SOCIAL CONTROL

- until the end of the second world war there was a clearly racialized social imaginary in place in Canada
- in 1910 a new Immigration Act was passed which significantly increased the discretionary power of the government to prohibit immigrants, “Belonging to any race deemed unsuited to the climate requirements of Canada “
- immigration laws were set in relation to racial and national categories: entry to Canada was blocked to “protect the ‘overwhelming whiteness’”

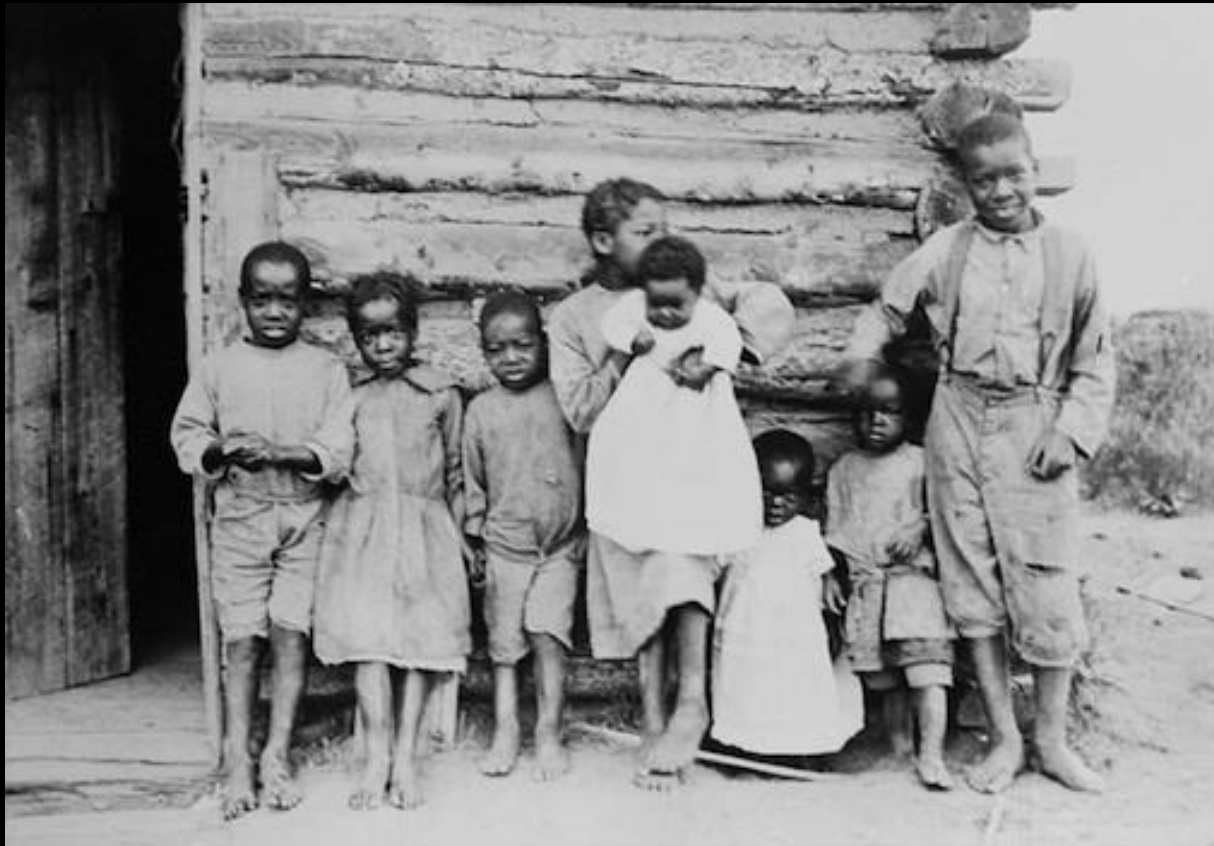
# MACKENZIE KING ON IMMIGRATION

- after World War II under Prime Minister MacKenzie King spoke against the “objectionable discrimination” of prior versions of immigration policy
- he did not advocate the abolition of discrimination by race and ethnic group; rather he advocated a “balanced racial composition” - balance in this case meant a predominantly white and Anglo population
- “..the people of Canada do not wish as a result of mass immigration to make a fundamental alteration in the character of our population; large-scale immigration from the orient would change the fundamental composition of the Canadian population”

# EXCLUSION LAWS

- VOTING: until the second half of the twentieth century the right to vote in Canada was tied as a matter of law to race for indigenous Canadians and persons of Japanese, Chinese, Hindu and “Other Asiatics and Mongolians” who each received enfranchisement at different points in the twentieth century
- PARTICIPATION: persons of ‘colour’ and others from the ‘non-white’ sector of the population were limited by a variety of exclusionary laws which included things such as: right to work in certain areas and industries; right to be insured; right to receive social welfare benefits; right to join clubs, enter stores and eating establishments, and use of public facilities such as beaches and parks

# BLACK COMMUNITY TORONTO: LATE 1800'S



# CANADA AND THE BLACK EXPERIENCE

- Blacks first came to what would be known as Canada as slaves in the 17<sup>th</sup> century
- Blacks and indigenous persons are the only two groups who were enslaved as a matter of law here
- slavery was more common among Blacks than First Nations
- slavery ended when the British Empire passed first the Act to end the slave trade in 1807 and then to abolish slavery in 1833;
- this meant Canada became a safe haven for Black persons escaping slavery in the United States which did not end slavery until 1865
- between 1850 and 1860 between 15-20,00 African Americans settled in British North America increasing the Black population to about 60,000 persons



# DISCRIMINATION...

- discrimination against Blacks continued in Canada in a variety of forms
- some instances of school segregation (not in Toronto) in southern Ontario- notably Chatham and Windsor area
- the last segregated Black school in Ontario (Merlin) closed in 1965
- access to public spaces was limited, as was access to housing and jobs until the 1950's
- Blacks were largely excluded from the military during the First World War and have to organize to promote inclusion as a construction battalion

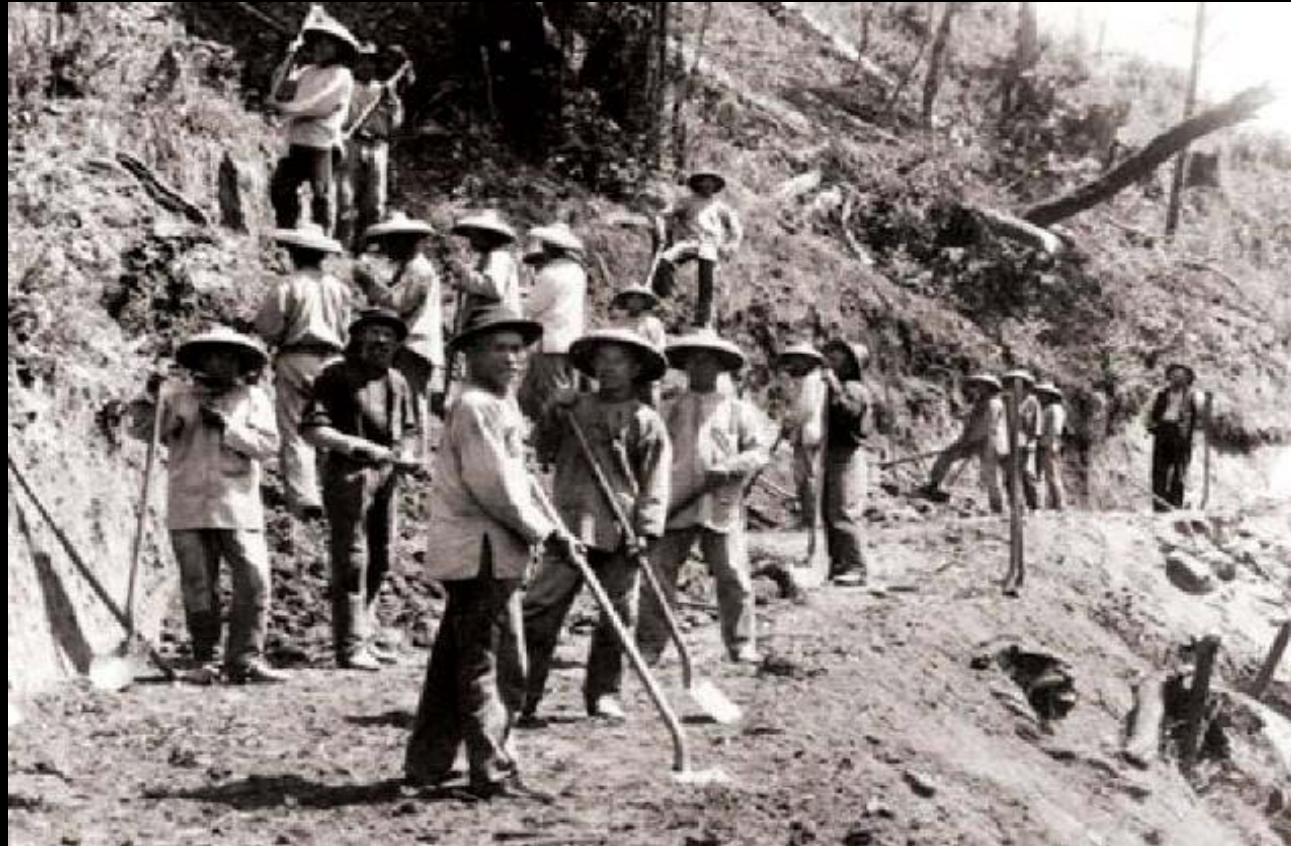
# THE AFRICVILLE STORY...



# WE DON'T WANT YOU HERE ANY MORE...

- Africville was a suburb of Halifax
- housed one of the oldest Black communities in Canada originating from mid-18<sup>th</sup> century
- 1947 Halifax decided to turn it into an industrial area
- municipal government felt it had become a slum (it has been under resourced and serviced) and reflected poorly on Halifax
- decision was made to tear it down
- 1964-67 the entire community was torn down one property at a time
- Black Church which served as the centre of the community was bulldozed at night in 1967
- compensation was insufficient to replace what was taken leading to suffering and displacement for residents

# CHINESE IMMIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT: A UNIQUE CASE



# CHINESE IMMIGRATION: A STORY OF UNIQUE EXCLUSION

- 1858: Gold Rush
- 1881-1884: CPR construction (15,000 workers; 6,500 for the CPR directly)
- 1885: The Act to Restrict and Regulate Chinese Immigration into Canada with introduction of \$50 head tax
- 1900: head tax raised to \$100
- 1903: head tax raised to \$500
- 1923: Dominion Day (Humiliation Day) the *Chinese Immigration Act*, known as the *Exclusion Act* prohibited all Chinese immigration to Canada except at the request of a white man (50 people)
- re-unification of Chinese families became impossible

# CONTROLLING SOCIAL PARTICIPATION AND PLACE

- BC had the largest Chinese population population in the country
- City of Victoria acted in several ways to 'control' the relatively small Chinese population including:
  - Chinese persons were allowed to sit only in the balcony of the Opera House
  - Chinese population were not allowed to swim in the local "Crystal Swimming Pool"
  - stores limited hours when Chinese could shop
  - school segregation for Chinese children through municipal by-law 1922

# CHANGE....

- in 1947 the *Exclusion Act* was repealed
- this action followed BC decision to grant the provincial vote to all Asians who were Canadian citizens who had fought in WWII
- federal government grants right to vote in federal elections to Chinese Canadians at this time
- after the federal decision BC grants the right to vote at the provincial and municipal level to all Chinese citizens in the province

# ASIAN RIOTS, VANCOUVER, 1907



# LABOUR TENSIONS MOUNT BETWEEN WHITES AND ASIANS



# THE JAPANESE EXPERIENCE...

- Japanese immigration was not circumscribed in the same way the Chinese experienced-no imposition of a head tax
- but quotas were in place from the beginning
- 1877-1914 : 10,000 immigrants from Japan mostly single men
- after the Asian riots in 1907 in Vancouver the Canadian government limited Japanese immigration to 400 a year
- in 1928 Japanese immigration was restricted further limiting the number to 150 a year
- all immigration from Japan ceased at the outbreak of World War II until 1960



# JAPANESE IN BC

- most Japanese immigrants lived in BC
- their lives were limited by provincial legislation in a variety of ways:
  - prevented from working in mines- a key economic sector at the time
  - prohibited from participation in provincial and local elections and from working in any project funded by provincial government money

# JAPANESE CANADIANS: MOVE AND LEAVE BEHIND EVERYTHING YOU OWN



# JAPANESE INTERNMENT

- as a response to Pearl Harbour Japanese Canadians lost their right to live and work in BC from 1942 to 1949
- 1942 Prime Minister William Lyon MacKenzie King issued a series of Orders-in-Council which allowed the evacuation of all persons of Japanese ancestry from the BC coastline
- a 100 mile wide strip was designated as a protected area
- forcible evacuation mandated that people take only what they could carry; they left the rest of their property in the care of others
- all males between the ages of 18 and 45 were taken to work camps in the interior
- women, children and older men were moved to the interior
- first 2500 were 'relocated' to the animal barns at Hastings Park (Pacific National Exhibition site) before being moved by train to other locations
- some families were separated in this relocation process

# PUBLIC NOTICE

## **NOTICE TO ALL JAPANESE PERSONS AND PERSONS OF JAPANESE RACIAL ORIGIN**

TAKE NOTICE that under Orders Nos. 21, 22, 23 and 24 of the British Columbia Security Commission, the following areas were made prohibited areas to all persons of the Japanese race:—

LULU ISLAND (including Steveston)	SAPPERTON
SEA ISLAND	BURQUITLAM
EBURNE	PORT MOODY
MARPOLE	IOCO
DISTRICT OF	PORT COQUITLAM
QUEENSBOROUGH	MAILLARDVILLE
CITY OF	FRASER MILLS
NEW WESTMINSTER	

AND FURTHER TAKE NOTICE that any person of the Japanese race found within any of the said prohibited areas without a written permit from the British Columbia Security Commission or the Royal Canadian Mounted Police shall be liable to the penalties provided under Order in Council P.C. 1665.

AUSTIN C. TAYLOR,  
Chairman,  
British Columbia Security Commission

# LIFE INSIDE AN INTERNMENT CAMP





# CONDITIONS AND PROPERTY

- some fortunate ones found homes in local communities; most were interned in makeshift camps with inadequate housing and no proper education for children
- 1943 an additional Order-in Council gave the BC government the right to liquidate all property which had been left behind in 'protective custody'
- 1988 Prime Minister Brian Mulroney acknowledged the harms done; compensation packages in the amount of \$21,000. for each individual directly wronged



# WAR ENDS.....

- at war's end Japanese Canadians were forced to start over
- they were not allowed to return to their homes
- they were given a choice: return to Japan (where many had never been) or relocate east of the Rockies
- 3,000 returned to Japan; the rest resettled elsewhere in Canada

# ANTI-SEMITISM: A BIGGER PROJECT THAN RACISM



# HOW IS ANTI-SEMITISM NOT THE SAME AS RACISM...

- it is distinct from other forms of racism as it is discrimination which pre-dates the idea of race
- three types of Anti-Semitism emerged over time: religious; ethnic; racial
- unlike other racialized categorizations, Jewish persons are not a 'colour'
- under National Socialism in the 1930's Jewish as a racial classification was linked to genetic characteristics—or "Eugenics"
- physiological attributes such as head size and shape, facial characteristics and 'blood' became the identifiers for the National Socialists
- the 'blood' identifier built on a medieval category by which Spanish law defined Christians as of "pure blood" and Jews and Muslims as not
- the Theory of Eugenics meant that it was believed that 'blood' could be purified through a process of genetic selection which prioritized the "Aryan" race

# BUT...WE WEREN'T THE SAME AS THE NAZIS...

- TRUE
- However... Canada has along record of Anti-Semitism which it has practised unabashedly
- for decades Jewish persons were viewed as “unassimilable”
- reflected in their lack of conformity to Christian practice which reflected the normative social frame

# WHAT DID CANADIAN ANTI-SEMITISM LOOK LIKE?

- quotas: prior to WWII only so many Jewish persons were allowed in a wide sweep of venues
- there were Jewish lawyers but no Judges; record of discrimination in the court room
- there were Jewish doctors- who often could not find appointments in hospitals
- there were very few Jewish teachers
- Jewish professionals such as engineers, nurses, and architects hid their Jewish ancestry as a means of procuring employment
- the sale of private property was often "under covenant" and could not be sold to Jewish persons
- club and public space restrictions "*Christians Only*"; "*No Dogs or Jews Allowed*"

# CHRISTIE PITTS RIOT 1933



# HOW DID WE DO DURING THE WAR?

- Canada joined Britain in the Battle against Germany in 1939 it was not because of opposition to its racial policies
- during the period of National Socialism Canada was one of the most strongly opposed among Western powers to accepting Jewish refugees
- during the 12 year period of the Nazi regime Canada accepted only 5000 Jewish refugees compared to tens of thousands admitted by other allied countries

# PRIME MINISTER MACKENZIE KING

- three weeks after Kristallnacht in 1938 he and immigration secretary Frederick Blair wrote the following internal office memo:
- *We do not want to take too many Jews, but in the present circumstance we do not want to say so. We do not want to legitimize the Aryan mythology by introducing any formal distinction for immigration purposes between Jews and non-Jews. The practical distinction, however, has to be made and should be drawn with discretion and sympathy by the competent department, without the need to lay down a formal minute of policy.*

# CANADA TURNS AWAY JEWISH REFUGEES





# THE ST. LOUIS.....

- in 1939 a luxury liner set sail from Hamburg with 907 Jewish refugees on board
- all had visas to land in Cuba
- Cuba denied entry; all other Latin America countries denied entry
- the U.S. denied entry; Canada denied entry
- the ship returned to Germany; most passengers died in the Holocaust

# THINGS BEGIN TO CHANGE: 1948 AND THE UN DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

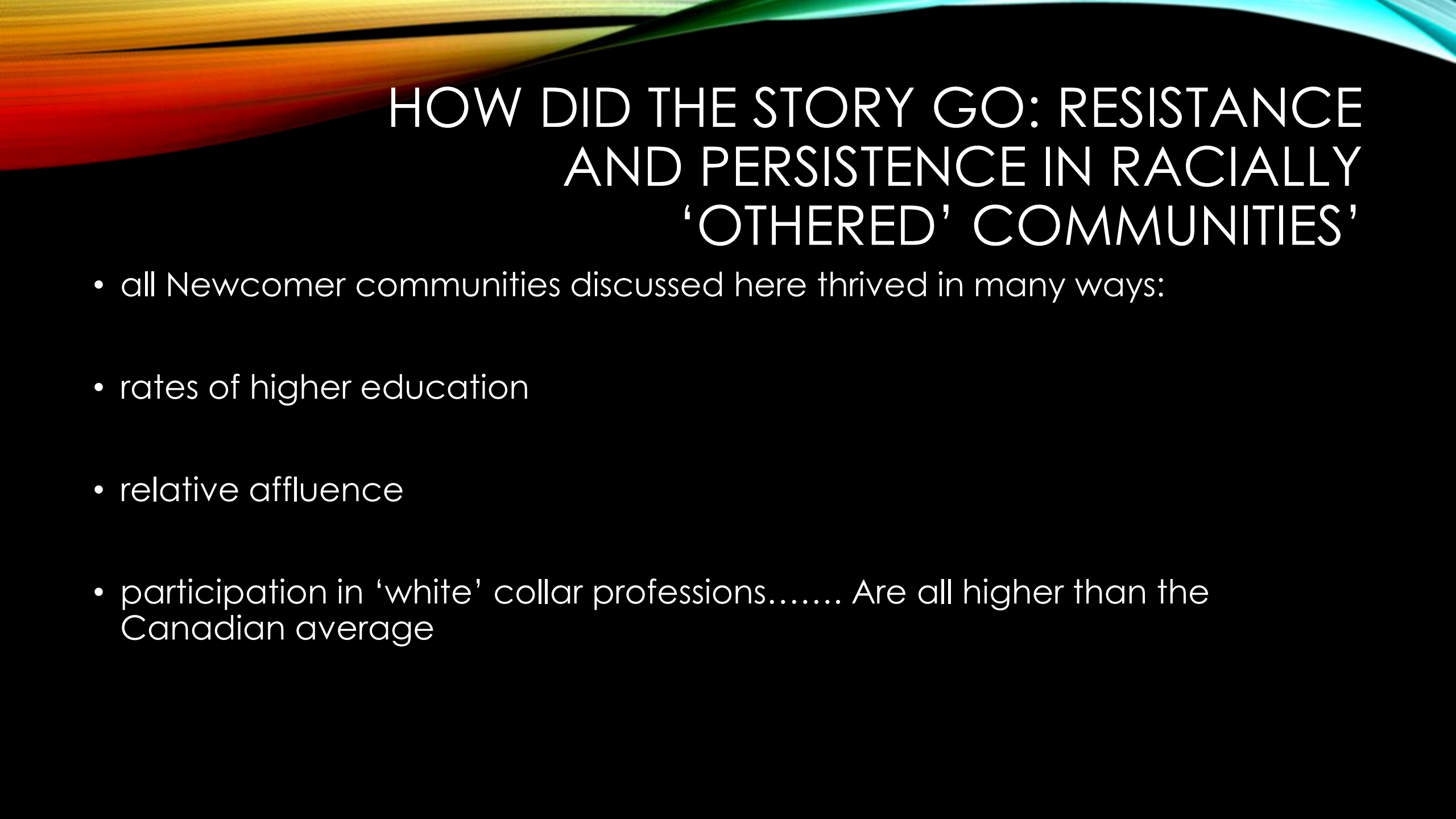
- *All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights (Article 1)*
- *Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status (Article 2)*
- *Everyone has the right to life, liberty and the security of person (Article 3)*
- *All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination (Article 7)*

# CHANGES IN THE ROLE OF THE CANADIAN JUDICIARY

- prior to the second world war questions had been emerging which challenged the assumptions of legalized discrimination by race
- 1949: Final court of appeal for the Canadian judicial process shifts from British Privy Council to the Supreme Court of Canada
- 1982: Constitution of Canada is repatriated; Section 52 “...is the supreme law of Canada, and any law that is inconsistent with the provisions of the Constitution is, to the extent of the inconsistency, of no force or effect”

# CANADIAN CHARTER OF RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS

- As part of the Constitution Act of 1982:
- *Section 1: The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms guarantees the rights and freedoms set out in it subject only to such reasonable limits prescribed by law as can be demonstrably justified in a free and democratic society"*
- *Section 15 Equality Rights: "Every individual is equal before and under the law and has the right to the equal protection and equal benefit of the law without discrimination, and in particular, without discrimination based on race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, sex, age, or mental or physical disability"*



# HOW DID THE STORY GO: RESISTANCE AND PERSISTENCE IN RACIALLY 'OTHERED' COMMUNITIES'

- all Newcomer communities discussed here thrived in many ways:
- rates of higher education
- relative affluence
- participation in 'white' collar professions..... Are all higher than the Canadian average



# FIRST NATIONS

- 1951 Ban on Indian ceremonies dropped
- Voting rights unconditionally to all FN persons 1960
- closure of residential schools begun in 1969; completed in 1996
- Bill C-31 in 1985
- TRC held; 94 recommendations
- increasing awareness of issues in mainstream Canadian society
- growing indigenous leadership movements advocating for justice for First Nations communities
- land claims matters are before the courts
- possibility of return to self government is on the table



AND.....

- racism persists at the systemic and personal level in Canadian society in ways which are both pervasive and hard to get at....

Wendy L. Fletcher  
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