The roots of hate in British Columbia: Past and present

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Support for impacted communities: This report examines the roots of hate in British Columbia. We recognize this information will be deeply disturbing for many people in our province to hear. This issue, while critical to examine, is extremely challenging, especially for people who have experienced or witnessed instances of hate and violence. British Columbians who experience distress at reading this report or who need immediate help can access a list of crisis lines and emergency mental health supports we have compiled on our website at: bchumanrights.ca/support

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Introduction

For most Canadians, British Columbia (B.C.) conjures up images of a distinct provincial ethos. There is a perception of the province as uniquely progressive and liberal in orientation. On some dimensions, as we discuss below, this has a ring of truth. British Columbians generally poll more positively on questions of diversity and inclusivity, for instance. In her comprehensive treatment of the history of human rights in British Columbia, Dominique Clément (2014) catalogues the many areas in which B.C. has excelled relative to other provinces: it was the first to implement human rights legislation and the first to provide protections around sex, gender and sexuality; and it has among the most diverse and highly unionized workforces. Yet the flattering accolades gloss over the unfortunate reality that B.C. also has a much bleaker past and present where many communities are marginalized and oppressed. As the authors of a 2021 report on the legacies of racism in B.C. contend, "beneath a veneer of equality and adherence to multiculturalism, there exists a tangled, often-invisible web of prejudice that make up what we call systemic racism" (Claxton et al., 2021, p. 66). Recent events – COVID-19, climate disasters and police violence against Wet'suwet'en land defenders, for example – have both exacerbated and laid bare the hatred that shapes the experiences of affected individuals and communities.

Recognizing this, British Columbia's Office of the Human Rights Commissioner (BCOHRC) launched its inquiry into hate in the pandemic in August 2021. This signalled an acknowledgement that the pandemic had opened the floodgates of hatred and hostility directed toward a diverse array of targeted communities. Indeed, British Columbia has seen a dramatic growth in manifestations of hate, as reflected in public opinion polls, hate crime statistics and research on extremism. We do not go into detail on these patterns, because the BCOHRC is examining data related to the reported rise in hate as part of the Inquiry.

The manifestations of hate that we are concerned with here are, of course, not new phenomena, but rather connect to historical legacies of racism, xenophobia, colonization, misogyny, homophobia and other forms of marginalization. To understand the reported rise in hate, we must reflect on the historical and contemporary climates that enable hate to flourish. This report, then, sets out to trace the roots of hate, as embedded in historical, systemic patterns of othering. We open, first, with a definition of "hate," followed by a theoretical framing that puts this hatred squarely within the contexts of broader narratives and structures that enable the targeting of a wide range of communities: BIPOC communities, 2SLGBTQI+ communities, religious communities, women, persons with disabilities and people experiencing homelessness, in particular. The conceptual lens we apply is informed by the approach offered by Iris Marion Young (1990), which she has described as the "five faces of oppression." We then move on to explore the roots of hate as they are contextualized by each of those five faces. We don't sequentially address the experiences of each community, but draw on illustrative trends that reflect our understanding. Moreover, we have attempted not to silo any of these communities, but rather assume an intersectional approach that recognizes the diversity within each and the ways that this diversity shapes different elements of each community differently. Moreover, many of the historical and contemporary contours we describe have been manifest across the country, often in very similar ways and in ways that are unique to their locale, in this case, British Columbia.

Defining hate: More than an emotion

There is a popular tendency to assume that when we are referring to hate – hate crime and hate speech, specifically – that we are dealing with emotions. While hate is a strong sentiment, it is a relatively "safe" one that does not imply rigidly structured patterns of oppression. It does not require us to admit that bias-motivated violence is constituted of and by difference, that it is about race and racism, sex and sexism and heterosexism, for example (Perry, 2005, p. 124). The reduction of the hatred that affects so many communities to personal emotions "obscures the following realities: that the perpetrator's bias is socially reinforced and not simply personal; that the perpetrator's acts are not uncommon and often are rational" (Wang, 1999, p. 818). Such accounts pathologize the individual rather than recognize the extent to which their actions or their narratives are informed by broader social norms. Racial hostility, for example, "makes sense" in a culture that privileges whiteness. In short, "the perpetrator's bias is deviant and irrational; it is abhorrent and aberrant, and it makes no logical sense" (Wang, 1999, p. 817). This is abundantly clear in the reactions to Anders Brevick's attacks in Norway, for example. The starting point for many accounts of the attack was to ask "could it happen here?" The underlying assumption is that no, it could not, and that this was the act of a clearly deranged individual. The hatred to which we refer is assumed to be irrational, "ab-normal and un-usual" (Goldberg, 1990, p. 19). This "encourages a view of racism and violence as the result of the presence of pathological individuals, rather than as embedded in institutional practices and offending communities" (Ray & Smith, 2001, p. 221). Pathology implies deviance, irrationality, sickness. There is something "comforting" about this, as it allows us to distance ourselves from the violence and its motivations. From this perspective, it is not a reflection of "us" but a reflection of a sick mind.

The forms of hate we are exploring here derive from the adoption of culturally normative patterns of advantage and disadvantage, superiority and inferiority. Hate both reflects and reinforces social hierarchies and broader systems of oppression.

> Hate crime and hate speech are not simply grounded in a mental state; nor are they the outcome of extreme hostility or pathology. Rather, hatred is more often foreseeable, and rational, at least from within the worldview of the perpetrator. Anti-gay violence that is conditioned by a particular reading of scripture is not irrational; it is not necessarily grounded in animosity or some other negative affect. Rather, it derives logically from a system of belief that proclaims homosexuality as sin. Similarly, racial harassment of a [B]lack family moving into a predominantly white neighborhood derives not only from racial animosity, but also from public perceptions about the expected impact of "those people" on property values, for instance. Violence emerging in these contexts, then, is not "about" hate, but is "about" the assertion of one's own identity and belongingness over and above others – in short, about power. It reflects much more than the perpetrator's state of mind.

In fact, it reflects the taken for granted, popular notions of identity and hierarchy. (Perry, 2005, p. 125)

Hate incidents are "nested in a web of everyday practices that seek to marginalize and disempower [affected] communities – especially increasingly vocal and active communities" (Perry & Robyn, 2005, p. 593). They are embedded in the structural and cultural context within which groups interact (Young, 1990; Bowling, 1993).

Foundations of hate: Five faces of oppression

In her book *Justice and the Politics of Difference* (1990), Iris Marion Young characterizes oppression in a way that provides a useful framework for understanding the roots of hate. She defines oppression as "the inhibition of a group through a vast network of everyday practices, attitudes, assumptions, behaviors, and institutional isms. Oppression is structural or systemic" (p. 275). Young describes five interrelated "faces of oppression":

- Cultural imperialism
- Exploitation
- Marginalization
- Powerlessness
- Violence

As described in *Silent Victims*: "It is the processes and imagery associated with cultural imperialism which supports the following three practices (exploitation, marginalization and powerlessness) ideologically. Those three practices reflect the structural and institutional relationships which restrict opportunities for minority groups to express their capacities and to participate in the social world around them. Together, cultural stereotyping and institutional forms of discrimination leave minority members vulnerable to systemic violence" (p. 13). As Young writes: "The oppression of violence consists not only in direct victimization, but in the daily knowledge shared by all members of oppressed groups that they are *liable* to violation, solely on account of their group identity" (Young, 1990, p. 83). Cumulatively, the cultural and structural forms of oppression that have shaped the historical and contemporary place of minoritized communities provide the contexts in which hate flourishes.

While different forms of oppression – racism, sexism, homophobia, ableism and others – each have their own unique dynamics and (il)logic, it is important to recognize that individuals simultaneously occupy multiple subject positions or identities and may experience interlocking structures of domination (Crenshaw, 1991; Henne & Troshynski, 2013). Both independently and in combination, these identities shape our life choices, capacities and relative privilege. Someone who is at once a woman, white, middle class and a professional is relatively advantaged by each of these dimensions, with the exception of gender. She might expect, over her lifetime, to earn less than her male counterparts but perhaps more than colleagues who are people of colour. Kimberlé Crenshaw (1991) was among the first scholars to highlight academic neglect of the "intersection of racism and patriarchy." We might add other categories of difference to this equation such that we attend not only to the intersection of racism and patriarchy but also to that of heterosexuality, class, religion and disability. All women do not experience their gender in the same ways; they experience it through the prisms of the other elements of their identity. Similarly, to be working class is to experience life differently depending on one's ethnicity, religion or sexuality. Ultimately, then, our identities and life chances are dramatically affected not by one element of who we are, but by multiple, crosscutting and sometimes contradictory positions.

We turn, now, to a consideration of some of the ways in which these tendencies play out in British Columbia. That is, we explore the historical and contemporary patterns of cultural imperialism, exploitation, marginalization and powerlessness that set the stage for hateful sentiment and conduct, including violence, directed toward targeted communities.

Cultural imperialism

Typically, hateful sentiment and activity is framed by cultural imaging of groups considered to be inferior.[3] Iris Marion Young refers to this dynamic of oppression as cultural imperialism, defined as the ways in which "the dominant meanings of society render the particular perspective of one's own group invisible at the same time as they stereotype one's group and mark it as the Other" (Young, 1990, pp. 58–59). As Perry and Robyn note with reference to violence against Indigenous peoples in the United States (2005, p. 606), "within such constructs, the values and experiences of the dominant group typify the norm, while [subordinate] groups are rendered invisible at best, deviant at worst." As described below, these cultural images and ideas can both motivate and justify hate-motivated violence. Differences are inscribed with an "us" versus "them" binary in which "they" are marked as inherently less than, even worse than the imaginary norm against which they are measured. Cultural representations of the "Other" provide the foundation and rationale for animosity directed toward them, when they are represented as inferior, as threatening, as unassimilable, for example. This then enables an array of "isms" – sexism, transphobia, classism, ableism, etc. – that can manifest in hateful sentiments and actions.

White supremacy

The active construction of whiteness exploits stereotypes to justify hatred, hostility and even violence. Racialized communities are painted with a broad brush that establishes stereotypical accounts as inherent traits that characterize particular communities as homogeneously objectionable. These images, typically negative in tone, demand that the racialized "Other" be feared, vilified, indeed hated on the basis of their differences. Acting on those representations "allows dominant group members to recreate whiteness as superiority, while punishing the Other for their presumed traits and behaviours" (Perry & Poynting, 2006, p. 4).

In their report on the history of racism in B.C., Claxton et al. (2021, p. 5) provide a far-reaching account of what they aptly refer to as the "Pacific politics of white supremacy." Their catalogue includes:

- A particularly acute form of Indigenous dispossession amounting to genocide;
- Everyday racism and policies that demolished and dispersed Black communities;
- Voting laws disenfranchising Indigenous peoples and Asians in a manner that echoed the era of U.S. slavery;
- Anti-Asian immigration laws that allowed a white minority to become the majority; and
- The attempted ethnic cleansing of Japanese Canadians from the province.

White settler colonialism

Closely related to white supremacy, white settler colonialism is rooted in negative images and stereotypes of Indigenous peoples. As Perry writes, "Since first contact, Europeans and then

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[3] Portions of this section are derived from Perry (2001).

Euro-Canadians after them have engaged in this negative imaging of Indigenous peoples, representing them as inferior (Sterzuk & Hengen, 2019; Mihesuah, 1996). It is the long-lasting images of Indigenous people as 'savages,' as 'backward,' as 'uncivilized' or as 'unintelligent' that have facilitated the injustice and oppression they experience" (Perry, 2001, p. 233). For example, one 1860 newspaper account – from the *British Colonist* – decried the "threats" posed by Indigenous people to the purity of the community: "filling of our prisons and hospitals, the reduced price of property and the utter demoralisation that ever exists in their neighbourhood, are of themselves sufficient to cause their speedy removal" (as cited in Edmonds, 2010, p. 11).

A dominant Canadian narrative hinges on the mythologies of manifest destiny and white supremacy, albeit in somewhat muted forms, to justify its (mis)treatment of Indigenous people. According to the mantras associated with mythologies of manifest destiny, the land and its resources belong to white settlers by right, since Indigenous communities are incapable of using the land "efficiently." In general, according to the self-interested white settler worldview, "Indigenous people are savages, they're lazy, they're dependent, they're unfairly privileged, they're in need of white protection and guidance. It is in the name of these sometimes hostile, sometimes paternalistic sentiments that Indigenous people have been, by turns, deculturated, exploited and assaulted" (Perry, 2002, p. 244).

This worldview was first captured in the principles of *territorium res nullius* and *vacuum domicilium*, which reflected the notion of uninhabited and unused land. The only "occupants" of the "new world" were understood as uncivilized and incapable of productive use of the land. Thus, the contours of white supremacy are inextricably bound up with settler colonialism, understood as "the permanent occupation of a territory and removal of [I]ndigenous peoples with the express purpose of building an ethnically distinct national community" (Bonds & Inwood, 2016, p. 716). Notions of the inherent inferiority of Indigenous peoples, in particular, became the foundation of settler colonialism, which rests on the need not simply to exploit the labour and resources of the extant populace but, even more centrally, the need to replace them with a new nation of people. In short, settler colonialism as manifest in the Canadian context is grounded in a "logic of elimination" (Wolfe, 2006).

Anti-Asian sentiment

White supremacy has also prevailed in the imaging of myriad other racialized communities in B.C., including East Asian and South Asian communities. With the expansion of capitalism and colonialism, the "innate superiority" of white people and the "natural inferiority" of non-white people were used to legitimate and justify racial oppression. Racism initially arose from unequal relationships as a dominant group sought to subjugate a subordinate group for the purpose of acquiring land, resources and/or cheap labour. In Canada, racism was maintained toward racialized minorities such as Indigenous peoples and Asian immigrants; discriminatory laws, programs and policies were entrenched in a social order that made prejudicial views appear as though they were natural and justifiable (Zong, 1994, pp. 122–134).

With the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1885 and with increasing access to white immigrant/migrant labour, Chinese workers were no longer wanted, or indeed welcomed.

Many were stranded in Vancouver, where they were met with an environment fueled by racial hostility and suspicion. This hostility is captured in the politics surrounding efforts to disenfranchise non-white people in the 1880s. The province's Attorney General of the day, D.M. Eberts, expressed the anti-Asian sentiment of the time, arguing that "Even if they exercised the franchise properly, it is intolerable that these foreign races, which can never be assimilated with our population, should in many constituencies determine who shall represent the people in the Legislature." The fear of labour competition, then, was accompanied by an insistence on the presumed inability of the Chinese community to assimilate because of dramatically distinct cultural traits that would forever distinguish "us" from "them."

While perhaps grounded in different motivations, stereotypes and negative cultural imaging of East Asians persisted in B.C., affecting not just Chinese communities but also Japanese and South Asian communities. The bombing of Pearl Harbour and Canada's immediate entry into the war in the South Pacific would mean that Japanese people living in British Columbia would also come to be treated with suspicion and distrust. Indeed, politicians and media of the day manipulated the "war fears" to foment anti-Japanese sentiment that could then be exploited to justify the subsequent expropriation of land and property owned by Japanese people, and the internment of more than 20,000 Japanese individuals (Claxton et al., 2021). The community would long suffer the stigma of being the "enemy" – another marker intended to reinforce the perpetual alien and foreign identity of Asians broadly (Yu, 2021). That South Asians were subject to similar discursive treatment is evident in popular, political and media responses to the landing of the *Komagata Maru* in Vancouver in 1914. Carrying 376 Indian passengers looking to immigrate to Canada as British citizens, the ship was barred from admission. Like the Chinese and Japanese before them, the Indian subjects were deemed unassimilable by virtue of their "foreign" or "Oriental" ways, which were characterized as "immorality, dirtiness, radicality and disease" (Panesar et al., 2017, p. 87). Consequently, Asian communities continued to experience life in British Columbia as perpetual "outsiders" for generations.

There has been a dramatic resurgence in hostility directed toward Asians 100 years later. The COVID pandemic of the 2020s has had dramatic implications for Asian communities in Canada, including a surge in online and offline hate. Conspiracy theories about the origins of the virus circulated widely, including claims that it was intentionally developed and disseminated by the Chinese, that the Chinese were in collusion with a secret cabal of Jewish elites to develop and spread the virus and that it was a Chinese bioweapon. Former American president Donald Trump stoked the flames of hatred and distrust by characterizing the virus as the "Chinese virus" or the "Wuhan virus." Some of his advisors even referred to it as "KungFlu" (Washington Post, 2020).

The impacts of this fearmongering on Asian communities are becoming clear (Lynas, 2020). The Institute for Strategic Dialogue (ISD) (2020), Moonshot (2020) and the Digital Inclusion Lab (2020), among others, have published reports on the spread of online anti-Asian sentiment and conspiracies, finding dramatic increases between March and July 2020. This has been accompanied by similar increases in hate crime directed toward East Asians, regardless of their heritage. Nationally, there was a 37% increase in police-reported hate crimes in 2020, a large proportion of which was accounted for by increased violence against East Asians, who saw a

300% increase. An Angus Reid poll found further a majority of East Asian Canadians feel they have been treated differently, and experienced threats and/or insults at least once over the course of the pandemic (Angus Reid Institute, 2020), reflecting the extent to which anti-Asian sentiment carries over into anti-Asian activity.

Faith-based hostility

Faith-based prejudice is a major motivation for hate crimes and acts of discrimination. Hate crimes motivated by religious bias constitute the second-largest category after crimes motivated by racial or ethnic bias (Wang & Moreau, 2022). Antisemitic hate crimes constitute the second-largest category of motivation (13% of all offences) following anti-Black motivated offences (26% of all offences) (Wang & Moreau, 2022). Faith-based hostility, like other forms of prejudice, is driven by a necessity for dominant groups to maintain their power in a society. Religious minority groups serve as easy targets because of their apparent difference and relatively small population. Historical patterns of settler colonialism and Orientalism position European Christians, particularly Protestants, in positions of social power that is reflected in faith-based hostility. Antisemitism and Islamophobia serve as the primary forms of religious intolerance and hate crime in Canada.

A large proportion of the increase in hate crime during the pandemic involves targeting of the Jewish community, also as an outcome of the resurgence in antisemitic tropes online and offline. Conspiracy theories surrounding Jewish and/or Israeli complicity in creating and/or spreading the virus abound in both fringe and mainstream contexts, online and offline. Collectively or individually (e.g., George Soros, Albert Bourla, CEO of Pfizer), Jewish people are said to be responsible for the health and financial ravages of the virus. Claims revolve around using the virus to further the agenda of "worldwide domination," to sterilize white Christians, and to control citizens through the related restrictions on mobility. One particularly bizarre theory posted on the long-lived white supremacist web forum Stormfront has it that "The Jews (sic) vaccine changes DNA so that the DNA itself will produce any proteins that the Jews (sic) program it to produce via 5G. This gives the Jews (sic) the ability to kill you by using 5G to tell the DNA to produce poisons" (Anti-Defamation League, 2021). Irrespective of the absurdity of most of the claims, they have nonetheless shaped hostility toward Jewish people, which has heightened the risk of hate crime. B'Nai Brith (2021), for example, estimates that 44% of violent antisemitic incidents reported to them in 2020 were somehow related to the pandemic.

Historically, antisemitic sentiment and activity have been shaped by age-old beliefs/mythologies associated with Jewish people. Klug (2003, p. 124) characterizes the stereotypes of Jewish people as "a sinister people set apart from all others not merely by its customs but by a collective character: arrogant, secretive, cunning, grasping, always looking to turn a profit . . . Mysteriously powerful, their hidden hand controls the banks and the media, dragging governments into war if this suits their Jewish agenda." This is the myth of both the historical and the modern Jewish person. Collectively, then, Jewish people are targets of bigotry tied to their popular representation as "sly" and "greedy." Iganski (2008) argues that hate crimes inspired by these popular beliefs reflect the "banality" of antisemitic violence, or what he refers to as "common

sense" antisemitism that erupts opportunistically as a means to vent hostility, resentment or bigotry in the context of everyday conflicts and encounters.

There is increasing recognition, however, that banal antisemitism may be, in the contemporary era, accompanied by a form that is shaped by the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Often referred to as the "new antisemitism," anti-Israel rhetoric can merge with traditional forms of antisemitism (Gerstenfeld, 2007). Paralleling the litany of stereotypes of Jews noted above is Marcus's (2013, p. 103) enumeration of similarly derogatory perceptions of Israel "as demonically powerful, as conspiratorial and as a malignant force responsible for the world's evils." The dual "threats" of Jewishness and Zionism combine to enhance fear and mistrust of Jewish communities. Hence, across the West, spikes in antisemitic incidents are often correlated with inflamed tensions in the Middle East. It is, of course, important to note that not all criticism of the Israeli state is antisemitic; rather, antisemitism has played a significant role in advancing anti-Israel discourse (Gerstenfeld, 2007; Weinfeld, 2005).

Other faith-based communities also find themselves caricatured and often vilified, most notably Muslims. While many of these images predate the Islamist attacks on New York and Washington DC in 2001, those events deepened the tendency to portray Muslims collectively as inherently dangerous and threatening. They are represented as warlike, and especially as terrorists. Stockton's (1994) observations nearly 30 years ago continue to resonate today. He identified eight "assigned image themes" that consistently appear in depictions of Arabs: sexual depravity (e.g., harems and belly dancers), creature analogies (e.g., vermin, camels), physiological and psychological traits (e.g., unappealing physical characteristics, fanaticism, vengeance), savage leaders (e.g., warmongers), deceit (in business and politics), secret power (e.g., use of oil wealth to manipulate others, especially the West), hatred of Israel and terrorism.

The intersections of raced and gendered stereotypes

Moreover, as we argue more fully below, Muslim women, specifically, are subject to similar fear-invoking representations as *Muslim* women, as well as those that frame them as exotic and sexualized – that is, not western – Muslim *women*. This is characteristic of popular constructions of women of colour, which are shaped by both their raced and gendered identities (Crenshaw, 1991). Thus, this complex, seemingly contradictory understanding of Muslim women is a reminder of the broader tendency whereby "the ideologies and materialities of white supremacy are fundamentally gendered, steeped within the violence of heterosexual patriarchy and notions of gendered vulnerability and domesticity" (Bonds, 2020, p. 8). Gender-motivated hostility – misogyny – is grounded in embedded expectations of appropriate performances of femaleness, which are often race specific.

This is very much evident in social constructions of Muslim women, whereby public perceptions of them are shaped, in part, by the sorts of anti-Muslim stereotypes noted above as well as by gendered expectations of "appropriate" behaviour. "Like Muslim males, she too bears the brunt of entrenched stereotypes profiling Muslims as the primary threat to American national security. But unlike her male counterpart, the headscarved Muslim woman is caught at the intersection of discrimination against religion and discrimination against women" (Aziz, 2001, p. 25). So

Muslim women are "presented as outsiders: as foreign, distant 'others' and as members of a religion (Islam) that does not promote 'Canadian' values, but anti-Canadian values such as indiscriminate violence and gender oppression" (Bullock & Jafri, 2002, p. 35). On the other side of the equation, they are also subject to highly gendered images that other them in distinct ways. Whereas they are presumed to be violent, or at least supportive of violence by virtue of being Muslim, they are also presumed to be weak and unable to defend themselves. Both clusters of images leave them vulnerable to vilification and to violence (Jiwani, 2005, 2021). In this way, "gendered and racialized violence dictat(es) what 'men,' 'women' and racialized categories such as 'white,' 'black,' 'Arab/Muslim' or 'oriental' are supposed to be and do" (Nayak, 2006, p. 47).

Imagining disability

While misrepresentation is a common means by which marginalized communities are portrayed, many are also subject to erasure or invisibility. This is particularly the case for people with disabilities, whose lives and experiences are rarely considered worthy of public discussion. This is a manifestation of ableism, which is "a network of beliefs, processes and practices that produces a particular kind of self and body (the corporeal standard) that is projected as perfect, species-typical and therefore essential and fully human. Disability then is cast as a diminished state of being human" (Campbell, 2009, p. 44). As with racial constructs of the other, ableism represents those with disabilities as inferior, as "less than."

Consequently, where public dialogue recognizes people with disabilities, it is all too often couched in imagery and narratives that characterize them as inferior in ways that are often unrelated to their disability – as when people with hearing impairments are also assumed to be intellectually inferior, for example. Aspler et al. (2018, p. 93) observe that "people with disabilities can serve as one-dimensional narrative devices or objects used to evoke strong emotional responses in able-bodied audiences, rather than as complex and fully fleshed out individuals with their own experiences." The focus is on the disability and the inherent "limitations" that disability suggests rather than on the people and their broader capacity to engage and contribute to the social realm. Moreover, disability is often associated with threat and danger. Looking specifically at media portrayals of people with fetal alcohol spectrum disorder (FASD), for example, Aspler et al. (2018) conclude that the widespread stigmatization of their identity easily leads to "blaming and shaming." Specifically, they found that there was an exaggeration of the link between FASD and criminality, which was often characterized in terms of "the villainous, immoral or deviant disabled person" (Aspler et al., 2018, p. 109).

The notion of people with disabilities as morally unfit, especially, was at the roots of the Canadian eugenics movement in the 1900s. The intent was to prevent the "feeble-minded" and "defectives" from reproducing in order to ensure the continued physical and mental fitness of the nation. One of the earliest proponents of the eugenics movement, Charles Davenport, understood the term to refer to the science of improving human "stock" through more careful breeding. Faulty genes must be weeded out by restricting reproduction among those deemed unfit. McConnell and Phelan (2022, p. 2) provide a list of "socially inadequate" groups enumerated in a model piece of American legislation:

"the feebleminded," "the insane," criminals (including "the delinquent and wayward"), epileptics, inebriate, diseased (e.g., tuberculosis, syphilis, leprosy), blind, deaf, deformed or crippled, and dependent (including "orphans, the homeless, tramps and paupers").

Federal and provincial legislation (in British Columbia and Alberta) reflecting the eugenics model was introduced in the early 1900s, and lasted into the 1970s (e.g., *An Act respecting Sexual Sterilization*, 1933). Such statutes singled out the "mentally ill and deficient" (Park & Radford, 1998; DAWN, 2019). In short, the legislation signalled it was those with disabilities who should be constrained. And indeed they were, in ways ranging from sex-segregated institutionalization to enforced sterilization. In a contemporary parallel, current immigration policy also seeks to exclude people with disabilities. To be sure, we have moved beyond the 1869 *Immigration Act*, which explicitly denied entry to "lunatic, idiotic, deaf and dumb, blind or infirm." However, the euphemistic language of the 2002 *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* offers the latitude to continue to restrict immigration among those with disabilities: "A foreign national is inadmissible on health grounds if their health condition (c) might reasonably be expected to cause excessive demand on health or social services" (Niles, 2018). This understanding of disability as deficit continues to underscore the tendency to focus only on the disability and not the whole person.

One of the key rationales for the forced containment and/or sterilization of the "feeble-minded" was the belief that their condition rendered them incapable of controlling their sexual desires, and if left to their own devices, they would engage in promiscuous sexuality. Sadly, myths and misperceptions around the sexuality of people with disabilities persist, with negative appraisals representing them as "asexual or hypersexual, sometimes even as 'deviant'" (Martino, 2020, p. 15; DAWN, 2020). Martino (2020, p. 13) stresses the ways in which this results in layered stigma for people with disabilities who are also part of the 2SLGBTQI+ communities, in that "the vast possibilities beyond heteronormative and cisgender existence are simply curtailed from an early age on the assumption that disabled people do not identify nor should experience life as LGBT+."

Cultural imperialism and hate

What we have presented here is a thumbnail sketch of the long-lived and widespread ways in which marginalized communities have been characterized and represented in ways that render them vulnerable to hatred and hostility. We have captured a small but illustrative sample of the sorts of discursive frames that have vilified, trivialized and otherwise devalued communities ranging from Indigenous peoples to Muslims to women of colour and people with disabilities. Clearly, this has not been an exhaustive catalogue either in terms of affected communities or even of the imagery that shapes perceptions of the highlighted groups. It is intended as a starting point for broader consideration of how cultural imperialism shapes the past and present experience of targeted groups. While much of our discussion has focused on historical imagery, we have also noted throughout the ways in which depictions have persisted over time or, at the very least, have morphed into more contemporary, sometimes more veiled representations. We see, for example, how age-old caricatures of Jewish people have re-emerged in the context of

COVID or how people with disabilities continue to be framed as simultaneously "asexual or hypersexual."

Such portrayals continue to provide "licence to hate" those who are deemed threatening, less worthy or in some way deviant. For the most part, the imagery we have reflected here represents the Other as somehow threatening, either in cultural, economic and/or physical terms or because they threaten the carefully crafted boundaries that separate "us" from "them." It is these threats and dangers that give rise to the fear, anxiety, even hatred of the named communities that then manifest in official policy and practice, as well as in public displays of hostility. It was important to begin our discussion with this selective overview of the ways in which cultural imperialism operates, as it lays the foundation for the structural conditions that serve to preserve the very boundaries that motivate the intentional and often violent preservation of the hierarchies that shape the politics of difference in Canadian and British Columbian contexts.

Exploitation

Exploitation refers to "the appropriation of the powers and energies of one group by another, in such a way as to produce inequitable distributions of wealth, privilege and benefits" (Perry & Robyn, 2005, p. 596). Although it is originally a Marxist concept, referring to the exploitation of workers by capitalists, it can be more generally applied to race, immigration status and gender – in the labour market and beyond. In Young's (1988, p. 274) words, it can be understood as the pattern through which "some people exercise their capacities under the control, according to the purposes and for the benefit of other people."

Indigenous exploitation

Exploitation is at the core of settler colonialism, to the extent that the patterns of cultural imperialism noted above provided the foundational logics that "valorized whiteness and sanctioned the violence of white domination, enslavement and genocide while bolstering Eurocentric understandings of land use, private property and wealth accumulation" (Bonds & Inwood, 2016, p. 720). This process of "accumulation by dispossession" would have long-standing implications for Indigenous peoples across Canada, including those in B.C. (Green, 2015). Indeed, the removal of Indigenous peoples from their land was the central motif in altering the conditions for settlement. In order for the settlers to occupy and use the land, its original occupants had to first be removed so that the land could be privatized and freed from the "foreign" notion of collective stewardship. The forced removal of whole communities was the opening salvo in the continuing exploitation of Indigenous land and resources. As Woolford and Benvenuto (2015) remind us, there are multiple modes of "group destruction." While some assume that the Canadian colonization of the west was qualitatively different – and "gentler" – than the parallel process in the United States (Logan, 2014), it is nevertheless true that the Indigenous populations were diminished in part by the introduction of disease (smallpox and measles), by reduced access to traditional food sources and by large-scale murder. In B.C., the architect of the machinery of Indigenous dislocation was the former Hudson Bay Company factor and Governor of Vancouver Island, James Douglas, who relied on three key strategies for reducing Indigenous population and landbase: the creation of reserves, the use of pre-emptions of land and eventual assimilation (Granville Miller, 2003). His work would be furthered by successive land commissioners who would continue to shrink the holdings of Indigenous communities. Lieutenant Governor Joseph Trutch reduced the land base of reserves established by Douglas by 92%, informed by the doctrine of *territorium res nullius* noted previously:

> The Indians have really no rights to the lands they claim, nor are they of
> any actual value or utility to them; and I cannot see why they should
> retain these lands to the prejudice of the general interests of the Colony,
> or be allowed to make a market of them either to Government or to
> individuals. (As cited in Granville Miller, 2003)

The legacy of these early practices is that Indigenous people have lost the bulk of their land base. Today, reserves in B.C. occupy less than one-half of one percent of the land, and frequently the land occupied is not the traditional land of the community that now inhabits it (BC Treaty

Commission, 2021). This is far less than the national average, which sees Indigenous people occupying 6.3% of all land, although most of this land is in the extreme northern portions of the country (OECD, 2020).

What is left to Indigenous communities is an isolated and fragmented land base, often with limited value or use and with limited natural resources. Yet even where they occupy resource-rich land, or have title, the unceasing advance of extractive economies continues to devastate Indigenous land, territory and culture (Green, 2015). The colonial processes are not a thing of the past, but an ongoing process:

> Above all, capitalist pressures to extract more resources from the land and transport them to markets as profitably as possible – which have increased since the global economic slump began in 2007 – are driving the further spread of dispossession and efforts to get Indigenous people to reconcile themselves with their subordination. (Camfield, 2019, p. 158)

This is a long-standing process, enabled by successive provincial and federal policies that removed the land from Indigenous stewardship. In addition to the continuous contraction of reserve land, restrictions were also placed on Indigenous land ownership and resource use and on the exercise of traditional fish and game harvesting. In their place, resource extraction infrastructure has been built up to allow for expanded accumulation. An Amnesty International report on the northeastern region of B.C. – in the area of the Peace River – highlights the web of industry that has spread there. Seventy percent of the Peace River is covered by dams, resulting in the flooding of thousands of hectares of forest. Twenty percent of the surrounding land is occupied by oil and gas projects. More specifically, on the land of the Blueberry River First Nations, 75% of the territory is within 250 metres of an industrial operation. The impacts of such unbridled expansion begin with the industrialization and subsequent contamination of the land and its living and life-giving resources – game, fish, vegetation, water – which then expand to debilitating effects on the ways of living of the Indigenous people who occupy the land.

However, it is important to recognize that the parallel erosion of Indigenous land and broadening of corporate exploitation have not gone unchallenged. Affected communities and their allies continue to resist the loss of their land, through both legal and extralegal tactics. We are currently seeing this play out in the ongoing efforts to force through the Coastal GasLink pipeline on the unceded territory of the Wet'suwet'en. For over a decade, members of the Wet'suwet'en Nation have occupied the land designated for the pipeline, setting up blockades intended to halt construction.

While it is true that settler colonialism is primarily concerned with dispossession and accumulation, it is also the case that the ongoing industrial economies associated with it demand cheap, accessible and disposable labour. Indigenous peoples removed from the land, and thereby from traditional means of living, initially fit the bill. Camfield (2019, p. 163) notes that "It was precisely the undermining of land-based subsistence production by settler-colonial dispossession that threatened the livelihood of Indigenous families and so often pushed them to seek work for wages." Indeed, throughout the early days of white colonization of B.C., well into the 1890s,

Indigenous people were employed, often seasonally, in a variety of fields: lumber, fishing, agriculture, fur trade, mining, even public works. Lutz (2008) highlights the extent to which Indigenous labour built early industry in B.C., including the first sawmill, built in 1861. The mill hired the Tseshaht people whose land, ironically, had been expropriated in order to build it. The first manager stated that "When I first employed Indians at Alberni, the price of their labour was two blankets and rations of bisquits and molasses for a month's work for each man, if he worked the whole time" (as cited in Lutz, 2008, p. 182). As industrialization moved west, so did its appetite for both "colonial land and labour" (Wolfe, p. 394).

Exploiting Asian labour

The "last spike" on the transcontinental railway would also ultimately push more and more Indigenous peoples out of the paid workforce. Cheaper Chinese labour was now available, as was that of growing numbers of immigrants. By the turn of the century, as the Indian Superintendent noted: "They find many of the channels closed against them through which in former times, when white settlers were few and the extent of country open to them almost limitless, they obtained all the necessaries of life" (as cited in Lutz, 2008, p. 225; Edmonds, 2010). No longer needed or indeed valued, Indigenous workers were discarded in favour of new sources of labour.

Chief among these were the Chinese railway workers who had played such a crucial role in the joining of the eastern and western reaches of Canada. Seventeen thousand Chinese workers were employed in the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR). They were paid half the wage their white counterparts received, and about 600 Chinese men died during the construction of the railway. The rest worked as servants, farmers and laundry and restaurant workers, again at salaries far below their white counterparts. It is by now well documented that the end of the railroad construction was also the end of "guaranteed" labour for Asian workers. Rather, their willingness to work for less than the standard rate represented unacceptable competition for the jobs that were thought to rightfully belong to the new class of white immigrant labour. The nascent labour movement in B.C. coalesced around concentrated attempts to displace Chinese workers in particular. Chinese workers were excluded from labour unions and the jobs protected by these. Pressure was put on the very industries that Chinese labour had helped build to cease hiring them in favour of white workers. Political favour could also be curried by pandering to anti-Asian sentiment among labourers, and so scapegoating and vilification of Asians – under the banner of "White British Columbia" – became entrenched in political discourse and practice. Vancouver, for example, decreed that no Chinese person could be awarded city contracts, and no contractors could hire Chinese workers. And in light of the disenfranchisement of Chinese people, they were also restricted from professions which mandated citizenship as a condition of practice – medicine, law and engineering, for example. In this way, Chinese exclusion was legally sanctioned provincially and nationally.

The easy dismissal of both Indigenous and Asian labour in favour of white workers highlights the expendability of both communities. Razack (2016, p. 300) describes the "disposability" of racialized bodies: "Marked for death, cast out as excess, and as the detritus of modern society, Indigenous people, among other disposable populations, are . . . that which cannot be improved

and that which cannot contribute to the modern." The cultural imagery of both communities, indeed of all non-white communities noted in the previous section, provided the rationale for both their exploitation and their later exclusion from employment. They were less valued than their white counterparts and could thus be used for the most dangerous or onerous labour. They were suitable for only the most menial work – cleaning, laundry, food services – that offered both precarious and underpaid employment. It is dispiriting that so little has changed since the turn of the 20th century, with racialized groups still subject to "superexploitation" that continues to "reserve skilled, high-paying, unionized jobs for whites" (Young, 1988, p. 279).

Migrant labour exploitation

In particular, in B.C. the exploitation of migrant labour continues today, institutionalized in temporary worker programs that fulfill the needs of capital in that they "ensure a disposable, precarious and nearly unending pool of workers" (Cohen, 2019, p. 137). Nationally, there were 550,000 temporary foreign workers in 2019, 23,000 of which were in B.C. Many migrants work in the agricultural sector (27%), and in B.C., they account for more than 30% of labour in that field, drawing most from Mexico and Caribbean nations (Lu, 2020). In some respects, contemporary foreign workers are perhaps more susceptible to superexploitation as capital now controls both their labour and also the labourers themselves. There is always the threat of potential deportation or non-renewal of approval hanging over their heads, given the nature of the provisions attached to migrant labourers' participation in the programs. Walia (2010, p. 72) summarizes the range of conditions that characterize the exploitative and exploitable position of temporary workers:

> [M]igrant worker programmes involve being tied to the importing employer; low wages, often below the official minimum, and long hours with no overtime pay; dangerous working conditions; crowded and unhealthy accommodation; denial of access to public healthcare and employment insurance, despite paying into the programmes; and being virtually held captive by employers or contractors who seize identification documents.

Migrant workers can work up to ten hours a day, for six or sometimes even seven days a week in peak season, typically earning less than their Canadian-born counterparts. Given that most are employed in the agricultural sector, they are subject to dangerous working conditions for which they are often untrained – the use of heavy machinery or toxic pesticides, for example. Yet to complain about their conditions is to risk retaliation by employers. Workers' contracts are tied to individual employers, and so they are not in a position to freely and safely negotiate these terms. Moreover, employers control much more than simply their working conditions. Because employers in the programs are required to provide living accommodations, they also take it upon themselves to impose strict rules of behaviour that might include "confiscation of passports, overt and covert surveillance and the imposition of curfews, no-visitor policies, and no-drinking policies" (Cohen, 2019, pp. 138–139). In their interviews with migrant workers in B.C., Caxaj and Diaz (2018) found that this negatively impacted workers' sense of worth and dignity, in that they felt they were perceived as "nothing but a worker," with no value beyond what they

contribute to the profits of the employer. Similarly, Hjalmarson's (2021) Jamaican participants described conditions that amounted to a prison-like system of discipline seemingly intended to create a compliant and productive work force.

Further, those employed under temporary labour programs also find themselves outside the standard labour protections, which renders them even more vulnerable to exploitation. Most are not unionized, although this is slowly changing. Wage structures – both formally and informally – differ, especially for agricultural labour. Such systems, bolstered as they are by both legal and extra-legal strategies that facilitate exploitation, have been roundly criticized for the creation of a racialized hierarchy of identities and "belongingness," or what Walia has characterized as "citizenship apartheid" (2010). This is, of course, exacerbated by the fact that regardless of how long workers have been engaged with a temporary worker program, there is no direct track to either permanent residence or citizenship status. This reinforces the outsider status of foreign workers, since "the granting or withholding of citizenship rights . . . is part of the way in which the state determines and regulates who is part of the national community" (Walia, 2010, p. 80). The legal construction and regulation of temporary labour furthers the nativist calls of "White British Columbia" that originated in the 1800s, only now the emphasis is on regulating the border crossing of black and brown bodies from Mexico and the Caribbean.

Gendered exploitation

Tied up with the exploitation of the labour of racialized workers is the sometimes overlapping, sometimes distinct exploitation of women. Young (1988, p. 274) acknowledges this, claiming that:

> As a class, however, women undergo specific forms of gender exploitation – ways the energies and power of women are expended, often unnoticed and unacknowledged, usually to benefit men by releasing them for more important and creative work, enhancing their status or the environment around them, or providing men with sexual or emotional service.

To be sure, this is the case among migrant workers, where women are often relegated to even more menial agricultural labour – sorting fruit, for example – or the decidedly gendered work of caregiving. Here they experience both parallel and distinct mechanisms of exploitation and control. They, too, are subject to on-site surveillance, perhaps even more so in some contexts. Restrictions on their mobility and on visitors are intended to control their sexuality (Cohen & Caxaj, 2018). Of particular concern are the experiences of women who are recruited under Canada's caregiver programs. While the controversial provision that participants live full-time in the home of the family that holds their contract has been removed, the reality is that many continue to live there full-time. This allows for endless forms of exploitation, including demanding availability on a constant basis. Workers are often expected to care for the family's children as well as their young friends who might come to visit, additional responsibilities for which employers give little thought of additional pay. One study found that employers often deemed the "light housework" provision of their contract to include virtually all day-to-day

housework, including laundry, washing floors, even washing cars (Bhuyan et al., 2018). This devalues both the work they do and the workers themselves. It renders them less worthy of care and consideration.

Some attention has also been devoted to exploitation of people with intellectual disabilities in the context of "sheltered workshops" (DAWN, 2019), where people with intellectual disabilities work in segregated settings, typically at wages well below the minimum wage. While there has generally been a move away from these venues for men, it appears that women and youth continue to work in sheltered workshops (May-Simera, 2018). Additionally, it is important to recognize the extent to which women with disabilities, and especially those who are also racialized, may be particularly vulnerable to human trafficking (Nichols & Heil, 2021; Rein, 2021).

We want to focus, however, on the exploitation of sex workers in B.C., and especially in Vancouver. There is increasing recognition that sex work as exercised today is not inherently exploitative (Kunimoto, 2018; Tremblay, 2021; Bruckert, 2015). Rather, "sex work involves several hierarchies of exclusion that increase vulnerability to labor exploitation, similar to the society-wide labor exploitation that disadvantaged workers face in precarious jobs that are on the rise across most capitalist societies" (Benoit, 2021, p. 3). It is the persistence of Victorian and colonial insistence on chastity and morality, and especially on the need to protect the purity of white women, that still informs legal and cultural insistence on women as victims in the context of sex work. Indeed, Canada's current legislation, the *Protection of Communities and Exploited Persons Act* (PCEPA), embeds these assumptions in law, focusing in part on the proscription of "material benefit from sexual services," that is, third-party profits, or exploitation.

The increased development of indoor in-call sex work has changed the terms of work for sex workers. The stereotypical "prostituted" woman controlled by a "pimp" or even by a "madam" is becoming an historical footnote, replaced by cooperatives or legally liminal establishments such as escort services or massage parlours. Research in Canada finds that most of these services are run by women, many of whom were in fact former (or sometimes active) sex workers (Casey et al., 2017; Bruckert & Law, 2013; McBride et al., 2020). Casey et al. (2017) further found that these businesses operate like so many others in the service sector, with managers whose role it is to negotiate expectations among both staff and clients. Third-party systems such as these also provide enhanced security in terms of both screening clients and intervening in instances where clients become aggressive (McBride et al., 2020; Casey et al., 2017).

However, many sex workers still experience labour-related forms of exploitation (McBride et al., 2021). From her interviews with sex workers, Tremblay (2021) concluded that while all of the participants experienced one or another form of exploitation, none were particularly unique to sex work. Some of the participants worked independently and were victims of direct exploitation by clients who refused to pay or who underpaid for their services. One observed: "I have also felt exploited when clients notice that it's a slow day and take it as an opportunity to try and get me to loosen my boundaries on giving extras for them to pay me" (Tremblay, 2021, p. 13). Others were manipulated by the agencies or clubs with whom they were connected. Because they laboured in a marginalized and criminalized space, they felt themselves especially vulnerable to

exploitation by third parties, including club managers, even landlords who rented space by the hour: "I feel exploited when I must pay a lot of rent because the landlord knows I am working in sex industry" (Tremblay, 2021, p. 14). McBride et al. (2020, p. 3) summarize the array of forms of exploitation found within the industry: "third parties levying exorbitant fees/fines; withholding pay; engaging in verbal abuse/threats and sexual harassment; and unfair termination of workers."

What is perhaps more problematic, however, is the layered exploitation of racialized women who enter sex work, reflecting Benoit's (2021) notion of "hierarchies of exclusion" noted above. While most sex workers currently work in the indoor sex trade – with its associated security, client screening, etc. – a small proportion, likely about 20%, work in the survival sex trade on the street. In Vancouver, Indigenous women account for anywhere between 50% and 80% of these (Razack, 2016). Trans individuals are also over-represented among outdoor sex workers, in part because agencies will not hire them (Trans Rights BC, 2022; Lewis et al., 2005). It is also in this context that the potential for exploitation and violence is highest, something that Kunimoto (2018) also attributes to gendered and racialized hierarchies. Her analysis resonates with the point raised in the preceding section about the disparaging imagery associated with women of colour.

> Since racialized women are sexualized in degrading ways, they come to be seen as "appropriately" positioned on the more dangerous and potentially exploitative side of the sex work spectrum. Furthermore, this characterization of racialized women as more animal or object than human, effectively dehumanizes them, and justifies their subordinated social standing. (Kunimoto, 2018, p. 34)

Like Indigenous workers noted above, Indigenous women, especially as sex workers, are also considered "disposable," that is, available for both consumption and violation as both colonized and racialized bodies (Razack, 2016; Greenberg, 2020).

Exploitation and hate

While varied, the forms of exploitation noted here – resource, labour and sexual, among others – nonetheless share fundamental assumptions about the relative worth and "belongingness" of those experiencing them. They both constitute and are constitutive of the controlling images associated with the processes of cultural imperialism noted previously. They take for granted that Indigenous peoples, people of colour, im/migrants and women are largely useful only in very narrow contexts and in ways that benefit their superiors, however defined. The precarity of their positions, too, often sets them outside of the bounds of inclusion and the protections from harm that that brings. Where complaints about working conditions could lead to dismissal by employers and thus expulsion by the state, or where demanding autonomy or income from handlers can lead to violence, there is little to be gained by lodging grievances formally or otherwise. This renders those who are objects of exploitation vulnerable to an accumulation of other forms of hostility, abuse and violence. Where they are constructed as somehow inferior, threatening or deviant, oppressed individuals and communities risk other forms of distantly related censure, often simply for being.

Marginalization

Considered "perhaps the most dangerous form of oppression" (Young, 1988, p. 281), marginalization refers to economic deprivation and social isolation experienced by groups of people in a society as a result of their collective identity. People who are considered marginal constitute categories of people who "the system of labor markets cannot or will not employ" (Young, 1988, p. 280) and who are subject to "expulsion from useful participation in social life" (Young 1990, p. 72). Marginal people are defined in terms of not just economic class, gender or race, but also age and mental health status. While economic deprivation may be addressed through the provision of social welfare programs, these may create other forms of marginalization depriving recipients of rights and freedoms. Even when material needs are met, marginalization may occur for groups of people who are estranged from "this society's productive and recognized activities [that] take place in contexts of organized social cooperation" (Young, 1988, p. 282). Beyond economic and class dynamics, processes of social exclusion and isolation based on group identity serve as the basis for marginalization. This process is particularly deadly because social exclusion may serve as a precursor to violence and genocide.

Settler colonialism and Indigenous marginalization

The foundation of this nation, and British Columbia, is predicated on settler colonial processes which have shaped the systematic marginalization of Indigenous peoples through displacement and deprivation. "The colonial state allowed a single white settler to stake out and claim 160 acres or more of land (pre-emption) while forcing Indigenous people onto reserves, barring them from pre-empting land" (Claxton et al., 2021, p. 14). The union of the Colony of British Columbia with Canada in 1871 placed First Nations people and their land under the control of the federal government. Article 13 of the union agreement, in particular, contributed to the marginalization and displacement of Indigenous peoples by creating policies that included:

(a) An unequivocal refusal to discuss or have the courts adjudicate the question of Aboriginal title, even though the federal government was willing to do so;

(b) Repudiation of the responsibility to negotiate treaties of any sort; and

(c) Allocation of tiny reserves, the smallest in all of Canada, based on the false premise that First Nations only required small allotments allowing them to "fish as formerly." (Claxton et al., 2021, p. 16)

Regulations that stemmed from these policies would ultimately force Indigenous people from their right to fish, hunt and trap on their traditional territories, contributing to both physical isolation and economic deprivation. These policies also facilitated the forcible placement of children in residential schools whose mission was "killing the Indian in the child" through forcible assimilation, hard labour, violence and death. Indigenous culture and social interaction were formally criminalized by the potlach ban, an 1884 amendment to the *Indian Act* that specifically banned "celebration of the Indigenous festival known as the 'Potlatch' or the Indian

dance known as the Tamanawas [Sundance]" and criminalized both participation and assistance in planning, organizing or attending the ceremony (U'mista Cultural Centre cited in Claxton et al., 2021, p. 17). These processes, policies and practices served to isolate and marginalize Indigenous peoples from white settlers and from one another.

The displacement from land and social isolation of marginalization of Indigenous peoples is directly related to processes of economic deprivation.

> Prior to the establishment of a European colonial presence, Indigenous peoples' labour in northern North America was socially organized outside the couplet of wage labour and unpaid domestic labour altogether. Indigenous people produced what they needed for subsistence through kinship group-mediated relations with one another and the rest of nature in forms including foraging (land and marine hunting and gathering), fishing, and agriculture. (Camfield, 2019, p. 159)

Colonization brought the logic of capitalist production and consumption patterns that redefined labour for Indigenous peoples. Colonial processes of commodifying agriculture served as a means of dispossessing Indigenous peoples of their traditional lands and imposing capitalist labour dynamics (Wolfe, 2006). Although the colonial imposition of wage and domestic labour dichotomy was uneven, dispossession from land and reliance on capitalist consumption practices resulted in the dichotomous labour dynamic among Indigenous peoples. Increasingly, the gender dynamic of men as wage and women as domestic labourers became the norm in Indigenous communities. This dichotomy contributed to the hyper-exploitation of Indigenous labour by colonizing capitalist interests as the intersections of race and gender facilitated payment of low wages to Indigenous workers. Ironically, Indigenous resistance to colonization and continued practices of traditional forms of agriculture, fishing and hunting served as a justification for reduced wages because wage labour was viewed by employers as supplemental to these activities (Camfield, 2019). The combined racialized economic exploitation of Indigenous peoples and the colonial process of continued displacement and regulation served to facilitate economic deprivation.

Rather than a specific historical event, settler colonialism is an ongoing process that continues to impact Indigenous communities. Many Indigenous communities are situated on a patchwork of reserves in primarily rural locations. Recent struggles by Indigenous land defenders indicate the estrangement of First Nations peoples from their land as decisions regarding resource extraction enterprises as "critical infrastructure" take precedence over local decision-making and Indigenous political autonomy (Crosby, 2021). Despite the disbanding of the residential school system, Indigenous children still find themselves removed from their communities, with Indigenous children constituting more than 50% of children in care in British Columbia (de Leeuw, 2016). Indigenous peoples are overrepresented in the criminal justice system, representing 30% of adult and 43% of youth incarcerations (Government of Canada, Department of Justice, 2019). In B.C. specifically, Indigenous peoples constitute less than 6% of the total population, but 35% of those in custody; a further 27% are subject to community corrections (British Columbia, nd). The settler colonial process produces continued

marginalization through economic deprivation of Indigenous peoples. Indigenous overrepresentation in poverty is evident in the 41% poverty rate among Indigenous children living on reserves, compared to 18% for all B.C. children in 2019 (First Call, 2021). These continued practices of marginalization illustrate the long-term impacts of settler colonialism on Indigenous populations.

Historical racialized marginalization

In addition to Indigenous peoples, a number of racialized peoples experience historical and contemporary marginalization in British Columbia. Marginalization of Asian people, particularly Chinese and Japanese migrants and residents, is a distinct feature of the history of the province that informs contemporary prejudices. In agriculturally oriented rural regions of the province, the social exclusion and economic deprivation of migrant labourers is indicative of contemporary racial dynamics. Additionally, racialized people frequently experience exclusion within their workplaces from coworkers and supervisors.

The earliest Chinese migrants to British Columbia arrived in 1788 to the territory of the Nuu-chah-nulth peoples as part of John Meares' colonial project to build a year-round fort for fur trading on what the British referred to as "Nootka Sound" (Wat, 2014; Yu, 2021). By the mid-19th century, "Chinese immigrants were the main labour force for the creation of the mining, logging, agriculture and fishing industries in British Columbia" (Yu, 2021, p. 7). Although Chinese labour was integral to the colonial and economic project of "building" the province, anti-Asian political rhetoric increased in the late-19th and early 20th centuries. Among the first acts of the B.C. Legislature after confederation with the Dominion of Canada in 1871 was the disenfranchisement of Chinese and other "non-white" peoples, including Indigenous peoples (Wat, 2014; Yu, 2021; Zak, 2017). Political disenfranchisement facilitated the social and economic marginalization of Chinese inhabitants of the province. Pressure exerted by the unions against the competition of Chinese labour led to the imposition of dramatically restrictive measures against Chinese immigration. Anti-Chinese immigration policies imposed a head tax upon migrants, to be split between the provincial and federal governments, that was steadily increased between 1885 and 1903 (Wat, 2014; Yu, 2021; Zak, 2017). When the tax failed to curb Chinese migration, local and provincial leaders lobbied for the federal government to pass the *Chinese Immigration Act*, also known as the *Chinese Exclusion Act*, in 1923. The Act was successful in barring immigration to such a degree that between its passing and eventual repeal in 1947, fewer than 100 Chinese immigrants were able to enter Canada (Wat, 2014; Zak, 2017). Since Chinese men could not bring their wives and children into Canada, the gender imbalance in the Chinese community remained the highest among ethnic groups in Canada (Li, 1998). These policies ushered in an era of explicit discrimination against Chinese people living in British Columbia.

In keeping with the social isolation aspect of marginalization, Chinese residents across the province experienced legally sanctioned segregation. The B.C. Legislature systematically disenfranchised Chinese and Indigenous people. A review of provincial laws and regulations found that 223 measures were passed by the Legislature that legalized or sanctioned discrimination against Chinese people (British Columbia, 2017). Among other things, these laws

barred Chinese people from working in the coal industry and from access to the provincially established homes for the aged and infirm. Chinese people were formally prohibited from nomination for municipal office, jury duty, election to the provincial Legislature, and the professions of law and pharmacy (Li, 1998).

Residential segregation and housing discrimination were commonplace in the early 20th century. "Chinese and other 'Asians' were denied the right to acquire pre-empted Crown land (territory appropriated from Indigenous peoples), and neighbourhoods in Vancouver in the 1920s such as the British Properties had housing covenant clauses on legal titles that stated that the property could not be sold to Chinese or 'Asiatics' or Jews" (Yu, 2021, p. 8). In 1919, the white farmers of British Columbia started a campaign to prohibit Chinese people from owning or leasing farmland. In 1920, the Children's Protective Association initiated the removal of Chinese students from the classroom (Cho, 2018). In 1922 Chinese Canadian students in Victoria were placed into racially segregated schools (Wat, 2014; Zak, 2017). Even in illness and death, Chinese residents of British Columbia faced social marginalization, with hospitals relegating their treatment to basements and cemeteries refusing to bury them. The latter practice resulted in racially segregated cemeteries, with some residents having to be returned to China for burial (Wat, 2014; Zak, 2017). Such policies and practices enshrined the social isolation of Chinese residents in B.C.

Economic deprivation, a hallmark of marginalization, was also commonplace for Chinese migrants and residents. While Chinese labourers were instrumental to the settler colonial project of development and economic activity in British Columbia, their labour was exploited at a greater rate than their white co-workers. Chinese workers in industries ranging from railroad construction to canning were frequently paid less than white workers for similar jobs and were frequently pitted against Indigenous and other racialized workers to maintain low wages and labour discipline (Nandhra, 2021; Wat, 2014; Yu, 2021). The systematic disenfranchisement of Chinese people facilitated denial of membership in professional associations in areas such as law, engineering, pharmacy and medicine, and further extended to banking, nursing and retail (Wat, 2014; Yu, 2021; Zak, 2017). Such practices relegated Chinese people to manual and service labour or segregated professional work among their community. These discriminatory practices ensured not only the social exclusion but also economic exploitation of the Chinese community in the early 20th century.

Anti-Asian sentiment in the late 19th and early 20th centuries extended to Japanese people in British Columbia, who faced similar patterns of marginalization. Although Japanese migrants and residents of B.C. faced fewer legal and economic sanctions than Chinese people, the politics of racial populism resulted in social exclusion and economic deprivation that would culminate in internment during the Second World War. Japanese residents were disenfranchised in 1895, which set the stage for other forms of structural marginalization (Roy, 1989). In both urban and rural communities, Japanese people experienced racialized segregation, whether through campaigns to drive them out of towns and neighbourhoods or the development of ethnically homogenous communities (Roy, 1989; Stanley, 2017). The violent efforts to expel Japanese residents culminated in the Vancouver anti-Asian riot of 1907 that targeted Chinese and Japanese

communities (Roy, 1989). Anti-Japanese sentiments and acts of marginalization were animated by perceptions of economic competition. In the late 19th century, a number of legislative efforts sought to severely restrict or outright ban Japanese participation in several industries, including mining and fishing, nationally but with particular fervour in B.C. (Roy, 1989). The pattern of Japanese marginalization culminated in the internment and internal displacement of 22,000 people during and after World War II. The internment process separated families by sending able-bodied men to labour camps or to work on road projects in isolated areas of the country. "During the internment, Japanese Canadians endured cramped shacks, harsh weather, a humiliating lack of privacy, and poor access to medical care" (Wood, 2013, p. 70). Contributing to economic marginalization, the government confiscated and sold off Japanese Canadians' farms, fishing boats, homes and shops, which left them with no means of economic survival other than the meager wages that they received for hard labor during interment. In the immediate aftermath of the war, a nativist campaign sought deportation of former "detainees" and encouraged them to "repatriate" to Japan. The internment and displacement process persisted until 1949, when Japanese people were allowed to return to British Columbia (Wood, 2013). The internment experience represents the ultimate form of marginalization, as Japanese Canadians were physically and socially isolated as well as economically deprived by virtue of their perceived racial, national and ethnic identity.

The historical experiences of Chinese and Japanese people in British Columbia set the cultural context for ongoing forms of racial and ethnic prejudice. As discussed in the sections of this report on cultural imperialism and violence respectively, the rise of anti-Asian bias and crime during the COVID-19 pandemic reflects not only recent geopolitical developments but long-standing racial dynamics in Canadian society.

Contemporary racialized marginalization

The marginalization of racialized migrant populations continues into the present with the experiences of temporary migrant agricultural workers (TMAWs) in rural British Columbia. Black and Latinx workers from Mexico, the Caribbean and Latin America report frequent experiences of social isolation and economic deprivation. The vast majority of TMAWs contracted under these programs are racialized persons who arrive in Canada from Mexico or Caribbean nations (Hjalmarson et al., 2015), which informs some of the dynamics of marginalization. The process of engaging in migrant labour is inherently marginalizing because workers must leave their home country for a period of time to live and work in another, which effectively renders TMAWs strangers in Canada even if they frequently return to the same region or employer (Caxaj & Diaz, 2018; Cohen, 2019; Hjalmarson et al., 2015).

As racialized people, TMAWs also face social distance at best and outright racial prejudice at worst when interacting with white people in the communities in which they work. Despite a consistent and constant presence in many agricultural communities, migrant workers are viewed as "outsiders" in part because of racial and linguistic differences (Caxaj & Diaz, 2018; Cohen, 2019; Hjalmarson, 2021; Hjalmarson et al., 2015). Labour and life on farms is frequently segregated by race as a product of migrant status, with groups of workers placed in segregated housing and assigned duties based on their race (Cohen, 2019). This isolation is also gendered,

with some employers explicitly forbidding "members of the opposite sex" from visiting farms or staying overnight in workers' accommodations (Hjalmarson, 2021). These interactions, practices and policies contribute to the social aspects of marginalization in an effort to exploit TMAWs' labour through economic deprivation.

The regulatory and on-site containment of racialized migrant workers is also consistent with the imaging of racialized communities noted in the previous section of this report. The presumed need to rigidly restrict their employment and social mobility corresponds to the need to segregate "them" from "us." "They" represent a risk to the community and must thus be contained within the limits of the worksite/home. Anti-Black racism specifically marks workers from Caribbean nations as "threatening" or "menacing" by local white populations (Hjalmarson, 2021, p. 14).This accounts for the curfews and "absenteeism" rules set by employers – the workers must not be allowed to engage with the local community. It also accounts for the reports of heightened police surveillance and harassment. Both Cohen's (2019) and Hjalmarson's (2021) participants complained of the frequency with which they experienced police checks when off the work site. A worker from the Yucatan told Cohen (2019, p. 143): "We are often followed by the police when we are walking downtown or riding our bikes to the store. A few times they have stopped us and gone through our backpacks. We weren't doing anything wrong."

Contemporary workplace-related experiences of marginalization are not limited to precarious migrant workers in British Columbia. Research with racialized public sector workers indicates patterns of marginalization that may be indicative of trends across workplaces in the province. The experiences of isolation at work indicative of marginalization have been referred to as a "cordon minoritaire" that represents "quarantine-like restrictions, limitations, and containment of mobility" (Asey, 2021a, p. 182). Racialized people in public service positions report increased surveillance of their labour and scrutiny of their work processes and interactions. Research participants indicated that they were frequently monitored more than their white counterparts, required to explain their decisions verbally and in writing, and were disciplined as an example to other employees (Asey, 2021a, 2021b). Social and physical isolation are common experiences for racialized workers in public service. Cold and transactional interactions between racialized workers and their white colleagues were common themes among research participants. Racialized workers also reported being physically isolated or provided with inferior work stations, then passed over or denied better locations and conditions in favour of white workers (Asey, 2021a). Race and racial categories were frequently used by white co-workers and supervisors as coded expressions of stereotypes such as "Chinese, as a perceived race, was often used… to refer to an inadequate comprehension of English," African or Black were used to signify "irrational and potentially violent people," and Muslim as "being a violent terrorist" (Asey, 2021b, pp. 81–82). Finally, marginalization in the workplace as a result of racialization has economic impacts in terms of racialized workers' ability to advance professionally. Research participants indicated that they experienced "immobility" in their workplaces due to a lack of supervisor support. This was largely the result of negative references provided by their supervisors when they attempted to apply for promotions or better positions. Despite being highly qualified and assured that their supervisors provided "glowing" references, research participants ultimately learned that negative references hindered their ability to advance

professionally (Asey, 2021a, 2021b). These practices serve not just as a means to socially isolate or economically marginalize their subjects but also to mark race and racial difference.

Marginalizing disability

We noted above when discussing cultural imperialism that people with disabilities have, historically, been subject to segregation and exclusion. This takes many forms, but we focus here on three significant practices: institutionalization, educational segregation and labour market exclusion. With respect to the first of these, institutionalization has long been the key strategy for rendering people with disabilities invisible and separate. A 2020 report on women and girls with disabilities observes that disability is in fact "intrinsically linked with incarceration" (DAWN, 2020, p. 37). The characterization of institutionalization as a form of incarceration is intentional and recognizes the practice as the "placement of people, consenting or otherwise, into institutions that limit their human rights, their living conditions and their dignity" (DAWN, 2020, p. 37). Such carceral responses are a means of managing and hiding away those deemed "unruly" or threatening (Rossiter & Rinaldi, 2019). From the early 1900s to the end of that century, individuals with an array of disabilities ranging from hearing and vision impairments to mobility issues and mental and cognitive disabilities were placed in segregated facilities that reinforced both the presumed threat they posed and their related marginality. Rossiter and Rinaldi (2019) illustrate the often inhumane conditions that prevailed in one such institution in Ontario, and describe and assess at length the institutional violence to which its captive population was subject. Similar problems beset Coquitlam's Riverview Mental Hospital, which was shuttered in 2012. The province would be sued by former residents who were sterilized without consent. In 2005, nine women won settlements for forcible sterilization. It is estimated that nearly 200 people – mostly women – were sterilized under the assumption that mental illness was inherited. According to hospital notes, female patients were also sterilized for other reasons, such as "promiscuity, amoral behaviour and unfitness for motherhood based on low intelligence" (CBC News, 2005).

The marginalization and brutality associated with institutions for people with disabilities was acknowledged by the 1960s, and most such facilities were closed in favour of "deinstitutionalization." However, this was generally done in the absence of a strong community infrastructure of support and care for those with mental or cognitive disabilities in particular, which helps to explain the high proportion of those without housing who have some form of disability (Charles et al., 2020). It is also one of the key factors that has shaped the fact that Canadian prisons and jails disproportionately house those with mental illness and developmental disorders (Michalski, 2017). Estimates put the rate of mental illness among those in correctional facilities at two to three times that of the general population (CAMH, 2020). In British Columbia, in 2017, 75% of incarcerated offenders presented with a mental health or substance abuse challenge – in fact, often both (Butler et al., 2021). Moreover, there are striking gender and race differentials nationally:

- In 2016, 26% of males in the federal corrections system had a mental health need, and 50% of females had a mental health need.

- By 2018, almost 80% of female offenders in federal corrections met the criteria for a mental illness.
- Over 50% of Indigenous offenders have received a mental health service in federal prison.
- Almost all Indigenous female offenders have a mental health diagnosis (93.7%) and most (92%) have moderate or high substance use needs (CAMH, 2020, pp. 21–22).

The interaction between institutions is also complicit in the overrepresentation of those with disabilities in prisons and jails. In line with our earlier observation that people with disabilities are seen as "threatening" and prone to violence, it is also the case that children with disabilities, especially cognitive challenges, are more likely to be suspended or expelled from school due to "disruptive" behaviour. Annamma (2018) found further that this all too frequently places them in the "school-to-prison pipeline," especially when they are also racialized youth (see also Nanda, 2019). Annamma (2018, p. 13) observes that this is a reflection of the tendency to consider these youths' bodies as "unwanted and in need of redistribution in less visible space" – that is, behind prison bars.

Children with disabilities are marginalized in the education system in other ways as well. A 2020 DAWN (p. 43) report contends that schooling is inaccessible to girls with disabilities in particular. The Canadian Human Rights Commission (CHRC) has identified four obstacles that hinder their participation:

- Lack of disability accommodation and support
- Lack of services and funding
- Ineffective dispute resolution
- Lack of special education and disability supports on First Nations reserves

Funding for disability services and supports can be a problem in schools, often leaving youth with disabilities unable to take full advantage of education opportunities. This is exacerbated in remote areas and in Indigenous communities, where such services as tutoring, transportation or Braille translation, for example, may be virtually non-existent (DAWN, 2020). These challenges often mean that students with disabilities struggle with academic performance, which in turn limits their likelihood of pursuing post-secondary education. Many drop out without obtaining their high school diploma; others don't meet the university acceptance criteria. Consequently, we find that women with disabilities, for example, are less likely to hold a degree or diploma (18.3%) than women without disabilities (8.3%) (DAWN, 2020). In British Columbia, a smaller proportion of high-school graduates with physical or sensory disabilities (68.6%) pursued post-secondary education relative to peers without such disabilities (80.3%). The disparity for the 2009–2010 graduating class was greatest for enrolment in university degree programs, with 29.4% of those with disabilities and 47.4% of those without entering undergraduate programs (Barnett & Gibson, 2021). Even once they have enrolled in college or university programs, people with disabilities often opt for a reduced course load or part-time studies to accommodate their needs, meaning they may not be eligible for some services or financial support (Canadian Human Rights Commission, n.d.). The knock-on effect of lack of access to education is significant, as it clearly limits future employment and income opportunities.

People with disabilities are twice as likely as the general population to live in poverty, and at even higher rates if they are women, racialized, Indigenous, newcomers or single mothers. Cameron and Tedds (2020, p. 15) report that the poverty rate for single people with disabilities in British Columbia specifically is nearly 35%. Like so many other aspects of oppression and marginalization, poverty is also gendered and raced. Women with disabilities are more likely to experience poverty, especially if they are Indigenous (Cameron & Tedds, 2020).

In part, this has to do with labour market exclusion, in that people with disabilities face challenges in income, hiring and promotion. Nationally, there is a significant wage gap between those with and without disabilities. In 2015, people without disabilities earned a median income of $38,980, compared to $34,330 for those with mild disabilities, and $19,160 for those with more severe disabilities. This holds even for those working in full-time paid employment, where incomes are, respectively, $42,320, $39,950 and $31,820 (Morris et al., 2018). Women with disabilities fare even worse, earning $2,250 less than women without disabilities; in British Columbia, that disparity soars to over $10,000 (DAWN, 2019). Low income is also a function of the greater likelihood for those with disabilities to be working in precarious labour positions, especially part-time and/or temporary positions (Morris et al., 2018). It also reflects challenges in securing employment of any kind.

Gupta et al. (2017) have identified three categories of barriers to employment for people with disabilities:

- **Physical** – lack of accessibility, lack of transportation
- **Procedural** – lack of accommodations, insensitive hiring practices
- **Attitudinal** – stigma and stereotypes about capacity of people with disabilities to perform the job at hand

The significance of workplace discrimination, for women with disabilities specifically, is highlighted by DAWN (2019, p. 50):

> Women with disabilities also report feeling disadvantaged in their employment because of their disability (44.5%), while 12.6% of women with disabilities share that they were refused a job in the last 5 years because of their disability. For those with intellectual disabilities, 61.3% felt disadvantaged, 34.6% felt they had been refused a job because of their disability, 31.4% believed they had been denied a promotion because of their disability, and 28% felt they had been denied a job interview.

It is perhaps, then, no surprise that people with disabilities face high rates of unemployment Morris et al. (2018). Compared to people aged 25 to 64 without disabilities (80%), those with disabilities are significantly less likely to be employed (59%), with women again being more adversely affected. Moreover, among people with intellectual disabilities, 71.8% are out of the work force, and a further 6% are unemployed (Morris et al., 2018).

One outcome of the inability of people with disabilities to secure stable and well-paying positions is that they are then reliant on social supports. In British Columbia, Petit and Tedds (2020) report that disability assistance caseloads have risen dramatically over the past decade, such that long-term disability assistance constitutes the majority (71.2%) of income assistance recipients. One unfortunate outcome of this overrepresentation is that it can reinforce the stigma of disability, as it is layered over by unemployment, "welfarism" and poverty (Schofield et al., 2021). Biases against each of these conditions accumulates to create a deepened sense of the "strain" that people with disabilities put on provincial and national social services.

Contemporary class-based marginalization

The economic deprivation that is a hallmark of marginalization also leads to the social isolation of poor people. Vancouver's Downtown Eastside (DTES) serves as an example of the geographic isolation of poverty and the increasing marginalization of poor people as a result of development and gentrification efforts. People living in poverty are overrepresented in the DTES neighbourhood, where the median income is one-fifth of the median for the city and the unemployment rate is almost four times higher than the city as a whole. The neighbourhood also has a high concentration of unhoused people who are both sheltered and unsheltered (Freiler & Holden, 2012). As such, the DTES serves as a location to displace poverty from other parts of the city.

In addition to this spatial marginalization of poverty into a distinct neighbourhood, there is an internal displacement within the DTES that results from development and gentrification. Long-term strategies for development were accelerated in the lead-up to the 2010 Winter Olympics, which created pressures on those living in poverty on the DTES. Structural practices such as privatization of public space, clearing of public parks, private security deployment and increased policing during this period solidified marginalization of people living in poverty within the neighbourhood (Chesnay et al., 2013; Freiler & Holden, 2012; Vanwynsberghe et al., 2013). Development projects increasingly placed public space under the control of private enterprise as spaces of leisure and congregation became private property where access could be regulated (Freiler & Holden, 2012; Vanwynsberghe et al., 2013). At the same time, restricted park hours and police sweeps of public parks that displaced unhoused people and others under the guise of maintaining health and safety serve as a means of displacing people living in poverty and disrupting patterns of socialization in the community (Freiler & Holden, 2012). These processes were aided by Downtown Ambassadors hired by the Downtown Vancouver Business Improvement Association to intervene when witnessing panhandling, squeegeeing or other issues of public order that resulted in primarily targeting people who were living in poverty and/or unhoused (Freiler & Holden, 2012). Finally, aggressive policing as part of Project Civil City targeted people living in poverty/unhoused for enforcement of public order crimes. This strategy, based on the "broken windows" theory, increased police presence in the DTES and aggressive policing of panhandling, loitering and other public order offences (Chesnay et al., 2013; Freiler & Holden, 2012).

The practices of marginalization through displacement are part of an ongoing process of gentrification under the guise of "revitalization" of the DTES. The Local Area Planning Process

(LAPP) undertaken after the 2010 Olympics sought to bring community input into the development of the DTES. Residents and activists noted, however, that this process served to divide the community by creating distinct subsets of residents and stakeholders in the various neighbourhoods of the DTES by redefining them as part of a series of "Downtown Eastside Communities (DEC)" (Wideman & Masuda, 2018). Further processes of naming served to restrict low-income residents to a specific region within the DEC that concentrated poverty and was itself under threat from processes of gentrification and displacement (Masuda et al., 2020; Wideman & Masuda 2018). More recently, current and former DTES residents interviewed by Masuda and colleagues (2020) reported ongoing patterns of displacement due to eviction and housing neglect, lack of access to affordable food, clothing and household items due to retail gentrification, police harassment and use of force, as well as threats and incidents of physical and sexual violence. Such practices create a climate that is hostile to people engaging in survival strategies that result from their impoverishment, which ultimately removes them from public space within that community. In doing so, it serves to further socially isolate an already marginalized population.

Marginalization and hate

Marginalization as a process of social isolation and economic deprivation is designed to subordinate categories of people in a society. The history of British Columbia is predicated on the systemic marginalization of Indigenous peoples in order to further the settler colonial project of nation-building and the acquisition of white wealth. Anti-Asian, specifically anti-Chinese and Japanese, prejudice and subsequent marginalization affirmed the white supremacist orientation of 19th and 20th century British Columbia. These historical precedents of marginalization set the structural context for contemporary bigotry and related isolation and economic marginalization. What, after all, is the intent of the practices highlighted here if not to isolate the "threat" posed? Labour market marginality, in particular, is intended to preserve the most highly regarded and, of course, the most prosperous roles for white men. In other contexts, cultural defence underlies the practices by which communities are set outside the normative boundaries: Indigenous peoples are constrained within institutions of social control, whether these be residential schools or prisons; people with disabilities are hidden away in segregated spaces. The apparent "need" to push communities to the fringes of society suggests that they have no rightful place in the mainstream, thereby reinforcing distrust, fear and, ultimately, hatred directed toward them.

Powerlessness

In its original conception, powerlessness was understood in relation to labour. Young (1988, p. 283) envisions this concept as specifically tied to a Marxist conception of class where "the labor of most people in the society augments the power of a few" and a Weberian concept of status, or social prestige that is frequently tied to one's occupation. In this conception, powerlessness is maintained by ensuring that people "have little or no work autonomy, exercise little creativity or judgment in their work . . . and do not command respect" (Young, 1988, p. 283). It is this final element of respect that is fundamental in understanding powerlessness beyond the workplace. "To treat someone with respect is to be prepared to listen to what they have to say or to do what they request because they have some authority, expertise, or influence" (Young, 1988, p. 238). This aspect aligns with Max Weber's (1958, p. 180) definition of power as "the chance of a man or of a number of men [sic] to realize their own will in a communal action even against the resistance of others who are participating in the action." Powerlessness can, therefore, be conceived as the opposite of these definitions, a lack of social respect that leads to the inability of a person or people to achieve their will in a society. "Powerlessness is both an outcome of other forms of oppression and independent in its internal dynamics. It represents not so much exclusion from participation in the wider society, but restrictions on autonomy and on decision-making capacities" (Perry & Robyn, 2005, p. 603). To be powerless is to be disenfranchised and thus rendered politically ineffectual. In British Columbia, the history of settler colonialism fundamentally shapes relations of power, racial and class forms of domination. The dynamics of empowerment and disempowerment that are rooted in this history produce intersecting forms of powerlessness along lines of class, gender, race and sexuality.

Historical disempowerment

The colonization process is predicated on the fundamental disempowerment of Indigenous peoples. Colonization of Indigenous territory is predicated on the "doctrine of discovery," which held that "ultimate dominion over the territory in question was held to inhere in the European sovereign in whose name it had been 'discovered'" (Wolfe, 2006, p. 391). The assertion of European, as well as, ultimately, American and Canadian, sovereignty over Indigenous land was extended to the right to exclusively buy or conquer so-called discovered territory from its inhabitants through what was termed the right of pre-emption. In a clear assertion of the power of the colonizer and powerlessness of Indigenous peoples, the right to buy surpassed the right to not sell (Wolfe, 2006). The union of British Columbia with Canada placed Indigenous peoples under federal jurisdiction but gave veto power to the province in establishing reserves and allocating land. This process not only assured the powerless position of Indigenous peoples with respect to political decision-making, but also severely restricted their living space, traditional fishing and hunting activities, as well as economic opportunities (Claxton et al., 2021). The process of pre-emption, therefore, fundamentally disempowered Indigenous peoples in relation to white colonizers and set a precedent that would allow for systematic loss of autonomy in virtually all aspects of life and ultimately facilitate genocidal practices.

The inclusion of British Columbia into Canada brought about the systematic political disempowerment of Indigenous and other racialized peoples in the interest of white supremacy and the continuation of the settler colonial project. At the time of confederation with the Dominion of Canada in 1871, the population of British Columbia was overwhelmingly non-white, with Indigenous and other racialized peoples representing nearly 80% of the provincial population. This dynamic represented a potential challenge to white domination in the province, which was resolved by expanding the right to vote to all white men through the elimination of literacy and property ownership requirements while specifically disenfranchising Indigenous and Chinese peoples (Claxton et al., 2021; Wat, 2014; Zak, 2017).

An all-white, all-male B.C. Legislature developed a bill intended to extend the vote to non-propertied, non-literate, with the caveat that "Nothing in this Act shall be construed to extend to or include or apply to Chinese and Indians." Indeed, a government-mandated review of provincial laws and regulations that discriminated against Chinese found 223 such measures had been passed from 1871 to 1947 (British Columbia, 2017), which restricted these communities from such central activities as land ownership, employment opportunities and participation in democratic processes (Li, 1998).

These racial exclusions were extended to include Japanese and South Asian people in 1895 and 1907, respectively. Although the white electorate expanded in 1917, when women were given the right to vote, these rights were still denied to Indigenous and Asian men and women, who would not be granted the franchise until the middle of the 20th century. Although the provincial Legislature granted the right to vote to Chinese and South Asian Canadians in 1947, the provision included a restrictive language requirement that would not be repealed until 1980. The B.C. Legislature enfranchised Indigenous and Japanese people in 1949; however, First Nations did not win the right to vote in federal elections until 1960 (Claxton et al., 2021). The restriction of voting rights for Indigenous and racialized peoples in British Columbia fundamentally disempowered them and facilitated systematic discrimination and genocidal practices.

The marginalization discussed in this report is the direct outcome of the powerlessness of disenfranchisement. With no ability to appeal to legislators and little support in the courts, Indigenous and other racialized peoples were systematically stripped of legal status, property and even rights to bodily autonomy. The passage of the head tax on Chinese immigrants that charged an additional fee for immigration, as well as the *Chinese Immigration Act* of 1923 that effectively banned immigration, were in large part the result of the disenfranchisement of the Chinese population in B.C. Local and provincial leaders were able to lobby the federal government for these acts because they did not have to fear a political backlash from disenfranchised Chinese residents (Wat, 2014; Yu, 2021; Zak, 2017). The internment of Japanese Canadians as well as the confiscation and sale of their property during the Second World War was the culmination of political disempowerment and marginalization. Despite protest and resistance, political leaders were able to not only successfully lobby the federal government to pass legislation authorizing internment, but actively aided the internment process by deploying B.C. Provincial Police to round up detainees and patrol detention camps (Claxton et al., 2021). The "alien" identity ascribed to Japanese people and codified into Canadian and provincial law

facilitated forced incarceration and economic deprivation (Wood, 2013). Disenfranchised and disempowered, Indigenous people face similar patterns of legalized exclusion and violence. Stripped of land rights and forced onto reserves by colonial processes, First Nations came under formal state control under the 1876 Indian Act, which "gave the federal government legal authority on many fronts, including the expropriation of Indigenous lands, banning the potlatch and other Indigenous ceremonies, administering Indian residential schools, and enforcing a myriad of discriminatory regulations" (Claxton et al., 2021, p. 16). By exclusively representing white interests, politicians time and again were able to impose restrictions on Indigenous and racialized residents of B.C.

These historical precedents set the stage for contemporary dynamics of powerlessness. Although the legal forms of disenfranchisement have been overturned, the ability to participate in the democratic process is not inherently empowering. Contemporary manifestations of powerlessness are evident in the representation of racialized people and women in government as well as the ability of historically marginalized people to impact policy decisions.

Contemporary disempowerment

Political representation is indicative of a group's relative power. As noted above, non-white communities were legally barred from holding office for generations. In 1949, Frank Arthur Calder became the first Indigenous person elected as an MLA, but there would not be another until 1986 (Larry Guno). It wasn't until 1996 that the first Asian person (Ida Chong) was elected to the B.C. Legislative Assembly. The Assembly continues to be unrepresentative of B.C. demographics. In the 2020 election, BIPOC individuals constituted 22% of successful candidates, but 36% of the population. More specifically, 18% of MLAs are "visible minorities" (30% of the population), and 3.4% are Indigenous (6% of the population). The proportion of women who stand for election and who are elected to office demonstrates similar patterns of underrepresentation. Research on women's engagement with the political process as candidates in Surrey and Vancouver indicates that they run for and are elected to office at rates that are far lower than their proportion of the population. On average, women comprised less than 50% of both candidates and elected officials in both cities between 1996 and 2018. When race is factored in with gender, the proportion of non-white women running for office is significantly lower (22% in Vancouver and 24% in Surrey) with even fewer being elected to office (Seiferling et al., 2020). Women currently fare slightly better at the provincial level, with 37 women (42.5%) currently serving in the Legislative Assembly (Legislative Assembly of B.C., 2022). Nonetheless, these figures indicate that historical legacies of powerlessness and marginalization are a factor in political representation.

Based on the Weberian definition of power discussed above, a group's powerlessness may also be indicated by its relative ability to achieve policy goals. The historical pattern of settler colonialism continues to this day in relation to Indigenous people's ability to exercise autonomy in decision-making regarding the construction of resource extraction and energy production operations on their traditional territories. The decision to build the Coastal GasLink pipeline in spite of opposition from hereditary Wet'suwet'en chiefs and the people they represent is indicative of the power dynamics of settler colonialism. The pipeline, which would supply

fracked methane from the Dawson Creek area to a facility in Kitimat, extends through unceded Wet'suwet'en territory that the nation's hereditary leadership holds authority over, as recognized by Canada's Supreme Court (Woodside, 2022). In response to the ongoing construction of this and other pipeline projects, "[s]ome parts of the Wet'suwet'en Nation have established checkpoints and blockade camps to prevent oil and gas company work crews from entering their territories" (Crosby, 2021, p. 1). Coastal GasLink secured an injunction against protesters, which led to forcible removal and violent arrests at several checkpoints and blockades (Woodside, 2021a).

The dynamics of power in this case indicate that capitalist resource extraction and energy production companies have greater influence over economic, environmental and political decisions than the people whose land these projects are operating on. Resource extraction and energy production companies are able to have their projects deemed "critical infrastructure," which prioritizes them over other concerns and labels protest against them a national security threat (Crosby, 2021). The relative powerlessness of Indigenous land defenders and their allies is evident in the treatment that they received when checkpoints and blockades were cleared.

The response to the blockades was predictable, with federal authorities, in particular, pandering to the industrial Goliath. The RCMP have been given the green light to launch successive raids on the blockades and land defenders' camps. The raids in the fall of 2021 escalated, resulting in arrests of and injuries to Indigenous peoples, allies and journalists. Moreover, those arrested have alleged dehumanizing and humiliating treatment by RCMP, treatment that included being transported in enclosures about the size of a dog kennels, being put in hand and ankle cuffs and being forced to appear in court in their long underwear (Woodside, 2021a; Woodside, 2021b). For Crosby and Monaghan (2016, p. 41), there is nothing new in this:

> Indigenous expressions of autonomy, independence, or collective identity disrupt Canada's politico-economic dependence on the exploitation of indigenous lands and resources. Indigenous politics that confront the vision and practices of the Crown's "assertion of sovereignty" (see Monture-Angus 1999) are translated by security and policing agencies into material and immaterial threats to the settler colonial society.

Movements that assert Indigenous sovereignty are categorized as a criminal, abnormal threat to settler society and thus subject to disruption by law enforcement. The sort of police abuse and violence that often emerges out of the containment of Indigenous protests is an extension of historical forms intended to ensure the social order that defines the relative place of colonized and colonizer. Indigenous claims – often erroneously considered "counter-claims" – are held up as baseless, illegitimate, even dangerous in contradistinction to the settler "claims" to the land and its resources regardless of prior treaty agreements. It is in the face of such "danger" and especially of such challenges to the authority of the colonial state that law enforcement is called in to police the action. This is part of the longer trajectory by which rights assertions – and thus challenges to the legitimacy of settler colonialism – have become increasingly securitized and in fact militarized (Lieblich & Shinar, 2017). Police violence is both a historical and contemporary strategy by which Indigenous people are contained and constrained.

Powerlessness is also evident in the processes of gentrification that are part of the process of urban renewal. The practices of displacement, criminalization and penalization demonstrate the deployment of power in urban environments that primarily impacted 2SLGBTQI+ people, unhoused people and sex workers, frequently at intersections of these identities. The process "to consolidate Vancouver's West End as an identifiably gay locale" was in part driven by the assertion of a white, middle-class, male gay identity in opposition to a community of sex workers that was marked by gender, race and sexual orientation diversity (Ross & Sullivan, 2012, p. 607). Organizations like Concerned Residents of the West End (CROWE) and its vigilante arm, Shame the Johns, united upwardly mobile gay men with relatively conservative, middle-class heterosexual residents of the West End to lobby the city for stronger criminalization of sex work and intimidation of sex workers and their clients. Fear of a loss in property values as well as "the brash, hyper-visible femininity of biologically female and MTF transsexual sex workers" activated misogynist and racist attitudes about expressions of gender and sexuality (Ross & Sullivan, 2012). The marginalized targets of this activism and a divided 2SLGBTQI+ community could not muster the coalition necessary to oppose the class interests of middle-class West End residents represented by CROWE. Thus, the drive toward "respectability" by a sector of gay men served to disempower and criminalize the sex worker community. "With little to no purchase on the terms 'community' or 'citizen,' sex workers were muzzled by anti-vice crusaders who sought, vigorously, to defend a middle-class, prostitution-free zone" (Ross & Sullivan, 2012, p. 613).

Similar patterns of displacement continue to occur in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside (DTES) as construction, gentrification and police enforcement of anti-loitering laws significantly restrict the activity of transgender sex workers as well as the unhoused population. As new businesses and residential development has occurred, dynamics of transforming the DTES into a "respectable" community lead to greater exclusion of transgender sex workers (Lyons et al., 2017). Businesses have installed gates on their store fronts to dissuade people from congregating during non-business hours, and business owners as well as residents are more apt to call the police on presumed sex workers and other "undesirable" people. Police also take more of an initiative to issue loitering citations to sex workers and citations to panhandlers under the Safe Streets Act (Chesnay et al., 2013; Lyons et al., 2017). These practices demonstrate the relative power of business owners and gentrifying residents of the DTES while maintaining the powerlessness of sex workers and people perceived to be houseless in the area.

Powerlessness and hate

The relative powerlessness of historically marginalized people is evident in the history and current practices of political participation and decision-making. Historically, Indigenous and racialized peoples have been disenfranchised, which facilitated settler colonial genocidal practices as well as legal sanctions and restrictions. Although disenfranchisement is, for the most part, no longer legally sanctioned, there are still questions of representation that influence the political power of racialized peoples and women, especially women of colour. Contemporary decision-making processes continue settler colonial exclusion of Indigenous people and their rights to autonomy and territorial control, as evidenced by recent repression of ecological

protests by land defenders and their allies on unceded Indigenous land. Finally, the politics of respectability influence the ways in which urban communities define who is a "legitimate" member of the community based on gender, race and expressions of sexuality. These dynamics indicate a continued ascription of power to white, middle-class, settler interests and the systematic disempowerment of Indigenous people, people of colour, 2SLGBTQI+ people, and women.

As noted at the outset of this section, powerlessness both supports and is supported by the other faces of structural and cultural oppression. Notions of racialized communities, or of women, for example, as "less than" – less logical, less intelligent – justifies their exclusion from decision-making in civil society. Their absence, then, from the machinery of power has meant that they have not historically been permitted to shape social discourses. It is only recently that long-silenced communities have had a seat at the tables that define their well-being and safety. But this is not without consequences. It is often when they challenge these carefully prescribed limits on their autonomy that communities face hateful repercussions. When Indigenous Nations assert autonomy over their lands, they come under fire from both citizens and the state (Crosby & Monaghan, 2016). We have also seen this play out when women or people of colour run for political office (Kuperberg, 2018; Bardall et al., 2020).

Oppression, violence and hatred

The ultimate outcome of the forms of oppression discussed in this report is violence, which may be understood as physical or emotional harm that a person experiences. Young (1988, p. 287) describes the way in which historically marginalized people experience violence as follows:

> The members of some groups live with the knowledge that they must fear random, unprovoked attacks on their persons or property, which have no motive but to damage, humiliate, or destroy the person…. Violation may also take the form of name-calling or petty harassment which intends to degrade or humiliate, and always signals an underlying threat of physical attack.

Violence, therefore, consists of both physical and emotional harm that a person may experience as a result of their oppression, but it is also a form of oppression in and of itself. As a form of oppression, violence is systematic and legitimate. It is systematic because "it is directed at any member of the group simply because he or she is a member of that group," and it is legitimate because "most people regard it as unsurprising and it usually goes unpunished" (Young, 1988, p. 287). That is to say that this type of violence is normalized in society because it reflects the dynamics of power that are embedded within it.

In this sense, violence can encompass a number of different forms, including hate speech, bias crime, institutional neglect and genocide. Hate speech and bias crime operate at the individual level where individuals or small groups of perpetrators target an individual based on their perceived identity. "Hate crimes refer to criminal offences motivated by bias, prejudice, or hate based on race, national or ethnic origin, language, colour, religion, sex, age, mental or physical disability, sexual orientation or any other similar factor, such as profession or political beliefs" (Government of Canada, Statistics Canada, 2014). Although the language of hate crime legislation is written in a manner that applies across categories, the dynamics of bias crime are such that perpetrators tend to reflect dominant social identities and victims tend to be perceived as members of structurally subordinated groups. Bias crimes, therefore, are a means of "doing difference" where "the perpetrator can reassert his/her hegemonic identity and, at the same time, punish the victim(s) for their individual or collective performance of identity" (Perry, 2001, p. 55). These crimes, therefore, reflect not only the power dynamics of victim and perpetrator identities, but construct those identities by asserting dominant and subordinate social positions. The violence of institutional neglect, or "structural violence… that occurs in the context of establishing, maintaining, extending, or reducing hierarchical relations between categories of people within a society," can take the form of access to the basic means of survival, ability to live in an environment free of pollution or access to medical care or medicine (Iadicola & Shupe, 2013, p. 380). This can be understood as a form of "slow violence" that "occurs gradually and out of sight, a violence of delayed destruction that is dispersed across time and space, an attritional violence that is typically not viewed as violence at all" because it is embedded in the institutional practices and structures of the society (Nixon, 2011, p. 2). Finally, genocide consists of "acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial, or

religious group" (United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, 1951, p. 1). Genocide serves as the ultimate means to enact that settler colonial project of elimination of a people in order to supplant them with a settler population (Wolfe, 2006).

Hate crime

The start of the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020 saw a significant increase in bias crimes across Canada and in British Columbia specifically. Nationwide, police reported incidents of bias crime rose by 37% with racially motivated incidents nearly doubling (an 80% increase). British Columbia was one of the provinces with the largest increase in incidents, reporting 196 more than the previous year (Government of Canada, Statistics Canada, 2021). These trends are in part driven by a precipitous increase in anti-Asian incidents, which are particularly acute in B.C., with Vancouver dubbed "the Anti-Asian Hate Crime Capital of North America" (Pearson, 2021). A poll of B.C. residents of Asian descent conducted by InsightWest indicates that nearly half of the respondents experienced a hate incident in 2020, and Vancouver police documented 98 hate incidents, which is eight times higher than the previous year (Pearson, 2021). While COVID-19 was the precipitating event, with the virus's origin in China and politicians capitalizing on anti-Chinese sentiments discussed earlier in this report, these increases in bias crime reflect a history of anti-Asian prejudice dating to the founding of the province (Wat, 2014; Zak, 2017). In recent decades, anti-Asian sentiment has focused on growing wealth inequality and skyrocketing property values that are perceived as being driven by Chinese real estate speculation despite evidence that the majority of investment is domestic and North American based (Pearson, 2021). The rise in overall and, specifically, anti-Asian, bias crime incidents is reflective of the core dynamic of these types of crimes, which serve as a means of asserting a social hierarchy and positioning groups in dominant and subordinate positions. Anti-Asian bias crimes seek to assert the subordinate position of Asian people in a society organized on a racialized system of white supremacy.

Structural violence

Structural violence takes myriad forms because it is embedded in the everyday practices of the economy and institutions. Environmental impacts, particularly forms of environmental racism, are a key manifestation of "slow" violence that impacts historically marginalized communities (Iadicola & Shupe, 2013; Nixon, 2011). Indigenous peoples in British Columbia face ongoing issues of environmental racism in their relations with resource extraction and energy industries. The Mount Polley mine disaster near Quesnel Lake is indicative of the harms generated by environmental damage. On August 4, 2014, a waste deposit pond at the mine burst, sending 4 billion gallons of mining waste into nearby rivers and lakes that were awaiting the return of salmon. Although mine executives claimed the wastewater was non-toxic, the Department of Fisheries and Oceans banned salmon fishing in impacted rivers. The pollution of the waterways and threat to salmon fishing served as a major harm to First Nations in the area, who rely on fishing as a cultural and economic activity (Johansen, 2020). Cases such as this demonstrate how environmental harms may disproportionately impact historically marginalized people. Resource extraction and energy production industries in B.C. are especially likely to cause harm to

Indigenous peoples because the commodities they seek to produce are located in rural parts of the province, on traditional and unceded Indigenous territory.

Inequality in health care access and quality of care is a key form of structural violence that impacts historically marginalized communities. Racism and misogyny are key factors in producing unequal health care. Indigenous peoples in British Columbia face significant racism in the health care system, including stereotyping, as well as poor quality of care and death, which results in mistrust and avoidance of the health care system. These dynamics of discrimination result in limitations in medical treatment that have significant negative impacts on Indigenous peoples' health and wellness, such as lack of access to primary and preventative care, disproportionate reliance on emergency services and overall poorer health outcomes. These dynamics are compounded by gender, resulting in Indigenous women and girls facing unique challenges, including misogynistic stereotyping based on race and gender, feeling less safe when accessing health services and overall poor health compared to male counterparts (Turpel-Lafond, 2020). These issues point to significant harms for Indigenous people within the healthcare system that are the ongoing effects of the settler colonial process.

Racism in health care also impacts providers who are people of colour. Survey research in B.C. with nurses of Black, Caribbean and African descent found "'entrenched and pervasive' racism and discrimination at work that is causing trauma and fuelling health inequities for Black and racialized patients" (Wyton, 2021). Survey respondents indicated that they had been dismissed by supervisors, provided few opportunities for promotion and were blamed for mistakes made by non-Black colleagues (Wyton, 2021). Although there is little race-based data collection in B.C., the experiences of Black nurses may be indicative of quality of care received by Black patients. The "slow" violence of health care disparities has direct impacts on people in terms of harms caused by illness, injury and even death.

Genocide

Settler colonialism is predicated on the elimination of the Indigenous populations through genocidal practices (Wolfe, 2006). One of the clearest historical examples of the genocide in British Columbia and throughout Canada is the residential school system, which forcibly removed Indigenous children from their families, homes and communities and placed them in largely religiously run boarding schools designed to eliminate their culture and identity. The schools' programs of limited education and hard labour were predicated on racial stereotypes regarding Indigenous people's learning capabilities and discipline. The residential schools were sites of harsh corporal punishment and sexual abuse (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2016). Residential schools were sites of mass violence and death, with the Truth and Reconciliation Commission identifying 4,100 official deaths. Recent discoveries of over 1,800 confirmed or suspected unmarked graves on or near school grounds, including 635 burial sites across British Columbia (Parkhill & Lee, 2022), indicate the direct genocidal outcomes of these institutions. The trauma of the residential school experience and its outcomes is part of the ongoing experience of Indigenous peoples.

Systematic racialized violence against Indigenous peoples is an ongoing concern. The ongoing crisis of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls and 2SLGBTQI+ people is indicative of ongoing neglect for the lives of Indigenous peoples that is central to the settler colonial project. There is a clear overrepresentation of missing Indigenous women, girls and 2SLGBTQI+ people. While Indigenous women and girls only represent two percent of the total population, they account for 16% of missing women and girls. To describe the women and girls as missing is inaccurate.

> The reality is that these women and girls are kidnapped, taken, or otherwise held against their will – a situation far more sinister than the word ''missing'' might imply. The more appropriate term would be ''disappeared'' because it represents the conscious act of others involved (usually men) in taking them from their friends, families, support networks, communities, and Nations. (Palmater, 2016, p. 255)

The perceived lack of concern for the safety of Indigenous women and girls on the part of law enforcement and criminal justice officials is indicative of how racism and misogyny lead to a devaluation of their lives. The systematic and legitimate quality of this violence is evident in the complicity of law enforcement, which has minimized the scope of the problem and attempted to lay blame on victims and their communities (Palmater, 2016). This form of violence faced by Indigenous women, girls and 2SLGBTQI+ people reflects that lack of concern driven by the elimination logic of settler colonialism.

Violence and hate

The varied forms of violence experienced by historically marginalized people in British Columbia represent an expanded understanding of the concept. In bias crimes, structural violence and genocide, we see a clear pattern of domination and subordination found in all manifestations of oppression. The rise in hate crimes in the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic is based on long-standing historical bigotries and racialized systems of power. These crimes serve to assert the subordinate position of racialized peoples, especially Asians, in the white supremacist hierarchy of our society. Structural violence is less explicit in its form, but not in its intent and outcome. The exposure of groups of people, particularly Indigenous communities and individuals, to environmental harms and inequality in health care provision and outcomes signals their place in the racial and gender hierarchy of the society. Finally, the legacy of genocidal practices that originate in the settler colonial process continues to impact Indigenous people in the province and the country. The genocidal intent of the residential school project is laid bare with the ongoing discovery of unmarked graves on school grounds, which generates present-day trauma for Indigenous peoples. The ongoing crisis of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls and 2SLGBTQI+ people is indicative of the systematic violence that is the product of settler colonial notions of race and gender. These multifaceted forms of violence are indicative of the patterns of domination and subordination in our society.

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