Racism, Ethnicity and Immigration in Canada and Australia

Jock Collins
Frances Henry

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1. INTRODUCTION.

The aim of this article is to explore the relationship between immigration, ethnicity and racism in Australian and Canadian societies. These concerns emerge at a time when there is a noticeable escalation of racism towards immigrant groups in Western Europe, fuelled by economic recession and the remarkable political and social changes in Eastern Europe. Ethnic conflict, most devastatingly seen in the conflict in Yugoslavia, and a large scale flow of economic and political refugees, has dominated the European landscape in the last few years. In the USA, the Los Angeles "race riots" in May 1992 attracted world-wide attention, just as Britain's "race riots" of the early 1980s had a decade earlier. Canada and Australia remain, with the United States, Israel and New Zealand, the only countries of large scale immigration in the western world today. Contemporary Canadian and Australian societies are characterised by great ethnic diversity, with well over 100 ethnic groups. But can social cohesion co-exist with ethnic diversity? And, given the deep-seated histories of racist immigration policy and practices in both countries, is it possible to win the struggle against the escalation of contemporary racism?

These questions are among the most important in determining the contours of the future for Australian and Canadian societies, as recent events in both countries attest. Two days after the court decision which precipitated the LA riots was handed down, Toronto, one of Canada's most multicultural cities, had its own "race riot". Over 1000 people, black and white, marched to protest against the killing of a black youth, Raymond Lawrence, by an undercover Toronto policeman. The protest turned into a rampage when, in the words of the Globe and Mail, "a mob of about 1000 people, mostly youth of various races, ran though downtown Toronto streets on Monday night vandalising property and breaking into stores" (Globe and Mail, 6th May, 1992). The Toronto riot

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1. This paper was contracted after the Toronto conference in May 1992. Only one of the authors (Collins) was in attendance. The convenors decided subsequently that a paper on racism and immigration was required for this collection. Henry argued to co-author this paper, although the authors have never met, with all communications by fax and e-mail technology. Given a much tighter time schedule than other contributors, the Australian and Canadian material is presented separately as time did not permit a tighter integration. Collins wrote the majority of the introduction and the sections on Australia while Henry was responsible for most of the Canadian material.

It will be noticed that the Canadian section does not include studies or analyses of ethnicity. A complete review of Canadian pluralism would, of course, involve the analysis of ethnic diversity and the relations between Francophones and Anglophones. It is felt, however, that the analysis of racism has primacy over matters pertaining to ethnic integration. This seems especially relevant in a country such as Canada in which the mobility of peoples of white European origin has proceeded relatively smoothly whereas there have been significant barriers for peoples of colour.

2. This provocative question cannot be adequately answered, given the constraints under which this paper was written. Nevertheless, the issue is central to further research into racism in Canada and Australia.
shocked Canadians more than the events in LA: Canada in general, and Toronto in particular, prided itself in being a tolerant, multicultural society where all cultures mingle freely and equally. The popular view seemed to be that racism might be a problem in the USA, but not in Canada. Like the LA riots, racism among police was found to be a major factor in the Toronto killing. In the same month, a coronial inquiry into the Montreal police killing of a black man concluded that the Montreal Urban Community Police were failing in their fundamental duty because of racist elements within the force. The coroner called for a review of police training and the establishment of a special task force to deal with racism within the police force (Andre Picard, "Montreal Police chief disputes racism claim", Globe and Mail, 13/5/92).

In Australia a few months earlier, the Australian Broadcasting Corporation televised a documentary - Cop It Sweet - on a police station at Redfern, a Sydney inner-suburb with a high concentration of Aboriginal people. A national public outcry followed the exposition of racism among the Redfern police, with the head officer of Redfern police demoted and moved and other police officers in the documentary relocated.

But racism in Canada and Australia is not just a problem of the police forces in both countries. A report on race relations in Ontario a month after the Toronto riots concluded that racism was "systemic" in Ontario, pervading every one of the province’s institutions from schools and health care facilities to social welfare agencies and private companies. ("A Blinkered report on race", Editorial, Globe and Mail, 11 June, 1982). Similarly, the Report of the National Inquiry into Racist Violence in Australia found strong evidence that racist violence and abuse is part of daily life for many of Australia’s Aboriginals and immigrants. The Report found that "the level of racist violence and harassment ...should be a matter of concern to all Australians" (HREOC, 1991:xvii).

Despite this, the Inquiry concluded that while the level of intimidation and harassment suffered by Aboriginals and immigrants "is nowhere near the level experienced in many other countries", and concluded that "multiculturalism is working well in Australia" (ibid). Similarly, the Canadian experience suggests that prejudice co-exists with tolerance, as does racism with social harmony. Is this a correct assessment of the relationship between immigration, ethnicity and racism in Canada and Australia. Does social cohesion over-ride ethnic conflict? And if so, how is this contradiction to be explained?

This chapter investigates these issues. It first reviews the theories of race and ethnic relations before presenting an overview of the historical correspondence of immigration, racism and ethnic conflict in both Canada and Australia from the earliest days to the present. The chapter then reviews the most recent evidence on racism in the community, the workplace and the institutions of contemporary Australian and Canadian society. It then looks at the institutional and policy response to racism in both countries.
2. THEORIES OF RACE AND ETHNIC RELATIONS.

Theories of race and ethnic relations are a starting point in the analysis of the relationship between racism, immigration and ethnicity in the Canadian and Australian context. Most of the early developments in theories of racism and ethnicity have occurred in the USA and the UK, mostly within the disciplines of sociology and political science, although economic theory has also developed a theory of racial discrimination in the labour market. Broadly grouped, sociological theories of race and ethnic relations fall into a number of opposing camps. First, those concentrating on the biological determinants of race and racial behaviour; second assimilationist or cultural theories and, third, political economy or neo-marxist theories. Within each strand of theory there are great variations.

**Biological or scientific theories**

Biological theories view race as scientifically observable phenomenon. Racial differences are a result of the objective differences that arise because of perceived physical differences between peoples, with races defined as groupings of people with a set of physical traits similar to other members of this race, but significantly different from the physical traits of other races. Racial differences emerge because of either physical differences on the "inside" - genetic differences or genotype - or physical differences on the "outside" - such as skin colour, hair texture, eye shape or phenotype. Races are classified as Negroid, Mongolid, Caucasian, Asiatic and so on. As Wilson (1973:6) reminds us, "it is only when social and cultural attributes are associated with physical features that the concept racial and hence that of racial groups takes a special significance".

One expression of biological theories of race was Social Darwinism, which sought to apply Darwin's "survival of the fittest" explanations of the origins of animal species to the abilities of races of people. In this typology of races, the "white races" or Caucasians, were viewed as the superior race, with greater intelligence or ability than other "coloured" races. The resulting racist ideology was invoked to justify both the inferior social position of coloured people in western societies and the oppression of indigenous people in colonial societies.

In Canadian and Australian history, these theories of white racial superiority were often linked to notions of the religious superiority of Christianity (cf Bolaria and Li (eds.) (1988); Evans, Cronin et. al (1975)), with the indigenous peoples of both countries were viewed as both physically and spiritually inferior (Castles et al., 1988:106-9; Frideres 1988). This racist ideology justified the white invasion and the subsequent dispossessing of indigenous people of their land by British and French Colonialists.

However, there is no scientific basis for "race" as a biological concept. As Miles (1982) has argued, biological theories of racism and ethnicity have a problem of justifying why certain physical characteristics are taken to be indicative of 'race' and why others are not. Similarly, genetic variation within any population is usually greater than average differences between populations, while there is no simple and direct relationship
between genetic variation and physical variation (Satzewich, 1990). In 1978 the United Nations Education and Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) declared that "any theory which involves the claim that racial or ethnic groups are inherently superior or inferior...has no scientific foundation and is contrary to the moral and ethical principals of humanity." (cited in Bolaria and Li, 1988:16)

The conclusion, therefore, is that "race" is a social construct or category rather than a scientific one (cf Rex 1983, Montagu 1972). But how do we explain the dynamics of the social relationship between immigration, ethnicity and racism? In sociological theory there are two competing schools of thought: assimilationist theories and neo-Marxist theories.

Assimilationist theories

Assimilationist theories of race and ethnic relations first emerged in the USA in the 1920s with the work Robert Park (1922), who studied the ethnic diversity of American society through the prism of a "race relations cycle". This cycle, according to Park, started with the initial contact of new ethnic groups with the host society, after which competition would emerge over scarce resources such as employment and housing leading to ethnic conflict. Eventually these conflicts were accommodated and the new ethnic group became assimilated. With the arrival of a new ethnic group to the USA, the assimilation cycle from ethnic conflict to harmonious assimilation was repeated. In Park’s theory, assimilation was narrowly defined (cf Ujimoto, 1990:213-220), but later proponents to the assimilation school, such as Milton Gordon (1964:71), introduced variables such as prejudice and discrimination into the assimilation process. He viewed assimilation as a more complex phenomenon dealing with cultural, behavioural, structural, martial, identification, attitudinal, behavioural and civic aspects. The assimilationist model became the dominant mode of studying American race relations. As Pierre L. van den Berghe (1967:7) put it, "the field has been dominated by a functionalist view of society and a definition of the race problem as one of integration and assimilation of minorities into the mainstream of a consensus based society".

The assimilationist theory of race relations has been criticised on theoretical grounds by Richmond (1973) on the grounds that it is doubtful if complete assimilation would ever occur, and by Rex (1970) who doubted the universality of value systems and race relations systems that assimilationists claimed. Rex suggested that pluralism might be equally expected to be the outcome of ethnic conflict as was singularism or assimilation. Afro-American scholars have been particularly critical of assimilationist theory in recent years since the "assimilation" of peoples of colour in the United States has not taken place (Carmichael and Hamilton, 1967; Omi and Winant, 1986). Proponents of the political economy or neo-Marxist school reject the "culturalist" focus of racism that is implicit in assimilationist theory and its emphasis on the immigrants’ cultural baggage in explaining
the dynamics of immigrant life in their new adopted countries. Bolaria and Li, (1988:20) argue that in order to understand the social construction of racism in Canada it is necessary to focus on the structure of Canadian society and the historical way in which immigrants have been introduced into capitalist society, particularly in relationship to the labour market. They view race problems as beginning with labour problems, and view racism as something inherent to the process of capital accumulation rather than external to it as the "cultural differences" approach of the assimilationist school suggests.

The practise that emerges from an assimilationist approach can also be criticised. Assimilation was the philosophy underlying the settlement of (unexpected) ethnically-diverse immigrant population in Australia in the first two decades of the post-war immigration program. It was the immigrants who had to change to assimilate into Australian society. In practice, assimilation meant that immigrants had adopt Australians social behaviour and jettison all of their "cultural baggage". This meant that immigrant were to be treated in the same way as other Australians, despite their obvious differences with language and culture. Assimilationist ideology therefore precluded non English-speaking immigrant children being taught in languages other than English with curriculum and materials different from Anglo-Celtic Australians. It also precluded other Australian institutions - such as health, welfare and the law - from changing their practices, despite the dramatically-changing ethnic composition of Australian society (Collins, 1991:228-30). Similarly, in Canada assimilation ideology shaped the policies and practices relating to immigrant settlement in the post-1947 years, justifying government ignorance and neglect of the needs of new, ethnically-diverse immigrants (see the chapter by Dorais, Forster and Stockley, "Multiculturalism and Integration" in this volume).

The Political Economy of racism
Sociologists from the neo-Marxist school, such as Miles (1982), Solomos (1989) and Satzewich (1990), are critical of those who use the term "race" or "race relations" because the categories are unscientific and reify the use of the concept of "races". They argue that race relations sociology elevates the idea or concept of "race" to the status of an objectively existing object. To avoid this problem of reification, Miles, Satzewich and others insist that "race" is to be written in quotation marks to highlight the concept's ideological, rather than scientific, content. Miles suggests that the key object of study should not be race or race relations but the process of racialisation, that is the study of how and why, in different societies at different times, social significance has been attached to the patterns of genotypical or phenotypical variation.

There have been two broad responses to this question of racialisation, according to Solomos (1989). One centres around structuralist approaches to the political economy of labour, the
other around the notion of agency. Structuralist approaches to racialisation start with Cox's seminal work, *Class, Caste and Race*, published in 1948. Cox was interested in the links between racism, the economic exploitation of non-white labour and class divisions in capitalist societies. According to this approach, "race problems begin as labour problems" (Bolaria and Li, 1988:7). In the last few decades, neo-Marxists have used a structuralist approach to study the dynamics of racism confronting immigrant workers in contemporary capitalist society in Western Europe and the United Kingdom (Castles et al., 1973, 1984), Canada (Bolaria and Li, 1988, Li (ed) 1990) and Australia (Collins, 1975, 1978; Bottomley and De Lepervanche (eds.), (1984). These studies explore the links between immigrant workers, the exploitation of wage-labour, capital accumulation and class divisions. Racism is linked to the need for capitalist societies to maximise profits and to divide and weaken working class solidarity, and is viewed as a fundamental link in the dynamics of economic and political inequality in capitalist societies.

While often criticised as "economistic" or "conspiratorial", neo-Marxism has extended its analysis of the class basis of ideology and political power via the concepts of hegemony and the relative autonomy of the State. Stuart Hall (1980) has argued that while racism cannot be reduced to class or other social relations, neither can it be adequately understood in abstraction from wider economic, political or ideological forces. This has inspired studies of the role of the state as a site for the reproduction of racially-structured situations, with Solomos (1989:19) investigating in the UK the question of how far the state can be transformed into the instrument of anti-racist political situations. In addition, neo-Marxists recognise that the victims of racism are not passive, but in fact respond to, and resist, racism (Stasiulis, 1990). Similarly, racism is a complex, contradictory phenomenon and can at times become dysfunctional to capitalism. For example, capitalism benefited from the use of cheap Chinese labour in Canada and Australia, but racist opposition to Chinese immigration from other workers forced the hand of the state to reduce, and eventually halt, Chinese immigration (Li, 1988). As Bolaria and Li (1988:39) put it, "racism can be socially counter-productive in creating excessive social tensions."

Ethnicity, like "race", is a social construct. Ethnicity is an elusive concept. As de Lepervanche (1980) has pointed out, there are no such things as ethnic groups, merely "ways of seeing" ethnic groups. Ethnic groups are loosely defined as a group of people who share a common experience or origin, with descent, language, religion and culture seen as constituting aspects of this common experience (Li, 1990:44-5). The combination of factors which determine ethnicity varies considerably in the literature, with over 100 definition of ethnicity emerging. Recent developments in neo-Marxist theory of racism focus on the intersection of ethnicity, "race" and gender (Stasiulis, 1990; Bottomley et al. 1991; Yuval-Davis and Anthias, 1989). As Vasta
(1991:161) argues, "gender cannot be simply reduced to ethnic or class relations. Rather, the relationship between gender, ethnicity and class are constituted differently at different times, and are often constituted through complex and contradictory sets of relations".

Over-generalising between or even within countries regarding matters of racism is fraught with dangers of over-simplification. This is seen clearly in the case of Canadian immigration history and the different processes of the racialisation of Chinese, Japanese and East Indian labour. While the Chinese were eventually excluded from entry, the Japanese - no less objects of bitter hostility, particularly in British Columbia - were allowed in, though in small numbers, by a "gentleman's agreement" between the Canadian and Japanese government. This difference in process of racialisation of Chinese and Japanese immigrant labour stems from the desire of the Canadian government to appease the British government who were trying to set up economic agreements with the Japanese. This shows the often ephemeral role of the "physical" in race relations. Similarly, while East Indian immigrants were "coloured", the restriction of Indian labour required a more "inventive" method of restricting their immigration since India was a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations. The result was the requirement that immigrants from India make a "continuous journey" to Canada while the Canadian Pacific Railway was directed not to allow tickets for a continuous journey to be sold (Li, 1988). This underlines the way in which racism is constructed socially rather than scientifically.

So while racism has a common denominator - based on the alleged superiority of one "race" or ethnic group over another - its particular form of enactment varies considerably from time to time and from place to place. This is illustrated by the different experience of the indigenous peoples of Canada and Australia. In Australia, the aboriginals were characterised as incapable of any systematic land tenure, with the continent of Australia was declared terra nullius, or "empty land" at the time of white settlement (Reynolds, 19xx). Aboriginal skills and labour were not critical to white settlement, though aboriginal labour was important in cases such as tracking and in livestock industries in later decades. Consequently, a treaty with Australian aboriginal people was never envisaged. In Canada, Indian trappers were a vital link to the early economy's fur trade so that their labour and skills were vital to the economic success of the new colonies (Bourgeault, 1988). Treaties were negotiated to formalise these economic and social relationships, though without exception, these treaties did not deliver the promises of the Canadian government to Canada's indigenous people (Frideres, 1988). Despite these differences, the indigenous peoples in Canada and Australia were both dispossessed of their land in the face of encroaching white settlement.

In later years, when non-white immigration meant that the "people of coloured races" were not solely indigenous peoples, the
continuation of racist ideology relegated non-white immigrants in Australia, Canada and other similar societies to inferior economic and social positions. Racist ideology therefore is the backdrop critical to an understanding of Canadian and Australian immigration history.

3. IMMIGRATION AND RACISM IN AUSTRALIA.

From the first days of white invasion, when the Aboriginal population numbered 700,000 (White and Mulvaney, 1987:117), racism pervaded Australian society. Racist attitudes to Aboriginal people, shaped by Social Darwinism, precluded the integration of the large pool of aboriginal labour into white society. Rather, early relations between blacks and white were characterised more by genocide than by desire for co-settlement. The internal reserve army of Aboriginal labour was rejected in favour of an imported reserve army of immigrants during periods of subsequent labour shortage. Until 1861, three quarters of the population increase was due to immigration (Collins, 1991:19). Most had come from Britain. However, during the Gold Rush of the 1850s, when the population trebled, the number of non-British migrants - including Chinese, Germans, Poles, Americans, Scandinavians and Hungarians - increased.

The response to the Chinese became one of hatred and hostility. Anti-Chinese riots occurred on many goldfields in New South Wales, Victoria and Queensland during the 1850s. The newspapers of the day reported that some Chinese were killed and many injured, with the Chinese attacked in the press by writers and cartoonists who created racist stereotypes based on Chinese dress, eating habits, health, religion, culture, opium smoking and sexual predilections (Evans et. al, 1975). Anti-Chinese demonstrations successfully called for legislation to restrict Chinese immigration. Authorities in Victoria placed a 12 pound per annum "residence tax" on the Chinese in 1857 while New South Wales imposed a poll tax of 20 pound, and a tonnage restriction of 10 tons, per Chinese and withheld their right of naturalisation. Similar legislation was introduced in Queensland a decade later following the discovery of new goldfields (Markus, 1979; Price, 1974).

Other "coloured" workers were also the victims of racist violence. In Queensland, South Sea Islanders (Melanesians including Kanaks) were forcibly recruited between 1863 and 1904 to work in the sugar industry as labourers and cane cutters. According to the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (1991:49-50) "the extent of physical violence inflicted on the Melanesians, especially before 1890, is comparable with the level of violence experienced by Aboriginal workers in the pastoral industry". While the Melanesians were considered inferior to Europeans, they were seen as superior to Aboriginals. The hierarchy of racial preference was reflected in the wages that workers received: The highest wages were paid to the Australian-born and British immigrants, who earned about 42 pound
a year. The Chinese were paid much less (20 pound), but more than Melanesians (4 pound) who in turn earned more than the Aboriginals, who were paid not in wages but in rations (Evans et al, 1975:180).

The labour movement, and its newly founded political wing, the Labor Party, advocated a "White Australia" policy to accompany the birth of the new nation of Australia at Federation in 1901. This demand received support across the spectrum of politics and amongst all classes. Debate at the time centred not on the appropriateness of the racist White Australia policy but on the methods by which non-white exclusion was to be achieved. Rather than explicit exclusion the 1901 Immigration Restriction Act introduced the infamous 'dictation test': any person who failed to pass a dictation test in a European language could be declared a prohibited immigrant. Nevertheless, the intention and subsequent practice of the Act was clear: non-whites would be excluded. The new Australian nation had as its foundation a racist immigration policy. It was a success: in 1901 there were 30,000 "full-Chinese"; by 1947, there were only 9,000. (Collins, 1991:204-5).

The non-British European-born population also declined after federation, with the exception of the Italian-born. The Italian population grew to over 26,000 by 1933, making them the second largest European group in Australia. The Italians, viewed as cheap, hard-working labour, were called the "Chinese of Europe". The Ferry Commission was set up to investigate the hostility of British immigrants and the Australian-born towards Italians. It reported that the origins of this conflict emerged out of "the Australians fear and suspicion of Southern Europeans who accepted low wages too eagerly, worked too long hours...and put their relations to work for bed and board and not a proper wage" (de Lepervanche, 1975:98-9). When Italians were used as strike breakers on the Melbourne wharves in 1934, the result was "ugly riots reminiscent of the anti-Chinese riots on the gold diggings" (ibid). In the same year a similar riot occurred in Kalgoorlie, Western Australia, when an Australian was thrown out of an Italian-owned hotel for refusing to pay for his beer. Fifty houses belonging to Southern European miners were burnt to the ground (Price, 1963:210).

By 1947, 90 per cent of Australians were of British origin, with another 8.4 per cent of European origin (Price, 1979). The Labor Government's first Minister for Immigration, Arthur Calwell, launched the largest immigration program in Australian history. Post-war immigration was to add 1 per cent to Australian population growth per year under the slogan "Populate or perish!" Calwell gave assurances that a white Australia would not be under challenge, since nine out of every ten migrants would come from Britain (Collins, 1991). But right from the outset it was clear that the "numbers" objective of the immigration program could not be achieved without sacrificing the "racial purity" objective. Between 1947 and 1951, 180,000 Eastern European refugees entered Australia, with British immigrants comprising well under half of
the intake over this period. These refugees were allowed into
Australia on the proviso that they be indentured for two-years
and directed to work only in jobs where there were no Australian
workers available. These "Displaced People" were not to engage
in political activity and were recruited to unskilled jobs
irrespective of their skills (Markus, 1984:88).

From the outset, post-war immigration policy deviated from the
vision that was sold to the Australian public. Non-British
immigrants would be recruited to fill immigration targets as the
immigration net fell first on Northern, and then Southern and
Eastern Europe. A "two-class" immigration program had been
established by default, not design: immigrants from non
English-speaking countries were to be recruited to unskilled and
semi-skilled manual jobs to occupy inferior positions in the
labour market while British and other English-speaking immigrants
were recruited to jobs that were similar to the Australian-born.

By the mid-1960s, the White Australia policy was under challenge.
Exceptions were made for professional and highly-skilled
"coloured" immigrants, while immigrants from the Middle East were
considered "honorary whites". The policy was formally abolished by
the newly-elected Whitlam Labor Government in 1972. A
non-discriminatory immigration policy was introduced. In the
1970s and 1980s, immigrants from the Middle East, south east
Asia, the Indian sub-continent and southern and central America
were drawn into the Australian immigration net. Following the
Canadian lead, a points system was introduced to link immigration
to the increasing need for skilled and professional labour.

The Eastern, Northern and Southern Europeans who led the
non-British intake in the post-1947 immigration program - and
their counterparts from the Middle East, Indo-China and Latin and
Central America in subsequent decades - entered a society with
a clear and persistent history of racism and xenophobia. This
racial prejudice was to influence greatly the relations between
the 'new Australians' and their Australian-born neighbours and
workmates, making life very difficult for many non-British
immigrants. Indeed, even the British attracted their share of
abuse as "whingeing Poms".

One indication of the prejudice confronting post-war immigrants
from non English-speaking backgrounds is found in opinion polls
conducted over the decades. For example, Markus (1985:22) points
out that over the years between 1948 and 1971 the majority of
those polled believed that Italians and Greeks should be kept out
of Australia or only allowed in small numbers. There was,
however, a noticeable reduction of this opinion from 75% to 50%
in that period.

When Asians began to be accepted into Australia in the mid 1970s
after more than 100 years of exclusionary immigration policy,
prejudice once again emerged. The 1984 "Blainey debate" centred
around the acceptability of Asian immigrants and the view that
multiculturalism divides the nation (Collins, 1984). As recent
as 1988, the Australian bicentennial year, the then leader of the Federal Opposition, John Howard, attempted to politicise racist sentiments by committing the Opposition to a policy of reducing Asian immigration and abandoning multiculturalism in favour of a "one nation" policy (Collins, 1991:302–6). In the late 1980s, opinion polls continued to highlight public opposition to Asian and European immigration (Markus 1988:33), although Goot (1988) warns that caution must be exercised in interpreting the opinion polls. Different conclusions are often drawn from the same data. Hence, Evans, Jones and Kelley (1988) argue that data from the Australian National Science Survey shows that most Australians are neutral in their attitudes to immigrants as measured on a ‘warmth of feeling’ scale, leading them to conclude that prejudice is not very prevalent in Australia. On the other hand, Wooden (1990:264) interprets the same data to conclude that "a reasonable amount of prejudice does exist, particularly with regard to Asian immigrants".

4. THE HISTORICAL EVIDENCE OF RACISM IN CANADIAN SOCIETY

As in other western, industrialised societies, racism can be demonstrated throughout the history of Canada. It shares the same historical roots as racism in U.S., Great Britain and France that of conquest and colonialism. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the French and then the British claimed "Canada", the lands which for thousands of years had been inhabited by Native Peoples. Through the well known colonial processes of christianisation, subjugation, segregation, and in some cases extermination, European colonists denied Canada’s Aboriginal peoples their history, language, culture, land, livelihood and dignity. The Canadian government, through the Indian Act, institutionalised racism by a series of treaties and acts and it continues to flourish today with devastating impact upon Canada’s Aboriginal people (Frideres 1988).

The enslavement of African people by the colonists and the racial segregation and discrimination practised against "free" black people is also part of the history of Canada. United Empire Loyalists fleeing the American Revolution brought their black slaves with them to Nova Scotia. Another group of black refugees from the United States joined them in 1815. While slavery did not reach major proportions in upper Canada, primarily because the land itself did not lend itself to monocrop agricultural production, it was nevertheless actively practised. It was not until 1834 that slavery was finally abolished in Canada by an Act of British Parliament. By that time, several thousand black slaves had escaped slavery in the U.S. and had settled in Canada. After the abolition of slavery in the U.S. many Canadian blacks chose to return to the U.S., recognising that the value attributed to the colour of one’s skin would continue to mark and marginalise them within Canadian society. Descendants of these several groups of early black settlers still live in Nova Scotia today, the victims of centuries of impoverishment, neglect and
The colour-line of racial disparity was evident in school, the government, the workplace, residential housing and elsewhere. Residential segregation was widespread and legally enforced through the use of racially restricted covenants attached to deeds and leases. Separation or simple refusal of service was commonplace in restaurants, theatres, recreational facilities, etc. Several court challenges were launched against these practices by black Canadians. In one such challenge in 1919 the Quebec Court of Justice ruled that racial discrimination was not contrary to the public order or of morality of Canada. The most celebrated case began with the refusal to serve a black customer in a Montreal tavern in 1931 and ended in the Supreme Court of Canada in 1939 when the nation's highest tribunal concluded that racial discrimination was legally enforceable (Walker 1987).

Schooling was denied outright to both native children and to those of African descent by many school boards or it was provided in racially segregated settings. In both Alberta and New Brunswick, Blacks were denied access to "white schools". In B.C. there were several attempts to segregate Asian children. The segregation which existed by law in both Ontario and Nova Scotia was practised in some school boards until the 1960's (Walker 1985).

**IMMIGRATION LAWS**

Notions of white supremacy and dominance are woven into the Canadian government immigration policies and practices throughout most of Canada’s history (Palmer 1975, Burnet & Palmer 1988). Immigration first became a major issue in the late 1880’s. By this time the labour needs of the country required large numbers of workers from abroad. The government initiated an active program in the late 19th century to encourage white immigrants to come settle and farm the vast areas of the country recently brought under Canadian control. The great majority were from Britain and the U.S, but many thousands of Italian Finns and other Europeans came to work on farms and to help build a trans continental railroad. However, as the ready supply of manual labour from Europe and U.S. began to dwindle the Canadian government permitted (albeit reluctantly) some Chinese labourers. But the white population were openly antagonistic towards the newcomers. When the completion of the railroad was in sight, the Federal government passed a highly discriminatory policy, entrenching racism for the first time (but certainly not the last) into laws of the land. A head tax was established which applied to all Chinese males wishing to come to Canada (women and children were excluded from admission). The head tax started at $50 in 1888 and by 1903 it was raised to $500. As anti-Chinese sentiment continued to grow, the government responded with a series of restrictions prohibiting Chinese Canadians from professions as law and pharmacy; they could not work for government or hold public crown lands. Finally these repressive measures culminated in the Chinese Exclusion Act which totally
excluded Chinese immigration from 1923-1947 (Bolarias & Li 1988).

Other members from racial groups immigrating to Canada also experienced racism. In 1907, a white protest demonstration in Vancouver directed against immigrants of Chinese, Japanese and South Asian origins ended in a race riot in which several lives were lost (Duginoto 1972). Shortly after, the court passed an Act to discourage East Indians from immigrating to Canada. As citizens of the British Empire they should have had access to Canada but immigration was made almost impossible by the Continuous Passage Act (Indra 1985).

A further immigration Act enshrined the government’s discriminatory policies into law by creating an excluded class of immigrants deemed undesirable because of "climate, social, educational, labour or other conditions or requirements of Canada - or because of their customs, habits, modes of life were deemed to result in a probable inability to become readily assimilated" (Hansard 1922, pp 1509-1572). A list of preferred and non-preferred countries were established. Traditionally affinities to the U.K. and U.S. naturally favoured immigration from these countries. Next in order of preference came immigrants from northern and western Europe, followed those from Central and Eastern Europe and then those from Southern Europe. A special permit class was established which included immigrants from Greece, Syria, Turkey and European Jews were also included in this group (Li & Bolarias 1983).

From 1939-1945 Canada managed to write its worse chapter in terms of a long history of racist immigration policies. As Hitler moved into his "final solution" to eliminate the Jewish people, Canada closed its doors to refugees fleeing Europe. The famous ship, the St. Louis attempted to land in Halifax as well as many other ports in North and South American and was denied entrance. Of all the Western countries, Canada admitted the fewest Jewish refugees (Abella & Troper 1982).

The Jews who came in earlier waves of immigration, did however, experience widespread discrimination in employment, the financial and commercial world was closed to them and Universities maintained restrictive entrance quotas. Other signs of anti-semitism included restrictions on where Jews could live and buy property. Signs were posted along the Toronto beaches; "no dogs or Jews allowed". Many hotels and resorts had restricted clauses, prohibiting Jews from coming as guests (Abella & Troper 1982).

While denying Jews refuge from the Nazi concentration camps and discriminating against those who were in Canada, the government of Canada in 1942 also turned its xenophobia against Japanese Canadians. As soon as Pearl Harbour brought Japan into conflict with the Allies, Canadians of Japanese origin, including Canadian born and naturalised citizens, were expelled from the west coast
of British Columbia. They were relieved of their property and were imprisoned in internment camps. 22,000 Japanese Canadians were deprived of their homes, business boats and other property. The reason given for this mass denial of rights was wartime security. But no Japanese Canadians was even charged with sabotage or any other kind of disloyalty before, before, during or after the war. It is now agreed that the prime factor in the internment was the latent racist feelings harboured by Canadian official against the Japanese. It was not until 1988 that justice was finally achieved for those Japanese Canadians who were still living when 12,000 Japanese Canadians were paid 20,000 each as compensation for their internment, as well, they were given a formal apology by the Canadian Parliament (Ujimoto 1988).

In summarising the immigration policies of Canada over the last 100 or so years it can be said that the policy served to divide the world into essentially two parts: preferred immigrants who were of British and European stock and "white"; and the rest of the world, largely composed of peoples of colour. The year 1967 marks the beginning of a series of radical reforms in the immigration policy largely as the result of changing demographics and economic pressures. The traditional sources of labour were no longer producing sufficient numbers of immigrants as the post-war economics of Europe began to prosper. New labour needs were emerging in Canada. Rapid industrialisation and expanding new technologies required workers with high levels of skills and education. In response to new economic conditions the government of Canada dropped its restrictive and discriminatory immigration policies. A point system was introduced whereby immigrants regardless of origin or colour of skin were awarded points based on job training, experience, skills, level of education, knowledge of English or French, degree of demand for the occupation of the applicant and job offers. As close to 150,000 immigrants per year from new source countries began arriving in Canada, a restructuring of the racial and cultural composition of Canadian society began to take place (Malarek 1987). A recent projection of the 'visible minority' population of Canada shows that from a low of 6.3% of the population in 1986, to its current levels (1991) of 9.6 continued growth will bring it to 13.4% in 1996 and to 17.7% of the total population of the country in 2001. Ontario will have half of all visible minorities in Canada and by 2001, half of the population of Toronto will be from this group (Samuel 1992).

Over the last 10 or 15 years the demographic effects of immigration has become apparent. The visibility of the new population, that is, people of colour, increased dramatically with substantial numbers of immigrants from the Caribbean, India, Pakistan, Vietnam, Korea, Hong Kong and Africa. With these changes, the opportunity for daily contact between mainstream and minorities increased. The high qualifications and job skills of many of these new immigrants led them into employment and housing which had in the past been largely restricted to the white community (Breton 1990, Driedger 1987).
5. IMMIGRANTS AND RACISM IN CONTEMPORARY AUSTRALIAN SOCIETY.

RACIST VIOLENCE AND ABUSE.

One of the most recent and detailed surveys of racism in contemporary Australian society emerged from the report of the 1991 National Inquiry into Racist Violence in Australia, conducted by the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (HREOC). The inquiry concluded that racist violence and harassment was a fact of life for many Aboriginal and immigrant people in Australia today. It found that "racism permeates the day-to-day lives of Aboriginal people either through direct acts of violence, intimidation and racist abuse, or through the more insidious process of discrimination" (HREOC, 1991:209). The Report found that immigrants also experience racism, albeit in a "qualitatively different way" than Aboriginal people. While "racist violence on the basis of ethnicity is nowhere near the level that it is in many other countries", the Report concluded that "it exists at a level that causes concern and it could increase in intensity and extent unless firmly addressed now" (HREOC, 1991:219).

People from non-English-speaking background were found to suffer racist harassment and intimidation "because they are visibly different". Nevertheless, Australia does not formalise this into a "Visible Minorities" category like Canada. While the concept of visible minorities helps to focus attention on the way in which racism is often associated with visible difference, it does not put equal emphasis on the racism suffered by European immigrants who are considered to be "white". In Australia, many immigrants from non-English speaking backgrounds in Europe - such as the Greeks, Italians, Yugoslavs and Spanish - suffer from racism in a way that is not too different from other "people of colour". The racism suffered by Irish immigrants in England over the centuries reminds us that racism is not solely a function of colour (Miles (1984)).

The extent of racism against non-English speaking immigrants in contemporary Australian society - including those from Europe - was highlighted in the HREOC’s survey of the experiences of immigrant families in Sydney and Melbourne. The research found that 47 per cent of adult migrants surveyed in the outer Sydney suburb of Campbelltown reported that they had experienced racist abuse, and had 36 per cent of migrant students surveyed. In addition, 9 per cent of the adults surveyed - and 14 per cent of the students - had experienced physical violence. Similar results were found in the inner-city suburb of Marrickville, Sydney's most multicultural suburb: 40 per cent of adults and 15 per cent of students had reported racist abuse, while seven per cent of adults and nine per cent of students reported racist violence. The highest level of harassment in Sydney was recorded for newly-arrived Spanish-speaking Central and South American families: 57% of families reported verbal abuse and 21% physical abuse. In Melbourne, Salvadorians reported the highest levels of harassment, with 60% of adults reporting verbal abuse and 15%
abuse. In Melbourne, Salvadorians reported the highest levels of harassment, with 60% of adults reporting verbal abuse and 15% physical abuse. More than half of migrants surveyed reported racially-motivated attacks on their property, including bricks thrown through windows and rubbish thrown over their fences (HREOC 1991:171).

The HREOC Report noted other incidents of racism. In 1991 there were arson attacks on 5 Jewish kindergartens and synagogues, while the Muslim Women’s Association reported increased racist harassment during the Middle East conflict following Iraq’s invasion of Kuwait in August 1990. This latter finding was confirmed by a more recent report by the Committee on Discrimination Against Arab Australians (1992), which documents racist incidents against Arabs and Muslims for the period November 1990 to July 1991. Many families reported harassment at their homes and in the streets, shopping centres, schools and communities. Many women wearing the hijab reported harassment by passing cars and in parking lots. Physical violence was also widespread, with reports of Arabs being spat at or incurring physical injury, including women who had their hijab pulled or torn. In one incident, a car was deliberately run into and damaged, while in another an Arab man died of a heart attack after being racially harassed by a group of teenagers. Widespread property damage was also reported. A Muslim school and restaurant in Perth, Western Australia were subject to arson attacks after threatening phone calls while in other homes and restaurants broken windows and graffiti were common. Many mosques and offices of Arab and Muslim organisations were attacked repeatedly while staff received threatening phone calls and mail threats. One Islamic Centre in one outer Sydney suburb was fire-bombed in January 1991.

Nevertheless, the HREOC Report stressed that this racist violence and harassment co-exists with tolerance and compassion, and is the consequence of sporadic and isolated incidents rather than the result of organised racist practise among far-right political parties as appears to be the case in Western Europe. These political groups are isolated to a minority fringe of Australian-politics and little public support. Hence the HREOC (1991:xvii) reports that "the evidence presented to the Inquiry indicates that multiculturalism is working well in Australia. In spite of our racial, ethnic and cultural diversity, our society’s experience of racist violence, intimidation and harassment is nowhere near the level experienced in many other countries".

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN THE WORKPLACE

Racial discrimination in the workplace has also been documented in Australia, although there is great debate as to its nature and extent. A report prepared for the International Labour Office by the Australian Bureau for Immigration Research concluded that discrimination "is difficult to define both within and across disciplines" and that the distinction between discrimination and disadvantage in not clear (Forster et al, 1991:109). Much of the
that immigrants from non-English speaking countries earn less than other immigrants or their Australian-born counterparts in the Australian labour market. Hence in 1984, for example, Australian-born males earned an average weekly earnings of $392 and females $304. This was less than the $433 earned by immigrant males from English-speaking countries and the $326 earned by females from English-speaking countries, but significantly more than their NESB counterparts. Hence, males from non English-speaking countries earned much less on average per week: Greek males earned $334 and Greek females $272; Italian males $363 and females $265, and Yugoslavian males $351 and females $269 (Collins, 1991:86).

The key debate is whether these earnings differentials are meritocratic or discriminatory. If they merely reflect differences in the "human capital" of different immigrant groups in the Australian labour market, this would support the meritocratic view. But if immigrants from NES countries with the same human capital as other immigrants or the Australian born earned less, this would indicate discrimination. Econometric studies by sociologists Evans, Jones and Kelley (1988) conclude strongly that there is no evidence of racial discrimination in the Australian labour market. This view is supported by the Wooden (1990:264) who, in his review of the labour market experience of immigrants commissioned by the Bureau of Immigration Research, concluded that "we cannot dismiss the possibility that many Australians have attitudes prejudiced to immigrants. It would seem, however, that few employers are prepared to indulge their tastes for discrimination". Forster et al, (1991:61), on the other hand, conclude that the evidence on the labour force status of immigrant workers in Australia "does lend itself to analyses of patterns consistent with discrimination".

However, given the preceding history of the relationship between immigration history, policy and racism in Australia - and the persistence of attitudes of prejudice against immigrants - it would be surprising if prejudice does not flow over into the labour market in some way. Perhaps the answer is that it depends who is looking and where they are looking for. The problem with the neoclassical economic theory of racial discrimination, on which the conclusions of Evans et al (1988) and Wooden (1990) are based, is that it presumes that racial discrimination occurs only if white employers are prepared to pay a higher wage to whites to avoid employing blacks or coloured workers (Becker 1957, Arrow, 1972). Such employers are said to have exhibited a "taste" for discrimination. The fact that employers might express their taste for discrimination by employing blacks or coloureds to pay them less in bad working conditions to maximise profits does not fit into the abstract world of neoclassical economics.

There have been many anecdotal accounts of immigrants as to their experience of racism in the workplace (Forster et al, 1991: 100-107). These experiences, though widespread, are dismissed by some quantitative sociologists as "soft" evidence, no doubt
because it does not fit easily into the world described by econometric models or the narrow definition of racial discrimination in conservative economics. Similarly, one immigrant response to racism in the workplace has been to leave paid employment to enter small business as self-employed or an employer. Studies of ethnic small businesses in Australia point to racism as one factor blocking the mobility of immigrants in the workforce and leading to the disproportionately high rate of immigrant small businesses in Australia (Castles et al. 1991). Kidd (1991) has recognised the need for the study of racial discrimination in the workplace to include the fact that many immigrants choose self-employment to avoid facing discrimination. Deve (1992:23) predicts this would then show "that discrimination is probably greater than originally found".

A number of studies into the experience of immigrant women in the workplace, particularly those from NES countries, points to many instances of racist attitudes and practices on the part of employers, supervisors or trade union officials (Storer et al., 1976; Nord, 1983). Outworkers appear to be particularly vulnerable in this regard (CURA, 1978; Centre for Working Women's Co-operative Limited, 1986). In addition, many NESB immigrants do not have their qualifications and skills recognised in Australia, preventing them from utilising their "human capital" in Australia. Chapman and Iredale (1990) found that 39 per cent of formally skilled immigrants subjected their overseas qualifications to official Australian assessment and of these only 42 per cent had them recognised as being equivalent to Australian qualifications.

The Australian labour market is highly segmented. NESB immigrant men and women appear to be concentrated into lower paid, menial jobs with the worst conditions in the semi-skilled and unskilled segments of the labour market (Collins 1978; Lever Tracy and Quinlan 1988). Moreover, it appears that once in these jobs, often referred to as the secondary labour market, it is difficult to escape, irrespective of subsequent education or the recognition of qualifications. Hence Chapman and Iredale (1990) note that earnings studies showed that those who had qualifications recognised did not earn more than those whose qualifications remained unrecognised, and that employers appeared to treat all immigrants - qualified or not - as homogeneous. Similarly, a study of Strombak and Williams (1985) found that, after a consideration of factors such as education, work experience, age and English language proficiency, "migrants from non-English speaking countries got lower rewards from higher secondary schooling than those from English speaking countries of people born in Australia." This supports the arguments of Turpin (1986:22) that "segmentation in the labour market has the effect of placing culturally distinct waves of migrants in the least desirable occupational structures (including unemployment) and making it difficult for them to break out of this employment pattern".

In a report on racial discrimination in Australia for the
International Labor Office, Forster et al, (1991:110-111) review all aspects of the Australian evidence before concluding that "despite the existence of significant legislation outlawing discrimination and the introduction of racial vilification legislation in some States, there is ongoing and systemic evidence of discrimination at the general workplace level, involving in particular immigrants from NES [non English-speaking] countries". Nevertheless, there is still much debate and an urgent need for further research. For example, there have been no studies of the influence of racist prejudice on employment selection procedures, on promotion prospects or on decisions as to who should be fired when economic downturn leads to retrenchments. The International Labour Office has recently announced that it will include Australia in a comparative study of "informal discrimination in the world of work" which will investigate these and other matters. This study should allow firmer evidence and conclusions to be drawn on the subject of racial discrimination in the Australian workforce.

6. RACISM IN CONTEMPORARY CANADIAN SOCIETY

By the mid 70’s the racist attitudes of some Canadians became apparent. In the summer of 1976, for example, Toronto newspaper writer reported "attacks on South Asian homes, businesses, houses of worship are increasing everyday...blacks are being harassed on the streets and in other places. East Indians children are afraid to walk to school" (Toronto Star 1970). A study was undertaken by a newly formed task force to determine whether racism is a serious problem. The taskforce found evidence of racism across major sectors of Canadian society including education, police, the media, social services and the employment system (Metro Toronto Task Force on Human Relations 1977). The same year, the present author (Henry) was commissioned by the Federal government to undertake the first major survey of racial attitudes. Despite the growing body of evidence that serious racial problems existed particularly in the major urban centres across Canada - Canadians and their public authorities essentially engaged in a process of denial. They held tenaciously to their view themselves as tolerant egalitarian compassionate people and Canada as a model of racial justice and harmony. Inherent in the Canadian psyche was the assumption that racial disadvantage and discrimination did not really exist in Canada or that its level is lower that anywhere else in the world (Henry 1978). Despite the reality of racist immigration policies, the repression and denial of basic human rights of Canadians of Jewish, Asian or African descent for generations and the flourishing of racial organisations such as the KKK, from the 1920’s and resurfacing in the 70’s and early 80’s, racism remained unacknowledged by most Canadians except of course those who suffered from its consequences. These views have changed to some extent in more recent times. For example, the government of Canada through its Ministry of Multiculturalism now recognise that racism in both its individual and institutional forms exists in Canada. For the most part, it is no longer necessary to demonstrate racism at least for the public and state
sectors of Canadian society and more attention is now being paid to its control or elimination (Landsberg Toronto Star 1992).

The first federal parliamentary task force was established to examine the nature and extent of racism in Canadian society was established in 1984. Racial minorities in Vancouver, Toronto, Halifax and Winnipeg submitted briefs and testimonies to a parliamentary committee on participation of visible minorities in Canadian society describing the devastating and debilitating effects of discrimination and disadvantage which operate within the major sectors, systems and institutions in Canadian society. In the public hearings, people of colour across Canada spoke with one voice documenting the denial of fair treatment in their children’s educational system, identifying discriminatory barriers in housing, bias in the media and discriminatory treatment by law enforcement agencies and the justice system. Racist ideology it was argued, is woven into policies, entrenched in programs, built into the structural systems and cultural networks of the whole society. The workplace and the hiring practices of employers was singled out as a major concern (Equality Now 1984).

EMPLOYMENT DISCRIMINATION

In 1984 the Abella Commission was established to examine the employment practices of 11 crown corporations (Abella 1984). The Commission revealed evidence that racial minorities experience lower participation rates, high unemployment and underemployment rates, occupational segregation and low income levels. The report provided a clear, comprehensive definition of employment discrimination which shifted the emphasis from a basic assumption of intent to an assessment of impact. Judge Abella, Commissioner of the task force, argued that it is no longer a question of whether the discrimination is motivated by an intentional desire to obstruct someone’s potential or the accidental by-product of neutral practices or systems. Discrimination should not be judged from the perspective of a single perpetrator and single victim. She stressed the importance of "systemic" discrimination that is the cumulative impact of practices, procedures that negatively impact on minorities. Judge Abella stated that a government committed to equality in the workplace will use law to accomplish it. "Based on history, present evidence, and apprehensions for the future, the elimination of all forms of discrimination require more, rather than less law" (Abella 1984).

During the same period, Henry and Ginzberg conducted a study using the quasi experimental methodology of field testing to determine whether there was a correlation between race and access to employment (Henry & Ginzberg 1984). The study demonstrated that when education, work experience and skills were controlled, white applicants experienced preferential treatment and black applicants experienced discrimination at the point of entry into the employment process. The study showed that white job
applicants had 3 job chances to every 1 for blacks.

A follow-up study examined large businesses and corporations (Billingsley & Muszynski 1985). The objective was to collect data on the attitudes and practices of a representative sample of Toronto employers on issues relating to both hiring and management of a multiracial workforce. Personal interviews were conducted with key personnel decision-makers in each organisation regarding recruitment, hiring, promotion, training and termination practices. The findings revealed a significant degree of overtly racist views towards racial minorities; 28% felt that racial minorities in general do not have the ability to meet performance criteria compared to whites.

The problem of credentialism is viewed as a further employment barrier to the thousands of immigrants in Canada who find their university degrees discounted, their professional qualifications unrecognised and their trade diplomas useless. A study of barriers to recognition of immigrant credentials concluded that these varied according to occupation, country of origin and province of settlement. However, doctors, teachers, social workers, nurses, engineers all faced barriers (Ministry of Citizenship 1989).

The above studies and the findings of the Parliamentary Task Force and as well as other research collectively served as a powerful force compelling government in the late 80's to begin to respond to the evidence of employment discrimination. The Employment Equity Act (1986) established a mandatory Employment Equity Program to help achieve equity in employment for women, Aboriginal people, visible minorities, and persons with disabilities. The Act stated that federally regulated employers have to begin to institute measures to ensure equitable representation of designated groups throughout the workplace and to remedy and prevent the effects of both intentional and systemic discrimination. Moreover, they must report their results annually (Employment Equity Report 1990).

In addition, the Federal Contractors Program, also introduced in 1986, applies to suppliers of goods and services to the federal government. The program requires federal contractors to achieve and maintain a fair and representative work force (Employment Equity Report 1990).

DISCRIMINATION IN THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Despite the introduction of multicultural, anti-racism policies in some educational institutions (boards of education) racism has continued to be a recognised problem within educational institutions. Racial minority students, particularly Blacks are repeatedly exposed to discriminatory practices such as streaming into vocational and non-academic programs, culturally biased assessment techniques and tests, lack of role models among
teachers and administrators and the like (Thomas 1984).

Racism is manifested in the curriculum which consistently fails to represent, reflect and recognise the contributions and perspectives of racial minorities in history, literature, science, art, music etc. It is found in world maps which perpetuate misinformation about the world, it is seen in Eurocentric and ethnocentric textbooks and other learning materials which contain stereotypes of minorities. It is seen is a lack of recognition of the need and rights of children to preserve their native language and dialect. It is woven into the "hidden curriculum" in which only Christian holidays are celebrated, hallway displays, bulletin boards, school concerts and assemblies reflect only the image of anglo culture and white faces. It is reflected in the self concept and self image of minority children whose internalisation of the racist ideology prevalent all around them leads them to believe that they are inferior (Cummins in press).

LAW ENFORCEMENT

For over a decade one of the most critical areas of concern with respect to racial discrimination is the system of law enforcement and justice across Canada. In the last 17 years there have been a succession of studies, commissions and task force reports which have documented escalating tension and conflict between police and minority groups. The issue of racism has been identified as a major concern in dozens of these studies. Their findings suggest that racism is reflected in biased attitudes and differential treatment by individual police officers as well as manifested in the policies and practices of police forces. Examples of police discrimination include: racial abuse, (verbal and physical), the use of excessive and lethal force, high profile policing in minority communities, lack of adequate representation of minorities on police forces, etc. (Lewis 1988, Carter 1979, Hickling-Johnston Report 1982, Quebec Human Rights Commission 1988).

The issue has dominated the public agenda in several regions of the country. In Toronto a number of events including the shooting of another young black male (there have been 8 police shootings in the past 4 years), touched off a riot in downtown Toronto following an anti-racism protest; the acquittal of two police officers with the Metro Toronto Police Force who killed a black youth who, they said, was fleeing from them. In Montreal, the findings of an inquiry into the Montreal Urban Community Police of a "totally unacceptable" level of racism, after the fatal shooting of a black by a police sergeant in what was called a case of mistaken identity (Globe and Mail, May 8, 1992 ). In Edmonton, there have been renewed allegations by minorities of police brutality ( Globe and Mail, May 6, 1992,) and in Vancouver, a video taped 'Rodney King' type police beating of an Asian man resulted in police acquittal of brutality charges.
A complex range of factors and social conditions have led to the sense of alienation, distrust and hostility which characterises the relationship between police and racial minorities. As the former Ombudsman for the Province of Ontario said:

"Clearly, much of the hostility that police now encounter in their dealings with minority communities flows from grievances in the creation of which police had little or no part. The police, like the public at large have inherited a tradition of discriminatory behaviour which that is far from admirable.

The hostility flows, initially, from the failure of other institutions—government, religious, business, labour, the family—to function as they should... The conflicts and criminality that police encounter are in large part symptoms of broader problems such as poverty, chronic unemployment, educational frustrations or racism (Hill 1985).

The former Ombudsmen is also very clear that, in addition to the dramatic incidents such as police shootings of blacks, common sources of minority enmity towards police consist of a broad range of usually unpublicised encounters between minority community members and police officers which lead minorities to feel vulnerable and victimised.

In 1989, as the result of several police shooting of black people and the growing climate of tension, distrust and alienation between the black community and the police, a Task Force on Race Relations and Policing was established by the Ontario government. In the conclusion of the report Clare Lewis (1989), the Chair of the task force, writes:

We clearly and unequivocally report that relations between police and visible minorities in the province... are at a dangerously low level. To continue to do nothing about the situation will, we believe, result in catastrophe.

The task force made some 57 recommendations for the improvement of relations between the police and racial minorities. Many of the recommendation are targeted at increasing the representation of minorities on police forces. As of Feb. 1991, only 5.3% of Toronto's 5786 uniformed police officers were from racial minorities compared with 20% minority population in Metro Toronto. Another area of change recommended by the task force is the establishment of a province wide civilian headed unit to investigate complaints against the police. Many of the recommendations addressed the urgent need to provide more effective training to prepare police at all levels within the system to function in a multiracial society (Lewis Task Force 1989).
An underlying issue which has been repeatedly identified as a significant factor in explaining the alienation between police and minority community is the organisational culture of the police. The preservation and maintenance of the subculture within police organisations tends to increase the distance and distrust between police and the community. The rigidity, hierarchal authoritarian, para-military organisational culture of most law enforcement agencies provides an ineffective and inappropriate context for police-community relations (Sewell 1985).

JUSTICE

Recent Royal Commissions in the provinces of Nova Scotia and Manitoba have drawn attention to the failure of the criminal justice system to deal fairly with Native and Black people. The case of Donald Marshall in Nova Scotia, a young native man who was imprisoned to 12 years for a crime he did not commit was the catalyst for a major public inquiry. The commission found that the justice system, that is the police, the Crown Prosecutors, the Attorney General, the courts were all implicated. The evidence that Marshall had not committed the offence was known to many of these parties, yet suppressed. This miscarriage of justice was directly related to the racism which was found to be systemic in the criminal justice system in this province (Royal Commission on the Donald Marshall Jr. Prosecution 1989). The recommendations emerging out of this inquiry lent support for a radical reformation of the entire system with specific attention to the treatment of racial minorities.

MEDIA

What is most apparent in the Canadian media is that "visible minorities" - as peoples of colour are often called here are - in fact, often invisible. In examining the last two decades there is abundant evidence that the institutions which have been vested with enormous power and responsibility in furthering democracy's most cherished values (justice, fairness and equity) have, to a significant extent, abrogated that responsibility. Instead, the media has promoted and perpetuated racial prejudice and discriminatory practices. In some cases racism in the media has been overt and intentional. It has been expressed in the attitudes and behaviours of individual journalists and broadcasters, program directors and producers. However, more often than not, racism in the electronic and print media has grown out of acts of indifference, omission, ignorance and fear of challenging the status quo. It is woven into the policies and practices of media organisations. It is reflected in absence of minorities as journalists, broadcasters, producers, directors, writers, actors etc.

As early as 1971, concern with the portrayal of minorities in the media lead to a study which examined the representation of
visible minorities in T.V. commercials (Elkin 1971). The study revealed only 3.7% of T.V. ads contained a minority performer, usually appearing in a crowd scene. In 1983 another study examined 360 hours of prime-time television programming on 2 major Canadian and American networks (Granzeberg 1983). He concluded that the portrayal of racial minorities was characterised by misrepresentation and stereotyping. Minorities were depicted as having an image of weakness and instability. Other studies conducted more recently continue to show racism in the media. (Karim & Sansom 1990)

7. INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSE TO DISCRIMINATION IN CANADA

The first systematic effort to address racial discrimination came in the 1960’s. At this time the poor results from the Fair Practices legislation in removing racial disadvantage led to the consolidation of anti-discrimination laws into provincial Human Rights Codes, with full time commissioners to investigate complaints and seek conciliation and engage in mediation. Beginning with Ontario in 1962, each province eventually introduced an encompassing code.

After three decades there appears to be strong consensus among racial minorities, as well as members of other designated groups protected by the Human Rights Legislation, that in their present form and application, the Human Rights Codes and Commissions have been ineffective in addressing the problem of discrimination. The main criticisms include the strong emphasis on education and conciliation and an individually initiated complaint-driven model. Individual victims must come forward and the treatment by the respondent must be demonstrably discriminatory (not just unfair or different). The procedures cannot be used to initiate investigations of entrenched inequities affecting entire groups. There are huge backlogs of cases (in Ontario, the current backlog is 3-4 years) and in the last month a provincial task force has been created to deal with an enforcement system of the Ontario Human Rights Commission, which is, according to Mary Cornish, Chair of the Task Force, "slow, outdated and inaccessible" (Toronto Star 1992). One race relations scholar suggests that the "existence of the equal rights law alters the appearance of but not the reality of racial inequality" (Reitz 1988).

In 1971, the Government of Canada adopted a multicultural policy. As a national ideology, multiculturalism had two main goals. First, the integration of Canada’s many cultural groups and secondly, the need to achieve unity in diversity. In theory, the policy was designed to promote cultural diversity as a national asset which could be built upon to strengthen Canadian unity and identity. In supporting the preservation and maintenance of cultural heritages, the policy aimed at helping to ensure that Canadians would come to appreciate and respect one another despite their differences. The original tenets of multiculturalism encompassed cultural retention, cultural interchange overcoming cultural barriers, and the opportunity for
new immigrants to learn one of Canada's official languages. In 1988 the policy of multiculturalism was translated into the Multiculturalism Act.

The concept of multiculturalism as public policy has generated two decades of vigorous debate. In 1988, the Parliament created the Canadian Multiculturalism Act. Opponents have criticised it on several counts. Many Canadian scholars and members of Canada's racial minority groups argue that multiculturalism provides an inadequate framework for addressing the problem of racism and eliminating racial discrimination (Kallen 1990). Others such as Keith Spicer, former editor of the Ottawa Citizen, have argued that multiculturalism encourages "Balkanization, ghetto mentalities...and may tribalise Canadian society" (Toronto Star March 1992).

While Section 15 of the Charter of Rights addresses the problem of discrimination on the basis of "race", as well as other categories, it also provides an insufficient framework for guaranteeing freedom from discrimination. As David Matas argues,

The Charter prohibits racial discrimination in law. 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 (1991).

The Charter does not reach into the private sector nor does it prohibit hate propaganda or racist organisations. Positive efforts to combat racial discrimination are absent from the Charter (Matas).

8. **ANTI-RACIST STRATEGIES IN AUSTRALIA**

There have been a number of initiatives to combat racial discrimination in Australian society over the post-war period. Anti-discrimination statutes have been introduced in the states of New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia and Western Australia to provide civic remedies for discrimination on the grounds of race. These statutes relate to specific areas of public life such as employment, accommodation, access to public places and provision of goods and services. At a Federal level, the Racial Discrimination Act 1975 was introduced. In New South Wales, an Anti-Discrimination Board was established in the early 1980's. In 1989 the NSW anti-discrimination legislation was amended to make racial vilification a civil and criminal offence. Similarly, in 1990 Western Australia passed an Act to amend its Criminal Code "to create offences relating to racist harassment and incitement to racial hatred and for connected purposes" (HREOC, 1991:273-336)

The Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission was established by the Australian Parliament in 1986 to administer the Racial Discrimination Act 1975 and to respond to the human rights
obligations under international law, including
the International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of
Racial Discrimination (CERD). In addition, the HREOC has
responsibility for the Sex Discrimination Act 1984 and the
Violence in Australia recommended that acts of racist violence
should be treated as distinctive, serious criminal offences in
exactly the same way as other types of assault. It also
recommended that the Federal Crimes Act 1914 be amended to create
a new Federal offence of racist violence and intimidation and
that the Federal Racial Discrimination Act 1975 be amended to
prohibit racist harassment and incitement to racial hostility

One of the HREOC anti-racist initiatives has been the Race
Relations in the Workplace Program. This program was designed to
raise awareness among employers and employees of the many facets
of racial discrimination in the workplace and to explore
strategies of combating discriminatory practices. The aim is to
set racism within the mainstream of management and industrial
relations practice (Stubbs 1990), although the program is still
in its early stages so that it is difficult to evaluate its
success to date (Forster et al 1991:99). Another recent
anti-racist initiative of the HREOC has been a program to combat
racism among youth. In August 1992 the HREOC launched its Young
People Against Racism campaign. Under the slogan "Different
Colours, One People" the campaign used sports stars, musicians and
media personalities to help in "explaining what racism is, and
why beating it is so crucial" (HREOC, 1992). Other anti-racism
strategies have been introduced in education, with the creation
of an anti-racism curriculum and anti-racist resources (Kalantzis
et. al, 1990).

The introduction of the Equal Employment Opportunity Act 1987
(Cwlth) also provided a mechanism for legislating and regulating
discrimination faced by immigrants in Australia. EEO and
Affirmative Action legislation aim to introduce programs "to
eliminate unjustified discrimination against women and persons
in designated groups in relation to employment" (Forster et al,
1991:33). One of these designated groups are immigrants whose
first language is not English and their children. Every federal
Government Department is required to develop an EEO plan. They,
and other public sector institutions, are required to provide
statistical reporting of the gender, racial and national origin
profiles of their workforces and to design strategies to improve
access for the designated groups. In their review of EEO programs
with a specific focus of immigrants, Niland and Champion
(1990:177) found that they did not seem to be driven with the
same energy as did those EEO programs focussing on women. They
cautioned that the coercive nature of these programs might
perpetuate conflict models of industrial relations and social
change: "Consequently, there is a danger that the short term
gains for immigrant workers may be outweighed by the negatives
of using compliance to bring about changes".
THE MEDIA CONSTRUCTION OF RACISM

Another aspect of the Office of Multicultural Affairs community relations strategy related to the Australian media. As the Advisory Council on Multicultural Affairs (1988:150) argued, "as purveyors of information, mirrors of society, and players in the broad political process, the media have a major social impact. They thus have substantial community obligations. Ideally they should provide reasonable access to all groups and present a fair picture of Australian society." Two recent studies suggest that the Australian media contribute to the social construction of racism in Australian society. Goodall et al (1991) monitored Sydney media - television, radio, newspapers, magazines - for two weeks. This material was then categorised according to how and how often ethnic and Aboriginal people were the subject of media attention. Advertising was also closely categorised. Of the 2771 product advertisements in 195 hours of television, they found that only 46 ads (repeated to make a total of 127) included any "minority characters", ie non-Anglo, while only one nine second image of Aboriginal people appeared - it appeared three times. As the authors put it, "Our first problem was not so much a question of interpreting the representations of non-Anglo Australian populations in Australia, but in finding any non-Anglo Australians at all. The overwhelming message was that Australia is a mono-cultural society, and in this general sense the ads were trenchantly anti-multicultural: Their racism and ethnocentrism lay in the exclusion of non-Anglo populations, and not in the manner of their inclusion... the overwhelming majority of ads representing Australia exclude anyone of non-Anglo descent" (Goodall et al, 1990, 48, 52).

This view was supported by the HREOC's National Inquiry into Racist Violence in Australia, which found that while the Australian Arab and Muslim communities are very heterogeneous, the media represented all Arabs as Muslims and all Muslims as Arabs. HREOC (1991:364) found that "media portrayals were seen as demonstrating fundamental ignorance of Islam and as perpetuating negative and destructive stereotypes. This media coverage "was having the effect of raising tensions in the community and may have been contributing to an increase in acts of racial hostility and violence against Arabs and Muslims" (HREOC, 1991:364-5).

Goodall et al (1991) recommend that all organisations involved with the education and training of media workers to review their curricula in relation to the issues of multiculturalism and Aboriginality, and for workshops and seminars for newworkers with an aim to developing a more critical awareness of Aboriginal discourses. They also recommend that the Office of Multicultural Affairs liaise with the advertising industry to "stress the importance of avoiding derogatory stereotypes, while ensuring that the diversity of Australian society is included as a matter of course across the range of advertising" .
9. CONCLUSION

The history of immigration in Australia and Canada is indelibly linked to racism, prejudice and xenophobia. Attitudes of racial prejudice shaped immigration policy in both countries, leading to the 'White Australia' and 'White Canada' policies which shaped immigration selection procedures until the 1960's. Both countries then moved to end discriminatory immigration legislation and to introduce settlement policies based on the philosophy of multiculturalism. In Canada, the Charter of Human Rights and Freedom was introduced, while in Australia a wide range of legislation outlawing various forms of discrimination were introduced.

The above overview of racism in Australian and Canadian societies highlights the remarkable similarities in the relationship between immigration, racism and ethnicity in both countries. Despite the introduction of a wide range of laws and public policies aimed at protecting the rights of individuals from racial discrimination, ethnic groups that are identified as racial minorities in both countries continue to experience racial bias, receive differential treatment and suffer racial disadvantage. They lack access to, and do not participate fully in, major arenas of life, including employment, education, government, human services and the media. Too many feel alienated and isolated from public institutions such as law enforcement agencies and the criminal justice system. While over the last decade there has been a growing responsiveness to the structural inequities experienced by ethnic minorities, the initiatives and corrective measures have too often been ad hoc, fragmented and cosmetic. Numerous recommendations made by task force inquiries, commissions and studies conducted by the various levels of government have not been implemented. In Canada, funding for race relations and anti-racism programs have been severely cut, while in Australia funding has been even more constrained.

Recent events across Canada demonstrate the sense of frustration, powerlessness and marginalisation among racial minorities, especially the young, many of whom are second or third generation Canadians, who appear to have lost hope in the future. The tensions and conflicts witnessed in Toronto, Montreal and Halifax over the last year can be interpreted as a symptom of the extent and nature of racism in Canadian society today. While Australia has, so far, avoided 'race riots' involving immigrants, the recent evidence of racist violence and abuse suffered by many NESB immigrants - coupled with the continued inability of many ethnic minorities to achieve equality of access to the labour market and major institutions of Australian life - suggests that there is no time for complacency: the current Australian economic recession is hitting NESB immigrants hardest, while economic rationalists are reshaping of Australian immigration policy to serve perceived short term economic gain rather than long term social cohesion.
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