CanadaWatch

DIRECTOR'S INTRODUCTION

The gap between borders and identity

The 2016 Robarts Centre Graduate Student Conference, "Canada: Homeland or Hostile Land?," anticipated the country's 150th anniversary in 2017 with an outpouring of critically engaged considerations on the status of our nation-state. The success of the conference is a testament to the professionalism of our graduate students and their colleagues across the country. This next generation of activist scholars speak from the gap between borders and identity, between diversity and a new globality. In so doing, this issue of *Canada Watch* bears witness to the productive

BY ANNA HUDSON

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tensions of Canadian Studies embraced by the Robarts Centre.

Since its founding in 1984, the Robarts Centre for Canadian Studies at

York University has sought to support increasingly interdisciplinary research pertinent to the study of Canada and "Canada in the world." Our greatest measure of success is the students we gather and mentor and from whom we appreciate contemporary concerns.

I would like to thank two exceptional doctoral students for their organization of the 2016 conference and this issue of *Canada Watch*: Jennifer Mussell and Erin Yunes. Thanks are also due to our Centre Coordinator, Laura Taman, and to all of the contributors to this issue for their keen engagement with social justice. ❦

CO-ORGANIZERS' INTRODUCTION

Canada: Homeland or hostile land?

In April 2016, the Robarts Centre for Canadian Studies at York University hosted its third annual graduate student conference, entitled "Canada: Homeland or Hostile Land?" Over the course of the two-day conference, more than 50 students from universities across the country presented their work and engaged in critical exploration of inequalities in Canadian society. Panels and papers ranged in subject from Canadian settler colonialism and its legacies, to multiculturalism, to state policy and its impacts on minorities. Despite the diversity of topics and range of perspectives, all the discussions that ensued featured a common conclusion: that Canada has both a history and a present characterized by deeply entrenched

BY JENNIFER MUSSELL AND ERIN YUNES

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social and economic inequalities along lines of gender, race, indigeneity, ability, region, socio-economic status, and migration status, among others. As Canada approaches its 150th birthday celebrations, there is no better time to reflect on the fact that, for some, Canada is more hostile land than homeland.

This issue includes 11 essays, each of which was developed from a presentation given at the conference. The first

section, "A Legacy of State Oppression," examines events in Canada's past and present in which the Canadian state has perpetrated acts of oppression against its citizens. The essays by Peltier and FitzGerald examine the legacy of settler colonialism and the contemporarily relevant issue of Indigenous people's human rights and security. Gibbs's essay focuses on the use of language in the construction of narratives

The contents of this issue are listed in the Features box on page 2.

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MMIW: Relationship and reconciliation

COLONIAL LEGACIES

The missing and murdered Indigenous women (MMIW) phenomenon is a legacy of colonialism and represents the dark reality of racism that has banished Aboriginal[1] people to the margins of Canadian society. Although Canada's Indigenous[2] people are the fastest growing and youngest population in the nation, there is a lack of respectful relationships with settlers and government. Aboriginal people have been aware of the violence against Indigenous women for over a century and the issue has only recently been brought to light in the Canadian consciousness. Media coverage of MMIW and government responses to calls for action are the impetus for public education and reconciliation through new relationships with Indigenous peoples. Indigenous cultural practices and values include the storytelling tradition, and as Indigenous people tell their stories and are listened to, respectful relationships are possible. However, it will be years before we can come to terms with and heal from our shared history; this is a necessary part of the change process for creating positive future outcomes in Canadian society.

The statistics about MMIW are stark and staggering. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police report on MMIW in Canada (RCMP, 2014) examined 1,181 cases of missing or murdered Aboriginal women between 1980 and 2012 and showed that Aboriginal women were at a higher risk of being victims of violence than non-Aboriginal women. The report stated that Aboriginal women make up 4.3 percent of the Canadian population but account for 16 percent of female homicides and 11.3 percent of missing women (RCMP, 2014, p. 3). Statistics Canada (2016) reveals population data demonstrating that Aboriginal people, and Aboriginal women in particular, are suffering from intergenerational trauma

BY SHARLA PELTIER

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and marginalization, as evidenced by poverty and education inequities and family system and health disparities. Media reports (television, news websites, and social media such as Facebook and Twitter) abound with unsolved cases of MMIW. The stories of the women, their families, and communities are touching and shed light on the insurmountable pain of loss and unresolved grief that Aboriginal peoples are continuing to experience.

THE CANADIAN RESPONSE AND ACTION

As national and international bodies, and Aboriginal communities and organizations, continue to voice concerns for the safety of Aboriginal women in Canada, federal and provincial government actions have been stimulated. Forums and inquiries have brought attention to this issue, including the seminal Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) (1996), Amnesty International Canada's *Stolen Sisters* report (2004), and the report of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, *Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women in British Columbia, Canada* (2014).

The Native Women's Association of Canada (NWAC) released a report called *What Their Stories Tell Us*, presenting five years of research by the Sisters In Spirit initiative (NWAC, 2010). In 2015, NWAC released a framework, developed from a national round table, to prevent and address violence against Indigenous women and girls. The NWAC report (2015) notes that various jurisdic-

tions and Indigenous communities have responded with a range of activities and that a number of cross-jurisdictional efforts are under way to address the violence. NWAC launched the Faceless Dolls Project in 2012 and the Traveling Exhibit in 2013, which carries forward the visual representation of strong and beautiful Aboriginal women who have become "faceless" victims of crime. Every time a statistic is used to explain the marginalization of Aboriginal women and girls in Canada, NWAC wishes to remind all Canadians that: "We remember that a beautiful Aboriginal woman is represented by every number shared, that each statistic tells a story" (NWAC website).

The Walking With Our Sisters (WWOS) memorial and art exhibit was launched in 2012. Over 1,700 pairs of moccasin vamps (the tops of moccasins) are included in a pathway within the exhibit to represent the unfinished lives of missing or murdered Indigenous women. One hundred and eight pairs of children's moccasin vamps are dedicated to children who never returned home from residential schools. The WWOS memorial is being hosted at various North American locations and is currently booked through 2018 in more than 30 locations (WWOS website).

Government initiatives at the federal, provincial, and municipal levels demonstrate interest in forging a relationship with Aboriginal people (United Nations, 2007; RCAP, 1996; Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada [TRC], 2015a, 2015b; Government of Canada, 2008). In 2013, the Canadian Parliament established the Special Committee of the House of Commons on Violence Against Indigenous Women, which heard testimony from numerous witnesses, including representatives of national and regional Aboriginal organ-

izations, government officials, front-line service providers, and the family members of missing or murdered Aboriginal women.

In 2014, the city of Winnipeg erected a monument to honour MMIW (CBC News, 2014). The site is the first of its kind in Canada to provide a place for families to mourn their loss. The monument also stimulates self-reflection and critical awareness of the issue among all Canadians. Recently, the city of Winnipeg also launched a business signage campaign in the downtown area to welcome Aboriginal peoples. The signs are in Ojibwe, Cree, Dene, Michif, Dakota, and Inuktitut, as well as French and English (CBC News, 2016). Another related project is currently under way in the city of Toronto.

A Government of Canada action plan (2016) highlights federal actions for the next five years to address violence, support victims, and protect Aboriginal women and girls from family violence and violent crimes. Communities are acknowledged as being in the best position to lead in developing solutions to violent crime, by taking measures to ensure the safety of women and girls, providing access to services for victims, and raising awareness within communities that violence is unacceptable. Provinces and territories play a key role in collective efforts for change.

RECONCILIATION WITHIN RELATIONSHIP

A movement toward cultural resurgence, healing, and wellness is under way in Canada and there is talk of "reconciliation." Aboriginal languages, values, and world views are supportive factors recognized in the healing and reconciliation movement. Traditional elders play an important role in the process because they possess the cultural wisdom to guide *bimaadiziwin* ("a good life" in Anishinaabemowin). Elder Reg Crowshoe told the Truth and Reconciliation Commission that "Indigenous peoples' world views, oral history traditions, and practices have much to teach us about how to establish respectful

relationships among peoples and with the land and all living things. Learning how to live together in a good way happens through sharing stories.... [R]econciliation will never occur unless we are also reconciled with the earth" (TRC, 2015a, pp. 17-18).

Healthy and balanced individuals are capable of establishing and maintaining good relationships. The Canadian public is becoming aware of the historical contributions that Aboriginal people have made to society. As a result, healing from our shared history progresses and new relationships are forged. The MMIW phenomenon is being interrupted by education and societal discourse based on mutual respect and understanding so that negative attitudes and violent behaviours can become a thing of the past. The shared actions of Indigenous people and Canadians to create respectful relationships in Canadian society will bring reconciliation to the next seven generations. ⬥

NOTES

1. The term "Aboriginal" is commonly used in Canada and is used in this context to refer specifically to the Indigenous people in Canada (Helin, 2006). "Aboriginal" is the word used in Canada's Constitution and includes "Indians, Inuit and Métis peoples of Canada."

2. "Indigenous" is used within the context of global terms to refer to Aboriginal people, or native people. Indigenous people are groups protected in international or national legislation as having a set of specific rights based on their linguistic and historical ties to a particular territory and their cultural and historical distinctiveness from other populations.

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The killing silence

BY JAMES FITZGERALD

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National discourses of reconciliation produce Indigenous pain as a public commodity through reports.

The Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) identified 1,181 cases of missing and murdered Indigenous women between 1980 and 2012 (2014, p. 3). The Women's Legal Education and Action Fund (LEAF) identified 58 separate reports, from various levels of government as well as non-governmental, internal humanitarian, and Indigenous organizations, concerning violence against Indigenous women, with over 700 recommendations from 1996 to 2015 (2015, p. 1). The persistent ability of various governments to obscure these reports through the supposed need for more investigation furthers colonial ends by silencing calls for action and the violence of ongoing colonialism. Karen Bridget Murray notes that, for Foucault, "silence is not the end of discourse but rather the beginning of … a new regime of discourses" (2011, p. 54). Thus, I argue that the institutional and policy discourses operating around violence against Indigenous women work to both erase historical violence and establish conceptual limits for what can be understood as colonialism. This operates in two ways. National discourses of reconciliation produce Indigenous pain as a public commodity through reports. Conversely, the Native Women's Association of Canada (NWAC) and their allies work to contest these institutional silences.

NEO-LIBERAL PAIN

Canada will have gone through three federal investigations into Indigenous issues in less than three decades. The final report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) notes: "Much of what the Royal Commission had to say has been ignored by government; a majority of its recommendations were never implemented" (2015, p. 6). The incomplete implementation of recommendations from the reports of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples and the TRC should prompt caution when assuming that national investigations can resolve structural problems. Senator Murray Sinclair, formerly the chair of the TRC, has expressed concern about the future of the TRC because the preliminary recommendations have seen limited engagement (TRC, 2015, p. 6). What is most interesting about national inquiries is how they figure pain as a moment of breaking the silence. Neo-liberal social relations have produced public understandings of historical pain and trauma as a public good for consumption, but these collective cultural goods are understood through the framework of neo-liberal subjectivity. This framework individualizes responsibility by locating it in those who break the law and traverse social norms. The federal government and the Canadian public can exorcise guilt through inquiries and commissions, but the logics of individual responsibility, historical demarcations, and understandings of fiscal responsibility work to silence larger questions of ongoing complicity. Collective and individual accountability as national discourses work to produce colonial violence as a relationship from the past.

INSTITUTIONAL SILENCE

The 1886 scandal of the North-West Mounted Police (NWMP), the precursor to the current federal police force, bears a striking similarity to concerns outlined by Human Rights Watch around the RCMP. Sarah Carter explains that members of Parliament accused the NWMP of licentiousness and misconduct in committing sexual violence against Indigenous women in western Canada (2006, p. 151). The scandal produced several internal investigations and individual punishments.

Similarly, the Human Rights Watch report entitled *Those Who Take Us Away* examines reports of police violence against Indigenous women in northern British Columbia. The report documents a disturbing trend of excessive force used by police and its direct relationship to police misconduct regarding the investigation of crimes such as domestic abuse (Human Rights Watch, 2013, p. 8). These different moments of physical and sexual police violence reveal an institutional pattern that connects back to the earliest history of the Canadian state. While the scandal of the NWMP was figured as a failure of morality, the failure of individual members of the RCMP is understood as "a few bad apples." This logic of personal failure maintains the collective silence. Hence, the ability of various state institutions to obscure historical patterns of violence is furthered by the lack of independent public scrutiny of complaints and investigations.

BREAKING THE SILENCE

Indigenous women's organizations have been using the international arena as a vehicle to force Canada's compliance with human rights legislation. In December 2002, Beverley Jacobs, of NWAC, presented her concerns about human rights violations to the United Nations Special Rapporteur Investigating the Violations of Indigenous Human Rights (Jacobs, 2002; Amnesty International, 2004, p. 8). NWAC received funds from the Liberal government to investigate these violations and found approxi-

mately 680 cases by 2010. The Conservative government cut funding for NWAC's Sisters In Spirit program, citing the need to focus on a forensics laboratory. By 2015, the Coalition for the Human Rights of Indigenous Peoples presented a coherent set of findings to the UN Human Rights Committee to draw attention to the level of violence facing Indigenous women. This marked a massive undertaking and profound grassroots activism, with at least 26 human rights organizations submitting their own separate reports to the 18-member independent committee (CBC News, 2015). The subsequent report by the UN committee represented a fundamental challenge to the silence around violence faced by Indigenous women. However, the reappearance of this coalition of organizations at the sixth meeting of the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women on October 24, 2016 reveals the lack of action on the part of Justin Trudeau's Liberal government around gender-based violence and gender inequality faced by Indigenous women. I would argue that these challenges put forward at the international level have to work to reveal the human rights violations of the Canadian state and place pressure on the Canadian state. While the UN recommendations are not binding, they point to a clear gap in Canada's public policy and the persistent failure to protect Indigenous women. Overall, a national inquiry represents a powerful moment for the state to cast off prior recommendations and reforms. The current inquiry should be part of a larger process and not a single solution to a set of complex colonial relations. The silences that work to erase the violence experienced by Indigenous women require social, legal, and institutional transformations, which are more than a single inquiry can produce. ❦

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> **Indigenous women's organizations have been using the international arena as a vehicle to force Canada's compliance with human rights legislation.**

Literary Canadian internment narratives and redress politics

THE ABSENT VOICE

In *Redress: Inside the Japanese Canadian Call for Justice*, writer and activist Roy Miki recounts the date September 22, 1988, when Prime Minister Brian Mulroney apologized in Parliament for wartime measures under which the government of Canada, during the Second World War, "wrongfully incarcerated, seized the property, and disenfranchised thousands of citizens of Japanese ancestry" (quoted in Miki, 2004, p. 4). Miki, who had negotiated the Japanese Canadian Redress Agreement, observed as a silent "guest" in the House of Commons gallery as the prime minister announced the agreement. Miki also acknowledged that New Democrat opposition leader Ed Broadbent responded by reading a passage from Joy Kogawa's landmark novel *Obasan* (1981), a literary text that had gained much public attention for its emotional portrayal of Japanese-Canadian upheaval during the war. Broadbent himself was tearful as he read, "There are some nightmares from which there is no waking, only deeper and deeper sleep" (quoted in Miki, 2004, p. 7).

Miki remarks that in this moment of formal redress, *Obasan* stood in for an otherwise absent "Japanese-Canadian" voice that "reflected the inner turbulence of the redress movement and its connections to a lengthy history of estrangement from the Canadian nation" (Miki, 2004, p. 8). In the scene that Miki describes, literature further serves as what political scientist Matt James defines as a "system of interest intermediation" (2013, pp. 31-32), a means through which social groups can raise their issues to government officials, and by which governments can, in turn, reshape these issues. This brief essay examines the intermediary role of literature in the space between social movement activism and government

BY RYAN GIBBS

Ryan Gibbs (MA) is an English professor at Lambton College in Sarnia, Ontario, currently pursuing a PhD at the University of Western Ontario. His dissertation focuses on the intersection between Canadian internment fiction and redress politics. His review of *Behind Barbed Wire: Creative Works on the Internment of Italian Canadians* has been accepted to *Italian Canadiana*, and his own creative work has appeared in *Tower Poetry* and *The Windsor Review*.

> [L]iterature … serves … as a site of redress for wartime internments.

policy to demonstrate how literature functions as a site of redress for wartime internments.

THE ENEMY ALIEN

To begin with, language itself was an important means of wartime internment. As Miki explains, a nation cannot *intern* its own citizens because such an act would violate the Geneva Convention. But when the government reclassified Japanese-Canadian citizens as enemy aliens, internment came to legitimate the numerous violations of citizenship rights experienced by Japanese Canadians when they were detained and relocated from the BC coastline to camps in the Canadian interior (Miki, 2004, p. 58). Likewise, Miki notes that the government use of the term "evacuation" to describe this mass uprooting was a euphemism, in that one is more commonly evacuated only temporarily from a threat of danger. But the wartime "evacuation" of Japanese Canadians from the west coast was intended to be permanent, with property confiscated and the real threat being racial violence

from white Canadians uncomfortable with the growing economic prosperity of Japanese Canadians in the community—a violence neutralized by the term (Miki, 2004, pp. 50-51). Through this mobilization of an official language that reconfigured Japanese Canadians as non-citizens, violations of their citizenship rights were both underscored and legitimated.

As language was once a site of wartime violations against Canadian citizens of Japanese descent, the question then arises whether language could be considered a site of redress for past injustices today. For Miki, even after the 1988 government apology and reparations to Japanese Canadians, the meaning of redress remains elusive. As he remarks, "the 'Japanese Canadian' subject is redressed—in metaphoric terms, dressed anew—in the garment of reconciliation and resolution—in the garment of citizenship" (Miki, 1998, p. 197). Redress in this instance can be coercive because it attempts to stabilize a Japanese-Canadian identity still fraught with unresolved tensions between racialized subjects and the nation-state. Instead, Miki advocates for a "poetics that takes on the burden of social struggle and still attends to creative acts which begin (not merely end) at the boundary lines" (Miki, 1998, p. 199). Here lies an argument for the power of literary works to redress past wrongs beyond the limits of litigation and identity politics, through the imaginative use of figurative language to destabilize national and racial identities that appear deceptively harmonious through acts of political reconciliation.

EXAMINING TROPES

But since such political acts themselves often employ figurative language to imagine reconciliation between the state and injured groups, it is important

Internment narratives and redress politics

to consider whether such language is used inclusively or exclusively, though the two uses are not easily distinguishable. Literary and cultural theorist Jennifer Henderson points out that neo-liberalism itself frames how historical wrongs are articulated, restricting the language of redress to "discursive exchanges" because "it is only through this trading of tropes that redress movements can speak to each other and to the dominant political sayable, which they also, unwittingly, sustain" (2013, p. 64). As examples, Henderson compares the use of the carceral trope and the deserving-child trope, both symbolic infringements of liberal notions of freedom, in redress movements around residential schools for Indigenous people and around First World War internments of Ukrainian Canadians. She demonstrates how con-

flated the claims between the movements have become in order to achieve currency in the dominant neo-liberal discourse of reparations. It is thus important to examine particular tropes in specific redress contexts in order to determine whether figurative language reinforces constraints on articulations of injury and reparation captured by neo-liberalism, as described by Henderson, or whether it can signify a "poetics" of redress whereby racial and national identities are destabilized, as promoted by Miki. ✤

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Canada: Homeland or hostile land?

about the internment of Japanese Canadians during the Second World War, another example of state oppression from Canadian history. This is followed by Morais's essay on the death of Ashley Smith while incarcerated in a Canadian institution. Each of these essays highlights the sometimes invisible role of the state in perpetuating existing inequalities.

The second section, "(Critical) Perspectives on Canadian Multiculturalism," analyzes the implications of Canada's perceived multiculturalism. Khan's essay looks critically at the official policy of multiculturalism, first implemented by the federal government in the 1970s. This is followed by two case studies of multiculturalism: Little's essay examines Muslim-Canadian women's response to the proposed niqab

> ## [F]or many, the Canadian homeland can only be a myth.

ban put forth by the Conservative government in 2011; and Kotchapaw's study focuses on racialized social workers in the predominantly white space of Canadian public policy. Along with Khan's essay, both case studies highlight the tensions between the rhetoric and official policy of multiculturalism and the lived experiences of minority groups within Canadian society.

The final section, "Overseeing Outsiders: The Canadian State and 'Foreigners,'" examines the Canadian state's

relationship with individuals considered to be, in some way, non-members of Canadian society. The essays by Yasin and Henley discuss the high barriers to immigrating to and working in Canada that are faced by non-Canadians. Poggi's essay examines the competing relationships that second-generation immigrants have with the Canadian state and their parents' countries of birth, specifically Italian Canadians during the Second World War. The final essay, by Callon, critically examines Canadian foreign policy through a gendered lens. Together, these essays conclude that Canada's interactions with outsiders are characterized by hostility rather than hospitality, suggesting, for many, the Canadian homeland can only be a myth. ✤

Determining responsibility: A media analysis of the death of Ashley Smith

"PROBLEMATIC BEHAVIOURS"

The death of Ashley Smith in 2007 while she was incarcerated in the Grand Valley Institution for Women has raised concerns over the use of segregation policies and the treatment of inmates with mental health concerns. Smith's experiences with the criminal justice system, which saw her transferred 17 times across eight facilities in an 11-month timeframe, resulted in instability and behaviours that Correctional Service Canada (CSC) classified as problematic or acting out. These behaviours caused prison staff and officials to engage in segregation and psychiatric intervention as punitive measures when dealing with Smith. The use of psychiatric measures as punishment or a form of control plays into a larger "psy-carceral complex" in which the CSC uses medicalization and punishment in the form of isolation and sedation (Kilty, 2014). In the case of Ashley Smith's homicide, these narratives maintain underlying tones of accountability that shifts blame from the CSC to Smith's behaviours and her mental health status.

The use of psy-carceral discourses in the media representation of Ashley Smith seemed to construct Smith as both "mad" and "bad." Newspaper coverage in both the New Brunswick *Telegraph-Journal* and *The Globe and Mail* used mental health diagnoses when describing Smith's behaviour during her incarceration. Most commonly, the newspaper reports used a diagnosis of borderline personality disorder. However, Smith did not receive a complete psychological assessment and did not receive a mental health diagnosis, even though she was prescribed psychotropic medications in order to sedate and control her (Kilty, 2014). In the article "Ashley Smith a 'Large Tyrannical Child,' Psychiatrist Tells Inquest"

BY CHANTELL MORAIS

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(Perkel, 2013b), which was published in the *Telegraph-Journal*, the reporter quotes a prison psychiatrist's testimony during the coroner's inquest. The use of testimony by a prison psychiatrist suggests that Smith had a formal diagnosis. At no time does the article recognize the lack of a formal assessment of Smith; instead, it allows the reader to assume that Smith was assessed as having borderline personality disorder. Given the lack of a formal diagnosis and treatment plan, the use of sedatives in Smith's case suggests a reliance on medicalization as a form of control in the prison system. "For Smith, psychotropic medication became an instrument of punishment that diminished her ability to resist carceral control" (Kilty, 2014, p. 244).

CONTROL AND PUNISH

The use of segregation is another element of the psy-carceral discourses that sought to control and punish Smith. In the Grand Valley Institution, segregation included 23 hours a day in solitary confinement. The labelling of Smith as "acting out," having "behavioural problems," or being "abusive" justified the use of segregation as a method of punishment. The prison staff's use of segregation for Smith further impaired her health and well-being. In her call for an end to segregation policies, Joane Martel states that "segregation is most often lived in overwhelming solitude, which is generally experienced as rejection or abandonment, as a form of dehumanization, as a total invisibility or a general lack of acknowledgement of their existence" (2000, p. 130). By not addressing the CSC's use of segregation as a method of

treatment or punishment, there is a lack of accountability for the policies that contributed to Smith's death.

Representation of Smith's presumed mental health status in newspaper articles covering her death was largely problematic. By reducing Smith to a label, or to actions and behaviours associated with a label, the newspaper coverage worked to dehumanize Smith. This is seen through the use of statements such as "she would be making progress and then she would have to self-destruct" (Perkel, 2013a) and she was "a large, tyrannical child who can't tolerate limits" (Jones, 2013). As Butler notes, "violence against those who are already not quite living, that is, living in a state of suspension between life and death, leaves a mark that is no mark" (2004, p. 36). The use of treatment in Smith's case continued to mark her as a body that was not quite living. In separate articles, Perkel and Jones both note that treatment plans for Smith were created that included withdrawing heat and giving her the silent treatment as a form of punishment if she misbehaved. This degrading method of treatment does not seek to encourage positive responses to successes but rather focuses on punitive measures. These methods suggest a willingness to inflict punishment on a body that is marked for violence because the mark will not be seen. Smith's involvement with the CSC resulted in her body being marked for acts of violence that would not be taken up, because she was not thought of as fully living by the prison staff.

A BODY NOT QUITE LIVING

This essay has sought to draw connections between the media's representation of Ashley Smith's death and forms of accountability, along with the marking of Smith's body as not deserving of pub-

lic grief. While many of the articles written attempt to uncover the issues in Smith's incarceration and death, the reporters fail to address Correctional Service Canada's responsibility in Smith's death as they exercised psy-carceral discourses as methods of punishment and control. The problems associated with some of the word choices in recounting Smith's behaviour and her presumed mental health further contribute to the "mad" or "bad" dialogue of criminalized women. Historically, "the idea that women could be both mad and bad was almost incomprehensible. The tiny percentage of women who came to be labelled as insane criminals therefore provoked a great deal of curiosity, bewilderment and scorn" (Kendall, 2000, p. 85). Whether intentional or not, the media's representation of Smith constructed her as both "mad" and "bad." This has resulted in a misrepresentation of accountability for Smith's death, with responsibility being placed on Smith herself instead of on the CSC's policies and mandates that were directly related to her death. The use of segregation, medication, and mental health treatment plans as methods of control further displaced Smith in a system that was supposed to focus on rehabilitation instead of retribution. 🍁

By reducing Smith to a label, or to actions and behaviours associated with a label, the newspaper coverage worked to dehumanize Smith.

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Official multiculturalism and the promise of equality

BY SALMAAN KHAN

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In 1971, the government of Pierre Trudeau implemented Canada's first policy on multiculturalism. With its elimination of overt racial classifications in immigration policy during the 1960s and 1970s, the Canadian nation-state seemed as if it were at the cutting edge of promoting racial and ethnic tolerance. For over 45 years, the policy of multiculturalism has remained a defining characteristic of Canadian national identity and a source of national pride for many citizens. Yet, given the ongoing material inequalities between racialized communities and their white counterparts, it is important to re-examine the effects, as well as the intentions, of multiculturalism, which came with the promise of greater inclusion and equality (Trudeau, 1971).

MULTICULTURALISM TO THE RESCUE

The policy of multiculturalism was meant to underscore the rights of all Canadians to develop culturally, to overcome cultural barriers to full participation in society, and to promote unity among the population (Gupta, 1999). Instead, the policy not only has failed to address issues of racism and racial inequality in Canadian society, but has operated as an instrument of racial oppression through its evasion of the issues of racism, gender exploitation, colonialism, and class. It is important to move past the mirage and appreciate the ways in which, as an official state policy, multiculturalism was never intended as a progressive development in terms of race relations, but was instead premised on a "rescue of whiteness" (Thobani, 2007). The policy of multiculturalism furthered the legitimacy of this racist-settler colonial state in a period of rising Québécois national-

ism (Gupta, 1999), greater demands for Aboriginal sovereignty, and a changing post-war world in which discredited notions of biological racism and a globalized capitalism forced Western nations into novel relations with newly independent states.

In an era when the justification for white supremacy was being profoundly eroded, multiculturalism effectively masked the continuity of white privilege by recasting whiteness in its distinct and new version as "culturally tolerant," respectful of difference, and open to diversity (Thobani, 2007). In opposition to this, non-white people were instead constructed as monocultural (if not overly cultural), exotic, tied to archaic traditions, and in need of being taught the virtues of tolerance and cosmopolitanism under white supervision. Seen as void of the respect for diversity that characterized the state and its white nationals, people of colour were further excluded from the nation as "cultural outsiders." The everyday workings of their lives were defined by their cultural backgrounds, which were and are constructed by the state as neatly bounded and separate, as if existing within a vacuum. All other aspects of the lives of people of colour, such as gender, class, and sexuality, were seen as secondary if not irrelevant to the supreme cultural makeup that defined their lives (Bannerji, 2000).

DERAILING ANTI-RACISM

In its emphasis on culture, multiculturalism suppressed public discussion of

racism, both systemic and personal, which barred the full participation of people of colour within society. Incidences of racism in society no longer included a discussion of power but were seen as anomalous individual acts that ran counter to the tolerance of the Canadian state and its nationals. Inequalities experienced by people of colour were then explained in terms of cultural inadequacies and a lack of social and linguistic skills (Thobani, 2007). With its tendency to culturally compartmentalize people of colour, the policy of multiculturalism also worked to split cross-racial alliances into individualized and distinct cultural communities—what Neil Bissoondath (1994) has termed the "ghettoization" of racialized communities.

SUCCESS OR FAILURE

One could argue that multiculturalism has been successful as a system of control, a means of "rescuing whiteness," as well as a way of legitimating racial domination. But has it been successful in its commonsense guise—that is, as a means creating a space of greater equality and affirming the value and dignity of all people, regardless of their race or ethnicity? Further difficulties arise in critically deconstructing multiculturalism in the face of an increasing right-wing xenophobia that characterizes multiculturalism as the source of all evils; a policy that gives too much away and threatens an "authentic" Canadian way of life. Underlying these difficulties is something that was at the core of multiculturalism all along. Multiculturalism has always been premised on the *relative* inclusion of "strangers" within the nation (Ahmed, 2000). The stranger who *appears* different adds cachet to

The promise of equality

the celebrated diversity of the nation, but is expected to conform. Multicultural and exotic "others" are accepted so long as they maintain a strict adherence to an overarching Europeanness/whiteness that remains at the core of Canadian identity (Bannerji, 2000, p. 110). This Europeanness/whiteness remains central to the project of multiculturalism and provides the criteria for defining "Canadian culture"—a core and point of departure from which the "multicultures" are defined.

STRATEGIES FROM HERE

At a time when multiculturalism is under increasing attack in the face of blatant racism and xenophobia, anti-racist organizers and activists are forced to grapple with the question of where to go from here, and of how to engage with the discourse of multiculturalism to fur-

ther the agendas of racialized groups. What are the limits of organizing through the language of culture? Can spaces be created within such a cultural discourse for other dimensions of our lives, imbricated with class, gender, and sexuality? These are some of the questions that will require a rekindling of the imagination and a creative engagement in order to reclaim the struggle of racialized groups and to make concrete the demands of equality.

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Muslim-Canadian women speak out! The Harper government, the "niqab ban," and Muslim-Canadian women's voices in communications media

VOICELESS?

On December 12, 2011, Minister of Citizenship, Immigration and Multiculturalism Jason Kenney posted Operational Bulletin OB 359 to the Citizenship and Immigration Canada website. The bulletin stated that the niqab, or face veil, would be banned during citizenship ceremonies. This policy, Kenney announced, was a "matter of principle" and would ensure that "individuals whose faces are covered are actually reciting the oath" (Clarke, 2013, p. 16). Prime Minister Stephen Harper similarly maintained that the niqab was a misogynistic symbol "rooted in a culture that is anti-women" (as cited in Bryden, 2015).

During this period, many Muslim-Canadian women felt ignored and/or misrepresented by Canada's highest federal powers.[1] These women were not, however, voiceless. My study examines the ways Muslim-Canadian women used social media to weigh in on the niqab ban debate. How did social media enable them to voice their concerns, or feel "heard" by Canadians? Did using these media impact these women's feelings about the ban, or their sense of well-being during the two months leading up to the 2015 federal election? Through interviews with nine niqab- or hijab-wearing Muslim-Canadian women (referred to here as "participants")—including Zunera Ishaq, the woman who challenged the Harper government over its proposed ban, and her lawyer, Naseem Mithoowani—and through an examination of these women's ban-related communications, I proffer a "snapshot" of the ways social media allowed Muslim women to speak at a moment when they felt that their

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> **[S]ocial media allowed Muslim women to speak at a moment when they felt that their voices— and their rights— were being curtailed**

voices—and their rights—were being curtailed.[2]

ATTEMPTS TO "LIFT THE VEIL" IN CANADA

OB 359 was not the first attempt to ban the niqab in Canada. Nor was it the first time that Muslim-Canadian women have felt more talked about than heard in governmental debates. During Quebec's 2007 provincial elections, the province's chief electoral officer attempted to modify the *Elections Act*, ordering that veils be lifted in order to prevent "unwanted acts" or "improper behaviour" by crowds at voting stations (Directeur général des élections du Québec, quoted in Clarke, 2013, p. 13). Furthermore, Bill 94 and Bill 60 were introduced in Quebec, in 2010 and 2013, respectively, requiring that those obtaining or providing government or public services "show their

face" for "security, communication or identification" (National Assembly, 2010, p. 2; National Assembly, 2013, p. 2). According to a February 2015 Angus Reid survey, Bill 94 was supported by 95 percent of Québécois and 75 percent of other Canadians (Patriquin & Gillis, 2010). As Fathima Cader notes, "policy battles over the rights and obligations of veil-wearing Muslim women ... have proven especially relentless" as policymakers in Canada have attempted to control acceptable dress and behaviour for women (2013, pp. 69, 71).

SOCIAL MEDIA AND MUSLIM WOMEN'S VOICES

Social media contributed to the participants' sense of having a voice. For many, it provided an important means of "getting one's opinion across to friends and relatives, and to the public too," once their posts were shared (Participant B, personal communication, November 16, 2015). Some participants noted that social media allowed them to be politically active in a way they had not previously been: as Participant F, a hijab wearer, explained, "Canadian Muslims" were involved in "a lot of online political engagement encouraging people to go out and vote" against the Conservative party (personal communication, December 8, 2015). Social media allowed participants to stay up to date on niqab debate developments and empowered them to react publicly and in politicized fashion.

Interestingly, the interface of many social media platforms also fostered engagement from shyer participants in the niqab debate. The "liking" and

Muslim-Canadian women speak out!

"sharing" capacities of Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram allowed participants who described themselves as "reserved" to "find a voice in what others were saying," lowering the barrier to speech sometimes presented by introversion (Participant A, personal communication, November 17, 2015). Participants who engaged heavily with social media felt supported in the pre-election period. Interviewees note that, as their Muslim acquaintances shared and liked their anti-ban videos, posts, and other content, they felt they were a part of a larger, closely knit community of Canadian Muslims. This sense of support also crossed international borders. Several participants recall imams and religious leaders from the United States and United Kingdom "liking" and commenting encouragingly on their posts, as Canada's niqab ban debate drew broader attention (Participant A, personal communication, November 17, 2015; Participant E, personal communication, November 26, 2015).

Participants felt supported by non-Muslims as well. For example, Participant C, who typically avoids commenting politically on Facebook, reached a point where she "couldn't not speak out about the way the niqab was being used as a political ploy." She posted a poem that critiqued Canada's focus on a wedge issue while graver ills threatened national well-being, and was "very pleasantly surprised" at the encouragement she received from non-Muslims (personal communication, December 5, 2015). Participant D, a niqabi, noted that non-Muslims in her Facebook and Instagram feeds agreed that "banning the niqab is just as bad as forcing someone to wear it" (personal communication, November 27, 2015). Social media use fostered a widespread sense of encouragement from non-Muslims among participants. This is interesting, given that a Privy Council Office poll, shared widely in fall 2015, indicated that 82 percent of Canadians actually supported a citizenship ceremony face veil ban (Levitz, 2015). Although social media use led participants to feel largely encouraged, this sense of support may have been skewed. The fact that we tend to be friends on social media with people who agree with—rather than contradict—our world views may explain this seeming disconnect.

POLITICAL RE-ENGAGEMENT

In addition to allowing participants to feel heard and supported, social media use also improved their health. Participants indicated that access to social media during the pre-election period increased their sense of well-being and hope. Accessing others' thoughts and tracking the debate through Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram feeds "re-engaged" several participants in Canadian politics (Participant A, personal communication, November 17, 2015). In a pre-election period characterized by rampant rhetoric about Muslims, participants found it "healthful to see all the outrage expressed" and felt that this period would have been "more isolating, more difficult to go through, with less support or access to voices offering support"— that is, without social media (Participant A, personal communication, November 17, 2015). A core theory of psychology is that expressing our feelings, notably anger, promotes health and mental well-being (Sood, 2013, p. 253). Social media, which served as an outlet for anger, frustration, fear, and mistrust of the government, became a

TRANSGRESSING THE NATION-STATE: CONSTRUCTS OF CANADIAN IDENTITY
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The politics of social work: Do racialized social workers belong in the practice space of public policy development?

THE HELPING PROFESSION

Many institutions in our society have determined through credentialing that only certain types of professions deserve the power to make decisions that affect citizens. These professions include economists, medical professionals, lawyers, political scientists, and those seen as valuable to the productivity of society, such as professionals in the private sector. Historically, social workers have occupied a devalued position as the "helping" profession.

Social work has been absent from significant areas of advocacy and inclusion such as policy practice and social policy development. Westhues defines social policy as "a course of action or inaction chosen by public authorities to address a given problem or interrelated set of problems" (2003, p. 8). Policy practice can be defined as "efforts to change policies in legislative, agency and community settings whether by establishing new policies, improving existing ones or defeating the policy initiatives of other people" (Weiss-Gal & Peled, 2009, p. 369). Social workers possess first-hand knowledge and experience of implementing public and social policies that directly impact marginalized groups. For social work to be a representative profession, both public and social policy must be active areas of practice. Cynthia Bisman states that "social workers have a duty to … bring to the attention of those in power … and where appropriate challenge ways in which the policies or activities of government … create or contribute to structural disadvantage" (2004, p. 110). In the following sections, I assess the need for intervention in this practice space and suggest how social work can formulate public policy as a legitimate advocacy area for marginalized people.

BY CANDIES KOTCHAPAW

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HISTORICAL ROOTS

Themes of colonialism, patriarchy, and classism are rooted in Canada's historical treatment of minority peoples. Canada's Aboriginal peoples continue to provide a narrative of the impact of colonialism. The systematic dismantling of family structure and the loss of cultural identity caused by residential schooling continue to have negative socio-intersectional reverberations for this minority group. Similarly, classism was expressly active in the exclusive practice of the application of a head tax on Chinese people. Black people have also experienced this inherent classist narrative where immigration and the ability to access the labour market and to be settled in Canadian society are concerned.

Professionals such as doctors, lawyers, and economists, who are typically white males, also typically inform public policy development. According to Block and Galabuzi, in the area of public administration, only "4.0% of racialized men and 4.1% of racialized women were employed in this sector" (2011, p. 10). In light of these abysmal race representation statistics, it is clear that policy writers who do not experience the same social determinants of health concerns will not prioritize these issues affecting minority populations. Greater representation of racialized people among policy writers will assist in highlighting where discriminatory practices exist for racial minorities and will open the conversation as to how these discriminatory practices can best be addressed. Many institutional structures establish exclusive hiring practices that contribute to professional marginalization. A *Toronto Star* report calls for more diverse selection criteria to Canada's top court. "Professor Rosemary Cairns Way of the University of Ottawa reports that Aboriginal and visible minority members account for roughly 23 per cent of the population, and yet from 2009 to 2014, only 1.04 per cent of appointees to the provincial superior courts were Aboriginal, and only 0.5 per cent were members of a visible minority group" (Hasan & Siddiqui, 2016). The statistics offered by Cairns Way again highlight the implicit and explicit barriers to productive societal engagement for racialized people.

BEYOND INTENT

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau attempted to change this reality in Parliament in 2015. Yet exclusion for racialized people is still pervasive. Tamara Johnson in her discussion paper on the visible minority experience noted that, "in 1999, only one in 17 employees of the federal public service was visible minority." Johnson further quoted the Treasury Board Secretariat data that "the representation of visible minorities in the managerial or executive capacities is even more staggering … 1 in 33 … held by a member of a visible minority group" (Johnson, 2006, p. 13). In addition, "neither Elections Canada nor the clerk's office … keeps data on the ethnic breakdown of members, with the exception of those from First Nations backgrounds" (Woolf, 2015). Employment practices of screening names and addresses, streamlining through career-path forecasting, and selecting candidates on the basis of an organization's "culture" are multiple barriers to diversity and representative bureaucracy. Yee and Dumbrill counter

inadvertent exclusion by declaring that "discriminatory practices are not always about intent; they are often about how people are socially constructed into positions" (2015, p. 115). Often, disadvantage is constructed by tokenism implemented as a Band-Aid solution to the diversity problem. The result is that those in power forfeit their responsibility to further interrogate the power structures impacting marginalized people.

In my research, a participant in a member of Parliament's constituency office highlighted the discourse of the "capable worker" as she talked about how race played a role in empowering or negating power for the worker (A.S., personal interview, April 19, 2016). The participant stated that "racialization was a huge part of our office politics … race was at the centre of everything … when white workers who were not social workers were inserted into the [problem-solving] equation, the constituents chose those workers because they trusted the authority of the white workers." While racialized social workers are uniquely positioned to offer expertise on how social policies impact marginalized people, they themselves are also likely to have experienced navigating these barriers professionally and personally.

Given the adverse impacts that social policies developed without social work input have had on marginalized people, policies developed with social work participation can translate into meaningful change. Westhues states that "social workers have come to accept social policy development as an essential component of our work as professionals … the values we stand for, infused in social policy will shape and give definition to the vital, ever changing culture we know as Canadian" (2003, pp. 19-20). Because the bulk of the practice of social work is to engage with and analyze how systems of dominance impact vulnerable and marginalized populations, this same method of assessment, employed by racialized social workers, could be effectively applied to the practice area of

public policy development. This mechanism could be more reflective of the plight of all Canadians.

GOVERNMENT FAILURE

The 2016 suicide crisis experienced in the Attawapiskat community speaks to the failure of the government to address social issues effectively. Social work inclusion would open avenues for groups affected by adverse social and broader public policy conditions to shape these policies by providing a critical eye to the language, funding, and the institutional structures of legislated policies. This collaborative professional approach between structural social workers, service users, and legislators can positively shape how funding is distributed, how discrimination and tokenism are challenged, and how agencies are interpreting and mandating their front-line work. The role of social workers, through policy evaluation, will be to determine whether and how the legislative and implementation process affects marginalization.

Steven Hick suggests that social problems and inequalities are a built-in "feature of society" and he "calls for society itself, including major institutions to change radically" (2014, p. 94). With public policy legislation and regulation now being viewed by universities and colleges as a legitimate practice space for social work students, social work as a profession is increasingly interdisciplinary. This translates into engagement with other discussions of social work inclusion in law and society, and health and well-being. This interdisciplinary approach to policy development activities enables all people in our society to gain access to the resources available, not just to what is portioned out for the marginalized through social policy. 🍁

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How human capital theory justifies changes in literacy proficiency requirements for entry and naturalization

HUMANITARIAN CONCERNS OR ECONOMIC PRIORITIES

The media depiction of Prime Minister Justin Trudeau welcoming Syrian refugees entering Canada portrays our nation as a country that prioritizes our humanitarian concerns for human welfare above economic priorities. However, when it comes to policy reform, economic priorities seem to take precedence, particularly with regard to the changes in literacy proficiency requirements for entry and citizenship. Indeed, before leaving office, the previous government, led by Prime Minister Stephen Harper, introduced stricter language proficiency requirements to enter and become a citizen of Canada. The points system was transformed into an express entry system in which language proficiency became the most significant point category (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2017; Government of Canada, 2016). The Conservative government made proof of language proficiency a requirement for citizenship, in addition to the interview and written test (Government of Canada, 2014; Government of Canada, 2015; Ibbitson, 2014).

The rationale for stricter language proficiency policies stems from an assumption of human capital theory (HCT) that high literacy proficiency in the official language of the country is a key indicator of economic success. These assumptions are justified using literacy surveys, specifically the International Adult Literacy Survey (IALS). This survey establishes a key correlation between literacy and social mobility (Statistics Canada, 2011; Gibb & Walker, 2011; Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD],

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2013). This essay explores the criticism of how HCT is used to shape immigration policy.

RAISING SKILL SETS

HCT is based on the assumption that the skill sets of every individual, such as literacy, are forms of human capital. High proficiency in capital such as literacy enables individuals to be economically productive and socially mobile (OECD, 2013, p. 118; OECD, 1996). Low proficiency leads individuals to be dependent on social services and unable to meet the needs of a changing economy (Grubel, 2013). Consequently, it is to every country's advantage to raise the skill sets of their citizens to maximize economic prosperity and reduce reliance on social services.

To illustrate the correlation between human capital and social mobility, the OECD and Statistics Canada implemented a survey to measure literacy proficiency and other skills connected to economic success. The literacy section is known as the IALS and has been administered in OECD member countries three times over the last three decades (Walker & Rubenson, 2014). The survey involves completing a variety of literacy tasks that are ranked into five levels based on proficiency. Level 3 represents the literacy skills the OECD believes are necessary to compete in a knowledge-based economy (Statistics Canada, 2011; Grenier et al., 2008). In the most recent IALS survey, Canada's

score was 273—three points shy of a level 3. The lowest scores came from immigrants, Aboriginal people, and older adults (ages 35 to 65). From their findings, the OECD made two policy recommendations: first, countries like Canada should increase support of adult literacy education programs; and second, countries like Canada should continue to develop selective immigration policies that increase the demand for immigrants with literacy proficiency in the country's official language (OECD, 2013; Statistics Canada, 2013).

CRITICIZING HUMAN CAPITAL THEORY

There are three main criticisms associated with the use of an HCT framework in policy. The first is that literacy may not be as significant an indicator of economic success as the OECD suggests. Even though there is a correlation between those who scored high on the literacy tests and income, overall, countries with high immigrant populations and high GDPs such as Canada, the United States, and Britain had average to low literacy scores (World Bank, 2015; OECD, 2013). This suggests that other factors may be significant to determining economic success aside from literacy proficiency.

A second criticism of HCT is that it upholds the myth of meritocracy: that we all have equal access to social mobility. Using a critical discourse lens and Bourdieu's concept of reproduction, these critics demonstrate that this is not the case (Heller, 2008). Instead, policies based on HCT arbitrarily privilege normative discourses of what it means to be

Canadian. Such policies also make it more challenging for ethnic minorities to gain entry and citizenship (Black & Yasukawa, 2014; Burkholder & Filion, 2014; Fleming, 2015). The selectivity of the express entry system also allows the government in power to shape its decisions of who will receive entry into the country based on their political ideology and economic values (Ibbitson, 2014).

The final criticism of HCT is that it supports a deficit perspective of literacy. Although surveys such as the IALS were constructed with the intention of avoiding the deficit perspective of seeing individuals as literate or illiterate, by insisting that level 3 is necessary for economic success, they have unwittingly reinforced a deficit perspective. Insisting that a level 3 represents the level needed to succeed in an advanced economic society sets a high standard for countries to aspire to—one that is not easily achieved and that requires significant investment, which a nation's government may not be prepared to make. Indeed, when the Conservative government chose to shut down COPIAN, Canada's leading source of adult education research funding, Alexandra Fortier, spokesperson for then Employment and Social Development Minister Jason Kenney, referred to poor performance on the IALS as the main reason (Goar, 2014).

Insisting on level 3 proficiency also raises the bar expected of immigrants, who are now required to do more standardized tests to find a pathway to citizenship. This creates a narrative that portrays immigrants as a threat to the nation's wealth and fails to recognize the other forms of capital they bring to the country (Black & Yasukawa, 2014, p. 224). Moreover, standardized surveys provide a narrow understanding of their participants' literacy abilities. The IALS survey questions focus on being a consumer; they do not take into account dialect and socio-cultural practices that are related to the local practices of the individual taking the test. This perspective does not reflect current socio-cultural theories of literacy learning, which conceptualize literacy as context-based and socially situated practices (St. Clair, 2012).

To conclude, education policies must recognize the limitations of HCT to better support our humanitarian priorities. Stricter literacy proficiency requirements impact whether immigrants will be able to make Canada their homeland, be barred from entry, or remain foreign nationals. From the perspective of an adult educator, providing opportunities to receive instruction in the official language of the country is the best way to balance our economic and humanitarian priorities. In addition, these programs need to be spaces to address the criticisms of HCT and reflect the most innovative understandings of literacy and second-language acquisition. This involves continuing to develop and support adult literacy programming that is sensitive and responsive to the cultural, historical, and social contexts of the individuals it serves rather than merely reproductive of existing normative discourses. Such an approach can expand the narrative beyond characterizing immigrants as financial burdens or financial opportunities to treating them as individuals who contribute to the cultural and social fabric of our nation. ✦

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The crisis facing internationally trained women engineers in Canada

NIGHTMARE REALITY

Women professionals who migrate to Canada enter with dreams of finding a good job in their field (Fursova, 2013; Poverty and Employment Precarity in Southern Ontario [PEPSO], 2012). Unfortunately, for 86 percent of internationally trained engineers (ITEs) who are women, this dream has turned into a nightmare. This means that only 14 percent of women ITEs find a job in their field in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2011). Engineers Canada estimates that over 90,000 jobs will be available through retirement, attrition, and company growth over the next ten years (Engineers Canada, 2015). Canada advertises widely for skilled immigrants with high personal capital (skills, experience, and education), and, according to prevailing knowledge, this should be enough to get ITEs into good careers in engineering. So people enter Canada hoping to find a new homeland, but instead find a hostile land where their skills and experience do not help them land a good job.

Engineering is a highly gendered field and women entering engineering have to deal with sexism, systemic discrimination, and workplace inequality (Calnan & Valiquette, 2015; Ranson, 2005). Women's skill sets are devalued (England, 1992), and their responsibilities within social reproduction are considered by male employers to overshadow the job, which affects hiring and promotion. Women ITEs have to deal with the same systemic gendered discrimination as Canadian-trained women, but they also have to deal with the reluctance of Canadian employers to accept their foreign credentials and experience; racism; the lack of a peer or social network; and a lack of understanding of Canadian business mores (PEPSO, 2012; Expert Roundtable on Immigration, 2012).

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RECOGNIZING CREDENTIALS

Employers in both large and small businesses state that there is a shortage of people with the right skills to fill their vacancies (Engineers Canada, 2015; Ontario Society of Professional Engineers [OSPE], 2015; Expert Roundtable on Immigration, 2012). Employers want to hire people who can start immediately with a good knowledge of the demands of the job and who have high personal capital, which is precisely what the Canadian state screens for when selecting immigrants. However, in the social construction of the marketplace in Canada, there are numerous "understood" methods of assessing credentials, human potential, and hiring methodologies that new immigrants find very hard to negotiate without prior knowledge or help. As a result, their high personal capital in their originating country does not translate well into the Canadian workforce (Gottfried, 2013; Salaff & Greve, 2006).

Organizations such as Engineers Canada and the provincial organizations that represent engineers in training and professional engineers, federal and provincial levels of government, NGOs that support immigrants, immigrant organizations, business leaders, and academic institutions are researching this employment gap from both the demand side and the supply side. Problems on the demand side (racism, credentialism, the highly gendered atmosphere for women) are still not completely accepted by engineering companies. On the supply side, getting credentials assessed and recognized is the number one concern of immigrants (Foster, 2011). The Foreign Credential Recognition Program can be accessed from outside Canada and completed before prospective migrants enter the country. This helps women, who tend to want to settle the family into the new country before looking for a job for themselves, and because completing the education credential assessment (ECA) program can take up to a year, it potentially could help them avoid the stigma of having been "out of the field too long" (Fursova, 2013; PEPSO, 2012).

Another area of concern for immigrant engineers is getting the first job. Engineers Canada states that 80 percent of ITEs fail to get past the first stage of the hiring process because Canadian degrees, Canadian language skills, and Canadian work experience are preferred and foreign experience and education are considered as other and different, and employers frequently have problems assessing foreign degrees compared with Canadian degrees (Expert Roundtable on Immigration, 2012; PEPSO, 2012). Organizations such as Prepare for Canada.com assist prospective immigrants and suggest that prospective ITEs look to less popular locations for work, such as northern Ontario or other northern locales. In addition, many vacancies are in the middle ranks, right where the majority of ITEs fit; but Canadian employers hesitate to bring in ITEs at the middle-management level, especially women, until they are sure they will "fit" into the workplace culture and they have the relevant knowledge and skills. Another major area of concern for women engineers is the lack of support within companies. Engineers Canada and each of the provincial overseeing bodies have recognized this problem and have recently formed "working

groups" to support women in engineering, which are focused on both mentoring new female engineers and retaining experienced female engineers.

Government-supported internships have proven to be a successful method of integrating ITEs, who can access paid internships administered through recruitment companies such as Career Edge in Ontario, a not-for-profit social enterprise that has managed over 9,200 paid internships across Canada since 1996 (www.prepareforcanada.com, 2016; www.careeredge.ca). Eighty percent of ITEs who are accepted into internship programs are hired by the company in which they intern (Engineers Canada, 2015).

WASTED POTENTIAL

The employment figures for women ITEs in Canada are appalling. Immigration procedures, which screen for immigrants with high personal capital, are neglecting the social construction of the marketplace in Canada. Even with an ECA, foreign credentials when compared with Canadian degrees are not valued by employers; work experience outside Canada is devalued as not being relevant to the Canadian marketplace; and women's skills and abilities are further devalued in this highly gendered sector. Engineers are leaving their home country, hoping to reach the promised land. However, as long as Canada screens for "high personal capital" and does not accept that high personal capital will not ease the path for immigrants to negotiate marketplace institutions and socio-cultural attitudes, nor deal with institutional barriers to good jobs, then ITEs and other professionals will find it difficult to access those jobs.

The underutilization of professional women's skills is of particular importance as countries vie for highly skilled immigrant workers. The most open and flexible countries will be more attractive destinations for people wanting to work in their professions permanently after migration (Iredale, 2005). This waste of human potential is a personal catastrophe for women ITEs and causes Canada to appear, not as a homeland, but as a hostile land. ❧

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The second generation: Italian-Canadian students and fascism

TARGETING THE DIASPORA

In June 2014, it was revealed that the Toronto District School Board had partnered with the Confucius Institute, an agency funded by the Chinese government, to teach Mandarin and promote China's culture and history in its schools. Critics of the initiative claimed that the Confucius Institute was a mouthpiece for China's authoritarian regime; its instructors, they argued, were sent directly from China and were prohibited from discussing the country's treatment of minority groups or the Tiananmen Square massacre. In October of that same year, under intense public pressure, the TDSB cut ties with the Confucius Institute. Yet this was not the first time a foreign government tried to gain a foothold in Canadian classrooms. In the 1930s, Benito Mussolini's government targeted Italian-Canadian youth, through language classes and cultural programs, with the express purpose of winning their loyalty. An analysis of this episode in Canadian history is fruitful, as it not only establishes a precedent for the Confucius Institute controversy, but also touches on the broader issues of identity among second-generation immigrants in Canada, and the difficulties repressive governments often encounter in maintaining ties with their respective diasporas.

Since the beginning of the era of mass migration in the late 19th century, successive Italian governments had taken a keen interest in their emigrants, an attitude very much rooted in Italy's status as a young nation. After centuries of regional divisions, the process of unifying the diverse population of the Italian peninsula had only begun in the 1860s. Between 1876 and 1914, when 14 million people left the country, Italy was still considered a recent creation. A main priority of the Italian state, therefore, was to form a strong national iden-

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tity that would supersede any lingering regional loyalties among its citizens, including those who had migrated elsewhere. The absence of a national identity was particularly evident when it came to language. Although standard Italian was deemed the national language of Italy, regional dialects continued to be used, especially by emigrants. Consequently, throughout the Liberal era (1870-1914), the Italian government funded schools across the world that taught standard Italian. First-generation Italian immigrants were targeted, but so too were their children and grandchildren, who had the potential, in the eyes of the government, to become deeply connected to Italy, no matter where they lived. Italy's efforts in reaching out to the descendants of Italian immigrants were formalized in 1912, when its legislature defined Italian citizenship to include children born abroad to Italian fathers.

THE FUTURE OF FASCISM

After coming to power in 1922, Mussolini and his fascist government continued to court Italian immigrants and their descendants, but on a much wider scale this time. The regime believed the future of fascism lay with Italian children, including those born outside Italy. In 1927, Mussolini created a department responsible for Italians living abroad, *Direzione generale degli Italiani all'estero* (General Bureau of Italians Abroad). It was led by the high-ranking fascist official Piero Parini, and it included a section responsible for the

sons and daughters of Italian immigrants, the *Gioventù Italiana Del Littorio Estero* (Italian Youth Organizations Abroad). The Italian-language schools in Canada came under the jurisdiction of the *Gioventù*. Their official aim was to teach Italy's language, culture, and history, not unlike previous efforts during the Liberal era. However, students were also taught to believe fascism was the best path for Italy, and fascist teachers were sent from Italy to Canada for that exact purpose. The textbooks used were sent by the Italian government and contained numerous glorifications of Mussolini. Under the auspices of the *Gioventù*, a limited number of students from the language schools were also sent to summer camps in Italy, a trip paid for mostly by Rome. As with the schools, these camps extolled the virtues of the fascist regime and immersed the children in a very militarized atmosphere. In Italy, they were to conduct themselves as soldiers in battle. The children regularly took part in parades and military drilling, often while wearing fascist uniforms.

Throughout the 1930s, the RCMP monitored these developments quite closely and with great concern. They knew the Italian-language teachers were sent directly from Rome, and they were familiar with certain passages from the textbooks that criticized the British empire and praised Mussolini. Furthermore, the RCMP had received reports of the speeches that Italian consuls had given to Italian-Canadian children before they left for the summer camps. In 1937, the consul in Montreal, Paolo de Simone, had told one group that no other government did as much for its children abroad as Italy, so they needed to be "appreciative and show gratitude with deeds." In a particularly damning assessment, the RCMP argued that Italy's

Italian-Canadian students and fascism

efforts at educating Italian children in Canada could "provide an effective instrument which may be put to any purpose required in the event of such hostilities as a war in which the countries concerned were implicated." In 1938, Windsor, Ontario's Italian school, held on Saturdays, was barred from using the classrooms of St. Alphonsus, part of the separate school board, after reports emerged that the textbooks being used espoused fascist propaganda. Shortly after, Ottawa was sent the books in question for further review. Rome's activities among Italian-Canadian youth were also criticized within leftist circles. *The Daily Clarion*, the organ of the Communist Party of Canada, reported extensively on the situation in Windsor. And in March 1939, Toronto alderman Stewart Smith complained to the city council about Italian classes in the city.

Two questions come to mind: Was the concern on the part of the Canadian government and certain sectors of the public justified? And were these schools and summer camps able to channel the allegiances of Italian Canadians to a fascist state, as one RCMP report stated? One way to approach these questions is by looking at accounts left by the children who attended these schools and summer camps in the 1930s. The local fascist press in Canada published numerous stories on the experiences of the second generation. Montreal's *L'Italia* newspaper, for instance, printed a letter from an unnamed girl who had written to her parents while she was attending a camp in Italy. The youngster called Italy a "true paradise" and stated that if it weren't for the love she felt for her parents, she would never return to Canada. The RCMP presented this type of material as further proof that the fascist regime was greatly influencing the lives of Italian-Canadian children. Nonetheless, we should be careful with these sources. Campers were expected to speak glowingly of their trips and each was required to keep a diary of his or her time in Italy, to be read at fascist events once they returned home.

A SUCCESSFUL STRATEGY?

Examining the life histories of certain individuals who passed through these schools and camps can provide another perspective. The life of Rino Albanese, born to Italian parents in Port Arthur, Ontario in 1924, demonstrates that the second generation's allegiances were not always shaped by fascist propaganda. Albanese attended Italian-language classes in the 1930s yet enlisted, along with his twin brother, in the Canadian military. Both saw action overseas during the Second World War. Interestingly, the twins' father was a self-identified fascist and disapproved of his sons' decision to join the military. Another interesting case is that of Gerard Di Battista. He was born in Lachine, Quebec in 1925 and, like Rino Albanese, was the son of a self-identified fascist, Luigi Di Battista. Gerard attended Italian-language classes and even went to a fascist camp in Rawdon, Quebec for those students unable to travel to Italy. The camp was named after Piero Parini and included military drilling; a toy gun made out of wood was used instead of an actual weapon. Despite these pressures, Gerard enlisted in the Canadian military during the Second World War.

Further research will be needed to determine what other factors may have influenced the loyalties of Italian-Canadian youth in the 1930s, but I suspect Canadian schools provided a strong counterbalance to the efforts of the Italian government. Italian-language classes were only a few hours a week, which paled in comparison to the public school education that girls and boys received during the day. A parallel could be drawn between the lukewarm response of many Italian-Canadian students to the overtures from Mussolini's regime, and the difficulties previous Italian governments encountered in shaping the mindsets of young Italians abroad. For instance, Luigi Rava, head of the Dante Alighieri Society, admitted in 1912 that the children of Italian immigrants in Argentina were taught by that country's schools to "consider Argentina as their only fatherland." Similar dynamics likely occurred in Canada in the 1930s. Indeed, the failure of Italy's fascist regime to sway young Italian Canadians serves as a reminder of the numerous obstacles governments face when courting a diaspora. 🍁

Gender's journey in Canadian foreign policy, 1970-2015

1970s-1980s: THE PEAK OF GENDER AWARENESS IN POLICY

Attention to gender equality and women's rights in Canadian foreign development policy reached its peak in the early 1980s, but has been declining since that time and reached bottom with Stephen Harper's Conservative government. During the 1970s and early 1980s, Canada aligned itself with the standards set by the international community at the time and had relatively robust development policies aimed at enhancing women's rights and equality. For instance, the Royal Commission on the Status of Women was established in 1970, and five years later Canada and other United Nations member states declared 1975 as International Women's Year. Then, in 1976, the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) established its initial policy guidelines on Women in Development (WID) and eight years later, in 1984, developed the first WID policy.

The Canadian women's movement was increasingly politically influential throughout the 1970s and early 1980s. During this period, more women were elected to office, there were provincial and federal initiatives such as the Ministry of Women's Equality advocating for gender equality, a sexual equality clause was added to the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, and women's bureaus were making policy recommendations. However, attention to gender equality in the policy process began to erode in 1984 with the election of John Turner's "unapologetically neoliberal federal government" (Brodie, 2007, p. 171).

1990s: THE RISE OF NEO-LIBERALISM AND THE DECLINE OF GENDER

Brodie (2007, pp. 167, 171) suggests that the decline of gender as a critical part of Canadian public policy began in the mid-1980s with the rise of neo-liberal

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governance, increased social conservatism, and a growing backlash against second-wave feminism. At this time, federal funds dedicated to improving the status of women, such as women's bureaus and community shelters, were drastically cut, and by 1995 Status of Women Canada (SWC) was absorbed into the Department of Canadian Heritage. It was with the dissolution of gender-based policy units during the mid-1990s that gender mainstreaming was promoted as an alternative approach (Brodie, 2007, p. 177).

Gender mainstreaming treats gender as a cross-cutting issue at every level of policy, from design to evaluation. Swiss (2012, p. 140) and Tiessen (2015, p. 87) suggest that CIDA's institutionalized gender mainstreaming framework of the late 1990s represents a successful and internationally respected effort to include gender analysis in Canadian foreign policy. However, Brodie argues that gender mainstreaming put gender "everywhere in rhetoric and nowhere in substance" (2007, p. 171). What this means is that women as a category had been added to existing policy but without an acknowledgment of the social construction of gender. Acknowledging gender as a social construction requires a gender and development (GAD) approach to policy. A GAD approach understands gender to be relational, includes men as a development category, and realizes that gender inequalities are the result of patriarchal institutions. However, because Canada's attention to gender equality slumped in the 1990s, when GAD was

being promoted at Cairo and Beijing, Canada has been stuck using a WID policy framework. Thus, when gender is applied to Canadian development policy, it is still usually only in relation to women (Stienstra, 1994, p. 116).

2000s: SHIFTING AWAY FROM INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS WITH THE CONSERVATIVE GOVERNMENT, 2006-2015

Canada's internationalism shifted most dramatically in the mid-2000s with the election of Stephen Harper's Conservative government. Attention to gender equality and women's rights had already been declining in the Canadian political sphere, but under the Harper government it fully disappeared. Before Harper was elected, Canada was relatively progressive and secular, maintained the separation of church and state, promoted the armed forces for peacekeeping, and supported the UN system. However, with the Harper government, there was a general disregard for the UN practices (Martin, 2010, p. 112), and attention to gender equality and women's rights in Canadian public policy declined severely with the election of the Harper government, which in 2006 cut funding for over 30 women's organizations and research bodies.

Swiss (2012, p. 135) argues that gender equality became instrumentalized in Canadian foreign policy under the Harper government and was only present when it served Canada's national interests and objectives. For instance, rhetoric about "saving" Afghan women from Taliban oppression was used as a tool to legitimize and generate support for military intervention in Afghanistan (Swiss, 2012, p. 141). More recently, during the 2015 election campaign, the Harper government pledged to create a RCMP tip line to report suspected "barbaric

cultural practices against women and girls" in the name of protecting victimized women and children. These barbaric cultural practices included polygamy, forced marriage, and honour killings. When pressed on whether or not domestic violence would be considered a barbaric practice, Harper did not affirm that it would be, indicating only a feigned interest in women's well-being, with xenophobic undertones. Here, the broader agenda was to employ wedge politics aimed at creating tensions and dividing Canadians during election time.

In 2010, the Muskoka Initiative on Maternal, Newborn and Child Health (MNCH) was announced with the purpose of "saving the lives of mothers and children under the age of five" (CBC News, 2010). The Muskoka Initiative pledged approximately $7 billion over ten years toward three main objectives concerning MNCH: strengthening health systems, reducing the burden of disease, and improving health and nutrition practices. What was missing from the Harper government's understanding of these three objectives was an inclusion of family planning and abortion-related services. The Harper government considered the Muskoka Initiative to be Canada's top development priority and regarded Canada as a global leader on improving MNCH around the world.

The Harper government framed the Muskoka Initiative as a policy created in the interests of women and children. Hence, the Muskoka Initiative may have reflected a renewal of concern for gender equality globally. However, given that the Harper government had a history of instrumentalizing gender and broader social issues to serve their political interests, it is possible that the Muskoka Initiative was in part designed to achieve something similar. For instance, Swiss argues the Muskoka Initiative was a way to "put a Canadian stamp on a worthwhile initiative" in an effort to "generate prestige and positive reporting around the [G8] Summit" (2012, p. 141). Thus, the gender equality rhet-

oric employed around the Muskoka Initiative may have been a tool to achieve broader foreign policy aims or to garner positive press and international support for the government.

One clear example of Canada's movement away from gender-based analysis and toward gender instrumentalism in foreign policy was CIDA's 2007 shift in policy discourse about gender (Carrier & Tiessen, 2015, p. 189; Swiss, 2012, p. 141; Tiessen, 2015). Before CIDA was merged with the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, it was instructed by Ottawa to substitute the term "gender equality" with the phrase "equality between men and women" in its official policy discourse. This shift represented a philosophical disengagement from international commitments to undertake gender-based analysis in development policy (Carrier & Tiessen, 2015, p. 189; Swiss, 2012, p. 141; Tiessen, 2015). Furthermore, the shift institutionalized the gender essentialisms that assign specific characteristics to men and women and likely informed the Muskoka Initiative. Carrier and Tiessen (2015, p. 190) suggest that gender equality had officially disappeared from Canadian foreign policy as a way to appeal to the Conservative party base. Therefore, because of the rise of neo-liberalism as both an ideology and a set of policies, gender equality and women's rights have been delegitimized and dismantled and have disappeared from foreign development policies, and these changes occurred most significantly under the Harper government (Brodie, 2007).

> **The Liberal Party, led by Justin Trudeau, has made steps toward improving gender equality and ensuring women's rights within Canada, which warrants a certain level of optimism.**

2015: THE POST-HARPER GOVERNMENT ERA

In October 2015, Canadians elected a Liberal majority government, which allows space for increased attention to gender equality in Canadian policy. The Liberal Party, led by Justin Trudeau, has made steps toward improving gender equality and ensuring women's rights within Canada, which warrants a certain level of optimism. For instance, Trudeau achieved gender parity in the Cabinet, illustrating the Liberal Party's dedication to increasing women's representation in Canadian politics. Moreover, unlike the Harper government, all Liberal Party members are expected to vote against putting limits on abortion.

When it comes to abortion abroad, the Liberal Party's platform on foreign development assistance for MNCH has indicated that the initiative will be "driven by evidence and outcomes, not ideology" and that "the full range of reproductive health services" will be included in the Muskoka Initiative (Connolly, 2015). However, when asked specifically about whether or not abortion would be included in the Muskoka Initiative's funding, Liberal Party spokesperson Jean-Luc Ferland did not explicitly refer to the Muskoka Initiative, but said "the Liberals absolutely support . . . abortion where it is legal" (Connolly, 2015).

In spite of these steps taken by the Liberal Party to recognize women's interests, the government has not displayed a strong commitment to a GAD approach. For example, the Liberal Party failed to recognize men as a vulnerable category when it refused to

accept single male refugees from Syria. Although there is room for stronger gender-aware policy, the Liberal Party of Canada offers reason to believe the Muskoka Initiative will at least include funding for abortion in countries where it is legal. However, this is the bare minimum of what should be done by the Canadian government to address issues like maternal mortality and global gender inequality.

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Muslim-Canadian women speak out!

breeding ground for hope, support, civic engagement, and reassurance. This allowed for healthful release during the niqab debate.

While social media was a sustaining force for most participants, there was one interviewee who had an opposite experience. Early in her trial against the Harper government, Zunera Ishaq opted to avoid Facebook and Twitter altogether. This is because she was trolled, and found it a place where people said "nasty things" (personal communication, November 7, 2015). Apparently, being at the centre of the niqab debate as she was, she became a visible, sought-after target for online attacks. Those in the limelight, it seems, can be particularly vulnerable to outside attack. Social media use for Zunera, during her trial, became a channel for diminishment and threats rather than support. Since the federal election passed, however, she has enjoyed using social media again, and speaks excitedly about receiving a personal friend request from Prime Minister Justin Trudeau (personal communication, November 7, 2015). 🍁

NOTES

1. Zunera Ishaq, the woman who challenged the Harper government over its niqab ban and became a focal point for national discussion on the matter, noted in her *Toronto Star* op-ed (2015), while "Mr. Harper is so busy speaking about me in public, I am looking for him to include me in the discussion."

2. Dr. Lynda Clarke similarly interviews Muslim-Canadian women about the niqab's place in Canada. Her interesting work, however, focuses on Canadian niqabis' views of the niqab, while I explore means by which Muslim-Canadian women articulated their concerns about the Harper government's niqab ban through social media. Similar research methods are used to different ends.

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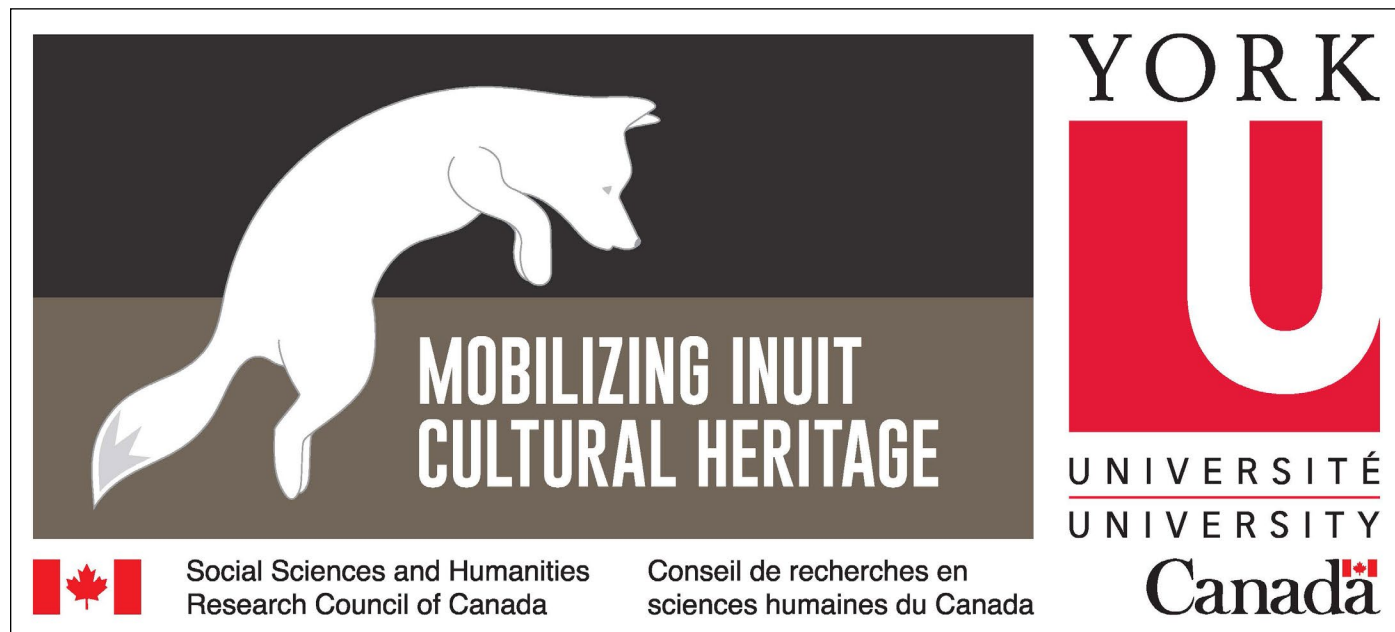
SOCIAL MEDIA LINKS

Facebook, Missing & Murdered Aboriginal Women in Canada. This page provides a space for family members to honour the lives of their loved ones through personal stories, photos, or other important aspects of someone's life. It is hoped that this memorial space will balance the death-related details the media focus on by celebrating the life and value of each Indigenous woman or girl. Available at https://www.facebook.com/pg/mmiwg2s/about/

Native Women's Association of Canada, Faceless Dolls Project. This site provides a toolkit for hosting a doll-making event for education and commemoration of missing and murdered Aboriginal women and information on the Traveling Exhibit. Available at https://www.nwac.ca

No More Silence. This community-run database documents the violent deaths of Indigenous women and two-spirit and trans people in collaboration with Families of Sisters In Spirit and the Native Youth Sexual Health Network, and with the assistance of Dr. Janet Smylie (Métis) and Conrad Prince of the Well Living House at the Keenan Research Centre. Available at http://www.itstartswithus-mmiw.com

Walking With Our Sisters. Learn about the hosted locations for the memorial and art exhibit installation. Available at http://walkingwithoursisters.ca

Transgressing the Nation-State: Constructs of Canadian Identity

As Canada approaches the 150th anniversary of Confederation, it is important to ask: how are systems of colonialism, racism, sexism, and other social and economic disparities that characterized the founding of this country still embedded in our society? The Robarts Centre for Canadian Studies welcomes exploration of these topics from multiple and competing perspectives at its annual conference on April 20th and 21st, 2017 at York University in Toronto. The conference will examine the dialogue surrounding Canadian identity by focusing on the current challenges to established forms of government, welfare policies and modes of participation in a radically changed globalized nation, where history, migration, and transnationalism play an important role. Presentations will offer an interdisciplinary analysis of opportunities provided and challenges faced in Canada's past, present and future.

Conference topics

- Exploitative Labour and Racialized Workers
- Meeting Grounds and the Difficult Work of Reconcilliation
- Troubled Narratives / Troubling Narratives
- Erasure, (In)visibility, and Marginalization
- Orders of Regulation and Manifestations of Power
- Challenging Canadianness
- Sacraments of Space: Marking and Claiming Through Holy Ground
- Discourse on Disability in Canada
- Always Watching: Surveillance and the Control of Immigrant Bodies
- Looking In the Margins of Canadian Healthcare
- Contested Territories and Colonial Relationships

Thursday evening keynote address by

Bonita Lawrence (Mi'kmaw) is an Associate Professor in the Department of Equity Studies, where she teaches Indigenous Studies. She is a founding member of the undergraduate program in Race, Ethnicity and Indigeneity (now Multicultural and Indigenous Studies in the Department of Equity Studies. Her research and publications have focused primarily on urban, non-status and Metis identities, federally unrecognized Aboriginal communities, and Indigenous justice. She is the author of *Fractured Homeland: Federal Recognition and Algonquin Identity in Ontario* (UBC Press, 2012) and *"Real" Indians and Others: Mixed-Blood Urban Native People and Indigenous Nationhood* (University of Nebraska Press and UBC Press, 2004).

Friday film screening

Elder in the Making (Hidden Story Productions)
Film Screening and Discussion with Director Chris Hsiung