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Suzi

"Race" and Ethnicity

8

The Gist

Reading this chapter will help you to . . .

- Discuss the extent to which "race," ethnicity, and gender are social constructs.
- Distinguish between different forms of racism.
- Explain four "mind traps" associated with studying blacks in Canada.
- Demonstrate how, historically, Canadian laws can be said to be racist.
- Contrast the social inequality in Quebec before and after the Quiet Revolution.
- Explain how the ethnic conflict in Rwanda was socially constructed by colonialism.
- Distinguish between the different legal entities that make up Indigenous people in Canada.
- Discuss the racialization of positions in professional sports.

Terms of the Trade

- anti-colonialism
- colonialism
- cultural mosaic
- discrimination
- dual colonialism
- epiphenomenal
- essentialism
- ethnic class
- ethnic entrepreneurs
- friendly racism
- indirect rule
- institutional racism
- instrumentalism
- interlocking matrix of domination
- internal colonialism
- intersectionality theory
- Inuit
- master narrative
- melting pot
- Métis
- minoritized
- polite racism
- postcolonialism
- prejudice
- primordialism
- racial bigotry
- racialization
- refugees
- registered Indian
- scrip
- smiling racism
- social constructivism
- systemic racism
- vertical mosaic
- visible minorities

Names to Know

- Patricia Hill Collins
- Kimberlé Crenshaw
- W.E.B. Du Bois
- Franz Fanon
- Daniel G. Hill
- Everett C. Hughes
- Albert Memmi
- John Porter

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For Starters

csakisti/iStockphoto

Refugees

In 2015, a regional humanitarian crisis sparked by the civil war in Syria became an international emergency as citizens displaced by the fighting left their homes to seek refuge abroad in numbers not seen since the Second World War. With European countries struggling to process and integrate the staggering number of asylum-seekers, countries further from the crisis were asked to receive **refugees**.

Here in Canada the question of how best to help Syrian refugees became a hot item in the lead-up to the October federal election. How many *should* we take in given our recent military activity in the area, which may have contributed to the crisis? Did the refugees deserve full Canadian rights to health care and welfare? There was resistance among some conservative-minded Canadians to the idea of welcoming non-Christian refugees lest they be terrorists; it became a moral panic when some government officials tried to politicize the issue. Others turned the matter into an either/or question: support *either* homeless veterans *or* refugees; provide humanitarian relief *either* to neglected Indigenous communities at home *or* to asylum-seekers from halfway around the world. I saw that one a lot on Facebook.

Many Canadians supported the idea of bringing Syrians to Canada. The number of private sponsors willing to house, feed, educate, and generally support the newcomers outstripped the government's ability to process applicants. Many did so while proudly claiming that we are a nation of refugees. To give true sociological meaning to that statement, we need to hear people's stories.

The Steckleys were Mennonites who had once lived in Switzerland. They were not well received there as they would not serve in the army. In the eighteenth century they fled to Pennsylvania. Later, they came north to southern Ontario, beginning in the 1780s, I believe because they had heard stories of cheap land. Others would follow a century later to settle on the Prairies. There is still a vibrant Mennonite community in these parts, just as there are Amish communities in the US.

During the War of 1812 in North America, between British, Canadians, and First Nations allies on one side, and the Americans on the other, the British government encouraged African-American slaves to leave the US and come to Canada, where they would be "free" citizens. Roughly 2,000 came to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, but they were not welcomed with open arms by white people in the area (Whitfield, 2004). They were free but oppressed. The

story of Viola Desmond presented later in this chapter should give you a feel for that.

I remember as a child hearing of the Hungarian refugees, or DPs, as these "displaced persons" were called then. Hungary had revolted against the Soviet Union in 1956, and the country was soon overrun by Russian soldiers. Some 200,000 people left as refugees, and Canada received 37,500 of them (Canada, 2015). Frank Palmay was seven years old when he and his four-year-old brother came to Canada as refugees in 1956. After spending a week in a refugee camp in Austria, the Palmays learned that only two countries were accepting Hungarian refugees without quotas: Canada and Venezuela. Palmay writes:

> I am forever grateful my parents chose Canada.
>
> Canada processed our application in less than a week. Medicals were waived. Canada paid for a flight to London. . . . We were taken to Liverpool, where we boarded the *Empress of Britain*, arriving in St John on Dec. 13. . . . [T]he Canadian government had chartered the whole ship for transporting the refugees. (Palmay, 2015)

Once they were in Canada, the family was provided with accommodation, which had been paid for before they arrived, and money to get started. Palmay's father was able to gain employment and eventually return to engineering, his profession.

In 1975, another Cold War conflict, the Vietnam War, ended in triumph for the communist North, which led to a massive refugee exodus from South Vietnam. I remember seeing news stories and pictures of the "boat people," Vietnamese refugees who had escaped in small boats, often not to survive. In 1978, the Canadian government passed the Immigration Act, which first defined refugees as a distinct class of immigrant, with different admission criteria. The government promised to sponsor one refugee for every refugee sponsored privately. The peak time for Vietnamese refugees to come to Canada was 1979–80, when Canadians received some 60,000 refugees from Vietnam and the neighbouring countries of Cambodia and Laos (Canada, 2015).

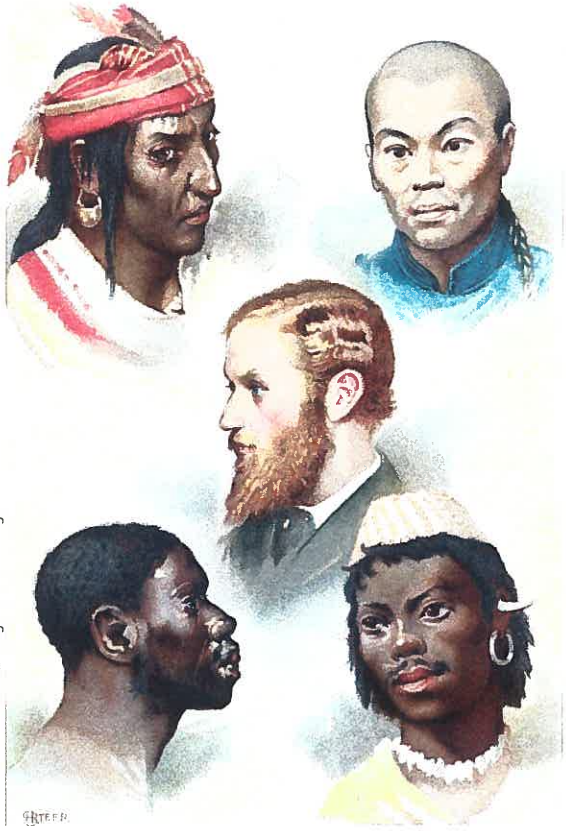
What do YOU think?

1. How were these four groups—Mennonites, African Americans, Hungarians, and Vietnamese—treated differently as refugees in Canada? How do you explain the differences?
2. What do you think is Canada's responsibility to the Syrian refugees?

Introduction to "Race": Why the Scare Quotes?

The term "race" was first applied to humans during European colonial expansion in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Use of the term has long reflected beliefs about biological superiority and inferiority in the context of colonial power. It does not always follow the formulas *lighter skin = good* and *darker skin = bad*. Russian racism was directed at white Siberian communities speaking languages related to Finnish and Hungarian. Japanese governments and citizens have long exhibited racism toward the indigenous Ainu. The Chinese government has long established racist practices against Tibetans and the Muslim Uighurs. However, white supremacy—involving discrimination against anyone not of western European ethnic background—has been the prevailing pattern since people began discussing humans in terms of different "races."

Why do we often put quotation marks around "race"? Races do not exist as clear biological entities among humans. When early scientists tried to divide humans into three "races"—Caucasian, Mongoloid, and Negroid—there were always peoples, such as the Ainu of Japan or the Aborigines of Australia, left over. Differences *within* supposed races often outnumbered those *between* races. "Negroid" people included both the tallest and shortest people in the world, and people of greatly varying skin colour and build. Human biologists and physical anthropologists have for over 60 years established there is but one human species, one race, albeit one that displays variation among its members—rather like *Ursus americanus*, the black bear, which can be black, cinnamon brown, and even white (the "spirit bears" of British Columbia).



Ann Ronan Picture Library/HIP/The Image Works

A late nineteenth-century artist's representation of the five "human races": (clockwise from top left) American, Malayan, Mongolian, Ethiopian, and Caucasian. What role do you think politics and religion might have played in scientific efforts to prove the existence of different races during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries?

Racialization is a social process in which human groups are viewed and judged as essentially different in terms of their intellect, morality, values, and their innate worth because of perceived differences in physical appearance or cultural heritage. In this chapter we will examine some of the contexts in which this process plays out, and the effects it creates.

Racialization in Canada

Indigenous People in Canada

Evidence of racialization in Canada exists in the way Indigenous people are treated. The racialization of the Aboriginal population of the Americas began in the sixteenth century in Europe, with a discussion of whether or not these people were human and had souls. To western Europeans, they were an "Other" that needed to be explained. Racialization formed part of that explanation. A few facts from the sociological profile of Indigenous people in Canada will illustrate.

First, Indigenous people have been living in what is now Canada for at least 14,000 years. The first Europeans (the Norse or Viking explorers) visited Canada's eastern shores roughly 1,000 years ago (leaving shortly thereafter). We can say that roughly 93 per cent of Canadian history is Indigenous alone.

Yet as Métis writer Emma LaRocque aptly describes, sociologically, Indigenous people have been studied primarily as social problems:

> Several years ago in a sociology class on social problems, I recall wondering if anyone else was poor, because the professor repeatedly referred to Native people as statistical examples of poverty. . . . Not for one moment would I make light of the ugly effects of poverty. But if classroom groups must talk about Indians and poverty, then they must also point out the ways in which Native people are operating on this cancer. To be sure, the operations are always struggles and sometimes failures, but each new operation is faced with more experience, more skill, more confidence and more success. (LaRocque, 1993: p. 212)

Another factor contributing to the racialization of Indigenous people is the fact that their voices have barely been heard in the sociological study of their people (Steckley, 2003). As Indigenous people have only recently been able to take advantage of graduate-level work in Canadian universities, and as sociology has been tainted as an outsider-privileged research area, it will be a while yet before more Indigenous voices speak loudly in Canadian sociology.

Indigenous, or Aboriginal, people are defined by a complex system of legal statuses that separates them from non-Indigenous people, and from each other. The main designations, as defined in Canadian legislation, are

- registered Indian;
- Bill C-31 Indian;
- band member;

- reserve resident;
- treaty Indian (a category with its own subdivisions, as each treaty is different);
- Métis; and
- Eskimo.

The legal differences come from the Indian Act, which is administered by the federal Department of Indian Affairs (now called Indigenous and Northern Affairs). Passed in 1876, the Indian Act enshrined a sexist definition of "Indian" as any man of "Indian blood" reputed to belong to a particular band, any child of such a man, or any woman married to such a man. A man kept his status no matter whom he married, but a woman, if she married someone not legally an Indian, lost her status, and her children would share that fate. A non-Indian woman could gain Indian status by marrying an Indian man. This discriminatory law was in force until 1985, when Bill C-31 was passed, enabling people who had lost their Indian status through marriage or through the marriage of their mother to apply to be reinstated.

Inuit (from a word in their language meaning "people"; the singular is "Inuk") differ from "Indians," having been in Canada for a shorter time—somewhere between 5,000 and 10,000 years. It was not until 1939, when the federal government wanted to assert territorial claims in the Arctic, that Canada officially took responsibility for the Inuit. Each Inuk was given a metal disc with a number that was to be used as a token of his or her status. Today, about 60 per cent of Inuit have disc numbers. The lives of the Northern Indigenous population changed on 1 April 1999, when the territory of Nunavut ("Our Land") came into being. More than 80 per cent of Nunavut's 37,000 residents are Inuit. They own 18 per cent of the land, have subsurface rights to oil, gas, and other minerals for about 2 per cent of Nunavut, and will receive royalties from the extraction of those minerals from the rest of the territory. They do not require a licence to hunt or fish to meet their basic needs.

The term **Métis** is used in two ways. It is commonly used, often with a lowercase *m*, to refer to anyone of mixed Indigenous and non-Indigenous heritage. With an uppercase *M* it usually refers to the descendants of French fur traders and Cree women. Starting in the late eighteenth century, the Métis developed a culture that brought together European and First Nations elements. Over time, they achieved a sense of solidarity from their shared legal struggles with the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) over the HBC's trade monopoly. The HBC owned most of the Prairies and about half of present-day Canada,

Quick Hits

Which Terms to Use and Avoid When Discussing Indigenous People

When sociologists talk about Indigenous people living in Canada, they are referring to the earliest inhabitants of this land and their descendants. The Canadian government recognizes three distinct groups of Indigenous people: First Nations, Métis, and Inuit.

While it is appropriate to speak of Indigenous people *in* Canada, you should try to avoid the expressions "Indigenous Canadians," since not all Indigenous people embrace Canadian citizenship, and "Canada's Indigenous people," which reinforces centuries of paternalistic treatment by Canadian governments. "People" is used when referring to a group of individuals or the entire Indigenous community; "peoples" is used only when referring to distinct groups (as in, *the Gitksan, Nisga'a, and other Indigenous peoples*). "Aboriginal," when used as an adjective, is an acceptable synonym for "Indigenous," but it is becoming less common since Canada officially adopted the UN's Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in May 2016. Do not use "Aboriginal" as a noun (as in "Aboriginals living in Canada").

Although it is embedded in the Indian Act, the word "Indian" has gradually given way to "First Nations," just as "Eskimo" has been replaced by "Inuit." Wherever possible, use the self-defined name of the community you're discussing instead of more general terms (e.g. *a Mi'kmaq woman*, instead of *a First Nations woman* or *an Indigenous woman*). Keep in mind that most of the names that identify specific Indigenous peoples in history books are not the people's names for themselves (e.g. "Huron" rather than "Wendat").

thanks to a 1670 charter granted by the English King Charles II, who knew little about the land. In 1867, the HBC negotiated the sale of most of its lands to the federal government, which, with no regard for Métis land rights, set up a colony in Manitoba. In 1869, led by 25-year-old, college-educated Louis Riel, the Métis achieved a military takeover, setting up an independent government to negotiate with Ottawa. The Manitoba Act of 1870 established the province and recognized the rights of the Métis. The Métis were given scrips, certificates declaring that the bearer could receive payment in land, cash, or goods. But government officials and land speculators swindled the Métis out of their land, buying up the scrips for next to nothing. Most Métis moved west. In 1885, with western expansion again threatening their rights to the land, the Métis, led again by Louis Riel, made a stand in Saskatchewan. Canadian forces attacked and defeated them. Riel was hanged for treason.

The Métis settled in a patchwork of rural prairie communities and nearly disappeared altogether. But during the 1930s, Alberta Métis pushed for the creation of communal settlements similar to First Nations reserves. In 1938, eleven Métis "colonies" were formed (eight remain). These colonies carry some political rights, making them like rural municipalities. However, they do not have rights to the royalties for oil and gas extracted from their land. Beyond the colonies, the Métis are represented by the Métis National Council and provincial organizations in Ontario and the Western provinces.

In the 2011 census 451,795 people identified themselves as Métis, part of a growing increase over the last 10 years (see Figure 8.1 and Figure 8.2). Alberta has the highest Métis population of any province (96,865), and Winnipeg the highest city figure (46,325) (Statistics Canada, 2013d: pp. 12–13). The most likely reason for this increase is a heightened tendency to self-identify as Métis.

Beware of statements that involve the idea that the government is "giving too much" to Indigenous people. In fact, the government is returning to the people what is owed. Here is an example. The Nawash, or Cape Croker, Anishinabe community in 1898 had $385,124.94 in the bank, money paid for land they had sold to the federal government. Yet they were never granted possession of that money, and had access only to some of the interest earned on the total. Even that was safeguarded by the local Indian agent, who had almost absolute power over the community and its money.

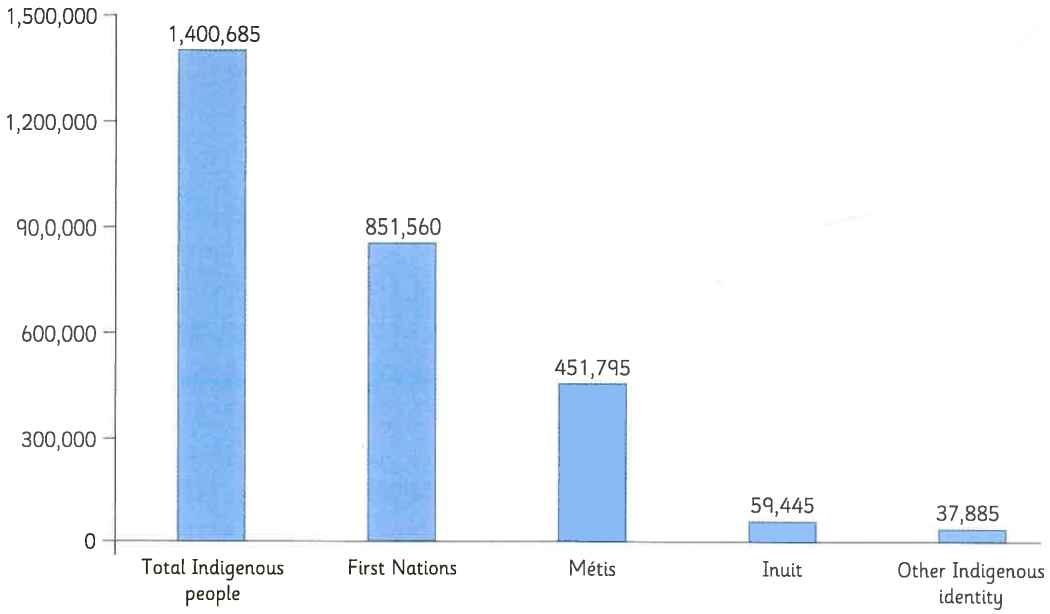


Figure 8.1 Indigenous Population in Canada by Identity Group, 2011

Source: Statistics Canada, 2015a: p. 6, Chart 2.

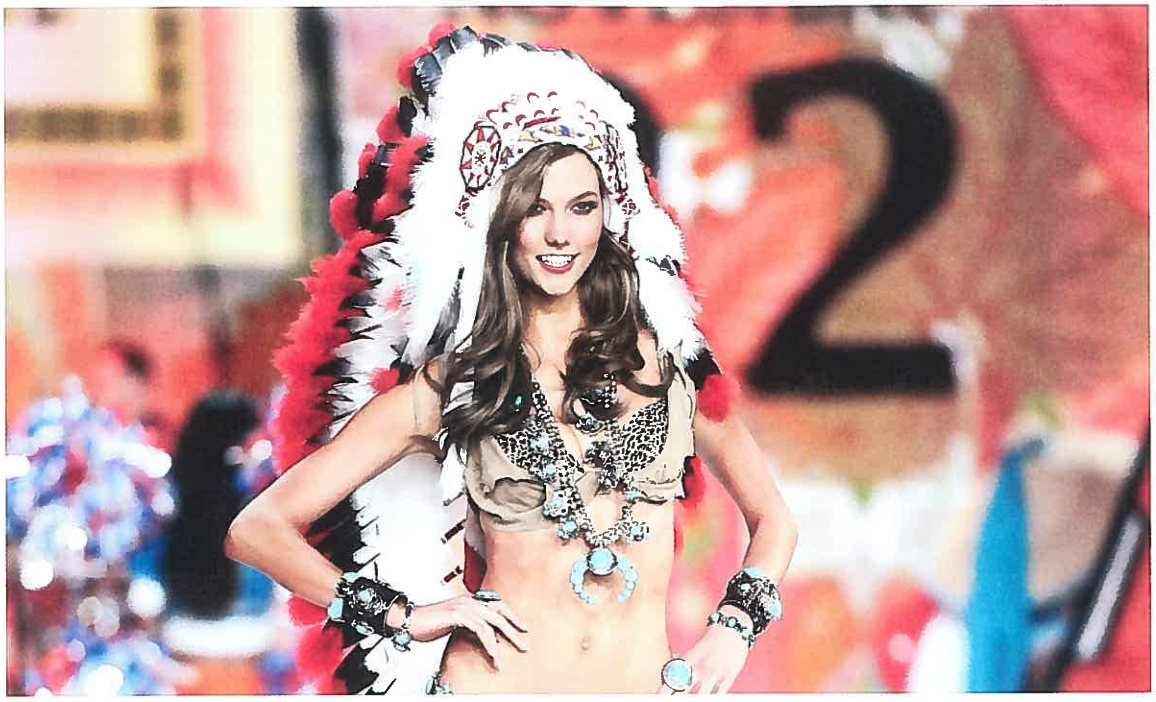


Photo by Evan Agostini/Invision/AP

No wonder the Métis population is on the rise: from the runway to the summer music festival, going native has become cool. For those seeking what Tuck and Yang (2012) describe as a "move to innocence," Métis ancestry is ripe for appropriation because it is perceived to be harder to disprove than First Nations official status. What's wrong with donning a ceremonial headdress in kinship with Canada's earliest inhabitants? No, seriously, what is wrong with it?

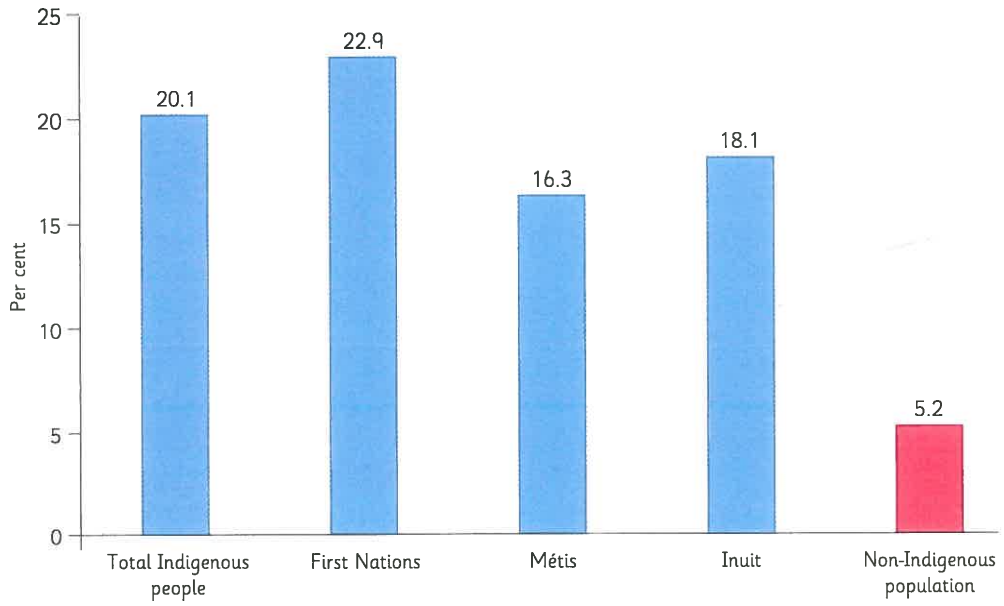


Figure 8.2 Increase in Indigenous Population in Canada by Identity Group, 2006–11

Source: Statistics Canada, 2015a: p. 7, Chart 3.

Blacks in Canada

Black communities have existed in Nova Scotia since the British Proclamation of 1779 offered freedom to slaves who left their American masters to fight on the British side in the American Revolution. As you read in the chapter's introductory narrative, more came north in the first half of the nineteenth century. They were offered significantly less land and fewer opportunities than white immigrants were,

Our Stories

Viola Desmond: Canada's Rosa Parks

As with Indigenous people in Canada, it does not help to view black people only in terms of problems such as overrepresentation in the prison system and in homicide statistics. Canada's school systems recognize Black History Month in February, but too often it is the stories of African Americans that are taught, even though Canada has its own black civil rights heroes. Viola Desmond is one.

Viola Desmond (1914–1965) grew up in a well-respected, middle-class black family in Halifax, Nova Scotia. Inspired by her father, a successful independent businessman, she aspired to open a beauty parlour in her home town. Unable to train as a beautician in Halifax—very few schools accepted black students—she went to Montreal and then to the US to pursue her education. When she returned to Halifax she established a hair salon, a beauty school, and her own line of beauty products.

On a fall evening in 1946, as she was travelling on business to Sydney, her car broke down in the town of New Glasgow. Since she would have to wait several hours for repairs, she thought she would take in a movie at New Glasgow's Roseland Theatre. She bought a ticket and proceeded to a seat on the main floor. After taking her seat, she was advised that her ticket entitled her to sit in the balcony, not on the main floor, where seating was more expensive. She offered to pay the difference but was informed that she would not be permitted to sit on the main floor; she soon became aware that blacks were expected to sit in the balcony, and that the main floor was reserved for whites. When she refused to surrender her seat, she was forcibly taken out of the theatre and held in jail overnight to await her trial the next day.

Desmond was charged with fraud for attempting to take a seat on the main floor without paying the 1¢ tax charged for the more expensive seating. Even though she had offered to make up the difference and had been refused, she lost the case and was fined $26. The case was later appealed to the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia, where Desmond's conviction was upheld. She eventually left Nova Scotia for Montreal and, later, New York, where she died at the age of 50. Segregation in Nova Scotia was legally ended in 1954, and Desmond was issued an official apology and pardon by the government of her home province in 2010.

Why do you think Viola Desmond's story of refusing to give up her seat in the Roseland Theatre is not as well known as that of Rosa Parks's refusal to move to the back of the bus?

Source: Robson & Caplan, 2010; Bingham, 2013; Nova Scotia Communities, Culture, and Heritage, 2015.

and they endured incredible hardship and prejudice. Despite having been in Canada for more than 200 years, Nova Scotian blacks are treated as an anomaly when they travel west in Canada; "But where are you really from?" is a question they are often asked.

The black population of Canada has declined several times. In 1792, nearly 1,200 black Loyalists left for the new African colony of Sierra Leone. Many more returned to the United States following the Civil War. Between 1871 and 1911 there was a slow decline in the black population in Canada, from 21,500 to 16,900, and after a brief resurgence a further drop, from 22,200 to 18,000, between 1941 and 1951. The black population in Canada began to increase consistently in the 1970s, when the population rose from 34,400 in 1971 to 239,500 by the end of the decade (Milan & Tran, 2004: p. 3).

According to the 2011 National Household Survey, 945,665 people who identified as black were living in Canada in 2011, an increase of 161,870 from 2006 (Statistics Canada, 2013a: p. 15). Over 40 per cent of black Canadians were living in Toronto, where visible minorities make up 47 per cent of the city's population (Statistics Canada, 2013a: p. 16). Montreal, where blacks make up the largest visible-minority group, had the second-largest black community in Canada, thanks to recent immigration from former French colonies such as Haiti, Rwanda, Chad, and Cameroon. These numbers may underrepresent the actual number of African-heritage people in Canada: according to a 1997 study out of McGill University (Torczyner, Boxhill, Mulder, & James, 1997), many immigrants from countries where the colour bar does not play the role that it does in North America will list an ethnicity based on the language they speak (French or English) or the country of their birth rather than the colour of their skin (Clarke, 1997).

Despite their long history in this country, particularly in Atlantic Canada and southern Ontario, black people are often viewed and treated as relative newcomers. Canadians can be smug about our role in helping slaves escape the American South during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, even though slavery was also practised in pre-Confederation

Sergeibach/Dreamstime.com

According to the 2011 National Household Survey, 1 in 5 Canadians is a member of a visible minority. What makes someone a "visible minority"? Who in this photo would count? The term is used in federal legislation, but what does it say about us that we distinguish between visible minorities and other ethnic minorities?

Canada, and many freed American slaves were treated with hostility and contempt upon their arrival here. Black people today continue to be racialized by mainstream Canadian society, which views them as "Other." Black people are greatly overrepresented in our prisons: from 2005 to 2015, the black inmate population grew by 69 per cent (versus 10 per cent for the inmate population overall), and the rate of incarceration for black people is three times their rate of representation in society, according to Canada's correctional investigator, Howard Sapers (2015). There is evidence—difficult to obtain because Canada does not keep race-specific crime data—that while blacks may be overrepresented in some forms of violent crime, they are also victims of bias in policing and the administration of criminal justice (Owusu-Bempah & Wortley, 2014). Sociologists have studied the underlying causes of crime in predominantly black neighbourhoods—poverty, lack of employment opportunities, absence of strong male role models, the attraction of gangs as fostering a sense of belonging—but too little has been done to address these factors. The situation has sparked a resurgence of black rights activism led by organizations such as Black Lives Matter, which aims to "dismantle all forms of anti-black racism, liberate blackness, . . . [and] affirm black existence" (http://blacklivesmatter.ca/about/).

Mind Traps in the Study of Blacks in Canada

There are several "mind traps"—misconceptions or unsubstantiated generalizations—that you must

Telling It Like It Is

The Skin I'm In: Being Interrogated by Police—All Because I'm Black

When I was 22, I decided to move to Toronto. . . . In Toronto, I thought I could escape bigotry and profiling, and just blend into the crowd. By then, I had been stopped, questioned, and followed by the police so many times I began to expect it. In Toronto, I saw diversity in the streets, in shops, on public transit. The idea that I might be singled out because of my race seemed ludicrous. My illusions were shattered immediately. . . .

I was carded for the first time in 2007. I was walking my bike on the sidewalk on Bathurst Street just south of Queen. I was only steps from my apartment when a police officer exited his car and approached me. "It's illegal to ride your bike on the sidewalk," he informed me. "I know, officer, that's why I'm walking it," I replied edgily. Then the cop asked me for ID. After sitting in front of the computer inside his car for a few minutes, the officer returned nonchalantly and said, "Okay, you're all set." I wanted to tell him off, but thought better of it and went home. I still don't know what he saw when he ran my name.

Over the next seven years, I was carded at least a dozen times. One summer evening in 2008, two friends and I were stopped while walking at night in a laneway just north of my apartment, only a few hundred metres from where I was carded the first time. Two officers approached in their cruiser, briefly turning on their siren to get our attention. Once they got out of the car, they asked us what we were doing. "We're just walking, bro," I said. The cops immediately asked all of us to produce identification. While one officer took our drivers' licences back to his car, the other got on his radio. I heard him say the word "supervisor," and my stomach turned. Within 60 seconds, a second cruiser, marked S2, arrived in the laneway, and the senior officer at the wheel got out to join his colleagues.

The officer who had radioed for backup returned and asked us to empty our pockets. As the supervisor watched, the radio officer approached us one at a time, took our change and wallets and inspected them. He was extremely calm, as if he was thoroughly accustomed to this routine. "I'm going to search each of you now to make sure you didn't miss anything," he explained. I knew it was my legal right to refuse, but I couldn't muster the courage to object. The search officer

avoid when studying the history and culture of black people in Canada. Here are four:

- Canada's black population consists mostly of recently arrived immigrants.
- Canada's black community has a relatively short history.
- The majority of black people living in and coming to Toronto are from Jamaica.
- A black student who receives a post-secondary education has just as good a chance of succeeding in Canada as a non-black student.

Roughly 45 per cent of Canada's black population was born in this country (Statistics Canada, 2013a: p. 17). The tendency of Torontonians (whose city is home to nearly half of Canada's black population) to think of all black immigrants as "Jamaicans" is also flawed. Of the roughly 195,200 black immigrants who came to Canada between 2001 and 2011, only 10 per cent came from Jamaica; 15 per cent came from French-speaking Haiti (settling mostly in Montreal), while 20 per cent came from Nigeria (10 per cent), Ethiopia (6 per cent), and Somalia (4 per cent). An immigrant from Nigeria brings with her a cultural heritage very different to someone arriving from, say, Trinidad.

Education does not produce the same benefits among black people that it does among others. In 2011, Canadian-born black people between the ages of 25 and 64 were slightly more likely than other Canadian-born citizens to be university graduates (24 per cent, compared with the national average of

A Black Canadian's POV

approached me first. "Before I search you, I want you to tell me if I'm going to find anything you shouldn't have," he said gravely. "I don't have anything," I replied, my legs trembling so violently I thought they'd give out from under me. The officer patted down my pockets, my pant legs, my jacket, my underarms. He then repeated the search with my two friends, asking each of them before touching them if he would find anything. One of my friends spoke up: "I have a weed pipe in my back pocket, but there's nothing in it." The officer took the pipe and walked with the supervisor to the car with the officer who had taken our ID. As the policemen huddled for what felt like an hour, my friend apologized. "It's not your fault," I replied. I cursed myself for choosing that route rather than staying on Queen Street, where hundreds of people would have been walking. Here, we had no witnesses.

When the officers finally came back, they returned the pipe to my friend. "Are any of you currently wanted on an outstanding warrant?" asked the search officer. We all said no. "Okay, guys, have a good night," he said. I was still too scared to move, and apparently my friends were too; we just stood there and looked at the cops for a second. "You can go," the officer assured us. I made sure not to look back for fear they'd interpret some outstanding guilt on my part. I was certain that the police had just documented my name along with the names of my friends, one of whom was carrying a pipe for smoking an illegal substance. This information would be permanently on my record.

After years of being stopped by police, I've started to internalize their scrutiny. I've doubted myself, wondered if I've actually done something to provoke them. Once you're accused enough times, you begin to assume your own guilt, to stand in for your oppressor. It's exhausting to have to justify your freedoms in a supposedly free society. I don't talk about race for attention or personal gain. I would much rather write about sports or theatre or music than carding and incarceration. But I talk about race to survive. If I diminish the role my skin colour plays in my life, and in the lives of all racialized people, I can't change anything.

—Desmond Cole

What do YOU think?

What effect has carding had on the writer of this narrative? What effect do think these interactions have on police?

22 per cent) and to have a college diploma (26 per cent, compared with 23 per cent). However, the average income of Canadian-born black people was substantially lower than the average for all Canadian-born citizens ($31,899 versus $40,650). Some analysts have tried to "explain away" this discrepancy by arguing that the majority of working black citizens are relatively young, earning the lower incomes typical of younger workers. Yet when the income of Canadian-born blacks is age-standardized to overcome the statistical bias, the result is an annual income of $34,400—still significantly lower than the national average.

What do YOU think?

1. How do you account for the prevalence of the four "mind traps" noted above?
2. Why do you think black university graduates earn considerably less than other graduates do?

Racism

Four Elements of Racism

Racism can be understood as the product of four linked elements. The first is *racialization*, the construction of certain groups of people as different and biologically superior or inferior. This fosters ideas of relative worth and quality, which leads to **prejudice**, the "pre-judgement" of others on the basis of their group membership. The third element is **discrimination**, which involves individuals treated differently—rewarded or punished—based on their group membership. Finally, there is *power*, manifested when institutionalized advantages are regularly handed to one or more groups over others. Tatum touches on the importance of power in this equation:

> People of color are not racist because they do not systematically benefit from racism. And equally important, there is no systematic cultural and institutional support or sanction for the racial bigotry of people of color. In my view, reserving the term *racist* only for behaviors committed by Whites in the context of a White-dominated society is a way of acknowledging the ever-present power differential afforded Whites by the culture and institutions that make up the system of advantage and continue to reinforce notions of White superiority. (Tatum, 2003: p. 10)

Without power, non-white people in Canada can be prejudiced, but not racist. They can perform discriminatory acts, but they cannot be racist without institutional, structural, ideological, and historical support. Certainly this is true of systemic racism, which by definition involves power.

There are different kinds of racism. **Racial bigotry** is the open, conscious expression of racist views by an individual. When racist practices, rules, and laws become institutionalized, then we have **systemic** (or **institutional**) **racism**. The Chinese Exclusion Act (1923–47), which prohibited the immigration of Chinese people from China and other countries, is an example of systemic racism. Canada's residential school system, aimed at suppressing Indigenous culture, is another example.

Sometimes, racism can be subtle, hidden in a way behind a smile or words that seem friendly to the perpetrator. This is called **friendly** (or **polite** or **smiling**) **racism**. Henry Martey Codjoe provides an example:

> The realtor who showed our house to prospective buyers quietly hinted that if I wanted my house to sell quickly, I would have to remove all traces of anything that indicated that Blacks had lived in the house: no family pictures, no African art or crafts, everything Black or African must go, and we must be out of the house before he showed the house to prospective buyers. He would call and let us know. No matter what we were doing, we must leave. One time we were late in getting out and we ended up hiding in our minivan in the garage. When he showed the garage, we ducked. It was a shameful and degrading experience. The house sold, but my wife and I never did meet the family that bought it. (Codjoe, 2001: p. 286)

A common form of friendly racism is the *microaggression*, a casual remark or gesture that reflects

Quick Hits

Racism

Racism is the product of four linked elements:

- racialization
- prejudice
- discrimination
- power.

Different kinds of racism include

- racial bigotry,
- systemic (institutional) racism, and
- friendly (polite/smiling) racism.

racial prejudice and causes offence. Most microaggressions aren't intended as insults; they may even be misguided compliments or attempts at conversation. Even so, they are offensive. Though the comments may be spoken without any intent to cause insult or self-consciousness, they are hurtful because they reflect the speaker's awareness of racial difference and preconceptions based solely on the visible racial characteristics of the person addressed. A good example of a microaggression is contained in the title of a book by Ojibwa writer Drew Hayden Taylor, who called his 1996 collection of essays, *Funny, You Don't Look Like One: Tales of a Blue-Eyed Ojibway*. Here are some remarks that are considered microaggression:

- Where are you really from?
- What are you?
- I never think of you as black.
- You're really pretty for a . . .
- But you sound white.

What do YOU think?

1. Should we be concerned about microaggression when so much overt, intentional racism still exists?
2. Are people today too sensitive about "race"?

Master Narratives and Buried Knowledge

In the master narratives that countries construct about themselves, which get repeated in textbooks and in the stories people tell about their country, racism is often downplayed or altogether omitted. Stories about the mistreatment of minorities, stories that make the dominant culture or their ancestors look bad, are often excluded. For example, the master narrative of early Canadian history describes how First Nations people co-operated with Europeans to make the fur trade successful, by obtaining the furs, teaching Europeans how to use canoes and snowshoes, and providing the Europeans with new foods (such as pemmican and corn). This "official" version of the story often appears in elementary and middle-school textbooks. It overlooks the exploitation and social destruction that occurred when Europeans introduced alcohol into the fur trade. To use Michel Foucault's terminology, that story becomes "buried knowledge."

Canada's master narrative depicts a country that is more multicultural than the United States. While there is evidence to support this, the master narrative does not include some buried knowledge about the history of certain racial groups in Canada. The following three stories are part of that buried knowledge.

1. *Defending the Women: An Act to Prevent the Employment of Female Labour*

The head tax of $500 imposed on Chinese immigrants beginning in 1903 (a sizeable increase on the $50 tax levied in 1885) had a dramatic effect on Chinese immigration to Canada. For the overwhelmingly male population of Chinese immigrants who had already settled in Canada, it meant the chances of marrying a Chinese woman were greatly reduced. Many Chinese-Canadian men were forced to lead a bachelor's life. This made them a threat to white women in the eyes of some European Canadians.

This prejudice brought about Saskatchewan's Act to Prevent the Employment of Female Labour in Certain Capacities on 5 March 1912. It declared that:

> No person shall employ in any capacity any white woman or girl or permit any white woman or girl to reside or lodge in or to work in or, save as a *bona fide* customer in a public apartment thereof only, to frequent any restaurant, laundry or other place of business or amusement owned, kept or managed by any Japanese, Chinaman or other Oriental person. (Quoted in Backhouse, 1999: p. 136)

In May 1912, Quong Wing was convicted and fined for employing two white women in his restaurant. His appeals to the supreme courts of Saskatchewan and Canada failed.

In 1924 in Regina, restaurant owner Yee Clun challenged the law. He had strong personal support

Quick Hits

"Race"-Based Hate Crime in Canada

A hate crime is one that is motivated by prejudice (e.g. based on "race," religion, sex, or sexual orientation). According to a 2015 Statistics Canada report, half of the 1,167 hate crimes reported to police in 2013 were motivated by hatred toward "race" or ethnicity, and the majority of those (255 incidents) targeted the black community (Allen, 2015). The greater part of the criminal activity motivated by hatred of "race" (56 per cent) was non-violent, most of it falling under the heading "mischief," which can include, for example, graffiti painted in a public place. Overall, hate crimes declined by 17 per cent from 2012 to 2013, but bear in mind that two-thirds of all hate crimes go unreported (Dauvergne & Brennan, 2011).

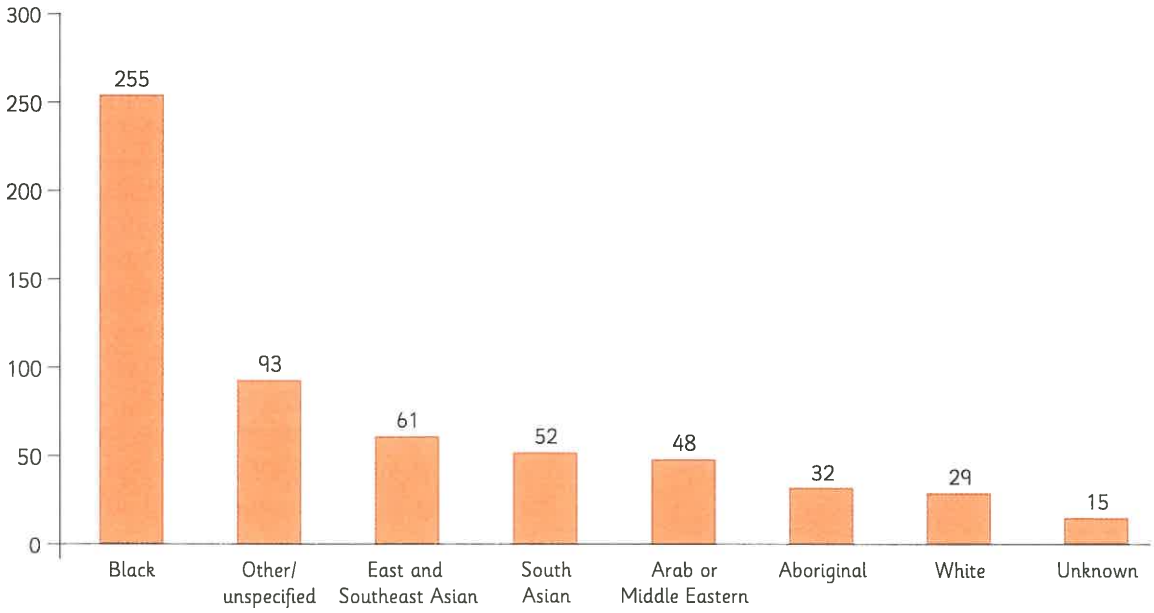


Figure 8.3 Number of Police-Reported Hate Crimes Motivated by "Race" or Ethnicity by Victim Group, Canada, 2013

Note: "Other/unspecified" includes motivations based on "race" or ethnicity not otherwise stated (e.g. Latin American, South American) as well as hate crimes that target more than one "race" or ethnic group (such as immigrants generally).

Source: Allen, 2015: p. 14, Chart 7.

in the city from members of both the Chinese and the non-Chinese communities. But local newspapers were spreading poorly researched stories of Chinese men bringing opium into Saskatchewan and turning white women into "drug fiends." Clun won the case in court but found his efforts foiled by the Saskatchewan Legislature, which passed another statute authorizing any municipal council to revoke the court ruling. The act was not repealed until 1969.

2. Punished for Success: Japanese-Canadian Fishers

In 1919, the Federal Department of Marine and Fisheries responded to growing concern that Japanese-Canadian gill net salmon fishers were "taking over" at the expense of white Canadian fishers. In the words of Port Alberni MP Major R.J. Burde, reported in the Victoria *Colonist* on 22 May 1920, "they have become so arrogant in their feeling of security that many white settlers are reaching the limit of tolerance" (quoted in Adachi, 1976: p. 105). The government then drastically reduced the number of licences that Japanese-Canadian fishers could obtain (see Figure 8.4).

In just three years, white fishers gained 493 licences, an increase of 33.5 per cent; Indigenous fishers gained 215 (up 20.8 per cent). Japanese-Canadian fishers, by contrast, lost 974 licences, a drop of 48.9 per cent. Japanese-Canadian fishers in the north Skeena area were even prohibited from using power boats between 1925 and 1930.

3. Not Wanted on the Voyage: The *Komagata Maru*

Most of the first South Asians to come to Canada were Sikhs, who had been given special status by the British as soldiers and police serving imperial purposes throughout the world. In 1904 they began to arrive in small numbers, many of them settling in Port Moody, east of Vancouver. By 1906, those small numbers had increased considerably, with as many as 5,000 Sikhs entering the country between 1905 and 1908 (Johnston, 1989: p. 5; Burnet & Palmer, 1988: p. 31). They were young men, most of them single, though a good number had wives back in India. They arrived in British Columbia at a time when there was a shortage of labourers willing to work in the sawmills, on the roads, and in the bush cutting wood and clearing land. Some were greeted with a measure of respect, as many were British army veterans, and they soon earned a reputation for working hard for low

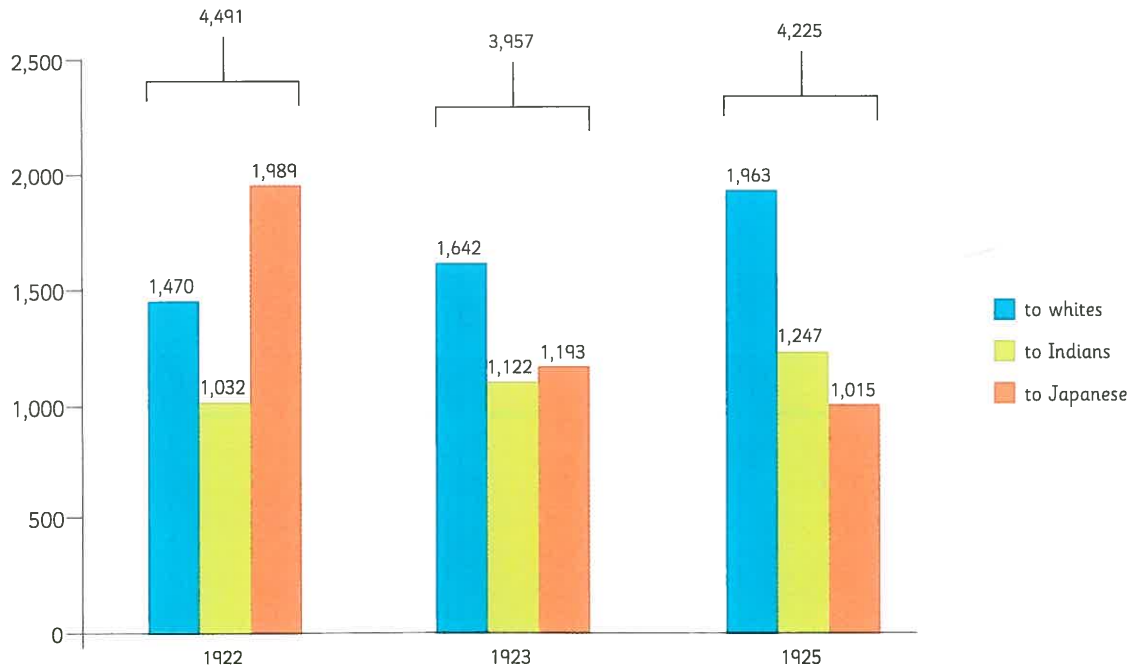


Figure 8.4 Salmon Gill Net Licences Issued, 1922–25

Source: *Report on Oriental Activities within the Province*, British Columbia Archives NW 305.895R425.

wages. An October 1906 report in the Vancouver *Daily Province* quoted one employer as saying, "I would have White labourers of course if I can get them. . . . But I would rather give employment to these old soldiers who have helped fight for the British Empire than entire aliens."

Telling It Like It Is

Two White Guys Playing Catch: Racialized Positions in Sports

If you are a fan of professional football, you have watched this scene countless times: a white guy (the centre), flanked by four white guys (offensive guards and tackles), snaps the ball to another white guy (the quarterback), whom all five white guys try to protect. This white guy looks up, sees that there are some white but probably more black guys coming after him, and so hands the ball off to a black guy (the running back), who gets tackled by the onrushing black guys. If the running back is stopped before advancing 10 yards, another white guy might come in to try to kick a field goal.

Racialized positions—player positions identified with particular racialized groups—exist in North American professional sports. The two most racialized positions in professional football are place-kicker and running back. The former is exclusively white. A well-researched sports blog indicates that since 1966—the beginning of the National Football League's modern era—there have been just five black place-kickers in a league where 60 per cent of the players are black (Matthews, [2011]/2016). Why? Some say it is because many kickers come to the sport from playing soccer,

Photo by Jim Rogash/Getty Images

Tom Brady and Brandon Bolden play the positions of quarterback and running back for the New England Patriots. Can you guess which of them plays which position?

BC's natural resources–based economy has long fluctuated between periods of wild success, with employers happy to hire anyone willing to work hard, and short periods of unemployment, in which newcomers are seen as taking jobs from whites. It wasn't long before the initial acceptance of the hard-working

An Author's POV

which traditionally has not been played by many black athletes in North America (although this is changing).

In contrast, running backs are nearly all black. A few explanations have been proposed. First, a number of players who broke the colour bar in American football were running backs: Jim Brown, Gale Sayers, and the now infamous O.J. Simpson paved the way for Walter Payton, Marcus Allen, Emmitt Smith, and LaDainian Tomlinson. A list of the 25 greatest running backs could easily not feature a single white player. Precedent and role modelling helped establish a stereotype around the running back position (as they did, perhaps, with white place-kickers).

Prejudice has also played a role. Some black running backs took up the position only after they were told they would never make it to the NFL as a quarterback, a position of authority once reserved for white players. (Others, such as Chuck Ealey and Warren Moon, came north to play quarterback in the Canadian Football League.) Worth noting: there are strict rules in place to protect quarterbacks and kickers; there are no rules designed to protect running backs specifically. Also worth noting: the average NFL playing career is 3.3 seasons. Kickers (4.87 seasons) and quarterbacks (4.44 seasons) have the longest average careers, while running backs (2.57) have the shortest (Statistica.com).

A similar situation exists in Major League Baseball. Most of the game involves "two white guys playing catch." At the start of the 2016 season, there were just 14 African-American pitchers, representing 3.1 per cent of all MLB pitchers (Nightengale, 2016). Canadian

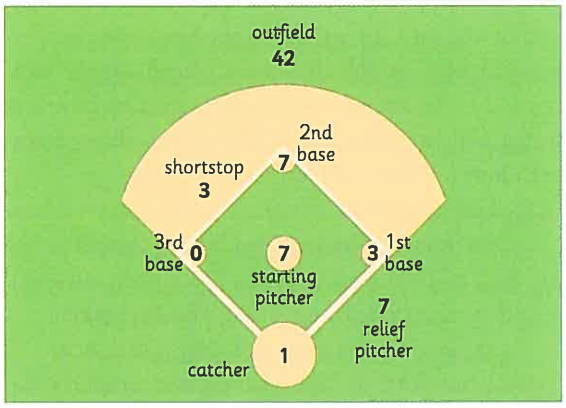


Figure 8.5 African-American Players on MLB Rosters at the Start of the 2016 Season, by Position

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Russell Martin, whose father is black, is currently the league's only black catcher. Pitcher and catcher are, like the quarterback in football, positions of authority and have long been white. Outfielders tend to be black (see Figure 8.5), as the first "Negro" players to break the colour bar and be stars were outfielders: Jackie Robinson, Willie Mays, and Hank Aaron. Latino players dominate the middle infield positions—shortstop and second base—as the first Latino player to star in professional baseball was Luis Aparicio, a shortshop.

What do YOU think?

1. How and why are racialized positions established in professional sport? Can you think of other examples not discussed here?
2. What is the broader sociological significance of the findings discussed in this box?

Sikh immigrants was undermined by a growing unease over their rise in numbers. The local press fuelled the simmering discord with stories about the unfamiliar cultural practices of these "Hindus" (as South Asians collectively were called, regardless of their religion). "Hindus Cover Dead Bodies with Butter" announced a headline in the *Daily Province* in October 1906 (quoted in Johnston, 1989: p. 3).

Amid a growing moral panic, Vancouver police began taking Sikh immigrants directly from the immigration shed to the BC interior to keep them out of the city. In spite of the deplorable accommodations in which they were placed—some were housed in an abandoned cannery with no running water and little electricity—the Sikhs showed tremendous resilience, as Johnston records:

> Two thousand had arrived during the latter half of 1906. By the end of December, with the exception of some 300 who had taken steamers for Seattle and San Francisco, all but fifty or sixty had found employment in British Columbia, most of them in saw mills. The authorities would gladly have deported any convicted of vagrancy, but there were few such cases; those who were out of work were looked after by their companions, and . . . none became a public charge. (Johnston, 1989: p. 3)

Facing pressure from both white British Columbians disconcerted by the influx of Sikh immigrants and British government officials in India who wanted to curtail emigration, the Canadian government responded with clever discrimination. They passed a law requiring that all Asian immigrants entering Canada possess at least $200—a large sum for people who typically earned about 10 to 20 cents a day. They also prohibited the landing of any immigrant arriving directly from any point outside of India—significant because most Sikhs were making the journey from Punjab province by way of Hong Kong—while pressuring steamship companies not to provide India-to-Canada service or to sell tickets to Canada from Indian ports. These measures brought Sikh immigration to a halt. Unable to bring their wives and families over, denied the right to vote or hold public office, and facing open discrimination, Canada's Sikh population became discouraged.

Opposition to Sikh immigration continued to grow. In December 1913, the *Daily Province* claimed that the "Hindu problem" had assumed "a most serious and menacing aspect" (Johnston, 1989: p. 22), even though only 39 Sikhs had entered the area that year. The following spring, the Japanese steamship *Komagata Maru* left Yokohama, Japan, headed for Canada. Rented by a 55-year-old Sikh, Bhai Gurdit Singh, the ship contained 376 passengers: 340 Sikhs, 24 Muslims, and 12 Hindus. News of the ship's approach was announced in headlines such as "BOAT LOADS OF HINDUS ON WAY TO VANCOUVER" and "HINDU INVASION OF CANADA" in the BC dailies. When the ship reached Vancouver, on 23 May 1914, the local South Asian community was ready with lawyers, funds, and food to assist the passengers. Local immigration officials, politicians, and vigilante groups were also ready. For about two months, the ship's passengers were forced to endure legal battles and severe shortages of food and water. Finally, on 23 July 1914, the *Komagata Maru* was forced to leave. Only 24 passengers were permitted to enter Canada.

On 26 September, as the ship approached Calcutta, the remaining passengers were told that they would be put on a special train taking them to the Punjab area. A riot ensued. Twenty of the passengers were killed; others were imprisoned or became fugitives.

Little changed afterward. After 1918, a few of the men were able to bring over to Canada their long absent wives and children, but most could not afford such an expense. By 1941, there were no more than 1,500 South Asians in Canada. Most were men, many aged between 50 and 65. Only when India was granted its independence from British imperial control in 1947 were South Asians given the vote and full citizenship status.

Ethnicity

Everyone belongs to at least one ethnic group. But understanding ethnicity is not just a matter of collecting social traits—language, clothing, religion, foods, and so on—and applying the appropriate ethnic label. This would not help us understand conflict between closely related ethnic groups, nor would it help us understand why "ethnic pride" surfaces in certain times and situations, and not during others.

Quick Hits

Who Has the Right to Vote?

1867 Confederation: Canadian federal and provincial vote is given only to white men with property.
1875 Chinese are denied the provincial vote in British Columbia.
1885 "Indians" west of Ontario are denied the vote; eastern "Indian" males are given the vote only if they own land separate from the reserve and have made at least $150 worth of improvements. Chinese are denied the federal vote.
1895 Japanese are denied the provincial vote in BC.
1898 "Indian" males east of Manitoba are denied the federal vote regardless of property. White males without property are given the vote federally and provincially.
1907 South Asians are denied the federal vote.
1908 Chinese are denied the provincial vote in Saskatchewan.
1917 People born in "enemy countries" (i.e. Ukrainians) are denied the vote. Japanese-Canadian war veterans are promised the federal vote.
1931 Japanese-Canadian war veterans receive the federal vote.
1947 Chinese and South Asians get the federal vote and the provincial vote in British Columbia.
1948 Japanese Canadians get the federal vote.
1949 "Indians" are given the provincial vote in British Columbia and Newfoundland. Japanese Canadians get the provincial vote in British Columbia.
1951 Chinese are granted the provincial vote in Saskatchewan.
1952 "Indians" get the provincial vote in Manitoba.
1954 "Indians" get the provincial vote in Ontario.
1960 "Indians" get the federal vote, and also get the territorial and provincial vote in Yukon, Northwest Territories, and Saskatchewan.
1963 "Indians" get the provincial vote in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.
1965 "Indians" get the provincial vote in Alberta.
1969 "Indians" get the provincial vote in Quebec.

There are various ways of theorizing ethnicity. This discussion will focus on five approaches. Political sociologists often divide theoretical approaches to ethnicity into three categories: *social constructivism*, *instrumentalism*, and *primordialism*. Wsevolod W. Isajiw, in *Understanding Diversity: Ethnicity and Race in the Canadian Context*, discusses primordialism in relation to the *epiphenomenal approach*, which is helpful to consider here as well. To this list I will add one more approach, *postcolonialism*, because it is essential to understanding ethnicity in the context of the case study I am about to present.

One of the most savage and destructive ethnic conflicts of recent times—and it is ongoing in the Democratic Republic of the Congo—involves rival Hutu and Tutsi tribes in Rwanda and neighbouring Burundi. The history of Rwanda since it gained independence in 1962 has been punctuated by uprisings of the disenfranchised Hutu majority against the ruling Tutsi elite, which have brought about the deaths of hundreds of thousands of civilians in both groups. The violence reached a bloody peak during the spring and summer of 1994, when Hutu military forces massacred between 500,000 and 1,000,000 of the Tutsi minority, sending more than a million destitute Hutu civilians, fearing reprisals from the surviving Tutsi population, fleeing to refugee camps in neighbouring Zaire (now the Congo) and Tanzania. It is easy to dismiss the conflict as just another instance of tribal violence in Africa, but this is far from the truth. What happened presents a challenge of interpretation that can be facilitated by looking at it through the lens of various theories of ethnicity.

Primordialism

Primordialism, or **essentialism**, is the view that every ethnic group is made up of a "laundry list" of traits that have been carried down from the past to the present with little or no change. Adopting this view uncritically leads to believing that the tribal conflicts in Africa have a deep history that existed

Our Stories

A Minoritizing Episode: Canada's Ukrainians and World War I

In August 1914, shortly after the start of World War I, a group of Canadians was **minoritized** through the War Measures Act, which would be used as an instrument of discrimination against Japanese Canadians nearly 30 years later.

As with different South Asian ethnic groups lumped together as "Hindoos," this minoritized group had its natural, chosen identity ignored by most Canadians, who assigned them a different, "alien" identity. Like Indigenous people in both world wars, members of this minoritized group sometimes had to change their names and lie about their identity to pass as Canadian to enlist in the army. And like the Chinese, South Asians, Indigenous people, and women of their time, many were denied the federal vote. During the First World War they were put into concentration camps, like the Japanese were during World War II.

Surprisingly, the members of this group were white.

Library and Archives Canada/C-063254

A young "Galician" immigrant in Saint John, NB, in May 1905. Ukrainians began to settle in Canada during the 1890s; today, in spite of the discriminatory and dispiriting measures they endured during World War I, Canada's Ukrainian population is among the highest in the world outside of Ukraine and Russia.

Britain and its allies, including Canada, were fighting Germany and the decrepit Austro-Hungarian Empire. The latter was home to a people who thought of themselves as Ukrainians by nationality, even though their official citizenship was Austrian. Canada's War Measures Act led to the internment of 8,579 people labelled "enemy aliens" in 24 camps across the country. More than 5,000 of them were Ukrainians. Another 80,000—most of them Ukrainians—had to register as "enemy aliens." More than 10,000 Ukrainians enlisted in the Canadian military, some by faking their names and identities to conceal their ethnicity. This included Filip Konoval, one of only 83 Canadians to be awarded the prestigious Victoria Cross.

Those who spent time in internment camps worked hard, developing Banff National Park, logging, working in mines and in steel mills. One hundred and seven internees died. Tuberculosis killed 26, pneumonia, 22. Six were shot to death trying to escape camp; three committed suicide. An undetermined number died due to unsafe working conditions. One hundred and six were sent to mental institutions, all but three of whom were eventually deported. Running the camps cost Canadian taxpayers $3.2 million.

The effects of the discrimination did not end with the war. Some of the land, valuables, and money possessed by Ukrainian Canadians and confiscated by the Canadian government "disappeared." Internment and suspicion killed the spirit of many who had been keen to contribute to the growth of Canada, who had nurtured high hopes for their new home.

long before colonialism, and that these conflicts are reignited only once the "stabilizing influence" of the colonial power has left. It does not allow for conflicts to arise during colonization. It absolves colonial powers of any blame for regional conflicts.

Primordialism presents a static, as opposed to a dynamic, view of culture. In this view, culture does not seem to change from the inside; change such as "modernization" is ascribed primarily or entirely to outside forces. Primordialism is a functionalist theory, displaying one of the weaknesses of functionalism: that it poorly explains conflict.

Postcolonialism

Colonialism is the economic and political exploitation of a weaker country or people by a stronger one. Typically—historically—it involves the domination by a European state of an African, Asian, or American people; however, it is not limited to this. The Chinese have exercised and continue to wield colonial control over Tibetans and Uighurs. Internal colonialism is colonialism of one people by another within a single country. The history of Canada involves the internal colonialism of Indigenous peoples by European settlers and their governments.

Postcolonialism (or anti-colonialism) is a theoretical framework that analyzes the destructive impact colonialism has on both the colonizer and the colonized. It was first developed by writers such as **Franz Fanon** (1925–1961) and **Albert Memmi** (b. 1920) to examine French colonies in North Africa and their fight for independence from France. Fanon, born in the French West Indian colony of Martinique, was radicalized by his experience as a black intellectual in France and by his work as a doctor and psychiatrist in Algeria during the fight for independence there. His influential works *Black Skin, White Masks* (1952) and *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961) deal with the psychological effects of colonization and have inspired considerable sociological study. Albert Memmi was a Jew born in predominately Muslim Tunisia, which gained its independence in 1956 (six years before neighbouring Algeria). His *The Colonizer and the Colonized* (1957) demonstrated how the two groups negatively conditioned each other, and how no party could be "neutral" in the relationship between the two.

Postcolonial theory, as it applies to ethnicity, involves identifying colonialism as a factor in the development or escalation of conflict between ethnic groups. In Canada, for example, postcolonial theory can significantly explain the increasing conflict between the Wendat (Huron) and Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) during the 1640s in terms of the former group's connections with the French and the latter's ties with the English. In the African context, it is usefully applied to study situations involving the concept of indirect rule, a governance policy in which a European nation uses the members of a particular ethnic group as its intermediaries in ruling African territory.

One problem with postcolonialism as a theory is that it can attribute every negative change in a colonized area to outside forces. It does not leave much room for the agency of one or more of the colonized groups. A corrective perspective is provided by dual colonialism theory, which is the idea that under a colonial regime, the most oppressed groups suffer both at the hands of the colonizing outsider group and at the hands of a local group that is given privilege and power by the outsiders. Catharine Newbury applies this idea well in her discussion of Rwanda in *Cohesion of Oppression* (1988).

Primordialism, Postcolonialism, and Rwanda

As you read the following description of ethnic conflict in Rwanda, consider how well the theories of primordialism and postcolonialism apply.

In Rwanda, three main ethnic groups are currently recognized: Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa. Numerically, the Hutu are by far the dominant group. The 1956 census lists 83 per cent of the population as Hutu, with 16 per cent Tutsi and 1 per cent Twa (Newbury, 1993: p. 3). Yet from at least the eighteenth century

What do YOU think?

When Western researchers during the colonial period studied the people of Rwanda and Burundi, their main question seemed to have been "How are the Hutu and Tutsi different?" How would the results of their research been different if they gave equal weight to the question, "How are the two peoples the same or similar?"

onwards, the Tutsi have been the group with the most power. If we consider a list of typical "ethnic traits"—including physical attributes, language, religion, kinship structure, occupation, and economic circumstances—we gain some interesting findings about Rwanda prior to colonization.

Physical Appearance

Tutsi and Hutu tended to differ *on average* in their physical appearance. The former were typically portrayed as being taller and thinner than the latter, with longer and thinner faces. One study (Chrétien, 1997) found that the Tutsi averaged 1.75 metres in height, the Hutu 1.66 metres. We must note that before and during the colonial period, intermarriage was not uncommon. The physical differences combined with the fact that the Tutsi appear to have come later to Rwanda than the Hutu led colonial administrators and social scientists to draw otherwise unfounded conclusions about the Tutsi being a "superior, conquering race." This helped justify European colonial support of the Tutsi elite.

Occupation

The Tutsi were, in the pre-colonial period, primarily pastoralists. They herded cattle. The Hutu, on the other hand, were primarily agriculturalists, growing crops. The division was not absolute: some Hutu, particularly those heading up the richer lineages, herded cattle, and some Tutsi were agriculturalists. Passing from one group to the other was not uncommon. But during the colonial period, the more powerful Tutsi took advantage of their enhanced privileges to gain a greater share of the cattle.

Language

The people of Rwanda all speak the same language, with regional dialect variants. The language, belonging to the Bantu language family, was likely spoken in Rwanda before the Tutsi moved into the area (probably from Ethiopia).

Religion

In terms of religion, the Tutsi and Hutu did not differ historically, and during the colonial period most were converted to Christianity by Catholic missionaries. However, religion would, through the education system, come to have a powerful effect on the development of a strong sense of ethnicity in Rwanda by entrenching the ethnic-based class system that placed the Tutsi at the top and the Hutu at the bottom. Established in 1932 and recognized as the best school in Rwanda, the Groupe Scolaire played a part in promoting class and ethnic divisions, as Newbury explains. One goal of this school was to create a "new social class,"

> and in accordance with this goal . . . very few Hutu were admitted; indeed, after World War II *the school even had a minimum height requirement for admission.* Graduates of the Groupe Scolaire considered themselves superior to other educated Rwandans, . . . and their diplomas were accorded greater value by the Belgian [colonial] administration. Thus, in theory because of their professional qualifications but in reality because they were overwhelmingly drawn from among the families of Tutsi chiefs, the graduates of the Groupe Scolaire enjoyed the benefits of both the "traditional" economic structures, and of the higher status jobs and better pay available in the "modern" sector. (Newbury, 1993: p. 116; emphasis added)

Identity

Prior to the colonial period, Rwandan sense of identity was derived mainly from lineage, clan, chiefdom, or kingdom, and from a general sense of being Rwandan. Among the kin groups, the two that were of the greatest significance were lineage and clan. Lineage heads were important figures, and a person's primary identity came from lineage. Clan was less important, but a single clan could include members of all three Rwandan ethnic groups.

Under colonialism, lineage heads lost power, being replaced by centrally appointed chiefs who were overwhelmingly Tutsi. The previously often blurred lines of distinction between Tutsi and Hutu became strengthened, their importance reinforced by the fact that Rwandan citizens now had to carry identification cards with "Hutu," "Tutsi," or "Twa" written on them.

The growing central authority of the king during the colonial period also helped enhance the status of the Tutsi. The colonial administration and the Tutsi elite collaborated to take away the more diverse

traditional government forms through which the Hutu in particular could play one authority against another into a more simplified and powerful system. A system of taxes payable either in money or with labour was developed and exploited, with colonial support, by unscrupulous Tutsi chiefs who took advantage of free labour from Hutu civilians.

Altogether we see a situation that is not well explained by primordialism but which fits well with dual colonialism theory. How do other theories fit into this situation?

Ethnicity as Epiphenomenal

The word "epiphenomenal" describes a secondary effect or phenomenon that arises from, but does not causally influence, a separate phenomenon. Marx was the first to apply it in a sociological context. He believed that economic structure was the main causal factor in society, and everything else was epiphenomenal, or non-causal.

Epiphenomenal theory suggests that any ethnic conflict is really just a byproduct of the struggle between economic classes. Thus, the strife in Rwanda stems from a situation in which the country's rich and powerful (the Tutsi elite) were exploiting its poor (the Hutu and the poorer Tutsi). Ethnicity was just a smokescreen, a false consciousness that made it impossible for poorer Hutu and Tutsi with shared class interests to overcome their oppression by the Tutsi elite. This lasted through the 1950s, when Hutu of all classes shared what Newbury termed a "cohesion of oppression," until 1962, when the country became independent and witnessed a social revolution that replaced the Tutsi elite with a Hutu one. The Hutu elite used the pretense of the idea that "rule by Hutu is automatically democratic" to gain broader Hutu support. There is a measure of truth in the epiphenomenal explanation, yet it fails to fully account for why the poor identified with the rich.

Instrumentalism

Traditionally presented in direct opposition to primordialism and compatible with the epiphenomenal approach is instrumentalism, which focuses on

Guenter Guni/iStockphoto

Rwanda today. Would you say that this person is most likely Hutu or Tutsi?

emerging ethnicity rather than on long-established ethnic characteristics. It acknowledges that elites can mobilize others who identify with them ethnically. Ethnic identification and action come from a competition for scarce resources for and by the elite. In Newbury's words, ethnic groups are created or transformed when

> groups gain self-awareness (become "self-conscious communities") largely as the result of the activities of leaders who mobilize ethnic followings in order to compete more effectively. Improved communications and the spread of writing are important in this process; so is "ethnic learning," where groups develop ethnic awareness as a result of seeing others using ethnic solidarities to compete. The state is important, instrumentalists suggest, as an arena in which competition between these groups occurs (the state controls many of the scarce resources over which elites are

Telling It Like It Is

Disney Is Destructive

As a multinational enterprise, Disney may appear to function solely as an innocent purveyor of entertainment to young children, but it is vital to recognize that:

> media conglomerates such as Disney are not merely producing harmless entertainment, disinterested news stories, and unlimited access to the information age; nor are they removed from the realm of power, politics and ideology (Giroux, 2001: 4).

Disney subtly reinforces racist ideas in several of its animated movies. Black people are depicted as crows (e.g. Jim Crow in *Dumbo*). In the animated movie *Tarzan*, Disney completely eliminates black people's presence in Africa. In *The Jungle Book*, monkeys (like King Louise), who are supposed to be representative of black people, sing about wanting to be like the other men—white men. Latinos are represented as hyenas and chihuahuas (including Shenzim, Banzai, and Ed in *The Lion King*, and the often-angry Tito in *Oliver and Company*). East Asians are portrayed as cunning and dishonest in their role of Siamese cats in *Lady and the Tramp*. Arabs are shown as barbaric in *Aladdin*. Think of the following lyrics to the song "Arabian Nights": "I come from a land from a faraway place . . . where they cut off your ear if they don't like your face; it's barbaric—but hey, it's home!"

All of this teaches children of colour from different cultures around the world that they are mischievous, badly behaved, and "animalistic," and should view white culture as ideal. Simultaneously, this teaches white children to view people of colour with fear and contempt. As a result, children who are not white may view themselves from "primitive" perspectives rather than from dominant or powerful positions that Disney producers grant to white characters.

Disney reinforces what Peggy McIntosh (1989) refers to as "white privilege" in which "whites are taught to think of their lives as a morally neutral, normative, and average, also an ideal . . ." (McIntosh, 1989: p. 10). McIntosh states that white privilege operates and is sustained through its pervasiveness that is both taken for granted as "normal" and, also, made to seem invisible. Disney's flawed representation of people of colour and constant depiction of white characters in positions of power function as manifestations of white privilege. The fact that children watch these images continuously is part of how white privilege is continually reproduced.

Disney's influence on what we see is profound, and consequently, what we do *not* see. As a result, Disney's narrow scope of racial and ethnic characters limits access to a range of representations about people of various races and ethnicities.

—Lia Gladstone

> competing), and also because government policies can significantly affect the strategies chosen by ethnic leaders. (Newbury, 1993: p. 15)

Elite members who mobilize ethnicity for personal gain are called **ethnic entrepreneurs**. The classic example of ethnic entrepreneurship is Adolf Hitler's construction and manipulation of the German "Aryan race." An instrumentalist approach better explains how a frustrated Hutu leadership could invoke the injustice of Tutsi elite oppression to draw poorer Hutu into their political parties and their acts of revolution.

Social Constructivism

Social constructivism is the view that ethnicity is constructed by individuals for varying social purposes. Instrumentalism can be considered a partly formed version of social constructivism in that it shows how ethnicity is constructed by the elite.

A Sociologist's POV

AP Photo/Ng Han Guan

A Chinese girl gets a Princess makeover at the recently opened Disney Resort in Shanghai, China. Is there anything wrong with wanting to look like a white Disney princess? Is there a risk this girl may someday seek out makeup products, or even surgeries, to make herself look "more white"?

However, it suffers as a theory of ethnicity and ethnic action by overstating the influence and impact of the elite. It generally fails to attribute the non-elite members any agency, any power to choose and act without being manipulated. A social constructivist theory of ethnicity would look to the motivations of the broader group.

The social-constructivist approach makes sense in the case of Rwanda, where it helps to explain why the general rural population of the Hutu became so thoroughly engaged in driving off and killing local Tutsi. Rwanda was, for most of the twentieth century, a very crowded land, with many people, particularly Hutu, becoming regularly malnourished because their farms were insufficient for their needs. Unlike in the nineteenth century, when there was considerably more space and people could move to new land in difficult situations, during the twentieth century people suffered through various famines and cattle diseases while the country's rise in population shrank farm size.

What do YOU think?

Marie Beatrice Umutesi is a Hutu sociologist who experienced the horrifying conditions of the UN-neglected refugee camps in Zaire, an experience she recorded in *Surviving the Slaughter: The Ordeal of a Rwandan Refugee in Zaire* (2004). She does not condemn the Tutsi in her book. What types of insights can her work lend to the sociology of Rwanda?

Summary

What happened in Rwanda and Burundi? We can say that prior to colonialism, the experience of being a member of an ethnic group was not a major part of the day-to-day lives of most Rwandans: it did not exert an influence on people's sense of identity the way that lineage, region, and sometimes individual chiefdom or kingdom did. Under the Belgians, a dual colonialism developed in which Europeans and elite Tutsi collaborated to put social, economic, and political substance to an increasingly rigid ethnic divide between Hutu and Tutsi. And when Belgian rule ended in 1962, the common oppression experienced by Hutu of all classes led to a social revolution in which the majority Hutu overthrew their oppressors, only to set up an ethnic dictatorship of their own. Ethnic violence was a not surprising effect, and an easily fanned racial hatred, combined with a powerful need for land, led in 1994 to the massacre of the Tutsi and neutral Hutu.

That was not the end of the story. Tutsi from Rwanda and Burundi persuaded the Ugandan army to capture control of the two countries, driving Hutu refugees west into Zaire (now Congo), where fighting continues. It helped that the new Ugandan president was Tutsi.

Ethnicity in Canada: Classic Studies

Ethnic Class: English and French in Quebec

When **Everett C. Hughes** (1897–1983) joined the sociology department at McGill in 1927, the focus of his research became the "ethnic division of labour" between the English, who held positions of power, and the French, who occupied the lowest rung of the employment ladder. This was an injustice he wished to correct.

Hughes studied the small industrial city of Drummondville, his work summarized in *French Canada in Transition* ([1943]/1963). In the book he talks about two principal kinds of industries he found there. First, there were small, local, French-Canadian–run industries, which "do not make the town grow but proliferate and grow with it" (Hughes, 1963: p. 47). Second, were "*nos grandes industries*." The top 9 of these 11 "big industries" had headquarters in Montreal, England, or the United States. Their managers were Americans, English Canadians, and British nationals. In 1937, the largest of these industries, a textile company, employed 389 "English and Others" and 2,337 French workers. The former group occupied 24 of the 25 positions above the foreman level and 57 of the 82 foreman's jobs. The vast majority of French-Canadian employees (1,882) worked on the "factory floor," where they were involved directly in production (Hughes, 1963: p. 55).

In a mid-century study of intergenerational (father to son) occupational mobility, Yves de Jocas and Guy Rocher (1957) found that anglophones in Quebec cities scored much higher than francophones (11.8 per cent versus 3.2 per cent) in the occupational category they called "professional,

proprietor, manager." The discrepancy among their sons was even greater (17.3 per cent versus 6.8 per cent; Langlois, 1999: p. 73). This suggested that the ethnic division of labour was increasing. French-Canadian sociologists Jacques Dofny and Marcel Rioux (1962) labelled this separation as **ethnic class**, in which people of a particular ethnicity belong predominantly to one class.

The balance shifted somewhat during the Quiet Revolution of the 1960s. The Quiet Revolution is the name given to a set of actions and policies that, together, represented an attempt by a growing educated, skilled, and French urban middle class to overthrow three social bodies that restricted the people:

1) the English-dominated large businesses
2) the Union Nationale, a provincial political party that exerted great conservative control through the rurally supported premier Maurice Duplessis (1936–9 and 1944–59)
3) the Catholic Church, which had a firm grip on education, the press, even the unions.

In large measure, the decreased inequality between French and English was brought about by provincial policies and practices, designed in part by sociologists, enacted as part of a concerted effort to make French Canadians "maîtres chez nous" ("masters in our own house").

John Porter and the Vertical Mosaic

The best-known book of Canadian sociology is *The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada* (1965) by **John Porter** (1921–1979). The title derives from the often-stated notion that Canadian society more closely resembles a "cultural mosaic" than a "melting pot." A mosaic is ceramic artwork made of many tiles that lend different colours to the picture. The term **cultural mosaic** applies to societies in which individual ethnic, cultural, and religious groups are able to maintain separate identities. The opposite model is the **melting pot**, where immigrating ethnic and religious groups are encouraged/forced to assimilate into their new society. The term is typically used to describe American society.

Porter's **vertical mosaic** refers to a hierarchy of higher and lower ethnic, cultural, and religious groups. Speaking with the metaphor of the mosaic, Porter found that the different tiles were stacked one above the other, with the tiles representing white Anglo-Saxon Protestants on top.

Landmarks in the Sociological Study of "Race"

As presented earlier, standpoint theory suggests that the perspective sociological researchers bring to their work is strongly influenced by their social location, their perspective as it is shaped by gender, age, ethnicity, sexual orientation, and other social characteristics. This does not mean that sociologists should study only "their own people." But pioneers in the sociological study of specific groups—women, for instance, or black people—are often those who belong to the group themselves. They bring unique and valuable insights to the study. In this section we will look at the work of W.E.B Du Bois, Daniel Hill, Kimberlé Crenshaw, and Patricia Hill Collins.

W.E.B. Du Bois: First Black Sociologist

W.E.B. Du Bois (1868–1963) was the first African-American sociologist. He researched and wrote about the major problems concerning Africans, both those living in the United States and those living elsewhere. He was a "pan-Africanist," one who sees the connection between the oppression or success of Africans and that of their descendants around the world.

Du Bois's sociology had an applied perspective to it. He was one of the founders of the NAACP (the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People). He used his position as editor-in-chief of their magazine, *Crisis*, to advocate for such causes as opening up training schools for black military officers and initiating legal action against white people who lynched African Americans. He was a prolific writer, producing several landmark studies, including *The Suppression of the African Slave Trade in America* (1896); his comprehensive study of Philadelphia's black slums, *The Philadelphia Negro* (1896); *The Souls of Black Folks* (1903); *Black Reconstruction* (1935); and *Dusk of Dawn* (1940). The following captures his oratorical power and sense of fairness:

> [I]t is the duty of black men to judge the South discriminatingly. The present generation of Southerners are not responsible for the past, and they should not be blindly hated or blamed for it. . . . The South is not "solid"; it is a land in the ferment of social change, wherein forces of all kinds are fighting for supremacy; and to praise the ill the South is today perpetuating is just as wrong as to condemn the good. Discriminating and broad-minded criticism is what the South needs—needs it for the sake of her own white sons and daughters, and for the insurance of robust, healthy mental and moral development.
>
> Today even the attitude of the Southern whites toward the blacks is not . . . in all cases the same; the ignorant Southerner hates the Negro, the workingmen fear his competition, the money-makers wish to use him as a laborer, some of the educated see a menace in his upward development, while others . . . wish to help him to rise. National opinion has enabled this last class to maintain the Negro common schools, and to protect the Negro partially in property, life, and limb. Through the pressure of the money-makers, the Negro is in danger of being reduced to semi-slavery . . . ; the workingmen, and those of the educated who fear the Negro, have united to disfranchise him . . . while the passions of the ignorant are easily aroused to lynch and abuse any black man. To praise this intricate whirl of thought and prejudice is nonsense; to inveigh indiscriminately against "the South" is unjust. . . . (Du Bois, 1903)

Daniel G. Hill: First Black Canadian Sociologist

Although he was not born in Canada, **Daniel G. Hill** (1923–2003) is considered the first black Canadian sociologist.

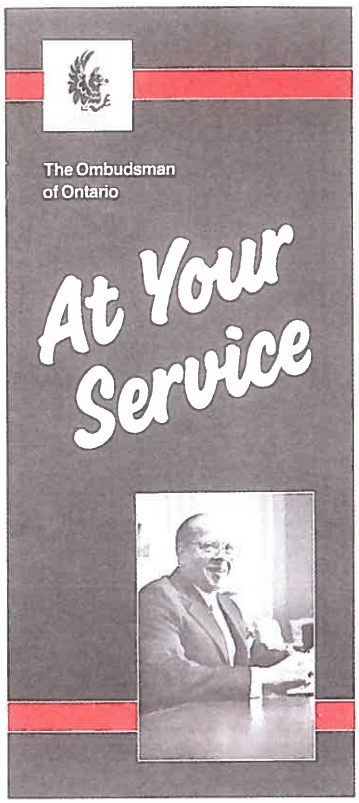
Hill studied sociology at the University of Toronto, receiving his MA in 1951 and his PhD in 1960. His primary writings include *Negroes in Toronto: A Sociological Study of a Minority Group* (1960) and *The Freedom Seekers: Blacks in Early Canada* (1981). But it is mainly in applied work that Hill's sociology is expressed. He was a researcher for the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto (1955–8), executive secretary of the North York Social Planning Council (1958–60), and assistant director of the Alcoholism and Drug Addiction Research Foundation (1960). In 1962, Hill became the first full-time director of the Ontario Human Rights Commission, and 10 years later, he became Ontario Human Rights Commissioner. He formed his own human rights consulting firm in 1973, working at various times for the Metropolitan Police Service, the Canadian Labour Congress, and the government of British Columbia. From 1984 to 1989, he served as Ontario's ombudsman, fielding complaints from citizens concerning their treatment by provincial government agencies. In 1999 he was made a Member of the Order of Canada.

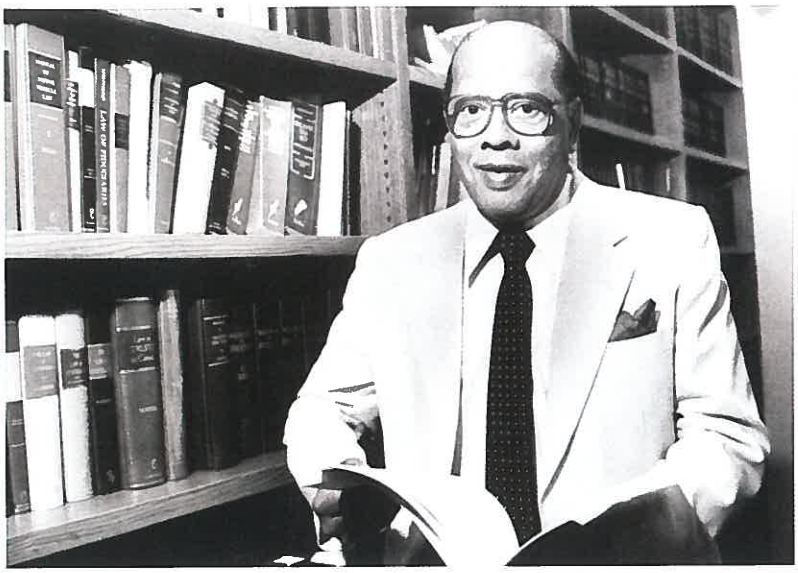
What do YOU think?

1. Do you think it is more likely that a black Canadian sociologist would get involved in human rights work than a white Canadian sociologist would? Why?
2. How do you balance the need to ensure that minoritized groups are well represented in citizens' groups against the perception that a black or Asian committee member is a token appointment, hired simply to give the group the appearance of diversity? What kind of appointment does Hill seem like to you?

Crenshaw, Collins, and Intersectionality Theory: Tracking "Race" and Gender

Intersectionality is an important word in current sociological research. It refers to the way different social factors—"race" and ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, class, age, and disability—combine to shape the experience of a minoritized group. It recognizes that, for instance, the discrimination and prejudice experienced by a young black woman is different from that experienced by a young white woman or a young black man.





"The Ombudsman of Ontario: At Your Service" [n.d.] (Archives, Ontario, F 2130-4-4-8)

[left] In his work as director of the Ontario Human Rights Commission and, later, as ombudsman of Ontario, Daniel Hill reached out to Ontarians of all ethnic and cultural backgrounds. The pamphlet shown here testifies to the importance he placed on the accessibility of his position to all provincial citizens. [top] Daniel G. Hill, ombudsman of Ontario, circa 1985.

Intersectionality theory was first developed by **Kimberlé Crenshaw**, and then elaborated shortly thereafter by critical sociologist **Patricia Hill Collins** in *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness and the Politics of Empowerment* (1990). Intersectionality theory argues against the notion, promoted by early white liberal feminists, that the experience of being "female" is basically the same for all women. It states that gender is experienced differently, with unique forms of oppression when combined with negatively valued social locations, such as certain minoritized ethnicities (e.g. African-American, Hispanic, Indigenous, and South Asian). Gender-based stereotypes, when combined with racial prejudice, create an **interlocking matrix of domination** significantly more powerful and oppressive than gender alone.

In Canada, the interlocking matrix of domination has been experienced painfully by many Indigenous women. Amnesty International maintains an online forum devoted to the issue of violence against Indigenous women in Canada. It chronicles the experience of families whose sisters and daughters have gone missing, likely murdered, over the past 30 years, and calls for better policing and greater funding for organizations that help First Nations women and girls. The following are two passages from the website (www.amnesty.ca/our-work/campaigns/no-more-stolen-sisters):

> There's still a double standard when it comes to Aboriginal women and girls. When is the government going to take action to make sure that every case of missing and murdered Aboriginal women and girls is thoroughly investigated? (Laurie Odjick, whose 16-year-old daughter disappeared in September 2008)

> Refusing to keep track of the numbers of our sisters and daughters who have been murdered or gone missing is just another way of ignoring the trouble. (Gwenda Yuzippi, whose 19-year-old daughter was murdered)

The federal government is currently preparing to hold a national inquiry into murdered and missing Indigenous women, something that activists have been demanding for several years.

Al Dunlop/*Toronto Star* via Getty Images

People take part in a march for missing and murdered Indigenous women on Parliament Hill in Ottawa. The federal government has agreed to hold a national inquiry into violence against Indigenous women, years after activists began calling for such a measure. Why do you think there has been such resistance?

WRAP IT UP

Summary

There are no human "races." From a sociological standpoint, "race" (or, rather, racialization) is a social process that reflects the ways in which people of different ethnic background are treated, and have been treated over time, by institutions such as our provincial and federal justice systems, our legislative bodies, our schools, and the media. It's also about how we view one another.

Racism is also a process, one that not only appears in personal biases and discrimination but is institutionalized in society as a whole. It's not just about the "rotten apples": the whole orchard smells. Racism certainly exists at the individual level, but it requires the support of social institutions to perpetuate itself. Fortunately, social support can be withdrawn from the features of institutions that maintain the level of racism. The apple trees can be pruned, and new trees planted and encouraged to grow.

THINK BACK

Questions for Critical Review

1. Discuss the extent to which "race" and ethnicity are social constructs.
2. It is sometimes said that white people are "invisible" in Canada. What do you think this means?
3. How is institutional, or systemic, racism different from other forms of discrimination?
4. What groups have been discriminated against by voting laws in Canada?
5. How did the Quiet Revolution change the social position of francophones in Quebec?
6. How were Ukrainians minoritized during World War I? What effect do you think that had on their participation in Canadian society for the period that immediately followed? Why do you think that stories of this minoritization are not better known in Canada?

READ ON

Suggested Print and Online Resources

Online

Stolen Sisters: No More Indigenous Women Lost to Violence

www.amnesty.ca/our-work/campaigns/no-more-stolen-sisters

- Amnesty International's "Stolen Sisters" page is an important source of documentation of the missing and murdered Indigenous women who otherwise remain invisible to mainstream Canadian society.

Settlers Claiming Métis Heritage Because They Just Feel More Indigenous

http://rabble.ca/blogs/bloggers/apihtawikosisan/2015/03/settlers-claiming-métis-heritage-because-they-just-feel-more-

- Rabble blogger Âpihtawikosisân explains why some non–Indigenous Canadians, especially in Quebec, are laying claim to Métis ancestry—and why it's wrong.

The Skin I'm In: I've Been Interrogated by Police More than 50 Times—All Because I'm Black

http://torontolife.com/city/life/skin-im-ive-interrogated-police-50-times-im-black/

- This is the full text of Desmond Cole's article excerpted in the narrative box on pages 228–9, which appeared in an April 2015 issue of *Toronto Life* magazine.

Canadian Race Relations Foundation / Fondation Canadienne des Relations Raciales

www.crr.ca

- This government-created agency is dedicated to fighting racism in Canada. The website has information on current research, diversity education and training, and anti-racism programs, as well as an extensive catalogue of resources.

Metropolis: Enhancing Policy through Research

www.canada.metropolis.net

- The Metropolis project is an integrated network involved in comparative research and public policy discussions regarding diversity and the immigrant experience in cities both in Canada and around the world.

Adjusting to Canada: From ABCs to -40 Degrees

www.cbc.ca/archives/entry/adjusting-to-canada-from-abcs-to-40-degrees

- The CBC online archives contain interviews with Vietnamese refugees taken in 1981, a few years after they had come to Canada, to hear about their experiences.

In Print

Kay J. Anderson (1991), *Vancouver's Chinatown: Racial Discourse in Canada, 1875–1980* (Montreal: McGill–Queens).

- A classic study of how "Chinese" and "Chinatown" have been expressed in the Vancouver area over a little more than a century.

Richard Brignall (2010), *China Clipper: Pro Football's First Chinese-Canadian Player, Normie Kwong* (Toronto: James Lorimer and Company).

- This tells the story of the challenges faced by Normie Kwong, the first Chinese-Canadian player in the Canadian Football League.

Agnes Calliste & George J. Sefa Dei, eds (2000), *Anti-racist Feminism: Critical Race and Gender Studies* (Halifax: Fernwood).

- A collection of readings on the intersection of gender and "race," edited by two leading anti-racist theorists.

Jael Ealey Richardson (2012), *The Stone Thrower: A Daughter's Lessons, a Father's Life* (Toronto: Thomas Allen).

- The story of how a black, wildly successful US college quarterback, Chuck Ealey, was kept from entering the NFL and ended up in the CFL.

Wanda Robson & Ronald Caplain (2010), *Sister to Courage: Stories from the World of Viola Desmond, Canada's Rosa Parks* (Wreck Cove, NS: Breton Books).

- Viola Desmond's sister, author and educator Wanda Robson, has done much to keep her sister's story alive since Viola's death at the young age of 50. This is Wanda's account of Viola's story.