

Neglect and Disregard: CANADA'S HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD

BRITISH COLUMBIA
UNIVERSAL PERIODIC REVIEW COALITION 2008
SUBMISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS HUMAN RIGHTS COUNCIL
on the occasion of its universal periodic review of Canada

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The following groups are part of the British Columbia Universal Periodic Review Coalition 2008 and have signed onto this report:

The Poverty and Human Rights Centre (www.povertyandhumanrights.org);

Aboriginal Women's Action Network (AWAN)

(<http://www.aboriginalcanada.gc.ca/acp/site.nsf/en/ao26601.html>);

Coalition of Child Care Advocates of BC (www.ccabc.bc.ca)

Hospital Employees Union (<http://www.heu.org>);

Justice for Girls (www.justiceforgirls.org);

Vancouver Committee for Domestic Workers and Caregivers Rights

(<http://www2.vpl.vancouver.bc.ca/DBs/Redbook/orgPgs/4/4334.html>);

Vancouver Rape Relief and Shelter (www.rapereliefshelter.bc.ca)

(<http://www.rapereliefshelter.bc.ca/>).

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Introduction

1. Canada has been a leading proponent of the Universal Periodic Review, strongly supporting the review of the human rights performance of every UN member state on a regular basis. In a recent statement to the Standing Committee on Human Rights of the Canadian Senate, the Government of Canada proclaimed itself a “champion for the international system for the protection and promotion of human rights,” and declared the Human Rights Council to be a vehicle to promote Canada’s objectives of encouraging human rights, democracy, the rule of law and good governance around the world.

Government Response to the Interim Report of the Senate Standing Committee On Human Rights - “Canada and The United Nations Human Rights Council: At The Crossroads” (2007), online: Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada, http://www.international.gc.ca/foreign_policy/human-rights/pdf/govt_response-eng.pdf (date accessed: 27 July 2008).

2. During its candidacy for election to the Human Rights Council, Canada pledged to “actively pursue the implementation of human rights domestically....”

The Permanent Mission of Canada to the United Nations, “Human Rights Council: Canada’s Commitment and Pledges” (10 April 2006), online: United Nations General Assembly <http://www.un.org/ga/60/elect/hrc/canada.pdf> (date accessed: 27 July 2008).

3. During the Universal Periodic Review, the Human Rights Council should hold Canada to its claim to be a “champion of international human rights” and to its pledge to “actively pursue the implementation of human rights domestically.”

Canada’s Non-Compliance

4. Despite its status as one of the wealthiest countries in the world, and despite its sophisticated infrastructure of legislation, programs and institutions, Canada has been repeatedly criticized by United Nations human rights treaty bodies for a range of domestic human rights deficiencies. Canada has largely failed to respond to the recommendations of the UN treaty bodies and has not rectified the failures identified.

Domestic Mechanisms for Human Rights Implementation and Review

5. Canada has no procedures for considering and responding to treaty body recommendations. To date, there has been no public examination of treaty body conclusions in Parliament or in provincial legislatures. Nor are there discernible internal governmental procedures for addressing the substance of the recommendations. Most Canadians never learn what the UN bodies have to say about Canada, and governments do not take up the expressed concerns and recommendations with a clear intent to improve Canada’s record. In essence, Canada “ratifies international human rights treaties but does not take the necessary steps to ensure that Canada’s laws, policies and practices comply with them.”

Shelagh Day, “Minding the Gap: Human Rights Commitments and Compliance” in Young, Boyd, Brodsky, and Day, eds., *Poverty, Rights, Social Citizenship and Legal Activism* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007).

6. As a candidate for election to the Human Rights Council, Canada pledged to have “consultation mechanisms in place to ensure that federal, provincial and territorial governments are aware of, and give serious

consideration to, the recommendations of treaty bodies, and further, that such recommendations are available to Canadians.” However, no such mechanisms to consider and give effect to recommendations of treaty bodies currently exist.

The Permanent Mission of Canada to the United Nations, “Human Rights Council: Canada’s Commitment and Pledges” (10 April 2006). Online: United Nations General Assembly <http://www.un.org/ga/60/elect/hrc/canada.pdf> (date accessed: 27 July 2008).

Treaty Body Consensus

7. There is an emerging consensus regarding the nature of Canada’s failures to fulfil its human rights obligations, particularly with respect to social and economic rights, and the rights of Aboriginal peoples, women and other groups that are disadvantaged within Canada. Canada is party to six key international human rights instruments. Treaty bodies that have reviewed Canada’s compliance over the last decade consistently identify the same shortfalls.

The Poverty and Human Rights Centre, *Human Rights Treaty Implementation: Consensus on Canada (Law Sheet)* (2007). Online: United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cedaw/docs/ngos/PHRC_Canada42.pdf (date accessed: 26 July 2008).

Areas of Treaty Body Concern

Failure to Address Poverty

8. Many Canadians live in poverty, resulting in serious social problems and severe economic hardship that is often based on membership in a particular group. The treaty bodies have repeatedly expressed concern over the following issues of poverty in Canada.

- High poverty rates of certain groups, especially women — in particular Aboriginal women, elderly women living alone, single mothers, older women, women of colour, immigrant women, and women with disabilities (CESCR 2006, para. 15; CEDAW 2003, paras. 357, 358; CCPR 1999, para. 20); children (CRC 2003, para. 43; and Aboriginal people (CESCR 2006, para. 15; CERD 2002, para. 331; CESCR 1998, para. 17).
- Cuts to social assistance, inadequate welfare rates and restricted access to welfare, implementation of workfare programs, restrictions on employment insurance eligibility, inadequate minimum wage rates, and provincial clawbacks of the National Child Benefit Supplement from social assistance recipients (CESCR 2006, paras. 21, 23; CCPR 2006, para. 24; CPR 1999, para. 18; CESCR 1998, paras. 20, 21, 22, 30). In addition, federal financial support for provincially-delivered social assistance through the Canada Social Transfer has not been restored to 1994-1995 funding levels (CECSR 2006, para 20).
- High levels of homelessness resulting from low social assistance rates and lack of subsidized housing (CESCR 2006, paras. 28, 62; CESCR 1998, paras. 24, 34, 35, 46) and resulting damaging effects, including damage to health (CESCR 2006, para. 57; CCPR 1999, para. 12).
- Lack of adequate housing, especially for children and youth (CESCR 1998, para. 35, CRC 1995, para. 17), Aboriginal peoples (CESCR 2006, para. 24; CRC 1995, para. 17), and women (CESCR 2006, para. 26; CEDAW 2003, paras. 383, 384), often resulting in women being forced to give up their children to foster care (CESCR 2006, para 24).
- High hunger rates. In 1993, CESCR called on Canadian governments to eliminate the need for food banks

(para. 26). In 1998, CESCR noted that, despite its earlier recommendation, the number of food banks had doubled during the 1990s and food banks were still unable to meet demand (CESCR 1998, para. 33). The Committee noted that 40% of food bank users are children and young people (CESCR 2006, para 27). In 2006, CESCR called on Canada to intensify its efforts to address the issue of food insecurity and hunger (CESCR 2006, para. 61).

Canada must take concrete steps to address poverty, homelessness, inadequate housing, and hunger, as well as the discriminatory impact of inadequate social programs, and cuts to them, on women, Aboriginal people, people of colour, people with disabilities and children.

Aboriginal People

9. Every treaty body has found that improvements in standards of living and human rights for Aboriginal people in Canada are necessary. Several treaty bodies have criticized the Government of Canada's failure to act on the recommendations of the 1996 Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (CERD 2007 para. 21; CERD 2002, para. 329; CESCR 1998, paras. 7, 18, 43; CCPR 1999, para. 8). These treaty bodies expressed particular concern about failure to implement recommendations related to dispossession from land and breach of Aboriginal treaty rights and title (CESCR 2006, para. 18). Committees have called on Canadian governments to re-examine policies and practices to prevent the extinguishment of inherent aboriginal rights (CCPR 2006, para. 8, CESCR 2006, para 37). CERD has also urged Canadian governments to examine ways and means to facilitate the establishment of Aboriginal title before Canadian courts (CERD 2007, para. 22).

10. The treaty bodies have expressed numerous concerns about the disparity in the quality of life experienced by many Aboriginal people compared with other Canadians, including the following.

- Lack of adequate housing, wide-scale unemployment, poverty, lack of access to safe drinking water (CESCR, 2006, para. 15; CESCR 1998, paras. 17, 18; CERD 2007, para 21), and the special problems of Aboriginal children (CRC 1995, para. 17).
- High suicide rates (CESCR 1998, para. 17; CERD 1994, para. 326), especially among Aboriginal children (CRC 2003, para. 36; CESCR 1998, para. 18).
- Widespread discrimination against Aboriginal people, especially in employment (CERD 2007, para. 24; CERD 2002, para. 334; CERD 1994, para. 325), and, in particular, against Aboriginal women (CEDAW 2003, paras. 361, 362).
- Discrimination against Aboriginal women with regard to Indian Status, band membership, and matrimonial property on reserve lands (CERD 2007, para.15; CESCR 2006, paras. 11(d), 17, 45; CCPR 2006, para. 22, CEDAW 2003, paras. 360, 361).
- Disproportionately high levels of violence against Aboriginal women, including violent death, rape and domestic violence, and the lack of services available for victims of gender based violence (CERD 2007, para 20, CEDAW 2003, para 361).

Canada must respond with immediate and concrete measures to remedy widespread and persistent violations of the human rights of Aboriginal people.

Women's Inequality

11. Treaty bodies have commented critically upon women's inequality in Canada, and the factors that have exacerbated that inequality, including the following.

- Women's rates of poverty and the worsening situation of Canadian women following post-1995 federal budgets and federal and provincial social service cutbacks that have had disproportionate negative effects on women. (CEDAW 2003, paras. 351, 352; CEDAW 1997, paras. 334, 342; CCPR 2006, para. 24, CPR 1999, para. 20; CESCR 1998, paras. 16, 23, 54). CEDAW especially noted the high and disproportionate poverty of Aboriginal women, elderly women living alone, single mothers, older women, women of colour, immigrant women and women with disabilities (2003, para. 357).
- Women's inequality in the paid labour market, including reduced access to employment insurance benefits (CESCR 2006, para. 22), uneven and inadequate implementation of pay equity, and the inadequacy of protection provided by statutory human rights systems (CEDAW 2003, paras. 373, 374, 375, 376, 381, 382; CESCR 1998, para. 16), and exploitation of migrant domestic workers (CESCR 2006, para. 49; CEDAW 2003, paras. 365, 366).
- Lack of adequate, accessible, and affordable child care across Canada (with the exception of Québec) limits women's economic and social participation (CESCR 2006, para. 46; CEDAW 2003, paras. 378, 379; CRC, paras. 38, 39).
- Barriers to women escaping domestic violence resulting from cuts to social assistance, lack of affordable housing, and inadequate funding for women's crisis services and shelters (CESCR 2006, para. 26; CEDAW 2003, paras. 369, 370; CESCR 1998, paras. 28, 42).
- Aboriginal women's inequality, marked by high levels of discrimination in employment (CEDAW 2003, paras. 361, 362), discrimination in matters relating to Indian status, band membership and matrimonial real property on reserve lands, and unequal participation in the governance of their communities (CERD 2007, para. 15; CESCR 2006, paras. 11(d), 17, 45; CCPR 2006, para. 22; CEDAW 2003, paras. 360, 361).

Canada must take immediate steps to implement fully its international human rights obligations to women.

Enforcement of Human Rights

12. In Canada, statutory human rights legislation and the *Charter* are primary vehicles for enforcing human rights treaty obligations. However, treaty bodies have identified numerous obstacles to the effective operation of these domestic human rights instruments.

13. The Canadian government cites the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms [Charter]* as the primary mechanism for the redress of human rights violations in Canada, including violations of rights set out in the international human rights treaties that Canada has ratified. Yet bringing forward claims under the *Charter* is prohibitively expensive and Canada has failed to ensure that there is adequate legal aid or financial support for marginalized groups in Canada so that they can enjoy reasonable access to the use of *Charter* rights. Indeed, the Government of Canada recently cancelled funding to the Court Challenges Programme, which gave modest financial support to marginalized groups so that they could bring forward test cases of national importance based on the equality guarantee in the *Charter*. Without this Programme, constitutional equality rights are accessible in Canada only to the wealthy.

14. Further, as a number of treaty bodies have already noted, both federal and provincial governments have a practice, as constitutional litigants, of urging Canadian courts to interpret the *Charter* narrowly, and, in particular, of arguing in court that the *Charter* does not protect social and economic rights.

Gwen Brodsky, “The Subversion of Human Rights By Governments in Canada,” in Young, Boyd, Brodsky, and Day, eds., *Poverty, Rights, Social Citizenship and Legal Activism* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007).

15. Recommendations by the treaty bodies for improving human rights enforcement in Canada include the following.

- Ensuring prompt determination of human rights claims (CESCR 1998, para. 51), guaranteeing access to a competent tribunal that can provide an effective remedy (CCPR 2006, para. 11; CPR 1999, para. 9), ensuring efficiency and accessibility for people bringing racial discrimination claims (CERD 2002, para. 339), and providing funded legal representation for vulnerable groups bringing claims (CESCR 2006, para. 43; CESCR 1998, para. 51).
- Extending the mandate of the Court Challenges Programme to cover challenges to provincial laws and policies that may violate the *Charter* (CESCR 2006, para. 42; CEDAW 2003, paras. 355, 356; CESCR, 1998, para. 59) and, because of the cancellation of the Program in September 2006, reinstating the Court Challenges Programme (CERD 2007, para. 26).
- Ensuring that governments acting as parties in *Charter* litigation promote interpretations of the *Charter* that are consistent with their obligation to uphold treaty-based human rights (CESCR 2006, paras. 11(b), 41; CESCR 1998, paras. 14, 50).
- Providing legal aid in family law and poverty law matters, which bear on the enjoyment of rights guaranteed by the treaties. These areas of law, as the treaty bodies have noted, are not adequately covered by legal aid schemes that are primarily focused on criminal law (CESCR 2006, para. 43; CEDAW 2003, paras. 355, 356; CESCR 1998, para. 42; CERD 2007, para 26).
- Introducing legislative measures to ensure effective remedies for all Covenant rights in all relevant jurisdictions (CECSR 2006, para 40).

Domestic mechanisms for obtaining remedies for human rights contraventions are neither sufficiently accessible nor adequate. All governments in Canada need to make concrete improvements in human rights enforcement mechanisms in order to give life to human rights guarantees. Adequate legal aid and restoration of the Court Challenges Programme are essential to enjoyment of rights by disadvantaged groups.

Treaty Compliance and Federalism

16. The Canadian government has stated that: “International human rights conventions that Canada has ratified apply throughout Canada in all jurisdictions.” When Canada becomes a signatory to an international human rights treaty, the Canadian state as a whole and all levels of government are bound by the treaty. Yet, the federal government, faced with failures to comply with its international human rights obligations, has claimed that difficulties in federal/provincial/territorial relationships present obstacles to the fulfillment of treaty obligations.

Government of Canada, “Core Document”, prepared in reply to the request of the Secretary-General of
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the United Nations (October 1997), online: Canadian Heritage http://www.pch.gc.ca/progs/pdp-hrp/docs/core_e.cfm (date accessed: 26 August 2008).

17. Canada is a federal state, in which federal, provincial and territorial governments are understood to have exclusive law-making powers in different areas. Historically, the federal government has influenced the development of social programs that are delivered by provincial governments by making federal funding for these programs conditional on provincial observation of standards that reflect treaty rights. As a result, Canadians' enjoyment of their social and economic rights has to a large extent been a product of social programs and policies created and maintained by both federal and provincial governments through laws, funding, intergovernmental agreements, shared responsibility and collaboration. Recently, however, the federal government has backed away from attaching standards as a condition of providing funding to the provinces for social programs, thus abandoning a key tool for maintaining a consistent level of enjoyment of human rights across jurisdictions.

18. The United Nations treaty bodies have resisted any suggestion that complications inherent in federalism justify non-compliance with treaty obligations. Instead, the treaty bodies have consistently taken the position that all levels of government are responsible for treaty compliance, and that the federal government has a special leadership role to play, with primary responsibility for ensuring that treaty obligations are fulfilled (CERD 2007, para. 12; CESCR 2006, para. 35; CEDAW 2003, paras. 348, 349, 350; CRC 2003, para. 9; CERD 2002, para. 326; CESR 1998, paras. 12, 19).

19. The treaty bodies have recommended that senior levels of government initiate intergovernmental agreements that establish pan-Canadian standards for social programs that reflect treaty rights. Treaty bodies have also recommended that the federal government re-attach conditions to transfer payments to provinces and territories, for the purpose of establishing nation-wide standards to ensure that residents of Canada, in all parts of the country, benefit from Canada's international treaty obligations. Specifically, treaty bodies have recommended the following:

- Federal and provincial agreements establish national standards for mental health care, home care, child care, shelters for battered women, and legal aid for noncriminal matters (CESCR 2006, para. 20; CEDAW 2003, paras. 351, 356; CESCR 1998, para. 42).
- The federal government re-establish a national program of cash transfers to provinces and territories conditional upon provincial and territorial establishment of such things as universal entitlement to social assistance and social services, a statutory right to adequate social assistance, a right to freely chosen work, and a right to appeal under social assistance schemes (CESCR 2006, paras. 20, 52; CEDAW 2003, paras. 351, 352; CESCR 1998, paras. 19, 40).

20. The treaty bodies have also raised concerns about the lack of awareness on the part of the provinces and territories regarding Canada's legal obligations under the treaties (CESCR 2006, para 11a). The treaty bodies have recommended that the federal government ensure provincial and territorial governments are aware of their obligations under international treaties, including obligations to create mechanisms for enforcement of treaty rights within the provinces and territories (CESCR 2006, para. 35; CESCR 1998, para. 52).

Canada's Failure to Ratify All United Nations Human Rights Treaties

21. Canada has not kept pace with the development of human rights norms and commitments at the United Nations. In September 2007, the United Nations General Assembly adopted the *United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*. As a result of the election of the federal Conservative Government, Canada reversed its earlier position of support for the *Declaration* and was one of only four states voting against the

Declaration. Subsequently, contrary to human rights norms, Canada has claimed that the successfully adopted *Declaration* does not apply to those who voted against it.

Amnesty International Canada “UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples: Canada must set positive example, May 2008, http://www.amnesty.ca/take_action/actions/ip_un_declaration.php

22. The United Nations *Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families* entered into force in July 2003 but Canada has yet to ratify it.

23. Canada has indicated that it intends to ratify the United Nations *Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities* but has not yet acted to do so. Canada has indicated no intention to ratify the *Optional Protocol* to this *Convention*.

Conclusion

24. Canada has, in the past, established a global reputation for supporting human rights and promoting the development of new international human rights instruments. Many individual Canadians, Canadian non-governmental organizations, and Canadian officials have helped draft treaties and have urged governments of other countries to sign on to new treaties. However, Canada has not acted in a concerted and committed manner to implement its human rights obligations domestically. More recently Canada has made legislative, policy, and budgetary choices that result in the diminishment of human rights in Canada.

25. Canada must address a number of significant human rights shortcomings, including the poverty of disadvantaged groups, the lack of nation-wide standards for social programs, the lack of effective domestic enforcement for human rights violations, and the disproportionate impact of these failures on Aboriginal peoples, women, people of colour, and people with disabilities.

26. Treaty bodies have identified these important human rights problems based on the reports of Canadian governments and in the context of careful and extensive review processes. As a matter of international obligation and good faith, the federal, provincial and territorial governments of Canada must respond to these concerns and give life to the treaty-based human rights of all residents of Canada.

27. In its 2006 Concluding Observations, the Human Rights Committee observed that Canada has not moved forward to implement central recommendations. Nor, the Committee continued, has Canada created the appropriate mechanisms to monitor and enforce compliance with treaty rights, or to follow up on treaty body recommendations. The lack of credible enforcement and accountability mechanisms presents a serious challenge to the realization of human rights and the promotion of a rights-respecting culture in Canada.

28. We ask the Council to urge Canada to take clear and immediate action to establish human rights observance and accountability.

Appendix – List of Treaty Body Reports

1. Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR)

Concluding Observations of the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights: Canada, CESCR, 2006, UN Doc. E/C.12/CAN/CO/4, E/C.12/CAN/CO/5, online: Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights
[http://www.unhchr.ch/tbs/doc.nsf/898586b1dc7b4043c1256a450044f331/87793634eae60c00c12571ca00371262/\\$FILE/G0642783.pdf](http://www.unhchr.ch/tbs/doc.nsf/898586b1dc7b4043c1256a450044f331/87793634eae60c00c12571ca00371262/$FILE/G0642783.pdf)

Concluding Observations of the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights: Canada, CESCR, 1998, UN Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.31, online: Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights

[http://www.unhchr.ch/tbs/doc.nsf/\(Symbol\)/c25e96da11e56431802566d5004ec8ef?Opendocument](http://www.unhchr.ch/tbs/doc.nsf/(Symbol)/c25e96da11e56431802566d5004ec8ef?Opendocument)

2. Human Rights Committee (CCPR)

Concluding Observations of the Human Rights Committee: Canada, CCPR, 2006 UN Doc. CCPR/C/CAN/CO/5, online: Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights

[http://www.unhchr.ch/tbs/doc.nsf/898586b1dc7b4043c1256a450044f331/7616e3478238be01c12570ae00397f5d/\\$FILE/G0641362.pdf](http://www.unhchr.ch/tbs/doc.nsf/898586b1dc7b4043c1256a450044f331/7616e3478238be01c12570ae00397f5d/$FILE/G0641362.pdf)

Concluding Observations of the Human Rights Committee: Canada, CCPR, 1999, UN Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.105, online: Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights

[http://www.unhchr.ch/tbs/doc.nsf/\(Symbol\)/e656258ac70f9bbb802567630046f2f2?Opendocument](http://www.unhchr.ch/tbs/doc.nsf/(Symbol)/e656258ac70f9bbb802567630046f2f2?Opendocument)

3. Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)

Concluding Observations/Comments of the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women: Canada, 2003, UN Doc. A/58/38 paras. 336-389, online: Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights

[http://www.unhchr.ch/tbs/doc.nsf/\(Symbol\)/43474744606c3353c125728e00700376?Opendocument](http://www.unhchr.ch/tbs/doc.nsf/(Symbol)/43474744606c3353c125728e00700376?Opendocument)

Concluding Observations of the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women: Canada, UN CEDAW, 1997, UN Doc. A/52/38/Rev.1, paras. 306-343, online: Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights

[http://www.unhchr.ch/tbs/doc.nsf/\(Symbol\)/b5dce41c28f858478025649d002d37f7?Opendocument](http://www.unhchr.ch/tbs/doc.nsf/(Symbol)/b5dce41c28f858478025649d002d37f7?Opendocument)

4. Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD)

Concluding Observations of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination: Canada, CERD, 2007, UN Doc. CERD/C/CAN/CO/18 XX March 2007, online: Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights

<http://www.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cerd/docs/CERD.C.CAN.CO.18.pdf>

Concluding Observations of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination: Canada, CERD, 2002, UN Doc. A/57/18, paras. 315-343, online: Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights

[http://www.unhchr.ch/tbs/doc.nsf/\(Symbol\)/a6ced60ebefe314dc1256c6f00594c92?Opendocument](http://www.unhchr.ch/tbs/doc.nsf/(Symbol)/a6ced60ebefe314dc1256c6f00594c92?Opendocument)

Concluding Observations of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination: Canada, CERD, 1994, UN Doc. A/49/18, paras. 298-331, online: Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights

[http://www.unhchr.ch/tbs/doc.nsf/\(Symbol\)/0169109da024c4b0c1256b580050ad29?Opendocument](http://www.unhchr.ch/tbs/doc.nsf/(Symbol)/0169109da024c4b0c1256b580050ad29?Opendocument)

5. Committee on the Rights of the Child (CRC)

Concluding Observations of the Committee on the Rights of the Child: Canada, CRC, 2003, UN Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.215, online: Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights

[http://www.unhchr.ch/tbs/doc.nsf/898586b1dc7b4043c1256a450044f331/995a15056ca61d16c1256df000310995/\\$FILE/G0344648.pdf](http://www.unhchr.ch/tbs/doc.nsf/898586b1dc7b4043c1256a450044f331/995a15056ca61d16c1256df000310995/$FILE/G0344648.pdf)

Concluding Observations of the Committee on the Rights of the Child: Canada, CRC, 1995, UN Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.37, online: Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights

[http://www.unhchr.ch/tbs/doc.nsf/\(Symbol\)/a6daf2f3b9d386da4125623700565bcb?Opendocument](http://www.unhchr.ch/tbs/doc.nsf/(Symbol)/a6daf2f3b9d386da4125623700565bcb?Opendocument)