"We're Here, Standing at the Shoreline"

Sylvia Hamilton's Intervention in the Nova Scotian Discourse on Belonging and Multicultural Citizenship

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Sylvia Hamilton est une écrivaine, éducatrice et cinéaste reconnue. Elle a écrit, produit et dirigé plusieurs films et publié de nombreux articles sur la présence des Noirs dans la Nouvelle Écosse, depuis l'arrivée de Mathieu Da Costa en 1604. Son travail fait la lumière sur le chemin qui reste à parcourir pour permettre aux Noirs d'être reconnus dans une société qui historiquement les a laissés en marge des institutions sociales. Son travail reconnaît le rôle important des femmes noires qui assurent la survivance de leur culture et des traditions qui marquent l'identité des Noirs de la Nouvelle Écosse. Un examen de quelques uns des films de Sylvia Hamilton démontre comment elle insère le discours sur le multiculturalisme dans ses narrations.

Canadian multiculturalism is often presented as the ideal system of social justice, in which recognition of human dignity results in equitable treatment primarily as inclusion in a modern society. Multiculturalism supposedly does not seek to privilege any one culture but recognizes a diversity of cultures within a unity. Every culture has a right to equal recognition in the national imaginary of who or what is Canadian. Individuals are products of their cultures and as liberal citizens are supposedly equal in the public sphere based on cultural recognition.

However views diverge on the ideal of multiculturalism and the actual practices in Canada. Theorists such as Charles Taylor and Will Kymlicka maintain that recognition and social inclusion, as a form of integration, are the best practices of social justice in multicultural societies. Conversely, Himani Bannerji and Rinaldo Walcott (1997b) argue multiculturalism falls short of its intended goals because its policies fail to ensure the inclusion as equals of various groups such as women, blacks, Aboriginals, gays, and lesbians. They argue the practice does not promote and maintain fair and equitable treatment of non-dominant groups in ways that recognize individual human dignity. Acknowledging the arguments on both sides of the debate, Cecil Foster makes a case for a "*genuine* multiculturalism" that "presupposes a break in the hold of the dominant white gaze on multiculturalism—which is to say that multiculturalism and the state are not singularly for the benefit of a dominant group" (2005: 170). Foster's assertion leads us to ask how this break affects those groups traditionally fixed as the objects of this white gaze.

For me, of particular interest to this discussion is the black experience in Nova Scotia, one of the earliest provinces established in Canada. This province in 2008 celebrated the "250th anniversary of the birth of parliamentary democracy in Canada; a proud first for Nova Scotia."[1] I contend "democracy" has not provided the social equality indicative of the justice that is expected in a liberal democracy that is officially a multicultural country such as Canada, and, specific to this discussion, Nova Scotia. I argue we can see gaps of fairness in the history of Canada and the discourses on multiculturalism in the work of one of Canada's leading documentary-makers, a woman from Nova Scotia who tells a different story about belonging in Canada.

Award-winning journalist, filmmaker, educator, and writer Sylvia Hamilton was born in Beechville, Nova Scotia. She has written, produced, and directed several films as well as written a number of articles on aspects of the Black Nova Scotian presence since the arrival of Mathieu Da Costa circa 1604. By her continuous excavation of various sites of memory that illuminate the black Nova Scotian experience, Hamilton's work intervenes in important ways in the existing multicultural discourses. Significantly Hamilton's work highlights the great distance ahead of blacks who still journey toward recognition within a society that historically left them on the margins of the social institutions. Hamilton's work focuses on the significant role by black women like herself of ensuring the survival of black culture and traditions central to the black Nova Scotian identity. As depicted in Hamilton's *Black Mother, Black Daughter*, these experiences are personal and intergenerational, such as those of her daughter

Shani, who Hamilton believes will face discrimination as a black female, and who must, like all blacks, have a sense of identity and human dignity similar to what Hamilton's own mother gave her.

An examination of a selection of Hamilton's films demonstrates how she intervenes in the discourse on multiculturalism in her storytelling. Her narratives elevate the experiences of Nova Scotian blacks who have lived in Canada for centuries yet have not received equal recognition with groups, such as the British and French, who arrived in Canada during the same historical moment. In so doing, Hamilton highlights the social injustices experienced by blacks in ways that reveal the limitations of multiculturalism as defined by Taylor and Kymlicka.

Her work in particular focuses on the premise of human dignity as raised by Taylor and on the notion of societal cultures as explained by Kymlicka. Speaking to the idea of universal freedom, Taylor states:

> The politics of equal dignity is based on the idea that all humans are equally worthy of respect. It is underpinned by a notion of what in human beings command respect.... *a universal human potential*, a capacity that all humans share. This potential, rather than anything a person may have made of it, is what ensures that each person deserves respect. (39)

Thus, on Taylor's argument ideally the culture of Canada is based on the recognition of the dignity of the human being for all, and to a lesser degree on how the human being conducts herself and how that translates into the dignity of being Canadian.

While Kymlicka acknowledges Taylor's position, he believes that the idea of societal cultures is perhaps the best way to achieve equality and social justice in a modern society. The concept of *societal culture* benefits the nation state primarily because it promotes solidarity, a strong sense of "common identity" facilitated by "a common language and history," and it is "essential to social equality, political cohesion, and democratic debate in modern states" (1998a: 29). He explains the concept this way:

> A societal culture is a territorially concentrated culture centred on a shared language that is used in a wide range of societal institutions, including schools, media, law, the economy, and government. Participation in such a culture provides access to meaningful ways of life across the full range of human activities—social, educational, religious, recreational, economic—encompassing both public and private spheres. (1998a: 27)

In his telling, Canada comprises two societal cultures—the British and the French—that allow the implementation of social institutions formed around a common language, French in the province of Quebec and New Brunswick, and primarily English in the remaining provinces. "[T]he state," Kymlicka argues, "is deeply and inextricably involved in shaping the ethnocultural identities of its citizens through its efforts to promote a very definite form of cultural integration. Multiculturalism neither rejects nor undermines these efforts. It simply seeks to ensure that they are fair" (1998a: 25). Moreover, "[m]ulticulturalism involves accepting the principle of state-imposed integration, but renegotiating the terms of integration" (1998a: 39). We may pause to ask why, of all the elements constituting culture, is a common language the choice? Why not community or even religion? Hamilton's films suggest that language, as the tool of integration, cannot fully explain the lived reality of blacks in Nova Scotia, who are foundational to the province, who speak English, and who have been forced to form a societal culture since their arrival in Canada. Because of segregation laws and practices, they have had to set up their own churches and schools, and the state even established special militia units of blacks. Yet, even having developed a societal culture, their way of life is not recognized as official and therefore black Nova Scotians, unlike individuals from other groups, have not been able to transition from the private sphere to fully claim the "meaningful ways of life" the state-imposed integration promises. The fact the practice of exclusion of others, in particular black people, persists more than adequately reflects the limits of multicultural citizenship. Blacks, in general, remain marginalized. Multiculturalism has not helped them to renegotiate their inclusion into social institutions on equal terms.

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Thus, Hamilton's project of reclaiming the legacy of blacks in the province of Nova Scotia in particular and Canada in general unsettles the notion that cultural integration within a societal culture is all that is required for individuals to enjoy "meaningful ways of life." All citizens, including a group of people constructed ethnically and

racially as blacks in Canada, Hamilton's films suggest, deserve social justice in the recognition of human dignity and the freedom of self-determination. This ideal falls short of this goal when applied to blacks and Hamilton uses her films to point to this gap.

Hamilton's Films and Multiculturalism

Hamilton's productions *Black Mother/Black Daughter* (1989); *Speak It from the Heart of Black Nova Scotia* (1993); *No More Secrets* (1999); *Portia White, Think on Me* (2000); *Keep On, Keepin' On* (2006); and *The Little Black School House* (2007) convey a sense of the limitations obstructing the promise of multiculturalism as experienced by the black communities in Nova Scotia. The films capture the roles Black women play to help effect positive change in and for their communities. *Black Mother/Black Daughter*, Hamilton's first documentary, highlights the importance of black mothers in their daughters' lives and why that relationship is an enduring tradition in the black communities. A cappella quartet *Four the Moment's* syncopated and rich tones open the film with a song from which the title of this essay is taken. The song resonates throughout the film and intermittently we hear the voices of these women reminding us of the hard times, pain, and struggle of black women during the last 300 years. Their song echoes: "I am a black woman and a woman first." As Taylor would put it, their dignity comes first as women, then as black cultural individuals. Hamilton, the producer, seems to disagree; for her cultural identity comes first. In *Black Mother* Hamilton says: "growing up as a *black* girl in Nova Scotia my strongest memories are of *black* women" (emphasis added). From these women she learned the importance and the interdependence of family, church, and community that patiently fostered and nurtured the survival of the black culture and community (*Black Mother, Black Daughter*). Her discussion with her mother introduces the significance of the continued struggle of indigenous (native) blacks, seeking justice through human dignity by insisting on their value being just as relevant as that of the colonizers and their descendants. In other words, dignity comes through cultural struggles. In this film, Hamilton incorporates the stories of other black women who contribute to the history of blacks in Nova Scotia. Storytellers, *Four the Moment*, sing of the living spirit and survival of black women in Nova Scotia, and in so doing expand the oral tradition as well as reclaim black history. For them, their stories provide the opportunities to stand up, as black women, and to say "we are still here"; because of their ancestors, they are able to stand and testify to the black experience in Nova Scotia and to their belonging and citizenship.

Important to the telling of this "experience," artistically, is the capturing of an outdoor baptism at the Baptist church in East Preston, representing more than 200 years of tradition. This is where Hamilton, her mother, and her daughter Shani attended a Women's Day church service celebrating the women of the Institute of the African Baptist Church. The church has always provided blacks with some control over the affairs of their community. A former resident of Africville, Laura Howe, tells a story about the significance of the church and the loss of her community to bulldozers in the 1960s. She explains that until the church was demolished, the people from Africville felt a sense of community. With the church gone, all sense of belonging and community went with it: the bell no longer tolled, calling the members to worship together.

So in this film Hamilton sides with those who argue that society and socialization matters most. But what is foundational to any society or culture? In the eighteenth century, Shelburne had the largest black settlement, Birchtown. In 1989 when the film was made, Hamilton and Pearleen Oliver visited Ross Thompson House in Shelburne, where they observed it had "very little evidence that spoke of the early black presence"; the Shelburne county museum had only recently begun the recovery of black history. Here, Hamilton appears to disagree with Kymlicka. For her it is not language that matters most, as Kymlicka says, but rather the shared experiences such as those found in a community and which are learned in a struggle. In her case that struggle is racial, and in this sense Hamilton appears to be in agreement with Walcott and Foster who make the point that multiculturalism fails to provide equal opportunities for blacks. Although blacks are part of the societal culture as Kymlicka argues, Walcott and Foster maintain that racialization prevents blacks from experiencing multicultural citizenship at the same level as the dominant group.

The idea of inclusion can be fraught with difference as the film *No More Secrets* reveals. Violence against women crosses all ethnicities. However, one issue for abused black women in Nova Scotia is the lack of community as well as state support. These women have had to remain silent because they had no platform on which to stand without being subjected to some backlash from the church and from the men in the community. As Hamilton shows the women are foundational to the church itself, performing many support functions that help the youth and the community in general, yet the issue of violence against women was not exposed and as such received no substantive support from the society in general. Black women had problems when they went to safe houses run by white women, because the majority of the residents were distrustful of them because of their race. Black women did not feel comfortable in those homes, often experiencing epistemic violence from those who themselves were receiving shelter from violence. Also many of the health and beauty products black women needed were not available in these homes. There was no outreach from the dominant group within Nova Scotia; black women had to bring this issue of cultural difference to the community and the society.

Today there are safe houses for black women that provide

not only a feeling of safety, but also free them from being subjected to racist tendencies from their white "peers," as practiced in some safe homes run by white women. Here the situation demands a form of segregation based on race and safety issues. Here we see the failure of the concept of societal culture to nullify the deep-seated racist perceptions that lead to violent behaviours, as well as the consequence of integration at the expense of cultural sensitivity. However, there are several examples of Nova Scotian black women who have been integrated somewhat within the society, which shows that it is possible for those holding power to "confer" dignity on and dispense social justice to blacks: For example teacher, musician, and classical singer Portia White, whose "musical talent was nurtured by her family, her church, her community, her friends and by the Nova Scotia Talent Trust which was especially supportive of her burgeoning career."[2]

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In her film *Portia White, Think on Me,* Hamilton demonstrates the recognition of human dignity in a society's willingness to recognize an individual, to advocate for her inclusion, and to promote her success. This film validates the ways in which culture can support its own artists. The acceptance and support that Portia White received from Canadians was extraordinary during the 1940s. She was a rising star, a product of Nova Scotia, and a good representative of Canada. However her failing health, a declining career, and financial mismanagement by her managers led to White's return to Canada to be near family. She returned to teaching until her death, in 1968, from cancer at age 57. Hamilton's film commemorates White's achievements as a testament to Canadians and to black women facing challenges in a society that rarely values them as contributors to Canada's social capital. *Portia White, Think on Me* re-tells the history of a successful black woman's contribution to her province and country.

Keep On, Keepin' On (2006) unites the history of Nova Scotians by making subtle but important symbolic linkages between black culture and the established Scottish culture that pervades in Nova Scotia as representative of the British culture. The film opens with a young boy being tutored by an older male on how to play an African drum. Both are dressed in traditional African clothing, except the little boy is wearing a knitted hat with an emblem of the Canadian flag on it. Importantly, while he learns to play the drum to the tune of a British nursery rhyme Pat-a-Cake, the rhythm and tempo change to reflect an African beat, while in the background we hear the strains of the Scottish bagpipes. While the males play, a black female bagpiper, dressed in a Scottish bagpiper uniform, emerges playing the hymn *Amazing Grace*. Simultaneously, Hamilton narrates a poem about her heritage as a black Nova Scotian, debunking the myths that translate into black invisibility. The poem reinforces the notion of belonging: it connects her to the Nova Scotian landscape, its flora, fauna, the ocean, and its wider culture. Hamilton associates herself with the landscape while recounting the ways in which the societal culture has excluded and continues to limit the contributions of blacks from the narrative of Nova Scotia. By invoking the slave trader and English Anglican clergyman John Newton's hymn *Amazing Grace*, Hamilton's film first suggests that regardless of the transgression, forgiveness and redemption can bring about the change necessary for promoting fair integration. The hymn speaks to the history of slavery and the role that, as the story goes, the slaves' mournful cries had in creating the music to which the words are set. *Keep On's* narrative, like that of the film *Black Mother,* reinforces yet again The African Baptist Church as foundational to the experience of black Nova Scotians. The church plays a significant role in shaping the lives of it members. Its religious principles are at the heart of its service to fellow human beings. The choice of the hymn *Amazing Grace*, as heard in *Keep On*, suggests that Justice requires grace. Blacks in Nova Scotia have made it through hard times, often led by black women, and they will continue with the struggle until "the blind" recognizes that injustice is wrong and work toward dispensing genuine justice with grace, thereby fulfilling the promise of multiculturalism.

In *Keep On* Hamilton links both the Scottish and indigenous Blacks as equal through the presence of the black female bagpiper, importantly signifying blacks as Nova Scotian and declaring that one does not have to be born in Scotland nor be male to be able to play the bagpipes. Although Hamilton's symbolic renderings situate blacks as part of the societal culture, the reality as represented in two other films suggest the practice of segregation as an ongoing obstacle to the integration of blacks on equal terms with members of the dominant group.

The film *Speak It from the Heart of Black Nova Scotia* (1993) reveals a modern problem that has evolved from a history of segregated schools. The film opens with a quote by renowned African American author James Baldwin:

"Black people need witnesses in this hostile world which thinks everything is white." This film is taking a closer look at the provincial educational system. Black youth from the former Saint Patrick's High School in Halifax meet to discuss issues of racism and equity in the Nova Scotia educational system and its curriculum. The main issues result from the dearth of black historical information in the curriculum and how that lack informs the racism experienced by black youth. They argue that although the teachers say there is no racism in the schools, there is evidence to the contrary in the washrooms; for example, there is racist graffiti on the walls suggesting blacks are animals and should be chained in the backyard, and that they should "go back to where they belong." Some black students feel a sense of dread when in the classrooms, hoping that whenever anything is said about blacks that it would not register negatively against them. One student had such an experience in response to a phrase in a text being read: "can't trust dirty blacks"; everyone in the class turned around to look at her. This experience is rooted in a history of segregated education that continues not only to limit inclusion but also deny the students of the human dignity they deserve.

The cleverly titled film *The Little Black School House* (2007) deals with the history of segregated education, the phenomenon of the little black schoolhouse throughout Nova Scotia and parts of Ontario. This phenomenon of segregated school houses, since the first black settlement in Nova Scotia in the late eighteenth century until the last quarter of the twentieth century, offers a glimpse into the issue of black oppression in the province; it also offers one plausible explanation for the perpetuation of a segregated lifestyle, the entrenchment of racist assumptions, and the consequences of racist perceptions in the province. Hamilton engages Curator/Historian Elise Harding-Davis and Researcher/Curator Adrienne Shadd; Historian Peggy Bristow; Director, Indigenous Black and Mi'kmaq Program, Dalhousie University Law School Professor Michelle Williams; Politician and Educator Zanana Akande; retired Nurse and Community Outreach Worker Geraldine Browning; and Judge Corrine Sparks among others to comment on the impact of racial segregation on the social mobility of blacks. Specifically, this film and *Speak It* demonstrate the need for educational institutions to foster safe environments in which black students would feel more comfortable learning, in which they could identify with the teachers and the curriculum, and where they would feel confident that at the end of high school or university opportunities would be open to them. Students should neither find opportunities restricted to them, nor be streamed towards specific career options because they are black. As Historian Peggy Bristow, in *The Little Black School House,* reminds us: "when black people came to Canada, they came for freedom; part of the freedom was to be educated. It has been an ongoing struggle." This desire for freedom harks back to the point about universal freedom on which Taylor bases his theory of human dignity. And freedom is also about self-determination, to have the kind of autonomy of which Bannerji speaks. In Bannerji's view, the refusal of the dominant to recognize the autonomy of others as individuals and as cultural beings "is a refusal of an elitist form of self-deception, which in the name of the community offers condescension. Recognition needs respect and dignity, its basic principle is accepting the autonomy of the other, and being honest about power relations which hinder this autonomy" (149). As a consequence of segregated education and social practices, when multiculturalism became a policy, blacks were ill prepared to achieve the equality that many other groups did. Multiculturalism works for those who were and are best prepared to participate in full citizenship in Canada. The former School Administrator and Ontario Cabinet Minister Zanana Akande maintains: "it's very bad manners to invite people to dinner and not have a place set for them at the table." Educational barriers, as entrenched as they are, prevented and continue to restrict blacks from advancing socially, economically, and politically in the province.

The film informs viewers that the phenomenon of "The Little Black School House," which was around for 200 years, witnessed "the desire to mould the promise of freedom into reality." The first segregated school in Nova Scotia opened in the 1780s in Guysborough. Later, in 1875 a law was put in place to remove blacks from all common schools. The last segregated school was also in Guysborough and it closed in 1983. The black schools assisted blacks in their "struggle for dignity and equality through education." But as Michelle Williams remarks: "I don't think it was contemplated that we were to be full participants in democracy. Consequently it's consistent with that ideology that we need not be educated, because it is not for us to be full participants in democracy. And so the education system or lack of it that developed reflects that overall philosophy toward African peoples … in Canada." Thus it is not surprising that there were barriers in the education system that would limit blacks, thereby making them unprepared for full citizenship and, specific to this discussion, *genuine* multicultural citizenship.

I ended the synopses of Hamilton's films with *The Little Black School House*, not because of chronology, but rather as a reminder that segregation and its twin exclusion are primary obstacles to the advancement of blacks in the social institutions in the province of Nova Scotia. In her film *Keepin' On*, Hamilton makes this statement: "We didn't just come off the boat and we keep on, keepin' on being *Nova Scotian*" (emphasis added). With this statement, Hamilton reinforces the point that as an ethnic group blacks have legitimate claims to Nova Scotia: they are indigenous to the province as a socially constructed state. To me, without the language proviso, Kymlicka's argument infers that blacks constitute historically a societal culture

in Nova Scotia and other parts of Atlantic Canada. The indigenous blacks in Nova Scotia have suffered displacement in the national imaginary, by having their identity fused with the larger more recent immigrant black communities, thereby rendering their history and contributions to the Canadian nation almost non-existent and therefore irrelevant. As theorist Walcott points out, "[t]he hypervisibility of Caribbean blackness makes indigenous black Canadians invisible" (46).

Within the societal culture in Nova Scotia, compounded with this invisibility the practice of segregation, from the era of the segregated school system, is embedded in the structure of the social institutions. Multiculturalism has not been successful at encouraging renegotiation on fair terms as Kymlicka (1998b: 39) suggests it should. Thus indigenous blacks have the task of dispelling the national myths that erase their presence and this Hamilton does through film. Hamilton is undoubtedly claiming that because they are not fully recognized as "foundational" to Canada, blacks as individual citizens are yet to be treated with the universal dignity Taylor sees in multiculturalism. A question we continue to ask is: how long will it take for the Canadian social imaginary to recognize blacks as equal? After all they have been in Canada for at least eight generations. The need for recognition inspires black women like Hamilton who work tirelessly at cultural recovery, thereby highlighting Nova Scotian black women's role in maintaining the survival of black identity and culture in multicultural Canada.

However, black Nova Scotians still suffer exclusion through erasure: they have had their legitimacy wrested from them through the razing of black communities whether by the bulldozing of Africville, for example, or the burning of archival material such as in Shelburne as recently as 2006. The following statement was taken from the Nova Scotia Government website on which the community advertised a healing weekend after the loss sustained in the fire:

> The Black Loyalist Heritage Society is looking to the future and taking an active role in ensuring that ***a suspicious fire*** that destroyed its offices on March 31 does not also destroy the group's spirit and resolve.
>
> About 20 years of research, records, artifacts, and office equipment were destroyed in the fire.[3] (emphasis added)

The above example of the physical and mental erasure from the national narrative is just one example of why blacks are perpetually burdened first with having to prove legitimacy as settlers in early Canada (British North America), by capturing, restoring, and telling their stories as a way of re-claiming their rights of settlement and belonging. Hamilton's films, therefore, provide a narrative of belonging to and citizenship for Nova Scotian blacks. These stories reflect a struggle for genuine multiculturalism, and for the social justice that will grant blacks their right to participate equally in all social institutions.

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Hamilton Speaks of Women, Black Women

Hamilton's work illustrates how effectively black women are working against the odds, continually preparing the community to deal with issues of oppression and how best to survive the systemic barriers to social, economic, and political life. Kymlicka argues, "[a] modern economy requires a mobile, educated, and literate workforce and standardized public education in a common language if all citizens are to have equal opportunity to work in such an economy" (1998a: 29). However, Hamilton's films reveal a different story: even with these factors in place, all citizens do not have equal opportunity to work at what they desire. Multiculturalism's success at promoting ethnocultural inclusion cannot be the sole means by which black women achieve fair and equitable treatment regarding access to social institutions in Nova Scotia. Black women have made political inroads, at least symbolically, in Nova Scotia. For example, the current Lieutenant Governor, Mayanne E. Francis, is the first black person in the province to hold this position. Other women such as Judge Corinne Sparks, the first black judge, and Dr. Daurene Lewis, the first black mayor of Annapolis Royal (1984), are notable political figures, demonstrating Nova Scotians' recognition of black women as suitable figures to represent them in the political sphere. These appointments demonstrate that with the political will, the province can dispense restorative justice toward black people. Significantly, too, they are all women.

However, in "Blackness and Speculative Philosophy," Foster insists that "the 'history' as truth has to be amended and even rewritten" (2007b: 167). Hamilton revises the narrative going back through generations of women's stories, linking their stories to prevailing struggles, getting them to constantly stake their claims. Hamilton challenges

Taylor's assumptions about recognition of human dignity, by pointing out that recognition has been of the powerful. By implication she is asking Kymlicka: if societal cultures are so important to the construction of a national narrative or imaginary, why are black Nova Scotians not seen as a societal culture, why are they not recognized fully and foundationally as Canadian? For Hamilton multiculturalism, as practice, has clear limits, for the official narrative does not take into account racialization. Thus as individuals blacks find themselves as outsiders in the public sphere where race becomes the determining factor as to who has power and rights over the social capital of the province. What Canada needs is, as Foster argues, "a new spirit of modernity," one in which race does not limit the autonomy of some individuals. Hamilton's cultural intervention into multicultural discourses unearths a paradox at the nexus of culture and democracy and social justice: while cultural and artistic intervention proves that multiculturalism enables inclusion of diversity, it paradoxically reveals the limits of multiculturalism in facilitating the conversion of that success into the kind of justice that enables social mobility of all groups, specifically blacks. In other words, multiculturalism has successfully promoted diversity, but has not successfully regulated equality. The case of Nova Scotian blacks exposes this paradox, as uncovered by the works of cultural artist Sylvia Hamilton.

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[1]<http://www.democracy250.ca> 1 June 2009.
[2]"Portia White 1911-1968." *Mount Allison University*. 3 June 2009 <http://www.mta.ca/about_canada/study_guide/famous_women/portia_white.html>.
[3]*Nova Scotia Canada*. "Shelburne County Community Healing." *African Nova Scotian Affairs* June 22, 2006, 3:30 p.m. 03 June 2009 <http://www.gov.ns.ca/news/details.asp?id=20060622002>. Also prior to this fire, the Black Cultural Centre in Dartmouth was destroyed by an act of arson (see Nelson 148).

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