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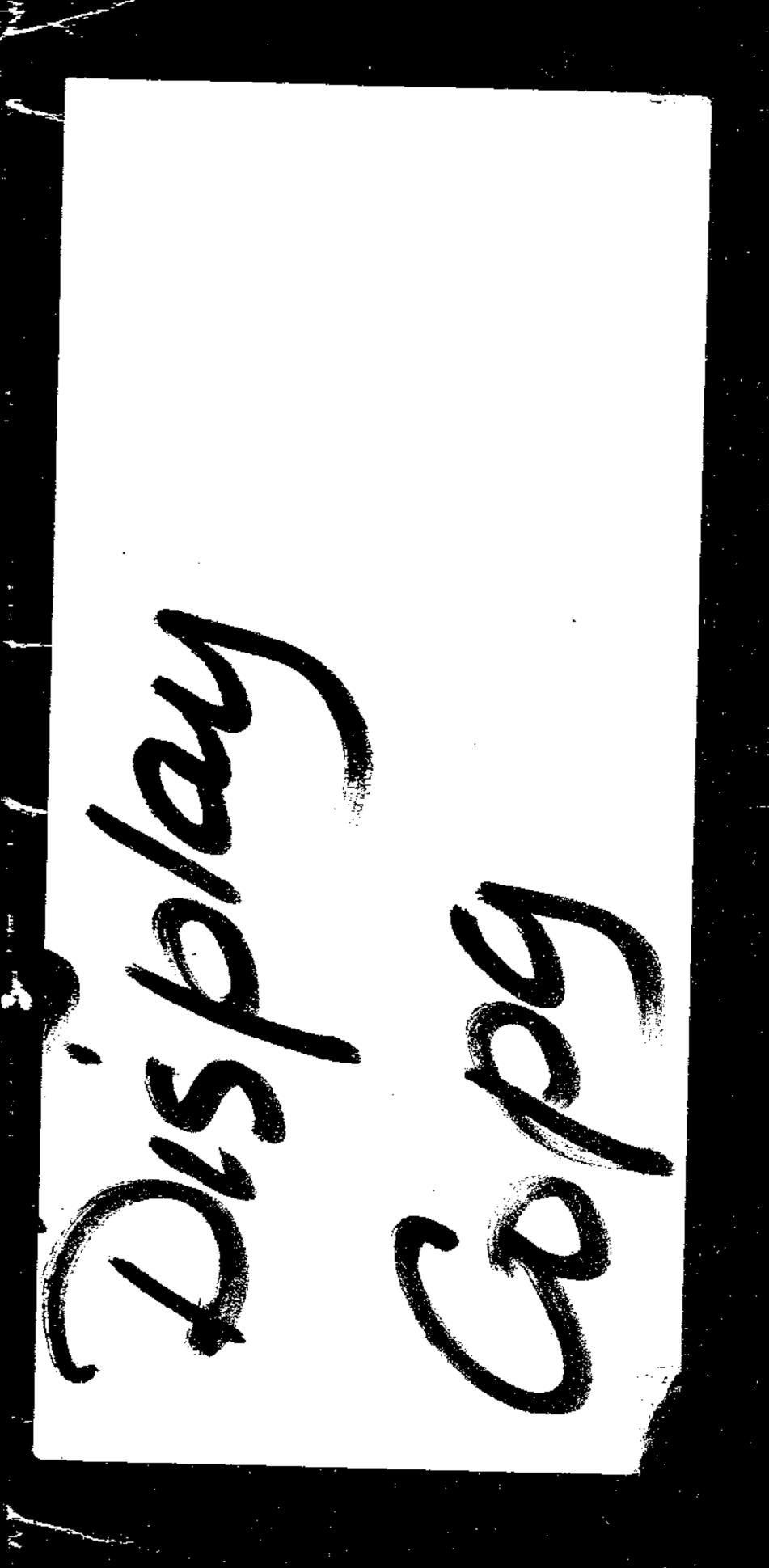
Volume 7, No. 1

READINGS IN RACE RELATIONS

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Perspectives on Racism in Canada



Contributors include:

Adrienne Clarkson
Austin Clarke
Katherine Govier
Wilson Head
Joy Kogawa
David Matas
Gunther Plaut
Angela Sydney
Ben Wicks

Published by THE URBAN ALLIANCE ON RACE RELATIONS

Together we can stop racism



Volume 7, No. 1

Editor Tim Rees

Assistant Editor/
Production Manager
Elizabeth Hellreich

Illustrations Wallace Edwards

With Special Contributions by Ben Wicks and Bill Stapleton

Chairperson, Publication Committee Gerald Rose

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The Urban Alliance on Race Relations, formed in July 1975 to promote a stable and healthy multiracial environment in the community, is a non-profit organization made up of volunteers from all sectors of the community.

The Urban Alliance on Race Relations is an educational agency and an advocate and intermediary for visible minorities. It works towards encouraging better race relations, increased understanding and awareness among our multicultural, multiracial population through programs of education directed at both the private and public sectors of the community. It focuses 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 committees such as:

Education; Employment; Media; and Judicial.

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

CURRENTS
675 King St. West, Suite 203
Toronto, Ontario
M5V 1M9
Telephone: (416) 363-2607

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Editorial

No Results?

What is the state of race relations in Canada today? Is racism in Canada increasing or decreasing? As Morton Weinfeld of McGill University says, "Unfortunately, data of adequate reliability and validity, transformed into recognized indicators and disseminated appropriately, are not available" (1990). These measurement problems must be addressed. As millions of tax dollars continue to be pumped into a myriad of community organizations and public institutions to ostensibly address and evaluate racial discrimination, it is irresponsible that we know so little about the impact of all this activity.

Too many community activities are concerned with "promoting", "encouraging", "coordinating", "heightening", "improving" or other such similarly imprecise and vaguely worded objectives. If any kind of assessment is undertaken it is occasionally some kind of audit to ensure that the monies were spent as allocated - as if conforming to financial and legal obligations was enough justification itself for undertaking the project. Or it is some kind of loose "process evaluation" activity such as asking conference participants how they rated the speakers.

The little evaluation in Canada that has been done on race relations training programs has generally focused on past program evaluations by the participants. The key indicator of effective training seems to be whether the participants found the trainers credible, balanced, fair, etc. If the purpose of training was to make white attitudes towards black people more tolerant, the use of simple Likert Scales has been occasionally used to measure changing attitudes. The effectiveness of training for better interracial attitudes has however provided a mixture of ambivalent results. Assessing the process of an activity is simply judging the implementation of it. It does not tell us whether the activity was worth doing nor whether it had any effect on reducing racial discrimination.

Efforts are needed to develop appropriate methods of "impact evaluation" - that is, the extent to which a race relations initiative produces different kinds of outcomes. In terms of measuring results, the emphasis is on an initiatives' return on investment' in relation to pre-determined outcome goals. From that basis one can begin to establish legitimate and meaningful performance standards.

In this day and age well-intentioned activity is an extravagant luxury if we cannot determine the extent to which the activity actually produces pre-determined goals. In terms of

measuring results, the emphasis must be on determining whether the activity actually had the impact that it set out to achieve.

To be able to measure the results with some degree of comfort and certitude requires of course that the stated goals be defined in specific, concrete and realisable terms. Measuring outcomes becomes impossible of course if one's goals and objectives are full of nebulous generalisations.

Tim Rees

Xenophobia and Racism

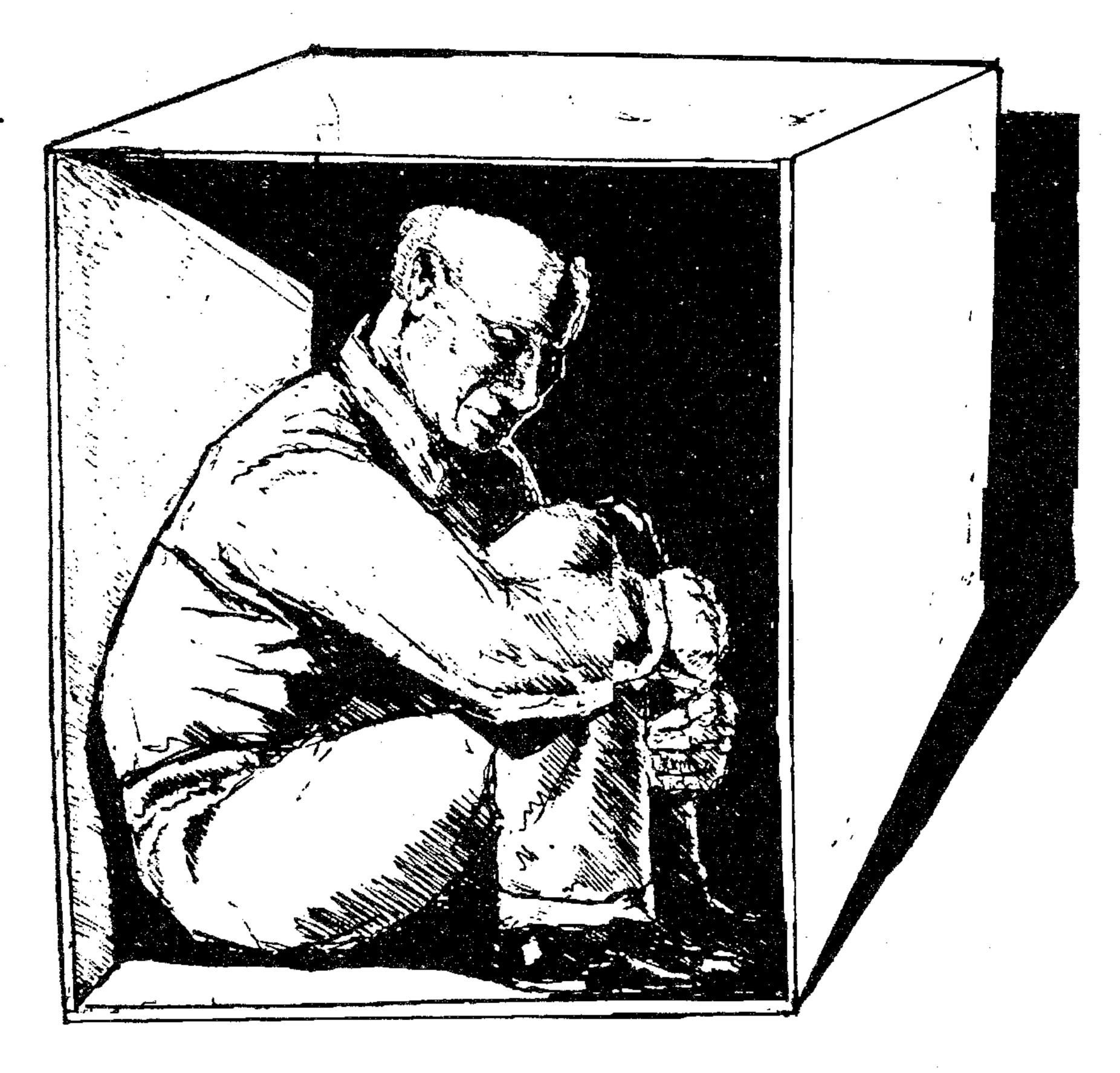
W. Gunther Plaut

Xenophobia, the fear of strangers, is as old as humanity. Strangers have always represented a danger-laden intrusion into a well-structured society, whether tribe or nation. No wonder therefore that the Hebrew Bible commands more than thirty times to befriend (or love) the stranger, reminding the Israelites that they themselves had been strangers in the land of Egypt. The moral law was directed at controlling deleterious human impulses, and treating a stranger justly became an important demand of biblical ethics.

As an apparently fundamental human trait, xenophobia has persisted into our day. The threat of the unknown seems to evoke an ingrained reaction to one's sense of stability. Emulating the biblical model, contemporary human rights law means to minimize the impact of this sentiment on societal behaviour.

Xenophobia usually stereotypes strangers and ascribes to them a panoply of negative traits. To the Romans, strangers were barbarians, incapable of appreciating the splendor of civilization; to the American slave holders, blacks were the paradigmatic strangers and therefore were invested with all manner of putative racial shortcomings. For us, immigrants and refugees become the ready objects of xenophobic fears and racial discrimination.

From xenophobia to racism is only a short step. But while we may not be able to fully control the former we can control the effects of the latter and that is the function of law and education. The two are linked, and law itself is an educator. Thus, when



a human rights code prohibits discrimination it sets up social norms; and when the code is violated and the offender brought to justice, it demonstrates the inadmissibility of such behaviour in our society. The common saying, "You can't legislate morality", allows for the continued presence of xenophobic elements, but it does not negate nay, it underscores the need for legislative education and enforcement of xenophobia's racist consequences.

In time, one may hope, the model of people from many backgrounds and cultures living peaceably together may lessen our tendency toward xenophobia and make it less likely to have it degenerate into expressions of socially harmful acts.

W. Gunther Plaut, rabbi and author of 17 books, was a founder of the Urban Alliance. He holds an earned doctorate in international law, and honourary LLD degrees from the University of Toronto and York University. He is an Officer of the Order of Canada.

Frankly Racist

Adrienne Clarkson

Recently, I had a startling and distasteful run-in with a racist slur. It made me realize that in this liberal broad-minded society that we think we have created, the heart of darkness looms always. In a recent issue of Frank magazine which comes out of Ottawa, the shape of my eyes and nose were alluded to in an overtly racist way. The remarks were couched in a sly manner, asking the reader if they thought my eyes had been altered by plastic surgery. In a subsequent edition, they shifted the inquiry to my nose, comparing a picture of me as a teenager with an offthe-TV screen image of me now, forty years later.

It is my habit never to comment on remarks or critical analysis about my work. But as others pointed out to me the racist nature of the comments about my eyes and nose in relation to my Chinese background, I realized I must reply, if only to let others of Oriental background know that I would not let pass this kind of remark about myself. I was also deeply shaken to realize that this was being passed off in the guise of humour in Canada today by anonymous writers in a magazine with intellectual pretensions to investigative journalism. In addition, the implication that I as a woman could not look the way I do without facial surgery (the racist element aside) was grossly insulting. Misogyny and

racism make pretty nasty little bedfellows. I would not dignify the sexist derogations with a reply but the racist ones I answered in the following way:

Frank:

There is always a need for unforgiving satire and I therefore read your comments - accurate or inaccurate - on my activities with equanimity and sometimes a smile. However, your remarks about the shape of my eyes and facial features cannot be dismissed without comment. These remarks are racist, not only towards me, but by implication, towards all Orientals. They are con-

temptible and unacceptable in our society. We learned in school that successful savage satire always has a strong moral base. Regrettably, you are abdicating yours.

Adrienne Clarkson

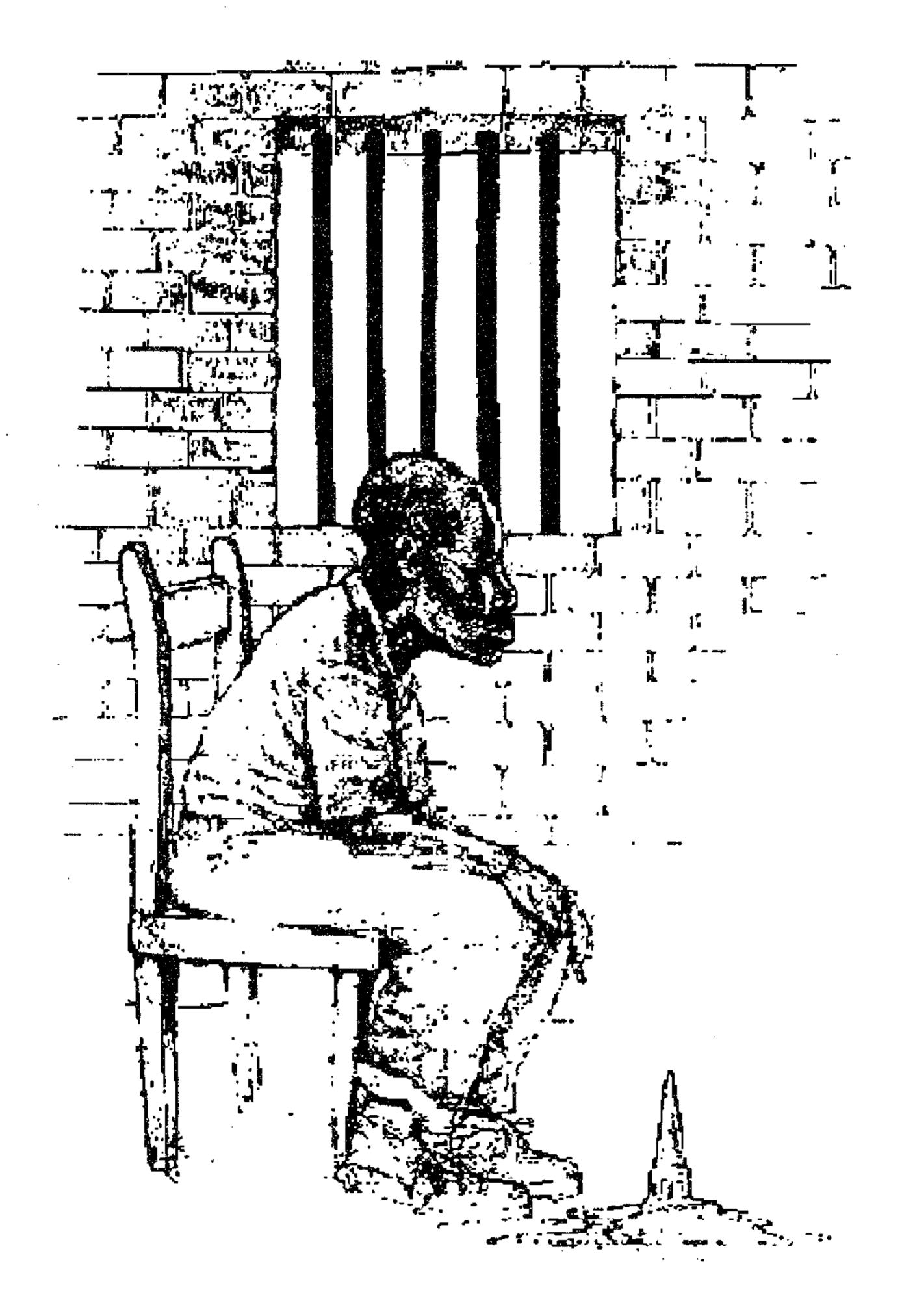
In the kind of society we have which is unique in the world, racist slurs and innuendo masquerading as humour have no place. Everyone must stand up and not allow them to be voiced without comment that they are racist. Remember Prince Philip in China and his comments about sliteyes? He wasn't excused for it. Nobody should be.

MORE

Austin Clarke

TIME WAS HEAVY UPON BJ'S NERVES. HE PACED UP AND DOWN his room, with various thoughts entering his head, and leaving him no closer to a solution of the things that were bothering him. He paced up and down, not having enough length in the square room, to make his pacing more dramatic and satisfying. And when he realized the restriction of the small square room, his mind bounded back to a time, which he had almost wiped from his memory.

He recalled the time when he had spent three hours in a police station, in a cell, alone; not knowing really why he was being locked up; not having a charge made against him; not having a policeman enter the cell and interrogate him about the alleged theft of a kid's bicycle: when one afternoon in August, he and three other kids were horsing around near the grocery store, trying to raise enough quarters to buy ice cream, when this other kid came wobbly on his bicycle, his first, his present from his mother for Christmas past; and one of the three other kids took the bike playfully from the little kid, and the little kid started to cry, and ran home with tears in his eyes; and told his mother; and his father returned with him, sunburnt arms bristling with black hairs, and chest like a barrel under a nylon undershirt, with his underpants showing just above the waist of his green janitor's trousers, when the kid, whose vision was blinded with tears, raised his finger and pointed at the coloured fella, dad, the coloured fella took my bike; and all hell broke loose; and the cops came screaming down the avenue, two carloads of them, to solve this little neighbourhood kid's prank; and slam!, into the goddamn cruiser you goddamn nigger; and BJ did not understand the various languages and accents, Portuguese and Italian, being spewed at him; no explanation in the eyes of the man who owned the peddling store, and who was holding the melting cone of ice cream and with no quarters to stop his disappearing profits; no explanation from his three friends, now no longer within earshot; no understanding from the father, ripping the air with gestures which BJ thought were karate chops intended for him, and no understanding from the four cops who descended armed and sunburnt, like the father, to



solve this serious crime: git, goddamn, git! into the goddamn cruiser! no, not in the goddamn front seat, in the fucking back, where you belong; and they took him down, and did not book him, and put him into a nice large cell, bigger, goddamn nigger than the piss-small room you and you goddamn mother lives in! and left him there to stew and to mend his thieving ways; and then, hours later, the truth was known, and the sargeant came with a styrofoam cup of steaming coffee; have a cup, come now, have a cuppa; and then said, a little mistake, if you can understand what I mean, a little goddamn mistake, and you happened to the goddamn unlucky one. So, beat it, kid, and don't let me lay my goddamn eyes on you, again!

Now knowing what he had done; not knowing what the policemen in the cruiser had done; not knowing if anything was wrong, BJ paced and paced. And then, perhaps with his Muslim sense of fate, he stopped walking up and down. He decided not to worry. "Let the mother-fuckers come!" he said. He had worked it out, in detail, and with a logic he was capable of, and with brilliance, for in grade twelve, he came first and his Italian friend came second; or his Italian friend came first and he second; but which in the circumstances of an unclear head, he had permitted the logic to elude him. And when he had worked out his plan, he lit a long stick of incence, turned on his Sony stereo and played Malcolm X's speech, The Ballot or the Bullet. He was fast asleep before the introduction of Malcolm X to the podium, was finished.

(From the novel, *More*, to be published in Spring 1991)
Copyright, 1991, Austin Clarke

When I was a little girl

When I was a little girl
We used to walk together
Tim, my brother who wore glasses,
And I, holding hands
Tightly, as we crossed the bridge
and he'd murmur, "You pray now"
- being a clergyman's son Until the big white boys
Had kicked on past,
Later we'd climb the bluffs
Overhanging the ghost town
And pick the small white lilies
And fling them like bombers
Over Slocan.

from A Choice of Dreams by Joy Kogawa

Wiring New Voices into Canadian Writing

Katherine Govier



I want to write, now, not about the problem of racism in Canada, which is real and alive and which needs our attention, but instead about one way a small but very powerful way that I have found to work against racism, and its ugly divisions.

The way is with words, as I find so often the case. I guess that's why I am a writer. I think the careful and honest and painful and true struggle with language to express oneself and one's view of the world is that best road to understanding.

Let me explain. For the past three years I have worked in a program called the "Writer in Electronic Residence."

Writers in Electronic Residence uses telecommunications technology to connect professional Canadian writers in their studios to high school, and elementary classrooms in all parts of the country.

Working online with their classroom teacher, students compose original

works and offer them for comment by writers and other students across the regions. Writers read, respond and inspire student writing in many ways; as well, students consider and respond to each other's work. An inner city student of Vietnamese origin in Toronto reads and comments on the writing of an Inuit student in Iqaluit, Baffin Island. A writer from Saskatchewan debates the fine points of poetry with a student in Owen Sound. Student writing of high quality is generated, and read, across the country, as young writers at all levels are exposed to contemporary Canadian writers, their ideas and skills.

How it works

In 1991, seven writers - poets, novelists, dramatists, non-fiction writers, a children's writer - were contracted by the Writers Development Trust to take on "electronic residences" in a network composed of twenty eight schools. Working at a computer in his/her home study, the writer is linked by modem to classrooms across the country. The classroom teacher directs creative work and contemporary readings in Canadian literature in co-operation with the writer. Students "post" their work on the computer, where it becomes part of a "conference" where writers and students read and respond. This electronic network reaches from Nova Scotia to Iqaluit to Victoria and

Canadian Born Chinese

by Grace Law

Brown eyes
BLACK hair
flat nose
can't reach the top of the ...

blackboard

to reach the white chalk.

rolling English rocky naaaaaaaa ho maaaaaaah? eh?

Chopsticks fast food foooooork and kniiiiiife ...

Tomato in a vegetable salad

Whitehorse, and beyond to Iceland, China, the United States and Europe.

How it started

Writers in Electronic Residence is the brainchild of Trevor Owen, an English teacher at Riverdale Collegiate in Toronto, who established the project in 1987 with the aid of Simon Fraser University. In the spring of 1990, the Writers Development Trust (WDT) adopted the project, to promote its growth and provide financial support through fund-raising. The WDT has undertaken to develop curriculum to assist in putting the program to use in schools, and to provide schools with print materials contemporary Canadian books and magazines - to support it.

Today Writers in Electronic Residence is a partnership, with Simon Fraser University donating the computer team, the Ontario Arts Council and participating schools contributing to writers' fees, and WDT and donors providing further fees to writers, all administration costs, technical supplies and books.

Tolerance is a Byword

The most obvious distinction between this method of learning to write and the regular classroom method is the combination of anonymity, and personalism. "Anonymity", in that students and writers do not see one another, have not physically "met", is a benefit to many students, and to the writer as well. The unavoidable element of personal appearance, shyness or aggressiveness in a classroom, is removed. Any oddness or disability in a student remains unknown to people reacting to his or her work. Even the most careful teacher does react to these things when they are obvious. In electronic teaching, they are not obvious. In many cases race and sex are not obvious, which are advantages to those students who are affected by discrimination, however unconscious.

I have seen this work online in fascinating ways. For instance, a group of students were writing poems about their experiences as children escaping Viet Nam. Then a poem was submitted pseudonymously dealing with the same experience. A discussion grew up amongst the participants: is this person Viet Namese? Does (he/she) have the right to write about this? The writers were able to step in and broaden this discussion to the issue of "voice" and "ownership" of material. This is an important question in writing in Canada today. In this case it came up spontaneously, from the students.

It is also clear that some students who are not able in person to speak their views or tell their tales are enabled by the computer, and its relative impersonality, to deliver themselves of important ideas and feelings.

However the computer medium, although it feels less personal, can become intimate. There is opportunity for close and detailed communication, one on one, between student and writer.

"We now know from our work that these links offer meaningful opportunities for language development and proficiency. Students control their own experiences in an atmosphere where tolerance is promoted as a natural result of seeing the world as another might.

Inuit students in Baffin Island for example, revealed notions about survival in ways that were quite different from those expressed by students who identified themselves as Canadian-born Chinese from urban Toronto or rural Ontario.

Vietnamese students who wrote about war, about the boats, and about escape and betrayal also searched for ways to express fond memories, the value of trust the details of life as they lived it is Hanoi."

--Trevor Owen, Co-ordinator, Writers in Electronic Residence

"Most of the students in [Baffin Island Secondary School] are Inuit, speak Inuktitut as their first language, and already have to face the erosion of their cultural identity by the forces of the southern mass media. Consequently any [computer-

mediated telecommunications project] within Baffin that reaches outside the region must allow for the reaffirmation of the values and experiences that the students themselves bring to the project, however different these may be from those of the main-stream to the south.

The Writer in Electronic Residence program demonstrated the potential to allow Inuit, English as a second language secondary students in isolated arctic communities to become more deeply and positively involved in literacy while affirming the unique values and experiences to their writing."

Sandy McAuley, teacher, Baffin Island

Katherine Govier is a novelist and short story writer, and the chair of the Writers Development Trust.

Respect

Angela Sidney



My name is Angela Sidney, I live in Tagish which is the centre of the traditional Tagish Nation. My father Kaajineck (Tagish John) was Tagish and my mother Kaax'anshee (Maria) was Tlingit. I share my mother's clan the Split Tail Beaver (Deishestaan) which along with the original Tagish clan Killer Whaler (Daklaweidi) are the two longhouse clans of Tagish.

What I wish to tell you about is respect. For if there is respect there will be no racism. Our people not only believed in the equality of all mankind but we also believed that people could not raise themselves above or below any part of creation. We are all one and all part of creation.

There is no difference in intelligence between the races of man or between the quality of their cultures. We are different only in that we are shaped by that part of creation from which the Creator placed us.

As time goes those of the land throughout the world have shown that true civilization does not arise from dominating the gifts of creation around us but rather from giving back to creation so that we will be provided for. The same applies to our brothers and sisters in mankind. All of us have been given different gifts from the animal, earth, sky, and other teachers around us. When we do not appreciate the gifts and knowledge of others with respect then we not only deny them their rights but we also hold back our own spiritual growth. This is a story I know about two smart brothers, a long time ago I believe on the Mackenzie River they fell asleep on the ice, in the morning they found the ice block they were on had broken off and was floating down the river. They floated a long distance. First they met people with different ways in places they did not know about. They helped each of the groups of people they met by teaching them new behaviours (how to eat meat, how to give birth, and so on). People rewarded them with gifts of food and power.

On their journey home they met a series of dangerous animals, but the powers the people had given them helped them to survive. Three years later, the lost sons made their way home.

This story teaches how respect and sharing knowledge between different peoples strengthen and enriches all.

In creation today we have many problems, there are wars and many of our animal and plant relatives have left us and won't return. It is

time to remember the teachings of our ancestors and that is respect. From what we as people teach each other about our own lessons from creation will come our children's future.

Angela Sidney is with the Council for Yukon Indians.

Illustration by Bill Stapleton

The Donald Marshall Prosecution: A Case Study of Racism and the Criminal Justice System

Wilson Head

Sandy Seale, a young black man of 17 years of age was murdered during a warm summer night in a local park in Sydney, Nova Scotia. He had met Donald Marshall, a Mic Mac Indian in the park. They were chatting when they encountered two other men, both white. While the events following that encounter have been disputed, the indisputable fact is that Sandy Seale was stabbed to death. Donald Marshall was arrested, charged, convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment for the murder of Sandy Seale. Subsequent appeals were rejected by the Nova Scotia Court of Appeal and Donald Marshall languished in prison for eleven years. A re-investigation by the RCMP uncovered evidence that Marshall had been unjustly convicted and he was freed in 1982. The action of the Nova Scotia Court of Appeal in clearing Marshall of the murder and conviction, however, did not end the matter. A number of allegations made by Justices of the Appeal Court that Marshall was in part responsible for his own conviction, aroused considerable anger in the general community and particularly among the Native and black communities of Nova Scotia.

A re-investigation and overturning of the conviction of Donald Marshall aroused strong public reactions to an obvious miscarriage of justice, and second, to the resistance of the Nova Scotia government to admit that the criminal justice system had acted in

what many believed was motivated by strong overtones of racism. Calls for an inquiry regarding the circumstances surrounding the murder and conviction were loud and persistent. Finally after five years of delay and obvious attempts to defuse the situation, the government reluctantly agreed to initiate an inquiry into the wrongful conviction of Donald Marshall. The Royal Commission was established by Order in Council by the Executive Council of the Province on October 28, 1986, and began

its public hearings in September, 1987. The Commission was given broad terms of reference, thus enabling it to explore a wide range of approaches and methods of inquiry.

A total of 113 witnesses voluntarily agreed to testify before the three member Royal Commission which included Chief Justice Alexander Hickman of the Supreme Court of Newfoundland, Chair, Associate Chief Justice of Quebec, Lawrence A. Poitras, and the Honourable Mr. Gregory T. Evans of Ontario. It will be noted that none of the Commissioners were from Nova Scotia. Research studies were commissioned in an effort to become acquainted with the social, economic and political context in which the miscarriage of justice had occurred. Two studies focused on the operation of the police and of crown attorneys in the courts of Nova Scotia. Two additional studies examined the attitudes and experiences of the Mic Mac Native people in their contacts with the criminal justice system. It also included a study of sentencing practices conducted by Prof. Don Clairmont, a professor of sociology at Dalhousie University in Halifax.

The findings derived from the testimonies of the 113 witnesses who appeared before the Commissioners, plus the results of the research studies, constituted the vast majority of the materials considered by the Royal Commission. The Commissioners also made an unsuccessful attempt to obtain testimony from members of the Nova Scotia Court of Appeal, but were unsuccessful. The question of legal representation arose as neither the Marshall or Seale family was financially able to pay legal fees. The Royal Commission agreed to provide funds and standing to the two families. The Black United Front, a provincialwide organization was selected to receive the funding as representative

of the black community. That organization requested funds for conducting research on various aspects of the black experience in Nova Scotia. It was left to BUF to select its own lawyer and to identify a qualified researcher, with expenses paid from funds provided by the Commission. A similar arrangement was made with the Union of Nova Scotia Indians.

It was at this point that I was approached, and following discussion, I agreed to accept the challenge of completing a provincial wide research project within an agreed upon time schedule. An outline of the study was prepared, discussed and agreed upon. The general purpose of the study involved an investigation of the perception, attitudes and experiences of blacks regarding the criminal justice system and their relationship to experiences in the general community. It was recognized that the attitudes and behaviour of the criminal justice system did not occur in a vacuum. In the meantime the Royal Commission, composed of three eminent judges, were beginning a series of hearings which lasted over more than a year. It is impossible to provide an adequate summary of the broad range of findings and recommendations made by the Royal Commission but a summary of the highlights were

"The Criminal Justice System failed Donald Marshall Jr. at virtually every turn from his arrest and conviction in 1971 up to ... and even beyond his acquittal in the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia (appeal division) in 1983.

That this miscarriage of justice could and should have been prevented if persons involved in the criminal justice system had carried out their duties in a professional and/or competent manner.

That the fact that Donald Marshall was a Native was a factor in his wrongful conviction and imprisonment."

The initial trial had been challenged on a number of points. Among them was the finding that the chief of detectives had coached two teenaged witnesses to testify that they had actually seen Marshall stab Seale. There were great discrepancies in the testimony of Ebsary, the actual murderer. Vital evidence had been ignored and/or concealed.

Several recommendations were made by the Commission relating to various factors in the operation of the criminal justice system of the province. But it is the third finding above which touches upon the central question of racism with which the black community was concerned.

It was easy for these historically depressed groups to be ignored. This treatment was a part of their contacts with the invading Europeans. Both groups, the Mic Mac Natives and the black community are small, poor and powerlessness. Both, when asked to estimate their numbers, exaggerated their populations. For example, the representative of the Black United Front informed the writer that the black population of Nova Scotia was approximately 35,000 individuals. The most reliable information I could obtain indicated that in 1986, a study by sociologists at Dalhousie University reported a population of approximately 12,800 blacks in the province. Since that time there has been considerable out-migration of blacks from the province.

The best estimate of the Mic Mac population was somewhat less than 9,000 individuals. Both groups were and are widely scattered around the province with most native people living in poverty on reserves. Approximately

two thirds of the black population live in the Halifax/Dartmouth area. Others live in widely scattered communities, usually located adjacent to cities and towns in various parts of the province. Neither group possess political, economic or social power. Both face racial discrimination, exploitation and oppression.

Summary of the Research Findings on the Black Community

"Blacks and native individuals are almost totally invisible in the institutional structures operated by the majority white society in Nova Scotia, including the criminal justice system." This statement in the final Report of the Royal Commission, reflects the research findings by Scott Clark, an anthropologist and member of the black community of Nova Scotia. It reflects findings clearly indicating the existence of widespread racism in employment, housing, social services and the education system within the wider social, economic and political context. Discrimination was an essential and recognized part of the total community. This hypothesis suggested that the criminal justice system would also closely reflect the attitude and behaviour of that wider community.

The study of the responses of 596 individuals conducted by personal interviews in eight local communities of the province, focus groups, indepth interviews and a sample of community leaders conducted by the researcher provided an appalling picture of the deprivation, humiliation, oppression and ill-treatment suffered by the native and black populations of Nova Scotia. Discrimination was rampant in each of the areas of community life indicated above.

The intensity of this response was overwhelming. For example, only

three blacks and eight whites of the sample felt that no discrimination existed in the province. (It had not been intended to include white respondents in the sample. However, the strength of black perceptions and attitudes was greater than expected; a factor which led to the decision to interview a sample of white respondents as a method of contrasting the responses of the two groups). Differences in the responses of the black and white respondents were insignificant. Obviously the white population was equally aware and knowledgeable of the existence of racist attitudes and behaviour as the black population. They were less likely, however, to suggest that the courts treated blacks more harshly than whites.

"Blacks and native individuals are almost totally invisible in the institutional structures operated by the majority white society in Nova Scotia, including the criminal justice system."

Nevertheless, we found that it was the courts rather than the police which received the largest number and most bitter complaints. Many blacks were charged and brought to the courts because of extreme poverty. Most could not afford the services of a privately retained lawyer and were disproportionately represented by legal aid lawyers, who, in many instances were less experienced and capable than older and more experienced counsel. One young white legal aid lawyer, in an individual interview, expressed his anger at the treatment of black clients as follows: "There is an unmistakable change in the atmosphere when I enter the courtroom with a black client. The hostility of court personnel, including judges, crown prosecutors, clerks and others is unmistakable and is recognized by all, including the alleged lawbreaker. It is impossible, under these conditions for a black client to receive equal justice."

The initial research findings were based on perceived attitudes and treatment by the police, courts and correctional institutions, the three "legs" of the criminal justice system. It was also felt necessary to investigate the records of actual sentencing behaviour of judges regarding blacks and whites who had been charged with the same violation of the criminal code. The data indicated that blacks were obviously treated more harshly than whites in some aspects of the system. In others the results were not significantly different. Other factors, such as for example, the employment record of the offender, the availability of legal counsel, and/or a pre-sentence report also played an important role in the attitude and behaviour of the judge in the sentencing process. In some instances, however, blacks were clearly treated more harshly than whites. For example, while a considerable number of white offenders were given absolute discharges, that privilege was not given to a single black included in our sample. The study of sentencing was conducted by Don Clairmont, a professor of sociology at Dalhousie University and an expert on race and police relations.

In addition to the perceptions, attitudes and experiences, the research team wanted to know what blacks felt was needed to improve treatment by the criminal justice system. The overwhelming response of black respondents was the need for more non-whites at all levels of the system.

The Commissioners apparently gave special attention to this recommendation. For example, the Royal Commission stated that although the existence of some diversity in the legal professions and in the courts is recognized, it is clear the legal profession and the courts in Nova Scotia are still almost entirely, and will continue to be, largely white institutions. The Commission also noted that our research shows that many natives and blacks feel poorly served by the legal profession not only because there are so few visible minority lawyers, but because they "seem ill equipped to deal with the special problems of minority clients."

The Commission further supported its position by noting: "There are almost 1200 lawyers in Nova Scotia who are eligible to appear before the courts. About a dozen of these are black. There are no Mic Mac lawyers in Nova Scotia. Neither are there Mic Mac judges, although there is one black family court judge."

Space limitations do not permit a full recital of the many cogent recommendations of the Commission and those based on the Research conducted on behalf of the black communities of Nova Scotia. It is important to note, however, that these findings and recommendations focus upon the need for intensive and continuous training of police officers, judges, lawyers and other court personnel. The need for comprehensive attitude and behaviour changes in race and ethno/cultural relations in a diverse society.

There was some reluctance initially by the three commissioners to the idea of a study of discrimination against blacks and native people by other significant social institutions. They were concerned initially only with the possibility of adverse effects of treatment by the criminal justice

system. They relented, however, after some discussion with the research staff who stressed that there was considerable evidence from other studies suggesting that the institutional structure of societies tend to support each other and to reflect the general attitude and behaviour of society as a whole. The results of this study clearly suggested that the criminal justice system was not an abberation; it was a part of the total fabric of Nova Scotia society.

Implications

The importance of positive change in the criminal justice system cannot be denied. But the apparent correlation between racial attitudes and practices in the criminal justice system and those perceived and experienced by blacks in dealing with other community institutions suggest that changes in the criminal justice system and other community services and in community attitudes, are unlikely to be quickly achieved.

Racism in Nova Scotia is not subtle. Racism is in the open and obvious to any perceptive observer. Perhaps even more important, there is evidence that similar types of racism, although less obvious, exist in other parts of Canada. The recent inquiry in Manitoba on the treatment of Native people by the justice system investigated the case of the community concealment of the murderers of a young native woman who was beaten, raped and killed by a group of four white males. An investigation only occurred sixteen years after the event. As in the Donald Marshall case, the men have been identified and summoned before a board of inquiry. As of this writing, no final report has been written and made available to the public.

Both incidents have aroused nationwide attention and even outrage. We are left with the question, however of whether these incidents of injustice are merely aberrations in an otherwise fair and non-racist system of justice in Canada? It is widely recognized that there are at least two systems



of justice in the United States: one for the rich and powerful and another for the black and poor populations. The finding of the two above inquiries, while not definitive, are clearly highly disturbing and indicative of the need for further investigations. The number of blacks and native youth arrested, tried, convicted and sentenced to correctional institutions are clearly disproportionate to their numbers in the general population. Again, while not definitive, these results provide a strong hypothesis that the need for similar studies of the criminal justice system are needed. The Attorney General of Ontario is reported to be considering a study of the fairness of the Ontario Criminal Justice System. Other provinces should follow suit.

In spite of the wide, publicity and public indignation following the release of Donald Marshall, the government of Nova Scotia has not demonstrated a sign of generosity. It has been uncommonly stingy in regards to compensation for his eleven years of imprisonment. It has refused to recognize and acknowledge the negligence and criminal behaviour of its police and court system and has thus far made no significant change in the operation and structure of its criminal justice system. Its law school, Dalhousie University, however, has embarked upon an ambitious program of recruiting and enrolling some black and native students. This is a hopeful signal in an otherwise dismal picture.

More encouraging, however, is the report that the Nova Scotia and New Brunswick blacks have formed a black caucus, an organization designed to initiate a struggle to push for meaningful changes in both the criminal justice system and in society as a whole.

The recommendations of the Commission, and of respondents in the re-

search study reveals great faith in the educational process. In general, there can be little doubt of the importance of education and training as methods of imparting new knowledge and skills to motivated students. The problem with these efforts is that many highly educated judges, prosecutors and defense lawyers are not highly motivated simply because they are professionals who, in their view, do not need additional training or indoctrination. Except in rare cases professionals do not believe that others can teach them anything, and if so, it should be a highly respected and acclaimed member of their own profession, not some wellmeaning outsider.

Second, most professionals are simply not aware of their own prejudices and see no reason to listen to an attempt at self understanding. They, like everyone else, are products of their environment and accept their prejudices as natural and normal. It is possible to "teach an old dog new tricks", but it can be more than difficult. Nevertheless the effort must be made.

A third difficulty in seeking changes to the criminal justice system is the complex ritualized and inpenetratable nature of the court system itself. This matter has been highlighted by several British observers who have attacked the underlying basis of present court procedures. Generally speaking, courts are fearful places in which even the most aware individual may be overwhelmed with outmoded ritual... for example, calling the judge My Lord and other antiquated practices. As far as the poor, powerless racial minority client is concerned, he or she cannot understand the ritual and feels that the cards are stacked against him or her the moment they enter the courtroom.

A fourth area of concern is the representation of minorities in the crimi-

nal justice system. A powerful argument for the inclusion of black lawyers and judges was written by Charles Hamilton Houston, a prominent black American lawyer as far back as 1935. He noted that the social justification for the (Negro) lawyer... is the service he can render the race ... as a proponent of its rights and aspirations. Other American lawyers and judges have pointed out that even with the increasing numbers of black men and women entering the field, black judges and lawyers are generally powerless to effect change because the black community itself is powerless. Justice, Houston noted, is a politician's commodity, and "is awarded or denied to those with the political clout that the defendant can muster."

It appears that the relatively few black lawyers and judges practising in Canada are as powerless or more so than those in the United States, if only because their numbers are infinitely smaller. It appears, based on American studies, that powerlessness and injustice go together, and must be fought together. There is considerable informal and non-scientific observations that suggest that the Canadian situation is similar.

Blacks in Nova Scotia have not usually organized themselves into strong and militant pressure groups. Perhaps the Donald Marshall case and other instances of injustice will provide the necessary catalyst for effective action. A 1978 study of police behaviour in Metro Toronto was entitled "Now is Not Too Late." Nova Scotian blacks and native people may find that title useful as they begin the long and arduous struggle for justice in a province and a country where that commodity has been too long denied!

The Charter and Racism

David Matas

The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms is a passive instrument. It does not require governments or legislatures to do anything. It just prevents governments and legislature from doing certain things. A government, a legislature that was totally inactive in every respect would be an awful government, a terrible legislature. But it would be a government, a legislature that complied with the Charter.

The Charter prohibits racial discrimination in law (Section 15(1)). But it does not require governments or legislatures to promote racial equality. A government that did absolutely nothing about racial equality would be in full compliance with the Charter.

Human rights fall into two categories. There are political and civil rights. And there are economic, social and cultural rights. Many economic, social and cultural rights, by their very nature, require government activity. For instance the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights sets out the right to work. The Covenant goes on to state that, to realize this right, there shall be policies and techniques to achieve steady development and full employment. In other words the Covenant commits governments to full employment policies. A government that has no employment policy at all violates the Covenant. A government that does nothing is in breach of its international obligation in relation to the right to work.

While economic, social and cultural rights tend to require activity on the part of government, and political and civil rights can be more easily realized by government inaction, it is not true to say that all political and civil rights are merely passive rights. The international human rights instruments impose a number of positive

obligations on governments, to realize political and civil rights. For instance, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which Canada has signed and ratified, requires Canada to prohibit by law advocacy of national racial or religious hatred that constitutes incitement to discrimination, hostility or violence. The International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination, which Canada has also signed and ratified, commits signatories to declare illegal and prohibit organizations which promote and incite racial discrimination, and to recognize participation in such organizations or activities as an offence punishable by law. The Convention commits Canada to encourage means of eliminating barriers between races (Article 2(1)(e)).

The Principles on War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity, a General Assembly resolution which Canada supported, states that war crimes and crimes against humanity, wherever they are committed, shall be subject to investigation (Resolution 2074, XXXVIII, 3 Dec. 1973, Article 1). The persons against whom there is evidence that they have committed such crimes shall be subject to tracing, arrest, trial, and, if found guilty, to punishment. And one could go on.

None of these obligations are in the Charter. The Charter does not prohibit hate propaganda. It does not

prohibit racist law. It does not set out the offenses of war crimes and crimes against humanity.

Now, international obligations do not require that these offenses be in the Charter. It is enough if they are in the law. Hate propaganda is part of the Canada statute law and has been since 1970, well before Canada ratified the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, in 1976. War crimes and crimes against humanity are also offenses at Canadian law, but only since 1987, long after the obligation to enact such laws arose. The duty to prosecute has existed, at the very least, since the end of World War II, and arguably even before that. But Canada did not comply with the duty till decades later.

For the duty to prohibit racist organizations, there is still not compliance. Canada has not legislated, nor has the government indicated it would introduce legislation to prohibit racist groups. The obligation exists internationally, but it is nowhere to be found in the Canadian statute books.

The Charter as a Brake

We are left with the situation where the Charter is a brake rather than a spur. It hampers governments in what they can do, but does not push them to do anything. The impediments the Charter throw in the way of government are not just impediments to inflicting discrimination. They can be as well impediments to government in combatting discrimination.

Every law a Canadian legislature passes is subject to Charter scrutiny, including laws designed to combat racial discrimination. A law is not exempt from Charter scrutiny simply because it has as its purpose the combatting of discrimination.

So, for instance, in the Keegstra case in Alberta, the hate propaganda law in the Criminal Code (Section 319) has been held to be unconstitutional by the Alberta Court of Appeal. The Court held that the Criminal Code provisions violated the presumption of innocence requirement in the Charter (Section 11(d)).

Since June 6, 1988, when the Keegstra decision came down, the hate propaganda law has ceased to be effective in Alberta. Hate propaganda is circulating in Alberta without hindrance. Throughout the whole of Canada, the Keegstra decision has had a chilling effect on potential hate propaganda prosecutions. The Canadian ability to combat hate propaganda has been wounded in Alberta and hampered everywhere.

A similar comment can be made about the laws against war crimes and crimes against humanity. While these laws have not been law struck down as unconstitutional, they have suffered one constitutional challenge after another. These challenges did not succeed. But they had to be answered.

One reason why the government has not legislated a prohibition against racist groups, which it has committed itself to do by means of the International Covenant on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, is the Charter. The

Charter guarantees freedom of association (Section 2(d)). The government is worried that any law prohibiting racist organizations would run afoul of that provision.

If the positive international obligations of Canada about combatting discrimination and racism, as well as the negative ones were in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, none of these problems would arise. The hate propaganda law could not have been struck down. The war crimes law could not be challenged. A law against racist groups could be enacted without fear of its being declared invalid.

The Supreme Court of Canada has already held, in a case about Roman Catholic school funding in Ontario, that one part of the constitution cannot be used to invalidate another part of the constitution. Even if the hate propaganda law violates freedom of expression, and I believe it does not, the courts would have no power to declare it invalid for that reason, once it became part of the constitution (Re Education Act (1987) 40 D.L.R. (4th) 18 (S.C.C.).

The international instruments on which the Charter draws are unlike the Charter in form. In Canadian law we see the negative prohibitions entrenched in the constitution and the positive obligations enacted only in legislation, if at all. The positive obligations must pass the tests of the negative prohibitions. The negative prohibitions sit in judgement on the positive obligations.

In international instruments, on the other hand, negative prohibitions and positive obligations sit side by side, equal in stature. The prohibitions do not have a higher legal standing than the positive obligations. The positive obligations and the negative prohibitions must be balanced off against each other, or read together as a whole.

In Canada the negative prohibitions can defeat and have defeated the positive obligations. The Charter does not just do nothing to promote racial equality. It stands in the way of the promotion of racial equality by requiring all such promotion to meet the tests of the negative prohibitions set out in the Charter. When an act of a government or legislature to promote racial equality is struck down because of the Charter, as the hate propaganda law was in Alberta, the Charter becomes an obstacle to racial equality. Hate propaganda is not flourishing unchecked in Alberta, because of the Charter.

If the Charter had positive obligations as the international instruments do, the obligations would be effective. But the positive obligations are not there. So the point I would make about the Charter and racial discrimination is that the Charter as a spur or a prod to combatting racial discrimination is a dead loss, a non-starter. Positive efforts to combat racial discrimination are completely and totally absent from the Charter.

The Charter is not meant to be a spur. But it is meant to be a brake. And it is as a brake that it can be effective. But even as a brake there are real, acute problems. The Charter is not brake enough.

The Charter has been important as an educational tool. Its value to Canada goes beyond its legal impact. Even if the Charter has not been a legal spur to action, it has been a practical spur. The problems I have mentioned are problems of incompleteness rather than a failure in what is already there. But the Charter is incomplete as an instrument in the battle against racism. It could be a better instrument than it is.

David Matas is a lawyer in private practice in Winnipeg. He was chair of the constitutional law section, Canadian Bar Association, 1975-1982.

Responding to Racial Diversity by Community Consultation

Tim Rees

While it is increasingly difficult for us as individuals to understand and participate effectively in the decisions that affect our daily lives, it has also become increasingly difficult for our public institutions to respond easily and quickly to the changing nature of the community that they are attempting to serve. Government structures have become more bureaucratised, institutionalised, specialised and isolated not only from the total community but also from each other.

As society becomes more complex and diverse, the relationship between public institutions and the community they serve has become more tenuous. It is becoming more difficult for them to keep in tune with changing needs and expectations let alone being able to respond more effectively. As a consequence, it becomes easy to appear as if public institutions have become something separate and distinct from the on-going society as if they have lives of their own. This leads to many sectors of society, particularly minorities and other disadvantaged groups to feel that government services are out of control and not responsive to their needs.

As Alvin Toffler noted in *Future* Shock, the best way to respond to the needs of minorities is "to open the system further, bringing them into it as full partners, permitting them to participate in social goal-setting rather than attempting to ostracize or isolate them ... wiring them into the system is the most critical task of the coming generation."

But how does a public institution develop these relationships? How does it wire a diverse clientele, a diverse group of stakeholders, into the system? What are the mechanisms for bringing the community back into the decision-making process?

Participation or Tokenism

A number of public agencies have indeed already responded to this critical issue of attempting to involve their various client groups by initiating a variety of community consultation mechanisms. While congratulating these agencies for their laudatory efforts for promoting the principles of civic participation and government responsiveness, recent experience suggest that far greater attention needs to be given to the intent of such consultations. Not because one questions the principle of community consultation, but rather because the purpose, methodology and content of most of these "consultations" have generally been very vague and imprecise.

One hears an increasingly louder chorus from community representatives that they have spent too much time and energy being 'consulted to death'. Is this negative response because the process of community consultation has become an end in and of itself? Is it because one never sees the results of one's efforts? Is it because community consultation is clearly being used as a bureaucratic ploy for delaying action? Is 'community consultation' being used as a convenient tool for avoiding political commitment? Is

'community consultation' a wonderful delaying tactic to pursue the impossible goal of community consensus? Or is the community consultation structured around a bureaucratic agenda that is far removed from an unpalatable community agenda?

The size of Policy Branches in government departments appear to be exploding at the same time as the amount of time to translate government policies into practice also seems to be multiplying. Has government initiative frozen to the point where every stakeholder has to be consulted at every stage of the process? At what point is it appropriate for the government to simply get on with the job?

It is therefore important to recognise in all these questions that if the results of a community consultation process produce little more than a few minor and cosmetic improvements there will indeed be such counterproductive reactions as mistrust, apathy, and anger. As a consequence, there will be a disinclination to continuing involvement. The spirit and commitment by which a community consultation program is initiated by a government agency is therefore critical, as well as the professional skills required in its implementation.

It is basic that goals be clearly identified before any consultation is initiated, and secondly it is important to fully understand the functions that a particular community consultation model or technique can and cannot be expected to perform.

If community consultation is to become an essential responsibility of every public administrator, they need to know how to work with and involve the community in an organised and constructive way. If the community is to meaningfully participate in

and influence the future directions and health of its public institutions, community consultation mechanisms must be pursued in a planned, disciplined and professional manner.

Anti-Racist Network Deplores Gulf Backlash

At a recent meeting of "Toronto Cares", a community crisis response network, representatives of Toronto's various ethnic and racial groups agreed that they share certain common concerns at this time of crisis in the Gulf. They also expressed fear that individuals and groups in the greater Toronto area would use the Gulf War to exacerbate racial and religious tensions. "Toronto Cares" deplores stereotyping and acts of vandalism, harassment and intolerance of individuals and communities with ties to the Middle East.

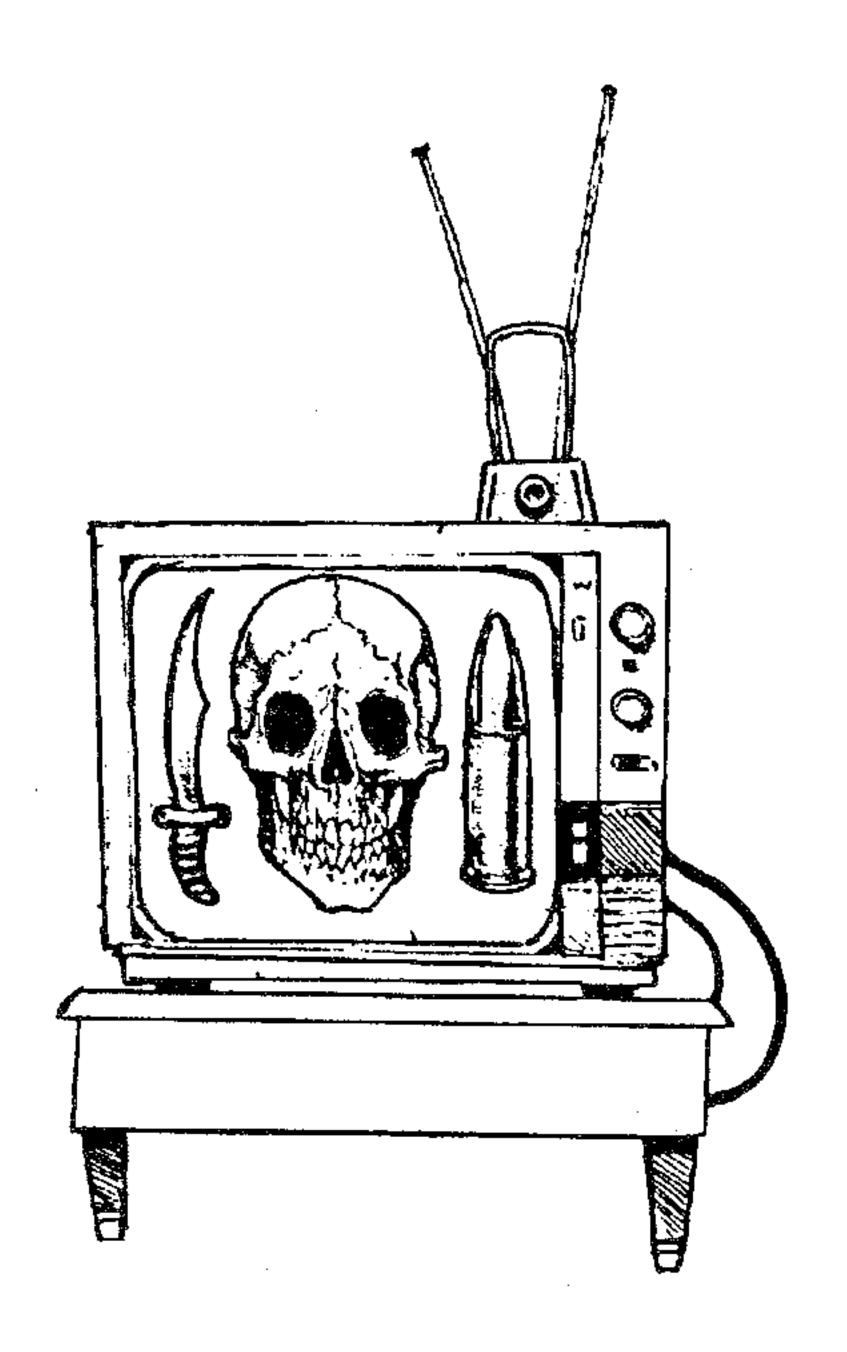
"Toronto Cares" calls upon all community organizations, politicians at all levels of government, religious leaders, the media, teachers and concerned citizens to take a leadership role in speaking out against racism and intolerance towards any group.

"Toronto Cares" also wants to bring to the attention of the public that there is grief and suffering among individuals and communities. It urges everyone to be sensitive, to avoid aggravating an already tense situation.

The Gulf crisis has had a great effect on all Canadians. For Canadians who have personal links to the war torn area it has been particularly troublesome. Not only have they had to worry about the safety of friends and relatives abroad, but there have also been dramatic repercussions in Canada.

A racist backlash has developed. Children have been harassed in schoolyards. Mosques and Synagogues have been defaced. Threats of violence against Muslims, Arabs and Jews have risen dramatically in Toronto and across Canada. There are serious implications on human rights and race relations in this country and in our community. There are those who would use international conflict as an excuse to commit acts of violence and hatred against already aggrieved and marginalized communities.

We who are members of organizations that are committed to combatting racism must take a strong stand



in the public arena to counteract this trend.

It is important to reach out to Muslim, Jewish and Arab neighbours in need of support. It is time to ensure that your community takes this opportunity to speak out and take action against racism in a tangible way.

Educators must be encouraged to deal with the War and its domestic effects in a sensible manner. Community groups must be alerted to the fact that the media images often distort information, perpetuate stereotypes and reinforce negative attitudes towards minority groups.

Toronto Cares A community response network

A Far More Hideous War

Ben Wicks

Once again we find ourselves involved in a war. But, unlike the wars that Canada has faced in the past, this has become a television war where everyone with a set has the means to transfer themselves to the front lines. Lost in this television 'Rambo' world it's easy to take sides. Unfortunately, falling into this trap steers Canada into a far more hideous world than that presented by a Saddam Hussein - the world of racism.

With today's television coverage it's possible to see not only the whites of the enemy's eyes but to listen as modern-day weapons take their toll on innocent men, women and children who find themselves unfortunate enough to make their homes in the areas designated by the military as 'prime'. As a multicultural country, Canada is home to many Arabs who have families and loved ones in these areas.

A ground battle against Iraq will soon be in clear view of us all. As the bodies fall they will be dragged through the living rooms of every home in Canada. Who can blame the children watching for thinking that the Arabs of the opposing side are no different from those found in an Indiana Jones movie?

Never has there been a more important time to remind our children that this country owes what it has today to those of other origins, including Arabs, who, over the years, have made their way to our shores to begin a new life.



In a certain area of Toronto you will find the Jaffari Islamic Centre and Temple Har Zion sharing a parking lot. The decision was made by these Muslims and Jews in order to stave off attacks and vandalism against the mosque and synagogue as a result of the Gulf War. "The imam and I are working together to prevent anything from arising," Rabbi Michael Stroh has said.

It's a wonderful example that we can all follow. Remember that the racism

bred through this war will linger long after the message that informs someone that the person they love will not be coming home.

Ben Wicks, CM Board of Directors Canadian Council of Christians and Jews Toronto - January, 1991

Illustration by Bill Stapleton

Racial Minorities on TVOntario

Societal Diversity in TVOntario Programming George Spears and Kasia Seydegart, Erin Research

Ontario Educational Communications Authority, Toronto, 1990

Racial minorities make up 17 percent of all people appearing on TVOntario. This was one of the major findings of this report examining the portrayal of people and characters who appear in TVOntario's television programming.

The analysis is based on 344 hours of programming sampled from the TVO network over the 1988-1989 season, a total of more than 700 programs and 6,000 appearances by people and animations. Portraval is described not only by the numbers of people on screen, but also by roles. For example, do whites and minorities appear in similar roles and activities, or do they differ in ways that might suggest stereotyping? The results identified four groups of characters separately: program staff (hosts, narrators)

actors and performers guests and persons interviewed animated characters

Minority Portrayal

The study found that racial composition does not vary significantly among the three major groups of people on screen - actors include 18 percent minorities, program staff 15 percent, and guests and interviewees 17 percent.

Appearances by minorities however, are not distributed evenly throughout TVOntario's programming. Most minorities appear in a relatively small number of programs:

Among program staff, three-quarters of all appearances by minorities are in just two series, *Sesame Street* and *Polka Dot Door*.

Among actors and performers, two-thirds of all minorities appear in 6

of 72 program titles, for example, programs on Japanese folk dance and contemporary Nigerian music. Among guests and interviewees, one-half of all minorities appear in 5 of 116 program titles.

This concentration of a large proportion of minority portrayals in a small number of programs could indicate several things - a focus on minority concerns, the presence of programs about other cultures and other parts of the world, and, in certain programs about Canada, an affirmation that minorities play a central rather than a marginal part in society.

However, if such a large proportion of the minorities in the sample appear in such a small number of programs, what about the remainder of TVOntario's schedule? The concentration of minorities in a few programs could indicate a problem, if it means that minorities appeared only in a small subset of

Apparent Racial Origin TVOntario Programs, 1988-89										
Racial	White	Black	East Asian	Latin American	South Asian	Native Canadian	Other Native North & South American	Middle Eastern	Other	Total
No.	3,385	291	169	66	81	47	8	7	5	4,059
%	83	7	4	2	2	1	>1	>1	>1	100

programs, and not in programming in general. For programs other than the few described above in which large numbers of minorities are

5 percent of program staff 7 percent of actors and performers 11 percent of guests and interviewees

The proportion of minorities appearing in TVOntario English language programming is approximately twice that observed in samples of commercial television. The CRTC's 1984 survey of English-language Canadian commercial television, for example, found that minorities made up 5 percent of all people interviewed in news programming, 9 percent of characters in drama, and 7 percent of characters in drama, and 7 percent of characters in ads. A 1986 study of Government of Ontario television ads found that 10 percent of characters were racial minorities.

The study found relatively few role differences between whites and racial minorities. One apparent pattern is that minorities appear more often than whites in performance roles (e.g. as musicians or dancers)

For French language programming on the TVO network, racial minorities make up five percent of people who appear on screen. Almost all the minorities appeared in TVOntario productions. Ideally, television should be fair and balanced with respect to the major demographics of the society it serves. One would expect to find equal numbers of men and women, a proportion of racial and ethnic minorities similar to that existing in the population, and a realistic representation of people with disabilities. Historically, television has not approximated this ideal very closely. There has always been a

demographic imbalance in favour of middle-aged white male professionals, what is sometimes called the "men in suits" phenomenon.

Television shares this demographic drift with other institutions. It takes only a casual look at advertising, business, politics, and many other areas, to determine that television to large measure reflects the values of mainstream society.

Results indicate that TVOntario programming shares some of the historical inequities common to Canadian television, and to television around the world. This is hardly surprising, since 36 percent of the programs in this sample of TVOntario's programming are acquired from other Canadian sources and from foreign sources.

On the other hand, TVOntario's own productions are consistently more balanced in their portrayal of various societal groups than are acquisitions.

1 Sex-Role Stereotyping in the Broadcast Media: A Report on Industry Self-regulation. CRTC, 1986; ISBN 0-662-54203-7.

2 Portrayal Equity in Government of Ontario Advertising. Report commissioned by the Advertising Review Board, Government of Ontario, 1986.

International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination

March 21 marks the anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre in South Africa when peaceful demonstrators against apartheid were wounded and killed. In 1966, the United Nations declared March 21 the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, in commemoration of this tragic event.

On December 20, 1983, the General Assembly of the UN called upon all states and organizations to participate in the Program of Action for the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination.

On March 21, 1986, the Prime Minister proclaimed in the House of Commons Canada's participation in the Second Decade and called on all Canadians to join together in "extending their efforts to ensure the rapid eradication of racism and racial discrimination and the realization of mutual understanding, respect, equality and justice for all Canadians."

In September 1988, ministers attending a federal/provincial/territorial ministerial conference on human rights agreed to commemorate March 21 in all Canadian jurisdictions.