

CURRENTS

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READINGS IN RACE RELATIONS

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NATIVE PEOPLE AND RACISM

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The Urban Alliance on Race Relations is an educational agency and an advocate and intermediary for the visible minorities. It works toward encouraging better race relations, increased understanding and awareness among our multicultural, multi-racial population through programmes of education directed at both the private and public sectors of the community. It is also focusing its efforts on the institutions of our society including educational systems, employment, government, media, legislation, police, social service agencies and human services, in order to reduce patterns of discrimination and inequality of opportunity which may exist within these institutions.

The work of the organization is carried out through working committees such as: Educational Institutions; Legislation; Media; Law Enforcement.

All correspondence, including letters to the editor, subscription requests and changes of address should be addressed to:

CURRENTS, 229 College Street, Suite 310,
Toronto, Ontario M5T 1R4.
Telephone (416) 598-0111.

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Native People and Racism

"The more intelligent and educated Indians, of which there are great number, are extremely anxious that the experiment should now be tried of allowing them the control of their own private funds, and express themselves ready and willing to assume the consequent liabilities. This desire seems most natural, and I trust that if it be complied within the manner proposed, individual enterprise and industry will be developed to an extent which will justify so important an alteration in the administration of Indian Affairs."

The Earl of Elgin,
Governor-General of Upper
Canada
1854

Not long ago, a grade three class in Toronto wrote thank you letters to a Native Canadian who had entertained and spoken to their class. One pupil wrote: "I enjoyed your talk very much and learned a lot about Indians. It made me wish more Indians would come to Canada." This innocent comment betrays so much about Canada's almost purposeful pursuit of blissful ignorance about Native people, as does the quotation made by the Earl of Elgin in 1854 about Canada's elusive inability to put substance to the process of self-determination.

It has been suggested that the possible responses of a dominant group toward a minority group can be classified under the following patterns of interaction:

- Extermination
- Expulsion
- Segregation
- Integration
- Assimilation

Extermination solves the problem of minorities by annihilating the minority. Expulsion involves the removal of the minority from the society; segregation is the process of physically separating the minority from the dominant

members of the society and assimilation is defined as two previously distinct social categories which have been amalgamated or blended into a unified social category.

Since the white man first arrived over four centuries ago, Native people have suffered at varying times from all of these treatments. And today, Indian leaders are still fearful that the intent towards them of the larger white society and its governments is essentially assimilative in nature.

While the present priorities of Native people in Canada are the pursuit of self-government and the settlement of land claims, let us not befuddle the underlying cause of the unique and serious position in which Native people find themselves today. The underlying cause is racism, and as Richard C. Powless states in the opening article, "Canada's history and systems of governance and behaviour have institutionalized this racism into current reality."

Native Economic Development

Native peoples in Canada suffer from low incomes, high unemployment, high poverty rates and other adverse socio-economic circumstances.

The development of employment and economic opportunities within the Native communities to address these problems is not, however, simply a technical matter. Values, culture, political institutions, history and other 'soft' factors play a much greater role than the technical factors that traditionally most concern economists and policy makers. While the Native economies remain extremely fragile and vulnerable, care must be taken to ensure that the costs of supporting economic growth does not mean sacrificed values, traditions and social organizations.

Traditional Indian cultures, not so many years ago, were subject to the sudden shock of modern science, industry and military might. The problems of Indian adjustment to the modern world were partly economic, but have also involved in major part adjustments in the religious, cultural, political and other non-economic

dimensions of Indian life. Successful adaptation has not been a matter of making progress in one dimension - such as economic - alone. Rather, the economic is dependent on the political and cultural, and vice versa.

This issue of Currents therefore addresses some of the political aspects of self-determination and self-government, and touches upon the cultural element by looking at the impact upon Natives of the mass media.

However, the major focus of the issue is upon Native employment and economic conditions which perhaps is indicative of the fact that it is in this area that non-Native people in general and the public sector in particular have the greatest potential to play a decisive and constructive role.

Yet it is important to remember the history of treatment that Native people have suffered at the hands of the white man. To put it in its mildest context, it is a history of disillusionment, disappointment and broken promises. There is still not enough recognition today of the wide differences among Indian people across Canada. There is not enough recognition of the social and educational foundations that must be laid and other major changes in the Native economic environment that are needed if development is to succeed. There is not enough recognition of the nuances of Native values and traditions, and not enough recognition in public policies and programmes that what works in one culture doesn't necessarily work in another culture - Native or non-Native.

The deprivation suffered by Native peoples as manifested by high dropout rates from educational systems, high incidences of alcoholism, poor health, low self-esteem, can be correlated directly with high unemployment rates stemming from lack of employment and economic opportunity. And while we may not appreciate the South African Ambassador Glenn Babb pointing it out to us, it is indeed a national tragedy that requires urgent attention.

Tim Rees

*Native People and Employment: A National Tragedy**

Richard C. Powless

"Just imagine, if you will, the state that Canadian society would be in if its unemployment rate was at 80%; if the only ones working were those whose funding came from government programs. What type of social structure do you suppose you would find? Would there be a high success rate in education? What type of alcoholism and other social indicators? These are the problems that face Indian communities right now as I speak and it is because we are experiencing unemployment rates that have never gone below 80%....It is without a doubt a national tragedy, a national disgrace, and one which Indian people cannot and will not tolerate any longer."

This statement was made by Charles Paul on April 26, 1983, to the Special Parliamentary Committee on Indian Self-Government. It is a lament that is often heard in Canada when Indian people talk about employment. It imparts a sense of the frustration and anger that many Native people feel when they discuss this all-pervasive problem.

Scope of the Problem

The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND) published a report in 1980 on Indian conditions in Canada.¹ According to its statistics for Canada from a 1978/79 study, 56 per cent of the Indian population is of working age. This compares with 66 per cent of the Canadian population being of working age. Of the Indian labour force population, 46 per cent were non-participants, compared with 40 per cent of Canadians. Fifteen per cent of the Indian labour force population

were pursuing traditional lifestyles; there is no estimate of this for the national population. Eighty-two per cent of the Indian labour force population were employed, compared with 92 per cent of the national force.

The unemployment rate of the Indian labour force was 18 per cent compared to 8 per cent for the national population. Indian Affairs estimates that the working age population of the Indian people will increase by 50,000 to 60,000 over the next 10 to 15 years. By the mid-1980s the Indian working age population was expected to expand to 66 per cent. A large portion (65 per cent) of these people will be seeking work on reserves, although the employment market there is unable to satisfy current requirements. *Indian Conditions* also reports that 35 per cent of Indians are employed less than half a year. In 1970, only 24 per cent of Indian males made more than \$6,000 per year, compared with 52 per cent of Canadian males. Of the female Indians employed, only 5 per cent made more than \$6,000 per year, compared with 14 per cent of Canadian females.

These statistics deal with the Indian population only. It is difficult at best to obtain reliable figures that would include the Inuit, Metis, and non-status Indian populations, and thereby give a "Native" employment picture. The government of the Northwest Territories gave evidence to the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry that there were 5,000 unemployed, and Justice Berger concluded that a vast majority of this 5,000 were Native people (Berger, 1977:1:134). Since Statistics Canada gives the Native population of the

Northwest Territories as 26,430, the Native employment rate in the NWT could be estimated at 18 per cent. We begin to see why the statistics are unreliable. Justice Berger did admit that he did not know and doubted whether anyone knew what the employment rates were for the North (Vol.1:135).

When dealing with Metis, non-status Indian, and Inuit employment figures we must rely more on the Canada Employment and Immigration Commission. The fault in these statistics lies in the fact that Metis, non-status Indian, and Inuit people must "self identify" when registering at Canada Employment Centres. There is no way of determining what percentage of Metis, Inuit, and non-status people even register and then identify themselves as Native persons. The assumption that the Ontario region of CEIC Native Services office makes is that there are at least as many Metis and non-status people in Ontario as status Indian people (1983). Frideres (1974) states that the urban Indian population is made up of 40 per cent status Indians. The remainder is made up of Metis, non-status, and Inuit.

McCaskill, in "The Urbanization of Indians in Winnipeg, Toronto, Edmonton and Vancouver: A Comparative Analysis", states that less than half of the respondents (from his survey of urban Native people) were employed in the four large Canadian cities that he studied. He also states that unemployment and heavy reliance on social assistance characterized nearly half of the respondents in Toronto (48 per cent), Edmonton (46 per cent), and Vancouver (45 per cent), as compared to 32 per cent in Winnipeg. Males were employed at nearly twice the rate of females. For example, 51 per cent of males compared to 27 per cent of females in Toronto were working full time.

In relation to full-time, full-year workers, a 1978 Canadian Human

*This article was excerpted from a larger paper prepared for the research study "Equality in Employment", Abella Royal Commission, April 1985.

Rights Commission study states that based on the three indicators of economic opportunity (employment earnings, occupational distribution, and rate of employment), Native Indians are shown to be at a disadvantage compared to the average Canadian. For example, the earnings of the average Canadian man are 29 per cent higher than those of the Native Indian man. The earnings of the average Canadian woman are 17 per cent greater than those of the Native Indian woman. The proportion of men having the high prestige managerial, administrative, professional, and technical occupations among all Canadian men in the labour force (18 per cent) is more than twice as high as the proportion of Native Indian men in the labour force with such occupations (8.6 per cent). The percentage of Canadian women with such jobs is 23.7 per cent, compared to 19.1 per cent for Native Indian women.

Where education factors are the same for the age group 35 to 44, the data indicate that the average Canadian man earns 35 per cent more than the average Native man in the same occupation (management and administration); in service occupations, the earnings of the average Canadian woman are 11 per cent higher than those of the average Native woman.

What becomes painfully obvious in looking at all of these statistics is the disastrous situation of Native people with respect to employment in Canada. Vast numbers of Native people are unemployed and because the Indian labour force is increasing at a much higher rate than that of other Canadians, there is a much greater need to find employment opportunities for them. The situation will get worse before it gets better. Even when we look at those Native people who are working, we see that they earn less, have higher unemployment rates, and are under-represented in professional, managerial, and technical jobs compared to the national average.

Socio-Economic Implications

The situation for the large numbers who are unemployed leads to serious consequences. A great majority of

those Native people unemployed are dependent on assistance from government, and many are near the poverty line in their standard of living. In 1969, 80 per cent of Indian families were below the poverty line (Frideres, 1974:24). Low income has a dramatic effect on the quality of life that a family can have. Just meeting the basic needs of food, clothing, and shelter is in many cases a great struggle.

In 1977, there was a backlog housing need of 11,000 units, 24 per cent of existing houses needed major repairs, and 3 per cent needed to be replaced.² The quality of housing was also inferior, lasting only 15 years on average compared to a national average of 35 years. Indian homes were also overcrowded (18.8 per cent of on-reserve homes had two or more families, affecting 40 per cent of Indian families).³ Indian homes also lack services: in 1977 an average of 10 per cent of homes lacked electricity, 55 per cent lacked sewage systems, and 50 per cent lacked running water. The Canadian averages were around three per cent for these categories. (The situation for Indians is much worse in rural and remote locations, where 71 per cent of all reserves are located.)

An unusually high rate of fires and fire deaths can be attributed to lower-quality housing. Factors such as sub-standard heating systems, crowded conditions, and scarcity of fire protection services on reserves⁴ also contribute to the high rate of fire deaths (28/100,000 for Indians compared to 4/100,000 for non-Indians). The poor quality of housing, crowding, and lack of services also contribute to high respiratory, digestive, and infective diseases among Indians.⁵

The low economic situation of Native people in Canada also affects many other aspects of their day-to-day lives, one of the most significant being health.⁶

Life expectancy is generally considered a broad measure of the health of a people. The death rate for Indian people is six times the national average (Siggner, 1982) and the infant mortality rates are more than twice the national average (DIAND, 1980). The life expectancy at one year of age is 63.4 years for

Indians and 72.8 for the national population. *Indian Conditions* states that the lower life expectancy rate for Indians may be due to the high infant and youth mortality rates. It also states that a large portion of post-neonatal (one month to one year) deaths in the Indian population is attributed to "respiratory ailments, infections, and parasitic diseases reflecting poor housing, lack of sewage disposal, potable water as well as poorer access to medical facilities (probably due to the remote location of a majority of reserves). Among youth (ages 5-14), violent deaths (by accidents, poisoning, and drowning) account for more than one-third of deaths, compared to nine per cent for Canada.

Among the 15-44 age group, violent deaths are four to five times the national average. The suicide rate among Indians is six times the national average; suicides account for 35 per cent of the accidental deaths in the 15-24 age group and 21 per cent in the 25-34 age group.

Indians use hospital facilities 2 to 2.5 times more than the average Canadian. *Indian Conditions* also states that 50 to 60 per cent of all Indian illnesses and deaths are alcohol related. In 1975 the alcoholism rate for on-reserve Indians in Saskatchewan was five times the national rate. The rate for on-reserve Indians was two to three times that of off-reserve Indians (based on hospital admissions for alcoholic psychosis). Since 2.3 per cent or \$5,539,000 of DIAND social support expenditures went toward dealing with alcoholism (*Indian Conditions*, 117), the problem is clearly evident across Canada.

One result of the high alcoholism rate among Indians and other Native people (as reflected in a 1981 Ontario study), has been that Indians have come into conflict with Canadian laws. A 1977 paper on socio-economic development by the National Indian Brotherhood states that it is believed that almost all Indian criminality involves alcohol. The paper states that a majority of arrests in the western provinces are for liquor and vehicle law infractions, and that in Saskatchewan (1970-71) 75 per cent of the

liquor infractions were committed by Indians.

In fact the Native population is highly overrepresented in prison compared to the national average. In 1979 Native people represented 9.3 per cent of the penitentiary populations and 6.7 per cent of the federal inmate population, even though they only represented 1.3 per cent of the Canadian population.⁷ The Canadian average was 3.5 per cent in prison. Native people are also overrepresented in violent crimes as compared to the non-Native population. They are significantly overrepresented in manslaughter compared to the non-Native population. There is also a much higher rate of juvenile delinquency among Indian people (three times the national average), and fewer Native people are likely to be let off with a warning (only 15 per cent, compared to 46 per cent of non-Native juvenile delinquents). Lastly, the other important crime among Native people is the inability to pay fines. The NIB paper stated that one-third of all Indians in jail in British Columbia and Saskatchewan in 1970/71 were there because of non-payment of fines.⁸

What these figures point to is a high incidence of conflict in the values of the Native and non-Native societies. The juvenile delinquency points to a breakdown in the family, and Natives in jail for non-payment of fines indicates that many Native people are in jail because of their socio-economic situation.

Other related social statistics indicate that family breakdown is occurring among Native people. The number of children in care among Native people was five times the national average (DIAND, 1979). From 1962 to 1978, adoptions out of Native families increased 500 per cent, with a large portion of the adopted children going to non-Indian families. The divorce rate among Indian people has also been on the increase and the rate of births outside marriage is more than four times the national rate.⁹

The Cost of the Problem

The employment situation of Native people is only symptomatic of the larger problems that Indian people

must deal with on a day-to-day basis. This situation has high costs associated with it in terms of the loss of productivity of Native members of the population. The cost to treat the symptoms and the human costs are, of course, immeasurable.

In terms of unemployment, the costs are associated with a loss of potential income and productivity (had those individuals been working). There is also the cost of the created dependency on social assistance as a direct result. In 1974, 55 per cent of the Indian population was using social assistance, compared to 6 per cent of the non-Indian population in Canada. In 1970/71, the social support expenditures of all federal programs for Indians amounted to \$84,267,000, of which 41.1 per cent went toward direct social assistance and 43.4 per cent went to cover medical service. By 1978/79 the total amount expended was \$242,158,000. Social assistance accounted for 43.0 per cent and medical services accounted for 38.8 per cent of the total. Other expenditures included childcare (13.9 and 10.2 per cent, respectively; for 1970/71 and 1978/79); other social services (adult care, welfare aids; 1.3 and 4.1 per cent, respectively); treatment for alcoholism (.2 and 2.3 per cent, respectively); legal services and Native justice (.7 per cent for 1978/79); and recreation (.1 and .9 per cent, respectively).

The cost of medical and in-hospital patient care for Indians in 1975 was \$630 per person, compared to \$250 for the average Canadian (DIAND, 1980).

The total cost to treat these same areas now exceeds \$1 billion annually (NIBA, 1982:9) and is expected to exceed \$2 billion by 1986 (NIB, 1981). It is important to note that even at these costs the quality of social services to Indians is much lower than for that of the non-Indian population, and that many services available to municipal residents are not available to Indian communities (DIAND, 1980:28).

There are also costs associated with keeping Indian people in jail, with loss of productivity while in jail, with loss of potential income while in hospital, and with the loss of dollars invested on students who do not complete school

and end up unemployed. The cycle continues and perpetuates itself. Without education it is difficult to find jobs, and there just are no jobs on reserves.

Cultural Intolerance and Misunderstanding Equals Racism

The most important question is, why do these problems exist? To answer this question it is necessary to look at the history of the Native people and their relationships with Euro-Canadian peoples and governments. Only in examining the history can we begin to understand the answers to this all important question, and only in answering this question can we begin to deal with solutions.

The Special Committee on the Disabled and Handicapped (in its follow-up report on the Native population) makes a very astute and currently relevant observation that to a large degree sums up the main reason for many of the problems encountered by Native people today.

"Perhaps the key problem which exists in the relationship between Native people and other Canadians has been the inability of Native people to explain and the inability of non-Native people to comprehend the nature, scope and importance of Native cultures....The gap in communication is the result of two totally different ways of looking at life, both of which are incredibly rich in unconscious values, customs and patterns of sentiment, thought, language and action. Native and non-Native peoples in Canada have lived for three centuries in an uneasy relationship based on two totally different ways of organizing and strengthening human relationships, two different ways of proving one's individual worth, two different ways of identifying and solving problems which affect a whole community and two totally different ways of reaching group decisions." (SCDH, 1981:9).

The greatest and single most cogent reason for the current situation of Native people in Canada has been this inability to understand and accept the value and legitimacy of other peoples and cultures in Canada. In essence this

is racism. Canada's history and systems of governance and behaviour have institutionalized this racism into current reality. No other cultures or institutions can be tolerated.

Canada's Native people are in the worst socio-economic situation of any peoples in Canada. This situation largely results from their cultures, societies, and governments being radically different from Canadian culture and society, and from an inability on the part of the Canadian government to understand and tolerate this fact. Canadian government policies and programs for Indians have primarily tried to assimilate Indian cultures. This assimilation has not worked. Government programs see the problem as being one of a disadvantaged ethnic minority and a problem of regional economics. They have concentrated too much on the individual and not enough on the collective communities. They have failed to identify the problem and consequently their solutions deal only with the symptoms (social ills).

While remedial programs help to ease the situation under which Indians live, a long-term, comprehensive approach is needed to deal with the problem. Radical changes are necessary.

Toward Solutions — Clarification and Confirmation of Relationships

In moving toward solutions of the employment problems of the Native peoples in Canada, one must deal with their socio-economic situation. Native peoples must not simply be viewed as an economically disadvantaged social class within Canada's mosaic and dealt with through special programs aimed at making them equal.

If real, long-lasting solutions are to come, then Canada must first of all deal with who the Native people are and what rights they have as a result of that identity. That is, the Canadian government and Canadians must accept the fact that Native people are *not* Canadians but members of their own nations, societies, and cultures. Canada must stop trying to assimilate Native people and accept their distinctiveness and their right to that distinctiveness as

recognized through international standards.

Native people have a legal and moral right to an equal place in Canada. It is only in assuming that place and crawling out from under the weight of paternalism and dependence that they will solve their socio-economic problems and consequently their employment problems.

In the time it will take to achieve this goal many years may pass, and during this transition phase DIAND will slowly be dismantled, with its powers and responsibilities transferred directly to Indian governments. The federal government will need to deal directly with Indian governments in the future when designing employment programs and regional economic development programs.

Many Native people will continue to live and work in the cities, and for these Natives the employment and affirmative action programs should be continued and enhanced. The private sector should be encouraged to hire and train Native people on a much larger basis than they now do because not all Native communities can be expected to become self-sufficient. To complement this affirmative action in employment, consideration should be given to affirmative action in education, because affirmative action will work only if job applicants have the prerequisite skills or knowledge.

Racial discrimination is an insidious and elusive problem which makes it almost impossible to combat. The only generally agreed-to approach is education and human rights legislation to deter it from becoming blatant. Both of these are necessarily long-term solutions. Institutional discrimination will need to be gradually weeded out by government itself. Those institutions, systems, laws, and policies that reflect and favour the majority culture in Canada will eventually have to be changed to recognize Indian cultures and societies.

The solutions will not come easily, but we have in Canada a chance to establish a unique indigenous people-colonial government relationship. The test of Canada's integrity will be how it handles this challenge.

Footnotes

1. DIAND *Indian Conditions: A Survey, Supply and Services*, Ottawa, 1980.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 30.
3. *Ibid.*
4. Only 32 per cent of reserves have adequate fire protection services.
5. DIAND *Indian Conditions*, *op. cit.*, p. 36.
6. The following statistics are taken primarily from the DIAND (1980) report, *Indian Conditions*. To the author's knowledge no similar statistics are available for the Inuit and Metis populations. It is offered for debate that these figures would not reflect the same degree of disadvantage among the Inuit because of their income being based on 50 per cent traditional lifestyles and because a stronger family unit based on a shorter period of contact contributes to less family breakdown. For the Metis populations (a majority of which live in urban centres) the effects are presumed also to be not as bad, due to their treatment by governments as provincial citizens, and thereby affording them direct access to provincial health and social services programs.
7. *Correctional Services Canada Operational Information Services: Inmate Record System, Native and non-Native Population Profile. Selected Trends in Canadian Criminal Justice*, Ministry of the Solicitor General, Ottawa, 1981.
8. To the author's own knowledge many Native people from northern locations plead guilty to charges just to get them over with and to save the time and trouble of having to commute to often far-away cities (where the courts are) should their case be remanded several times.
9. *Follow Up Report: Native Populations*. Special Committee on the Disabled and Handicapped, Fourth Report, Supply and Services, Ottawa, 1981, p. 8.

Richard C. Powless is an intergovernmental relations officer with the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Saskatchewan region.



Economic Issues Facing Native Women In Ontario

The Aboriginal people of Canada have a unique cultural, historical, political and constitutional place in this land. While they come from a diverse group of First Nations, Native people share a common determination to preserve their traditional heritage as they build an economic future for themselves in the modern world.

Native women have always played a strong role in their communities, as the bulwark of families and protectors of the "old" ways. But they have also borne much of the brunt of the dislocation of Native societies torn by the clash of Native and mainstream cultures.

Economic and social disadvantage is compounded for Native women. They can face double discrimination — because they are Native and because they are women. Many of them are sole support mothers, struggling to raise two or three children on their own. Many of them live on low incomes and have little hope of advancement in the job market. In remote communities where training places and jobs are scarce, most of the opportunities are geared to men. In urban areas, where there are more programs and facilities for women, Native women may shy away because of cultural alienation.

Despite all this, Native women as a group have found a voice and are determined to make their own stands. That was made clear by their successful fight to end discrimination in The Indian Act against women who married non-Native men and lost their rights as status Indians.

Any programs or initiatives which are developed to deal with the special needs of Native women must meet the criteria set by the women themselves. It is a common complaint of Native women that all too often the criteria for accessibility — whether to grant money, loans, training spaces or employment

programs — are designed more to suit bureaucratic rules than Native people.

It is also essential that economic programs be integrated with social initiatives. Native researchers have thoroughly documented the social costs of alcohol and substance abuse, family violence, problems with the law, the breakup of families and general alienation of Native communities.

If pressing social problems are ignored, there is the obvious danger that they will scupper any economic program put in place. On the other hand, without any economic opportunity or even anything leading towards it, sometimes there is little incentive to start healing the social wounds.

You can put a child care centre on to a remote reserve, but if there is nothing for the mothers to do, they may simply feel their role has been diminished. Or you can start up a training program at an urban friendship centre, and if the mothers can't find housing or child care, they won't be able to participate.

Native women are interested in helping themselves. The Ontario Native Women's Association (ONWA), for example, has been conducting research into the economic, social and educational concerns of women at the grass roots, and has organized workshops to explore ideas for economic development. The entire Native movement has become more politicized since the 1960s, and so have Native women. The "network" of committed, experienced Native women across Ontario and the country is a resource that cannot be ignored.

Demographic Profile

The 1981 census counted just over 56,000 Native women in Ontario, of whom 36,000 were status Indians. The rest were mainly non-status Indians and Metis; only 530 were Inuit.¹

However, the Metis and non-status Indian (MNSI) census population figures have been disputed by Native groups and others. The report of the Ontario Task Force on Native People in the Urban Setting (1981) offered a "conservative" estimate of 117,000 MNSI in 1978. The Task Force said its estimate included people who identified with their Native ancestry, but who were more integrated into non-Native society than the core group enumerated by government.²

Using the Task Force's conservative approach and acknowledging statistical backup is not available, the number of Native women in Ontario can be estimated at closer to 98,500 than 56,000.

It should be noted that within this rough estimate, the number of status Indian women is in the process of changing. As a result of a long-awaited amendment to the Indian Act, thousands of women stripped of their rights for marrying non-Native men are reclaiming their rightful status for themselves and their children.

Although we have grouped Native women together for the purpose of this paper, they are not a homogeneous group. They come from different Native cultures, speaking different languages and dialects. They live on reserves and off; in big cities and small northern settlements; and some of them move back and forth.

In the following statistics, all references to Indians refer to the status Indian population; Native is used to include both status and MNSI. Most of the data is based on census information.

- * Almost 45 per cent of registered Indians in Ontario lived off reserve in 1981, and of those 57 per cent were women.³
- * Almost three-fifths of the status Indian population in 1979 lived in northern Ontario. Of the 115 status Indian communities across Ontario, 85 were listed as rural, remote or isolated.⁴
- * Average age of Native women in Canada in 1981 was 24, compared to 34 for other women.⁵ In Ontario, 36 per cent of all Native persons were under 15 years of age in 1981,

compared to 22 per cent for the non-Native population.⁶

- * Average number of persons per Indian family in Ontario in 1981 was 3.8, compared to 3.2 for non-Natives. On-reserve average was 4.2 persons. Across Canada, Indian families were 25 per cent bigger than other families.⁷
- * Thirty-seven per cent of Ontario's Indian population (15 years and older, not attending school full-time) had less than a Grade 9 education in 1981, compared to 19.5 per cent for the general population. The on-reserve average was 49 per cent. (Less than Grade 9 is used as a proxy of functional illiteracy.)⁸
- * An Ontario Native Women's Association survey (1980) found 39 per cent of its respondent females 18 years and older (status and MNSI) had no secondary education.⁹
- * Almost one in five Indian families in Ontario were led by lone-parent females, compared to nine per cent for other families.¹⁰ Across Canada, 17 per cent of Native families (status and MNSI) were mother-led.¹¹
- * Native female lone-parent families in Canada received on average about 58 per cent of the income of their non-Native counterparts. The average family income of the Native mother-led family in 1980 was about \$8,200, compared to \$14,000 for the equivalent non-Native family. Single mother-led families of two or four persons in urban areas received only slightly more than half the income of similar non-Native families.¹²
- * Average individual income of Indians in Ontario was \$7,800 in 1980, about three-fifths the average of \$13,300 for the comparable non-Native population (15 years of age and older who received income). Average income for Indian women was \$5,746, less than two-thirds the \$9,697 reported for Indian males.¹³
- * The Ontario Manpower Commission estimated in 1984 that the majority of Indians were still earning less than \$10,000 a year. The Ontario Task Force on urban Native people

found 57 per cent of its respondents aged 15 and over had incomes of less than \$7,000.

- * Government transfer payments (including family allowances, unemployment insurance and welfare) were the major source of income for almost 30 per cent of Indians in Ontario, compared to about 13 per cent for the general population, according to data tracked by Indian and Northern Affairs Canada.¹⁴ Estimates from other sources are much higher. A 1977 study in Ontario estimated 70 per cent of Indians on reserves received social assistance.¹⁵
- * The unemployment rate for Ontario Native women in 1981 was almost 16 per cent, compared to 12 per cent for Native men and less than seven per cent for non-Native women.
- * The labour force participation rate (labour force as a percentage of population 15 years and over) for Native women was 46 per cent; for Native men it was 70 per cent; for non-Native women it was 55 per cent.¹⁶ The Ontario Task Force on urban Native people found 54 per cent of its female respondents were "not presently employed", compared to 43 per cent for male respondents.

Education and Training

Research done by the Ontario Native Women's Association and sponsored by the Canada Employment and Immigration Commission (CEIC) identified the need for many Native women to have some pre-employment training, including life skills.

The 1983 study of the Employment and Training Needs of Native Women in Ontario found that 46 per cent of the status and MNSI women who were surveyed said they would need basic job-readiness training, even if they had the particular skills needed for a certain job.¹⁷

The survey of 240 women also identified the need for bridge financing to pay rent, transportation, clothing and child care expenses until their pay cheque started arriving. There was also concern expressed that the family

could end up worse off with the mother working in a low-skill, low-paying job, compared to the security of social assistance. Half the women were dependent on some form of social assistance.

About three-quarters of the women said there was a need for basic life skills training, including home-making skills, in their communities. Almost all the women supported employment training programs specifically for Native women, preferably offered in their home communities.

There are some projects in operation in Ontario which offer a combination of life skills, academic upgrading and/or skills upgrading and employment training for Native women.

Programs such as New Opportunity for Women (NOW) in Kenora (65-75 per cent Native women), Wanepuhnud in Toronto, Nokee Kwe in London and Key North in Sudbury were developed locally and have a variety of funding sources, usually a combination of federal and provincial monies, sometimes with private contributions as well.

They share an emphasis on individual attention, mutual support and hands-on work experience. They may also include a money-making business component (e.g. the "shop" at Nokee Kwe sells its book-binding and laminating service). The programs are small and as flexible and innovative as possible, within the restrictions of government regulations governing such factors as target groups and success rates.

Suggestions from Native women and those working with them for future programming include: "semestering" of lengthy training courses to allow women from remote communities to return home at regular intervals; relaxation of minimum class-size requirements for some programs in remote locales where access to training is limited; allowance for longer-than-normal, less structured training courses for women who feel they need them; and less emphasis on conventional evaluation of programs and trainees.

As valuable as the entry-level training programs are, they are few and they can only handle a small

number of clients at a time. And while they address an important need, they cannot help Native women already in the labour force who are trapped in low-level jobs because of racial/sexual stereotyping. Or Native women in the education system who are not getting the kind of encouragement they need to get them into highly-skilled or professional-level courses to fulfill their potential.

Economic programs specifically geared to Native women are rare. While there are general-access programs which are available to Native women, it is difficult to determine how effective they are because, in most cases, there is no data on how many Native women participated.

Compilation and co-ordination of data on Native people in general and Native women in particular, across government and across the province, would be useful in future planning.

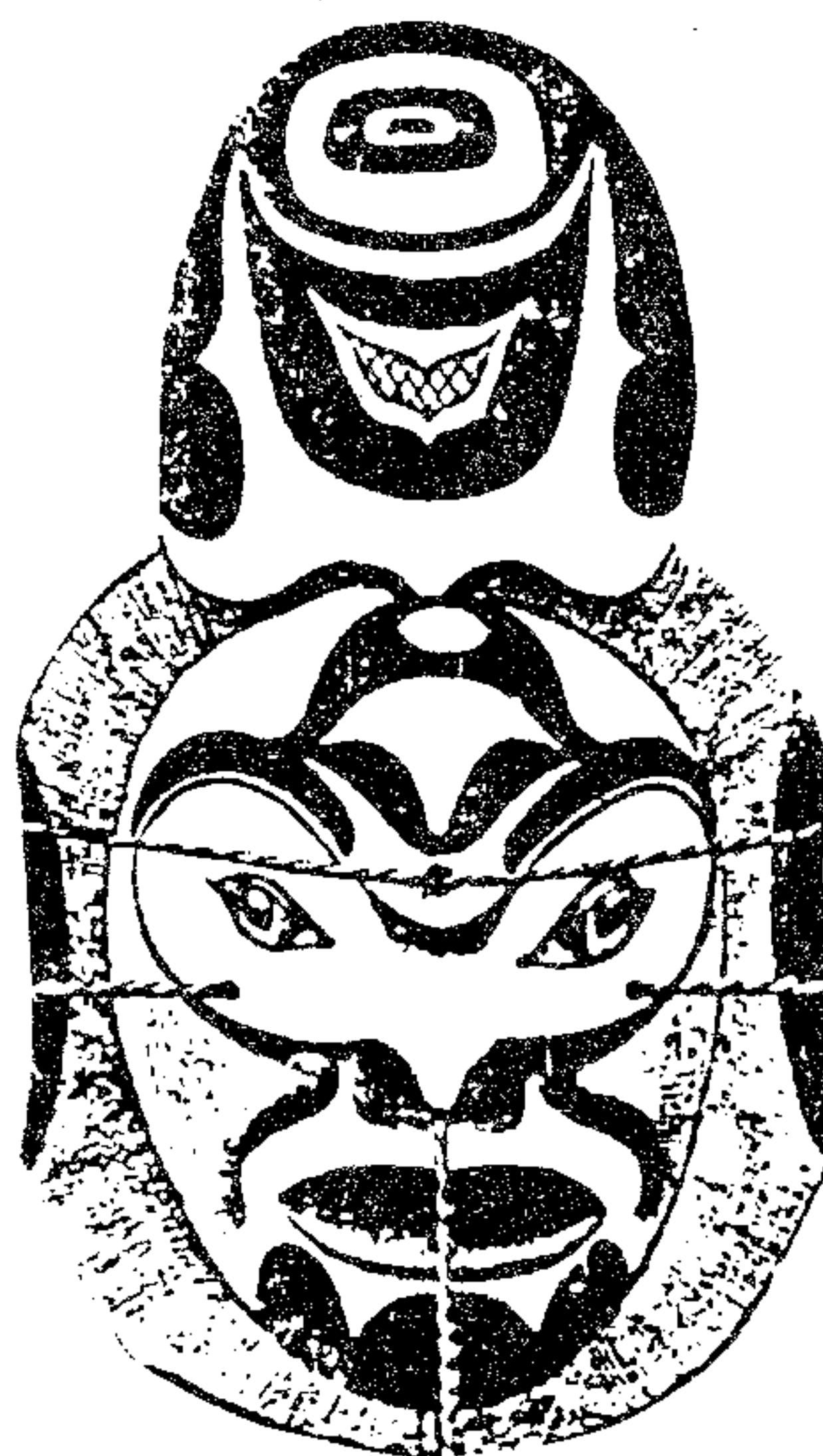
A special effort is required to close the gap between the economic circumstances of so many Native women and the rest of society.

In the context of the move toward self-government by Native communities, economic development will be a positive force encouraging self-sufficiency and self-reliance. In terms of immediate priorities, economic development should focus on pre-employment and job training so that Native women can compete in a marketplace demanding changing skills and expertise. While they share many of the problems of the whole Native community and some of the problems of non-Native women, they are a group with special needs and problems which require special focus and attention.

This article is drawn from a larger paper prepared by the Women's Directorate, Government of Ontario, June 1986.

Footnotes:

1. Profile of Native Women: 1981 Census of Canada, Statistics Canada, by Edward T. Pryor, February, 1984, p. 10.
2. Native People in Urban Settings: Problems, Needs and Services. A Report of the Ontario Task Force on Native People in the Urban Setting, by Frank Maidman, 1981, p. 62.
3. 1981 Census Highlights on Registered Indians: Annotated Tables. Socio-demographic research section, Research Branch, Corporate Policy, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC), by Tom Brecher, Pierre Gauvin, Sheila Klein, Gilles Larocque, April, 1985, p. 5.
4. Former Department of Regional Economic Expansion data, 1981. Note: a status Indian "community" may contain more than one reserve.
5. Statscan, Pryor, p. 10.
6. Ontario Manpower Commission (OMC), based on unpublished figures, 1981 Census Data from Statistics Canada, March, 1984.
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13. INAC, p. 35.
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15. Indian Conditions, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1980, p. 28.
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Native People and The Demand For Self-Government

Lorne Foster

The conference on Aboriginal Self-Government: Perspectives, Differences, Diversity, held at York University in Toronto in January 1987, brought together Elders, Chiefs, and Native leaders in an open symposium to air their grievances and goals. The following is an assessment of some of the key issues brought out at the conference, as they relate to Native people and to other Canadians.

Historically Canada's Aboriginal people, Indian and Inuit, have been sub-divided by language and cultural differences, by geographic dispersion, and artificially imposed administrative distinctions (such as, status versus non-status, and treaty versus non-treaty Indians). Consequently, collective action by Canada's indigenous people, from the time of the Indian Act in 1876, has inevitably been characterized by considerable internal factionalism. Recently, however, and despite the fact that they are atomized into a great number of different communities and unconnected institutions, Native people have unanimously converged on the goal of self-government. Ironically, perhaps, it is Quebec's reluctance to sign the new Canadian Constitution that has afforded Native people the opportunity to formulate their own common purpose, and allowed them to wedge their way into the national debate on the policy objectives which will lead Canada into the future.

Self-government is now the major bone of contention between the Native minority and the Canadian state. Since Confederation, various departments and ministries have administered governance of Indian reserves, Band funds, property inheritance, education, welfare, and the fulfillment of treaty obligations. And over the years, this

government policy of wardship for Aboriginal people has helped sustain and institutionalize a chronic low status, and has affected their self-confidence and esteem (cf. Hughes and Kallen, 1974). Many government officials, however, don't subscribe to the concept of Native self-government as a solution to their plight. And they are also concerned about the "problems" associated with the creation of a state within a state. For these political leaders, Native self-government means relinquishing some of their power, as well as risking an increase in inter-racial tension due to a perception of minority special privilege. However, distracted by Quebec's intransigence, federal officials are faced with garnering mass support for their constitutional cause by appealing to other disaffected sectors of society.

Native leaders have become concessionaires of this bit of federal misfortune. And they have seized upon the constitutional debate as an "integrating factor" for the creation of a collective movement out of the disparate Native bands. This fact was underscored at the recent conference on *Aboriginal Self-Government: Perspectives, Differences, Diversity*, held at York University on January 28th and 29th of this year. In anticipation of the fourth annual First Ministers' Conference On Aboriginal Rights and Section 25 (of the Constitution) which is to be held in Ottawa in March 1987, Elders, Chiefs, and National Native leaders from across the country gathered to articulate their new collective initiative, and to emphasize the importance of self-government not only to Natives but also to non-Natives.

As is the case with Quebec, Native leaders are proceeding on the assump-

tion that the Canadian Constitution is incomplete, and does not merely contain some rough edges that need smoothing out. Leroy Little Bear, for example, author of *Quest for Justice* and Chair for the York Conference pointed out: "... If Non-Indians don't participate, Indians are going to set the standards — because it is only Native people who are taking part in (the making of the) Constitution!" Others echoed the sentiment that the Constitution must be validated by Aboriginal people in order for it to be morally as well as legally sound. And Ruby Arngna'naa, a representative of the Inuit Committee on National Issues, summed up this sentiment by stating: "Only through Aboriginal people will Canada be able to complete the circle of Confederation".

Natives do not necessarily speak with one voice on the structure of self-government. But they do have a common sense concerning the aim of self-government, as the speakers at the York University Aboriginal Conference revealed. The aim is for Natives to have complete control over their own land, resources, social centres, education, economic development, child welfare services, and hospitals — in order to reverse the affects of European paternalism and its attendant social-psychological wreckage. In their view, Native leaders consider it necessary for the preservation of Native culture that services for Natives are run by Natives.

For progressive collective action, however, it is not enough to be separated by "cleavage factors" (e.g., race, socio-economic status) from other members of society; Native people must also be united among themselves. Separated and alienated from European Canadians as they are, Native people themselves don't form a cohesive group. This lack of integration is the main reason behind the weakness or ineffectiveness which characterizes the long history of the Indian movement (cf. Ponting and Gibbons, 1980). Now, however, Native leadership has been able to converge on the Constitution to form a united front. They have cordoned off the Constitution, and are attempting to make it into a major integrating factor

for a population which has been plagued by regional factionalism, political apathy, and economic destitution.

Perhaps recognizing that at the present, self-government in Native terms is a politically untenable proposition to many officials, the more enlightened Indian leadership has mapped out a progressive or cumulative strategy for the eventual attainment of their goal. Native leaders at the York conference all stressed that it is crucial to have equal access to services in every province for all Aboriginal people and Metis, whether living on reserves or in urban areas. In a sociological sense, this would have the effect of eliminating the arbitrary administrative distinctions imposed on the Native population, which have heretofore contributed to its internal factualism and organizational ineffectualness. By lobbying for aboriginal rights to be enshrined in the Constitution along these lines in the upcoming First Ministers' Conference, Native leaders hope to lay the foundation for a more consolidated and effective constituency — which would in turn provide more leverage in future negotiations.

Self-Identity and Self-Sufficiency

There is an agenda associated with Native leaders' demand for self-government that goes beyond the mere preservation of culture. In actuality, the historical separation of Natives and whites, due to voluntary avoidance, geographic isolation, and the government's policies of wardship for indigenous peoples, have already helped to preserve Native identity to a large extent. The paradox is, the isolation which may have helped preserve Native identity, has probably been at the expense of Native participation in the quest for jobs, education, and material affluence in the larger society (cf. Sydiaha and Rempel, 1972). Self-government is an agenda aimed at eventually bridging the gap between identity in Indian terms, and success in material or societal terms. It is designed not only to ensure the continuance of Native traditions based

on old spiritual and philosophical values and laws; but it is also aimed at redressing the negative inheritance of a marginal and subordinate position in Canadian social, economic, and political life.

Indian government emphasizes people and land and the relationship between people and land. And this, of course, flies in the face of the instrumental orientation of the Canadian policy makers who are primarily, and perhaps chauvinistically, concerned with maximizing the efficiency level and increasing the profit quotient of both people and land. As Fred Plain, a policy-analyst from the Nishnawbe-Aski Nation put it: "... One of the main reasons for the problems between government and Natives is that they don't fully understand each other. And this can be seen by the differences in attitude held by the government and Native people towards natural resources. White man has gotten the impression that he is the centre of environment. By thinking he is the centre, he breaks the circle of life, creates chaos and the result is a decaying environment". Gary Potts, Chief in the Temagami region added the admonishment that "the 'tearing down wilderness' and 'breaking new ground' type of attitude is still flourishing. But this land is no longer a colonial nation, this land is your mother!"

The eminent Native leaders and policy-analysts who attended the York Aboriginal Conference face the formidable task of convincing Canada's political leaders and the general public that Aboriginal self-government, in lieu of an overarching profit motive, is a worthwhile consideration. If they could convince others that services for Natives could be run by Natives more efficiently and more gainfully than is now the case, then others would perhaps have less resistance to the concept of Native self-government. For Native leaders, however, there is more at stake in their concept of self-government than the profit motive. They suggest at minimum, that their very viability as a free and dignified population is on the line. And that their extraordinary situation calls for extraordinary measures to

remove the barriers inhibiting full and equal participation in the social, economic, and political life of Canada.

It is clear that the Canadian Constitution has provided a vehicle for more effective Native leadership. And Native leaders are doing their part to establish a basis for collective action, by increasing political awareness among their people, and shoring up the organizational weaknesses that have previously allowed Europeans to rule the Indian and Inuit without serious opposition. But in the final analysis, for any structural or permanent change to occur, greater acceptance of Native rights is required on the part of political leaders and the Canadian public. The Government and the public have to begin to measure the effectiveness of Native services in human as well as fiscal terms, with an eye toward the social and psychological well-being as well as the economic subsistence of Aboriginal people.

In a rational society it is often difficult for members to think beyond the rational assessment of their expenditures. Consequently, the national discussion concerning the preservation of aboriginal rights tends to gravitate toward the effective allocation of funds for Native services. Lessening Native dependency, and thereby increasing their self-reliance and self-respect does not necessarily enter into the context of this discussion. Indeed, it would appear there has been little attempt to monitor the human consequences and effectiveness of government policies and programmes. Native leaders reprove Canada for championing human rights in far away parts of the world, and neglecting them at home. They decry the hypocrisy of a Government which condemns the racial segregation and inequity of South Africa's Apartheid, when Natives here also live on squalid and impoverished reserves. And recently, Chief Louis Stevenson of the Peguis Tribe took the South African Ambassador to Canada, Glen Babb, on a scenic tour of his Manitoba reserve to witness the abject conditions. This symbolic protest against Canada's aboriginal policies ended with the Chief imploring the Ambassador to send foreign aid.

To overcome the misunderstandings and contentiousness between Natives and the Canadian state, it is critically important for political leaders and the general public to factor in a dual purpose to Native expenditure — economic viability and the human condition. To allocate funds for Native services without regard for the full and active participation of Native people, will always stifle independence and growth. And in the long run, a diminished Native population can only diminish the fabric of the societal whole. The task, then, for non-Natives, is to cultivate Native independence. Anything less will result in society's failure to live up to its equalitarian and democratic principles. In this respect, Aboriginal self-government is not only important for Natives but for non-Natives as well.

Dr. Lorne Foster is a member of the Department of Sociology at Atkinson College, York University.

Footnotes

1. See Oberschall's (1973:118-145) theory of mobilization for the importance and sociological dimensions of "integrating" and "cleavage" factors in the formation of social movements.

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Refugee Status Determination

Howard Adelman

Recent changes in Canadian and American immigration policy have seen tighter controls introduced on the refugee determination process, a decision which finds new refugees living on little more than a prayer. Despite the entreaties of refugee and immigrant-aid groups, the federal government is taking its cue from the United States and is issuing strong, or what some would call harsh measures, to reduce the numbers of refugees seeking asylum in this country.

It is ironic that Canada received international recognition last year as the 1986 recipient of the Nansen award for its humanitarian actions towards immigrants and refugees only to begin a large-scale crackdown on those asking for refuge here in 1987. In light of the confusion and the over-reactionary public mood of anti-immigrant sentiment which has sprung up lately around this issue, the following question and answer format is intended to provide a brief introduction to the current debate over the problem of a new refugee determination procedure for Canada.

1. What is a refugee status determination procedure?

It is the set of laws, regulations and guidelines approved by the government of Canada by means of which government officials decide whether a person in Canada who claims to be a refugee is indeed a refugee.

2. Since when have we had such laws?

In the *Immigration Act*, 1976, for the first time in Canadian law, refugees were recognized as a special class within the larger group of immigrants, and a specialized formal procedure for determining whether a claimant was a refugee was introduced.

3. Are Soviet Jew and Indochinese refugees subject to these procedures?

No. Eastern European emigres and those fleeing from Indochina are not subject to these procedures.

4. Why not? Aren't these people refugees?

Yes. But no determination has to be made whether they are refugees in accordance with the Geneva Convention on Refugees, that is, whether they have a well-founded fear of persecution because of their race, religion, political beliefs, etc.

5. Then why are they called refugees?

They are *humanitarian* rather than *Convention* refugees; in fact, in Canada legally they are not called refugees even if we refer to them as refugees in ordinary language; they are called designated class immigrants.

6. What is the difference between a Convention and a humanitarian refugee?

There are two major differences according to how the decision is made whether they can be landed immigrants in Canada and on what criteria.

Humanitarian refugees or designated class immigrants may be refugees according to the Geneva Convention. But they may not be. There is no necessity to prove that they are. They are merely a special class of immigrants whom *we select* abroad, but where we relax the criteria significantly. The government decides which groups may be selected as immigrants in accordance with relaxed criteria by designating special classes — Indochinese Refugees, self-exiled Eastern Europeans, etc. The criteria are different and they are chosen abroad.

The decision re Convention refugees is made on an individual case by case basis, and it is made in Canada in accordance with whether an individual meets the criteria of a Convention refugee.

7. How many Convention refugees and how many humanitarian refugees come to Canada each year?

Amongst the 100,000 or so immigrants who have arrived in Canada on average each year over the last five years, approximately 18,000 have been humanitarian refugees and 2,000 are Convention refugees.

8. Why is so much fuss being made over only two thousand people per year?

The answer is numbers and control. The numbers issue has two aspects. In recent years, there are many more individuals arriving here from refugee producing countries to claim refugee status; as well, there many individuals from non-refugee producing countries arriving and claiming refugee status. In both cases, Canadian officials no longer have an absolute control over who can arrive and stay in Canada even for a temporary period. Since the refugee status determination procedure was designed for hundreds rather than thousands of applicants, the long delays in processing claims up to three and even five years — have encouraged some immigration consultants and travel agents in Canada and abroad to promote the exploitation of the refugee status determination procedure as a way to get into Canada with a reasonable chance of eventually being permitted to remain.

9. Why are so many more legitimate refugee claimants coming to Canada in recent years?

That is a question requiring a complex answer. Perhaps a brief answer will do for now. First, technology; with the ease of air transportation, it is now much easier to get to Canada, which,

after all, is relatively remote from refugee producing countries. Secondly, large numbers used to go to European countries, but most of these countries have recently introduced much more restrictive measures in allowing access to a refugee claims procedure and in the procedures themselves. Thirdly, Canada in recent years has acquired a very generous reputation in its attitude towards refugees (as well as a reputation as a soft touch for illegitimate claimants).

Reforming the Refugee Status Determination Procedure

10. What precisely is wrong with the present procedure?

Many many things. Too many, in fact, to go into this simple question and answer format, because, in part, of the complexity of the system which permits so many delays and postponements and appeals and involvement of a relatively large number of decision makers. Complexity leading to long delays summarizes a whole host of problems.

Secondly, the Supreme Court, contrary to the established procedures, decided that these procedures did not meet Canadian standards of fairness, and that each refugee claimant was entitled to an oral hearing; that is, to be present and to be heard by those deciding his or her case so that the credibility of the claimant could be judged.

Thirdly, there are many problems of atmosphere and support related to the problems someone has with officials generally, and with those with whom there is no shared language or culture, who may have suffered torture and abuse.

Finally, there are problems related to ensuring that the officials making the decision have the requisite expertise and are as unbiased as possible in making their determination.

11. What steps has the government taken to change the procedures?

Aside from minor revisions in the existing system, including clearer guidelines for decision, upgrading and improvement in the quality of the Refugee Status Advisory Committee, and pilot projects of handling cases with oral hearings, the major steps have been studies — three major ones culminating in the Plaut Report of 1985 prepared by Rabbi Plaut.

Finally, in May, 1986, the Cabinet approved guidelines for the preparation of new legislation governing the status determination procedures.

12. Were those guidelines satisfactory?

Not according to the non-government organizations concerned with refugee issues.

13. What was wrong with them?

Let me first say what was right. The guidelines provide for a two person board which would hear the claim with the individual present with the right to have counsel, and a positive decision by only one member was all that was required to determine whether an individual was a refugee.

14. That sounds fair.

Yes it is. It provides for "a legislated *right* to a refugee determination before an *independent* body."

15. What's the problem then?

There are three problems: (1) access to the system; (2) the right of appeal; and (3) the provisions for ensuring that independence.

16. I don't understand. What is an access problem?

A system can be very fair, but if one cannot get into the system, it won't help many refugees. The Cabinet guidelines provide four restrictions on access:

— those recognized as refugees in countries which are signatories to the Geneva Convention and having right of admission to those countries;

- those who have exceeded the time limit for making claims after having entered or been admitted to Canada;
- those who have unsuccessfully claimed refugee status in Canada before;
- those under a removal order from Canada.

The problems are in the first two limitations.

17. **I don't see why. Why should someone recognized and given refugee status in another country then be allowed to try to get protection in Canada? Isn't that person just trying to improve his or her opportunities?**

That is true if the guideline means that the person is given refugee status and the country will protect that person. Unfortunately, there are two problems — the interpretation of the guideline for legislation, and once legislated, who will be given the power to determine whether a person should be restricted from having access to the system.

18. **I don't follow. It doesn't seem so ambiguous to me.**

That is in part the problem. Some expertise is required to interpret the guideline let alone enforce it. For example, does the guideline mean that if an individual belongs to a group, members of which *could* be recognized as refugees, the individual could not gain access to the system? There is and has been an even more restrictive interpretation — as long as the individual came from a country where he or she could have applied for refugee status, the individual would not be eligible to have access to the Canadian system. For example, Guatemalans coming from the United States could be determined by an immigration officer as not having any right to access our refugee determination procedures since the U.S. has signed the refugee convention. Ironically, such a limitation would not prevent Turks or Portuguese

from taking flights which landed them in Canada and allowed them to claim refugee status.

19. **What is the problem with giving a time limit for people to apply for refugee status once they are in Canada?**

First, some genuine refugees are loath to contact anyone in an official position. Secondly, circumstances change in countries so that, for example, when a student comes here, he would not be considered a refugee. But after he has been here several years, the regime (Iran) or its practices which for a time became less repressive, reverts to more repressive practices (Chile). Thirdly, if a bogus claim is being made, the refugee determination board with its expertise and independence should make that decision.

20. **What's the matter? Don't you trust our immigration officials?**

It is not a matter of trust. It is a matter of developed expertise, quasi-judicial training and perspective. On the last point, the immigration department officials are trained to admit people who already fit our criteria or to *select* and choose immigrants who could best adapt to Canada. This control orientation makes them ill-disposed to consider individuals who have *rights* quite independently of their jurisdiction and power. The determined opposition of the immigration department on the issue of oral hearings is a case in point.

21. **On the other issue, I thought the procedures provided for a right of appeal.**

But not on the merits of the case. Just on matters of law. On issues that could be matters of life and death, this is just not adequate.

22. **But isn't that the source of all the delays?**

Yes, in good part. But the Hawkes' model (named after Jim Hawkes, chairman of the Parliamentary Committee on Immigration) provides an appeal

system in which an individual launching a manifestly unfounded claim could be deported within three months. And that model allows for an appeal on the merits.

23. **What is a manifestly unfounded claim?**

That is a claim made by an individual who has no basis whatsoever for claiming to be a refugee; it is one made by the abusers of the system.

24. **Why not just not let such people into the country?**

Because it takes expertise to make the decision. And any system which differentiates them in advance of a hearing risks being unfair to legitimate refugees. Besides, they will be easily discouraged from coming if the system is efficient while being fair, for with a potential for only three (or even six months) in Canada, it doesn't pay for them to abuse the system. The fact is that discouragement works better than absolute prevention because it avoids the risk of endangering a genuine refugee.

25. **Well the whole thing sounds like it will cost Canadian taxpayers a lot of money.**

It may save money. If a new system is efficient, genuine claimants will get work permits rapidly and decisions on their ultimate status will be decided quickly so they can resume productive careers. At the same time bogus claimants will be discouraged from coming. The current high welfare costs will be greatly reduced. The quicker we get a system that is both fair and expeditious, the better we all will be.

Howard Adelman is Professor of Philosophy, York University and founder of the Refugee Documentation Project.

The Race Question Statistics Canada Seeks Advice

Although the 1991 Census of Population is still several years away, the information content is one of the first and most critical issues to be considered in the planning cycle which is now beginning. Statistics Canada is presently soliciting recommendations and suggestions on the content of the 1991 Census.

Recent Canadian Censuses have included five questions on ethno-cultural topics: Religion, Ethnic Origin, Citizenship, Year of Immigration and Place of Birth. Are any changes necessary to these questions? Should respondents be asked their religion? Would removing all the preprinted check-off boxes in the Ethnic Origin and Religion questions have an effect on the nature and quality of respondents' replies? Or would this increase respondent burden significantly? Should the Ethnic Origin question be reformulated? If so, how?

Recent experience suggests that there will be a strong requirement in 1991 for data on visible minorities. Is the Census an appropriate vehicle for collecting these data? If so, should respondents be asked whether they consider themselves members of a visible minority in terms of race or skin colour? Would a question on visible minorities prove too sensitive, or even offensive, for many Canadians? Should a question on visible minorities replace the current Ethnic Origin question?

In a document prepared by Statistics Canada, entitled *1991 Census Content Guidebook*, the following content opinions are presented on the question of race.

In recent years, users at all levels have expressed a need for data on racial and visible minorities in Canada. The Abella Commission on Equality in Employment articulated the need for statistical "information describing the social and economic status of minorities." In addition, *Equality Now!*, the report of the Parliamentary Special Committee on Visible Minorities in

Canadian Society, recommended that in the Census "Statistics Canada... should include the requisite additional questions to elicit accurate data on visible minorities...."

Since the Second World War, however, the question on Ethnic Origin has not been designed to gather these data. Any attempts to obtain a count of visible minorities by such users as associations of Black Canadians have yielded undercounts and inaccuracies.

In response to these needs, the category, "Black" was added as a mark-box in 1986. This addition has, nonetheless, generated some negative comment and strong resistance from respondents.

It may be that the category "Black" should be deleted in the 1991 Census, and another, more acceptable term used in its place. On the other hand, perhaps race should not be addressed in an ethnicity question, but dealt with in a separate, additional question. In any case, Statistics Canada must respond to the need that users have expressed for data on racial or visible minorities in Canada.

Options

- Include a new question on racial and visible minorities in the 1991 Census, distinct from the Ethnic Origin question. This question could be formulated to determine the racial features present in the population that have been designated as those included in the visible minorities target group. The visible minorities question could be formulated in one of two ways: respondents could be asked to self-identify the broad racial group to which they feel they belong; OR, they could be asked to identify themselves as belonging to a visible minority group, or not, along the lines of a recent Treasury Board survey. Both versions of the

question would require careful wording to ensure that race, rather than ethnicity, was the basis of response. The visible minorities question could also be a full enumeration question.

Major Beneficiaries:

- Federal government departments, such as Secretary of State, Employment and Immigration and the Treasury Board.
- Provincial government departments.
- Local and municipal governments.
- Associations of Black Canadians.
- Agencies and associations concerned with human rights.

Benefits:

- More equitable treatment of minority groups in Canadian society.
- Easier identification of visible minorities.
- Greater insight into the problems faced by visible minorities.

Costs and Drawbacks to Implementation:

- Development time, expense and complexity.
- Extensive and thorough testing would be required to assess the sensitivity of this question, respondents' comprehension of it and the quality of the responses it gathers.
- Incongruities in historical data.
- Controversy and probable respondent resistance to a racially-focused question. A negative press may also result.

This summary review of course does not do justice to the many critical issues surrounding the racial question in the Census. It is therefore incumbent upon community organizations to make their views known. The simple justification for collecting definitive data on racial origin is that such data is needed to inform policy, allocate funding and monitor programmes designed to combat racial discrimination. Programmes must rely on statistical data to identify needs and to point to where they exist, as well as to monitor the efficacy of the programmes.

Minority Broadcasting

Report of the Task Force on Broadcasting Policy

The Government Task Force on Broadcasting Policy co-chaired by Gerald Caplan and Florian Sauvageau reported in September 1986. The following brief excerpts from the 730 page report are drawn from the chapters on minority broadcasting.

Native Peoples

There are many reasons why broadcasting policy should recognize the special needs of the more than 500,000 status Indian, non-status Indian, Metis and Inuit, the Aboriginal peoples of Canada. Unlike other minorities, they have no other lands of origin in which their languages and cultures are protected.

Native people have special rights by virtue of their Aboriginal status. These rights, now enshrined in the Canadian Constitution, are a part of the laws, customs and treaties of the land. Although not fully defined, Aboriginal rights are certain to include the protection and enhancement of Native languages and culture.

Language is regarded by many Native people as the cornerstone of their culture. Some consider the protection and enhancement of their languages as an Aboriginal right.

In their submissions to the Task Force, the majority of Native communications societies suggested changing the Broadcasting Act to give indigenous languages a status equivalent to that of Canada's two official languages. Their briefs, and research conducted for the Task Force, pointed to a number of precedents in support of this request.

Aboriginal groups want to entrench Native-language services in a new Broadcasting Act in order to place Native-language broadcasting on a solid foundation. They argue that without the weight of legislation coupled with long-term fiscal commitments, Native-language broadcasting

services may not survive, despite well-intentioned federal policies and regulations.

The survival of Native identity is at stake in the language issue. The cards have been stacked against Native people for some time. Ethnologist Michael Foster estimates that only three of the 53 Aboriginal languages spoken in Canada have an excellent chance of survival; 13 are moderately endangered; and eight are on the verge of extinction.¹ Native leaders point to the proliferation of English mass media, especially television, as a major contributor to the decline. Rosemarie Kuptana, now president of the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation, underscored this concern with the following statement at a CRTC public hearing in December 1982:

"We might liken the onslaught of southern television, and the absence of Native television, to the neutron bomb. This is the bomb that kills the people but leaves the building standing. Neutron-bomb television is the kind of television that destroys the soul of a people but leaves the shell of a people walking around. The pressure, especially on our children, to join the invading culture and language... is explosively powerful."²

Native people in many parts of Canada are determined to rejuvenate their languages and cultures through broadcasting and other institutional measures. There are signs of success as Native people assume more control over their own education and social and economic programs. Entrenching

Native-language services in the Broadcasting Act would be consistent with Aboriginal rights principles and with a pluralistic philosophy that encourages the expression of Aboriginal identity. Native languages embody a part of the special cultural heritage of Canada to be protected and strengthened.

Multicultural Minorities

"It's high time Canadian broadcasting reflected the Canadian multicultural reality."³

In both public forums and briefs presented to the Task Force, cultural minority representatives noted that conventional broadcasters, both private and public, must do more to reflect the multicultural reality of Canada in their programming.

Cultural minorities do not want multicultural programming ghettoized or confined to special ethnic television and radio services. They want the multicultural mosaic of Canada reflected in both the English-language and French-language programming of mainstream, conventional broadcasters. They expect public broadcasters, the CBC in particular, to take the lead. In its brief to the Task Force, the Canadian Multicultural Council emphasized this point:

"It is our belief that the CBC should be in the forefront of promoting the equity and fairness principle central to our nation's cultural freedom in order that the development of a multicultural Canada can be truly realized."⁴

Cultural minorities were critical of the CBC for failing to mirror the multicultural dimension of Canada in programming and staffing...

The CRTC has introduced limited measures to encourage conventional broadcasters to increase multicultural programming. The Commission has also called on both conventional and ethnic broadcasters to examine the potential of television and radio sub-carrier capacity to serve cultural minorities.

Many cultural minority groups want more aggressive action, beyond the regulatory powers of the CRTC. In its presentation to the Task Force, the Canadian Ethnocultural Council, a

coalition of more than 30 national ethnic organizations, stated:

"The Broadcasting Act of 1968... does not reflect the demographic changes in Canada, and does not specifically mandate the public and private broadcasters to program for a multicultural Canadian society and to reflect a Canadian identity which is now bilingual and multicultural in nature. . . . As such, these 8 million Canadians are grossly underserved by the Canadian broadcasting system."⁵

The Canadian Ethnocultural Council would entrench the principle of multiculturalism in legislation, including legislation governing the CBC. Only in this way, it argues, will mainstream broadcasters be committed to multiculturalism.

The distinction between multiculturalism and multilingualism is important. In proposing legislative amendments, most cultural minority groups are not suggesting multilingual programming be the responsibility of mainstream broadcasters. They want conventional broadcasters like the CBC to "reflect the cultural diversity of Canada, giving practical expression to the concept of multiculturalism in a bilingual society".⁶ The Task Force concurs with this position and recommends that the Broadcasting Act should make reference to the need for programming reflecting the principle of multiculturalism in a bilingual society.

Many authorities on minorities' broadcasting see the need to shift more responsibility for multicultural services from the private sector to the public sector, at the municipal, provincial and federal levels. The Ukrainian Canadian Committee (Alberta Provincial Council) argues that the public sector should provide services, including multilingual programming, where they cannot be adequately provided by private broadcasting.

Regardless of legislative changes and other prescriptive measures, the key to the successful implementation of multiculturalism in conventional broadcasting is to win the commitment of broadcast managers to the principle of multiculturalism...

The Task Force received many briefs from cultural minorities expressing concern over stereotyping, unbalanced reporting and a lack of minority representation in mainstream broadcasting. Several groups called for increased opportunities for access in both creative and administrative capacities to avert discriminatory portrayal from within. The League for Human Rights of the B'nai Brith Canada (Eastern Division) emphasized this concern in their brief to the Task Force:

"The ethnic communities will look to prime-time television to see their cultures and life styles depicted and accepted without stereotyping. They will look to on-camera representation of their group members as confirmation of both acceptance of the group and as a source for identity-strengthening role models."

In its 1985 policy, the CRTC acknowledged that it had neither the resources nor the legislative mandate to regulate representation and depiction. It urged the industry to regulate its own conduct and referred some of the cultural minority concerns to consultative committees.

Some improvement in depiction of minorities can be achieved through education, public awareness and consultation. The Task Force recognizes the challenge faced by the proposed Committee on Cultural Diversity in Broadcasting on this issue and encourages it to work with members of the industry in developing practical measures to promote awareness and change.

The Task Force believes that one of the most practical measures in combatting ethnocultural stereotyping and ethnocentrism is to increase minority representation at all employment levels in the industry. Under new federal legislation (Bill C-62), Crown corporations such as the CBC will be required to report to Parliament each year on progress towards stated employment equity goals for certain groups including cultural minorities. We propose stronger measures that would make employment equity programs a condition of licence throughout the industry.

The Report of the Task Force on Broadcasting Policy is available in Canada through authorized bookstore agents or from the Canadian Government Publishing Centre, Supply and Services Canada, Ottawa, Ontario. K1A 0S9 for the price of \$14.50.

Footnotes

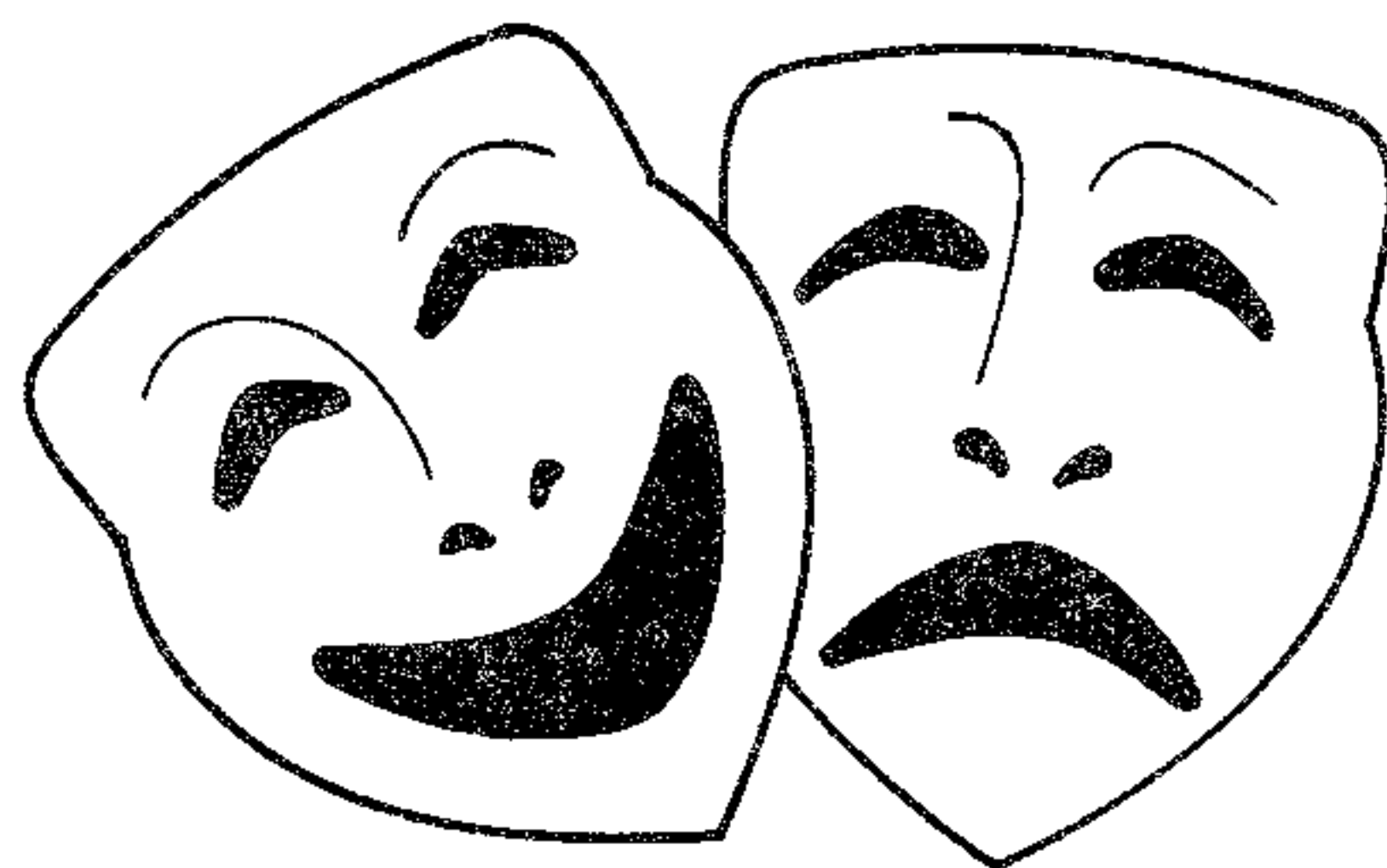
1. M. Foster, *Indigenous Languages (by Family) in Canada and Adjoining Areas: Approximate Numbers of Speakers and Chances of Survival*, chart published by the Commissioner of Official Languages (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1984).
2. Rosemarie Kuptana, *Inuit Broadcasting Corporation Position: Paper on Northern Broadcasting*, Statement made at a CRTC Public Hearing in Hull, December 1, 1982 (Ottawa: Inuit Broadcasting Corporation, 1985), p. 3.
3. Canadian Ethnocultural Council, brief submitted to the Task Force on Broadcasting Policy, Ottawa, August 1985.
4. Canadian Multiculturalism Council, brief submitted to the Task Force on Broadcasting Policy, Ottawa, August 1985, p. 2.
5. Canadian Ethnocultural Council, p.2.
6. Francis Spiller and Kim Smiley, "Multicultural Broadcasting in Canada", study prepared for the Task Force on Broadcasting Policy, Ottawa, 1986.
7. League for Human Rights of B'nai Brith (Eastern Region), Montreal, "An Ethnic Broadcasting Policy for Canada", brief submitted to the Task Force on Broadcasting Policy, Ottawa, September 1985, p. 8.

Equal Opportunities To Perform

"The communications media does not adequately reflect the cultural diversity of the country ... That's old news — bad news, but old news."

"The problem is; that may mean that qualified performers do not have equal access to jobs ... That persons of talent are denied opportunity because of accent or colour."

"The primary concern is that professional performers of colour be able to exercise their craft."



this was noted, with the observed minority group noted — i.e. Oriental.

4. The nature and length of the participant's contribution was also noted — i.e. Consumer Report, 1:30.

Theatres:

English-language Canadian Theatres were asked to cooperate with the study in December, 1985. They were asked to list their plays for the 1984-85 season, the number of roles in the plays, and to note whether any of the parts were played by performers who were members of visible minority groups. A follow-up letter was sent in July, 1986 to those who had not responded to the initial letter.

Radio:

The location managers of all CBC Radio locations were surveyed in December, 1985. They were asked to survey their producers for the type of programme produced; the number of on-microphone people employed in 1985-86; and to tally which of those persons were members of audible and/or visible minority groups. An audible minority person is defined here as one having a distinguishable non-English or non-French accent to the central Canadian ear. Nine replies were received to the survey.

Findings

The 1981 census reports that approximately one-third (33 1/3%) of all Canadians are non-British and non-French. Yet less than 3% of such

Canadians appear on the stages reported; less than 3% in commercials; and 5.5% are television principals.

Total Television Participants

Total Television Participants	=781
Visible/Audible Minority Participants	=103
Visible/Audible Minority Participants of total	=13%
Visible/Audible Minority Principals (speaking)	= 44
Principals — Visible/Audible Minority of total	=5.5%
Background Visible Minority Participants of total	=7.5%

Total Television Commercials Monitored

Total Television Commercials Monitored	=284
Total Participants	=1294
Visible/Audible Minority Participants	=32
Visible/Audible minority participants are 2.4% of the total.	

Total Theatrical Roles/Season

Total Theatrical Roles/Season	=1135
Visible/Audible Minority Performers	=132
Visible/Audible minority performers are 2.8% of the total.	

The survey results clearly indicate that a need exists for special visible minority training programmes. The regular training system does not attract or easily accept performers who are also members of visible minority groups. The numbers of visible and audible minority persons who appear in Canadian television have not been seen to increase from the 1980 Secretary of State study ("The Portrayal of Canadian Cultural Diversity on English-Language Canadian Network Television") to the present 1986 study. The noticeable absence of visible minority persons in

These are the conclusions of Dr. Rita Shelton Deverell, principal investigator of a survey on visible and audible minorities in the media undertaken by the Alliance of Canadian Cinema, Television and Radio Artists (ACTRA) released in February, 1987.

In attempting to determine the extent to which Canadian television, commercials, radio and theatre reflect the ethnic diversity of the country, as well as the extent to which visible minority group performers have the opportunity to work in these fields, the survey pursued the following methodology.

Television:

From October, 1984 until January, 1986, ACTRA monitored both Canadian networks (CBC and CTV) and local television programmes in Vancouver, Regina, Ottawa, and Montreal. Several programme types were monitored for a period of one week: local newscasts; network newscasts; children's programmes; drama; variety; and commercials. For each programme the following items were recorded:

1. The programme's name, channel, location, time, date, and length.
2. The programme's participants were tallied — i.e. Reporter Male; Expert Female; Host Female; etc.
3. If the participant was a member of an audible or visible minority group

significant communications industries strongly suggests several social and individual professional concerns.

How does a young visible minority person get an image of him/herself as an actor, T.V. anchor, etc. when visible minority performers comprise less than a 6% presence in the foreground of the Canadian communications media? Likewise, if performers who are also members of visible minority groups are only considered when the text *requires* them, then a very small number of such parts are available. What this ultimately means is that visible minority persons do not appear in English Canadian media in proportion to their numbers in the society nor do they have equal access to employment in the performing arts.

Recommendations

Given the noticeable absence of visible minority persons in significant communications industries, the report makes a number of recommendations to ACTRA to make the climate for minority participation more hospitable.

In particular, it recommends that ACTRA negotiate the strongest possible Equal Opportunities clauses in collective agreements — particularly stressing that casting sessions are *open* to qualified persons of all races, unless the script requires a race stipulation. Collective agreements might require the number of visible and audible minority performers who have been auditioned to be reported semi-annually.

Following from this, the report recommends that ACTRA and other performers' unions undertake programmes of producer education — so that the meaning of such collective agreements is understood and so that producers understand that a preconceived casting notion can result in systemic discrimination for the performer.

In responding to the study, ACTRA General Secretary Garry Neil stated: "We are militantly pursuing all existing non-discrimination clauses in our agreements. In future bargaining, we will press to turn those non-discrimination clauses into affirmative action clauses."

The Urban Alliance releases another publication:

A Bibliography on Race Relations

The Urban Alliance on Race Relations has compiled two bibliographies on race relations which provide a comprehensive reference list of periodicals as well as books on the topic. The purpose of these bibliographies is to provide an in-depth collection of up-to-date materials on the subject of race relations to the public. The set of bibliographies has been divided into two volumes: the first is a 300 page book reference list and the second is a 200 page journal reference list. The subject areas which are represented include: Education, Employment, Policing, Housing, Community Services, Mass Media and Race Relations. With over 1,500 references cited, we believe that these two documents, many of which are annotated, will be an invaluable resource to public and private institutions and agencies, especially libraries. They should also be most helpful to academics, students, professionals and volunteers, and are available for \$20 set.



If you have come to
help me

You are wasting your
time

But if you have come

because your

liberation is bound

up with mine

Then let us work

together.

Lilla Watson

An Australian
Aboriginal
woman

WINDSOR *The Struggle for Human Rights*

Les Dickirson

Prior to the formation of the Windsor Interracial Council, a grass-roots citizens' action organization, in July of 1947, there was no local body through which complaints of discrimination could be channelled for investigation or redress.

The patterns of discrimination in the City of Windsor in the late 1940's were, for the most part, indistinguishable from those found in most other Canadian communities. While discriminatory practices, in one form or another were extended to every racial, religious and ethnic group in Windsor, it was the Black community in particular which bore the brunt at every level.

In the fields of employment, housing, accommodation, services and recreation, Windsor's Black citizens were denied the opportunity of equal participation solely on the basis of race.

It was quite apparent that the Racial Discrimination Act passed by the Provincial Legislature in 1944 was totally ineffective in combatting discrimination. It was also apparent that the passing of the Racial Discrimination Act was merely window dressing designed to placate those citizens who were pointing out the inconsistency of our condemnation of Nazi Germany's racial policies while tolerating similar practices within our own society. It was hoped, no doubt, that the Racial Discrimination Act would have an educational value by virtue of its existence on paper.

However, while the Act was generally referred to as the Racial Discrimination Act of 1944, its full title was An Act to Prevent the Publication of Discriminatory Matter Referring to Race or Creed. This title, in itself,

reveals the narrowness of the Act's scope. (R.S.O. 1944, p. 231).

Furthermore, the Act was not widely publicized nor was it enforced effectively. For a number of years following the passage of this piece of legislation, beaches and privately owned resort properties in the vicinity of Windsor were still openly displaying signs which contravened the provisions of the Act. From time to time throughout the province, complaints were filed and the offending signs and notices were either removed or covered over temporarily. In one specific instance, a picket line was set up at a beach on the outskirts of Windsor to focus public attention on a sign at the entrance which read "Whites Only". The offending sign was then permanently removed by the proprietors. At the same time, a private club near Kingsville blatantly displayed a large sign reading "Gentiles Only".

Because of the obvious shortcomings of this Act, the lack of enforcement, and its failure to deal with the more serious aspects of discrimination, the Windsor Interracial Council decided that positive action should be taken to eliminate the many forms of discrimination being inflicted upon minority groups in the Windsor area.

In order to obtain a clearer picture of the situation as it existed at the time, the Windsor Interracial Council set up a Community Audit Committee to conduct a survey of the city. The areas of concern covered by the survey included employment, housing, recreation, education, accommodations, public health and public facilities. The survey was conducted, in part, by mailing questionnaires to employers, hospitals, educational institutions and

real estate brokers.

Each of the few factory personnel managers who submitted replies to the questionnaire reported that they practiced no discrimination in hiring or upgrading. Many managers, for obvious reasons, did not respond. However, the survey revealed that while 10% of Blacks in Windsor were qualified to work at better jobs, 97.8% were employed at common labour. In fact, 14% of the Black labourers were all employed in one factory. Some of the oldest and largest firms in the City of Windsor employed only whites. Those few establishments employing persons of Black or Oriental origin generally denied these workers office employment or promotions, regardless of their qualifications.

The Windsor Interracial Council, as a result of these findings, began to press for a Fair Employment Practices Act. In urging the passage of legislation which would eliminate discrimination in the hiring, employment and promotion of minority group members, the Windsor Interracial Council used as its model the Fair Employment Practices Act which had already been enacted by the New York State Legislature some three years earlier.

Housing, Hotels and Restaurants

The Community Audit Committee which conducted part of its survey through direct personal contact, found that the patterns of discrimination in housing and accommodations were less subtle than those practiced by employers. It was also learned that landlords, managers and proprietors in these areas were less reluctant to admit that they *did*, in fact, discriminate against minority groups, particularly Blacks.

In its final report, the Community Audit Committee stated that:

"Practically all real estate agencies, including the Corporation of the City of Windsor, recognize restrictive covenants with respect to race, creed and national origin, and practice segregation accordingly in renting, selling and servicing property." (*How Does Our Town Add Up?*, p. 4.)

In 1950, the Legislature of the Province of Ontario enacted an amendment to the Conveyancing and Law of Property Act which declared null and void all restrictive covenants in the sale of land. However, the provisions of this Act applied only to those covenants "made after this section comes into force." The amendment in its entirety stated:

"Every covenant made after this section comes into force which but for this section would be annexed to and run with land and which restricts the sale, ownership, occupation or use of land because of the race, creed, colour, nationality, ancestry or place of origin shall be void and of no effect." (*Statutes of the Province of Ontario*, 1951, pp. 170-171).

Hotels, restaurants and recreation centres in Windsor also practiced discrimination quite openly. Proprietors, when personally interviewed by members of the Audit Committee, were quite candid in expressing the reasons for their policies. For the most part, they denied any personal prejudice against Blacks but claimed that "the public" would withdraw their patronage if Blacks were served or accommodated. Some even expressed the fear that if they changed their policies their premises would be "swamped by Blacks from Detroit."

In view of the openness of discrimination in Windsor's hotels, taverns and restaurants, it was decided by the Windsor Council on Group Relations (which had evolved from and replaced the Windsor Interracial Council) that a series of test cases should be run on these establishments for the purpose of compiling evidence. Accordingly, small groups of racially mixed couples were periodically sent to various establishments around the City of Windsor seeking service as patrons.

It soon became apparent that the hotel proprietors had embarked upon a policy of "holding the line" and the racially mixed teams were consistently refused service.

The Windsor Council on Group Relations (WCGR) continued its

survey of these establishments by repeated visits, sit-ins, and stand-ins. These tactics enabled the WCGR to compile considerable evidence with which the organization could substantiate its claim that discrimination was the rule and not the exception in the vast majority of Windsor's hotels and restaurants.

Because restaurants were licenced by the City of Windsor, complaints of discrimination were filed with the Windsor Police Department. These complaints were then brought to the attention of the proprietors when their annual applications for licence renewals were submitted. In one specific instance, this tactic resulted in a complete reversal of policy by one of Windsor's leading restaurants.

The information which the WCGR had compiled pertaining to discriminatory practices in hotels and taverns was sent to all local members of Provincial Parliament and to the Honourable Leslie M. Frost, then Premier of the Province of Ontario. A copy was also sent to the Liquor Control Board of Ontario with the request that positive steps be taken to curtail all discrimination in provincially licenced establishments.

As a result of these representations, the L.C.B.O. dispatched to Windsor the Assistant Inspector of Hotels for the Province of Ontario, Mr. Bushell, to assess the situation. Mr. Bushell conferred briefly with three members of the WCGR (including the writer) and then joined them in an impromptu tour of a number of Windsor's hotels and taverns.

In the presence of Mr. Bushell, the WCGR committee met with some of the hotel owners and managers and recited their grievances against each of the establishments and received in reply the same rationalizations and excuses as before. However, at this point, some of the proprietors did say that "if everybody else would serve Blacks," or "if it were the law," they would be prepared to comply. Some expressed a reluctance to being the only outlet serving Blacks for fear of losing their regular clientele. Many of these establishments refused to acknowledge any inconsistency in the

fact that, at the same time, they provided Black entertainers for their patrons.

At the conclusion of his brief tour (which he described as "a listening brief"), Mr. Bushell told the WCGR committee that they should keep up their educational program and that when enough people were educated to the committee's point of view the problem would be solved! He stated quite frankly that he didn't see further legislation as the solution to these problems — just more education.

The WCGR then initiated a stepped-up campaign of stand-ins and sit-ins coupled with more publicity on the local scene which eventually resulted in breaking down discrimination in a number of leading hotels and restaurants in Windsor. However, despite some improvements, complaints of refusal of service continued to be brought to the attention of the WCGR. It soon became apparent that some establishments were refusing service to Blacks when the management felt certain beyond any doubt that they were not local residents.

Accommodation and Services

In 1954, the Province of Ontario provided leadership for all other provinces in Canada with the enactment of the Fair Accommodation Practices Act. The provisions of this Act, which have since been incorporated into the Ontario Human Rights Code, were quite specific. The Act provided that no one could be denied accommodation, services or facilities, or be discriminated against with regard to quality of service, in any place to which the public is customarily admitted because of his or her race, creed, colour, nationality, ancestry or place of origin.

While this Act was generally accepted by the operators of hotels, taverns and motels, there were still exceptions. Some golf courses and fraternal organizations continued to bar Blacks and Jews. Such organizations were exempted from the provisions of the Ontario Human Rights Code under Part I, Section 4 (4) (b) which stated, in part, that the Code did not apply to the following:

"... an exclusively religious, philanthropic, educational, fraternal or social organization that is not operated for private profit." (The Ontario Human Rights Code, Statutes of Ontario, 1961-62).

While the language in the present Code has been altered, the intent remains the same and one particular fraternal organization in Windsor still practices discrimination by excluding visible minorities from membership or total participation.

It was not until the establishment of the Ontario Human Rights Commission in 1961 which replaced the Ontario Anti-Discrimination Commission of 1958, that more positive steps were taken to combat discrimination. Of even greater significance was the enactment of the Ontario Human Rights Code of 1962 which represented a consolidation into one law of all the earlier human rights statutes enacted by the Province of Ontario since 1944.

In housing and accommodation, the shifting of blame often follows a pattern similar to that employed by hotel and restaurant managers. The apartment manager will disclaim any prejudice on his part but will refuse to rent or lease to Blacks or Orientals because he "thinks" that either the apartment owner or some of the tenants might object. The apartment owner, on the other hand, may claim that his manager acted independently.

When the first cases of discrimination in housing in Windsor were brought before boards of inquiry and the owners were found to be guilty, they were required to fulfill a number of conditions of settlement. The owner of the property was required to present a personal letter of apology to the aggrieved party with the promise of accommodation when the next vacancy became available. The Commission also requested a statement from the guilty party to the effect that the Ontario Human Rights Code would be observed in future and that a copy of the Code would be prominently displayed on the premises.

In more recent cases, however, the boards of inquiry have imposed monetary penalties apart from the

statutory fine. Under existing legislation, a board of inquiry may "direct the (guilty) party to make restitution, including monetary compensation, for loss arising out of the infringement" and "monetary compensation may include an award, not exceeding \$10,000 for mental anguish." (Human Rights Code, 1981).

Imported Discrimination

Discrimination against Blacks in employment as revealed by the Community Audit Committee of the Windsor Council on Group Relations appears to have been imported from the United States. With very minor exceptions, the vast majority of manufacturing industries in the Windsor area at the time were branch plants and wholly owned subsidiaries of parent firms in the United States. These Canadian branch plants in the automotive, drug and varied light manufacturing industries were required to implement the discriminatory hiring policies dictated by their home offices. Even into the 1960's, some long-established Windsor manufacturers persisted in maintaining all white staffs in their offices and plants. In those instances where a change in policy was effected, it was not necessarily due to the Ontario Human Rights Code. Where a parent plant in the United States was confronted by state laws prohibiting racial discrimination in employment or where the employer decided to co-operate by becoming an "Equal Opportunity Employer", the change in policy was sometimes, though not always, reflected in the Canadian subsidiary.

Other employers, however, despite the enactment of the Ontario Human Rights Code, continued to practice discrimination in hiring until they were directly challenged when formal complaints were filed against them through the Ontario Human Rights Commission. It is also quite apparent that some employers resorted to the semi-protective device known as "tokenism" whereby one or two members of a visible minority group are hired for purposes of window-dressing. At this point, no further

hiring of minority group members takes place.

In 1968, the provincially appointed Windsor Advisory Committee on Employment held its first meeting. This Committee, which held about sixteen meetings in all, sent letters to about one hundred ethnic organizations in Windsor inviting them to submit briefs. In their briefs, the various groups were requested to present their views on the employment situation in Windsor as it affected them. Only five written briefs were submitted and, all told, eight ethnic organizations appeared before the Advisory Committee on Employment.

Of the five written briefs submitted to the Committee, two were presented by Black groups represented by the Guardian Club and the First Baptist Church of Windsor. The brief from the First Baptist Church stressed the difficulties encountered by Black youths when they attempt to enter the skilled trades. This brief pointed up the problem in these words:

"There are very few Blacks who are skilled tradesmen in the area. In order to become a skilled tradesman in the construction field and/or the industrial field, one must serve an apprenticeship program. Our Black youth have never been totally accepted into the apprenticeship program in any trade. Consequently, we have few skilled tradesmen in our city. Since so many of our older men have been refused opportunities to enter the skilled trades area, the incentive for our young to enter apprenticeship programs has been destroyed."

The brief submitted by the Guardian Club also touched on the problem of Black youth in Windsor. As a result of their own investigations they reported that:

"While over 2% of the total population of Windsor is enrolled in post-secondary institutions, only 1.5% of the Black population is enrolled at the secondary school level. Only 0.3% of the Black population (of about 3,000) is enrolled in all post-secondary education." (Report of the Windsor Advisory Committee on Employment, 1969).

The underlying causes for the self-perpetuating patterns of rejection followed by attitudes of futility and frustration on the part of young Blacks clearly stems directly from racial discrimination.

With respect to the Windsor Interracial Council and its successor, the Windsor Council on Group Relations, it must be pointed out that this group of concerned citizens met twice monthly to work voluntarily and tirelessly to combat racism and discrimination in the City of Windsor. In spite of the absence of effective legislation and even negative reports in the local press, they were never deterred from their objective.

Tribute must also be paid to Lyle E. Talbot, an active member of Local 200 U.A.W., who served as President of both groups throughout those trying times. It must also be remembered that the financial support for projects and general expenses of these organizations came primarily from Locals 200 and 195 of the U.A.W.

When the first regional office in the Province of Ontario for the Ontario Human Rights Commission was opened in Windsor, it was stated by the Director of the Commission at the time that this was due to the presence in the community of a long-standing and active group of citizens dedicated to the elimination of discrimination in the City of Windsor.

Les Dickirson is Chairperson of the Human Rights Committee, Local 195, U.A.W.

HAMILTON

Working Together Toward Ethnic/Racial Harmony

The Mayor's Race Relations Conference, held at the Hamilton Convention Centre on December 12, 1986 with over 350 attendees, was sponsored by the Mayor's Race Relations Committee for the City of Hamilton.

The purpose of this Conference was to promote a positive ethnic/race relations climate in the workplace, the school and the community. It encouraged participants to commit themselves to good community relations and to initiate future programs for full human rights, equal opportunity and community goodwill. Throughout the day-long Conference, the attempt was made to make the participants aware of the many manifestations of prejudice and discrimination; to develop an appreciation for the points of view of people different from themselves and to begin to develop positive methods for combatting prejudice and discrimination.

Beginning with Dr. Harish Jain's breakfast talk on "Race Relations and Industry" and until Mayor Robert Morrow's closing remarks, these themes were reinforced throughout the Conference. Dr. Jain demonstrated that visible minorities are still being both consciously and unconsciously discriminated against in the workplace. There is a continued need for the community to encourage changes in the areas of company recruitment policies, hiring criteria and other systemic discrimination practices. Unconscious discrimination through systemic policies is one of the most serious forms because people are often not aware that it exists.

Conference Chairperson Steve Barrs began proceedings at the Convention Centre by reflecting how we must examine our own beliefs in relation to others in order to make us

better able to deal with racism. Professor Jamshed Mavalwala followed with a humorous and interesting speech that set the tone for the morning workshops by offering what was to become a recurring educational message. It is our lack of knowledge of others that often leads to prejudice. We must use education to overcome this barrier. As individuals, we must develop empathy for others and the understanding that all people are striving towards goals much in the same way as ourselves. Treat others as you'd like to be treated — as an individual.

At a global level we form our perceptions of the world based upon our acquired knowledge. The information which we receive is often incomplete and thus paints an unrealistic picture of world affairs. For example, we hear of Africa being described as the "dark continent" when in fact it receives the most hours of sunlight of any country in the world. We have knowledge that we don't use, compassion which we don't show and information which we don't read.

These deficiencies become evident when examining Canadian immigration policies. Five Immigration Acts have been legislated. All were created in a frenzy, poorly thought out, restrictive and non-humanitarian. As the "browning of the west" continues, policies must be developed which are proactive not reactive.

Current policies reflect a Canadian attitude which is often misconceived and ill informed. Dr. Mavalwala illus-

trated this situation by observing that Canadians think of Canada in terms of being a wealthy nation and therefore desire immigration policies which safeguard this wealth. Yet in terms of wealth we're ranked 30th in the world. As a western industrial nation we place 14th, behind countries such as India (No.7) whom we regard as poor and backward. These proud attitudes reflect a complacency in the country. It must be overcome in order to come to grips with our changing society.

Within Canada other changes are evolving which will test our preconceived notions of reality. As the average age of Canadians shifts upwards, a strain on pension funds will be created. When young people reach retirement age these funds may be dried up. Young workers are needed to safeguard these expected societal benefits. Immigration has a role to play here.

At the local level we see changes all around us. We notice the influx of immigrants and stereotype them. Names we use such as black, white and paki reinforce these stereotypes. An US-THEM dichotomy is established. It's not until we meet someone who is a visible minority and get to know them personally that we are able to separate them from the rest of their group and truly identify that person as an individual.

Dr. Mavalwala insisted that we must be willing to learn from others. Too often at the cross cultural level we want to do things our way and not "theirs" because we think ours is the best. When comparing our nation to the rest of the world, we hold up our best artists, painters and writers while negating the talents of others. If we are to look at our highest common denominators then we should be willing to do the same for others.

Following this keynote address, Conference participants were then split into six morning workshops which allowed for a more personal examination of specific issues complete with question and answer periods. In the workshop entitled "Hate Literature In Canada" (No. 2), Constable Mark Mendelson of the Toronto Police Force's Ethnic Relations Unit explained

the dangers of hate literature and how extremists are able to bring their messages to the public. Since they tend to prey upon the ignorance in people, he stressed that we need to educate people so that they are better prepared to deal with hate promoters. Workshop No. 3 ("A History Of Racism In Canada"), examined racist incidents throughout Canadian history. It showed that not only should we redress our past mistakes but also ensure that we don't repeat any wrongful measures in the future.

Other morning workshops increased participants' awareness in respect to race relations by:

- showing how the television media is trying to promote racial harmony through additional ethnic programming;
- identifying systemic discrimination as continuing to exist in the workplace and that it must be resolved on an ongoing basis;
- exploring various sections of the Charter of Rights showing how it is a constitutional statement which sets precedents based upon its rulings. Other codes exist as well and each Canadian should become familiar with his or her rights so that violations can be rectified.

The luncheon address reaffirmed the government's support for race relations programs. Dr. Lily Munro, Minister of Citizenship and Culture, stressed the need for Conferences such as this to complement the legislative policies of the government. Affirmative Action programs, although not popular with all citizens, will create equality for all people in the long run. Rabbi Gunther Plaut continued the midday talk with his look at "Underground Racism". Although overt discrimination is no longer tolerated in our society, there still exist glaring examples of racist behaviour. He cited the recent controversy involving 155 Tamils who received delays in their attempted entry into Canada as a racist incident. Rabbi Plaut reaffirmed his strong belief in Canada as a multicultural nation and attended the Conference in support of its ideas and goals.

The Conference participants went

off to the afternoon workshops further imbued with the spirit of tolerance and understanding. The afternoon sessions also represented a cross-section of racial issues.

"Ethnic/Racial Jokes And Slurs" was a workshop that tried to demonstrate what it's like to be the victim of a racial joke. The discussion, which was chaired by Mr. Victor Abraham, emphasized how we must sensitize ourselves to those who bear the brunt of slurs. This relates back to Professor Mavalwala's morning talk that remarked how we must understand people on an individual, non-stereotypical basis; accept them as we would want to be accepted ourselves. In the workplace, corrective measures must be taken immediately to discipline any racially motivated comments — otherwise they will be maintained and reinforced through such behaviour.

Workshop No. 11 was a multifaceted approach to examining the role of the school system in fostering ethnic/racial understanding. The discussion first drew attention to the fact that the province has formed a committee to develop a race relations policy for educational institutions. Measures such as incorporating more professional development days that look specifically at race relations into the school year and encouraging the entry of minorities into the system were seen as methods of allowing the vitality and richness of our multicultural society to be an inspiration to us all. These issues must be addressed at the school level because children are the future of this varied society.

In his closing remarks, Ontario Human Rights Commissioner Dan McIntyre asked, "Although we have a Cabinet Committee on Race Relations, a Human Rights Commissioner and a Conference such as this, where do we go from here? There must be a follow up to the Conference or else it is limited in terms of its usefulness. We must follow up in our schools (education), in our laws (employment equity), and in our communities (neighbourhood programs)."

Peter D. Sianchuk

VANCOUVER

One Hundred Years of Race Relations

"At First A Dream. One Hundred Years of Race Relations in Vancouver"

Race Relations Ad-Hoc Committee Vancouver, British Columbia, 1986

This small booklet was produced to celebrate Vancouver's 100th anniversary as a multiracial city comprised of various minority groups who have all contributed to its development and history.

Although many ethnic white minorities have also played a role in Vancouver's growth process, the focus here is on those who are "visibly different". *At First A Dream* follows the general consensus that visible minorities merit special concern in the study of race relations. In essence, those who are 'visibly different' from the surrounding culture face the greatest challenges in their relationships with that culture in terms of opportunities in employment and educational advancement, housing and personal amenities, as well as respect and acceptance.

What follows out of this basic premise is a peripheral account of Vancouver's nine visible minority communities — Native people, Chinese, Japanese, Blacks, South Asians, Filipinos, Koreans, Latin Americans and Vietnamese — and some of their trials and triumphs. Space constraints aside, the booklet does an admirable job of synthesizing essential information on the history of minority groups in Vancouver without sugar coating the racial incidents which are also part of the city's background. It is refreshing to see the ugly issue of racism addressed in such a direct and matter-of-fact way. While the obvious emphasis is on the positive

— community accomplishment and present-day attainments — it would have been farcical for the authors to omit mentioning the anti-minority sentiment which has pervaded the province over the years.

From its earliest inception, Vancouver (or "Saltwater City" as the Chinese called it) has been home to many who did not belong to the Anglo-Saxon majority. When the city was incorporated in May 1886, there were already Native Indians, Chinese, Japanese, Blacks and Hawaiians working in local mills, canneries and other industries. However, as large-scale immigration began to occur in answer to a demand for labourers to work on the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway, hostility against newcomers began to increase.

White supremacist thought governed the early 1900's as evidenced by such events as the 1914 "Komagata Maru incident". For two months, 376 Sikh refugees remained aboard a Japanese steamer in Vancouver's harbour seeking entry into Canada in defiance of Canadian immigration authorities. The ship was eventually escorted to the open sea by military force. A spirit of "anti-Orientalism" dominated the B.C. legislature between 1890 and 1924, years which saw a \$500 head tax levelled at Chinese immigrants and culminated in a 1907 riot in Chinatown. Perhaps the most virulent indication of the province's increasingly racist attitude occurred with the 1942 evacuation of over 21,000 Japanese Canadians from the coast of B.C., an action which uprooted families, destroyed business and changed the course of innumerable lives. It was only in 1947 that the legislature allowed Canadians of South Asian, Chinese and Japanese descent to vote for the first time. Shockingly, Native people could not vote in federal elections until 1960.

However, interwoven among the harsh realities of discrimination are the stories which reveal the determination of these nine minority groups to succeed in spite of the odds against them. In addition to a summarized view of each group's history, the booklet highlights the accomplishments of past and present community figures, a device which serves to salute as well as to create positive role models.

One of these earliest figures was August Jack Khatsalanough, hereditary chief of the Coast Salish Indians and grandson of the Native chief after whom the neighbourhood of Kitsilano is named. In 1932, Khatsalanough befriended Major James Skitt Matthews, the city's first archivist, and the two men set out on long walking tours of Vancouver. According to Khatsalanough, the coastal city was once the domain of B.C.'s first people — the Salish, who had their own names for Vancouver and a number of small villages which thrived along the beach. One of these was known as Whoi Whoi, a huge village which flourished for hundreds of years as a centre of Salish life and culture. However, during the same year that Vancouver became a city, the smallpox contagion which had decimated so many Native villages struck Whoi Whoi which was abandoned by order of the local white officials.

Before the turn of the century, the provincial government segregated Vancouver's Native people into three "bands" which were given a number of small reserves. Of the present day Greater Vancouver bands — the Musqueam, Squamish and Burrard — the Musqueam occupy the only reserve in the city, and are more or less self-governing, having created a number of programs designed to provide social services, job training and community health initiatives.

Ultimately, one doesn't have to live in or be familiar with Vancouver in order to appreciate the comprehensive package of photographs, illustrations and historical facts offered here which turn *At First A Dream* into a wonderful collection of realities.

Michèle DuCharme

Stephen Lewis

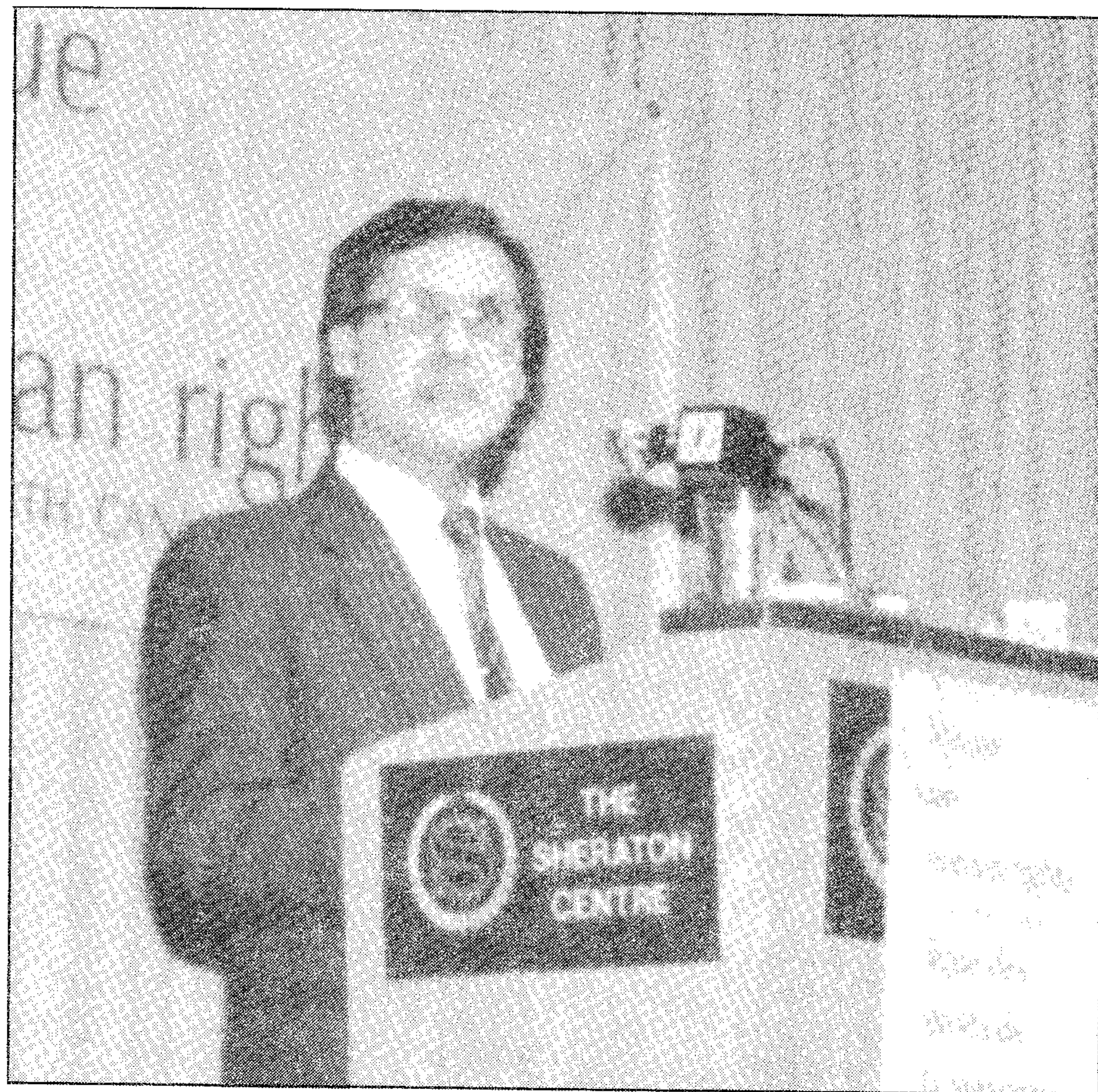
Stephen Lewis, Canada's Ambassador to the United Nations, received yet another accolade for his longstanding involvement and commitment to human rights at the 12th Annual Media Human Rights Awards. The gala awards ceremony, sponsored by the League for Human Rights of B'nai Brith Canada took place on December 8, 1986, at the Sheraton Centre Hotel in Toronto.

According to Jacques Hadida, co-chairperson of the evening, "The League for Human Rights is particularly proud of this event, as it represents the only organizational recognition of the role and influence of the Canadian media in alerting and sensitizing the public with regard to the nature and value of human rights."

Following the presentations to the major award winners in the radio, press and television categories, Dr. Daniel Hill, Ombudsman of the Province of Ontario, and Phillip A. Leon, National Chairman of the League for Human Rights of B'nai Brith Canada, presented Mr. Lewis with a Special Human Rights Award after which Mr. Lewis gave the keynote address.

A quick overview of some of Mr. Lewis' major accomplishments clearly indicates why he was chosen as this year's recipient of the Special Human Rights Award. Stephen Lewis was born in Ottawa on November 11, 1937. He received his post-secondary education at the Universities of Toronto and British Columbia. After leaving university, he spent two years teaching and travelling in Africa. On his return to Canada, he became the first New Democratic Party (NDP) Director of Organization.

In 1963, at the age of 25, Mr. Lewis was elected to the riding of Scarborough West, becoming one of the youngest members ever to sit in the Ontario Legislature. He was re-elected



on four successive occasions and, in 1970, he became provincial leader of the NDP.

With Mr. Lewis as Leader, the NDP became the Official Opposition in the Ontario Legislature after the 1975 election. He stepped down from the leadership some two years later and resigned his seat in November, 1978.

In 1979, Stephen Lewis received an honorary degree, Doctor of Laws, from McMaster University, in 1985 from York and Concordia Universities, and in 1986 from the University of New Brunswick and the University of Saskatchewan. In 1981, Mr. Lewis was made a Fellow of Ryerson Polytechnical Institute "in recognition of outstanding work in the development of public policy". In 1982, he won the Gordon Sinclair ACTRA Award for "outspoken opinion and integrity" in broadcasting. In 1983, his CBC radio documentaries on the Holocaust Theme in Literature and Film won a

special Human Rights award, and were subsequently published in book form.

Until his nomination as Ambassador and Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations in New York on October 5, 1984, he was a noted radio and television commentator on issues of public concern and became a prominent arbitrator in the labour relations field.

In May of 1986, during the U.N. Special Session on Africa, Stephen Lewis chaired the Committee which drafted the 5-year U.N. Programme for African Economic Recovery. In September of 1986, the Secretary-General of the United Nations appointed Mr. Lewis as his Special Advisor on Africa to aid in "the mobilization of the international community".

Stephen Lewis is married to Michele Landsberg, author and Globe and Mail columnist and is the father of three children.

Aboriginal Peoples' Race Relations Conference

Michèle DuCharme

Windsor, Ontario was the site of a unique event on December 12-13, 1986 - the Aboriginal Peoples' Race Relations Conference. Hosted by the Can-Am Indian Friendship Centre and the Race Relations Division of the Ontario Human Rights Commission (Windsor), the two day session attracted over 100 Native and non-Native participants from across the province and was exemplary in terms of its approach. For perhaps the first time in Canada, the focus of discussion was on Native people and race relations, a topic of vital importance and significance in past, present and future Aboriginal life, but one that is seldom directly addressed.

The conference was organized with the following objectives in mind:

- to raise the level of awareness and education regarding race relations, discrimination, and other human rights issues as they affect Aboriginal people;
- to inform the participants of existing human rights policies that affect the needs of Aboriginal people;
- to present a forum for learning, discussing and planning effective strategies to combat discrimination and to promote race relations.

The date of the conference was symbolic in that it also commemorated the 38th anniversary of the signing of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the United Nations.

Following a welcoming reception held the night before, the conference got underway with a plenary session comprised of four Aboriginal speakers: John Mohawk (Seneca Nation), Fred Plain (Chippewa), Harry LaForme (Mississauga) and Donna Phillips (Oneida Nation).

Mohawk, a professor of Native American Studies at the University of Buffalo, delivered a comprehensive, historical overview on the early origins of race thinking. According to him, biology and culture are the focal points of racism as evidenced by the actions of the Spanish conquistadors who "discovered" the Americas and the "Indians" who lived there. Confronted unexpectedly with a people whose language, appearance and culture were dissimilar from their own, the visitors determined that since the inhabitants were obviously not Spanish, they must be biologically inferior and therefore deserved to be treated as sub-humans.

Although the basic abuses associated with this colonialist mentality have been rejected for the most part, Mohawk suggested that Native people in Canada and the U.S. are still not treated as real human beings. Denied the right to land titles, group existence and the power to take responsibility for their own lives, Mohawk stated that "...Indians who do act as a group are doing so with a collective sense of powerlessness", due to a phenomenon he calls "ethnostress". He expanded upon this theory in one of the afternoon workshops entitled "Cultural Identity Issues in an Urban Environment". According to Mohawk, culture is a place where one feels comfortable. Native people in particular have a lengthy history of being blocked from living their lives in the Native way, a condition which results in ethnostress, broadly defined as the collective stress minority groups feel trying to live in the dominant culture.

However, he feels that Native people have a far greater need than immigrants for a recognition of their

rights. "Unlike Native people, immigrants can become self-actualized. Immigrants have not had (to contend with) generations of negative messages. For Native people, the powerful, consistent message is that there is no reason for them to exist in Canadian society."

Mohawk ended his presentation on a cautionary note with these words: "Racism is a crippling disease because it disempowers. The process that does that leads to a poorer Canada for all."

Fred Plain, spokesperson for inter-governmental affairs for the Nishnawbe-Aski Nation, also addressed the issue of Aboriginal rights and how it means different things to Natives and non-Natives. He began by relaying an incident which occurred during the days of the Trudeau government over the issue of self-government. The former prime minister advised a representative group of Native people that if they wanted to convince the Canadian public of their separate identity, they should "put on the buckskin" and let the rest of society "see" their culture.

However, as Plain pointed out, "Aboriginal rights is not what you wear and not what you look like. It is not a display of beautiful feather headdresses... What it means is the right, for any people, to develop themselves and to establish their own systems and determine what their futures shall be."

For him, the root cause of racism begins with xenophobia, an attitude which still prevails in the government and at large today. "They reject self-government because of a fear of the unknown. They want details before they consider entrenching it... Yet if we are different, it is because we were here before the mosaic started. The rest (of Canada) can find their ancestors; Indians cannot. We have no memory of an existence in any other land. What we want is to seek out our own happiness through our own efforts."

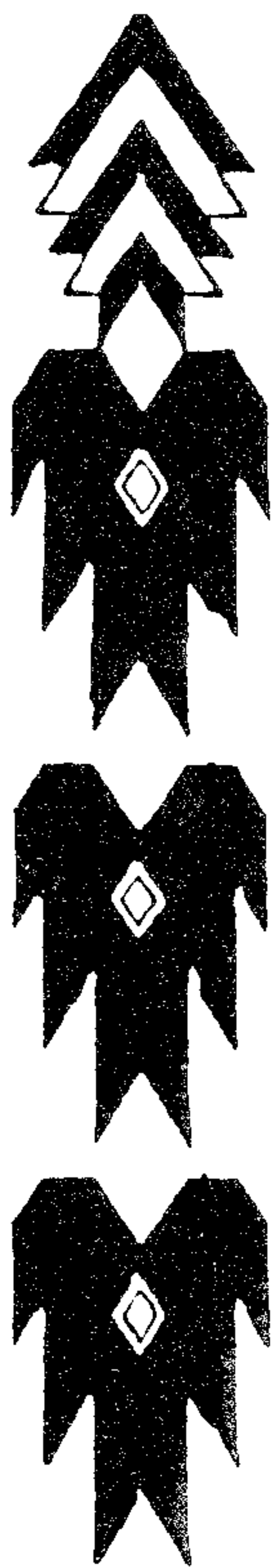
Harry LaForme, a lawyer specializing in Native concerns and Donna Phillips, past president of the Ontario Native Women's Association, also spoke during the morning session on treaty rights and on Native women's

rights respectively.

Following a luncheon, Gordon Peters, Ontario Regional Chief for the Assembly of First Nations, gave the keynote speech in which he reiterated that the time has come for Native people to determine their own future.

Bruce Elijah of the Oneida Nation set the tone for the afternoon with a moving and enlightening discussion of Native spirituality and the need to rediscover Native roots as well as to reaffirm the responsibility to the natural world. The participants then spent the remainder of the time in workshop sessions.

The conference provided a long overdue look at the racist attitudes and actions which have been levelled at Native people in Canada and the United States over time and has opened the door for future dialogue on this critical issue. In fact, the conference proved so successful that there is talk of making it an annual event, extending it to three days in 1987 and widening the focus to cover national concerns.



The Native Economy

Changing The Patron-Client Relationship

"Towards a Framework for Native Economic Development Policies and Programs in Ontario". Ontario Native Affairs Directorate, Government of Ontario, February 1987.

"Task Force on Indian Economic Development". Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, June 1986.

"Indians and Government leaders alike have spoken frequently on how intertwined self-government is with economic development... While Indian economic development has received much attention over the years, it has been given the status of low man on the totem pole amongst the Department's (INAC) array of programs to assist Indian people."

Lester Lafond
DC Financial Corporation

"Without a great improvement in our economic development, self-government is a meaningless phrase."

Chief Gabriel Gopher
North Battleford District
Chiefs

These two quotations serve as the opening and closing statements of the report of the Task Force on Indian Economic Development to the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC). The two reports cited above represent a rather tardy but tentative first step on the part of the Canadian and Ontario Governments to address the appalling economic circumstances under which the majority of Native people live in this country. Both reports suggest that the quest for self-government should be supported within the larger context of developing a capacity within Indian

communities for ongoing economic growth, viability, self-reliance and independence.

The terms of reference for both studies were almost identical — to prepare a data base on the state of Indian economic development, examine the issues and problems, and indicate what role the public sector might play in contributing to greater success in this field in the future.

**"If you're not counted,
you don't count"**

The major source of data for both studies was the 1981 Census of Canada. And while indeed this may be "the most comprehensive and statistically reliable set of data ever available in Canada on the economic conditions and circumstances of status Indians, non-status Indians, Metis and Inuit", even Statistics Canada itself acknowledges "the data that are available cover only a portion of the total Native population ... the non-status and off-reserve Indian population have, in most cases, been lost."

An indication of how many have been "lost" is the 13,495 figure given by the 1981 Census for the Native population of Toronto. The most conservative of community estimates is at least three times this figure.

In Winnipeg, the 1981 Census identifies 13,165 Native residents. A number of authoritative sources suggested that the Native population of Winnipeg in 1976 was anywhere between forty to sixty thousand. With the continuing high birth rate and urban migration of Native peoples, it has been suggested that Winnipeg's Native population is now closer to a hundred thousand.

The wide divergence in these figures indicates that to depend solely on Census data as the basis for the

allocation of resources and policy and programme development would be irresponsible in the extreme.

As the basis for the analysis of the extent of problems, the results are clearly suspect in that they would tend to grossly underestimate the true picture.

Our knowledge of the most basic facts — the population and location of Native peoples in Canada — is in fact very far from complete, and the statistical foundation upon which to assess Native economic development is — to put it politely — fragile indeed.

Few Indian-owned Businesses

Notwithstanding the above limitations, the findings of the two studies nevertheless paint a very dismal picture. The Ontario study identified a total of 1,144 Indian-owned businesses employing a total of 2,500 people. The federal study, in confirming somewhat the same size and level of business activity at the national level, found that on-reserve, Indian business to population ratio is about 1:100 compared to a national ratio of 1:30. In addition, Indian enterprises suffer from a lower business formation rate, lower business growth rate, and a higher failure rate. The fragile state of this small number of what are essentially micro-businesses, suggests that Indian-owned enterprise contributes little at the moment to overcoming what is essentially a welfare economy. Indians do not share equally in Canada's wealth, and present economic activity clearly indicates the perpetuation of an economically dispossessed Indian population.

Government as Guardian or Mentor?

"Towards a Framework for Native Economic Development Policies and Programs in Ontario" is a useful gathering of the present level of knowledge on the state of Native economic development — flawed and incomplete as it may be. The very title of the report is perhaps symptomatic however, of the disappointing lack of specificity in its conclusions. The chapters on the socio-economic and business profile, the summary assess-

ment of existing business opportunities, the identified constraints hindering Indian enterprises, and the critical appraisal of 130 identified federal and provincial economic development programmes are all interesting reading. Unfortunately, the connections are not developed as clearly and as fully as they could have been, and as a consequence the conclusions and 'proposed framework for government support' dissipate into a collection of general recommendations and a rather wishy-washy, self-evident set of principles. The urgency in addressing the appalling economic circumstances of the Indian population in Ontario and the massive indictment of public sector programmes in failing so totally to come to grips with the underlying causes of Indian economic underdevelopment seem to be smothered in politically more palatable bureaucratese.

The Federal Task Force report on the other hand, is certainly more concise and directive. But while both reports emphasize the critical importance of development at the community level, they still have failed to present in any comprehensive fashion the technologies of local economic development. The primary determinant of Indian poverty is lack of economic opportunity in their communities. The centre for the Native employment problem exists in the communities, and this is where the effort must be put to solve the problem. Governments in Canada do not have a strong track record of success in stimulating economic development at the local level, and neither of these studies provide much indication as to how they can overcome this failure.

Very small businesses (i.e. micro-businesses employing one to five persons) are all but ignored by existing public sector economic development programs. Yet in many Indian communities the existence of these businesses can spell the difference between self-sufficiency and welfare. Precedents suggest that even a little attention can have dramatic results. While public sector economic development programs face virtually insur-

mountable difficulties in attempting to help these micro-businesses, the task is somewhat more manageable at the community level.

There are a range of innovative community efforts that could be implemented to spur development of quality small enterprises that match the realities and needs of Indian communities and the rapidly growing body of knowledge and expertise in the field of local economic development could be applied in turn to these efforts. The technology that has been successfully implemented needs to be carefully scrutinized and assessed in terms of its appropriateness for Native economic development. Although these two reports serve as useful and necessary first steps, neither does enough in identifying the appropriate tools by which Indian people themselves can gain control, support and momentum in the pursuit of economic self-sufficiency.

The solution therefore, is not simply to extend 'government' programmes to Indian communities. Rather, the solution is to support and facilitate the attainment of stable, viable and productive Native societies based on their values, needs and aspirations, processes and institutions.

Public policies must be developed that are supportive of the efforts of Indian people — of Indian entrepreneurs, Bands and other organizations to identify workable solutions to the deep-seated problems confronting Native economic development.

Implementation of a Native economic development strategy is not primarily a government responsibility but instead an Indian responsibility. Instead of employing a traditional "top-down" approach to economic development, more emphasis needs to be placed on a "bottom-up" strategy. In short, in order for Native economic development initiatives to be truly effective, it is essential they come from Native people themselves.

T.R.

***The Urban Alliance
on Race Relations***

229 College Street, Suite 310
Toronto, Ontario
Canada M5T 1R4

2nd Class Mail

Registration Number 5972

In the next issue:

**Equality of Access: Racial Discrimination
in the Provision of Services**