

Defining Racism

RACISM refers to those aspects of society that overtly and covertly attribute value and normality to white people and whiteness, and that devalue, stereotype, and label racialized communities as “other”, less than, or render them invisible.

INDIVIDUAL RACISM is the beliefs, attitudes, and actions of individuals that support or perpetuate racism. It can be intentional, unintentional, active, or passive.

SYSTEMIC RACISM refers to formal and informal policies, procedures and practices that exclude, marginalize, deny and exploit racialized people. It may be intentional or unintentional, obvious or subtle. Examples include; content in the education system that primarily reflect European perspectives, requirements for “Canadian Experience” in hiring practices.

INSTITUTIONAL RACISM is when systemic racism is inherent in institutions by way of formal and informal policies, procedures and practices that excludes, marginalizes, denies and exploits racialized people. It may be intentional or unintentional, obvious or subtle. Examples include; job requirements, hiring practices, meeting processes, policies and practices that support only western values, etc.

STRUCTURAL RACISM is what happens when institutions and systems work together in society to compound the impact of systemic and institutional racism on racialized people. It is the cumulative and compounded effects of an array of factors that systematically privilege the dominant group (i.e. non-racialized people) and disadvantage racialized people. Examples include; more racialized people living in poverty than non-racialized people (even though on average they are more educated than non-racialized people), which is the cumulative outcome of racist systems and organizations like; education systems, immigration systems and policies, financial systems, employment systems, criminal justice system and our political systems.

Immigration Timeline

Please note: We want to acknowledge that what follows, in no way depicts the full scope of laws, regulations, or events that make up the history of immigration in Canada. This is only a small fraction of the whole.

It is important to acknowledge that all people currently living in Canada are settlers. In fact, the only non-settler in Canada, are the Indigenous peoples that lived on Turtle Island long before Europeans arrived.

1600 – Colonization of Turtle Island. Slavery introduced by Europeans by enslaving indigenous people and also by enslaving African people and bringing them to Canada.

1834 - Slavery ended in Canada. The British Parliament abolished slavery throughout its colonies and territories.

1869 - Canada's first immigration act reflects an "open door" policy to encourage colonization of the western provinces. There are few restrictions.

1880 - Canada recruits over 1500 Chinese labourers to help lay the track for the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) in British Columbia. Chinese workers are paid wages $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ less than white labourers. Hundreds of Chinese workers die from disease, malnutrition, and exhaustion.

1885 - The Canadian Pacific Railroad is completed. The federal government passes the Act to Restrict and Regulate Chinese Immigration into Canada introducing a Head Tax: \$50 in 1885 and \$500 in 1903 - equivalent to 2 years of labour.

1906 - A new Immigration Act enacts widespread restrictions on "undesirable immigrants". The government's powers to deport or deny entry to those they deem "undesirable" are expanded.

1907 – Canada insists that Japan limit the migration of males to Canada to 400 per year.

1908 - “Continuous journey” condition bars immigrants who did not come to Canada by continuous journey from the countries of which they were natives or citizens. This favours immigrants from Europe and refuses entry to those from India.

1914 - Gurdit Singh (living in Hong Kong), challenges the “continuous journey” law by sending a shipload (the Komagata Maru) of Indians to Canada as immigrants. Canadian authorities do not let the passengers leave the boat claiming the ship had not arrived via direct passage and most passengers did not have the \$200 that would have qualified them to enter British Columbia. After 2 months of a heated legal battle, only 24 passengers were given permission to legally stay in Canada. The Komagata Maru is forced to return to Hong Kong. In 2008, the British Columbia and federal governments apologized for this racist act.

1914 - The Naturalization Act creates stricter requirements for becoming a citizen, including “good moral character”. The secretary of state holds absolute power to grant, deny or revoke citizenship.

1923-1947 - A new Chinese Immigration Act denies entry to most Chinese. Canadian-born Chinese are prohibited from sponsoring their families.

1939 - 40’s - The War Measures Act and the accompanying Defence of Canada Regulations was used to implement Japanese Canadian internment.

1947 - Canadian citizenship is created. Under the Act, people who were previously classed as British subjects become Canadians, while those who were not naturalized remain “aliens”.

1955 - Caribbean Domestic Scheme is established to deal with the chronic shortage of Canadian workers prepared to accept low wages and undesirable working conditions. Many of the immigrants entering as

domestics are racialized women, initially Black and then Filipino, who were qualified professionals and were otherwise unable to immigrate to Canada because of racist immigration practices. Domestic worker migrants were granted permanent residency upon arrival (removed in the 1981 program).

1962 - Changes to immigration policy eliminates significant racial, religious or ethnic barriers to Canadian immigration. At the same time, a clause in the new regulations maintains that only immigrants from listed “desirable” countries can sponsor adult relatives, perpetuating discrimination against people of Asian descent, among others.

1966 - Jamaican workers start to migrate to Canada under the federal Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program (SAWP). Workers under this program report the outright racism imbedded in both the labour conditions as well as in the program’s design. Seasonal agricultural workers also receive less pay for their work. The SAWP is a guest worker program that attempts to respond to the labour shortage in the Canadian agricultural sector.

1967 - Race was formally withdrawn from view as a criterion for admission into Canada.

1973 - The federal government introduces the Non-Immigrant Employment Authorization Program (NIEAP). The majority of workers brought to Canada through NIEAP are low-skilled and poorly paid. Immigrants entering the Canadian labour market are now designated as temporary workers instead of landed immigrants and their mobility is extremely limited. Their work permits require workers to stay with their original employer, in the same occupation and in the same location for a specific and finite period – an indentured relationship.

1974 - The Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program (SAWP) extends from using the services of Jamaican workers to also employing other racialized workers (i.e. Mexican workers, Trinidad and Tobago, Barbados, Antigua and Barbuda, Dominica, Grenada; Montserrat, St. Kitts-Nevis, Saint Lucia, St. Vincent, and the Grenadines). The SAWP operates in Alberta, Quebec, Manitoba, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Ontario

which receives 90% of workers. Under the SAWP, workers face language barriers, mobility problems and cultural differences manifesting themselves in outright racism. These barriers segregate and exclude migrant workers from the rest of their host rural communities.

1978 - The federal government establishes the Temporary Foreign Workers Program (TFWP). Workers are brought to Canada by a specific employer to work for a limited period of time. To receive permission to bring in temporary workers, an employer must demonstrate that they are unable to find workers in Canada to do the work. Workers are not allowed to remain in Canada permanently. The temporary worker has a more limited range of rights than Canadians or permanent landed immigrants. The process is employer-driven, and puts these workers in a vulnerable position.

1979 – Security Certificate process enacted. It was amended in 1991 and became an integral part of the immigration legislation. The objective of the process is the ability to deport from Canada any non-Canadians (no matter if they have permanent residency, refugee status or foreign national credentials) who pose a security threat. The government is able to do this through using secret evidence that the accused is not allowed to see.

1981 - Foreign Domestic Movement Program established (this replaces the Domestic Workers Program). This program targets women from the Philippines which subjects racialized women workers to all forms of abuse, 24-hour work, and little or no access to health care and other social services. Later this program becomes the Live-in Caregiver Program.

1990 - United Nations General Assembly signs and adopts the “International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families”. No Western country that receives migrants, including Canada, has signed or ratified the Convention.

2000 - The United Nations General Assembly, taking into account the large and increasing number of migrants in the world, proclaims 18 December International Migrants Day.

2001 - 13.4% of the Canadian population self-identified as racialized in the Canadian Census, a 24.6% increase since 1996. This increase far outpaced the Canadian population rate of 3.9% over the five year period. Over the last 15 years, 75% of immigrants were racialized.

2002 - Canada expands the TFWP in a Low-Skill Pilot Project by increasing the list of occupations under which workers could come to Canada on temporary, restricted visas. The list now includes unskilled workers (such as fast food counter clerks), low skilled workers (such as line cooks at fast food restaurants), and skilled workers (trades people). The expansion accelerates after the election of the Conservatives, particularly in 2006.

2002 – Mohamed Harkat, an Algerian is detained under the Security Certificates. He was ordered to be deported in July 2006 but fought it through the courts. When security certificate provisions were found to be unconstitutional, the government issued a new security certificate for him under new legislation. He was ordered to be deported in 2010.

2002 - Mahar Arar and Abdullah Almalki were detained, imprisoned and tortured in Syria when travelling. They were never charged with a crime.

2002 – Omar Khadr was captured by American forces at the age of 15 following a firefight in Afghanistan and placed in Guantanamo Bay detention camp. He was formally identified as a child soldier by the head of the United Nations child soldier program in October 2010. In January 2010, the Supreme Court of Canada ruled that Khadr's constitutional rights had been violated, but it stopped short of ordering the government to seek his return to Canada. He signed a pre-trial agreement, pleading guilty to the charges, and the details of the charges and accepting an 8 year sentence, not including time served, with the possibility of a transfer to Canada after at least one year to serve the remainder of the sentence here.

2003 - Adil Charkaoui was detained under a security certificate until he is released in 2005 with strict conditions of release. After the new security certificate legislation is enacted in 2008, a new security certificate is immediately issued against Charkaoui. The security certificate was lifted after the government withdrew evidence in 2009.

2003 - “Kingston Immigration Holding Centre”, known as Guantanamo North is built specially for people held under security certificates.

2004 - The Safe Third Country Agreement between Canada and the United States comes into effect. The Agreement severely restricts refugee claimants’ rights in seeking protection in Canada if they first entered the United States.

2004 - The *Public Safety Act* (C.17) adopted by the Canadian Parliament contained further measures to intensify national security activities. Furthermore, under an obscure provision (Art. 81), there is a clause to legitimize the “No-Fly List”. Unlike the *Emergencies Act* of 1988, there is no clause stating the measures in question are subject to the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, and there are exemptions to exclude public and parliamentary oversight. Like those in the *Anti-Terrorism Act* (ATA), many of these measures are in contravention of international instruments and they go beyond what is strictly required for an emergency.

2007 - The Supreme Court releases a ruling that security certificate legislation is unconstitutional. However, it gives the government one year before the law falls. The government announces that it will introduce *new* security certificate legislation.

2007 - Alberta Federation of Labour establishes its Office of the Temporary Foreign Workers Advocate to respond to the dramatic jump in calls to the AFL offices about the treatment of temporary foreign workers, and the absence of services to assist them. Workers’ complaints range from exorbitant and illegal fees charged by labour brokers to substandard housing, to employers refusing to pay overtime or renegeing on promises related to wages and training.

2000-2008 – The percentage of immigrants who become citizens dropped from 79% to 26% among people who arrived in Canada between 2000 and 2008.

2008 - The first year that the number of Temporary Foreign Workers exceeds the number of new permanent residents (251,235 versus 247,243).

2008 - New security certificate legislation under the *Canadian Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* takes effect. The old law ceases to have effect. Under the *Canadian Immigration and Refugee Protection Act*, security certificates can be issued to noncitizens to expedite deportation if you've been "found" engaged in espionage, organized crime, or are a threat to the nation's security. However, security certificates have been used instead for indefinite detention.

2008 – Also under the amendments, the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration is given authority to prioritize certain skills and occupations, "to align the immigration system with labour market needs." The changes illustrate the government's policy shift whereby immigrants are increasingly being understood and treated as economic units to be brought to Canada through temporary visa arrangements rather than as immigrants/permanent residents. The Canadian Experience Class allows international students and certain types of temporary foreign workers to apply for permanent resident status within Canada. However, the class excludes a large number of "lower skilled" temporary foreign workers.

2009 - The Coalition for Change: Caregivers and Temporary Foreign Workers is formed, composed of several organizations campaigning for justice and landed status for caregivers and other temporary foreign workers. They sponsor a National Day of Action for Justice for Migrant Workers on December 2, 2009 to call attention to the failures of the Temporary Foreign Worker Program and demand real protection. Actions take place in Toronto, Ottawa, Guelph, Montreal and other cities.

2009 – Ontario Caregivers' Action Centre an advocacy group of live-in caregivers and former live-in caregivers that have been instrumental in fighting for changes to recruitment fees and other exploitative practices resulting in the establishment of Bill 210 '*An Act to Protect Foreign Nationals Employed as Live-In Caregivers*'.

December 2009 - Regulatory changes to the Temporary Foreign Workers Program come into effect. These changes will make vulnerable migrant workers even more precarious by limiting their ability to stay in Canada beyond a four-year period and barring them from returning to the country for six years.

2010 – The Federal Conservatives introduce Bill C-49 which will severely restrict the rights and punish refugee claimants. This is a direct response to the arrival of almost 500 refugee claimants (women, men and children) from the MV Sun Sea off the coast of British Columbia.

2010 – Immigration reforms include a new citizenship test and institution of a higher score needed to pass it: 75% from 60%. The test measures applicant’s knowledge of Canadian history, culture and values. Immigrants from the Caribbean saw their pass rate go down approx. 20% while those from South Asian, and Southern and East African communities experienced a decline of more than 15%.

2014 – Ottawa twice raised the citizenship processing fee from \$100 per adult to \$300 in February and to \$530 in December. An additional \$100 “Right of Citizenship” fee is paid by successful candidates.

2014 – Conservatives pass Bill C-24 (enacted June 2015) which requires citizenship applicants to be in Canada for 4 years out of 6 (rather than 3 out of 4), and raises the exemption from language and citizenship tests to 65 from 55. It also includes new citizenship revocation provisions that apply if a person is born out of Canada, or born in Canada and has another nationality, or is eligible to obtain another nationality. This is if: citizenship was obtained fraudulently, the person served as a member of an armed force or group engaged in armed conflict with Canada, the person was convicted of treason, spying or a terrorism offence and sentenced to 5 years or more. Cases will be decided by the Citizenship and Immigration Minister (or delegate), instead of the Federal Court.

2015 – Bill C-51, *Anti-Terrorism Act*, was adopted by the Harper Conservative government and supported by the Liberals. This legislation broadens the authority of Canadian government agencies to share

information about individuals easily among themselves and international counterparts. This Act has been heavily criticized by civil liberties and privacy experts, including the federal Privacy Commissioner.

2015 – The Liberal government promises to bring 25,000 Syrian refugees to Canada by the end of 2015 under the government-assisted refugee program that sees the government take on the full cost of a person's resettlement for a full year. The deadline gets pushed ahead and the new target for settling 25,000 Syrian refugees was set for the end of February 2016.

2016 – by Dec 2016, 13,000 privately-sponsored Syrian refugees are accepted in Canada, (in addition to the 21,000 government sponsored refugees). However, the Liberal government puts a cap of 1,000 refugee applicants from Syria for 2017. This puts many sponsors in shock and dismay as applications cannot be submitted before funds (\$23,000 for a 3-member family), are in place, and gives them very little time to plan or fundraise.

June 17, 2016 - legislation to change the Canadian Citizenship Act, Bill C-6, passed third reading. This means passage of this new law should be happening early in 2017. The amendments made by Bill C-6 address some of the reforms in Bill C-24 and include:

- The requirement that an applicant intend, if granted citizenship, to continue to reside in Canada has been repealed/removed.
- The requirement for applicants to be physically present in Canada has gone back to 3 out of 5 years (1,095 days) and time spend in Canada as a non-permanent resident would now count.
- Bill C-6 also limits the requirement to demonstrate knowledge of Canada and of one of its official languages to applicants between the ages of 18 and 54 as opposed to ages of 14 to 64 under the previous Act.

Justice System

Research has shown that racism exists within the criminal justice system. For example, the seminal 1995 Report of the Commission on Systemic Racism in the Ontario Criminal Justice System, found that individual and systemic racism existed throughout all aspects of the criminal justice processes:

- Racialized people, in particular Black people, were over-represented in the prisons.
- Non-racialized accused were more likely to be released by police and less likely to be detained after a bail hearing.
- Non-racialized accused were also less likely to be sentenced to prison after being found guilty or likely to be sentenced more lightly than Black people even when they had a criminal record and serious past of criminal activity.

Although there is more acknowledgement of racial bias in the criminal justice system, racial discrimination still exists. Similar to the way racialized communities are racially profiled for “anti-terrorism” and national security purposes, they are profiled for “criminal” purposes. Racialized people are more likely to be “carded” or stopped, questioned and documented by the police whether or not an arrest or charge is made, resulting in increased contact with the criminal justice system among racialized communities.

Studies have shown that racialized communities perceive that racial profiling is affecting them and also that they are treated worse, for example, by the police.¹ Some changes have had to come through litigation. Courts and tribunals have held that a racialized person cannot be detained just because

¹ Ontario Human Rights Commission. *Paying the Price: The Human Cost of Racial Profiling Inquiry Report*. 2003.

http://www.ohrc.on.ca/sites/default/files/attachments/Paying_the_price%3A_The_human_cost_of_racial_profiling.pdf

they fit a “criminal profile” or because they are a young Black man driving an expensive car.²

Even 20 years after the seminal Ontario report, Black and Aboriginal youth still continue to be over-represented in the prisons. In 2012, the United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child recommended that Canada reduce the high number of Aboriginal and African-Canadian children in jails and in out-of-home care (including foster care, kinship care, children’s aid, group homes, etc.).

In the 2012-2013 Annual Report of the Office of Correctional Investigator³ focused on “diversity” issues in the correctional system, the following findings were made:

- “Visible minority” groups (Black, Hispanic, Asian, East Indian and other ethnicities) offender population (community and incarcerated) has increased over the past 5 years by 40%. “Visible minorities” behind bars increased by almost 75% over the last 10 years. The increase in total offender population is linked to the punitive “tough on crime” legislation that was enacted under the previous Conservative federal government. The negative consequences of this initiative has mainly impacted racialized communities.
- “Visible minorities” constituted 18% of the total federally sentenced offender population (those incarcerated and in the community).
- Focusing on the last five years, the total offender population (community and incarcerated) increased by 7.1%, even though the overall crime rate has fallen. All new net growth in the offender population can be accounted for by increases in Aboriginal, Black, Asian and other “visible

² *Shaw v. Phipps*, 2012 ONCA 155 (CanLII); *Maynard v. Toronto Police Services Board*, 2012 HRTO 1220 (CanLII); *Nassiah v. Peel Police Services Board*, 2007 HRTO 14 (CanLII).

³ Office of the Correctional Investigator. *2012-2013 Annual Report of the Office of Correctional Investigator*. <http://www.oci-bec.gc.ca/cnt/rpt/annrpt/annrpt20122013-eng.aspx#fn8>.

minority” groups. By contrast, during the same time period, the total Caucasian offender population decreased by 3%.

- Black inmates are one of the fastest growing sub-populations in federal corrections. Over the last 10 years, the number of federally incarcerated Black inmates has increased by 90%. Black inmates now account for 9.5% of the total prison population (up from 6.3% in 2003/04) while representing less than 3% of the Canadian population.
- Black inmates are over-represented in maximum security, segregation and use of force incidents.
- “Visible minority” staff are not well represented in correctional institutions and Corrections Services has “limited partnership” with “visible minority” communities.
- Discriminatory behaviour and prejudicial attitudes are reported as common experiences for many “visible minority” inmates. For example, black men felt they were stereotyped through the “gang lens”.

In addition, the criminal justice system still does not fully reflect racialized communities. For example, a 2012 Ryerson University study found that in their sample of the judiciary, 2.3 % of the federally appointed judges were “visible minorities” There was a higher percentage of “visible minority” judges among Ontario's appointees: 10.9%.⁴

⁴ Ryerson University Diversity Institute. *Improving Representation in the Judiciary: A Diversity Strategy*. 2012.:
<http://www.ryerson.ca/content/dam/diversity/resources/Powerpoint%20-%20Improving%20Representation%20in%20the%20Judiciary%20-%20June%2027.pdf>

Employment

Workplace racial discrimination or racism can be overt or subtle. Discrimination and racism can occur during the hiring process – whether veiled as not having the “experience” or qualifications required, or not being the right “fit” for the organization, or whether the selection board has implicit biases towards particular applicants. It occurs in the workplaces – from who is chosen for “acting” or training opportunities to who is included or isolated or whose contributions are recognized at meetings or events. It can result in wage discrimination (i.e. racialized workers get lower wages than their non-racialized counterparts) or occupational discrimination (i.e. racialized workers are under-utilized with respect to their qualifications and experience). Racialized workers may experience many micro-aggressions on a daily basis (e.g. comments based on food, culture, appearances – often based on stereotypes and prejudices with regard to a racialized group).

The consequences of racism or racial discrimination can be profound. In 2013, the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders-5 (DSM-5) was changed to recognize that race-based trauma can cause post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) due to racism on emotional and psychological well-being. A cumulative effect (i.e. repeated exposure to racism) could result in PTSD. The DSM-5 is the leading authority used by psychiatrists and psychologists in mental health related disabilities.

Despite the increase in racialized workers in the federal public service, systemic racial discrimination and harassment in Canadian workplaces continues to exist. According to the 2014 federal Public Service Employee Survey¹, “visible minorities” were more likely than other employees to indicate that they had faced discrimination at work in the last two years (13% vs. 7%). They were slightly less likely to believe that their organization works hard to create a workplace that prevents discrimination. Members of “visible minorities” perceived being discriminated against primarily on the basis of

¹ Treasury Board of Canada Secretariat. *2014 Public Service Employee Survey: Visible Minority Group*. <http://www.tbs-sct.gc.ca/pses-saff/2014/results-resultats/bq-pq/00/dem930-eng.aspx>.

race (50%), national or ethnic origin (38%) and colour (32%). As well, a slightly larger proportion of “visible minorities” than other employees indicated that they had been a victim of harassment at work in the last two years (19% vs. 18%). About 46% of “visible minorities” did not feel that they could initiate a formal recourse process (grievance, complaint, appeal, etc.) without fear of reprisal.

Although the above data is based on the surveys conducted in the federal public service, this is consistent with a Canadian Heritage survey conducted in 2006. This survey found that among people who identify with an “ethnic or racial minority”, one in five said that the discrimination they experienced came from an employer or potential employer. Studies conducted by Statistics Canada also confirm that “visible minorities” believe they experience discrimination and harassment at a higher rate than “non-visible minorities”. In fact, in a 2002 study, second generation “visible minorities” reported higher rates of racial discrimination than their parents.²

In a very recent study led by the University of Toronto over two years, as many as 40 per cent of racialized jobseekers “whiten” their resumés by adopting “Anglicized” names and downplaying experience with racialized groups to bypass biased screeners and just get their foot in the door.³

² Jeffrey G. Reitz and Rupa Banerjee. “Racial Inequality, Social Cohesion, and Policy Issues in Canada” 2007: Institute for Research on Public Policy. <http://irpp.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/08/reitz.pdf>.

³ Nicolas Keung. *Toronto Star*, “Job seekers resort to ‘resumé whitening’ their names to get a foot in the door, study shows”. March 17, 2016. <https://beta.thestar.com/news/immigration/2016/03/17/jobseekers-resort-to-resum-whitening-to-get-a-foot-in-the-door-study-shows.html> .

EDUCATION:

Re: <http://www.cea-ace.ca/sites/cea-ace.ca/files/EdCan-2008-v48-n4-Ghosh.pdf>

The school is a microcosm of society.

As products of contemporary times in the Canadian context, fewer Canadian teachers are blatantly racist. Furthermore, overt racist and sexist materials have largely been removed from formal curricula, although the problem of Eurocentric educational systems across Canada does produce racist effects, largely through textbooks' non-recognition and mis-recognition of the contribution of non-European groups of people. However, simply changing curricula and policy is insufficient because the problem is embedded in the social consciousness.

More destructive and insidious than the formal curriculum is the 'hidden' curriculum. Educational discourse (language and practice) perpetuates racism in subtle ways. The hidden curriculum refers to the socialization process in schooling – a curriculum that is taught without being formally ascribed. It emanates from social, political and cultural environments of the society and must be understood in relation to the overall societal power structures (of ethnicity, class, and gender for example) that influence the education system. Therefore, the effects of the hidden curriculum are not casual or unsystematic but rather a reflection of the sociocultural and economic-political structure of society.

Similarly, teachers' roles in shaping the educational experiences of students and influencing their life chances must be understood through their own socialization and values within the social structure. Often teachers, perhaps inadvertently, exacerbate existing power inequities by reinforcing social attitudes through their own prejudices and stereotypical assumptions about student capabilities and cultural behavior. Low expectations, for example, are likely to result in self-fulfilling prophecies. Such unconscious assumptions, often based on racism, cannot be ignored or excused because of the enormous impact they have on a student's life.

Uncritical teaching leads to the maintenance of the existing ideology. For example, multicultural education is often translated into ‘tolerance of others’ – supposedly a democratic value. However, acceptance of others, not mere tolerance, is what is to be truly desired. Similarly, failing to recognize Canada’s racist history and portraying a race-less and colour-blind society condones and continues white privilege and racism. In education, we cannot be fair to all citizens by being colour-blind because Canadian society is not colour-blind; it privileges certain ethnic groups.

Racism is often invisible to teachers and administrators until it erupts in specific incidents. But failing to recognize and acknowledge racism perpetuates inequality and unequal relations. It is essential for educators to ensure that the school environment is not only safe but also conducive to learning, free of hurtful experiences or fear. Violent attitudes, actions and environments lead to a construction of the ‘other’ by producing social separation between dominant and subordinate groups. The damage to the victim is both material and emotional/psychological.

There have been recent examples of racism exhibited in the school systems:

1) CBC, December, 2016: A community coalition has filed a human rights complaint against the York Region District School Board, citing numerous incidents of racism in the region's school system — and "anti-Muslim" postings made by a Markham principal.

Allegations included:

- A black child, 8, was physically assaulted at school, and the school accused the child of lying.
- A black child was beaten severely by a group of white students while being called "n----r" while other students watched, taped it, and shared it on social media. The school did not suspend the students who were allegedly involved and the child's parents were not told about the incident until eight hours later.

- A teenage boy felt marginalized by his teacher, who constantly made racist remarks about his afro and him combing his hair with an afro pick.

(<http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/allegations-of-systemic-racism-in-york-region-school-board-prompt-human-rights-complaint-1.3878551>)

2) Toronto Star, January 2017: A York Region trustee who admitted to using a racial slur did not get any consequences for her actions. Parents demand that she steps down for her “complete disrespect of a black parent”. The petition quickly garnered more than 1,600 signatures. (<https://www.thestar.com/yourtoronto/education/2017/01/24/pressure-grows-for-york-trustee-to-step-down-over-racial-slur.html>)

3) National Observer, July 2016: A boy and his mother blamed by the school when bullies targeted the boy with violence and racist slurs. They had to take the school board to small claims court to have the racism acknowledged. <http://www.nationalobserver.com/2016/07/21/his-ottawa-school-failed-stop-racist-bullying-then-they-blamed-him>

4) CBC, HuffingtonPost, June 2014: An 11-year-old boy in Westport, Newfoundland had to transfer schools because of the extreme and racist bullying he has endured in his community. Torrence Collier is the only black child in the community. The bullying at his school was so bad that he was under constant supervision and had to use a separate washroom to avoid harassment from his classmates. <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/newfoundland-labrador/torrence-collier-family-may-move-from-westport-amid-bullying-concerns-1.2679271> & http://www.huffingtonpost.ca/rachel-decoste/racism-in-canada_b_6401578.html

ANTI-RACIST EDUCATION

- The first step is to acknowledge that inequalities and racism exist. Education needs systematic examination of and opposition to racial/gender/class stereotypes that reaffirm social inequities. It should be based on the assumption that any system or practice that discriminates against specific groups or individuals on the basis of their difference from the dominant group (in power) is unacceptable.

EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT – It doesn't add up!

- Ultimately, education is a big factor in influencing economic outcomes. We need only look at statistics about education and employment, to see the stark reality of racism. Despite higher levels of education, new immigrants are more likely to be unemployed than individuals born in Canada. New immigrants with a university degree face an unemployment rate of 14.4 per cent, compared to 3.5 per cent for individuals born in Canada (Stats Canada 2011).

Political Systems

THEN: *Re: <http://www.socialjustice.org/pdfs/economicapartheid.pdf>*

Canada's political and economic development is similar to that of other colonized societies in that it involved the subordination of indigenous peoples as well as genocide against nations; the suppression of their civil, political, and cultural rights, and often the forced use of their labour to extract their natural resources,

The political and economic systems that emerged in Canada were based on the concept of a White Settler Society, complete with a dominant culture, values, and institutions that mimic those of the home country (Britain). These patterns persisted even as the population changed. When free Black Loyalists began to arrive in Canada after 1783, they were given only a fraction of the land given to white Loyalists, despite promises of equal treatment (100 acres for whites and one acre for Blacks). Whether as Black slaves or freemen, as Chinese railroad workers, or as South Asian farm workers in the 19th and early 20th. centuries, they fit into a hierarchy of labour that imposed the level of exploitation needed to ensure the accumulation of capital for the purpose of industrial development and nation building.

Political policies (like the head tax meant to deter an influx of Asian immigrants), were the product of a systemic form of racism aimed at maintaining Canada as a white settler colony. An important part of that process was the determination to institutionalize European culture in all facets of Canadian life.

We see the state interfering in a very direct way with the capitalist production process. This was done by regulating labour supply, specifically one which could be superexploited and kept passive by the denial of political and legal rights rationalized by racist arguments

Tania Das Gupta, University Professor, Toronto, 1994

NOW:

Re: http://www.socialjusticejournal.org/archive/102_32_4/102_01Intro.pdf

Re: http://cspg-gcep.ca/pdf/StudentEssay2015_MoncrieffGould-e.pdf

The rise of globalization and transnational corporations has allowed capital to travel freely across borders, but the mobility and citizenship rights of the poor and vulnerable have decreased.

After September 11, the Canadian state implemented a series of legislative changes that has increased its ability to police borders, immigrants, asylum seekers, Internet and cell phone communication, and political resistance. Particularly noteworthy are the passage of the *Anti-Terrorism Act*, the *Immigrant and Refugee Protection Act*, the *Public Safety Act*, and the increasing use of security certificates. These state powers have affected racialized people and their experiences of “race,” racism, and their civil rights in society. Most notable has been the systematic surveillance, profiling, arrest, and detention of Arabs and Muslims, including those who are citizens, immigrants, and asylum seekers.

Barriers in our political system maintain the mythology of Canada as a white nation. The assignment of federal seats to provinces, and the subsequent division of provinces into ridings serves to decrease the weight of votes cast by racialized people, while also limiting the number of ridings they are likely to run and be elected in.

Canada’s electoral system relies heavily on representation by geographic area, rather than by percentage of population or vote. Canada attempts to enforce a semblance of vote parity by regulating the number of constituents allowed in a single riding, permitting a 25% deviation as necessary. The deviation, has served to balance regional and provincial interests in the House of Commons but it has also served to disproportionately increase representation in rural provinces and in rural areas within provinces.

Nearly 85% of racialized people live in urban ridings, along with 40% of the non-racialized population, meaning that non-racialized constituents receive increased representation per capita, as well as increased seats in the House of Commons, relative to their share of the population.

The methods through which candidates are selected and elected are also barriers to racialized representation. The federal party system has all but ensured that only those who run for one of the two or three most popular parties, will be elected. Parties (with a disproportionate number of white men in power), thus serve as gatekeepers, ultimately allowing or disallowing all candidates who run for office.

Once nominated, racialized people do not experience overall voter bias. Deficits in the election of racialized candidates stem from their nomination, as well as the ridings in which they are nominated, rather than from wider societal biases against them. High rates of incumbent re-election within the electoral system also serve as impediments both to the representation of racialized people and to any attempts to remove barriers. Incumbent Members of Parliament are more likely to be re-elected, and are thus less likely to be dislodged by their parties.

It is important to note as well, that not all ridings with high levels of racialized people contain a single dominant group. The block voting effect of a single racialized group would not likely be large enough to see a racialized candidate from that group elected on her/his own. Non-racialized people, in this context, are electable anywhere as a result of their historic identification as the “founding”, dominant culture, and thus only benefit from any vote splitting caused by racialized candidates.

Racialized people have **never** held a proportionate number of seats in the House of Commons, relative to their population.

For example, the most number of racialized MPs were elected in the 2015 federal election – that is approximately 14%. Less the Canadian population rate of approximately 20%.