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Racialization in Canadian Cities

Cheryl Teelucksingh, editor

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Cover and text design by P. J. Woodland.

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— Cheryl Teelucksingh

TOWARD CLAIMING SPACE

Theorizing racialized spaces in Canadian cities

Cheryl Teelucksingh

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Increasing numbers of racial and ethnic minorities in Canada continue to be drawn to urban centres. In the current context, this demographic fact enables various levels of government to point, reassuringly, to objective evidence of racial diversity and the dominant ideology of multiculturalism. However, closer examination reveals that celebrated Canadian markers of racial diversity and racial harmony that are spatially managed through systems of domination are in fact commodified versions of multiculturalism in the forms of "ethnic culture," "ethnic neighbourhoods," and "ethnic restaurants." Easily consumed and packaged versions of race in Canadian cities have been used to market and strengthen Canada's position in the global economy (Abu-Laban & Gabriel, 2002). As Damaris Rose (2004) notes, the ability of urban communities to compete in a knowledge-based global economy and to draw capital are tied to a city's ability to sell the desirability of racialized culture in their cities. In exchange, the majority of the racialized urban populations—particularly new immigrants, who are essential to the workings of globalizations—are simply being relegated and, literally, spatially shunned to the status of otherness in terms of their access to better paying jobs, housing, and other resources in urban centres (Teelucksingh & Galabuzi, 2005). Thus, in many senses, race continues to be "mapped," both materially and symbolically, onto Canadian cities as an important organizing principle in keeping with notions of desirability and undesirability (Sundstrom, 2003; Razack, 2002).

The growing numbers of racial and ethnic minorities in cities, and discourses of multiculturalism, either in combination or alone, do not explain why racial meanings are proliferating in Canadian urban centres. In many

Canadian cities, the dominant stakeholders, those with power, frame problems associated with education, policing, health, and the media as racial issues that reproduce racial hierarchies. Ronald Sundstrom (2003) argues that "when we sort people by categories, we do so spatially. Our system of race carries with it a spatial extension" (p. 93). This suggests the need to explore how spatial conditions in Canadian cities are simultaneously part of and influenced by racial domination and racial resistance (Anderson, 2002). The quintessential example of Toronto's Dundas Square draws attention to the material and symbolic construction of racialized, undesirable bodies via the spatial workings of racialized power.

Prior to 2003, if one approached Toronto's greatest shopping centre, the Eaton Centre, from the southwest corner of Yonge and Dundas streets, one would be immediately bombarded with the mix of street vendors, massive digital plasma advertising, traffic congestion, street performers, and crowds of shoppers, business people, and passers-by. The corner was an ideal urban spot due to its easily accessible subway, close vicinity to downtown schools, and nearby inner city residential housing. However, despite being a nexus of commercial and business activity in Toronto's downtown core, the area around Yonge and Dundas had, in the past, been commonly "viewed by some as unsafe, decrepit and in serious need of a makeover" (Cohen, 1999, p. 18). The Metropolitan Toronto Police, which had a community station established visibly close to the Yonge and Dundas entrance to the Eaton Centre, actively monitored and deterred loitering, pickpocketing, and other petty crime. Over the years, black youth had made this corner their place to meet and hang out. By virtue of their race, clothing, and presence, black youth were assumed by police and others to be "up to no good" (James, 1998), including potential crime, drug dealing, and gang activity.

In 2003, the southeast corner of Yonge and Dundas was redeveloped into "Dundas Square," heralded as Canada's version of New York's Times Square. Dundas Square is designed to serve multiple purposes as a tourist attraction, gathering place, advertising site, and entertainment space (Novell, 2003). The new commercial potential associated with Dundas Square has increased local pressure from businesses, potential billboard advertisers, and City of Toronto municipal government officials to clean up the area of all undesirable people and activity. In order to prevent the activities associated with the southwest corner of Yonge and Dundas from creeping across the street, the City of Toronto, which manages Dundas Square, has set restrictions on activities such as skateboarding and vending, implemented high rates to lease the square, and installed private security guards and surveillance cameras (Ruppert, 2003; 2005). These actions serve to privatize the public space, and to reproduce dominant ideologies about inclusions and exclusion that

racialized undesirable people, even in their absence. As Evelyn Ruppert (2003) asks, Who really belongs at Yonge and Dundas if Toronto City Council seeks to morally regulate the behaviour in the public square?

Since the official opening of Dundas Square in May 2003, there have been several ways in which the groups constructed as the "other," in terms of the official regulation of the square, have attempted to claim space. Starting in August 2003, the annual Caribana festival, which celebrates Caribbean culture, has used Dundas Square as a centralized venue. Ironically, Caribana draws racialized people who become the *right people* when diversity, culture, and commerce are linked together. The square has also recently emerged into a meeting space for various protest marches, including anti-Iraq war organizing in 2003. The Toronto Public Space Committee, an activist group, has also organized protests of Dundas Square and "the co-optation of public space by big business" (Novell, 2003). In these ways, various marginalized groups in Toronto are engaging in the process of inscribing their identities and their lived experiences into the broader understanding of Dundas Square. Effectively, these marginalized groups are thereby questioning the hegemonic social and spatial order implied in the City of Toronto's legal regulation of the physical space. Through this process, both the collective making of Dundas Square and the lived reality of the Dundas Square space becomes different from either the imagined or physical nature of the square itself (Ruppert, 2003; 2005).

The Yonge and Dundas intersection, both the southwest and southeast sides, is just one Canadian example of a racialized space—a contested site where racial meanings are evolving in our spatial understandings of the city. As this volume explores, Canadian cities are important spatial contexts in which to analyze how racialized power is produced, represented, and challenged. In this introductory chapter, as a means of framing the other chapters in this volume, I develop the notion of "racialized space" and the move toward "claiming space" as a way to explain the changing dynamics of how race is constituted in Canadian cities. First, I make a case for the use of the term "racialization," and I consider the significance of racialization as a lens through which to examine the city's dominant social relations, the ideology of multiculturalism, and the spatial structure of the city. Then, drawing on the collective contributions to this volume, I theoretically propose that claims to space, or to new spaces, are concurrently a process whereby various racialized people attempt to create new identities and alternative representations, as well as their resistance to the limits of the ideology of Canadian multiculturalism and the ongoing power relations associated with Canadian racialization.

Racialization and multiculturalism

Theories about race have always been fundamental to explanations of how a city operates. The fact that racial meanings are perpetuated over time, and remain fundamental to race relations practice, points to the ongoing problem of racialization. Racialization is not an isolated process, but rather an interrelated component of numerous other political, economic, and gender discourses and epistemological inquiries (Anderson, 1991, p. 18; Mohanram, 1999). In this sense, the increasing racialization of the Yonge and Dundas intersection is linked to the recent urban renewal initiative and the efforts to change how the intersection is perceived. Exploring the nature of racialization avoids reproducing fixed racial hierarchies because racial meaning, examined and conceptualized as part of an ongoing historical process, is sensitive to context and fluid. Therefore, racial meanings evolve in response to political, economic, and social contexts.

This conceptionalization of racialization and racism draws on Robert Miles's work (1989) in two important ways. First, racialization incorporates the often amorphous concept of "race" within a framework tracing the historical construction of racial meaning. Second, there are many strengths to Miles's approach to racism as both an analytic and heuristic tool. Miles (1989) defines racism as attributing

meanings to certain phenotypical and/or genetic characteristics of human beings in such a way as to create a system of categorisation, and by attributing additional (negatively evaluated) characteristics to the people sorted in those categories. This process of signification is therefore the basis for the creation of a hierarchy of groups and for establishing criteria by which to include and exclude groups of people in the process of allocating resources and services (1989, p. 3).

Miles's emphasis on the negative evaluation of race, as a determinative factor of racism, serves to distinguish the broader form of racialization from the more narrow form of racism. The negative evaluation acts as a filter, in Miles's definition of racism, to identify what is not racism. This distinction is important given the stigma that surrounds racist claims that can hinder processes of change. In this sense, we can talk about individuals and groups at Toronto's Dundas Square, broadly, as distinct from the narrower problem of racism. Miles acknowledges a range of racism derived not just from science but also from stereotypes, folklore, and common sense (Satzewich, 1998, p. 39). As a result, racism will not always take the same form. However, unlike Miles's approach, racism, as seen in this volume, is not limited to ideology but also includes images, assertions, and practices in Canada that are part and

parcel of most racialized discourse, or so-called "new racism," as coined by Martin Barker (1981).

Racialized people are not a fixed group, because racialization is not simply reducible to race (Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1992). Some minority groups, particularly groups considered to be white ethnic groups, have over time moved in and then out of the process of racialization. Historically, the racialization of white ethnic groups is linked to the immigration and diasporic experiences which make them vulnerable to discrimination from the broader Canadian society. History presents us with numerous supporting examples. The Irish and people of Jewish descent, who are now, for the most part, seen to be white ethnic groups in Canadian society, were at one point in time racialized in Canada. Ethnic diversity within racial groups leads to distinctions based on racial meanings. In these cases, the simple concept of ethnicity, as equated only with cultural heritage, is not a satisfactory explanation. Numerous white ethnic groups, at certain historical points, have been constructed as the "Other" in a manner that negatively impacted on their access to power and resources. Moreover, the dynamic nature of ethnicity points to the inadequacies of traditional assimilation approaches to acculturation (Park & Burgess, 1921; Fuguitt & Brown, 1990), which assume that ethnic cultural traits are ultimately diminished to reflect the dominant society's culture.

There is a growing body of research which examines the racialization associated with whiteness (Lewis, 2004; Doane & Bonilla-Silva, 2003; Frankenberg, 1993) based on the recognition that racial meanings apply to all actors. However, Amanda Lewis (2004) highlights that in order to properly consider whites as a racial category, we need to consider the issue of power. As she states (2004):

I argue that in a racialized social system all actors are racialized, including whites. Because all social actors are racialized, at some level they must live or perform or "do race." However, because of their social location (as dominants) whites historically have had the luxury of racializing others without necessarily, except strategically, developing or invoking a strong racial consciousness. (p. 625)

Similarly, Kay Anderson (2002, p. 26) notes that part of the reason that race has continued as an important organizing principle in society is because the power to racialize others has been a source of white political power.

The need to acknowledge the racialization of certain whites does not diminish the significance of racialization and the more specific problem of racism that is experienced by people of colour alone. For it is precisely white skin privilege that enables many white ethnic groups to move in and out of the racialization process in a way that people of colour never do. The nega-

tive evaluation of race, as the determinant factor of racism, involves a set of dominant and subordinate power relations. Based on this power dynamic, whites may experience racialization, but not racism in Western society.

Racialization usually includes a class discourse, since conflict and stratification result in differential access to resources and economic exploitation. However, as noted by Bolaria and Li (1988), it is important to go beyond considerations of the distribution of resources to consider how racialization operates in the production process. Bolaria and Li's (1988) work highlights that Canada has a long history of racialization that is manifested in the labour market and rooted in the immigration process. Racial minorities, immigrants, and low-income people have been essential to capitalist development in Canada. In particular, skin colour and racism categorize a segment of the labour force as subordinate. This racialized group takes on labour that other segments of the labour force will simply not do for menial wages. Therefore, many jobs in Canada, such as domestic labour, the garment industry, and contract farm labour have been racialized (Li, 2003; Teelucksingh & Galabuzi, 2005).

In Canadian society today, racialization is also hidden in the uncritical acceptance of multiculturalism (Abu-Laban & Gabriel, 2002). Multiculturalism is both the mainstream and the officially government-sanctioned approach to acculturation espoused in Canada. Most Canadians hold multiculturalism as an ideal that they share in varying degrees (Li, 1999). As distinct from assimilation, multiculturalism enables minority groups, including racial groups and immigrant groups, to maintain aspects of their own culture while also interacting with the dominant groups' culture. This gives us the symbolic image of Canada as being a "cultural mosaic" composed of a wide range of people with distinct cultures.

Racial harmony, which is assumed to be an integral component of multiculturalism, makes it easy for Canadians to further contend that racism does not exist in Canada. This uncritical acceptance of multiculturalism ignores the way in which multiculturalism, as both a public value and a federal government policy, actually operates. In practice, multiculturalism in both contexts is a shifting ideal that, at its best, is a substitute for anti-racism and, at its worst, reinforces the economic, political, and cultural interests of dominant groups with power in Canadian society.

Ideologically, it is possible for Canadians to collectively endorse multiculturalism, while sharing different understandings about what cultural diversity should look like. Canadians take pride in their democratic values, including notions of justice and equality which allow for a version of multiculturalism to be endorsed in theory, while also simultaneously discriminating against minorities (Henry, Tator, Mattis, & Rees, 2000).

The Canadian federal government's commitment to multiculturalism has not been stable. Multicultural policy, first introduced in 1971, reinforced the values of the government's role in helping cultural groups maintain aspects of their non-Canadian culture (Day, 2000). Thereafter, in order to address the needs of the increasing number of racial immigrants, the 1988 Canadian Multiculturalism Act sought to address racism and inequalities in opportunity. As illustrated in terms of the case of Dundas Square, today's multiculturalism policy is influenced by threats from majority groups and pro-market neo-liberalist values that seek to market and sell diversity (Abu-Laban & Gabriel, 2002). Managing the integration of racial groups in Canada has led to tension between competing racial, ethnic, and cultural groups, and, ultimately, the maintenance of status quo power relations. Again, an analysis of Canadian racialization can uncover the reproduction of racial meanings hidden beneath the veil of multiculturalism policy and ideology.

Racialization is a way to describe the process of racial and ethnic diversity that is an important component of many Canadian cities. An examination of the workings of racialization in the city uncovers hidden racial meanings that are not reflected in either the ideology of multiculturalism, the mere count of the number of immigrants, the number of visible minorities, or the number of cultural groups in particular fixed locations in the city. For example, the statistical observation that blacks account for less than 10 percent of the total Toronto Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) population may suggest that racism toward blacks and the "black problem" in Toronto cannot be major issues, since blacks represent a relatively small segment of the total Toronto population. This assumption, derived from a single statistic, ignores the many ways in which racialization manifests itself, and the fact that perceptions of blackness in Toronto are neither fixed nor neutral. As illustrated by my earlier discussion of the youth outside Toronto's Eaton Centre, blackness, when racialized, bleeds and expands to occupy space. In this sense, a small percentage of blacks may in fact be perceived as much more. Conceptually, black spaces are often included as part of the "black problem," and linked to the socioeconomic difficulties of the black underclass. In this sense, the "black problem" and the racialization experienced by blacks in Toronto may, in addition to statistical race categories, be examined in terms of class or economic and housing concerns. In order to understand the workings of racialization in Canadian cities, it is important to incorporate the concept of how racialization operates into a sense of the dynamics of the social and spatial organization of the city.

Racialized space in Canadian cities

Human geographers, including Henri Lefebvre (1984, 1996), Edward Soja (1989, 1996), David Harvey (1996), Doreen Massey (1984, 1994), Linda Peake and Richard Schein (2000), and Nicholas Blomley (1994, 1998), have long argued that engagement in the critical analyses of space has encouraged scholars in numerous other disciplines to understand the spatial dynamics of the city as having a reciprocal relationship with social relations.

Edward Soja (1996), in his analysis of Henri Lefebvre's *The Production of Space* (1991), arrives at a definition of space that highlights why any consideration of spatiality is significant: "Space is simultaneously objective and subjective, material and metaphorical, a medium and outcome of social life; actively both an immediate milieu and an originating presupposition, empirical and theorizable, instrumental, strategic, essential" (Soja, 1996, p. 45).

Lefebvre's trialectics of space recognizes that the relationship between space and the social takes many forms. For Lefebvre, social space is a result of the contradictions of concrete, perceived space (or material spaces), and the abstract, conceived space (or mental spaces). New, lived spaces reflect both the concrete and the abstract by balancing the trialectics of society, history, and geography. Lefebvre's notion of the production of space extends Marx's conception of the force of production, which, as Lefebvre (1991) observes, "must eventually give rise to a *new mode of production* which is neither state capitalism nor state socialism, but the collective management of space" (p. 102). In short, new spaces and new modes of production arise due to spatialized struggles between groups to *claim space.* Due to the complexity of the social, spatial dynamics are always contingent as part of the ongoing production of space. A politics of space is needed to understand how space is changing (Massey, 1994).

Spatiality must be considered in terms of both material and symbolic or discursive issues of agency and difference. Structurally, the increased impact of globalization in the form of international flows of both capital and labour highlights the expanding spatial scale of capitalist processes and the restructuring of social space in cities. Global cities, such as Vancouver, Toronto, and Montreal, also play a role in coordinating the international division of labour, which, on one level, involves multinational corporations with various locations of production and distribution and the global movement of financial capital (Sassen, 1991). On another level, the division of labour on both local and global scales results in the uneven development of marginalized nations and communities. Toronto's Dundas Square illustrates the urban spatial changes that are tied to global economics, and Toronto's ability to construct and market its image to the world (Zukin, 1991).

Theories of spatiality have responded to the challenges to modernism found in post-structuralist, postmodernist, post-colonialist and diasporic discourses. Scholarly work in the humanities has elevated the status of discourse and culture in the analysis of spatiality (England, 2004). In addition, feminist geographers have also played an important role in emphasizing the dialectical relationship between spatiality and issues of agency and subjectivity, including concerns for gender, race, and class (Massey, 1994). It is important to recognize that cultural politics and struggles between groups as reflected in cultural events and discourse are integral to spatial thinking, particularly in terms of their effects (England, 2004).

The notion of racialized spaces draws together the dynamic interaction of processes of racialization and of space. Racialized spaces are fundamental to how individuals, the state, and institutional practices make sense of and manage "race" and race relations (Goldberg, 1993). Space and racialized space do not have causal power. However, spatial analysis is important in terms of how groups relate to each other, as social relations of dominance and otherness are projected into space (Soja, 1996, p. 46; Delaney, 2002). In this regard, Jones and Natter (1997) note that "subjects achieve and resist their systems of identification in and through social space" (p. 149). Spaces that marginalize racialized groups are often not readily apparent, because social space operates as part of the everyday experience and becomes a way to normalize new and latent forms of racism. Therefore, efforts to change systems of racialization and spatiality must occur together. Moreover, racialization, similar to gender and class, is responsible for binding people together in spaces. In this sense, racialized spaces are tied to systems of power (Massey, 1994). For example, many Canadian cities have low-income communities that, in common parlance, are associated with only one ethnoracial group even though the demographic statistics point to a diverse composition of ethnoracial groups. The lived experience of a community, the way in which the community is perceived, and the physical configuration of the demographic groups in the community are often contradictory concepts (Lefebvre, 1991; Soja, 1996). Accordingly, a social analysis of space incorporated into a notion of racialized space balances these conceptions of space.

Racialized space, as a conceptual and methodological tool, is useful to an examination of racialization and Canadian cities. A view to the spatiality of social processes encourages us to understand that racialization becomes a part of our everyday lives when it is inscribed in space. By highlighting patterns of social organization, a social analysis of space allows a theorist to address questions regarding the evolving history and politics of the city and its communities. Examining how space becomes reproduced involves a consideration of both structural, political, and economic processes and the ways

in which various stakeholders act as agents in the reproduction of space reflecting their particular interests.

There are numerous American and British studies that examine the reciprocal relationship between space and race (Berry & Henderson, 2002; Duncan & Ley, 1993; Goldberg, 1993; Jackson & Penrose, 1993; Massey, 1994; Pile & Keith, 1997; Soja, 1996; Zukin, 1991). Canadian work has been done with respect to consideration of narratives of identity and citizenship as component parts of national narratives of identity and citizenship (Anderson, 1991; Isin & Siemiatycki, 2002; Razack, 2002; Kobayashi & Peake, 2000). Other seminal Canadian work that has explored the relationship between race and space has focused on the dynamics affecting an isolated part of a city or one particular racial group (Anderson, 1991; Ruddick, 1996; Kobayashi & Peake, 2000; Peake & Schein, 2000) or particular components of state practices (Razack, 2002). Previous Canadian studies (McCurdy, 1995; Sunahara, 1981) have also considered the attempts to use physical space as a means to oppress marginalized Aboriginal, black, and Japanese communities. In this sense, the historical use of the reservation system for Aboriginals, concentration camps for the Japanese, and segregated residential housing for blacks all rely on space as a form of oppression.

In short, the notion of racialized space considers the hegemonic social relations between racialized people and dominant groups and institutions that impact on the uneven development of racialized people and their communities. In this collection, a social analysis of space has allowed for both structural, political, and economic processes, and the ways in which various stakeholders act as agents in the reproduction of space reflecting their particular interests.

"Claiming space" and contributors to this volume

Chapters in this volume seek to explore the complexity of race and space across a diverse range of city spaces, and the role that various stakeholders play in producing racialized spaces. Key questions that contributors consider relate to examining stakeholder politics, including: Who/what groups were instrumental in bringing about socio-spatial changes? What was the resistance to the change? Contributors have also emphasized the need to analyze the contradictions and tensions between the material spaces and mental spaces, and counter spaces.

The chapters in this volume are reflective of various racial groups, as well as the intersection with ethnicity, class, gender, and sexuality. There has also been an effort to highlight the spatial manifestations of race across Cana-

dian cities; however, certain geographical areas have not been adequately represented in this collection. The dominance of pieces focusing on larger metropolitan centres such as Vancouver, Calgary, and Toronto speaks to the strength of diasporic voices and cultural practices in these metropolitan centres.

Contributions to this collection illustrate that social analysis of space is both a conceptual and interdisciplinary methodological tool that allows for the questioning of the evolving history and politics of racialization in cities. As I have argued elsewhere (Teelucksingh, 2002), Lefebvre's trialectics of space (1991) provides a framework for an applied and critical analysis of social space in Canadian urban cities.

Space that is perceived is concrete, physical, and objective. This perceived space often draws from measurable configurations, such as maps, or social and geographic descriptions of locations. In this sense, methodologies that focus on perceived space are a component of the work of Kelly Train, Anastasia Panagakos, and Domenic Beneventi. Beneventi, in particular, argues that mapping is an important exclusionary tool of Canada's colonialist past. Space, as reflected in planning documents, newspaper representations, and cultural texts, is conceived of as abstract and subjective. In varying degrees, all contributors use discourse analysis and archival analysis as methodological approaches to spatial analysis. The authors have examined discourses in documents and cultural practices in order to uncover the ways in which oppressors have normalized racialization as part of social space. Lastly, lived space brings together objective and subjective elements, and focuses on everyday experiences. Contributors' uses of interviews, participant observation, and other participatory research techniques—as illustrated most clearly in the work of Awad Ibrahim, Leeno Karumanchery, and Anastasia Panagakos—point to community resistance and attempts to create new urban spaces.

The reader will also notice that, collectively, chapters in this volume reflect, as a starting point, on the ways in which race is systematically hidden within the workings of Canadian cities, and then move on to consider from whom racialized people are attempting to claim space. Variations in contributors' theorization of race, racism, and spatiality are an outcome of the different types of questions and problems considered by each contributor. Glenn Deer examines the discursive racial meanings attached over time to Asian Canadians in Richmond, British Columbia. He argues that the "moral panic" about the increasing presence of Asian Canadians, as constructed by the present-day media, is also embedded in narratives about the early "official" history of Richmond. Leeno Karumanchery examines the implications of what he terms "racial trauma" stemming from the experience of racism.

The alienation associated with the diasporic experience, and the fact that there are no safe spaces for people of colour in Canada, is also considered in Karumanchery's work.

The chapters by Train and Panagakos raise the possibilities of racialized Sephardic Jews in Toronto and Greeks in Calgary, respectively, using local community centres and alternative religious spaces as a means to both maintain identities and escape from the racialization of certain ethnic groups within the broader society. In these chapters, places are social spaces that are given meaning not due to their physical presences, but the social identities that form through the social uses. Train and Panagakos highlight that claiming space is in part about reinventing spaces, and also, in part, about reconciling the tension between physical space and the symbolic space. Moreover, Train and Panakagos both consider that space is claimed as part of a process of resistance and the need of minority groups to build and foster community.

Aboriginal peoples' claims to space are historically based in colonial relations and present-day sovereignty struggles rather than "otherness" constructed due to the immigration process. In this sense, Cathy van Ingen's chapter explores the reactions to the Enoch Cree Nation's casino proposal in the prestigious west end of Edmonton. Van Ingen's analysis of public accounts and discourses in opposition to the Enoch Crees' casino proposal points to moral assumptions that play a role in the configuration of urban space. Spaces are contested sites, for both Panagakos and van Ingen, and as a result new spaces are constructed through power struggles and conflicts of interest.

In addition to applying an analysis of social space, there are several themes that link the contributions in this volume. Many contributors, including Glenn Deer, Kelly Train, and Rinaldo Walcott, assert the importance of new spaces that arise by virtue of challenging the dominant Canadian ideologies of multiculturalism. These authors call for a diversity of representations and reinterpretations of identity. Awad Ibrahim, Jenny Burman, and Rinaldo Walcott, in particular, individually argue for new and hybridized identities that reject notions of authenticity in terms of identity, culture, and community. These theorists identify that the version of cultural pluralism endorsed as part of Canadian multiculturalism, both the ideology and the official policy, fails to challenge the unequal power relations in Canadian society; in this sense, multiculturalism hinders the ability of racialized Canadians to claim space both culturally and materially. Claiming space is not about being relegated to fixed and marginal space, as argued by Walcott; claiming space, as argued by Burman, Ibrahim, and Walcott, is about subjectivity, agency, and the process of "becoming" subjects.

Issues relating to subjectivity and space are also explored in this collection. Karumanchery, Walcott, Ibrahim, and Beneventi all analyze discourses to consider how spatiality operates as a reflection of subjects' lives, and the various ways in which subjects can occupy space (Sibley, 1995, 1998). These theorists, drawing on theoretical work in the humanities and psychoanalysis, consider the process of becoming the other. According to Karumanchery, a violation of safe space occurs when the subject is drawn into being the other. His work, as well as that of Walcott, highlights the role of the white gaze in the formation of narratives of identity and belonging.

The relationship between diasporic identities and claims to space is another theme taken up by several contributors. For Panagakos, the construction of diasporic identities in Canadian cities is about nostalgia and efforts to reproduce culture. In contrast, the work of Ibrahim and Burman highlights the fact that new spaces involve negotiating discourses of "home" and the new locale that are not necessarily nostalgic.

This volume presents a variety of perspectives on claims to space by racialized people in Canada. However, when considered collectively, claiming space is a process whereby racialized people attempt to create new identities and alternative representations, as well as their resistance to the limits of the ideology of Canadian multiculturalism and the ongoing power relations associated with racialization.

Claiming Space: Racialization in Canadian Cities contributes both to existing scholarship as well as academic and community networks that focus on urban manifestations of social inequality and racialization both in Canada and internationally. Here, it is important to note that questions and debates raised in this collection have implications for future research, policy, and activism. First, the social analysis of space used in this collection presents one strategy to address the pressure on social science researchers to provide evidence of racialization. As argued in the collection, a consideration of the various manners in which racial meanings become embedded in space allows for an analysis of the role of various stakeholders, as well as the history and politics of racialization. Second, many contributors encourage us to assess critically the role of governments in the racialization of space by highlighting how neo-liberal agendas operate within seemingly liberalized multiculturalism and immigration policies. Arguably, policy developments in the future can also benefit from this type of scrutiny. Third, collectively, the volume highlights the ongoing need to consider the various forms that resistance to racialization can take.

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THE NEW YELLOW PERIL
The rhetorical construction of Asian Canadian identity and cultural anxiety in Richmond
Glenn Deer

Introduction

On October 21, 1995, the following advertisement for the CBC Evening News appeared in the *Richmond Review* (p. 5), a community newspaper that serves a suburban readership situated south of the city of Vancouver, British Columbia:

LET'S TALK. In the last year, the Chinese Canadian population grew by 26 percent. It's the biggest social transformation Greater Vancouver has ever experienced. As the pace of change increases, so do racial tensions.

We need to talk. **Monday at 6:30**, Kevin Evans moderates a discussion on race relations in a special **CBC Evening News Forum.**

Watch FACING FORWARD: RACE RELATIONS IN VANCOUVER

    The race relations "News Forum" (subtitled "Neighbours: Beyond Political Correctness" when it was broadcast on the evening of October 23, 1995), and the events that precipitated it, provide an exemplary starting point for the analysis of discursive struggles over community identities, urban environments, and race in British Columbia. Televisual discourse, with its invitation to "talk" and its deployment of the promise of "moderation," sought to intervene in a series of race relations crises. These crises, as I will demonstrate, were forms of "moral panic" (Hier & Greenberg, 2002) that were both conspicuously constructed by the news media themselves and linked to a locally established discourse of Anglo-European Canadian entitlement to space. These discourses were not only present in the local news but were long preceded by the locally published "official" history of Richmond, written by

Leslie Ross and entitled *Richmond: Child of the Fraser* (1979), a historical text that not only reinforces the character of Anglo-European spatial entitlement in Richmond but simultaneously places Asian Canadians in an abject, outsider space. This historical text provides evidence of how Richmond officially regarded itself in the 1970s, not as the multicultural and dynamic zone of development that it would become thirty years later, but as a semi-rural, Euro-Canadian community on the road to steady urban transformation. The cultural homogeneity and assumptions of Euro-Canadian spatial priority found in this history provide an important context for understanding the tensions between long-time residents and immigrant newcomers in the mid-1990s, and these tensions would erupt as a series of significant media events. Such cultural contexts paved the way, in 1995, for local newspapers to provide an increasingly dramatic narrative of racialized conflicts over immigrant-driven increases in urban change, and the participation of prominent print journalists and citizen correspondents became an integral part of the CBC forum held on October 23 of that year. This study will consider these cultural contexts, local histories from the 1970s like *Richmond: Child of the Fraser*, and the media discourses of 1995 that culminated in the October CBC forum entitled "Neighbours: Beyond Political Correctness."

Race and historical contexts

Vancouver and Richmond have shared a long, but often overlooked, history of significant conflicts between dominant white communities and minority communities of colour, mainly of Asian background, over the ownership and use of space in British Columbia's lower mainland. From the earliest race riots of 1887 and 1907 by anti-oriental leagues that destroyed Chinese and Japanese homes and businesses on Vancouver's Hastings and Powell streets (Adachi, 1976; Ward, 1978; Anderson, 1991), to the appropriation of Japanese-Canadian properties and boats in Richmond's fishing village, Steveston, and the forced internment of 22,000 Canadians of Japanese ancestry in 1942 (Adachi, 1976; Miki & Kobayashi, 1991), to the more recent publicity in 2004 over the strategic positioning of Indo-Canadian and Chinese-Canadian political candidates in particular Vancouver and Richmond constituencies, these intertwinings of group allegiances, competition, and racialized spaces are central in understanding the past and present cultural dynamics of the Greater Vancouver region.

The ethnic-social character of the city of Richmond, surrounded by the arms of the Fraser river and located south of Vancouver, has been described by Ray, Halseth, and Johnson (1997) as being historically a "steadfastly European space within Greater Vancouver" (p. 88), although the fishing village of

Steveston, with its long association with Japanese fishermen and some Chinese cannery workers in the early 1900s, is the "exception." Ray, Halseth, and Johnson also note that as of 1971, Richmond had a "homogenous British/European identity," and that Asians were a small portion of the population: they comprised only 5.5 percent of the total (and these were mainly Japanese), with 36 percent residing in Steveston. By 1986, they note, the Chinese-Canadian presence grew to 8.3 percent of the population, and the proportion of total immigrants grew to a significant 31.3 percent of the total Richmond population (Ray et al., 1997, pp. 88–89). Ray, Halseth, and Johnson's analysis contends, however, that negative reactions in the popular press to the newly increased Asian Canadian presence had "little to do with physical change per se, and instead is reflective of a long history of ideas about immigrants, race and place in the suburbs" (1997, p. 83).

Race and space in 1995

The change in the annual immigrant population in Vancouver and Richmond, nevertheless, had an impact on local resources, material conditions, the perceptions of residents, and the production of discourse. Racialized tensions over space in Vancouver and Richmond came to a head in the fall of 1995, not only because of sheer population changes but also because of the perception of these changes by media editorialists and local citizens. British Columbia's annual incoming immigrant population doubled from 24,474 in 1980 to a dramatic 48,529 in 1994 (Hutton, 1997, pp. 300–301). The surge in the population of new immigrants, many from Hong Kong and Taiwan who chose to settle in either Vancouver or Richmond, put obvious pressures on real estate prices, school capacities, hospital services, transportation corridors, political constituencies, rezoning of residential properties, and the use of parklands.

Public controversies in the local press that responded to these pressured zones in the fall of 1995 were focused on three prominent spaces: the activity of Asian shellfish harvesters at the waterfront around Stanley Park; the perceived decline of English language use in the Commercial Drive area of East Vancouver; and the sprawling Asian business developments and malls, with Chinese signage, along Richmond's Number 3 Road. First, John Nightingale, executive director of the Vancouver Aquarium, bitterly accused Asian immigrants of "strip mining" the marine resources in the Stanley Park foreshore (Pynn, 18 September 1995). Second, preceding the Nightingale accusation by several weeks were a series of cynical reports during August 1995 by *Vancouver Sun* columnist Elizabeth Aird, who wrote about the deterioration of public harmony, the proliferating crime and violence, and the resulting

"white flight" from Vancouver to outlying "little Rhodesias" like Tsawwassen (Aird, 15 August 1995; 17 August 1995; 22 August 1995; 21 September 1995). Third, adding to Aird's complaints of white flight, Dave McCullough, publisher of the *Richmond Review*, described the Asian "cultural ghettoization" of Richmond (McCullough, 9 September 1995; 21 October 1995; 27 January 1996). The threat of the new "Yellow Peril" (see Ward, 1978, p. 6) extended even beyond British Columbia's Hong Kong diasporic community to Markham, Ontario, where the deputy mayor, Carole Bell, inveighed against Asian theme malls and the flight of long-established residents and businesses away from the growing Chinese-Canadian communities ("'Fleeing the Asians' remark rebounds," 22 September 1995). Generally, the press noted the ironic historical turnabout in the fact that migration from Hong Kong, whose political life as a British colony ended in 1997, was turning Asians into the new "colonizers" of British Columbia (Aird, 17 August 1995). Yasmin Jiwani, in a 1995 North Vancouver anti-racism forum, confirmed that the media were consistently representing "Asian Canadians as opportunistic businessmen buying out Vancouver" (p. 14).

Discourse strategies: Moral panic and unmapping history

The print journalists cited above constructed public anxiety and moral panic over territorial threats by Asian immigrants through *spatial tropes*. These spatialized tropes of the Asian presence were persistently used in relation to prominent and popular spaces in the cultural imagination of British Columbians: the moral panic engendered by the notion of "strip mining" or irresponsible consumption collocated with Stanley Park, for example, triggered significant public outcries over this renowned tourist attraction and public green space. Threats to the supposed integration of communities on Commercial Drive were lent greater urgency by the juxtaposition of alienated schoolchildren, threats of linguistic isolation, and increasing crime in the news: the trope of "white flight" reinforced this anxiety over increasingly tension-filled and racially demarcated urban spaces. Chinese-language signs were translated into the broader and ominous effects of the trope of "cultural ghettoization." The moral panics of these three tropes—"strip mining," "white flight," and "cultural ghettoization"—served both to articulate the anxiety of white British Columbians and to wage a discursive war against the threat to Anglo-European privilege.

It should be noted that even though many residents from a Euro-Canadian background might have felt no threat at all from these changes, the prominence of the newspaper columns and letters, the advertisements for the

televised discussion, and the actual CBC television forum certainly conjured up the conditions of a necessary moral panic that divided the population into an imagined dichotomy of long-time residents versus immigrant new-comers.

The concept of moral panic is outlined by Sean Hier and Joshua Green-berg (2002), who analyze the news media's coverage of the Fujian boat migrants who arrived on the coast of Vancouver Island in 1999. They employ Stanley Cohen's *Folk Devils and Moral Panics* (1972) to illustrate how the Fujian migrants were constructed as a greater threat than was warranted by the actual circumstances. Moral panic can be defined as "a tendency for a large part of society to consolidate in response to a threat, which can be real or imagined" (Hier & Greenberg, 2002, p. 140). Not only does the threat increase the solidarity of the threatened community but "this threat is believed to be so dangerous to the social body and the 'moral order' that 'something must be done,'—that is, some regulatory process must be mobi-lized. 'Doing something' usually involves reconsidering or amending existing mechanisms of social control" (Hier & Greenberg, 2002, p. 140). Hier and Greenberg demonstrate how the moral panic that evolved during the media coverage of the Fujian migrants drew upon racist stereotypes, and combined "racialization…with a discourse of illegality" (Hier & Greenberg, 2002, p. 147).

The analysis pursued here will demonstrate that the type of moral panic described by Hier and Greenberg can apply to the events of 1995 in Vancou-ver and Richmond: news readers were drawn into the controversies through the panic-evoking tropes of "strip mining," "white flight," and "cultural ghet-toization." The letters to the *Richmond Review*, and the editorials by Dave McCullough and Elizabeth Aird, show that "media discourses have the capac-ity to recruit and mobilize news readers as active participants in the social construction of moral panic" (Hier & Greenberg, 2002, p. 139). The solidarity of the threatened Anglo-European communities was doubly evoked by the racialized spatial tropes of territorial threat, and by the rhetorical stances taken by the writers, who implied that their audience was monoculturally of Anglo-European descent, monolingually English, and from social classes who would sympathize with the urban professionals described by Elizabeth Aird. In other words, these writers did not compose their discourse in a man-ner that assumed their readers might be a diverse mixture of multilingual social classes, ethnicities, and communities: if they had assumed different stances and appealed to a greater variety of interests, their own positions would not have reinforced an insider/outsider dichotomy. The print jour-nalists were drawn into the audience-forming dynamics of moral panic by assuming that their ideal readership was an ethnically bounded one, one conterminous with the each of the areas threatened by the Asian "Others."

In identifying these journalists and writers as contributing to the process of "Othering," this study is drawing attention to the privileged power they have in the social construction of panic: the "Others," those Canadians who are not part of the mainstream, certainly do not have the same influence over the discourse of moral panic as do the journalists cited above. "Others" obviously do not have the same level of power to turn the tables on the news pundits, or would not have the power to "Other" or minoritize these privileged wielders of public discourse who have held prominent positions as producers of editorial rhetoric for large televisual and newspaper audiences. The CBC Evening News advertisement cited at the beginning of this study exemplifies the mobilization of an authoritative and powerful public "regulatory" process that attempts to exert some mitigating social control over the elements of panic, but simultaneously reinforces the importance of that very form of panic it is attempting to defuse. If one were to pose the question, Who initiated and developed this process of moral panic and Othering? one need look no further than the professional producers of public discourse themselves, the journalists, for part of the answer.

My investigation of the dynamics of audience scripting here is partly indebted to the traditions of rhetorical analysis and discourse theory (George Dillon, 1986; Roger Fowler, 1981; Barry Brummett, 1994), and to the combination of these methods with critical race theory as practiced by Frances Henry and Carol Tator (2002), but also to now classic formulations of discursive power in the work of Michel Foucault (1977, 1980) and Edward Said (1978). The construction of Asian presence as a threatening Other reflects the dominant discourse of the newspapers and their control over the elements of national identity. As Henry and Tator (2002) remind us, "Media representations are discursive formations … [that] have enormous power not only to represent social groups but also to identify, regulate, and even construct social groups—to establish who is 'we' and who is 'other' in the 'imagined community' of the nation-state" (p. 27). Furthermore, Henry and Tator emphasize that the dominant discourse so often reproduced in the media represents "the ideological positions of their elite owners" (p. 7). I would emphasize again that journalists and television news anchors enjoy special powers, with access to privileged social and economic capital for their public roles in shaping the national imaginary.

While the work of Henry and Tator—which productively combines the anti-racist energy of feminist academic bell hooks with the micro-level scrutiny of Dutch linguist Teun van Dijk and the mass media insights of John Fiske—is an exemplary model for any intervention in mediations of race and space, it is also helpful to connect discourse analysis to Sherene Razack's (2002) concept of "unmapping," a spatially self-conscious process that denat-

uralizes the ownership of spaces and uncovers the hierarchies of power and violence that are embedded in white representations of territory. In Razack's terms, this critical work also connects the body to a space: "To unmap means to historicize…asking about the relationship between identity and space" (p. 128). For example, in Razack's unmapping of white male sexual crime perpetrated against the First Nations woman Pamela George, she unpacks the raced and gendered elements productive of a male ideology that assumed a privileged and predatory stance against an utterly abjected and sexualized aboriginal body confined to the demeaning streets of Regina's "the stroll." Razack's insistence upon the importance of racialization as a determinative force in situating victims of violence is helpful in countering the charges of those who might insist that spatial competition is separable from race. Unmapping the problem of histories of space and the media construction of social relations in Richmond and Vancouver, therefore, entails restoring the racial link to identity and space, not eliding or naturalizing the occupation of a space by a particular group. Razack's intervention is compatible with both the discursive critique of Henry and Tator, and the views of John Fiske, who points out that while "discourses work to repress, marginalize, and invalidate others" (1996, p. 4), there are "continuous but unequal opportunities for intervention, and discursive guerrillas are key troops in any political or cultural campaign" (p. 6).

Thus, I will proceed to "unmap" some of the repressed elements of power, racialization, and history by using the methods of rhetorical criticism and discourse analysis. I will proceed in this investigation by first performing a rhetorical and racial unmapping of the "official" history of Richmond, a book published in 1979 entitled *Richmond: Child of the Fraser*; I will then confront some of the scholarship that attempts to downplay the significance of race in the space disputes of the 1990s, specifically the work of David Ley; finally, I will undertake a rhetorical analysis of the October 23, 1995 CBC *News Forum*.

Unmapping "official" history: Racing *Richmond: Child of the Fraser*

Carol Tator, Frances Henry, and Winston Mattis, in *Challenging Racism in the Arts*, state that "Canada suffers from historical amnesia" (1998, p. 10), or a "collective denial" that has "obliterated from…collective memory the racist laws, policies, practices, and ideologies that have shaped Canadian social, cultural, political, and economic institutions for three hundred years" (ibid.). What is important to note is that despite the racism uncovered by the schol-

arship of Adachi (1976), Ward (1978), Miki and Kobayashi (1991), or Anderson (1991), cultural and historical amnesia and elisions persist in the officially commissioned history of Richmond, the book titled *Richmond: Child of the Fraser.* A critical unmapping of the racialization of space in this book will reveal some important contexts that inform our understanding of Richmond, and will illustrate a continuity between the assumptions of Euro-Canadian spatial primacy, articulated in the 1970s, and the development of threats to this primacy in the tensions encountered in the mid-1990s. My purpose here is not to read this historical work as a simple racist text—it is clearly not—but it is a book that bears the vestigial, more understated elements of Anglo-European precedent and originary claims to space, claims that are revealingly indicative of racialized power when read with a sensitive eye for the fate of Asian Canadian lives and sensibilities within its pages.

Richmond: Child of the Fraser is a history of Richmond that was published in 1979 to mark the city's centenary. It was written by Leslie Ross, who held an undergraduate degree from Simon Fraser University and an M.A. in American and diplomatic history from Wichita State University at time of the book's publication. Her work was produced, according to the title page, "Under the direction of the Historical Committee of the Richmond '79 Centennial Society" (Ross, 1979). Ross's history is thus directed by collective municipal interests, and her book is a traditional eulogization of the Anglo-European explorers, dike builders, pioneer families, farmers, and patriarchal reeves who imposed environmental order, domesticity, and civic institutions on the fertile Fraser floodplain from 1879 to 1979. Ross's 244-page, oversized book contains 344 black and white photographs, including depictions of First Nations Salish dwellings on the Fraser, Spanish maps, pioneer homes, bearded and waistcoated Victorian patriarchs, clapboard storefronts, bridge construction, lacrosse teams, fishing boats, fire brigades, popular dance hall actress Lulu Sweet, and a prominent gallery of Richmond's past mayors (all men of Anglo-European background).

Ross's history is a typical commissioned municipal history that combines geographical facts, European settler narratives, and chronicles of the building of city infrastructures. The book's metaphoric link to an innocent and naturalistic "Child of the Fraser" River performs the symbolic and mythic task of managing an interesting ontological contradiction: the title's reference to the "child" naturalizes a delta space that was, in fact, cut away from the natural forces of the river through the human-controlled process of dike-building. The photographs of the fishing industry, dairy farming, and horse racing remind the audience of the dramatic transitions in the environment of Richmond, mainly initiated by human industrial means, as marshes and boggy wetlands were turned into neat, cultivated grids of farmland, then redevel-

oped into the residential tracts that characterize the Richmond of the present day.

This official history of Richmond, however, recirculates and reinforces the city's Anglo-European character: Asian Canadian communities are not only a marginal presence in this history but also a subtly Othered and abjected group. While Ross tries to present an historically objective account of how Japanese and Chinese labourers established themselves in Steveston, their presence is notably collocated with delinquent or violent criminal actions. For example, one of the few Chinese individuals named in the book is an accused murderer, Yip Leck, who is described in the set-off quotation from the *Vancouver Province* as "one of the ugliest specimens of a bad Chinaman ever landed in British Columbia. His face is the blackest of his race, his upper teeth protrude and his hair is like that of a barbarian" (Ross, 1979, p. 63). Ross's intentions in employing this quotation might be to simply convey the attitudes that prevailed in 1900 toward a man who was apparently guilty of killing the chief of police, Alex Main, with a brush hook; but her adding of the phrase, "A reporter from the *Vancouver Province* minced no words to express his verdict" (Ross, 1979, p. 62) seems to validate the propriety of both the guilty charge and the condemnation of the accused's skin colour, race, and "barbarian" appearance.

Earlier in the book, there is a brief acknowledgement that Chinese labourers helped to dig some of the nineteenth-century dikes by hand (Ross, 1979, p. 49), but subsequent references are to the competition posed to the local white labour force by the Chinese, especially in the fish canneries. The efficiency of Chinese labour in the canning companies supposedly compelled white owners to invent the "Smith Butchering Machine" (Ross, 1979, pp. 114–15), a machine that Ross tells us was habitually called "the iron Chink." Ross uses the pejorative phrase at least four times without contextualizing its racist intentions, or distancing herself from its demeaning forcefulness (Ross, 1979, pp. 114, 115, 117, 126). A typical example of Ross's use of the term occurs in the many references to how Chinese contract labourers were thought of as "living machines." The implied attitude throughout this narrative is that the Chinese possessed no inner life, value systems, or emotional integrity. Asian labour and bodies were replaceable with machines because their function in the construction of Richmond was that of a tool without an identity. As Ross writes, "even those employees who eagerly recruited Oriental labour around the turn of the century actively sought to replace them where it was to their advantage. Technological advances such as the 'Iron Chink' is one example of this, as is the hiring of native and East Indian workers who were less organized and more limited in their ability to force higher wages" (1979, p. 126).

Ross thus recirculates the abject metaphor of the Asian labourer as a disposable machine, and both documents Anglo-European discrimination and inscribes herself within its privileged historical perspective. Few Chinese-Canadian writers would be able to use the term "Iron Chink" without discursively distancing themselves from its acceptability or framing it with stronger self-conscious irony. Such distancing or irony do not occur within this history.

Ross's 1979 perspective on racism is therefore a noticeably passive and complicitous one. In writing about white exclusionary labour practices, she appears to validate the economic rationale for racist practices:

the origin and exact nature of discrimination is not always easy to determine, but its presence is usually clear. From their earliest arrival, the foreign tongued, physically and culturally distinctive peoples were viewed with fear and suspicion, both founded and unfounded. Tensions grew and faded over the years, very often in relation to the availability of work and money. In British Columbia, the Asiatic Exclusion League, Knights of Labour, and the Workingmen's Protective Association (in Victoria) were formed to defend the rights of white workers and to encourage the passage of legislation to stop the immigration of Oriental workers. (Ross, 1979, pp. 126–27)

Ross's quiet nod to the rationalization of past discrimination is extraordinary when viewed from a raced perspective. The above passage, we must note, is located on a page that conspicuously contains four photographs: two of these show the government's confiscation of Japanese-Canadian fishing boats on the Fraser River in 1942. The phrase "the rights of white workers" hovers, though unintentionally, over a photograph of hundreds of the tragically impounded Japanese-Canadian fishing vessels.

Ross's history, as this example shows, consistently articulates the discourse of white privilege, and unapologetically rationalizes the actions of the dominant Euro-Canadian government, never granting ethical, spiritual, or emotional sensibilities to those affected by these policies. She even appropriates population statistics (Ross, 1979, p. 126) from Ken Adachi's history of Japanese Canadians, but mainly to use Adachi's own terms to highlight the negative "clannishness" of Japanese Canadians (ibid.). As well, Ross's characterization of the appropriation of Japanese-Canadian property is not only portrayed as a necessary and consensual wartime sacrifice, but also an inconvenience that is on par with or below the sacrifices made by Richmond school children who gave up their springtime parties:

World War II was a time of sacrifice for everyone. Families were separated by the enlistment of husbands, fathers, and sons for service elsewhere in Canada and

overseas…. The leisure time of many was given to the Red Cross and other groups…. School children gave up their May Queen celebrations. Clocks reverted to Daylight Saving Time or "War Time" to conserve energy and the Japanese residents gave up their homes. (Ross, 1979, p. 163)

The euphemization of anti-Asian sentiment that served to maintain Anglo-European dominance in Richmond's fishing industry and control over the Steveston docks is symptomatic of how a dominant culture elides or euphemizes what Mona Oikawa calls the "cartographies of violence" (2002). This official centennial history is an example of "sanitized landscapes and hegemonic ideologies of forgetting" (Oikawa, 2002, p. 75). Such historical elisions might be overlooked as a mere product of the limited social and political knowledge of the late seventies, when Japanese-Canadian interventions like Joy Kogawa's *Obasan* (1981) had not yet remapped the repressed or under-reported mistreatment of Japanese Canadians from the testimonial perspective of the survivor. Ross's history does cite Ken Adachi's important social history of Japanese Canadians, *The Enemy That Never Was* (1976), yet does little to grasp Adachi's rightfully indignant exposure of racist practices.

Nor does Ross's "official" and seemingly comprehensive history acknowledge the earlier oral and photographic history project written by Daphne Marlatt, with photos by Robert Minden and Rex Weyler, and oral testimonies by Maya Koizumi: *Steveston Recollected: A Japanese-Canadian History* (1975). The personal testimonies here convey the lived and phenomenologically rich lives of their multiple authors, a webwork of stories that is beautifully evoked by Robert Minden's photographic cover of a fishing net exquisitely and intricately cascading over the weathered, richly grained, and damp deckboards of a pier. Looking at this net, one feels that Ross's *Child of the Fraser* could have enveloped much more of the human side of Richmond had she actually held such a net in her hands and spoken with the fishermen who used it.

I have analyzed these histories of Richmond in detail and *raced* them because they are part of the historical and historicizing "symbolic economy" that has constructed the cultural identity of the city. As the literary critic and theorist Stephen Greenblatt reminds us, "In any culture there is a general symbolic economy made up of the myriad signs that excite human desire, fear, and aggression" (1990, p. 230; also see Bourdieu, 1993). While Greenblatt's investigation of the symbolic economy focuses on how literary artists use language and narrative to manipulate this economy, historical discourses, popular culture, and mass media forms also produce symbols and images that shape this economy: the symbolic economy that is peculiar to Richmond is largely made up of all of the Richmond-focused narratives, historical mate-

rials, government documents, photographs, and recordings for public audiences, and *Richmond: Child of the Fraser* is certainly a visible part of the symbolic and historical construction of Richmond. For example, four copies of the book are available in the various branches of the current Richmond Public Library system, and it is also retailed by the Richmond Cultural Centre where the main library is housed. The above reading of *Richmond: Child of the Fraser* supports the claims of Ray, Halseth, and Johnson, and their assertion that racial tensions in Richmond are "reflective of a long history of ideas about immigrants, race and place in the suburbs" (1997, p. 83). It is within this type of Anglo-European symbolic economy that the racialized moral panics of 1995 can be situated. But this foregrounding of longstanding racism in the discussion of Richmond race relations has recently been problematized by David Ley, and it is to the challenge of his perspective that I will turn next.

The rhetoric of racism?

David Ley (1997) takes issue with Ray, Halseth, and Johnson in his article "The rhetoric of racism and the politics of explanation in the Vancouver housing market." Ley argues that popular and even scholarly identifications of racism in community complaints about change are too simplistic and ignore the complexities of economic pressure and the pre-existing "anti-growth" movement (p. 342) in Vancouver. Ley does not entirely deny "racist motivations as having some part in the protests of the last decade" (p. 344), but hopes to "open up discussion" (p. 344) that has been dominated by a racialized rhetoric. Ley's challenge can also be supplemented by John Rose's more recent 2001 study that considers whether the attitudes of fifty-four Richmond residents drawn from a network of students, acquaintances, and others are indicative of a more general resistance to growth rather than racist resistance to immigrants. Ley usefully draws out the contradictions that are created by commercial interests, and demonstrates that real estate agents, contractors, and developers benefited by supporting liberal anti-racist campaigns to challenge the protests of Anglo-Europeans against the Asian redevelopment of large areas of Vancouver and Richmond. Ley also points out that the many letters sent to the city that complain about the rapid development, tree removal, and so-called "monster" homes in Vancouver's wealthy Shaughnessy and Kerrisdale communities are ironically forgetful: such complaints, Ley emphasizes, show an ironic blindness to the European displacement of First Nations people from their camps and hunting grounds, and also ignores the "free market principles that these conservative homeowners pursue at work while seeking the protection of state regulation at home" (1997, p. 339).

Ley reiterates that there is a lack of "supporting evidence" (1997, p. 344) in the claims of Ray, Halseth, and Johnson (1997), who detect a "reinvented articulation of old racist concepts" in the 1990s popular discourse (Ley, 1997, p. 344).

My defence of Ray, Halseth, and Johnson would be, first, to highlight the term "*reinvented* articulation" in their original formulation, and to grant that the explicit racism of a five-hundred dollar head tax or the withholding of franchise rights are obviously not part of the racializing strategies of the 1990s. The management of racialized space has shifted from these earlier direct tactics for controlling the movements of Asian Canadians to discursive and symbolic modes. However, as my unmapping of the "Iron Chink" and the "barbarian" in Ross's *Richmond: Child of the Fraser* demonstrates, and as the symbolic analysis of the tropes of *panic* reveal ("strip mining," "white flight," "cultural ghettoization"), the vestigial elements of the older warning signals of the "yellow peril" (Ward, 1978, p. 6) racializations continue to haunt us in the symbolic economy. While Ley is justified in urging more discussion of the economic and social factors that support community conservatism—and conservationism—the strong arguments made by Ray, Halseth, and Johnson about the symbolic and metaphoric regulation of spaces are unheeded if we fully side with Ley's position.

As a rhetorical critic and discursive guerrilla, I agree with Raymond Breton's theorizing of intergroup competition that balances both the analysis of the tangible or material forms of power that David Ley favours ("jobs, income, education, housing," in Breton's terms, 1999, p. 292), and the unpacking of the "cultural-symbolic": "the conception of collective identity, cultural character of the society, and the distribution of recognition and status in the social order" (Breton, 1999, p. 292). The symbolic realm or the social imaginary is a crucial aspect of national identity formation, and in the managing of a group's powers. Breton's helpful formulations would thus bolster Ray, Halseth, and Johnson's claim, and my own agreement with them, that in "the creation of a marginalized Chinese geography in Richmond…the fences of circumscription between groups are just as powerful if they are presumed or imagined rather than real" (Ray, Halseth, & Johnson, 1997, p. 96).

"Let's Talk": Unmapping "Neighbours: Beyond political correctness"

The imagined fences of circumscription are much in evidence in the discourse that follows. On August 23, 1995, D. Hannem, a Richmond resident, had a letter published in the *Richmond Review* (p. 9), an exerpt from which I have sampled below:

With all the change and development in the Lower Mainland, were the original westerners ever asked (excluding politicians) if all this change was welcome? If, with this change, we would be willing to pay higher property taxes for these monster bathrooms to be built and located in our area? Or the continuing destruction of our trees? Blocks have been uprooted with no tree left standing to make way, as our good mayor likes to describe it, for a growing progressive community with no traffic problems. Now let's not get into our schools. Why are we paying for adults to learn English as a second language.

The preceding letter by Hannem—and note its unconsciously ironic claim to being from the position of an "original westerner," a claim that certainly demonstrates the type of originary entitlement represented in Ross's book of history—was a typical example of the flurry of letters responding to the pressures of population change and published by the *Richmond Review* and the *Vancouver Sun* in 1995. Nearly one month later, after Elizabeth Aird's columns on "white flight" were published in the *Vancouver Sun* and Dave McCullough published an editorial titled "Welcome to the Ghetto of Richmond" (16 September 1995), a Vancouver advertising executive named Don Fisher had his letter published in the *Richmond Review* on September 23, 1995 (p. 9). He wrote: "Heartfelt thanks to (publisher Dave McCullough) for your courageous and insightful commentary concerning the problems associated with immigration in Richmond (Welcome to the ghetto of Richmond, Sept. 16)…. There is undeniably an enormous attitudinal and cultural gulf between the society in which I have grown…and those of most newcomers." Two days later, Don Fisher had another letter published on the "Opinion" page of the *Vancouver Sun* (25 September 1995) in which he supported John Nightingale's criticism of the "immigrants…for devastating the marine life" and reiterated his view that a "tremendous attitudinal and cultural chasm…exists between long-time Canadian residents and many newcomers from Asia." Fisher's letter appeared on a page that was accompanied by a large graphic depiction of an enormous net engulfing a map of Stanley Park. The dramatic image visually reinforced the all-consuming and unstoppable predatory actions of the Asian-Canadian fishers. Eight letters were published in the September 25, 1995 "Opinion" section: two of these letters were explicitly critical of Nightingale, five in support (including Fisher's), and one tried to emphasize the conservation principles in a racially neutral way.

This section of my investigation will focus on the CBC *News Forum*, "Neighbours: Beyond Political Correctness," the "Let's Talk" forum that was advertised in the October 21, 1995 issue of the *Richmond Review*. My analysis will pursue two lines of questions: first, how did the televisual discourse confront the spatialized tropes of panic—the "strip mining" of Stanley Park,

"white flight," and the "cultural ghettoization" of Richmond? Second, were these spatialized tropes of moral panic defused, revised, or merely recirculated?

First, Kevin Evans, the well-known Vancouver CBC news anchor, introduced the discussion and emphasized the severity of the rising racial tensions. He attempted to rhetorically inscribe an instant sense of collective "neighbourliness" by using the "we" pronoun and employing a metadiscourse of self-conscious politeness; yet Evans also identified and divided the participants and listening audience into the groups of "old neighbours" and "new neighbours." While Evans's seriously amiable address scripted a sense of shared problems, his language also suggested that careful steps were necessary in a potentially risky discursive minefield, a zone where hidden tensions could escalate and problems could spin out of control. This emphasis on sensitive, tactful propriety was in tension with the other goal of the program, expressed in its introductory caption, "Neighbours: Beyond Political Correctness," and the tension between these two goals would hamper the delivery of the moderator throughout the forum:

We need to talk about a very difficult subject before things get worse. Vancouver has undergone tremendous transformation in the last little while quite suddenly. There are predictable tensions between some of the old neighbours and some of the new neighbours. But there is a reluctance to bring those tensions out into the open to be dealt with. For the next hour I invite you to join us as we risk stepping beyond the limits of political correctness and speak as neighbours—respectfully, carefully, sensitively, and hopefully above all, honestly. (CBC, 1995, October 23)

While Kevin Evans delivered this prologue, the camera provided visual confirmations of his verbal claims, including images of Asian theme malls in Richmond, newly built large homes, and views of identifiably "Asian" Canadians on the street. While the theme music for the program played, captioned statistics on immigration were presented in a dramatic order to emphasize the urgency of the problem: the first caption stated, "a quarter million Hong Kong immigrants have come to Vancouver," while the second one stated, "half in the last five years." The camera then cut to an interview with Eric Wong, an editor for the *Ming Pao*, a Chinese-Canadian newspaper:

There was one evening and I was walking downtown, near Burrard Street, and I actually got a man shouting over to me, "Go back, Chinaman, go back!" And I was stunned by that kind of shouting in the street. And I did not know what to do. (CBC, 1995, October 23)

There is next a visual segue to Don Fisher, the aforementioned letter writer, who is interviewed in the same lobby:

I am not a victim, I am a participant in the process, and I am ready, willing and able to accommodate my new neighbours. At the same time, I am concerned about the kind of society that is going to evolve. And that's it in a nutshell, because in accommodating them, I feel by definition, I will lose some of the rights and privileges that I've had, and lose some part of the Canada that I've lived in and come to enjoy. (CBC, 1995, October 23)

The forum thus juxtaposes two voices: first, the voice of the Asian newcomer who testifies to his racist Othering on the streets of Vancouver, where he is told to "go back," an experience that reinforces the vulnerability of non-Euro-Canadians to racist threats based on white claims to spatial primacy; and, second, the "accommodating" voice of the white Canadian who fears for the loss of an exclusively Euro-Canadian-dominated space, and who exerts a preceding and proprietary claim to forms of cultural "enjoyment."

Don Fisher's involvement in maintaining the moral panic of the "strip mining" trope is shortly staged in a tense exchange in the opening minutes of the forum between Kevin Evans, Fisher, and Victor Wong, an activist in the Chinese-Canadian community who has often challenged media stereotyping:

Kevin Evans: Do you think that there are some people who try to shut down that dialogue … by pointing the finger and calling someone a racist?

Don Fisher: Yes, I do, and I think a good example of that was the recent remarks by John Nightingale, the Executive Director of the Vancouver Aquarium, when he was talking about predation of the foreshore around Stanley Park.

Kevin Evans: He said, I believe, that Stanley Park and the foreshore area is being strip mined by newcomers who have no concept of conservation.

Don Fisher: That's correct, and I think …

Kevin Evans: And Victor Wong, who is here as well tonight, who is with the Vancouver Chinese Canadian Association, said, "That's racist!" You pointed the finger at John Nightingale at the Aquarium, and that shut down the discussion.

Victor Wong: No, no it didn't shut down the discussion at all. In fact we had a discussion later on that day when the story broke. (CBC, 1995, October 23)

The above sample of the exchanges between Evans, Fisher, and Wong show how much of Evans's discourse was metadiscursive, or spent on discussing the difference between racist language and open discussion. Victor Wong's subsequent attempt to absolve the Asian "harvesters" of irresponsible practices would not be accepted by Don Fisher, who later asserted his

knowledge as an advertising expert to uphold the notion that different cultural groups have predictable habits that are empirically measurable. The trope of "strip mining," neutralized by Wong's retranslation of the term as "harvesting," was thus deflected into Fisher's discussion of "cultural predilections," a view that reinscribes the logic of moral panic by attributing individual behaviors to the predictable beliefs of a group. Wong was unconvinced, however, by Fisher's claims, and the rhetorical interlocutors were visibly unchanged through their "neighbourly" debate. Fisher neither retracted nor modified the trope of strip mining, but asserted that empirical evidence might show that some cultural groups are less respectful of conservation ethics: as Fisher stated, "I think that John Nightingale in the first case identified a group or groups that were responsible, and I think that he was basically saying that because of their cultural predilections or whatever [that] this was, a common acceptable practice for them, and they were not really respectful of the fisheries management program there" (CBC, 1995, October 23).

The second major trope of moral panic, "white flight," was previously circulated in the newspaper columns of Elizabeth Aird, also a participant in the televised forum. She displayed her anxiety about participating in the forum, since she was severely criticized by Chinese Canadians for her columns. "I'll speak frankly as a journalist," she confessed, "I'm not really keen to be sitting here, talking about this. I certainly was attacked." Aird also asserted that reporters are obliged to cover stories that are "under-reported," and that issues of "cultural difference" fall in this area. She continually drew attention to her own lack of comfort.

While Aird asserted the ethics of reportorial obligation and the freedom of the press, her own body language, anxious tone, and defensive posture appeared to physically reproduce the moral panic of "flight" from a feared Asian Other. Aird's newspaper columns had deployed tropes of "white flight" to announce the fear of cultural changes, the increased crime in her neighbourhood, and her victimization: she then doubled this victim status by describing how she "went to a race forum and was really hammered." Exasperated by the critical attention she received, Aird impatiently confessed to the forum audience, "I am considered a racist now by many, many people for putting [the columns] in the paper—hey, and the point I'm at now I'm thinking, gee, maybe I am, maybe I just don't know I am. The whole discussion is just so confusing" (ibid.).

Aird's rhetorical coping strategy in maintaining her ethos involved separating the discursive force of her columns, in which she had juxtaposed crime, immigrants, and the prevalence of the Chinese language, from the verbal criticism that she had received from the Chinese-Canadian commu-

nity: for Aird, there was no reasonable relationship between her own discursive "violence" and the subsequent "attacks" on her by Chinese Canadians. Tommy Tao, a Chinese-Canadian lawyer at the forum, drew attention to Aird's use of the "white flight" phrase, and how it implied that she was writing for a monolingual, exclusively Euro-Canadian audience: "when your column says that there has been a white flight from the neighbourhood because there are some new immigrants—Chinese immigrants—who don't speak English. The Chinese people who read that column felt that, from whose perspective is she speaking? Does she really understand the situation? How can you say that the Chinese children don't speak English when they try so hard to learn?" (CBC, 1995, October 23). Aird responded to Tao's questions with another evocation of her reportorial authority and objectivity; yet her rationalizing of the trope of white flight was occluded with her description of her role as an uncertain messenger: she stated, in her defence, "I was reporting on two people, simply saying, here's something that happened, what does it mean, I'm not sure: is this one of the reasons people are leaving?" (CBC, 1995, October 23). Aird's televisual defence did little to mitigate the force of her print-disseminated use of the "white flight" trope of moral panic. Her verbal profession of reportorial impersonality and objectivity was contradicted by the obviously personal and impassioned rhetoric of her August 17, 1995 column titled "People are leaving town to find an English-speaking street for their kids": this was a column that surveyed the decline of Vancouver's neighbourhoods due to "prostitution … traffic, noise, drugs," and the "white flight" of families who could no longer find English-speaking friends for their children in the older neighbourhoods. Aird concluded this column with the line, "unfortunately, my friends are starting to leave town." It is notable that Aird's column never quotes the voices of those immigrant Others that seem to threaten her urban spaces, nor does she withdraw or revise the tropes of "white flight" in her televised appearance. She simply reinscribes her role as the victim of urban decline and she implies that the trope of "white flight" remains a legitimate marker of Vancouver's spatialized moral panic.

The third major trope of moral panic that was central to the forum, Richmond's "cultural ghettoization," was authored by *Richmond Review* publisher Dave McCullough, who was also a vocal forum participant. McCullough's rhetorical stance, interestingly, was the most contrite amongst the group who represented the dominant media. McCullough characterized his own language as "clumsy," and revealed that his newspaper actually received many more racist and "ridiculous" letters of complaint than he would ever consider publishing. McCullough drew attention to "the number of Chinese language signs on Number Three Road, where there is an intense conglomeration of commercial activity" (CBC, 1995, October 23), but he averred that it

was ridiculous to object to the speaking of Chinese in the parking lots of Richmond's grocery stores, as evidenced in some of the views of Richmond's citizen correspondents. He returned to his original "fear" (a term he used frequently) that the Chinese "affinity" for culture and language would lead to a long-term segregation of the community: "That fear may be a legitimate fear. What are we going to do to make sure that there is an integration and an understanding, rather than this split based on the fact that we can't speak Chinese or read it?" (CBC, 1995, October 23). McCullough's fears were then addressed by Eric Wong and Nancy Li, who tried to turn the fear of segregation into a discussion of how to assist ESL speakers in becoming more comfortable with their second language.

It seemed apparent that the trope of "ghettoization" or segregation was easier to defuse while in the presence of Asian Canadians who were participating in a dialogue rather than in print, though McCullough was never given an opportunity by the moderator to provide answers to their responses. Kevin Evans initially tried to provoke McCullough into identifying himself with Aird's "white flight" by pointing out that McCullough himself had also left Richmond: "You yourself have left Richmond and moved to Ladner. Was not one of the reasons that you did that because you were not feeling as comfortable as you used to feel?" (ibid.). However, McCullough refutes this characterization of his movement, and points out that his first residence in the Lower Mainland was not Richmond at all, but Ladner. McCullough then quickly discounts his own language, and that of Nightingale and Aird, as "clumsy," and hopes for a more "constructive discussion of what are obviously hot-points" (ibid.).

Conclusion

In the CBC forum, key reproducers of the discourse of moral panic, including the tropes of "strip mining" (Don Fisher), "white flight" (Elizabeth Aird), and "cultural ghettoization" (Dave McCullough), were matched with Asian-Canadian interlocutors to engage in a dialogue that could act as a "regulatory process" to manage the moral panic (Hier & Greenberg, 2002) over the control of the Anglo-European character of Richmond and Vancouver, a character that has been materially and symbolically present in past history, discourse, and the control of space. The CBC forum participants were compelled to play roles that they had already scripted for themselves through their authorship of newspaper commentaries and letters. While the rhetorical framing of the forum by the CBC promised a neighbourly dialogue that could move beyond "Political Correctness," the panelists could not transcend their

roles both as the representatives of the "old neighbours," with primary claims to Canadian space, and as the producers of the key tropes of moral panic. Certainly lost in this discussion was any deep historical context that would have demonstrated that Euro-Canadian claims to space were already founded on the displacement of First Nations people from colonized territories. As the panel was divided into the "old" and the "new" neighbours, with Anglo-European Canadians pitted against non-Western, multi-ethnic Canadians, Don Fisher, Elizabeth Aird, and Dave McCullough were scripted into roles that they were required to perform to confirm their dramatic status as the disseminators and embodiments of the tropes of spatial moral panic. Fisher, and especially Aird, proceeded to act out their roles as the bearers of the signs of "strip mining" and "white flight" in order to dramatize the tangible and lively existence of the moral panic for the moderator and the televisual audience. Indeed, the rhetorical stance of the moderator, Kevin Evans, often displayed the forensic tone of the cross-examiner who was attempting to confirm the victimized identities of Fisher, Aird, and McCullough. Since these participants were compelled to reprise their dramatic roles in the race relations crises during 1995, they were initially unable to move into the idealized and promised dialogue that would move "beyond political correctness." The participants, with the exception of McCullough, reified their media-prescribed roles as representatives of Euro-Canadian anxiety.

The CBC forum constituted an important discursive site that wove together several social anxieties about continuous threats to the established spatial and race-marked norms of Canadian identity. Such social anxieties have continued to circulate in different forms since 1995, and certainly Hier and Greenberg's study of the Fujian migrant issue in 1999 demonstrates how the "old racist phobias are … reinvoked" (Hier & Greenberg, 2002, p. 158) four years later.

While Fisher, Aird, and McCullough did not retract their tropes, some partial modification of their force was achieved by the dialogue, especially in the exchanges with the contrite McCullough. The televised forum could only temporarily intercede in the moral panic of racialized competition by providing a ritualized space or a formal setting of moderated "neighborliness," a space wherein the visible and physical proximity of the forum participants belied the disagreements still brooding below the surface.

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CARVING OUT A SPACE OF ONE'S OWN

The Sephardic Kehila Centre and the Toronto Jewish community

Kelly Amanda Train

3

Introduction

In 1997, the Sephardic community[1] in the Greater Toronto Area (henceforth referred to as "Toronto") celebrated the opening of the Sephardic Kehila Centre (the "Kehila Centre").[2] Although a number of Sephardic synagogues existed in Toronto, the Kehila Centre was heralded by the Sephardic community as an especially joyous and momentous occasion marking their permanence within the Toronto Jewish community. While Sephardic Jews comprised a segment of the Toronto Jewish community for forty years prior to the establishment of the Kehila Centre (the majority having settled in Toronto between 1956 and 1980), the broader Toronto Jewish community made little attempt to recognize or incorporate Sephardic identity and culture into established Jewish community institutions. Although established Jewish institutions, such as Hebrew schools, community organizations, and synagogues, welcomed Sephardic attendance, these institutions did nothing to incorporate or acknowledge Sephardic history, traditions, customs, practices, and ways of being. Instead, established Jewish institutions attempted to "Ashkenazize" Sephardic Jews—to make Sephardic Jews into (albeit second-class) Ashkenazi Jews[3]—by promoting Ashkenazic history, customs, practices, traditions, and ways of being as the only and true authentic Jewish identity.

The establishment of the Kehila Centre was celebrated by Sephardic Jews in Toronto as both the concrete and symbolic presence of Sephardic Jewish identity that had been relegated to the periphery of the Ashkenazi-dominated Toronto Jewish community. In the eyes of the Sephardic community, and particularly North African Jewish community leaders who had

orchestrated the Kehila Centre's establishment, the building symbolized not only their existence within the Toronto Jewish community, but their demand for the recognition and inclusion of Sephardic identity and culture within the Toronto Jewish community.

The establishment of the Sephardic Kehila Centre brings to light a number of issues regarding racialized space and community construction. In particular, how has Jewish identity been defined within the Toronto Jewish community? How does the Kehila Centre operate as racialized space? What does the presence of the Kehila Centre mean for Sephardic Jews in Toronto? Does the existence of the Kehila Centre promote the inclusion of diverse and different Jewish identities within the Toronto Jewish community?

This chapter focuses on destabilizing hegemonic unitary and essentialist notions of community, and, in particular, the Toronto Jewish community. I argue that the establishment and presence of the Kehila Centre symbolizes diversity and difference within the Toronto Jewish community. In doing so, the presence of the Kehila Centre resists the hegemonic Toronto Jewish community notion of an *authentic* Jewish identity that is reflective only of Ashkenazi culture and identity.

This chapter explores six key issues. The chapter begins with a short explanation of the research methods used for this study. The next section discusses the theoretical concept of racialization, while the third section explores the notion of racialized space. In the fourth section, I focus on the history and experiences of Sephardic Jews within the Toronto Jewish community. The fifth section looks at how the Sephardic community, through the establishment of the Kehila Centre, has claimed space within the Toronto Jewish community and the broader Toronto society. This section explores how the Kehila Centre signifies the Sephardic community's demand for their recognition and inclusion within the Toronto Jewish community. The last section examines how the Kehila Centre symbolizes a specifically Sephardic identity within the Ashkenazi-dominated Toronto Jewish community, and the landscape of multicultural Toronto society.

Research methods

This chapter is based on research conducted for a larger study currently in progress on the Sephardic community in Toronto. In addition to the vast array of secondary literature, I used two primary forms of qualitative research methods, namely, in-depth personal interviews and archival materials, and analyzed the content of these materials. The archival research materials are comprised of two sources: (1) the *Canadian Jewish News*, and (2) the Sephardic Kehila Centre Grand Opening Celebration booklet. I read the

Canadian Jewish News, the Jewish newspaper that serves the entire Toronto Jewish community, from 1960—the date that the *Canadian Jewish News* began publication—to the present. The year 1960 also represented the period when Sephardic Jews from North Africa began to settle in Toronto. The purpose of reviewing the *Canadian Jewish News* and the Kehila Centre booklet was to look at how and why the Kehila Centre was established, and the response of the broader Toronto Jewish community. During the year 2002, I also conducted eighteen interviews with North African Jews, both male and female, ranging in age from 32 to 80 years old, to look at how Sephardic community members regarded the establishment of the Kehila Centre or were involved in its establishment. Fifteen of the respondents were either born in Canada or immigrated to Canada with their parents and siblings as young children. The remaining three respondents were born in North Africa and immigrated as adults or in their late teenage years.

Racialization

In the 1980s, Robert Miles (1989) began to develop the concept of racialization. He argued that races have been created through social and historical processes of racialization. Through these processes, certain characteristics (whether real or imagined) were imbued with specific meanings of superiority and inferiority (Miles, 1989, p. 76). Individuals who were seen as sharing certain characteristics were deemed as being from the same race, and as being fundamentally different from other peoples (see Miles, 1989, p. 5; Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1992, p. 11). Miles acknowledged, through his concept of racialization, that racial meanings were not static or fixed entities, but shift and change over time and place.

According to Miles, racialization is the foundation of racism (and anti-Semitism, or racism directed specifically at Jews). Racism (and anti-Semitism) refers to those ideologies derived from racial signifiers that reinforce, maintain, and reproduce racial hierarchies (Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1992, p. 11; Miles, 1989, 1993). In other words, racism operates as a belief system that categorizes people into races of dominance and subordinance (Miles, 1989, p. 5). This belief system ultimately legitimates excluding people from access to resources (Miles, 1989, p. 3).

Jews have been racialized as a group throughout history. Although Jewish identity in Canada today is viewed as a white ethnic, rather than racial, identity, this has historically not been the case. Throughout the ages, in Christian Europe and the Islamic Middle East, Jews were racialized as "Other," first through religious discourse, and later through the scientific classification of races (see Gilman, 1986, 1991; Stratton, 2000). During these periods, Jews

were subject to legal, political, and economic restrictions and discriminatory practices (Arendt, 1973; Lerner, 1992; Taieb-Carlen, 1989; Speisman, 1979). In the present era, Jews in Canada are conceptualized as a white ethnic identity that, at times, is able to "pass" within Canadian society in ways that people of colour are not able to do (Train, 2000; Brodkin, 1998; Stratton, 2000). Yet, Jews in Canada are still racialized as Other in relation to the dominant white, Anglo-Saxon, Christian normative identity within Canadian society (Train, 2000; Stratton, 2000). This means that Jews still continue to face exclusion from mainstream society. This exclusion is expressed through anti-Semitic discourse, as well as obstacles to access to resources within mainstream society.

The Jew as racialized Other is currently expressed through stereotypes and cultural images. Religious Jews, however, are visibly racialized as Other. Their Otherness is signified through their style of dress (long black coats, wide-brim black hats), sidelocks, and long beards. Less religious Jews are sometimes able to "pass" in Canadian society, so long as they adhere to normative ways of being. "Passing" involves Christianizing names, speaking English or French (not Yiddish or Hebrew), and acting (or behaving) Anglo-Saxon (Train, 2000; Stratton, 2000). Acting Anglo-Saxon is juxtaposed to acting Jewish. In this sense, Jewish behaviour is seen as loud, boisterous, and "ethnic," or Other. In contrast, Anglo-Saxon behaviour is defined as quiet, calm, and rational.

Communities, however, are not singularly racialized. Miles's conception of racialization is limited because it does not interrogate the ways in which racialized identities tend to be hegemonically constructed as singular and contained entities. In this regard, he does not acknowledge the complex and multiple ways in which racialized identities are lived and self-defined in response to hegemonic and community constructs of race. In this sense, the hegemonic construction of Jews as a group ignores the multiple and diverse Jewish identities that exist within the conception of Jews as a racialized entity. Specifically, Miles's conception of racialization does not acknowledge the differential racialization of Ashkenazi and Sephardic Jews. David Theo Goldberg (1993) notes that historically and in the present, Jews have been constructed as a race, and thus as a homogenous entity. Yet, Jewish subcommunities are also seen as separate racialized identities (Goldberg, 1993, p. 77). For example, in Canada, the U.S., and Israel, Ashkenazi and Sephardic Jews see themselves as racially distinct, yet both are seen within the racialized boundaries of Jewishness (Goldberg, 1993, p. 77; Shohat, 1988). The concept of ethnicity is not appropriate in describing boundary constructions between Ashkenazi and Sephardic Jews, since Ashkenazi and Sephardic Jews are differentially racialized in a way that is more than simply about history, culture, and nationality.

Within Jewish communities in Canada, the U.S., and Israel, Sephardic Jews are racialized as Jews of colour (Train, 1995; Shohat, 1988). Some Sephardic Jews are people of colour, such as the Bene Israel and Cochini Jews of India, and Ethiopian Jews.[4] North African Jews are racialized as Jews of colour because they come from Arab lands, although they are not necessarily people of colour (Shohat, 1988). Jewish communities in Canada, the U.S., and Israel express the differential racialization of Sephardic Jews from Ashkenazi Jews by denoting how some Sephardic Jews "look" like Arabs rather than Jews (Shohat, 1988, p. 4). This infers that "real" Jews are white and Ashkenazi. The differential racialization of Ashkenazi and Sephardic Jews is also conceptualized through the discursive construction of Ashkenazi Jews as being "First World," while Sephardic Jews are viewed as "Third World" (Shohat, 1988, pp. 5–6; Train, 1995; Benbassa & Attias, 2004, p. 104). Ashkenazi Jews reinforce their dominance within the established Canadian, American, and Israeli Jewish communities by stressing their European origins, and thereby associating themselves with constructs of European racial, intellectual, and cultural superiority (Shohat, 1988, pp. 5–6; Benbassa & Attias, 2004, p. 104). In contrast, Sephardic Jews are associated with backwardness, savagery, and primitiveness because of their non-Western/non-European origins (Shohat, 1988, pp. 5–6; Benbassa & Attias, 2004, p. 104). Although North African and Middle Eastern Sephardic Jews are recognized as Jews within the established Canadian, American and Israeli Jewish communities, they are seen as lesser or *inauthentic* Jews because they do not "fit" within the hegemonic racialized image of Ashkenazi/Eastern European Jewish identity that dominates both within the established Jewish community and within the broader Canadian society.

Inherent within racialized communities are struggles over power and resources. These self-imposed redefinitions of racialized identity are expressed in the ways that racialized communities erect boundaries of inclusion and exclusion that reflect the image of those who have the greatest access to power and resources within the community. Community construction is a continuous process of formation wherein internal community identities struggle for recognition, empowerment, and even domination. Access to resources is derived from being recognized as "belonging" to the community. As I shall discuss throughout the remainder of this paper, Jews have sought to carve out their own space in their struggle for recognition and inclusion within the multicultural landscape of Canadian society. Moreover, Sephardic Jews have sought to struggle for the recognition of Sephardic identities within the Toronto Jewish community and Canadian society by carving out their own space within Ashkenazi-dominated Jewish space in Toronto.

Racialized space and multiculturalism

The racialization of space is a fundamental way in which the state, its institutions, and the public organize, manage, and make sense of racialized populations (Goldberg, 1993, p. 186). In other words, hegemonic forces in society denote, either formally or informally, boundaries around space for particular racialized groups (Goldberg, 1993, p. 186). Racialization is responsible for grouping people together in spaces. As such, racialized spaces reflect power relations within society. These social relations of dominance and subordinance are exemplified through material and symbolic space.

The Jewish Ghetto in Venice during the medieval ages, the Pale of Settlement in Eastern Europe during the nineteenth century, and inner city slums today are all examples of how state structures erect spaces to "ghettoize" and exclude marginalized racial groups from the rest of society (Cohen, 1996, p. 71; Gerber, 1992; Raphael, 1991). Racialized space is space that is the product of racism. These spaces are used to normalize and reproduce racism and anti-Semitism in society (Goldberg, 1993; Cohen, 1996).

Throughout history, Jews in Christian Europe and the Islamic Middle East have been forced to live in ghettos or other forms of racialized spaces specifically denoted to contain and manage Jewish populations (Gerber, 1992; Raphael, 1991; Lasry, 1981, p. 223; Taieb-Carlen, 1989, pp. 105–106; Gubbay, 1999, p. 32). In Western Europe, these Jewish racialized spaces were called ghettos. The earliest example of ghettoization in Christian Europe is the Jewish Ghetto in Venice, erected in 1516 and enforced until 1797 (Cohen, 1996, p. 71; Gerber, 1992; Raphael, 1991; Scheindlin, 1998, p. 155). In Eastern Europe, Jews were forcibly relegated to the area known as the Pale of Settlement. In 1791, under a decree issued by Empress Catherine of Russia, all Jews residing in the Russian Empire were ghettoized and forced to live only in the parts of the country known as the Pale of Settlement (Speisman, 1979, p. 69; Kage, 1962, p. 19; Lowenstein, 2000, p. 41). The Pale of Settlement consisted of Poland, which had come under Russian rule between 1772 and 1815, and the western part of Russia (Speisman, 1979, p. 69; Kage, 1962, p. 19; Lowenstein, 2000, p. 41). Within the Pale of Settlement, Jews lived in *shtetls* (as they were called in Yiddish), or villages that were separate communities where only Jews lived.

Under Islamic rule (beginning in the eighth century until European colonization in the late seventeenth century), Jews in North Africa were subject to *dhimmi* or second-class status under the Pact of Omar, the Muslim code of law. As part of their subordinate social, political, and legal position in Muslim society, Jews in North Africa were segregated from the Muslim population and required to live only within their own communities in the

mellah (the Jewish quarter in Morocco) or the *harah* (the Jewish quarter in Tunisia) (Taieb-Carlen, 1989, p. 180; Lasry, 1981, p. 223; Gubbay, 1999, p. 32). The Jewish quarter in Algeria did not have a specific name (Lasry, 1981, p. 223).

The Jewish ghettos of Europe and North Africa were Jewish spaces that were the product of anti-Semitism (Speisman, 1979; Tulchinsky, 1992; Gerber, 1992; Raphael, 1991). On the one hand, the *shtetls*, the *mellah*, and the *harah* were spaces where Jews were contained and excluded from the mainstream life of Christian European and Islamic Middle Eastern society. At the same time, these hegemonically erected Jewish spaces also served as places of Jewish self-government and Jewish continuity. While the formal ghettoization of Jews has historically limited their movement and participation in society outside ghetto boundaries, the ghetto has also served as a place where Jews felt safe surrounded by other Jews and protected from the anti-Semitism of the broader society and its masses (Taieb-Carlen, 1989; Lerner, 1992; Gerber, 1992; Raphael, 1991; Speisman, 1979; Tulchinsky, 1992).

In the Canadian context, racialized space is organized and erected through state structures. Yet, these spaces also arise as forms of resistance where marginalized groups struggle with state structures and other groups in society to claim new spaces (Teelucksingh, 2006). Struggles over space represent both the desire of elite forces to deny membership and inclusion to racialized minorities, as well as the desire on the part of marginalized groups for inclusion and safety within society.

In Canadian society, the discourse of multiculturalism hides the lived experiences of racialization that are revealed in the material and symbolic realities of racialized spaces. Multiculturalism policy was introduced in 1971 under Pierre Trudeau, and later entrenched in the 1988 Canadian Multiculturalism Act, as a means of attaining social harmony amongst the diverse cultural, ethnic, and racial groups within Canadian society by celebrating the folklore, food, customs, and traditions of those who were not of white, Christian, British, or French heritage. Multiculturalism was not intended to eliminate or eradicate racism and social inequalities. Instead, it ignores and masks racism, anti-Semitism, and discriminatory practices, while simultaneously maintaining and reproducing existing power relations in Canadian society. Through multiculturalism, Canada is constructed as a cultural mosaic devoid of tension and conflict between racial and ethnic groups. Yet, an analysis of racialized space illuminates power relations of dominance and subordinance between hegemonic forces and marginalized groups, as well as struggles for space between racialized peoples. The remainder of this paper explores Jewish claims for space within Toronto society, as well as claims for space between Jewish groups within Jewish space in Toronto.

Jewish space in Toronto

Prior to the 1880s, Jews in Toronto did not live in areas of high Jewish residential concentration. These early settlers were primarily British and German Jews who had immigrated from England, were largely upper middle class, and identified themselves culturally with England (Sacks, 1964; Troper, 2001). They were a small community who saw no reason to isolate themselves from their Christian counterparts, with whom they shared a common language, nationality, and culture, and therefore lived side by side with their Gentile upper-middle -class British neighbours (Sacks, 1964; Troper, 2001; Diamond, 2004, p. 188). Within the predominantly Anglo-Protestant Toronto context, these early Jewish settlers did not experience any anti-Semitism because of their cultural, social, and political identification with England, their upper-middle-class status, and their small numbers (Sacks, 1964; Troper, 2001). Moreover, Anglo-Saxon Toronto society regarded these British Jews as culturally upper-middle-class Englishmen who happened to privately practise Judaism (Sacks, 1964; Troper, 2001). Hence, the presence of these early Jewish settlers was not in any way regarded by Toronto's elite as a disruption of the overwhelmingly Anglo-Protestant makeup of Toronto (Diamond, 2004, p. 188).

The arrival of Eastern European Jews in the 1880s introduced a new dynamic to Toronto. Unlike the early British Jewish settlers, Eastern European Jews sought to recreate a sense of safety and familiarity for themselves by living in neighbourhoods with a high concentration of Jews from the same region. When Eastern European Jews began immigrating to Canada en masse in the 1880s, they first clustered in the downtown neighbourhood of St. John's Ward, known as "the Ward" (Speisman, 1979; Diamond, 2004, p. 188). The Ward constituted the area bordered on the east by Yonge Street, on the west by University Avenue, on the north by College Street, and on the south by Queen Street (Speisman, 1979, p. 82; Diamond, 2004, pp. 188–89). The Ward represented a place where Eastern European Jews could carve out space for their own cultural, religious, and linguistic continuity. It was also a place where they could afford to live because of its low rents and limited desirability amongst Anglo-Protestant Gentiles in Toronto. The Ward became associated as an immigrant, working class, Jewish neighbourhood. As early as 1900, Eastern European Jewish immigrants with slightly better financial means began moving out of the Ward to the area stretching westward of University Avenue, past Bathurst Street to Euclid Avenue, Markham Street, and Palmerston Avenue between Queen Street to the south and College Street to the north (Speisman, 1979, pp. 89–90; Diamond, 2004, p. 189). By 1914, the concentration of Eastern European Jews, including those of little financial

means, had shifted from the Ward to this westward area known as Kensington Market (Speisman, 1979, pp. 89–90; Diamond, 2004, p. 189).

These downtown neighbourhoods were claimed by immigrant Jews due to their affordability and their accessibility to employment in the urban centre (Speisman, 1979; Tulchinsky, 1992). Immigrant Jews erected their own businesses, synagogues and services to meet the needs of Jewish inhabitants (Speisman, 1979; Tulchinsky, 1992). The Ward and Kensington Market became visibly racialized as Jewish space, not only through the costume and appearance of religious Ashkenazi Jews, but also through signage in Yiddish, Jewish symbols, and the predominance of Yiddish as the language of the neighbourhood (Speisman, 1979). Hegemonic Anglo-Saxon Toronto society read these immigrant Jewish spaces as "no-go" areas because of their poverty and the "foreignness" of their inhabitants (Cohen, 1996, p. 73; Speisman, 1979; Diamond, 2004). Jewish immigrants, however, read these spaces as places of cultural, linguistic, and religious continuity, and as places of safety, security, and refuge from the anti-Semitism of Toronto society (Cohen, 1996, p. 73; Speisman, 1979; Diamond, 2004).

As Jews obtained upward social mobility, they moved out of immigrant neighbourhoods and claimed new suburban spaces that reflected their new economic achievement (Speisman, 1979; Diamond, 2004). In particular, the Bathurst Street corridor came to symbolize Jewish space. Between 1931 and 1951, the first wave of Jewish suburbanization occurred (Diamond, 2004, p. 190). During this period, upwardly mobile professional Jews began to move out of the Kensington Market area to neighbourhoods in York Township and Forest Hill, particularly areas around the Bathurst Street and Eglinton Avenue intersection (Diamond, 2004, p. 190). Although upwardly mobile Jews began moving northward during the 1930s and 1940s, the majority of all Jewish institutions remained in Kensington Market (Diamond, 2004, p. 190). By 1954, only five of Toronto's synagogues were located north of St. Clair Avenue, while the remaining forty-three synagogues, five of six Jewish social service agencies, and six of eleven Jewish schools remained located in the downtown Jewish area (Diamond, 2004, p. 190).

In the early 1950s, the second wave of Jewish suburbanization occurred. In this second phase of northward migration up Bathurst Street, religious institutions and Jewish stores and services, as well as people, also moved from the downtown Kensington Market neighbourhood to the Bathurst Street suburbs (Diamond, 2004, p. 190). Bathurst Street remains Jewish space today, and continues to grow northward (Diamond, 2004, p. 197).

Currently, many Jews, both Ashkenazi and Sephardic, continue to choose to live in neighbourhoods that have primarily Jewish populations for reasons of cultural and religious continuity, as well as safety, security, and refuge

from anti-Semitism in the broader Toronto society (Torczyner et al., 1995; Diamond, 2004). Jewish space is both a product of, and has been created as a response to, historical experiences of marginalization and anti-Semitism. However, Jewish space is also a place where Jews can surround themselves with other Jews, have access to Jewish services, and maintain cultural and religious continuity. Throughout this chapter, I am using the concept of racialized space to discuss how Jews in Toronto experience racialized space, not as a place of marginalization and exclusion from society, but as a place of safety, security, and refuge from the racism and anti-Semitism of Canadian society. The remainder of this paper examines how Sephardic Jews have sought to carve out and claim their own space within existing Ashkenazi-dominated Jewish space.

The Jewish diaspora in Toronto

The Jewish community in Toronto has historically been dominated by Ashkenazi Jews of Eastern European descent. This is not particularly surprising, since Canadian immigration policy prohibited the entrance of people from non-Western countries until the late 1950s (Hawkins, 1988; Troper, 2001). In particular, Canadian immigration policy prohibited the entrance of people from Arab lands into Canada until 1956. Until that year, there were no Sephardic Jews in Toronto (Kage, 1962).[5] In 1957, Sephardic Jews began arriving in Canada from North Africa, the Middle East, and India for a variety of reasons (Lasry, 1981, 1993; Taieb-Carlen, 1989; Joel, 1967; Raphael, 1991; Kage, 1962). Independence movements in developing nations provided Jews with the impetus to leave (Taieb-Carlen, 1989; Laskier, 1994; Roland, 1998; Valensi, 2002; Raphael, 1991). Jewish elite and middle classes who had benefited socially and economically under colonial rule were concerned about their future under the new post-colonial regimes (Taieb-Carlen, 1989; Laskier, 1994; Valensi, 2002; Raphael, 1991; Roland, 1998).

Prior to French and Spanish colonization, Jews in North Africa were subject to *dhimmi* or second-class status under Muslim rule. They were barred from various occupations and professions, compelled to live in the *mellah* and *harah*, required to wear special clothing that would distinguish them from their Muslim brethren, and forced to pay special head taxes and property taxes (Lasry, 1981, pp. 222–23; Taieb-Carlen, 1989, pp. 105–106). After French and Spanish colonization in the nineteenth century, the conditions for Jews improved considerably. The Fundamental Pact of 1857 eradicated the Jews's *dhimmi* status, and put an end to legally imposed discriminatory practices (Valensi, 2002, p. 910; Lasry, 1981, p. 224). For example, Jews were no

longer forced to wear distinctive clothing or live in the *mellah* or *harah* (Taieb-Carlen, 1989, p. 180). When the French and Spanish colonial regimes left North Africa as a result of Arab independence movements in the region, the Jews of North Africa were concerned about their future. In particular, North African Jews were concerned that the discriminatory practices that European colonial rule had eradicated would be reinstated.

Jews in North Africa and the Middle East also felt the need to leave due to growing hostility and rising anti-Semitic sentiments among the Muslim masses because of the establishment of the State of Israel (Taieb-Carlen, 1989; Laskier, 1994; Valensi, 2002; Raphael, 1991). While the majority of Sephardim went to Israel, smaller numbers came to Canada and settled in Montreal and Toronto (Taieb-Carlen, 1989; Joel, 1967).

Despite the settlement of Sephardic Jews in Toronto, the Toronto Jewish community remains dominated by Ashkenazi Jewish culture and identity. Jewish community institutions are largely organized and led by Ashkenazi members. Power structures within the Toronto Jewish community remain predominantly controlled by Ashkenazi leaders (Elazar & Waller, 1990). Numerically, Sephardic Jews comprise approximately 20 percent of the population of the Toronto Jewish community, with Ashkenazi Jews representing the remaining 80 percent (Taieb-Carlen, 1992). Within the Toronto Jewish community, "who is a Jew" continues to be defined through the image of the white Ashkenazi Jew whose culture reflects Jewish adaptations of Eastern European food, costume, religious customs, practices, traditions, and ways of being (Lasry, 1981, 1993; Taieb-Carlen, 1989, 1992; Lowenstein, 2000; Elazar, 1989). Ashkenazi culture and identity differ significantly from Sephardi culture and ways of life (Elazar, 1989). These differences include all aspects of Jewish culture, namely different Jewish languages, religious and secular customs, Jewish foods, the pronunciation of Hebrew, prayer tunes, values, mannerisms, habits, music, art, and literature (Lowenstein, 2000; Weinfeld, 2001; Elazar, 1989).

The established Jewish community operates on a formal level to provide all Jews in Canada with a space of belonging and membership, and to serve as a place of refuge from local and national anti-Semitism. The institutional structures of the Toronto Jewish community provide formal assistance to any and all Jews in Toronto. Formal assistance includes (but is not limited to) the provision of immigrant aid services and vocational training for new Jewish immigrants, welfare and social assistance for impoverished Jews, and the subsidization (in part or in entirety) of Jewish parochial school tuition fees for any and all Jewish children whose parents can prove that they are unable to pay the cost.

Informally, however, membership and belonging within the established community are subject to hegemonic notions of Jewish identity. Established Jewish institutional structures were opposed, even hostile, to any suggestions from Sephardic community members for the inclusion of Sephardic content within existing Jewish structures (Taieb-Carlen, 1989, 1992). For example, in Taieb-Carlen's study of 1992, Sephardic children learned only Ashkenazi customs, traditions, practices, and history within the Jewish parochial school system. Moreover, Ashkenazi school administrators refused to integrate Sephardic culture, customs, history, or practices within the curriculum (Taieb-Carlen, 1989, 1992). Sephardic culture was regarded as strange, foreign, and even "unJewish" (Taieb-Carlen, 1992). Jewish culture and identity were defined only in terms of Ashkenazi culture and identity (Taieb-Carlen, 1992). Sephardic Jews, although acknowledged by Toronto Jewish community members as "formally" being Jews, were "informally" regarded as Other or *inauthentic* Jews because they did not embody or exemplify Ashkenazi Jewish religious and secular customs, traditions, and ways of being.

Membership and belonging within community boundaries are subject to whether members can "fit" within dominant images of *authenticity*. The established Jewish community expected Sephardic Jews to integrate themselves within the existing Jewish community structures and institutions. Sephardic Jews arrived in Canada with the intention of participating as full members within the Toronto Jewish community (Lasry, 1981, 1993; Taieb-Carlen, 1989, 1992). They had not anticipated that they would meet with hostility, subordination, and alienation from the established community with regards to their *difference* as Sephardic Jews in terms of culture and identity (Taieb-Carlen, 1989, 1992; Lasry, 1981, 1993; Weinfeld, 2001). Sephardic Jews had looked forward to joining the existing Toronto Jewish community. However, they had not foreseen that belonging and inclusion would require the abandonment of Sephardic identity and ways of being, and embracing Ashkenazi culture and practices. Although Sephardic Jews wanted to be accepted within the established community, they had no intention of giving up their Sephardic customs and traditions (Lasry, 1981, 1993; Taieb-Carlen, 1989, 1992).

In the eyes of the established community, integration, and membership within the Toronto Jewish community meant assimilating within the dominant image of Jewish identity in Toronto and, ultimately, "becoming Ashkenazi" (Lasry, 1981, 1993; Taieb-Carlen, 1989, 1992). For the established community, "being Jewish" was equated only with Yiddish culture, customs, and practices (Lasry, 1981, 1993; Taieb-Carlen, 1989, 1992). Moreover, Jewish identity that did not reflect *Yiddishkeit*[7] was not regarded as a *true* Jewish identity. Leaders of the established Jewish community questioned the *authenticity* of Sephardic religious and cultural practices because they did not reflect

the customs, traditions, and cultural practices of the Ashkenazi-dominated community (Taieb-Carlen, 1989, 1992). Sephardic culture, customs, and identity were viewed as *inauthentic* and inferior (Taieb-Carlen, 1989, 1992).

In response to Sephardic Jewish feelings of alienation, subordination, and rejection from the established community, Sephardic Jews attempted to distance themselves from established Jewish community institutions (see Taieb-Carlen, 1989, 1992; Lasry, 1981, 1993). They established their own Sephardic Jewish institutions, such as synagogues, a community centre, and a Hebrew day school, as well as specifically Sephardic organizations, such as the Ontario Sephardic Association (Taieb-Carlen, 1989, 1992; Lasry, 1981, 1993). These institutions and organizations were built in order to maintain and reproduce Sephardic culture and identity, operate as spaces of safety, security, and refuge from the derogatory gaze of the Ashkenazi-dominated Toronto Jewish community, and also serve as safe places from the racism and anti-Semitism of broader Toronto society.

Making Sephardic space within the Toronto Jewish community

Racialized spaces are not limited to geographic boundaries or designated sites. Rather, racialized spaces can be informal and exist wherever racialized group members meet for a variety of purposes. These spaces, whether they exist within geographic boundaries, as buildings, in people's homes, or on street corners, operate as more than benign spaces. These spaces symbolize racialized community identity claims for recognition and inclusion within Canadian society. According to Isin and Siemiatycki (2002), minority groups claim public space as a means of asserting their citizenship rights. In other words, marginalized groups claim public space as a means of invoking their identity as part of the nation. The claim for public space, then, is about asserting recognition and inclusion of minority identities, both within racialized communities and within the broader society. I would also argue that the claim for space is a means for minority communities to create places of safety, security, and refuge for their members from the racism and anti-Semitism of the broader society. In other words, racialized spaces are about both the demand for inclusion within the nation, as well as "safe houses" for their members from the hostility of the nation.

Jewish community members generally agree that Jewish space within the Toronto Jewish community occupies formal spaces located within local geographic boundaries and, in particular, the geographic area that runs northward along the Bathurst Street corridor, although it is not limited to these geographic limitations. According to a study by Torczyner, Brotman,

and Brodbar (1995), the vast majority of Jews in the greater Toronto area reside in the areas of North York, Toronto, and Thornhill. This study acknowledged that a great concentration of Jewish businesses, services, and synagogues, as well as people, resided along the Bathurst Street corridor running from Toronto through North York and Thornhill. For Jews living in the Greater Toronto Area, Bathurst Street signifies the heart of the Jewish community in Toronto.

Within the Bathurst Street corridor are buildings, synagogues, businesses, and residences that are largely, although not solely, occupied and owned by Jews, and which signify Jewish space in Toronto. These structures signify Jewish space through the use of Hebrew lettering, Jewish names, and symbols of Judaism and Jewish identity such as the Star of David on its signage for its various businesses, restaurants, and professional services. It should also be noted, however, that formal spaces in the form of buildings, synagogues, businesses, and residences located outside these geographic boundaries have also been claimed as Jewish space. Other Jewish neighbourhoods in the Toronto suburb of North York were established separate from Bathurst Street along Bayview Avenue and Leslie Street (Diamond, 2004, p. 207). Yet, neither of these areas developed the religious and cultural infrastructure that was located along Bathurst Street (Diamond, 2004, p. 207). As a result, Bathurst Street continues to signify Jewish space within Toronto to members of the Jewish community. Moreover, Bathurst Street is also acknowledged amongst non-Jewish Toronto society members as being Jewish space because of the visibility of religious Jews along Bathurst Street, as well as Jewish symbols and signage signifying Jewish businesses and buildings (Diamond, 2004, p. 200).

Jewish space, however, is not limited to the formal realm. For example, Jewish space, as it relates to the practice of Judaism, is not necessarily confined to synagogues. Worship and prayer have historically occurred in any place where a *minyan*[8]—a prayer quorum consisting of ten Jewish men—can be formed, such as homes, informal gathering places, even office spaces (Speisman, 1979; see also Isin & Siemiatycki, 2002). Moreover, this gathering of people is not limited to the purposes of religious prayer. Rather, it has multiple functions. For example, synagogues facilitate spaces where community members can gather to mobilize around social and political issues, a place of networking for social or business purposes, and a place of safety and refuge where community members can feel free to speak their own language and participate in cultural reproduction, both secular and religious (Isin & Siemiatycki, 2002; Speisman, 1979). Worship and community gatherings, then, are not limited to the physical spaces of a synagogue. Within the North American context, however, the notion of a synagogue is frequently

used to refer to a group of Jews congregating for the purposes of worship, rather than to refer to the building itself (see also Isin & Siemiatycki, 2002). Nonetheless, the establishment of synagogues, Jewish organizations, and Jewish businesses operate as visible markers of Jewish spaces. These buildings, businesses, and services become visibly Jewish through Jewish symbols, such as the Star of David, Hebrew lettering, and other markings that are associated with Jewishness within the broader society, as well as within the Jewish community.

What is important is how the establishment of synagogues, Jewish organizations, and Jewish businesses operate as ways of staking Jewish social and political identity claims within the broader Toronto society. Yet, the large number of synagogues and community buildings represent the multiple and diverse Jewish identities that exist within the Toronto Jewish community. For the most part, the multiplicity of visible Jewish spaces reveals the diverse landscape of religiosity that permeates the landscape of the Toronto Jewish community, ranging from secular cultural traditions to ultra-orthodox religious practice. The overwhelming majority of these spaces, however, are Ashkenazi. While the differences between these groups on the basis of religious practice and belief are substantial, they share a common racialization, as Jews of white, Eastern European origins and Ashkenazi culture. Each of these Ashkenazi secular and religious groups had established their own buildings (including synagogues and Jewish parochial schools) and businesses that made claims on public space within Toronto society, and carved out their own particular niche of Jewish space.

Sephardim,[9] in contrast, are differentially racialized from the image of the white Ashkenazi Jew. As Jews from Arab and Eastern lands, Sephardic Jewish identities are reflective of North African, Middle Eastern and Indian culture, languages, and ways of being (Shohat, 1988). The construction of a few Sephardic synagogues[10] and the Kehila Centre provided the Sephardic community with a means of asserting their own Sephardic Jewish identity within Toronto society, and established Jewish geographic and symbolic space. Isin and Siemiatycki (2002) argue that "[a] building can be a symbol of citizenship and identity for new immigrants" (p. 206). The building of Sephardic synagogues and the Kehila Centre articulated both a symbolic and material need on the part of the Sephardic community for spaces of worship and social gathering that cater to Sephardic needs and represent Sephardic identities.

The establishment of the Sephardic Kehila Centre on Bathurst Street just north of Steeles Avenue is no coincidence. Its location presides at one of the main sites of Jewish space in Toronto. It is important to note that the Kehila Centre houses religious facilities such as a synagogue, Sephardic Jewish parochial school, the Office of the Sephardic Rabbinate of Ontario, a rit-

ual bath, and a kosher banquet hall and kitchen, in addition to secular facilities such as a gymnasium and swimming pool. The physical location of the Kehila Centre also takes into account the religious logistics of the community it serves. For example, many members of the Sephardic community, as orthodox Jews, observe the laws of the Sabbath. The decision of where to locate the Kehila Centre needed to take into account the orthodox observance of many Sephardic Jews who walk to synagogue on the Sabbath and other Jewish holidays, since Jewish law prohibits driving on these occasions.[11] The location of the Kehila Centre, therefore, was strategically placed as a centrally accessible point for Sephardic community members to be able to walk from their homes to synagogue on the Sabbath as a means of serving the needs of the majority of its community membership.

The location of the Kehila Centre is important for more than logistical reasons. The presence of the Kehila Centre at its particular site on Bathurst Street operates as a symbol of the Sephardic presence within the heart of the Ashkenazi-dominated Toronto Jewish community's geographic, religious, and cultural space. In asserting Sephardic space within the spatial framework claimed by the established Jewish community, the Kehila Centre asserts its claim for the inclusion of Sephardic identity as a central, and not marginal, place within the Jewish community in Toronto. Through the presence and image of the Kehila Centre, Sephardic identity and culture demands recognition, membership and belonging within the established Jewish community. The Sephardic struggle for inclusion within the established Toronto Jewish community is symbolized through the permanent structure of the Sephardic Kehila Centre and its claim on established Jewish space within Toronto society.

Above all, the Kehila Centre stakes its claim to a specifically Sephardic space. It is a signifier of diverse Jewish identities within the broad umbrella of the Toronto Jewish community. Its claim on established Jewish community space asserts the Sephardic community's demand for recognition and inclusion within the Toronto Jewish community. At the same time, the Kehila Centre operates as both a safe place for Sephardic identities, and a space for Sephardic cultural reproduction that has historically been denied within the established Toronto Jewish community infrastructure. The Kehila Centre symbolizes a place of safety, security, and refuge for its members to protect them from the derogatory gaze of the Ashkenazi-dominated Toronto Jewish community, and from racism and anti-Semitism within the broader Toronto society.

The Sephardic Kehila Centre as a site of racialized space

The Kehila Centre is a site of racialized space because it is space that has been carved out and claimed by the Sephardic community (see Cohen, 1996), not only as a site of safety from the anti-Semitism and racism of Toronto society, but also in response to their experiences of marginalization within the Ashkenazi-dominated Toronto Jewish community. In this sense, the Kehila Centre is a site of racialized space that is the product of racism and anti-Semitism in terms of both the Toronto Jewish community and the broader Toronto society. The Sephardic community has claimed this space for itself. At the same time, the Kehila Centre's location within Jewish space makes the statement that the Sephardic community is vested in being recognized as Jews by both the Ashkenazi-dominated Jewish community and the broader Toronto society. In this process, the Sephardic community seeks to transform hegemonic notions of "who is a Jew" that exclude and marginalize their Sephardic identities. The establishment of the Kehila Centre as a specifically Sephardic identified space is symbolized through the Middle Eastern architecture of the building.

The Kehila Centre was not the first Sephardic building erected in Toronto. Three Sephardic synagogues had been built prior to the establishment of the Kehila Centre. The first of three Sephardic synagogue buildings was built in 1968.[12] The building of these synagogues allowed the Sephardic community to stake their permanence as part of the multicultural landscape of Toronto, and to provide a safe place to express and practise their own Sephardic culture, customs, and traditions that were significantly different from the religious practices and customs of Ashkenazi Jews.

While the Kehila Centre replicated the traditional purpose and practise of the synagogues (as a place of religious worship, cultural reproduction, community, social, and political gatherings, and a safe house), it operates on a scale of increased magnitude. It was established by Sephardic community leaders to function as the heart and central arena of Sephardic community activities.

All of the eighteen respondents in this study agreed that the Kehila Centre symbolizes more than just a building for the Sephardic community. Its establishment and presence alludes to the community's upward social mobility. Its grandeur in terms of scale, size, architecture, and décor marks not only the permanence of the Sephardic community, but that this once struggling immigrant community has "made it" in Canadian society within two generations. The Sephardic immigrants who arrived in Canada worked primarily as skilled and unskilled labourers (Taieb-Carlen, 1989; Shohat, 1988). Many of their children became middle-class professionals and entrepre-

neurs (Taieb-Carlen, 1989; Shohat, 1988). All of the respondents in this study agreed that the Sephardic community's upward social mobility made the building and financial maintenance of the Kehila Centre possible. The presence of the Kehila Centre symbolizes the Sephardic community's struggle for recognition as an integral part of the Toronto Jewish community, and for Sephardic identity to be acknowledged and included within the identity of the Toronto Jewish community. As one respondent stated: "When we [the Sephardic community] established ourselves materially, financially, economically, that wasn't enough. So we even tried to do even bigger and better things. So you build a monument like the Kehila Centre and you say, hey, look at this. And then you have Ashkenazi Jews who go, it looks like a mosque. But it's the idea that, hey, we're Arabs. They [Ashkenazim] don't know how you can be Jewish and Moroccan at the same time" (August 22, 2002).

This quote signifies that Sephardim have had to struggle to be included and recognized as "real" Jews within the established Toronto Jewish community on the basis that their Jewish identity is reflective of Middle Eastern, and not Eastern European, culture, customs, and aesthetics. Moreover, this quotation illustrates how identities in Toronto—specifically Jewish and Arab identities—are constructed in essentialist and binary terms. In this sense, Jewish identity is symbolized by Eastern European Ashkenazi identity, while Arab identity is associated with Muslim identity. The symbolic and material presence of the Kehila Centre challenges essentialist definitions of Jewish and Arab identity.

The Kehila Centre symbolizes a specifically Sephardic Jewish identity. The architectural design of the Kehila Centre is Middle Eastern in style. The building is designed to reflect the Arabic flavour and architectural style of synagogues in North Africa (from which the majority of the Sephardic community in Toronto originates), which differ substantially from the design of North American Ashkenazi synagogues. The customs, practices and traditions of Ashkenazi Jews have their roots in Christian Europe, while those of Sephardic Jewish customs, practices, and traditions, and particularly those of North Africa and the Middle East, are based in Middle Eastern Islamic cultures (Lowenstein, 2000).

The design of Ashkenazi synagogues reflects traditional and modern European architectural styles used for churches. One example that illustrates how Ashkenazi synagogues reflect traditional and modern architectural styles used for European (and North American) churches is that of Holy Blossom Temple. Holy Blossom, the oldest synagogue in Toronto, was established in 1856, but relocated to its current address in 1938 (Feldman, 2002). The architect appointed to design the new synagogue, Alfred Chapman, had previ-

ously designed Timothy Eaton Memorial Church—that, at the time, was the social, economic, and political centre of Toronto's elite (Feldman, 2002; Moscowitz, 2000, pp. 4–5). The design of Holy Blossom, to a large extent, reflected the design of Timothy Eaton Church. The deference to the church was taken to such an extreme that the synagogue was built with a bell tower, and was intentionally designed to face in the direction of the church (Feldman, 2002). As a result, synagogue congregants faced west during prayer services rather than the customary eastward direction, towards Jerusalem (Feldman, 2002; Moscowitz, 2000, pp. 4–5). Holy Blossom represents an extreme example of Ashkenazi deference to European and North American church styles, since congregants of virtually all other synagogues in Toronto face in the traditional eastern direction for prayers, and no other synagogue in Toronto incorporates a bell tower. Nonetheless, Ashkenazi synagogues in Toronto are built in architectural styles that reflect the design of European and North American churches.

In contrast, the design of the Sephardic Kehila Centre reflects the predominant architectural design of large buildings throughout the Middle East and North Africa. In the Canadian context, however, this design is read by mainstream society as a signifier of Islamic identity (Isin & Siemiatycki, 2002). For example, a notable aesthetic feature of the Kehila Centre is its domed roof, an architectural detail associated with Islamic mosques within the North American context. Although the domed roof is viewed by mainstream society as a signifier of Islam and Muslim identity within Canada (Isin & Siemiatycki, 2002), it is actually only an aesthetic style common to the Middle East, and does not have any Islamic religious significance.

The architectural style of the Kehila Centre is one way in which the Sephardic community claims its presence within the Toronto Jewish community and refutes the established Jewish community's image of "the Jew" as a strictly Ashkenazi identity. Moreover, the building's design and claim for space in the heart of Jewish space disrupts essentialist and binary notions of identity. The Kehila Centre represents Sephardic Jewish identity and culture that is based in Middle Eastern countries. Importantly, the design and presence of the building signify the fact that Jewish identity is not synonymous with Ashkenazi identity or *Yiddishkeit.* The assertion of Sephardic identity through the Kehila Centre is a symbol of the Sephardic community's resistance to Ashkenazi assimilation. The Kehila Centre signifies the Sephardic community's rejection of its marginalization within the broader Jewish community by claiming a specifically Sephardic Jewish space within the heart of the Toronto Jewish community.

Conclusion

For minority groups, claiming space is about asserting the recognition and inclusion of minority identities within both racialized communities and the broader society. As a material and symbolic structure, the Kehila Centre claims space that is not simply public, but recognized as space claimed within the geographic and cultural space of the Ashkenazi-dominated Jewish community in Toronto, and makes it reflective of Sephardic identities. Importantly, the Kehila Centre signifies the Sephardic community's desire for membership and inclusion within the Toronto Jewish community. Nonetheless, this desire is predicated on the Sephardic community's demand for the recognition and inclusion of Sephardic Jewish identities as an integral, and not marginal, part of the Toronto Jewish community. The Kehila Centre also symbolizes the Sephardic community's assertion of its permanent presence and claim for inclusion within the broader Toronto society.

The presence of the Kehila Centre challenges hegemonic Jewish community notions of "who is a Jew." As a physical and symbolic building, the Kehila Centre reflects the diverse racialization of Jewish identities through its architectural design and appearance. Moreover, the establishment and presence of the Kehila Centre signifies diversity and difference within the Toronto Jewish community. Amidst the predominantly Ashkenazi background of Jewish space in Toronto, the Kehila Centre asserts Sephardic identity and culture through its presence and aesthetic style. In doing so, it resists and challenges hegemonic Jewish community notions of *authenticity* that equate Jewish identity with Ashkenazi identity and culture.

Notes

1 Sephardic Jews are the descendants of the Jews from Spain and Portugal. Following the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisitions and the expulsion of the Jews from these regions, Sephardic Jews settled in Holland, France, North Africa, Italy, the Ottoman Empire, the Middle East, and parts of South America. Sephardic Jewish customs, traditions, pronunciation of Hebrew, Jewish cultural languages (i.e., Ladino and Judeo-Arabic), and liturgical practices differ from those of Ashkenazi Jews, the descendants of the Jews from Germany. Ashkenazi Jews spread and settled largely in Eastern Europe, and particularly in the Pale of Settlement, during the various German and European Jewish expulsions from 1000 C.E. onwards. (For greater elaboration, see Gilbert, 1969 and Lowenstein, 2000.) Sephardic Jews settled primarily in Muslim-dominated Arab lands. Ashkenazi Jewish identities, in contrast, are shaped by their historical existence in Christian-dominated European countries.

2 *Kehila* is the Hebrew word meaning community. The Sephardic Kehila Centre is the community centre catering to the cultural and religious customs and traditions of the Sephardic Jewish community in Toronto.

3 See endnote 1.

4 The Bene Israel and Cochini Jews of India, as well as the Beta Israel Jews of Ethiopia, are not technically "Sephardic" because they are not descendants of the Jews from Spain and Portugal. The Jewish establishment in Canada, the United States, and Israel broadly construct their members into two Jewish groups: Ashkenazi and Sephardic. The term "Sephardic" is generally used in a broad sense to refer to any and all Jews who are not Ashkenazi.

5 Many of the first Jewish settlers in Canada—those who arrived between 1759 and 1760—were Sephardic Jews. These Sephardic Jews were the descendants of Spanish and Portuguese Jews who fled Spain and Portugal during the Spanish (1492) and Portuguese (1497) Inquisitions, settled in Holland for many years, and eventually settled in England before coming to Canada via the United States. These Sephardic Jews were culturally upper middle class Englishmen who practiced Judaism. Virtually all of these early Sephardic settlers had disappeared from Canada by 1768, either returning to New York, Philadelphia, and Rhode Island, or marrying non-Jews and leaving the Jewish community (Sacks, 1964). Between 1768 and 1957, when the first North African Sephardic immigrants started to arrive in Canada, the Canadian Jewish community was entirely comprised of Ashkenazi Jews.

6 The majority of Sephardic Jews who arrived from India were unable to immigrate until after 1962 when non-discriminatory immigration regulations were implemented. However, a handful of Indian Jews of Middle-Eastern origin, known collectively as the "Baghdadi Jews," were able to enter and settle in Canada after 1956 and before 1962.

7 *Yiddishkeit* is the Yiddish word literally meaning "Jewish culture." *Yiddishkeit* refers to all aspects—religious and secular—of Eastern European Jewish culture.

8 According to Jewish law, prayer cannot take place unless there is a prayer quorum of a minimum of ten Jewish men present.

9 *Sephardim* is the plural form of Sephardic. Sephardim is the Hebrew word referring to "Sephardic Jews."

10 There were nine Sephardic prayer congregations in existence prior to the establishment of the Sephardic Kehila Centre: (1) Petah Tikva Anshe Castilla Congregation; (2) Magen David Sephardic Congregation; (3) Tifferet Israel Congregation; (4) Minyan Sepharad; (5) Kollel Bar Yochai; (6) Bet Yossef Sephardic Congregation; (7) Torat Avot Yemenite Congregation; (8) Beth Sepharad Congregation; and (9) Kol Torah (Sephardic Kehila Centre Grand Opening Celebration, September 2, 1997). Of these nine congregations, only three (Petah Tikva Anshe Castilla Congregation, Magen David Sephardic Congregation, and Tifferet Israel Congregation) had been in a financial position to be able to purchase and build synagogues prior to the establishment of the Sephardic Kehila Centre.

11 Jewish law prohibits working on the Sabbath and all other Jewish holidays. Driving, which is considered to be "work," is therefore prohibited on these occasions.

12 See endnote 10.

13 There appear to be some discrepancies among historical records as to whether Alfred Chapman was actually the architect who designed Timothy Eaton Memo-

rial Church. Both Feldman (2002) and Moscowitz (2000) argue that he was. The Timothy Eaton Church was designed by the architectural firm of Wickson and Gregg (*History of Toronto and County of York* website; Hubbard, 1975), and Alfred Chapman worked on a number of projects with the firm from 1907 to 1915. Timothy Eaton Memorial Church was built over a five-year period between 1909 and 1914 when Chapman worked on many projects with Wickson & Gregg (*History of Toronto and County of York* website). Hubbard (1975) argues that Frank Wickson of Wickson and Gregg "is chiefly known for Timothy Eaton Church, Toronto," while Chapman is known for his 1908 design of the Rosedale Presbyterian Church (Hubbard, 1975). What is clear from various historical records (Hubbard, 1975; *History of Toronto and County of York* website) is that Chapman and Wickson and Gregg were among the most prestigious and influential architects in Toronto from 1905 to 1940 and were responsible for the design of numerous buildings associated with Toronto's elite. Chapman, working under his own architectural firm, was hired by Holy Blossom Temple's board of directors to design the "new" 1938 Holy Blossom Temple building in its present location. In hiring Chapman, Holy Blossom's board of directors sought to emulate and link its members with the elite status of the congregants of the Timothy Eaton Memorial Church. These buildings symbolized the social, political, and economic centre of the Toronto establishment in the early twentieth century (Moscowitz, 2000, pp. 4–5; Feldman, 2002).

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MAPPING GREEKTOWN
Identity and the making of "place" in suburban Calgary
Anastasia N. Panagakos

4

Creating diaspora, as places located in physical space or within the consciousness and hearts of its members, is a dynamic process (Brah, 1996). Nostalgia for a homeland, ancestral village, or lifestyle is expressed differently by migrant groups who view their stay in host countries on a continuum spanning temporary sojourns to long-term enterprises. Greek immigrants to North America in the early twentieth century considered themselves to be sojourners. Although many returned to Greece to fight in the Balkan Wars of the 1910s and 1920s, Greece's economic and political situation continued to deteriorate as the century unfolded, and an increasing number of immigrants had little choice but to stay in North America. By mid-century, Greek ethnic communities could be found not only in large North American metropolises but in smaller, peripheral cities and towns as well. In 1950, Calgary had a population of fewer than 130,000, and largely remained an agricultural, petrochemical, and railroad outpost on the vast Canadian prairie (City of Calgary, 1995). Greek immigrants arrived in Calgary predominantly by transcontinental railroad and were greeted by their sponsors, family members and *patriótes* (compatriots). Kikí was eighteen when she immigrated in 1951; she describes her arrival in this way:

The first time I saw the Canadian prairie I thought to myself, I must be on the wrong train because surely Calgary isn't at the North Pole! We saw nothing but snow-covered fields for days and it was colder than anything I had ever experienced in Greece. I was shaking when I left the train, it was partly from being on the train for six days and partly because I was scared. I did not remember this uncle I was meeting, he had sponsored me to come over and paid my passage. I was indebted to him, as was my family back in Greece. When I first arrived there weren't

too many Greeks but so many young people arrived shortly after me. We lived together, sometimes ten or twelve of us in a three-bedroom apartment, and the men would take turns sleeping since there weren't enough beds. I wanted to go home to my mother; I didn't care how poor we were. The winters were so long in Calgary and the people were so foreign. Up until I got married in 1959 I really thought I'd go back to Greece but that never happened. We started building the kinótita [community] and we were assigned a full-time priest. When I had my first son I knew that Calgary was where we would stay. My husband was promoted at his job shortly after our son's birth and we had too many responsibilities to consider going back to Greece although I still cried for my mother.[1]

Kikí's narrative is not unique, but represents the experiences of a generation of women who found themselves in a foreign land they did not necessarily intend on settling in permanently. Realizing that returning to Greece was not feasible, many married and had children, promoting the growth of the ethnic community and the desire to reproduce the customs and traditions of the homeland. Remembering and recreating Greek social worlds and lifeways was a task most often associated with women, the bearers of children and culture. These women and their husbands fostered nostalgic longings in their descendants predicated on a mixture of Western philhellenism and provincial Greek folk life. Greece is remembered as the birthplace of modern Western civilization, the warmth of a mother's hearth, voices carrying in the crisp stillness of a mountain village, of red poppies blooming in a sea of green at Easter time, and the bitterness of civil war, famine, and untimely death. Nostalgia was ever present as the immigrants built their community in suburban Calgary. It was mixed with the mortar that supported the walls of the new church and buried within the building's foundations that must go deeper than the frozen soil of the Canadian prairie.

As Henri Lefevbre (1991) noted, the meaning of space changes through time by transforming social life and imbuing a sense of collective memory. Within an ethnic community, public space represents the memorialized historic past and the creative promise of future spaces even while present spaces are contested and renegotiated. While public spaces may function to reproduce social and economic relations, they also function as places to act out collective identities (Bélanger, 2002). The following sections unveil how Greeks in Calgary create public and private diasporic spaces informed by the logics of Canadian multiculturalism and imbued with specific age and gender hierarchies. Diasporas have long been defined through an emphasis on displacement and alienation (Safran, 1991; Cohen, 1997); however, in her study of Italians in Britain, Anne-Marie Fortier notes that settlement is also a defining feature of diasporas (2000). Settlement is not an end in itself, but instead constitutes a point of departure for groups to formulate new meanings for

both diasporic insiders and "indigenous" outsiders (Fortier, 2000, p. 164). For Greeks in Calgary, a place-bound identity is constructed through the reinscription of discourses nostalgic for the homeland and a simultaneous engagement with broader Canadian society, whose standards are imposed on ethnic group behaviour.

   Remembering Greece is an important activity in identity formation, and is understood through the sometimes complementary and often competing narratives of Canadian multiculturalism and consumerism. The families and individuals of the Greek ethnic community negotiate and create social worlds structured by these considerations. In this chapter, I consider how age, generation, and gender intersect to reproduce diasporic spaces contested by younger second generation youth and, conversely, spaces dominated by the first generation which remain uncontested and firmly entrenched within a patriarchal immigrant discourse. I conclude the chapter with a brief analysis of the "outer spaces" of ethnicity, or those places forged through transnational interactions between the host and home countries.

Placing Calgary and the Greek ethnic community

While diasporic and ethnic communities could technically be situated anywhere, global cities are particularly well-suited due to internationally integrated economic, political, transportation, and social systems. According to Alan Smart, Calgary is a global city "writ small" because it is a centre for rapidly globalizing oil, gas, and high-tech sectors (Smart, 2001). The boom cycles associated with the petroleum and natural gas industries have attracted migrants from both within and beyond the Canadian borders. The population of Calgary has grown by 14.4 percent between 1996 and 2001, and now approaches one million (Statistics Canada, 2001a). With 2,000 new residents per month, the city is experiencing profound growing pains, including environmental degradation, decreased social services, and traffic snarls to rival Vancouver and Toronto (Walton, 2000). Calgary also has a higher rate of foreign-born residents at 20.8 percent (the Canadian average is 17.4 percent and even lower for most American cities), and business and skills-oriented Canadian immigration policies result in higher education levels and assets for immigrants than for native-born Canadians (Smart, 2001). Such a vigorous environment is more likely to foster transnational social networks and business activities (Smart & Smart, 1996) and the lifestyles they inspire.

   These trends continue to bolster Calgary's position as a globalizing city and as one of the most dynamic urban centres in Canada. As the city integrates into the global system, so too do particular sectors of the population.

A group with much to gain from such a political economy is undoubtedly migrants, who already have an interest in places and people abroad. Calgary's Greek diaspora has maintained transnational ties for nearly a century, although the pace and scope of interaction are greatly enhanced by Calgary's booming international economy. Calgary's Greek community exists in imagined, virtual, and real forms. The tangible, physical community centres on a Greek Orthodox Church with its myriad of fraternal organizations and village associations, Greek language and religious schools, cultural programs such as Greek folk dancing, and annual cultural festivals. In the 1960s and 1970s, Greeks in Calgary secured several large provincial grants to fund the expansion of the church and community centre. The Greek community was incorporated as the Hellenic Community of Calgary and District (HCCD)[2] in 1977 and is formally recognized by the local, provincial, and federal governments. In everyday parlance, Greeks refer to the HCCD simply by the Greek word *kinótita* (community).

To be sure, not every Greek person in Calgary is a member of the HCCD. In fact, to be a formal member, one must pay membership dues. This entitles the individual (or family) to discounts on renting out the community centre and on religious rites, voting privileges, and the ability to run for office. One does not usually become a voting member until after marriage, or upon leaving the natal household. Thus, to achieve "full" status as an adult in the HCCD, one is required to show responsibility by having a family or at least one's own household. The true formal power of membership is most evident at the biannual general assembly meetings, which are largely attended by older immigrants. Since young people do not hold their own memberships, they cannot vote. Their voices are effectively silenced save for the recent election of younger individuals to the community council that, until the late 1990s, was composed almost exclusively of older male immigrants. Nevertheless, if one wants to express Greekness in a socially and culturally specific way, the HCCD is the only such organization in Calgary in which to do that. According to Kirk Thymaras, the council president of the HCCD, there were approximately 3,000 members in the HCCD, including minors who do not hold formal membership, in 2000. The total population of Greeks in Calgary was approximately 4,000 in 2001 (Statistics Canada, 2002). While I do not dispute the number of members in the HCCD, I do believe a smaller number of families and individuals actually participate regularly in the community's organizations and events. During my fourteen months of fieldwork in Calgary, I noticed that the same individuals participated in most events.[3] Indeed, some of the community's "diehard" participants expressed utter dismay at the apathy of their compatriots. People felt defeated in their efforts to preserve the culture since it was difficult to draw new people into activities.

If the HCCD does have 3,000 members, thus constituting 75 percent of the Greeks in Calgary, what about the other 25 percent? In addition to the HCCD's formal policies about membership, there are also several unwritten rules enforced by social codes. Full inclusion into the Hellenic Community is based on certain key attributes: one must be of Greek ancestry, heterosexual, and Greek Orthodox Christian. Lacking even one of these characteristics means that to varying degrees one is socially unacceptable and will not have access to certain areas of community life. According to Perry N. Halkitis, in his discussion of gay Greek Americans, the family and church are such powerful institutions that it becomes almost impossible to fuse sexual and ethnic identity, since there are prescribed gender roles for men in Greek-American society (1999, p. 177). Halkitis also notes that the struggle to have these identities coexist is so difficult that many gay Greek-American men abandon their ethnicity in order to freely express their sexuality. In Calgary, I did not encounter any openly gay or lesbian members of the HCCD, although there were some rumours circulating as to who might be a closet homosexual (i.e., bachelors in their late 30s or 40s who did not seem interested in marriage). The compulsory heterosexuality of the HCCD seems to drive gays and lesbians away from the community, and most likely from their families as well.

While the HCCD marginalizes individuals based on their sexuality, ethnicity, and religious preferences, it also alienates some young people brought up within its very folds. I spoke with several individuals who had left the HCCD because of "personality conflicts" with other members or because they felt alienated from their peer group. In one instance a young woman quit participating in community events altogether because she had been removed as a Greek dance teacher for being consistently tardy and ill-prepared. After her removal (it was a volunteer position), she desisted from speaking with the other dance teachers who were her childhood friends, and did not invite them to her wedding. Such hard feelings are unfortunately very common in the HCCD. Indeed, the participants in this research study have also left the HCCD for a different, presumably freer life in Greece. The continued domination of older immigrant men has created a situation in which young women may choose other outlets for expressing their Greekness. The unwillingness of community leaders to share power with the second and third generations is a problem that will continue to plague the HCCD for years to come *unless* younger members can increase their ranks and politically challenge the old guard.

The barriers to inclusion within the ethnic Greek-Canadian community can be interpreted as stricter than the barriers faced by contemporary Greek Canadians within dominant Canadian society. For example, while the HCCD shuns homosexuality outright, Canada is one of the few nations to recog-

nize gay marriage in certain provinces. While Canadian law protects minorities from discrimination, no such protection exists within ethnic communities, which construct their own rules of conduct and exclusion. Furthermore, the racial barriers confronting Greek Canadians have changed dramatically in the last fifty years, given the historical circumstances of late-twentieth-century immigration patterns. Greeks arriving in Calgary in the 1950s and 1960s were racialized as "not quite white," and occupied a lower social position with other recent southern European immigrants. Many older Greek immigrants recounted incidents of job discrimination at the hands of Anglo bosses, who would refer to them as "DPS" (displaced persons)—a label which, when applied, often led to physical violence. Given their usually darker hair and complexions, exotic Orthodox Christian religion, and seemingly unusual cultural traditions and superstitions, Greek immigrants fit dominant Canadian notions of pre- or semi-modern peoples. Greek immigrants also faced the unique burden of having to live up to the accomplishments of the ancient Greeks. It was common for Greeks and non-Greeks alike to comment on the pitiful and provincial quality of Greek cultural life after the 400-year Ottoman oppression. Thus, Greek immigrants initially did not meet the qualifications of whiteness—including being modern, Protestant, rational, and free of rural folkways. Although patterns of racism led to initial discrimination, it was largely short-lived, and affected the first generation during the early decades of settlement. By the 1970s and 1980s, the first generation had begun to "whiten" due to their economic successes as small business owners, the perception of Greek Canadians as family-oriented hard workers, and the influx of "browner" immigrants from Asia and the Caribbean.

The emerging doctrine of multiculturalism in the 1960s (as opposed to assimilation) did help make ethnic affiliations more acceptable. Ironically, as the Canadian government began accepting the contributions of various ethnic groups to the ethnic mosaic, immigrants themselves still understood the value of adopting dominant ways to make economic, social, and political gains within their new environs. While the first generation would perhaps never achieve a white racial standing, the second generation is poised to make substantial changes in their racial and class positioning. Results from a demographic survey conducted in the HCCD show that by the second generation, over 60 percent of Greek-Canadians were enrolled in college, have some college experience, or earned advanced degrees (Panagakos, 2001). In addition, based on figures from 2000, Greek-Canadian families tended to earn the annual median family income or higher for residents of Alberta at approximately $60,000 (Statistics Canada, 2001b). Greek Canadians are also marrying outside the ethnic group in large numbers. In the HCCD for the decade of the 1990s, close to 50 percent of couples marrying had one spouse

who was characterized as being "white Anglo-Saxon Protestant," and thus neither of Greek descent or Greek Orthodox. Such rapid progress in education and economics indicates that Greek Canadians are integrating into the dominant Canadian society, and, although ethnically distinct, do not face the same barriers of racialization endured by newer immigrant groups. Furthermore, increasingly high rates of out-marriage indicate that Greek Canadians of the second generation and beyond are forging primary relationships beyond the ethnic enclave, and primarily with "white" Canadians.

Mapping Greektown

The social, political, and religious activities described above exert meaning and significance on the neighbourhoods and built environment of Calgary. More than just a mechanism to maintain boundaries between and within ethnic groups, the imagining of community entails a reinscription of identity onto physical space, or the making of "place"—contested sites with disparate histories and alternative representations. The diasporic element of imagined communities and place-making indicates the need to make concrete particular feelings of nostalgia, longing, displacement, loss, and defiance onto the often unfamiliar and hostile landscape of the host country. Reterritorialization entails a collective desire to recapture a home or homeland within physical space. This process is mediated not only through the group's construction of ethnic, gendered, sexual, racial, and class identities, but also through the constraints of state multicultural ideologies, and the spatial limitations of the built environment.

Famous Greektowns in North American cities like Toronto and Chicago are concentrated around several urban blocks of Greek-owned restaurants, travel agencies, coffee houses, gift shops, and groceries. Although Greeks tend to live in the southwest quadrant of Calgary, Greek-owned businesses are spread throughout the city, and do not comprise a cohesive Greektown. Calgary's Greek community is considerably smaller—and, in some ways, perhaps more creative—in its recreation of diasporic spaces. In smaller diasporic communities like Calgary, contradictory or ambiguous experiences are more likely in the process of diasporic place-making, including ideas about authenticity, deficiency, and the alternating creative/destructive forces associated with identity formation. Indeed, while a concentration of Greek-owned establishments can be found near the HCCD, there are also several other commercial sites that have been appropriated through routine use, including the Boston Pizza restaurant, Wal-Mart, McDonald's, and the Westbrook shopping mall. Greek Canadians use these venues to compensate for

a small population base. While Toronto's Danforth district may support several Greek coffee houses that cater largely to a Greek immigrant clientele, Calgary's Greek immigrants are content to drink their coffee and socialize in the McDonald's located inside the Wal-Mart. The Wal-Mart functions as a central market for the Greek Canadians who live in the surrounding communities. It is nearly impossible to shop there without being spotted by a compatriot. For older immigrant men, meeting at the McDonald's for their morning coffee promotes a daily sociability that has replaced full-time employment.

While non-Greek commercial sites do provide places to socialize, most ethnic socializing still occurs at the HCCD and Greek-owned businesses. Greek-owned businesses commonly employ compatriots or family members, thus increasing the likelihood that co-workers will socialize during and after work. It is common practice to hire young Greek Canadians to wait and bus tables, since they are deemed to be more hardworking and trustworthy then "average" Canadians. In the event that a Greek-Canadian employee becomes troublesome, it is also convenient to know the parents, another avenue of social control. Several restaurant owners also like helping out the children of their friends and relatives by giving them employment. Restaurants are important places to learn appropriate masculinity. Indeed, many Greek immigrant men in Calgary spent the majority of their time working in restaurants, and their sons, from a young age, are required to do the same. Working alongside fathers, uncles, and fictive kin, young men learn to value their sense of business smarts, hard work, long hours, and cooking, all through the guise of male bonding. Hanging out at a friend's restaurant is a favourite pastime even for young Greek-Canadian men without connections to the restaurant industry. Indeed, the restaurant embodies working-class masculinity and notions of freedom and competency. Although they work extremely long hours, Greek-Canadian restaurateurs are quick to note that they do not "punch a time clock" or work for someone else. Competency is measured in the way a man runs his restaurant—i.e., do the customers and the staff respect him—and less on the quality of the food or service. I have heard Greek-Canadian waiters proudly refer to their bosses as "mafiosos" and "Tony Sopranos" in the sense that their bosses know how to get things done, even if that means skirting the law or roughing up rowdy customers. Indeed, gangster films like *Goodfellas*, *The Godfather*, and *Donnie Brasco* are favourites among young Greek-Canadian men who perhaps identify with the marginality felt by individuals of Italian descent and the prevalent male cooking and bonding motifs found in each film.

Whereas Greek-Canadian masculinity is forged in the restaurants, Greek-Canadian femininity is taught in the domestic sphere of the home. Greek-

Canadian girls learn proper gender behaviour by watching their mothers serve the men in the family. A classic double standard exists in many Greek households, where boys are free to roam at will and girls have strict curfews. In Calgary, the Greek-Canadian home is both an important private and public sphere. The home serves as a private domain in which to play out the important gender behaviours centreed on the proper running of a *nikokýrio*, or household. Particularly among the immigrant generation, a well-appointed home is emblematic of success in Canada. Publicly, couples are judged on how well they replicate the spatial practices of the homeland onto the Canadian suburban landscape. Thus, the home is on display, and signifies immigrant success and domestic bliss during parties, informal visits, and holidays. In a more general sense, Greek-Canadian homes that dot the southwest neighbourhoods surrounding the HCCD provide another texture to the landscape. It is quite common, when driving or walking by, to see fellow community members gardening, working on cars, or fixing their houses. The location of Greek-Canadian homes is well known, and often a subject of conversation while driving through the neighbourhood. I recall Greek Canadians, when passing by the home of someone from the community, gossiping or trading information about the inhabitants. Through such discussions, the suburban Calgary neighbourhoods are collectively remembered, and different layers of meaning created.

Finally, Greek ethnicity is expressed spatially through the HCCD itself, where space is configured to reflect both gender and age hierarchies. Quite obviously, the church is the domain of men, who conduct the religious services and are privy to the mysteries of the Greek Orthodox religion. Although women cannot participate as clergy, they do figure prominently in the congregation, and appearing religious by attending church is an important aspect of Greek-Canadian femininity. There are other spaces within the HCCD gendered with meaning, however. The Hellenic Community Centre is joined with the church by a long hallway, as well as several "secret" passages that lead from one to the other (accessible only to the community council members, who have keys). The main hall is decorated with Ionic columns, and an ancient Greek temple façade graces the raised stage. The hall also has a full-service kitchen, and can comfortably seat around 300 guests, with room for dancing. As a multi-purpose room, the hall is used for receptions, bridal showers, community parties, dance practice and performances, theatre, sports, and food preparation for the annual festival. Above the hall is a large room that serves as a costume repository and base of operations for the Greek folk dance program. Below the hall is an expansive basement with an open common area, several classrooms, the office of the *Hellenic Echo* newspaper, a small kitchen, showers (which have been locked for as long as I can

remember), and a library. While much can be said about each of these places, I focus on the hall's main kitchen and the basement to illustrate how Greek-Canadian identity is expressed through the built environment.

The basement houses the church school, as well as Greek language class-rooms characterized by musty grey carpet, yellowing posters on Greek gram-mar and the alphabet, and a host of religious images meant to inspire awe and fear. The library was closed for my entire fourteen months of fieldwork due to insufficient staff and a new computer system no one could figure out. Behind the large common area scattered with tables was a dimly lit interior hallway where the teenagers would smoke, safe from the prying eyes of adults. In the middle of the winter, with temperatures hovering somewhere around absolute zero, the basement was always frigid, smoky, and somewhat terri-fying. For children and young adults, the basement is the centre of their Greek social identity. Not only do they attend church and Greek school within its dusty confines but also, during large community parties and gatherings, they retreat to the basement to escape parents and other adults. It is a micro-cosm of Greek diasporic youth culture. It is where hierarchies are estab-lished, sexualities explored, and conformity challenged.

One event particularly epitomizes the competing forces that shape dias-poric imaginings of this generation. Every spring the youth organize a dinner dance, complete with a live Greek band, to raise funds for various youth pro-grams. The highlight of this so-called "Greek Night" is when the youth don traditional folk costumes and perform dances from around Greece that they have been preparing for months. Parents proudly take pictures and shoot video, often singing along to familiar tunes. For the youth, it is their most public moment of creating Greekness, a moment when different gen-erations gather to renew and pass on the emotional ties which bind them as Greeks in the diaspora. Greek Night is also a moment of destruction. After the 2001 Greek Night, over five hundred dollars' worth of damage was discov-ered. All the damage occurred in the basement, and included several bro-ken tables and chairs, cigarette butts and burn marks on carpets, mangled folk costumes, and a large hole punched through a wall. At a moment of group bonding and creativity, the youth—relegated to the bowels of the community, and long suppressed by aging patriarchs and strict gender rules—chose to demolish the physical seat of their oppression, the very classrooms and spaces where culture and social identity were imposed. In some ways, per-haps the rebellion is symbolic of a larger issue—how the youth reject what constitutes Greek identity. The Hellenic Community centre, although under-stood as a site of Greekness, exists in its present condition because of the logics of Canadian multiculturalism. In particular, ethnic groups should abide to a hierarchical structure symbolically reinforced through a built envi-

ronment. The prominence of the Greek Orthodox religion dictates a strict code of heterosexual behaviour, and norms enforced on the youth literally from above ground and on high. For diasporic youth, who were not at the creation of the Hellenic community, nor helped build it brick by brick, it is the establishment, the root of both love and hate.

Like the community centre basement, the main kitchen serves as a space to recreate hierarchies and gender roles within the Hellenic community. The kitchen is located at the back of the main hall and contains industrial quality cooking ranges, ovens, a dishwasher, freezers, and refrigerators. Although functional, the kitchen is old and, according to community members, in serious need of expansion and upgrading. The HCCD owns a liquor licence, and hard liquor, beer, and wine are dispensed from the bar located next to the kitchen. At the largest community parties, the kitchen can produce appetizers, dinner, and desserts for over 330 guests. There is a rigid hierarchy to participating in kitchen activities that privilege the culinary skills of the immigrant men and women above their second- and third-generation counterparts. This is a common practice found within families as well. Immigrant parents and grandparents frequently joke that young people do not know how to cook properly, particularly if they are not "full" adults characterized by being married and having children. Indeed, many mothers continue to make those special and time-consuming dishes like *moussaká* or *spanakópita* for their married children, out of love, but also because they do not see their children as capable. At home and in the community kitchen, there is an underlying assumption that the youth require supervision and guidance in the proper preparation of meals. Perhaps this is how first-generation individuals assert their misgivings or doubts about the true Greekness of their offspring.

The HCCD and its subsidiary organizations sponsor several food-related events during the year, with the most intensive being the annual cultural festival. At the annual cultural festival and community dinners, the chefs are almost always immigrant men who own restaurants. To my knowledge, a woman has never organized or executed a big community dinner. Men are in charge of cooking the meat and the side dishes. Women typically contribute by bringing platters of sweets from home. During the annual cultural festival, the pattern is the same. Men prepare and barbecue the lambs, *gyros*, and *souvlaki* while women prepare and bake all the sweets, such as *baklava* and *loukoumádes* (honey-sweetened doughnut holes), as well as spinach and cheese pies. Food preparation is a gendered activity passed down to subsequent generations. It is not uncommon to see young people helping their mothers or fathers skewer pork or roll out leaves of phyllo pastry. The point, however, is that the activity *remains* gendered in precisely the same

way. Women do not roast lambs, and men do not deep-fry *loukoumádes*. The hall's kitchen is not a contested site where the young and old, male and female, clash over proper gender roles. Indeed, no one seems to challenge the primacy of the male immigrants in the kitchen, or even presume to suggest how preparations could be done differently. I realized this to be true when I was the folk dance coordinator and involved with planning the annual Greek Night celebration. While we argued over decorations, costumes, and minutiae, all were in agreement about how the cooking would proceed. We asked the owner of a local Greek restaurant to volunteer his time as head chef (he would bring staff to assist him), and then approached several other restaurants for food donations. This was the extent of our involvement in the cooking. From that point on the head chef was in complete control, and we did not challenge his judgements. The kitchen really *was* his castle.

Greek Canadians translate their built environment to better suit their own conceptions of gender, ethnicity, and patriarchy. Some spaces, like the community centre basement, are contested sites representing the suppression of the youth and the ways in which Greekness is inscribed on them by community elders and Canadian multiculturalism. Other sites, such as McDonald's and church, are squarely within the domain of older immigrant men who replicate their Greek status positions on the diasporic landscape. The main community kitchen, unlike the basement, is squarely reproduced within Greek conceptions of proper food preparation behaviour. While women may do the majority of domestic cooking, men still hold the power in deciding what the community eats (and what they feed to others!). The neighbourhoods around the HCCD, with their restaurants, private homes, and hangouts, provide a sociable context within which ethnicity is recreated and identity remembered. Through two and three generations of life in Calgary, the landscape has become imbued with the history and stories of Greek Canadians.

The outer space of ethnicity

Throughout Canada's history, racialized and ethnic communities have first claimed and later manipulated space to suit their diverse needs and cultural backgrounds. Indeed, the way such groupings are referred to as "communities" and "enclaves" evokes the perception of a semi-closed system with largely local networks and a few regional or national connections. In the last decade, scholars have turned their attention to the transnational aspects of migrant groups—in particular, the economic, social, cultural, and political ties maintained over vast distances between home and host countries (see

Schiller, Basch, & Blanc-Szanton, 1992; Smith & Guarnizo, 1998; Mahler, 1999; Portes, 2001; Levitt, 2002). Research suggests that ethnic and racialized communities are open systems in which individuals and families utilize advancements such as the Internet, cheap air travel, and global banking to expand and cultivate their social and financial ties. The results of such activities can be witnessed within the social and physical landscapes of the ethnic enclave itself through cybercafés, travel agencies, or homeland political and banking institutions with branches in the community. However, given the ability of many migrants and their descendants to travel easily back to the homeland for vacations, a different sort of space has emerged, something I dub here as the "outer space" of ethnicity. I define the outer space of ethnicity as places occurring somewhere outside the usual orbit of daily interaction for group members, but still imbued with meaning and significance. In the following example I describe an outer space located within the Greek homeland itself, created for and by Greek Canadians, which demonstrates how ethnicity and place can coalesce outside the boundaries of the host nation.

Travelling in Greece without one's immigrant parents can be a daunting task for Greek Canadians of the second or third generation. Parents, even for those who left Greece quite young, have an advanced command of the Greek language and customs which provides a cultural buffer for their children. Familiar tasks such as visiting relatives, operating a car, exchanging money, and dining out can be a challenge when one is expected (but does not know how) to read and order from a menu, shift a manual transmission, or exchange pleasantries with distant relations. Thus it is with great relief that many of Calgary's Greek-Canadian youth arrive at the Galaxy Hotel, a small establishment on the eastern shores of Peloponnesos. The Galaxy is owned and operated by two Greek-Canadian families who remigrated from Calgary in the mid-1990s. The heads of the two families are brothers who originally went to Calgary in the 1950s and eventually opened restaurants. The brothers aspired to return to the homeland someday, even though they succeeded as businessmen and their families were integrated both within the HCCD and larger Canadian society (some of their children had gone to college, achieved advanced degrees, and established careers).

The hotel was an oasis of comfort for Greek Canadians who felt disoriented by being in Greece, and the families who operated the Galaxy were sensitive to the needs of their compatriots. Kyria Elena, the matriarch, prepared food familiar to the Greek-Canadian palate, and served as surrogate mother. The children, now in their early twenties and having lived in Greece for five years, were cultural and linguistic experts, helping the visitors to negotiate a Greek culture that was both pleasurable and infuriating at the same time. And, of course, there was Barba Tom, Kyria Elena's husband,

always with worry beads in hand and cracking jokes in Grenglish. Those who felt homesick or rather disconnected from the world could check email and surf the Internet for free. While Greek Canadians may take easy Internet access for granted at home, in Greece it remains a luxury for most. When asked what they missed most about Canada, several individuals put their computers and cars at the top of the list.

Since the Galaxy was in partnership with cruise ship and car rental companies, it was a convenient place to book a trip or rent a car. Greek Canadians, weary of being swindled, were quick to use the Galaxy's services, and did not question whether they were receiving the best deal. After dinner in the evenings, guests were invited to watch American movies on video in a private screening room—a converted hotel room with a large television, hundreds of movies in English, and comfortable couches. The overall atmosphere of this outer space was one of serenity and ease, a far cry from the usually hectic schedule of backpack tourism. Indeed, when asked why they chose to visit the Galaxy Hotel, even though it was out of their way, several Greek-Canadian compatriots noted that they could "let down their guard" and "be themselves." These statements speak volumes regarding how place and identity intersect for Greek Canadians, who view the homeland as integral to their sense of self yet also foreign and somewhat mystifying. The Galaxy Hotel, and the families who own it, are a cultural bridge between Greece and Canada. The space of the hotel, while largely indistinguishable from other tourist establishments in Greece, nonetheless has an aura of familiarity recreated through the daily practices of the family and their knack for making their Greek-Canadian compatriots feel welcome and safe.

As a summer hub of Greek-Canadian activity, the Galaxy Hotel also reshaped social relationships for Greek Canadians, albeit temporarily. While staying at the hotel, Calgary's Greek Canadians formed a tight social pack, largely ignoring other Greeks and tourists alike. This *paréa*, or company of friends, was an odd mixture of young people who did not usually interact socially in their everyday lives back in Calgary other than at large community events. Socializing together in Greece was akin to circling the wagons. Personalities would occasionally clash within the *paréa*, and it appeared that individuals remained together because they were uninterested or perhaps fearful of having to socialize with "real" Greek people who might laugh at their mannerisms, dress, and language skills. Being with other Greek Canadians was more comfortable, and did not readily challenge ideas of Greekness. One could speak English instead of muddling through Greek, insist on eating dinner at 6 p.m. instead of the usual 10 or 11 p.m., and complain to sympathetic ears about the bad driving, poor service, and overpriced souvenirs. Interestingly, these social relationships forged out of necessity did not extend

back to the ethnic community in Calgary. Returning home meant reverting to one's established social cliques and the familiar haunts of the hccd neighbourhood.

Conclusion

Calgary's Greek community actively reinvents suburban spaces to accommodate notions of ethnicity, patriarchy, age hierarchy, and multiculturalism. The principles of mid-twentieth century Canadian multiculturalism guided the physical construction of the Hellenic community into a place that replicated acceptable organizational structures for ethnic communities. The willingness of the provincial and federal governments to fund ethnic religious institutions led to the centralization of the Greek Orthodox Church as a community hub, and encouraged gender stratification perpetuated through several decades, one that divided some of the spaces of the community into male-only and female-only locales. The doctrine of multiculturalism has facilitated the maintenance of ethnic affiliations by claiming that all Canadians have the right to keep their heritage intact without pressure to become Canadian. However, the underlying assumption is that immigrants will *want* to become Canadian of their own volition. While notions of Canadianness are more inclusive than the American counterpart, it nevertheless means that one abides by Anglo ideals of order, democracy, individuality, and rationalism among others.

Greek-Canadian social spaces are contested sites whose meanings shift as the demographics of the community change. The aging immigrant patriarchs still maintain power over the most important community organizations, such as the governing council and church. However, their domination is slowly being eroded by a more educated, upwardly mobile and technology-savvy second generation with different perspectives on the meaning of Greekness. For example, while the immigrant generation no doubt plays an important role in the annual Greek cultural festival, the festival has become largely a space for the second generation to assert growing power within the community (Panagakos, 2003). Furthermore, the traditional boundaries of the ethnic community, while never constituting a closed system, are widened by the influences of the Internet, intermarriage, and easy travel to Greece. As noted, Greek-Canadian ethnicity is not confined to Calgary, or even Canada for that matter. Time-space compression, dual citizenship, and nostalgia for the homeland (and Greece as a well-known tourist destination) have allowed Greek Canadians to reinterpret the homeland to fit their own Western sensibilities of cleanliness, order, and time. Managing spaces like the Galaxy

Hotel signals particular ruptures between Greek Canadians and how "native" Greeks organize and live within their own landscapes. The outer spaces of ethnicity and the public display of culture through festivals highlight a point of departure from the essentialized view of Greek identity constructed through the immigrant-led HCCD. The second generation contests this version of Greekness, either through rebellious behaviour or refashioning the spaces themselves, to better fit their notions of what it means to be Greek. In no small part can these enterprises be attributed to multiculturalism, which allowed the community to claim a space on the Canadian landscape within a state-sponsored framework. While undoubtedly Greek Canadians would have found the means to organize themselves even without government assistance, multiculturalism looms as a benevolent force within community lore. For Greek Canadians, the discourses surrounding multiculturalism positively reinforce their sense of belonging and their contribution to the Canadian mosaic (however stereotypical that may be).

Finally, Marc Augé's theory regarding non-places is instructive when considering the future viability of ethnic communities like the HCCD (Augé, 1995). Augé argues that "non-places" such as supermarkets or airports profoundly alter how we think about space, since they largely embody a generic form devoid of individual meaning. As individuals spend more and more time in non-places, do ethnic spaces become more meaningful? In citing Augé's work, Kieran Bonner notes that places embodied with distinct meanings are potentially in danger of becoming "gestures" for consumption or nostalgia (Bonner, 2002). Is this a likely fate for the HCCD and other ethnic communities? Instinctively I would argue that it is not, precisely because the places of the Greek-Canadian community remain contested sites which, in the future, may be reinvented as different generations struggle to inscribe the landscape with their brand of Greekness. The creative / destructive process remains dynamic, with nostalgia for a simpler and more traditional time perhaps lurking in the recesses of the most entrenched institutions, such as the church. While Calgary's Greek-Canadian community may appropriate non-places such as the Wal-Mart or Boston Pizza for lack of more organized social spaces (i.e., those found in a formal Greektown), the sentiments of ethnicity remain intact.

Notes

1 I interviewed Kikí, age 67, at her home in suburban southwest Calgary on October 25, 2000.

2 Throughout this chapter I refer to the formally recognized Hellenic Community of Calgary and District in shorthand as either the HCCD or Hellenic Community.

3 This paper represents a small portion of data collected for my doctoral thesis, entitled "Romancing the Homeland: Transnational Lifestyles and Gender in

the Greek Diaspora." Research was funded by a Fulbright Doctoral Fellowship to Canada, 2000–2001. Research methods included participant observation in the HCCD, individual and group interviews, a demographic survey, and textual analysis of Greek and Greek-Canadian media such as newspapers, websites, TV programs, music culture, and magazines.

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THERE IS NO ALIBI FOR BEING (BLACK)?
Race, dialogic space, and the politics of trialectic identity
Awad Ibrahim

5

I am given no chance, I am overdetermined from without. I am the slave not of the "idea" that others have of me but of my own appearance…I progress by crawling. And *already* I am being dissected under white eyes, the only real eyes. I am *fixed*. Having adjusted their microtomes, they objectively cut away slices of my reality. I am laid bare…. When people like me, they tell me it is in spite of my colour. When they dislike me, they point out that it is not because of my colour. Either way, I am locked into the infernal circle. [Emphasis added.] — *Frantz Fanon* (1967, p. 116)

Occupying downtown Toronto: A new politics of authorship

To be authored, Fanon (1967) continues, the Black body enters, so to speak, a social imaginary, a discursive space in which it is already constructed, imagined, and positioned. When the child gazed at and pointed her finger toward him and said, "Look, moma! A Black man," Fanon wrote that he was fixed in that gaze: the gaze of Otherness. To fall under that gaze is to find oneself within *discourses of closure* where the Black body is already authored, read, and constantly stabilized across time, language, culture and space (see also Hall, 1990; Foucault, 1986). Here, I am talking about the White communicative state of mind: "Oh, they all look like Blacks to me!" To discuss the impact and the outcome of this gaze, I shall begin with a personal anecdote, where I show how I became fixed, known, and already spoken and talked about. As a continental African, I moved from *being* "tall," "Sudanese," "a basketball player," and so on—adjectives that were used to patch together my identity in Africa—to simply "Black." Thus, along with my research participants, I "became Black" (Ibrahim, 2000a, 2003a).

May 16, 1999, was a culminating day in my understanding of what it means to become Black in North America, specifically in Canada. It was the day I was hailed as "Black" by an authorized speaker who possessed an authorized language. The following is an extract from my diary, where I titled it *Being under surveillance: Who controls my Black body?* Published elsewhere (Ibrahim, 2003a,b), it is cited here to demonstrate three things: first, how the "Black" body is hailed; second, how, in downtown Toronto, my Black body does not belong solely to me, but it speaks a language of its own; and finally, to explore the social context of everyday racism (Essed & Goldberg, 2002), where my research participants form, perform, and circulate their identities.[1]

May 16, 1999: The story of the "dark man"

It was 1:10 p.m. on a sunny and unexpectedly hot Sunday. I was more in the mood for poetry than for prose, and bicycling on St. George Street had never been as light. However, it is frightening how lightness can so easily whirl into an unbearable heaviness, and how heaviness can cause so much pain. It all began when I had just crossed the yellow light of Bloor Street West. I saw a white car curving into the bicycle lane and I heard hereafter a siren coming from it. Since I was bicycling, I was neither able to fully verify the car nor who was driving it, nor why it was requesting me to stop. However, when it was fully halted before my bicycle, I realized it was a police car. From it came veering a rangy white man with full gear and a pair of sunglasses, along with a clean and handsome gun. My immediate thought was that it must be the bicycle helmet, since I was not wearing one, and seeing that there will always be a first time for our social experiences, I whispered to myself, "Oh God, this is the first ticket of my life." I was deadly mistaken.

He approached my bicycle and said, "Have you ever been in trouble with the law before?" Shocked beyond any imaginable belief, I said, "No," and added: "Can I know why am I asked the question?" "You fit the description of a man we are looking for, who just snapped a bag from Yorkville," he said, "and I just saw you around the Yorkville area." Suddenly, he began a walkie-talkie conversation with a dispatcher, and I realized, when he said, "I am talking to him right now," that it was a continuation of a previous dialogue. I was already under surveillance, talked about. Looking sternly into his eyes, I repeated, "Can I know why I was stopped?" Squirmingly, his face turned red, and he loudly regurgitated, "I told *you*, Sir, that you fit the description of a man we are looking for."

Calmly I wondered, "And what is that description?" "We are looking for a dark man with a dark bag," he said. I looked at my backpack and it occurred

to me that my bag was light blue with one very small black (or, as he said "dark") stripe at the edge. More with my eyes than with my voice, I repeated after him, "A *dark* man?" Self-consciously, but pesteringly, he exclaimed, "A Black man with a dark bag!" He insisted on my bag being "dark"; now I was significantly metamorphosed from "dark" into "black." Not that it matters either way, I reflected afterword, but it seems that some people can either not see or have "colour problem."

During this conversation, I saw another police car stopping behind the first, and from it came another White policeman. I was then asked for a piece of identification. I gave the first policeman my citizenship card, but when my bag was widely opened for every passerby to see, I decided to use my University of Ottawa professor identification. After writing down my name and date of birth, he then announced to the dispatcher, "All is ok now." With no apologies, I was ordered to collect my affairs and my bag, and, as he uttered it, "You are free to go now."

When Africa meets Canada: A new politics of dialogism and answerability

The question I want to explore next is how my research participants, a group of continental francophone African youth, *answer to* this highly racialized cartography. That is, how do they negotiate the tension between visuality—appearing to be "Black"—and reality, having the historical memory of, and speaking as, continental Africans? My intent is to show that when Africa meets Canada, a new conceptual framework of identity is required, and an interstitial "third space" is created. In what follows, I discuss first the conceptual framework, then the nature of the third space, and finally my study, in which I show ethnographically what this third space looks like.

Thinking of *Des espaces autres* or "Of other spaces," Foucault (1986, p. 22) contends that our present epoch is perhaps above all an "epoch of space." We are, he convincingly explains, "in the epoch of space of simultaneity… in the epoch of juxtaposition, the epoch of the near and far, of the side-by-side, of the disperse." It is this space of simultaneity, this *dialectique de triplicité* (Lefebvre, 1974) that I want to explore further in this paper; specifically, how it impacts identity formation processes of displaced subjects. Both Foucault and Lefebvre argue that, when it comes to identity formation, it is not formed in dichotomy, but within spaces of simultaneity. That is, contrary to the structuralist approach, the definition of the particular identity—Blackness, for example—is not determined by its opposite, Whiteness. Therefore, Blackness is better understood when it is studied in its own term as a category with a centre that is responding both to its own consciousness and to the

social environment, which includes Whiteness among other social categories. These ideas are explored further below.

This paper is about trialectic identity, third space, "both-and-also" (Soja, 1996), which itself is a third term existing interstitially beyond and in between two (or more) cultures, languages, and geographies (Ibrahim, 2000a). Identity conceived against the classical notion of "culture shock" (Yon, 2000) and the Huntingtonian (1996) idea of "clash," the paper is about "and": What does it mean to be Senegalese or Haitian, for example, "and" Canadian? It is an answer to the following questions. First, how do we author ourselves? That is, as Bakhtin (2001) would argue, if the self is an act of grace, a gift of the other, who is this other, and how does he or she come into my life? Second, if the other is a socially and historically dominant other, how is he or she gazing at my Black body and, in turn, what impact does that gaze have on my "answerability" to him or her? Third, since the self can exist only dialogically—i.e., constantly being answerable to an address—can there ever be a whole self? Fourth, in the case of migratory Black bodies, how are they being translated or read by the other, and how is this translation similar to or different from our translation of ourselves/bodies? There is no alibi for being, Bakhtin (2001) adds, signifying that we take responsibility for ourselves. In the North American context, finally, do our Black bodies not cheat us, that is to say, do they not speak a language of their own, a language mediated by the representational history of North American Blackness, a language beyond our control?

In *Mapping Ideology*, Slavoj Žižek (2000) argues that "and" creates a space of tension, simultaneity, and dialogism. Clark & Holquist (1984) define dialogism as a philosophical space, a language, and a psychic mechanism by which "I need the authority of others to define, or author, my self" (p. 65). Only in relation to the other do I know myself, and in the deepest sense, "the other" is "my friend, because it is only from the other that I can get my self" (p. 67). In this dialogic relation, I become answerable to the other and the total chain of responses makes up my life. Here, I am answerable to and answerable for two things. I am *answerable to* the social environment around me, including the physical geography and the people who occupy it; and I am *answerable for* the authorship of my responses; that is, I am responsible for my own actions. For Clark & Holquist (1984), this is what the Bakhtinian dictum "the self is an act of grace, a gift of the other" means. To be able to receive this gift and act of grace, however, I must occupy a location, a unique place in the ongoing event of existence that is mine. My existence is understood architectonically (that is, within time and space), and as an activity, an act, a deed. My identity, therefore, which is determined by language (Bakhtin, 2001), is never singular. I belong as much to myself as I do to the other, yet the signifier that is my body "makes manifest the subject of its signification" (Lacan,

1977, p. 207): it makes me unique. After all, I could sign my name, and "it" only belongs to me.

In the language of dialogism and answerability, *être* or being is conceptualized as an event, human being as a project or a deed, and society as a simultaneity of uniqueness. That is to say, one finds oneself within a network, "a matrix of highly distinctive economic, political, and historical forces—a unique and unrepeatable combination of ideologies, each speaking its own language, the heteroglot conglomerate of which will constitute the world in which we act" (Holquist, 2002, p. 167). To be able to act, for Bakhtin (2001), also means to be addressed by Otherness. "It is only in that highly specific, indeed unique placement that the world may address us." In a very real sense, Holquist (2002, p. 167) argues, this becomes our "address" in existence, "an address expressed not in numbers, but by our proper name," and it is, very significantly, "only from that site that we can speak." The corollary is, "we cannot be excused from being in the place that heteroglossia assigns us, and which only we will ever occupy," since while we occupy that place, no one else can. We are, in sum, in a continual state of answerability to our own consciousness and actions (i.e., being responsible for them), and to the social, economic, political, historical, linguistic, and cultural forces where we find ourselves.

As we shall see, my research participants had to be answerable to two matrices, two languages, two cultures, two geographies, creating a third heterotopic space. For Michel Foucault (1986), heterotopia is an anti-utopia. Whereas utopia exists only in the imagination, heterotopia is a "real place" which is "something like counter-site, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found in the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted" (Foucault, 1986, p. 24). Simply put, heterotopia is both a celebration of a space and a subversion and contestation of it. To illustrate, my research participants perform hip-hop identity, but at the same time question the adequacy of that identity location. Heterotopia, accordingly, is a dynamic, unstable, ever-changing and synchronic space that is capable of converging, entangling, jumbling together, and juxtaposing "several sites that are in themselves incompatible" or foreign to one another (see also Soja, 1996, chapter 5). It is within this heterotopic space that the participants of my research form and perform their identities.

Following somewhat of a Bakhtinian notion of answerability, Stuart Hall (2001, 1990) argues that identity is an ongoing "production" that is given birth to at the borderland between the Self and the Other. It is a process, a split; it "is not a fixed point but an ambivalent point" (Hall, 1990, p. 11). Hall (2001) refers to this process of identity formation as the New Identity, which he dis-

tinguishes from the Old Identity. The logic of the Old Identity is an expression of the Cartesian stable self, where the subject is situated within essentialized and static discourses of history, self, and memory; the New Identity discourse, on the other hand, is more complexly different. It neglects neither history and the multiple discourses within which the subject finds herself and the contradictory nature of these discourses, nor the power relations, the politics of positioning, nor the dialogic nature of answerability.

The logic of the New Identity, this "indissoluble" and "heteroglossic" production of the "forever dying" and reborn subject formation processes, according to Bakhtin (2001), is part of the ongoing processes of "ideological translation" (p. 365). By heteroglossia, Bakhtin refers to the notion of having more than one voice, language, and discourse within the Self. When the receiver or listener, for example, is interpellated by the speaking subject's language and voice, she/he is "coming to know one's own language as it is perceived in someone else's language, coming to know one's own belief system in someone else's system. There takes place…an ideological translation of another's language, and an overcoming of its otherness" (2001, p. 365). Therein the Other's language and culture will belong to the Self. Bakhtin argues that these processes are not all consciously processed. The moment of identification in the dialogic relationship between the Self and the Other for me is of extreme importance, for it impacts and guides the shape, the form, and the intensity of the ways in which the Self translates the Other, and vice versa. The question of intensity is an issue of desire. Elsewhere (Ibrahim, 1998, 2000a, 2000b, 2001, 2003a), I showed that my research participants' desire and identification with Blackness certainly influenced their translation of the new Canadian context, what they learned and how. They named and identified, somewhat unconsciously, African American/Canadian (popular) culture and language as sites for investment and yearning. Identification, I argued, is the starting point of the identity formation. When the process of naming takes place, one might conclude, the process of ideological translation is inaugurated, and, in the case of my research participants, a *third space* is given birth to.

My conceptualization of the third space is deeply indebted to Jean-Paul Sartre (1980), Edward Soja (1996), and Homi Bhabha (1990). The latter, on whom I concentrate in what follows, is particularly influential, and though his usage of the term is relevant and directly related, as we shall see, it is different from mine. I ground my analysis in an attempt to ethnographically explore and "see" the complex ways identities are formed and performed, and ultimately link them to the processes of learning, whereas Bhabha's framework is an inter/textual analysis. In doing so, I differ from Bhabha in being contex-

tually specific, and also in addressing the play of power relation in the creation of the third space.

In an interview with Jonathan Rutherford, Homi Bhabha (1990) advanced three notions that are relevant to the present discussion, and illuminant of the visuality and the makeup of the third space. The first point distinguishes between what Bhabha calls "a creation of cultural diversity" and "a containment of cultural difference." Bhabha argues that within Western cultural practices, "although there is always an entertainment and encouragement of cultural diversity, there is always a corresponding containment of it" (1990, p. 208). This containment usually takes place in a subtle way, and through a process of normalization, whereby the dominant culture becomes the normalizing gaze. In other words, "a transparent norm is constituted, a norm given by the host society or dominant culture, which says that 'these other cultures are fine, but we must be able to locate them within our grid'" (p. 208).

Unsatisfied with this liberal distinction, Bhabha advanced his second point by introducing his notion of "cultural translation." It argues that "no culture is plainly plenitudinous, not only because there are other cultures which contradict its authority, but," he continues, "also because its own symbol-forming activity, its own interpellation in the process of representation, language, signification and meaning-making, always underscores the claim to an originary, holistic, organic identity." Cultural translation, then, is:

a way of imitating, but in a mischievous, displacing sense—imitating an original in such a way that the priority of the original is not reinforced but by the very fact that it can be simulated, copied, transferred, transformed, made into a simulacrum and so on: the "original" is never finished or complete in itself. The "originary" is always open to translation so that it can never be said to have a totalised prior moment of being or meaning—an essence. What this really means [Bhabha argues] is that cultures are only constituted in relation to that otherness internal to their own symbol-forming activity which makes them decentred structures. (Bhabha, 1990, p. 210)

Cultural translation, therefore, does not allow for an essentialization of what is known as the "original" or "originary" culture, for the latter itself is, and always has been, open to and for translation. It is only original in the sense of being anterior, Bhabha argues. He thus convincingly concludes that all forms of culture are "continually in a process of hybridity" (p. 211). However, for Bhabha, "the importance of hybridity is not to be able to trace two original moments from which the third emerges, rather *hybridity…is the 'third space'*" (p. 211, emphasis added). Therein lies the difference between my path and that of Bhabha. I deploy the third space as an ethnographic perform-

ance of two or more languages, cultures, and belief systems. Indeed, for me, the third space is a trace, a synthesis, a performative act, and an articulation of these two or more cultures and languages, and since these traces are corporeally articulated, they are thus ethnographically perceptible. The third space, moreover, sees the body as the locus of embodiment, where the Old and the New become a symbiosis, a metamorphosis that looks neither fully like the former nor the latter, but the two combined: the Old *and* the New. Tersely, my unease with Bhabha's definition stems from the fact that it doesn't subjectify, historicize, or make tangible the hybridization project. Where, for example, is the play of race, sexuality, gender, and class in the process of hybridization? In this process of hybridization, where are those who are historically marginalized from the "centres" of power? How does hybridity look ethnographically? Here, the Bakhtinian "ideological translation" constitutes better responses to these questions.

For Bakhtin, the result of cultural and ideological translation wherein two linguistic, ideological, and cultural systems are to be mixed is to give birth to an organic world view which, in turn, will be performed in New linguistic and cultural practices. The product of this mixture is or can be "hybrid." For me, this third, hybrid space is sociolinguistically detectable, ethnographically observable, and organic. It is organic precisely because it is historically situated and partially unconsciously executed. Put succinctly, the third space is an indissoluble mixture of two, or more, linguistic, ideological, cultural, and belief systems. It is third because it is found in the inter of (the "first" and the "second") geographies, cultures, languages, and memories. It is indeed where the "first" and the "second" are produced in the same sentence, in the same syntax, in the same grammar, in the same garment, at the same time. In the case of African students in this research, the product of the ideological translation of the Canadian context, which synchronously starts at the moment of identifying and naming Black America / Canada as a site of investment by African students, is a third space. The third space for African youth is a product of the memory, experience, and cultural and linguistic behavioural patterns they bring with them when coming into Canada, and what they translate in the latter context. They seem to identify with a Canada (which is Black). Race here, then, is crucial.

Nonetheless, borrowing from Bhabha (1990), the language of the third space "enables other positions to emerge. [It] displaces the histories that constitute it, and sets up new structures of authority, new political initiatives, which are inadequately understood through received wisdom" (p. 211). These emerging positions are unrecognizable because they are the product of that luminal space where the Old is already in the New and the "different." The Old and the New emerge and are born from longitudinal negotia-

tions and translations. Bhabha refers to these negotiations as "the process of cultural hybridity" which "gives rise to something different, something new and unrecognisable, a new area of negotiation of meaning and representation" (Bhabha, 1990, p. 211).

It is the understanding of this "new area of negotiation of meaning" that might illuminate our comprehension of identity formation processes, I contend, especially the identities of displaced subjectivities (including immigrants and refugees). My experience as a refugee from Africa now living in Canada/the U.S. tells me that displaced subjects find themselves in the borderland of two or more cultures, languages, and belief systems. In the process of understanding and translating the New context, displaced subjects also understand and translate the Old. We are located, I argue, in the landscape between the Old, which is part of us, and the New, which is becoming part of us.

The study: An ethnography of performance

This paper constitutes part of a larger critical ethnographic research[2] I conducted at Marie-Victorin High School[3] (Ibrahim, 1998), an urban French-language high school in southwestern Ontario, between January and June 1996. I followed this by a series of informal observations and visits to the school in 2003. The research made use of *ethnography of performance*[4] as a methodological approach, and looked at the lives of a group of continental francophone African youth and the formation of their social identity. Besides their gendered and raced experience, their youth and refugee status was vital in their *moments of identification* (Ibrahim, 2001): where and how they were interpellated in the mirror of their society (cf. Althusser, 1971; Bhabha, 1994). Put otherwise, I contend that, once in North America, these youth were faced with a *social imaginary* (Anderson, 1983) like the one I faced in the scenario recounted above, in which they were already Blacks. This social imaginary was directly implicated in how and with whom they identified, which in turn influenced what they linguistically and culturally learned and how they learned it. What they learned, I have shown elsewhere (Ibrahim, 1999), is Black English as a Second Language (BESL), which they accessed in and through Black popular culture. They learned by taking up and repositing the rap linguistic and musical genre, and, in different ways, acquiring and rearticulating the hip-hop cultural identity.

In other words, continental African youth find themselves in a racially conscious society that "asks" them to racially fit somewhere, where it is their racial identity that influences, if not determines, their answerability. This

dialogism, I have also shown elsewhere (Ibrahim, 1998), has a strong influence in how African students "see" and translate themselves as well as others; how they go about negotiating their identity formation; and the spaces they eventually occupy and how. For African students, moreover, these processes of translation and negotiation convert into a rearticulation of what it means "to be" Black in a racially conscious society. Before their arrival in Canada, I argued, African students were not "Black" in the North American sense, although, like the speaking I at this very moment, they had other adjectives that patched together their identities: "Sudanese," "Somali," "intellectual," and so on. However, once in North America, these adjectives became secondary in their moments of identification. That is, soon after our arrival in North America, African students and I were/are seeking spaces, identities, and representations with which we could say, "We too are Black." In their search for identification,[5] African youth took up the identifiable Black hip-hop youth identity, which in turn influenced what they learned and how. What they learned is BESL and how is by taking up and positing a hip-hop culture, especially rap linguistic styles (Ibrahim, 1998). African youth and I, in other words, started the odyssey of our identity formation, and heretofore Blackness was/ is the spatial representation of similitude, approximation, and affinity: thus, *becoming* Black.

To become Black is not without its discursive politics of resistance. To say—using language, the body, or any other media—"I too am Black" is to embody, perform, and ally oneself to and with the political category of Blackness. That African youth locate themselves in/to the margin by taking up rap and hip-hop and speaking BESL is by no means a coincidence. On the contrary, culture and language take on a different spin here. They are no longer about language and culture per se, but they become markers of desire and investment, an invocation of political, racial, and historical space. Downtown Toronto is no longer a geographical space, it is also a language, an attitude, and a set of garments. "*Whassup homeboy?*" is no longer a simple linguistic expression, nor about mastering a language. It is a "space," a way of saying: "I too am Black," or "I too desire and identify with Blackness." Baggy clothes and the myriad shades of sneakers, bicycle shorts, chunky jewelry, dreadlocks, braids, and other popular designs become "spaces"—downtowns—which African youth perform and occupy very comfortably. They perform these inside and outside the school.

Marie-Victorin is a small French-language high school (Grades 7–13) in southwestern Ontario, with a school population of approximately 400 students from various ethnic, racial, cultural, religious, and linguistic backgrounds. Besides French, English, Arabic, Somali, and Farsi were also spoken at the school. Over the course of six months, I attended classes at MV, talked

to students, and observed curricular and extracurricular activities two or three times per week. Because of previous involvement in another project in the same school for almost two years, at the time of this research I was well acquainted with MV and its population, especially its African students, with whom I was able to develop a good communicative relationship. My background as a continental African also helped me to decipher their narratives and experiences. Clearly, we shared a *safe space* of comfort that allowed us to open up, speak, and engage freely.

At the time of this research, students (or their parents) who were born outside Canada made up 70 percent of the entire school population at MV. Continental Africans constituted the majority within that figure, and, indeed, within MV's population in general. They varied, first, in their length of stay in Canada (from 1–2 to 5–6 years); second, in their legal status (some were immigrants, but the majority were refugees), and, third, in their gender, class, age, linguistic, and national background. They came from places as diverse as the Democratic Republic of Congo (formerly Zaire), Djibouti, Gabon, Senegal, Somalia, South Africa, and Togo. With no exception, all of the African students in MV were at least trilingual, speaking English, French, and an African language, a mother tongue. Significantly, given their postcolonial educational history, most African youths in fact come to Franco-Ontarian schools already possessing a highly valued symbolic capital: *le français parisien* (Parisian French).

My research participants were part of this growing continental francophone African population in Franco-Ontarian schools. I chose ten boys and six girls for extensive ethnographic observation inside and outside the classroom and inside and outside the school, and interviewed all sixteen. Of the ten boys, ten were Somali speakers (from Somalia and Djibouti), one was Ethiopian, two were Senegalese, and one was from Togo. Their ages ranged from sixteen to twenty. The six girls were all Somali speakers (also from Somalia and Djibouti), aged fourteen to eighteen. Because some interviews were conducted in French, I translated them all into English.

Performing it through language

The New Identity, Stuart Hall argues above, neglects neither history nor memory. This was true in the case of African youth. Taking up the New, its linguistic and cultural practices, was not done in opposition to their own, and in Hall's language "Old," culture and language. On the contrary, both cultures and languages—that is to say, the historical, linguistic, and cultural memories that African students brought with them to Canada, and what they

took up / learnt once here (namely, Black popular culture / BESL) — are found in the same sentence, in the same garment, on the same body, and at the same time. The following is an excerpt, among many others, from my focus group interview with male students. In it, we see that Sam[6] and Jamal[7] are not citing Black stylized English in opposition to their Somali and French language. There is certainly a space of in-betweenness, of "inter" language, culture, and subjectivities:

Sam: I don't rap, man, c'mon, give me a break. [*laugh*] Yo. A'ait a'ait you know, we just about to finish the tape and all clat. Respect to my main man. So, you know, you know wha'm mean, I m reprezi'in Q7. One love to Q7, you know wha 'm mean and all my friends back in Q7. Even though you know I haven't seen them for a long time you know, I still I got love for them you know who 'm mean. Stop the tapin' boy.

Jamal: Kick the free style. [*I am translating here from the Somali language*.] Get me the tape man.

Sam: A'ait this is Sam reprez'in AQA where it's born, reprez'in you know wha 'm mean? I wonna say whassup to all my niggers, you know, peace and one love. You know wha 'm mean Q7 reprez'in forever. Peace. [*rap music*]

Jamal: Crank it man, 'm coming up. [*rap music*]

Sam: Je reviens man, you know. It's from Mecca yo, e reprezin you know, Mecca a'ait. You ask [*laugh*]. [*in Somali*] Put the music up, wallahi bellahi [in the name of Allah]. [*in Somali*] Look at this, a'ait a'ait.

Expressions such as "a'ait," "reprez'in Q7," "boy," "kick the free style," "whassup to all my niggers" "peace and one love" are all very common in the rap sphere (Ibrahim, 1998, chapter 7; Smitherman, 2000). Since rap itself is a contemporary Black cultural form, re/citing it by African students is in fact a performance of where they want to locate themselves politically, racially, culturally, and linguistically. However, the desire to locate oneself to and with "Black" history and memory is espoused and entangled with the students' embodied/embedded identities, history, culture, and language. The Somali language was not put off to the advantage of another. It is code switched in the same sentence with French and (Black stylized) English. Here, there is no either-or, there is, on the contrary, this *and* that. And metaphorically, but also literally, this is how cartography or demarcation of space is indicated, how we tell others who we are or what we have become.

In my focus group interview with male students, I asked them in French to meditate on my above observation. Here are two significant responses:

Musa: Here, we are in Canada, you see. We are going to keep our culture, but at the same time there is the new technologies, the new musics. There is also glamour and modernization of the cities and towns.

Mukhi: The way we dress, the way we talk, we are in Canada…. The small Angolot you know, the small cloth we put around [the bottom], it is like the way we dress back home. We need to mix in different genres of dress here. Back home, for example, we put on boubou and all that. But, I don't find it embarrassing to go out like that.

"We are going to keep our culture, but at the same time…." This is precisely the performance of tension between the Old and the New, which should be perceived as normal in the third space because there is a continuous *code-switching* between the two. Mukhi better expressed this idea of tension in his notion of "mix"-ing. This mixing is not done in favour of one or the other— "But I don't find it embarrassing to go out like that," i.e., in boubou. The boubou becomes a signifier of national identity, but an ambivalent one since it is not put on by itself but "mixed" with a touch of hip-hop.

Are these really moments of contradiction?

The following are two illustrative moments of the interstitiality, in-betweenness and its ethnographic observability. Again, the significance of these moments stems from the contention that they can be (read as) moments of contradiction. The language of the third space is developed, precisely, to argue otherwise, to make complex the identity reading. They may be moments of contention and tension, but, as we shall see, not of contradiction. As displaced subjects (including myself) who encountered new social, cultural, and linguistic spaces and practices, I will argue that African youths *have become*. They have become a negotiated product of the translated Old and New. To negate one or the other is to obliterate part of what has become. Since the third space is a language of in-betweenness, it does not have a fixed shape or form. Its shapes and forms depend on the sociohistorical conditions, and on power relations. Edward W. Said, Salman Rushdie, Stuart Hall, Gayatri Spivak, Samuel Beckett, Joseph Conrad (the list is too long to be continued and too complex to get into each of these individuals) are a sample of what the third space might look like. They are products of in-betweenness, an ambivalent product. The two moments cited below, which are excerpted from my observation notebook, are meant to show the ambivalent nature of in-betweenness, the third space. Here they are, (1) and (2):

1. The day was April 12, 1996. At lunch time, I was sitting in the foyer of the school, just under the board showing the students recognized as best by the school. Should I be surprised that all the names, except for two, sounded very French? Dare I say that they brought whiteness to mind?

After four months at the school, I am forced to say No to the first and Yes to the second. Najat[8] and a group of seven African girls were holding a tape recorder which they had brought with them. They stopped in the middle of the foyer on their way from the gymnasium to the library; two girls wore the *hijab*, or traditional Muslim veil. "Whassup Awad? Man, school sucks," Najat said to me in English. At the beginning of her second sentence, one of the girls plugged in the tape recorder: it was LL Cool J who was rapping. Najat turned around and spoke to one female in Somali, and hereafter everyone joined in the dance. Hands were moving, bodies were swinging, and the girls were talking in Somali, French, and English. Two of the girls, as already cited, wore the traditional Islamic *hijab*, others were dressed in a boubou, the Somali national dress; still others were dressed in baggy hip-hop clothes.

2. The second illustrative moment was on the same day around 5:30 p.m. It was a moment of loosening and relaxation after a very busy schedule of practice at the school cafeteria / stage. Everybody was busy practising for Black History Month activities. The same group of girls I have just talked about above, plus everyone else, mostly girls, joined the music that was playing on the sound system. It was again LL Cool J, followed by Queen Latifah, followed by Toni Braxton, followed by African music from Zaire, Egypt, and Somalia. Yusuf (the 19-year-old organizer of the Black History Month gathering—there was no teacher to help, and no institutional support) was the DJ. Most girls, including mostly the subjects of my research, were dressed either in costume for the practice or hip-hop "mixed" with traditional dress from South Africa, Somalia, and Zaire, among others. Those who knew the songs—most of the crowd—seemed to mimic and recite them. The hairstyles varied from dyed to dreadlocks to African braids. During and after the practice, during and after this described episode, everyone was code-switching between English, French, and the students' own languages.

Male and female students, as we can see, did enter the third space. However, given the patriarchal history and prescribed social and Islamic religious "tradition," the background of almost all research participants, the female body seems to fall under stricter rules and is policed more rigidly and systematically. Whereas males seem to enjoy what the Canadian context can offer, including dating, females are mostly denied this privilege (Ibrahim, 1998, p. 248). Clearly, gender plays a major role in the intense experience of the third space.

In honour of answerability: An epilogue

You know in any culture, there are advantages and disadvantages, strong points and weak points. I will keep the strong points and leave the rest, there are points we love about our culture and others we don't like. So, it's about your choices, do you accept the weak points or don't you? But that doesn't mean I am rejecting my culture when I choose a new one, I keep what's valuable in my culture.

— *Amani* (17, female)

Perceptibly noticeable, nonetheless, are the ways in which the New and the Old intermingle in this complex third space. For African youth, to be is to become: to become a double-edged product, an ambivalent one. To become is to be answerable to more than one site. We answer through language, which is no longer an abstract category. It is, on the contrary, a performed one in and through which identities are articulated. If identities are multiple, shifting, and always in the making, as Stuart Hall (2001) and Judith Butler (1999) rightly tell us, then there are no pre-constructed identities that we just slipped into (Welcome to the constructed New Identity!). Moreover, it is certainly in language that identities are complexly performed. Code-switching, then, is not just about language, it is also, literally and metaphorically, about subjectivities that are code-switched depending on who is talking to whom, in what context, and for what purpose (Kristeva, 1974). The complex identity formation of displaced subjects, immigrants as well as refugees as I have shown, stems from the fact that once they are in the New socio- and geo-cultural context, they endeavour to look for spaces of identification. African youth "chose" Blackness through arduous, complex, and mostly subconscious processes of "translation" and "negotiation." However, this was not done in opposition to, or in competition with, their embodied memories and histories. The two, Old and New, are put forth in the same sentence, in the same garment, in the same space, at the same time.

Since I situated the language of the third space in a socio-historical moment and within power relations, it is Blackness that becomes a site of identification for African youth. They identified with a Black Canada, and this was "declared" through language and culture, by invoking ritual expressions and bodily performances. In itself, this speaks to the question: of why do African students find themselves in this space, making these choices? For me, the question is not competition, however significant, but racism which African students have to endure in their educational experience in Franco-Ontarian as well as other schools and the Canadian society at large (Ibrahim, 1998). Primarily, my story was meant, first, to highlight the extent of these experiences, and, second, to show that the Black body speaks a language of its own, a language that is not fully mine nor under my control. Hence, my

call to question the Bakhtinian dictum: "There is no alibi for being." On their part, as we have seen, African youth have little difficulty in performing their culture and language alongside the translated New "Canadian" context. For me, therefore, "competition" and "entitlement," even "being" and "becoming," have to be situated not in their abstract discourses, but rather in their contextual discursive space, where to speak is to say—"I can also be partial, ambivalent, and a product of two." The final question, then, is: what are the possibilities of this partiality, ambivalence, and interstitiality to be named as such? The question, in other words, is multiple subjectivities and not singular ones, since to be is to become, and to become, in the *dialectique de triplicité*, is to honour answerability, to be forever born in two.

Notes

1 I will introduce my critical ethnographic research in the subsequent sections. The paper is based on this research and explores the tension between race, identity formation, and displacement. It begins with a thorough discussion of my conceptual framework of the third space and then introduces the research.

2 For Simon and Dippo (1986, p. 195), *critical ethnographic research* is a set of activities situated within a project that seeks and works its way toward social transformation. This project is political as well as pedagogical, and who the researcher is and what his or her racial, gender, and class embodiments are necessarily govern the research questions and findings. The project, then, according to Simon and Dippo, is "an activity determined both by real and present conditions, *and* certain conditions still to come which it is trying to bring into being" (p. 196). The assumption underpinning my project was based on the assertion that Canadian society is "inequitably structured and dominated by a hegemonic culture that suppresses a consideration and understanding of why things are the way they are and what must be done for things to be otherwise" (p. 196).

3 All names are pseudonyms.

4 As a research methodology, ethnography of performance argues that ethnographers' best access to the research subjects' inner-Selves is the latter's verbal and non-verbal performance. Put otherwise, the juxtaposition of what people actually and materially perform on and through their bodies, on the one hand, and what they say and think about those performances, on the other, give ethnographers the least distorted picture of their research subjects and their identities.

5 Here, for example, is a reflection by Amani (a 17-year-old grade 12 student from Somalia) during my focus group interview with female students on the contention that identification is the starting point of identity formation: "We have to wonder why we try to really follow the model of the Americans who are Blacks? Because when you search for yourself, search for identification, you search for someone who reflects you, with whom you have something in common." Amani seems to name Blackness as a site of interpellation, the Other that entered the Self only to become part of it.

6 A 19-year-old male from Djibouti who has been at the school since grade 8; he is the school rapper and "the Jordan" of the basketball court.

7 A 20-year-old male from Djibouti who was "pushed out" of school; he presently hosts a show at CUIT, a local radio station in Toronto, where he airs rap in French and English.

8 A 15-year-old Djiboutian girl. Among the African girls, Najat is the most "popular" girl in the school, and the one who identifies most with hip-hop culture.

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CO-MOTION IN THE DIASPORIC CITY **6**
Transformations in Toronto's public culture
Jenny Burman

…I did hear the city's susurrus,

> loud, wide, promising, like wine, obscurity and rapture,
> the bright veiled Somali women hyphenating Scarlett road,
> the eternal widows, Azorean and Italian at Igreja de Santa
> Inez and Iglesia de San Antonio…
>
> —Dionne Brand, *Thirsty* (2002)

Since the relative liberalization of federal immigration policy in the late 1960s, the socio-cultural landscape of Toronto has undergone such a metamorphosis that it is no longer useful to describe it with the language of official multiculturalism. Neither is City Hall's celebratory but toothless approach to "diversity" any help, as in its motto "Diversity Our Strength" (whose promise is delivered by the Diversity Management and Community Engagement office).[1] In this paper I explore one force fuelling these changes in the urban landscape: the dynamism of residents' ongoing connections to former dwelling places. For reasons I will elaborate below, I mobilize the language of diaspora, drawing out its anti-nostalgic side—one that is more rooted in what Martiniquan writer Édouard Glissant calls a poetics of relation than of origin—through an emphasis on diasporization and a theory of the "diasporic city." This language, because of its emotive weight and evocation of split subjects, is more alive to the complex texture of the global city than that of immigration or multiculturalism. Diaspora's emotive dimension, the way it can infuse this space with those memories and thus imaginatively layer places and times, is part of its appeal and current popularity. The fact that "everyone's using it" should make it more interesting to social re-

searchers: this is the remixed version of diaspora, not simply a dilution of its essence.[2]

I treat the "diasporic city" as a site of great promise and possibility— this in spite of very real ruts and entrenched power structures at the levels of municipal politics and the media or financial sector elites, in spite of appalling correlations between ethnocultural background and poverty and unemployment (Ley & Smith, 2000; Ornstein, 2000) that give the lie to the municipal motto. What follows is an argument that in order to register the radicality of the current urban transformations (which, productively, threaten a calcified notion of the Canadian mainstream) and to accept a new spectrum of possibilities, we need to reconceptualize the cultural politics of difference in Canadian cities. This involves a rejection of the stultifying version of "culture" that animates "multiculturalism" and an ensuing commitment to finding new ways of researching new ways of living. In the course of building such an argument, I address the changing makeup of the so-called mainstream *and* of diasporic discourses and practices. I then consider the epistemological implications of a conceptual shift from "immigrant" to "diasporic" subject position (as well as immigrant or multicultural city to diasporic city). Finally, I discuss the question of openness to difference in the city, through the polarized examples of the cosmopolitan ideal and state practices of deportation targeting racialized urban residents. Although much of this discussion is more generally applicable, I draw the majority of my illustrations from Toronto's Afro-Caribbean-identified communities. They are in many ways exemplary of the paradigmatic shift I advocate here, because Caribbean-linked residents have long cultivated vital and changing connections between North America and the Caribbean, intensifying these as technologies advanced or became more accessible.[3] Connections are often maintained out of necessity (mobile labourers move to and from Canada with temporary work visas; people working in Canada send monetary remittances to intimates left behind), but that does not make them less of an influence on the urban landscape.

At the time of its legislative emergence in the early 1970s, multiculturalism was a forward-thinking liberal diversity management project, although its development as partly a power play in Anglo Canada's continuing project to keep Quebec in its place (Day, 2000) reminds us that it emerged as much out of the spirit of colonial competition as a critical revision of former assimilationist policies. The ideology of multiculturalism sought, and continues to seek, to strike a balance between cultural retention (hanging on to the "culture" you came with) and assimilation (adapting to "Canadian culture"). The issue, more than thirty years later, is not whether this was ever a worthwhile project (not in the present discussion, at least), but whether the concepts of

cultural retention and assimilation are still relevant. I maintain that, especially when looking at cities, which is where most new residents settle, both concepts are anachronistic. Firstly, the "mainstream" Toronto into which new groups might assimilate has been altered irrevocably to the point where residents of non-European descent make up more than half of the population. Secondly, as far as cultural retention is concerned, the stakes have changed due to easier access to communications and travel technologies that allow people to maintain continuous transnational connections to an unprecedented extent. This continuity is certainly not uniform, and it depends on the conditions of departure (whether migrants are refugees or economic migrants, for example) and the openness of the borders left behind, among other factors. But generally, even in cases where physical return or repatriation is impossible, such technologies enable a variety of possibilities, for example expatriate southward tourism (Bruner, 1996), Internet explorations of family lineages ruptured or obscured by geographical displacement, relatively affordable phone contact through phone cards, and email contact (when access exists on the other end) through proliferating internet cafés. Writer and *Globe and Mail* journalist Ken Wiwa, in an article on Bloor Street—"It has a United Nations of cultures, a collection of fugitive pieces, historical ironies and exotic hybrids"—calls Internet cafés "the new variety stores of Toronto."

The multicultural model—as presented by Charles Taylor, for instance, in "The Politics of Recognition"—is based on mutual tolerance (as Deborah Britzman [1998] puts it, an ethical model of discrimination),[4] visibility, and recognition of one another's essence. Liberal democratic consensus and fused horizons are the sometimes unstated ideals, as opposed to unsettled but livable "dissensus." The language of the diasporic, unlike the putatively transparent (able to be recognized in its essence) and often static "cultures" in multiculturalism, invokes an outward reaching connection (in the *present*) and a selectively shared experience of rupture and/or dispersal. The admission of inscrutability or radical plurality, made necessary by a shifting and living dialectic between here and there, old and new (whose contingent combinations are infinite), places a limit on transparency and *understanding* as a prerequisite for a politics of affinity.

Diaspora here indicates a process of displacement and emplacement involving people partly oriented toward places they (or their parents, ancestors) have been forced or compelled to leave. The adjectival diasporic and the processual *diasporization* are perhaps the most useful in the context of the city: diasporic describes mutable characteristics rather than a static object (origin or group, i.e., The *X* Diaspora); diasporization, as for example Stuart Hall uses it (1999), points to a process and project and thus registers move-

ment, agency, and transformation. Since diasporic conditions texture the lives of not only transmigrant subjects but *all* city residents, diasporic can indicate both people who identify as displaced and, more generally, the circuitry of crossroads cities like Toronto and Montreal. This is not to minimize the material and psychological realities of uprootedness experienced by many residents by making their "state" a metaphorical equivalent to the cosmopolitan city. There is a necessary gap between treating the displaced subject as diasporic and reconceiving the cityscape as diasporic, making it an imperfect conceptual tool. My intent is not to repair that, but rather to keep in mind the untranslatable, unsettled element. As for subjects or agents, there is an intentional conceptual distance here between diasporic and immigrant subject, which echoes an experiential one: diasporic affiliation refuses the either-or choice (assimilation into the new nation versus retention of the old) that has shaped theories and experiences of immigration in the past. Diasporic affiliation refashions relations between here and there, old and new, in a way that continuously alters the here and now. Consequently, to work with the concept of the diasporic city is to re-evaluate an earlier articulation of the problem of "immigrant communities in Canada" with the latter's mutually exclusive immigrant community and settlement site (as *nation*). Transmigrant subjects choose overwhelmingly to settle in urban centres, not least of all because of the concentration of settlement-related services, but also because of a less tangible sense of promise—the potential realization of the dream of physical followed by social mobility.[5] Such possibilities have opened up in large part through the city's engagements with prior immigrant groups and by the presence of multiple and cross-cutting diasporic communities. The question of *how immigrant communities retain a sense of home in the new locale*, then, spoke to a different historical moment (appropriately). But as to whether it is a productive question now, I would say it is not; further, I contend that continuing to ask these same questions predisposes research to stale theories of "folklorization" and cultural retention, and inaccurate formulations of ethnicized communities.

The transformations of public culture and public spheres in Toronto are certainly rooted in quantifiable factors like population numbers and length of residence: the 2001 census shows residents of European descent in the Census Metropolitan Area (pop. 4,647,960) to be in a minority. It also shows approximately 1.4 million "multiple responses" to the ethnic origin question (with many of the "single response" categories themselves multiple: Canadian; East Indian; Jewish; West Indian). A critical mass of non-Anglo residents decentres the hegemonic mainstream (although it does not necessarily undermine the latter's control over the running of the city), and encounters between first generation arrivals and second- and third-generation residents

descended from immigrants allow networks to expand.[6] However, I am more interested here in the qualitative shifts that have taken place along the way, both on the level of the quotidian imagination and the cultural innovations sparked by surrounding flux and *newness* (how wonder enters the world, to invert Salman Rushdie's well-known formulation). Local artists and cultural producers with transnational audiences are able to disengage from or engage selectively the majority urban population. For instance, hip hop artists, who in Toronto are heavily influenced by Caribbean (as well as urban U.S.) connections, need a transnational audience in order to fund their art. In an interview for Toronto's *Word* magazine, Anthony Bansfield, one of the pioneers of Canadian urban spoken word, conveys his position:

In (Bansfield's) vision of an equitable and multicultural Canada, there would be an Urban (read Black) Culture Section at the Canada Council for the Arts. He notes that Canadian hip hop artists are ineligible for funding from the Canada Council, thus increasing the exodus of many great artists south of the border. (Interviewed by Dwayne Morgan, *Word* June/July 2003)

However, there might be a productive dimension to the moment when the demand for mainstream recognition ceases to be the prime motivator, in the sense that a reorientation toward transnational publics could prevent the restrictive moulding of cultural products to suit mainstream sensibilities (keeping in mind that many festivals do appeal to mainstream grant agencies on the basis of ethnicized categories). Caribana is a good example of a festival that began as an address to mainstream Canadians—in 1967, as part of Canadian Centennial celebrations—and a performance of Caribbean culture aimed to edify and educate (Jackson, 1992). In recent years, however, Caribana has not depended on a Torontonian or even Canadian audience; its attendance has grown into the hundreds of thousands because of travel from the U.S. and the Caribbean. (Throughout, there has been an active conversation headed by what is by now a Caribana old guard, about whether participants should worry about how they are representing themselves to mainstream Toronto; the majority answer is no. I explore this discourse in more detail in Burman, 2001). Such examples buttress existing critiques of Taylor's influential theory that the ideal model of Canadian pluralism depends on a politics of mutual recognition (Bannerji, 2000).

Treating Toronto as diasporic posits a city whose process of becoming is inextricable from the movement of peoples, commodities, and capital. Other places are "here" too, through lived transnational connections: the city's links to the whole are central to its ongoing reproduction. The discursive and material practices in which a diasporic circulation system is embedded

are manifest in material culture (through the circulation of commodities) and the popular cultural landscape: spoken word performance, live music— examples in Toronto include musicians and performers MC Collizhun, Lillian Allen, Kardinal Offishal, Michie Mee—and DJ/club scenes in Toronto and Montreal stand among many examples.[7] Methodologically, then, the diasporic indicates a motivating spirit and an open risk that call for interdisciplinary explorations of relationships based on new circuitries, and hybridization; it is the question, not the given.

Multiple attachments and ambivalence toward here *and* there, wherever "there" is, are inherent to the diasporic condition; they are a livable and lived state of affairs rather than productive of conflicts in need of resolution (or the "torn between two worlds" idea). With that in mind, the whole horizon of possibility, the vision of what kind of life is possible in the diasporic city, changes. Further, this basis in ambivalence issues a demand that research methods be non-teleological, themselves unsettled, because expressions of diasporic subjectivity and affinity will always be ambiguous. What is called for in terms of methodological tactics is a multi-perspective approach that combines the analysis of media and other popular discourses, literary and poetic explorations of cultural transformations, ethnographic work that engages subjects in the analysis of everyday life, and genealogies of local historical processes (in the Caribbean-Torontonian case, this would include immigration policies that have conditioned the socio-economic participation of Caribbean immigrants, such as domestic workers programs.)[8]

The processes of self-fashioning and "refashioning futures" (Scott, 1999) in the city, which can be viewed as part of what V.Y. Mudimbe calls diasporic *projects*, bring to the fore questions of affect and desire. These are not projects that displaced peoples engage in alone; every resident of the diasporic city is surrounded by the iconography of other places, and stands in a nexus of overlapping times, places, and hopes (even if their response is to try to recreate a homogeneous microenvironment such as an enclave neighbourhood). When engaging the diasporic city through explorations of cultural production, political mobilization, and practices of everyday life, it is important to consider relations to places of origin and new dwelling places simultaneously, and to avoid projecting a nostalgic orientation that glosses over individual and collective ambivalence toward home. I dispute the assumption that diasporic communities are automatically concerned with establishing "homes away from home" (Clifford, 1997, p. 244). It is not that mobile peoples lose interest in home, but it is possible that this assumption misleads: nostalgic reproduction of a lost site is easy to project, and then overemphasize, at the expense of what is made new. "Home" can only be reconstituted in dialogue with the new locale, and both are changed in the exchange;

perhaps "dwelling place" and "former dwelling place" would better fore-ground the multi-dimensionality of both places (if one can forgive their anaesthetic quality). Furthermore, it no longer makes sense, after several generations or "waves" of immigration, to confuse origin with community. The history of Haitian immigration to Montreal, for instance, involves at least two distinct groups whose members have little in common: the middle-to upper-class Haitians who left in the 1950s and 1960s, including many from among the culturati and intelligentsia, and the working-class individuals and families of recent years (Labelle & Midy, 1999).

Given the loose definitions of diasporas in contemporary scholarship (queer diasporas, diasporas of business-class migrants, and so on—see Cohen's typology, 1997), the epistemological hazards of generalizing about relationships to past and present locales become even more clear. General-izations make communities internally homogeneous, in spite of members' articulations of differentiation and multiple identifications. As for relations with the new dwelling place, social scientists often posit a basic antagonism or withdrawal rooted in insistent cultural retention (Henry, 1994). It is not that the contrary is true; friction is part of the depth of feeling about each site. There is, however, a wide spectrum of fluctuating emplacement practices and attitudes, ranging from attempted participation in a perceived main-stream, to distantiation or hostility, to a reorientation toward local and transnational diasporic public spheres. A popular cultural representation of this spectrum is the assembly of characters in Clement Virgo's 1995 film *Rude*—set in Caribbeanized Toronto housing projects—ranging from a policewoman, to an ex-underground economy drug dealer, to a young gay boxer facing "cultural" pressure to stay closeted.

The two above-mentioned relational complexes (between diasporic col-lectivity and former dwelling place / current dwelling place) are intertwined.[9] Since the affective connection to origin cannot be presumed a priori, it is only perceptible at the moment of the agent's enunciation of such a con-nection, in the context of the diasporic dwelling place. In other words, as researchers, we apprehend mediated diasporic discourses: *the* expressions *of a connection, which are also moves in a contextualized dialogue with the heterogeneous city environment.* For example, rather than preconceiving static, nostalgic connections to "home" on behalf of Somali Torontonians, one would look for enunciated relations to origin—through, for example, ethnic association mandates, or popular cultural fusions (CBC's radio show *Out Front* recently featured a young Somali-Canadian rapper in Toronto who joined aspects of the griot tradition to hip-hop style)—while keeping in mind that these shift over time. As Scott writes, tradition is an active relation (1999), even in cases understood by some as folklorized manifestations of ethnicity

(the North American "Little Italy," for instance). The dynamism and degree of openness of a tradition will be foreclosed by research that presumes the basic drive of a "culture" to be one of repetitious self-reproduction, regardless of new locale. More important than the content of the memory—including whether it is "real" or fantastic—is its live manifestation. Literal and emotional connections to origin and other important elsewheres are performed and experienced on site, individually and collectively, privately and publicly. The reiteration of origin is made central to diasporic discourse through commercial ventures, publicly funded cultural spectacles, ethnic associations, and multicultural programs.

The risk inherent to a focus on enunciation is twofold: first, a particular enunciation may be interpreted as definitive or synecdochic, *distracting from ambivalent connections that change over time*; secondly, the easiest enunciated connections to track are those expressed by a community voice that researchers may take to be representative—for example, the Jamaican High Commission-sponsored flag-raising ceremony held annually at Toronto's City Hall (Burman, 2002). Perhaps one can head off the first potential pitfall with an approach that always posits an ambivalent agent likely to create a spectrum of non-definitive representations, depending on the audience, the moment, and the stakes. In the second case, it is important for researchers to take up not only community statements by necessarily dubious representative spokespeople, but to engage affiliates in *a collaborative analysis of* everyday life in diasporic conditions (note the difference from collecting data for conventional ethnographic research).[10] Overall, this is an interrogative approach that seeks and questions the diasporic city inhabitants' connections to several elsewheres as a living phenomenon, rather than presuming a nostalgic sense of loss. Toward this end, bringing together the conceptual and methodological innovations of diaspora studies and everyday life studies would be a worthwhile endeavour, with critical and reflexive ethnography playing an important role.[11]

The past does erupt in the present anti-nostalgically when it is mobilized not for the purpose of glorification but to recall how present predicaments relate to histories of injustice; for example, Scott writes about "memory more as a source and sustenance of *vision*" (1999: p. 115); Houston Baker's concept of critical memory illuminates this perfectly (1995). In a well-known Toronto case, a group of women dubbed "The Seven Jamaican Mothers" took their battle against the Canadian government's deportation orders to the Supreme Court in 1979 (and won); one of their slogans, "Good enough to work, good enough to stay," linked critically the state's expulsion strategy to immigration programs targeting Afro-Caribbean women to fill Canadian labour shortages, such as the postwar Domestic Workers Scheme (see Chancy,

1997; Silvera, 1989, pp. vi–vii). Similarly, Silvera's now classic 1983 project *Silenced*, a collection of oral histories of Caribbean women who came to Toronto under a similar program in the early 1970s, linked current socio-economic positions to the women's conditions of arrival and past (if not passed) racist immigration policies (1989; see also Calliste, 1993). There can be no "letting the past be the past"; as it leaks into the present through continued discrimination, so it must in the process of refashioning futures. Listening to Lillian Allen, a diasporic poet and performer par excellence, it is clear that futures are fashioned in part through creative activist work: "We create this very landscape we walk on" (1999).

Discursive frames

This must be the code written on the lining of my brain: go back, go back, like a fever, a pandemic scourging the Diaspora.

—Dionne Brand, "Just Rain, Bacolet" (1994)

One approach to diasporic discourses is through some of the persistent binaries employed by researchers and members of diasporic communities alike, to talk about the predicaments engendered by migration. These include: old and new, there and here, separate and assimilated, staying true and selling out, loss and gain, unity and difference, insider and outsider, pure and hybrid (especially resonant in Montreal given the Québécois category of "pur laine," indicating unadulterated or "pure wool" francophone Québécois). Perhaps they are better approached as tensile couplets whose components are sometimes pressed into binary opposition; their degree of asymmetry and the changing weight of each component are part of the phenomenon. These play out in the cultural arts landscape, commerce and retail (sales of old country paraphernalia during the World Cup and other international sporting events), everyday family life (intermarriage, queer youth), debates about ethnicized or anachronistic popular representations (of criminal activity imported from foreign shores, for instance), and conflicts around immigration and deportation legislation (sending "back home" members of targeted groups like Afro-Caribbean residents socialized in Canada, under Bill C-44; I return to this example below).

The question that remains is, do the conditions that made these sets intelligible still apply? Twenty years ago, diasporic communities in Toronto had different practices of self-definition through defiant attachments to a *not-here*, triggered by the absence of other "others." Such practices did lead into what anthropologists called "cultural retention," but these have changed

at a pace that social science research cannot seem to follow. Given that conditions and practices have *changed*, what is *new*? The content of "loss," for instance, surely changes as transnational linkages become easier and more common (excepting cases of exile). How are the tensions between there and here, loss and gain, worked through differently as technologies continue to facilitate contact (satellite TV,[12] charter air travel, Internet access)? Further, there is an important interpretive distinction to reinforce here, between reading orientations to other places in terms of *absence*, a withdrawal of energy from the collective public sphere, or *presence*, a splitting of commitments that does not result in a sum loss, but rather a new cross-pollination.

Social scientific retention

Robin Cohen lists the criteria that define a Caribbean (read Afro-Caribbean) cultural diaspora: a shared history of slavery; "evidence of cultural retention or affirmations of an African identity"; an interest in literal or symbolic return to Africa; cultural productions that demonstrate cross-fertilization; and finally, social practices and "behaviour" that reinforce the notion of a cultural diaspora (1997, p. 27). Retention connotes an anti-modern resistance to change or progress. Scholars refer to cultural retention in a mildly congratulatory manner—e.g., proponents of the salvage paradigm (Smith, 1989)—or with some reproach (assimiliationist perspectives). The claim here is that the anthropological concept of retention does not have the same "critical yield" (Scott, 1999) as it did when migrants settled in relatively homogeneous sites like 1960s Toronto. Consider the example of cooking foods from "back home," which is often cited as a retentive practice, plainly carried over or old. To cook Jamaican food in Toronto, for example, takes on a new resonance—and maybe a new taste (bittersweet) because of the distance travelled by the imported goods—but also triggers a wholly new set of practices: locating the "West Indian" grocery shops (through word of mouth, advertising in the Caribbean-Canadian press, Internet sites), travelling most likely by TTC, encountering others in the shops and gathering more information, cooking with different implements, in a residence that has a strange spatial relationship between cooking and eating areas. The fact that there exists an extensive network of Caribbean businesses, reflecting a growing population of Caribbean birth or descent, *lessens or changes the need to "retain"* for some of the reasons posited in the literature (e.g., compensation for loss). At any rate, the new practices necessitated by the context of Toronto makes the whole process, if partly familiar, impossible to contain under "retention." (Might researchers be the ones with retentive habits?) To continue to cook Jamaican food, despite the relative inconvenience, is meaningful beyond

the extent to which it is *the same as* before. There is explicit and performed continuity, to be sure, but that is not all there is. As the recontextualized old is made new in the case of cooking and eating, so it is with attending church, having house parties, and thinking and acting oneself into the subject position "Jamaican-Canadian." Walcott (2001) makes an important point in reference to black Caribbean Canadian musicians, noting the multifaceted cultural positionings of the daughters and sons of postwar immigrants. He writes that their work is situated:

between the continuing relations of Canadian proximity to the United States and, simultaneously, an imagined and real relation to the region of the Caribbean constituted through and via the memories, histories and desires of largely post-independent Caribbean migrants and their first- and second-generation offspring. (p. 125)

Cultural retention is portrayed as intimately linked to the host society's reception of immigrants, as in the relationship Henry lays out between cultural retention and "differential incorporation" ("a concept … refer[ring] to the status of ethnic groups in society and [recognizing] that some are more incorporated or integrated into mainstream society than others" [1994, p. 10]). But when the body into which a group is incorporated changes, not because Canada is a post-racist society (it is not), but because a critical mass of immigrants has changed the demographic makeup of the host group and allowed for a greater indifference to the approval of the declining but still powerful Anglo mainstream, so must ideas about retention change. Recognizing indifference or other aspects of changing relations to the dominant cultural group creates a space for agency, because the subject is no longer interpretable as a perennial reactor.

Crossroads events and artifacts in the diasporic city

> You think we all Jamaican, when nuff man are Trinis
> Bajans, Grenadians, and a hole heap of Haitians
> Guyanese and all of the West Indies combined
> To make the T dot O dot, one of a kind
> —Kardinal Offishall, "Bakardi Slang,"
> from *Quest for Fire* (2001)

Diasporic cultural work manifests changing orientations toward past-present-future and there/here, which I understand through a tension between a nostalgic or migrant sensibility and a yearnful or diasporic sensibility. The

distinction is approximately exemplified in the poetic renderings of Toronto by Olive Senior (whose poems describe mirages of the Jamaican landscape outside a Bathurst Street window) and Lillian Allen (1993), both Jamaican-born Torontonians. Young Toronto musicians with a diasporic sensibility include Muslim hip-hop artist Ylook (especially his song and video "Relate to me," 2002) and Kardinal Offishall (especially "Bakardi Slang"). We cannot, however, recognize an emergent diasporic cultural politics if determined to interpret expressions of affiliation as hearkening nostalgically to an origin. The label "identity politics" is not infrequently used by researchers still fixated on essence (and anxious about the epistemic privilege it seems to accord) as a strategy of dismissal, whether conscious or not. Identity politics, meanwhile, made an important move at a particular moment (in dialogue with the rhetoric of official multiculturalism), but for the most part, when people talk about cultural identity presently, it does not have the same basis in essence or purity.

Toronto's Caribana festival, held every year during the first weekend of August, again helps to illustrate some of the points I'm trying to make here. Overall, since its inception, Caribana has moved from the kind of cultural performance encouraged under official multiculturalism to a diasporic cultural politics that does not address a mainstream in the same way—that is to say, it does not aim to educate or edify. The dominant trope and practice of Caribana are those of *masquerade*, which encourages an ethic of *opacity* rather than transparency (for an elaboration of this argument, see Burman 2001).

Caribana's dynamism flows from a charge generated by simultaneous past and future orientations; these are temporal as well as spatial indices, then, which is in large part what lends the event a diasporic politics. Some celebrants want and find a temporarily masqueraded and carnivalesque un-Toronto, while others (like the organizers, the Caribbean Cultural Committee) want to see the event as a transformative component of the mainstream. The World Cup, on the other hand, appears to re-entrench the ruts of the multicultural city, since it encourages affiliations based on a notion of culture that privileges national origin. A routine Toronto example: third-generation Italian- and Portuguese-Canadian football fans draped in Italian or Brazilian—memories of the Portuguese empire?—regalia. But this too is a process, during which affiliations switch as teams drop out of the running.

In the climate of "dissensus" characterizing the diasporic city (inevitably, if one considers the enduring example of intergenerational conflict), in its articulation of absence and presence, knowledge and the unknowable, *cohesion* does not have the same purchase. Single ethnicity-based "communities," much less broader mixed ones, cannot demand consensus to the degree

they once might have, because of the assertions of and new problems faced by members due to youth, mixed background, gender, sexuality, or income differentials. Examples of the kinds of collectives that emerge at the limit of the formula "X-Canadian Association" might include the now-defunct Desh Pardesh, the Black Action Defence Committee, New Voices for a New City, and No One is Illegal.

Discussions of communities that are not based on consensus (as well as affinities not rooted in discourses of origin or ethnicity)—as undertaken by Lyotard (1989; 1984) through his work on "phrases in dispute" in *The Differend*, and on uncertainty in *The Postmodern Condition*; Nancy (1991) in *The Inoperative Community*; Gilroy (2000) in *Against Race*; Glissant in *Poetics of Relation*—form a promising conceptual foundation for theories of transnational communities as well as intra-national alliances. Whether these studies explore unresolvable but unavoidable conflicts, romantic love, or ethnoculturally diverse populations (conventionally posed as in and of themselves problematic, when it is living together—*period*—that is the "problem" or tense condition), they all presume or take as their starting point *ambivalence*, which results in ambiguity as one of the limits of social scientific investigation.

Possibility and constraint: Cosmopolitanism and the Generous City, deportation and the Hostile City

Cosmopolitanism as an ethos concerned with hospitality and being-in-common is one way of thinking about the city's possibilities (the city here as simultaneously a slate to be inscribed with yearning and an idiosyncratic place, an unpredictable character in anyone's complex of desires). It appears to give something that "globalization" does not; the terms are related in that both refer to how the world enters into the locale, but what is cosmopolitanism's excess value? It may better speak to seduction, wonder, the lure of the other, and the desire to be at ease with and in the world—an always-deferred gratification. Derrida's (2001) articulation of the possibilities when cosmopolitanism is *mise en oeuvre*, put to work, is akin to this discussion of the diasporic city. He is interested in a particular cosmopolitics because of his need on behalf of the International Parliament of Writers to put it to work for a Charter of Cities of Asylum, a document that declares a common project for cities promising asylum to artists, writers, and other cultural workers in need. I would like to maintain his sense of cosmopolitanism as an ethical orientation to the world as opposed to a new state of being. Derrida writes that cities, as bodies other than agents for the nation-state, must cultivate auton-

omy from their "host" states and from each other, but at once be "allied to each other according to forms of solidarity yet to be invented" (p. xx). The city here is a promise—moved by a justice always yet to come, in process, and under revision—or a new subject in the making rather than a reconstituted old subject.

Derrida (2001) addresses directly the affinities between subjects when he asks how we can create the conditions for inhabitants of cities of refuge to refashion collectively new social lives and networks through labour and creative practices. This is not the hard-wired circuitry of "ethnic networks" in social science research; call it a soft circuitry, relying as much on chemistry and serendipity as rutted channels. Cosmopolitanism is ambiguous: it is invitation and threat; its "at home in the world" compulsion or exhortation thrusts the outside into the inside (with Ridley Scott's *Blade Runner* as an earlier generation's projection, the cautionary tale of the world coming home to roost—1982 doing L.A. in 2019). It is symbiotically alluring and fearsome, or part of its allure is the frisson of fear.

Through modes of sodality in the diasporic city on an everyday level, there develops a reflexive admission of influence through interest, desire, and engagement as well as ambivalence and conflict: interpersonally, through for example relations of mutual influence that transform the self via style—mimicry and/or appropriation—and at the physiological level through the complicated example of food (the way "ethnic restaurants" are about service provision and commerce, but also the sensual pleasures of eating and drinking, taste and appetite, the pleasures of commensality). Zukin (1995) writes about city restaurants as sites of cultural synthesis due to the actors who come together to invite and be part of the public: entrepreneurs, artists, social conveners attuned to urban symbolic economies and fashion. The restaurant here is a nexus of transnational flows, a place of cultural diversity and socialization joining global and local labour forces pushed into low wage short-term jobs (156–60). It is also a site that can convey a textured emotive complex, as Dionne Brand's poem "Arani," about the Sri Lankan restaurant on Spadina Avenue, demonstrates (1994).

Different circumstances join immigrant entrepreneurs and local residents in the course of commercial transactions. Through business, the former may attempt to seduce the mainstream—or not, as in the case of marketing and selling to one's own ethnic subgroup. Variations can be tracked through the commodity, in that the circulation of commodities implies and constructs a market of desiring consumer-subjects. Consider the difference between food, world music, and Spanish-language videos: each relies on a different level of understanding, from the lowest common denominator of taste, to the ear attuned to non-regional music, to language comprehension.

An instance of the ultimate inhospitability is ejection from the diasporic city through deportation. Deportees are almost always wrenched from cities, even though technically their prohibition comes from the nation-state. They continue to have affective investments in the place left behind, and their absence creates a gap that changes everyday life for people connected to deportees—*this was his delivery route, this is the pile of paperwork she was supposed to get to, this was his bed and how will I pay the rent myself* (not to mention, *her touch felt like so, his smile did this*). Such an excision of residents also changes any previously held notion of the hospitable city for everyone involved—especially in the case of an intrusion on the ethical bonds of love: what becomes of civic feeling when a loved one is "disappeared" (in the language used by Ontario Coalition Against Poverty (OCAP) protesters at an anti-deportation demonstration in November 2001)?

Legislation concerning detention and deportation in North America worsened after 9/11, although the mid-1990s too was a time of neo-draconian policies: the war on terrorism is but the newest in a long line of justifications for the undemocratic treatment of undesirable non-citizens. Judging by recent investigative efforts undertaken all over the "West," global cities are now viewed as places from which criminals have to be ferreted, where people are granted a dangerous degree of freedom. The media intensify fears about the possibilities Western cities afford for identity fraud, "passing," collision, and contagion. Detention and deportation are influenced by popular discourses of public safety and endangerment such as policy debates and mass media representations. These discourses racialize their targets, meaning they implicitly link criminality—thus, citizenship-worthiness—to race. In 1995 in Canada, with the introduction of deportation legislation (Bill C-44, under which subsection 70(5) of the Immigration Act was enacted), and in 1996 in the U.S. with revisions by Congress to immigration law, the two federal governments granted themselves extended discretionary powers over immigrants—in violation of human rights codes both countries avowedly support—in the name of public safety. Non-citizen legal immigrants charged with a criminal offence, making them a "danger to the public" in Canada and part of the "criminal alien" category in the U.S., could then be incarcerated indefinitely and sent "back home," no matter how long they had lived in North America. But retributive justice through deportation denies accountability for the social sphere; it factors the (city) environment out of the equation, relocating criminality in the other-national, racialized subject. Both sets of legislative changes were also public relations moves, justified by a media-fuelled perception of widespread panic about urban crime. U.S. changes that widened the definition of deportable crimes were portrayed as part of the War on Drugs; Bill C-44 was dubbed the "Just Desserts bill,"

because it was in large part a response to the public outcry after four black Jamaican-born residents were charged with the shooting death of a white Canadian-born resident during a café robbery. Forty percent of those deported under subsection 70(5) in its first two years were Afro-Jamaican residents of Ontario (mostly Toronto). Although I am trying to decentre national policies through a conceptualization of the diasporic city, it is worth looking at how they play out in the city, since racialization is thrown into relief when it crosses fear of urban crime.

Citizenship operates through both inclusion and exclusion; its boundaries are most visible in time of stress, as in cases of backlashes following particular events (in Quebec, after the results of the 1995 referendum on sovereignty, then Parti Québécois leader Jacques Parizeau blamed "money and the ethnic vote"—understood by many as code words for Jews and immigrants). In the case of deportation, inclusion invokes a normative mainstream ("the public," with a naturalized entitlement to citizenship and in need of protection from criminal aliens); exclusion, the criminalized immigrant groups. Testament to the success of the former is its invisibility in the academy: much conservative, liberal and anti-racist scholarship works with an unexamined concept of the mainstream, reifying it as a stable state of being to be preserved or opposed (Bonnett, 1999).

Conclusion: New roads cut

> …but of course no voyage is seamless. Nothing in a city is discrete.
> A city is all interpolation. The Filipina nurse bathes a body, the
> Vincentian courier delivers a message, the Sikh cab driver navigates a
> Corner. What happens? A new road is cut, a sound escapes, a touch lasts
> —Dionne Brand, *Thirsty* (2002)

Perhaps the diasporic city is *filmic* rather than photographic (lending itself to still representations), referring to Walter Benjamin's description of the filmic aesthetic in terms of its impact on spatial perception: the film "taught us to calmly and adventurously go travelling" (1967). Whatever the most appropriate metaphors or methodological cues, it is clear that discourses around cultural pluralism in Toronto—in the mass media, official/government literature and statements, and social science research—would profit from renewal and revitalization. The dynamism currently charging Canadian urban cultural landscapes demands that the conceptual bases according to which we think about difference—so conditioned by the national diversity management project that they cannot be expected to keep up with specific city contexts—

be transformed. I have worked here with the evocative language of diaspora, although it is possible that due to the vagaries of fashion in academia, its "currency" will change tomorrow (but then, most likely, change back!). In any case, an anti-nostalgic reading of diasporic affiliations and the diasporization of city space helps to displace the centrality of time-worn mosaic-style diversity discourses. It also invites us to consider how residents' ongoing connections to former dwelling places—connections that change from year to year, assisted by telecommunications and travel technologies on the one hand and shifting coercive deportation policies implemented by the federal government on the other—have irrevocably altered Toronto's urban landscape.

Notes

1 In *The Dark Side of the Nation* (2001), Bannerji usefully distinguishes between the rhetoric of diversity and that of difference, arguing that the former elides the fact of power relations that perpetuate socio-economic hierarchies.

2 Pnina Werbner offers a cautionary note, warning against a periodized distinction between old and new styles of diaspora; she maintains that diasporas are both ethnic-parochial *and* transnational or cosmopolitan (2000, p. 7). They are "social formations thinkable from different committed vantage points, and most are lived in the tense interstices between old and new, which I am making analogous here to the multicultural and the diasporic.

3 For literary and scholarly treatments of these links, see Austin Clarke's *Toronto Trilogy* (1967–1975); Dionne Brand's *Bread out of Stone* (1994) and *A Map to the Door of No Return* (2001); Makeda Silvera's fiction, poetry, and collection of oral histories *Silenced* (1983); Lillian Allen's published and performed work.

4 Lecture, York University, Toronto, March 1999.

5 In her stunning essay on Caribana, M. Nourbese Philip writes in a Caribbeanized vernacular about central archetypal/fictive characters named Totoben and Maisie: "You better move and move and move…. Moving, the metaphor for what the New World promising. Moving toward progress, away from the Old World towards the bettering of life…. Everybody but Totoben and Maisie living the promise that is moving in the New World—moving up from low beginnings, moving to a better life or to a new life, but not Totoben and Maisie. (1998, p. 145).

6 The testimonies of several refugees are compiled in the book *Safe Haven: The Refugee Experience of Five Families* (ed. E. McLuhan, 1995). What is striking, because of what many imagine to be the primacy of the encounter between new immigrants and mainstream Canadians, is the extent to which the narratives of new arrivals focus on their encounters with other "Others." One Chilean refugee talks about ESL classes, which have long been important crossroads sites for the formation of networks outside of ethnic affiliation (co-operative housing is another example), and "refugee hotels."

7 DJs, in fact, might be the quintessential peripatetic city scenemakers, travelling from site to site, fusing, layering, exciting people to move through surprising combinations or remixes.

8 See Hesse (ed., 2000) for impressive examples of such approaches in the British context.

9 Dionne Brand's body of work, including poetry, fiction, and essays, works through these complexes repeatedly, and always from new angles.

10 In other words, talking to people about the significance of cooking, shopping, regular and occasional contact with, for example, Jamaica, dreaming about buying land and building a house in Jamaica, actually doing so. This is prospective avenue of research, not one that will be undertake here; it is inspired partly by *The Practice of Everyday Life, Vol. 2: Living and Cooking*, the project about France by de Certeau, Giard, and Mayol (1998). Such projects address practical and emotional questions about the texture of everyday life: how people go about making a life here, or between here and there.

11 Keya Ganguly (2001) joins post-colonial theory and studies of everyday life in her ethnographic study of the middle-class, New Jersey-based South-Asian community.

12 Anthony Giddens (1999) points out that satellite technology became accessible to consumers only in the 1960s, which is when the vast majority of non-European immigrants began to settle in Canada.

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BLACK MEN IN FROCKS

Sexing race in a gay ghetto (Toronto)

Rinaldo Walcott

7

The footnote. That now infamous footnote number 44 of Frantz Fanon. Let us return to it at least one more time. Returning to Fanon's footnote number 44 in *Black Skin, White Masks* (Fanon, 1967) might help us to make sense of some black men in frocks and their ambivalence, ambiguity, and antagonistic relationship to a range of socio-cultural elements in Canada and North America more generally. Fanon writes in the footnote:

Let me observe at once that I had no opportunity to establish the overt presence of homosexuality in Martinique. This must be viewed as the result of the absence of the Oedipus complex in the Antilles. The schema of homosexuality is well enough known. We should not overlook, however, the existence of what are called there "men dressed like women" or "godmothers." Generally they wear shirts and skirts. But I am convinced that they lead normal sex lives. They can punch like any "he-man" and they are not impervious to the allures of women—fish and vegetable merchants. In Europe, on the other hand, I have known several Martinicans who became homosexuals, always passive. But this was by no means a neurotic homosexuality: For them it was a means to a livelihood, as pimping is for others. (p. 180)

Fanon's footnote has most recently been commented on as scholars "working *on* and working *with*" (Hall, 1996) his important insights continue to demonstrate his relevance for our post-colonial times. In particular, Ann Pellegrini (1997) and Kobena Mercer (1996) have given the footnote the most thoroughgoing analysis in recent commentary. Their commentary has largely concerned itself with Fanon's claim of the absence of the Oedipus complex, and therefore the absence of homosexuality. I want to turn, however, to one aspect of the footnote that has received little, if any commentary. Fanon

claims that his most substantive encounters with the evidence of homosexuality among Antilleans occured in the *Métropole*, in this case France, and that "it was as a means to a livelihood" and "always passive." This exchange value of sexuality that Fanon identifies as the Antillean homosexual male in France, rests clearly within the context of the migrants' arrival into metropolitan spaces in search of various ways to make a living. This odd and curious comment by Fanon places homosexuality singularly within the circuit of prostitution as labour.

Sex and labour are often difficult topics to assess, and to make sense of in various places. Thus, Fanon's attempt to place the black homosexual into an economy of sexual labour, albeit in an offhanded fashion, is disturbing, and potentially opens up possibilities for thinking about the context of black sexual labour in the colonial and post-colonial *Métropole*. Importantly, in a post-slavery world, one of the most pernicious aspects of marking black masculinity globally has been its relationship to labour/work or lack thereof in the industrial and post-industrial West. The exchange value of homosexuality that Fanon diagnoses is a signal for the multiple and conflicting ways in which black drag queen performances might be viewed, read, and interpreted.

I am particularly interested in the labour of six black drag queens presented and represented in *Divas: Love Me Forever* (2001), a film that chronicles the lives of these drag queens in Toronto in the context of a range of ongoing social and cultural issues. Directed by Edimburgo Cabrera and produced by Anton Wagner, the film is described as "an 81-minute documentary about desire, fantasy, self-acceptance and the search for love." The film is organized into nine chapters or segments: Working Girls, The Circuit, Faces and Masks, Circuit Queen, Show Business, Sex, AIDS, The Gay Community, and Family. Indeed, the segments of the film, as part of its form and structure, immediately reveals that the National Film Board had something to do with its creation. The form of the film, therefore, is neither unfamiliar to documentary viewers, experimental, nor challenging in terms of hybrid forms of documentary filmmaking. Far from lessening the appeal of this film, however, the standard formula of documentary-making works in this case to create a compelling narrative that presents and represents black queer life in Canada—and, more specifically, in Toronto. Indeed, the film is compelling partly because it works as a countertext to the overly popular hypermasculinity that passes for and is endorsed by commercial popular culture as black masculinity. These black men in frocks are, as Fanon would have it, very much "he-men," but not "he-men" recognizable in the frame that Fanon offers. Instead these six divas are black men intent on resignifying a range of identities both consciously and unconsciously marked as black.

Currently, it is possible to argue, or at the least suggest, that black masculinities in Toronto, and generally Canada, are in crisis. Black masculinities are overpoliced, and there is an epidemic of alleged black on black crime. The latter, going also under the name of gang warfare, once again brings to the fore the dilemmas or conditions of black male labour as related to an underworld of activities—or, in a more generous tone, a "counter-culture" (Gilroy, 1993) of capitalist labour. But let's not romanticize black men's disenfranchisement from capitalist labour patterns, since an argument can be made for underworld activities as an instrumental element of late capitalism. Additionally, such arguments border on the ongoing ways in which black masculinity is pathologized in relationship to discourses of the street, crime, and a particular notion of toughness. Thus, to recognize the dilemma of black male relations to labour in the post-industrial West is to walk a nuanced line that both acknowledges forms of resistance to capitalist labour and at the same time questions the affectivity of that resistance. At the same time, such claims must refute and refuse the reduction of black masculinities to a particular type, usually the "outlaw" type.

The outlaw-type subject is in fact one of the reasons that *Divas* differs from Jennie Livingstone's 1990 film *Paris Is Burning*. While *Paris Is Burning* thematizes the ball culture of drag and chronicles the lives of some of the most endearing of participants in the ball culture, *Divas* is a film very much about Toronto and the impact of the black drag queens presented on the queer scene there. *Paris Is Burning* is not necessarily about the space of New York City. It is only about New York City to the extent that the participants live there. Many of the participants in *Paris Is Burning* are "outlaws" in relationship to labour and sexual labour. However, *Paris Is Burning* makes no moral claims about this outlaw status, focusing—and rightly so—on the innovation, inherent critique, and socio-cultural contradictions of the ball culture as a particular kind of phenomena. *Divas*, I would suggest, is concerned with the place of black queer men in the unfolding and remaking of contemporary queer culture in Canada. Its use of six black drag queens to thematize such a concern is subversive in that it refuses to reduce drag queens to the place of the queer object, and instead celebrates and highlights how their participation might be understood as a site for the exploration of important socio-cultural issues. It is this challenge that I take up as I attempt to read critically for race, space, and masculinity through the film's narrative.

The men in *Divas* represent a wide range of black diaspora persons residing and making life in one of the world's most multicultural cityscapes. Michelle Ross, the reigning queen of Toronto drag queens of any racial category, is from Jamaica, has been performing since 1974, and wishes to retire in Jamaica; Chris Edwards was born in the U.S. and is transsexual; Jackae

Baker was born in Guyana, and is a designer as well; Stephanie Stevens was born in the U.S., and is the founder of a gay performance production company; Matti Dinah was born in Jamaica, and has disappeared from the scene; and Duchess was born in Barbados, and died in 2001 of meningitis. The various utterances of the men in the film range across multiple black Atlantic concerns in regards to gender, masculinity, sexuality, and desire. As David Marriott (2000) would put it, these black men in frocks come to represent "the symbolic role of black men in the psychic life of culture" (p. vii) because they function as willing and unwilling canvases for the writing of the culture's various desires and fantasies. It is for this reason that *Divas* stands out as a film worth the effort of studying.

What the men have to say in the film is not new, but what is different about what they say is the skillful passion and political acuity with which it is said. These black men bring a critique to white, mainstream queer culture without ever explicitly mentioning whiteness; and simultaneously these men demonstrate, through various acts of performativity, that life is far more complex than the racial categories, racial divide, and sex/gender split would have it. Thus, to return to Marriott, the six divas in the film represent the culture's scripts for black men while simultaneously undermining those scripts. These black Toronto drag queens rechart the space of Toronto and its queer community by uttering the significance of their sexualized labour as more than entertainment. In short, *Divas* is a film intent on showcasing the ways in which black drag resignifies all drag as something more. It is the "something more" of black drag that I attempt to read this film for.

These men, in their various and multiple identifications, open up a range of questions and concerns in regard to numerous issues of importance. I am particularly interested in what they have to say about the ways in which we might theorize and organize debates and responses to race and space, and significantly to the place of masculinity and sexuality in Black Diasporic Studies. Even more specifically, I am interested in what reconfigured insights into the above-mentioned categories could mean for how we think about black life generally in Toronto. In short, what would it mean to theorize, or rather, more modestly, to think, about black life in Toronto as being in the first instance queer? Would we arrive at different notions of blackness in Toronto? Or would recognizable and familiar tropes, experiences, and realities remain intact?

Divas: Love Me Forever follows the six Toronto-based drag queens as they perform and speak about the context of their lives as black gay men crossing into a number of different communities. I use the film as a map to read the city of Toronto, and implicitly its gay ghetto. I attempt to show how Toronto simultaneously cannibalizes and confines blackness by restricting it

to both particular material realms and metaphorical spaces that are continually resisted and remade by black bodies. That is blackness even when queer remains locked into predetermined scripts for performance but black bodies continue to exceed those scripts. This paper engages a growing body of literature in queer theory that has began to pay special attention to issues of space in the making of queer bodies and practices. I am suggesting that while it is crucially important to attend to how heteronormative spaces constrict and confine gay and lesbian bodies, gay ghettos attempt to confine and produce a racist/sexist black body within its already minoritized space from which the struggle over community proceeds. Black queers find themselves still relegated to struggling against what appear to be old and yet resistant forms of discrimination, both in queer communities and other communities. Thus, black queers remain marginally sited in what appears to be a new unfolding of queer identities in North America, but they are not silenced because of the centrality of black drag queen performances. If blackness blankets North American, space both symbolically and in reality, Toni Morrison's insights and claims that many a public sphere conversation in North America has blackness as its silent backdrop even when black people appear to be missing from the conversation (gendering) works well for making sense of black queers as an absented presence in the new queer configuration in the public sphere.

Most of the men in *Divas* speak to the importance of labour/work to their identities. Stephanie Stevens, the most outspoken, says at one point that his work in dresses is about paying the bills: "The rent is due." Michelle Ross details how her adventures across the globe have been a result of her work in dresses, and a number of the other men see their futures as engaged in self-employed ventures. Jackae Baker hopes to emerge as an important designer, and the late Duchess desired to return to Barbados as a restaurateur. The articulated and intimate relation that these men bring to labour/work is, for me, one of the important ways in which this film can work as a text for discussing contemporary issues and concerns. But it is also the basis from which Fanon's otherwise homo-limitations might be usefully engaged as an ongoing conversation about the various iterations of metropolitan blackness.

Let us return to Fanon yet again and enter what, following him, we might most excitedly call "homosexual territory" (Fanon, 1967, p. 183). Kobena Mercer, in an essay entitled "Decolonisation and Disappointment: Reading Fanon's Sexual Politics" (Mercer, 1996), suggests that "sexual politics as the Achilles heel of black liberation" (p. 116) has come to mark, most forcefully, our post-colonial moment. Mercer further states: "My sense is that questions of sexuality have come to mark the interior limits of decolonization, where the utopian project of liberation has come to grief" (p. 116). Mercer's

essay is an attempt to make sense of the ways in which sexuality, and in particular gay and lesbian sexualities, have been an ongoing problem for articulations of a patriarchal and heteronormative black nationalist politics. In his reading of the situation, at least two different positions fully emerge: (1) that of the attempt to banish queer sexualities from the black diasporic body politic; and (2) the ways in which gay and lesbian sexuality "constantly worries and troubles anything as supposedly fixed as an identity" (p. 119). Mercer's insights throw into relief a range of concerns about blackness and queerness. In particular, all of the men in *Divas* speak of a specific kind of estrangement from something called black community, and something called gay or queer community. The men of *Divas* cogently articulate the interstitial place they occupy in communities to whom it is assumed they naturally belong. And, therefore, these men continually unwork community, identity, and nation.

Because these men understand their position or location as interstitial or in-between, they complicate and simultaneously demonstrate the political imperatives of the various categories that one is called or hailed to. Thus, their utterances point immediately to community as political designation, as political problem, as something that must be worked, and as something more. For example, when Chris Edwards announces in the film, "Hello, I am Cynthia Mulligan from Citytv," referencing Toronto's avowed multicultural and multiracial local/national institution, she queers that station's diversity attempts with her black transsexual body. Recently, the revelation of Gord Martineau's homo jokes, released on the Internet, has demonstrated the need for that place to be queered despite or in spite of its claim to fame as the first Canadian broadcaster to air a queer talk show.

What is also clear is that the homosexual territory these men occupy is a "tough geography," as Dionne Brand would put it (1990). Negotiating that tough homo geography is a difficult and radical project for black men, who must resist a "demand on black male identity [that] not only works to sustain a repertoire of relationships between black men, imago and cultural fantasy, but continues to have a distorting, and necessarily violent, effect on how black men see themselves and one another" (Marriott, 2000, p. xiv). The nascent and articulated desires of the six divas speak eloquently to the paradox of black masculinities. For if we stay with Fanon's insights a bit longer, we know that Fanon tells us that the black man must be black in relation to the white man; but what is also evident is that the black man must also be black in relation to the black man, or at least in relation to the imagined heteronormativity of black masculinity. The six divas posit and reference the complexity of black men in dresses for the race/sex/gender divide.

The continuing hegemonic production of heteronormative black masculinity as the proper and "epistemological respectibility" (Haver, 1999) mas-

culinity has been the foundational script or type that most black men have had to grapple with both personally and collectively. Black men have embraced, sidestepped, and refused popular scripts for living their lives in a variety of ways. In particular, resignifying black masculinities as more meaningful than types has been an ongoing project in what Mercer identifies as postconceptional black diasporic art. "Issues of ambivalence, fetishism, paranoia and masquerade" (p. 117) have been central to the most challenging works of postconceptual black artistic practice. Like Mercer, I too believe that black gay and lesbian artists have been at the forefront of both deconstructing and destabilizing the old nationalist rhetoric of the essential and innocent black subject (Hall, 1996). Central to these artistic interventions has been the work of the critical photographer Lyle Ashton Harris, whose early 1990s self-portraiture series explicitly engaged Fanon's *Black Skin, White Masks.* Harris's engagement with Fanon reverses his black skins and white masks in a fashion and style that points up the shifting complexities of black male desire, identity, and fantasy. The white faces of Harris's art are not dissimilar from the white face of Chris Edwards as Dolly Parton in *Divas.* Encapsulated in this performance of white face is the obvious citation of the long and painful history of minstrelsy and its blackface foundation, but equally important is the contemporary insight of making whiteness a racial category, visible and marked. This kind of diasporic confluence—in photography and performance—might be read in, say, the art and performance of Harris and Edwards as one instance in which black maleness is imaged and worked over and therefore resignified globally and locally. The "economy of stereotype" that the performers engage and from which audiences are enticed to take pleasure is unhinged simultaneously in the performance. Thus, audiences are called to do more with representation than take pleasure from it—representation is an incitement to rethink history, knowledge, and pleasure.

I have turned to Harris at this time because his iconic and ironic working with and working on Fanon points to the dilemmas, issues, and problems at stake in representing black masculinity. Harris's art has been in the forefront of destabilizing blackness, masculinity, sexuality, and desire—not to get it right and make it proper, but to point to its messiness. It is in fact my contention that the men in *Divas* are engaged in a similar project. As I stated earlier, the men in *Divas* offer a critique of the white gay community without ever mentioning the word white. By so doing, their commentary tells us something about the conditions and the space of their labour. They are able to do this because they understand that viewers will recognize that the new queer visibility is largely tied to a white male body (*All The Rage*, Hennessey). Their silence on whiteness is one way of making the invisible visible and demonstrating the substantiveness of whiteness as a performing identity, too. And yet, these men are not articulating crude Black Nationalist posi-

tions. In fact, these men are decentring both notions of whiteness and male-
ness in their performances by quite often resignifying the role of mothering
that the black female body has come to represent in some historical forms of
entertainment. These men, too, rewrite the "Mammy" narrative as part of
their confrontation with the race/sex/gender divide. This particular con-
frontation is crucial because these men's labour is about rewriting the role of
the black body writ large in North American entertainment contexts.

The way in which many drag queens undermine is through humour. In
Divas, Duchess cautions that laughing at her while she is on stage as an enter-
tainer is quite fine, but off stage, laughter is altogether another matter. Such
a claim situates the relationship between performance and its "after" as con-
stituted differentially in relationship to identity and sexuality. Thus, a per-
former like Duchess often deconstructed maleness by bringing men on stage,
simulating sex, and always finding the "man" inadequate. Additionally, both
Duchess and Michelle Ross quite often deconstruct their performances by
removing their wigs toward the end of their performances to reveal distinctly
male haircuts, branding themselves men in frocks and boys at play. But this
performative deconstruction of the gendered illusion destabilizes not just
the illusion being performed, but all the various gendered categories we
might imagine. Thus, I am suggesting that these drag queens are intent on re-
signifying a range of socio-cultural designations through performance—this
is ultimately no laughing matter.

Black queer space and its performativity

Theorizing queer space has recently taken on an urgency of some impor-
tance. Recent commentaries have focused as widely as queer post-colonial
spaces (Hawley, 2001), to queer geographies (Ingram et al., 1997; *Antipode*,
November 2002) to queers and public sex (Leap, 1999). In all of these discus-
sions of queer space, race, sex, gender, and class have been important queries
for commentators who are intent on undoing the current white gay male
representation of metropolitan queer life. These attempts to theorize, con-
ceptualize, and map out queer space as a contested terrain of politics, desires,
and other social and cultural signifiers have been valiant and important con-
versations.

My attempt to mark out a different way of addressing queer space, there-
fore, is neither an explicit critique nor an attempt to devalue that work.
Instead, I am interested in iterating, quite provisionally, a multicultural queer
space. Before I attempt to say what such a space might look like, I would
suggest that theorizing multicultural space has been the silent marker in

studies of space, despite the attempt to map multicultural encounters and resignifications in much of the contemporary conversations concerning race and space.

For me, mapping multicultural space means that we must confront the politics of what I will call "creole space." Creole space is an acknowledgement that cultural encounters indelibly change us, both consciously and unconsciously. Understood in two different ways, cultural encounters both produce what Wilson Harris (1990) terms cross-cultural resonances and Édouard Glissant (2000) calls relation. Creole space thus comprises, especially in the *Métropole* or the city, the multiple ways in which cultural resonances reproduce new selves after various encounters. Multicultural space is therefore not about discrete cultural enclaves but rather an attempt to understand the scene of encounter between assumed discrete enclaves. Creole space is the attempt to think multicultural encounters at their limit, encapsulating within it the ongoing tensions, antagonisms, and pleasures of racial crossing, cultural voyeurism, and cannibalism, and the regurgitation of its very difficult and sometimes potentially problematic progeny. Multicultural and creole space bring with them the histories of the difficult encounters of cultural crossing in multicultural spaces. Creole space is not about simply lauding the pleasures of hybridity. It understands hybridity as also implicated in pain.

Black queer life is, I believe, an excellent barometer of diasporic connectivity and difference, and therefore excellent for making sense of global iterations of black masculinity and creole space. Black queer life in Toronto is deeply diasporic and creole in its identifications and practices with queer life elsewhere. But black queer life is also creole in terms of its expressions and lived articulations in the context of Canadian forms of expressing sexuality. For example, in the last four or five years, black queers in Toronto have celebrated Gay Pride by organizing an event called Blockorama, which draws heavily on African-American black prides, yet is deeply influenced by Caribbean block celebrations and Canadian forms of public pleasure and celebration, especially spectatorship vis-à-vis participation. Black queer life places on the political and cultural agenda a range of concerns that spans the local and the extra-local, bringing special concerns together in novel ways. Blockorama is a provocative and assertive taking of space in the queer community, but it is also a part of the ongoing struggle for space in the public sphere of a multicultural city. I am therefore suggesting that black queer life places an indelible mark on the cityscape of Toronto. And what black queer life fashions is multicultural and creole in orientation, if not self-consciously so.

In Toronto, black queer spaces are not necessarily separate spaces. For example, the former Red Spot was significantly marked as a black and coloured queer space; it was replaced by Club Manhattan, which featured queer events produced and hosted by the Two Divas (two black lesbians), and, most recently, The Tequila Lounge has hosted a black queer night on Saturdays. These queer black and/or coloured spaces function more as a community of musical taste—rap, reggae, R&B, and other clearly defined black music—than around blackness as a racial category (even though the majority attending these clubs are black). These spaces function as a way to make present in the queer community black queer desire and its own unique desire for cultural reference marks in queer popular culture. These places are an index of the struggles over signalling and marking multicultural queer space and creole space in the city.

But these spaces also bring with them different ways of performing blackness, maleness and queerness. When drag queens enter these spaces, black masculinity as a performance is opened up in ways that are necessarily ironic and iconic. When black drag queens perform for a mainly black male audience, the resignifying of manhood is made much more visible. This is particularly so for a drag queen like Matti Dinah, whose brand of illusion does not involve the accompliment of breast. Matti's drag draws heavily on his manhood as a function of resignifying masculinity, and in particular black manhood. Matti's refusal of a complete image of female illusion works to unmake gender significations as much as it acts to point to the racist phantasmatic images that exist of black men. At one point in the film, Matti refers to himself as Mandingo-like. Such a comment locates himself consciously in ongoing forms of racialization that point to the ways in which image, and in particular cinematic images, function to mark, name, and consequently come to be something that black men might have to work against or resignify. In his performances, Matti, who could be read, if in jeans and T-shirt, as hypermasculine, or as black male hetero-threat—dresses down that economy of stereotype in an elegantly assertive fashion.

What I am suggesting, therefore, is that the men in *Divas* bring a critique to the ways in which contemporary queer culture positions them in ambivalent relations to discourses of queer liberation. In this discourse, the black body still sits at the site of entertainer, but these men politicize what it means to entertain in very specific ways that draw on and rework the economy of stereotype.

A number of men in the film, primarily Jackae Baker and Matti Dinah, bring a critique to the enormously popular circuit party scene. Both Baker and Matti were important and recurring performers on the circuit scene. A circuit party is a large-scale dance party, characterized by house music (another

black invented music, but often not understood to be so in contemporary gay male culture). Both Baker and Matti refuse the prison house of circuit party queer life in critiques of subjects ranging from the use of drugs, to unsafe sexual practices, to body fascism. They are explicitly critical of how queer liberation has given way to forms of hedonistic partying which seem neither to understand queer history nor to be aware of the ways in which those representations and repackaged images of contemporary queer life as white and male are problematic. Their critique of the circuit party scene is a critique of the ways in which the new gay visibility has been consistently represented as white and male. But these black drag queen presences muscle in on those representations to reconfigure the space of queerness as necessarily multicultural and multiracial through a series of musical choices, drag names, and unashamedly presenting black bodies as more than the performing body. These black drag queens seize the space of the party to articulate in both words and performance the ways in which the politics of liberation must move beyond the individual.

Toronto's queer future?

Because of the ways in which Toronto has evolved as a cityscape, most of its citizens have been born outside of the country, and about 300,000 of those citizens are identified as black in the most recent census. The presence of blackness, therefore, is everywhere. So while one might wonder, on entering Toronto's gay ghetto, why as many black men don't appear to be there as should be, common sense would suggest that the black queer presence is marginalized. I want to suggest that reading the small black queer presence in the ghetto as necessarily marginalized is not the best way to make sense of the small number of black queer men—and women, for that matter—in the ghetto.

Black men, straight and gay, are simultaneously hypervisible and invisible in our culture: it is in fact one of the functions of the culture that black men are asked to play. This tension of hypervisibility and invisibility has placed black men in a unique position to recognize, at the most intimate of levels, that masculinity is both a constructed performance and a performance about pleasure and pain. The six divas I have been discussing both shore up and point out the perils of black masculinity, and in some ways femininity, by demonstrating that gender difference is not only performance, but a necessary performance in the face of a culture that would have us believe these differences to be inherent. Had we viewed the entire film together, we would have encountered the six divas talking about an imagined future for their

lives. And what is revealed in those articulations is that black queer men, made subaltern in various communities, offer us a perspective on life that holds much promise for reimagining the human as a category of ethical responsibility. Now, I am not trying to privilege black gay men as seers of the future. What I am trying to stress is that—if we listen to them well— some black gay men, intimately involved in living life one step beyond the crippling confines of masculinity, might provide us with the insight into how to craft lives just beyond the reach of gender conscripts, scripts, and confines.

The labour of the six divas redefines the terms of a number of debates concerning black masculinity. Fanon's footnote places black homosexuality within the context of labour. And the labour of the divas points to the possibilities of entertainment as a form of the political which can be infused with attempts to resignify a range of socio-cultural concerns. The ethico-political implications of reading *Divas: Love Me Forever* as more than a representation of the lives of six black drag queens is to force the issue of the basis on which we might discuss the implications of a crisis of black masculinity in Toronto; how we might account—in a more supple fashion—for the ways in which various acts of black men remake the cityscape of Toronto, beyond the signifier of criminality. The importance is, I believe, that by excising or circumscribing black queer sexualities, an important opportunity is lost for thinking in nuanced ways about the material, social, and cultural resignifications of black lives on the remaking and creolization of the cityscape and the nation more generally.

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"SALT-WATER CITY" 8
The representation of Vancouver in Sky Lee's *Disappearing Moon Café* and Wayson Choy's *The Jade Peony*
Domenic Beneventi

Walter Pache has suggested that "there is no homogeneous tradition of urban writing, nor has urban writing so far attracted much attention in criticism" (Pache, 2002, p. 1149). A long tradition of nature-inspired writing, the relatively slow rate of urbanization, and the "long-lasting dependence on London as imperial metropolis" (Pache, 2002, p. 1149) accounts for the paucity of urban literature and its critical reception in this country. If at the end of the nineteenth century the city was figured in both Europe and America as a symbol of the rapid modernization of the western world, in Canada it "only played a moderate and marginal role" (Pache, 2002, p. 1149). This is because Canada has consistently been seen as peripheral to the imperial metropolis, an "incipient urban culture of the margins" (Pache, 2002, p. 1150) whose "provincial" idiosyncrasies are described for the benefit of a European audience hungering for the exoticism of the colonies. Where European and American modernist writers constructed the city as a space in which individual freedom and morality were negotiated against a backdrop of social adversity and class conflict, Canadian colonial and nationalist writers offered instead "a nostalgic counter-narrative, a colonial supplement to the master-tale" (Pache, 2002, p. 1151) of Empire. This is because Canada was mythologized as "non-city and non-literary, as rural and loyal British hinterland" whose cities were often "encoded as urban extensions of nature" (Pache, 2002, p. 1151).

It was only in the 1930s, well into the modernist movement, that Canadian writers such as Morley Callaghan and Hugh MacLennan were "drawn into the vortex" (Pache, 2002, p. 1151) of urban modernism. With an eye to Paris and London, these writers provided a "realist" interpretation of life in

the streets of Montreal and Toronto and marked a transition from a predominantly rural to a predominantly urban sensibility.

While the imaginaries of settler societies like Canada are "deeply spatialized stories" (Razack, 2002, p. 3), the discourses of colonization and nation-building provide "no place" for its marginalized subjects. The relegation of immigrant populations to racialized ghetto spaces and aboriginal populations to reserves within Canada effectively evacuates their "otherness" to a peripheral location, "condemning them to anachronistic space and time" (Razack, 2002, p. 2). The fact that such "foreign bodies" have occupied Canadian territory since its early history is denied or put under erasure in the creation of Canada as an ostensibly homogeneous colonial space. The concept of "whiteness" has consistently been an integral aspect of nationalist discourses in Canada, from its emergence as a colonial outpost of empire to its status as an independent member of the British commonwealth. Even as a modern nation-state, Canada's relatively recent valorization of multicultural "difference" relies upon the "authority" of a white European history and culture against which minorities are defined.[1]

In *Geographies of Exclusion*, David Sibley uncovers some of the hidden spatial practices and discourses which have come to dominate in Western industrialized societies, arguing that it has become necessary to "examine the assumptions about inclusion and exclusion which are implicit in the design of places and spaces" (Sibley, 1995, p. x). Taking into consideration Sibley's statement that "human landscape can be read as a landscape of exclusion" (Sibley, 1995, p. ix), I will argue that in the need to define Canadian space as being coterminous with a collective national identity whose roots lie in its English colonial past, the Canadian government, on the one hand, and the dominant white majority of Vancouver, on the other, have employed exclusionary spatial discourses and practices in order to "expel," both physically and symbolically, the Chinese-Canadian Other from that privileged space. Using Sky Lee's *Disappearing Moon Café* and Wayson Choy's *The Jade Peony* as examples, I will demonstrate that nationalist mappings of Canadian landscape are an attempt at "evacuating" the racial Other from the collective body of the nation. The orientalizing gaze not only defines and "fixes" foreign bodies within the confines of the ethnic ghetto, but excludes them from the more privileged sites of the city identified with the dominant white middle class.[2]

In *Disappearing Moon Café*, Sky Lee adopts a variety of temporal and narrative perspectives in order to trace the convoluted history of the Wong family—from the deepest recesses of the province's early mining communities to the heart of Vancouver's Chinatown. Kae, the modern-day narrator, attempts to "recuperate" a matrilineal family tree which begins with Chen

Gwok Fai, an itinerant labourer who was charged with the task of collecting the bones of dead "Chinamen" along the coast of British Columbia in the 1890s. The family tree is complicated not only by the various "paper relatives" who are illicitly smuggled into Canada, and by the silencing of women's histories, but also by the incestuous relationships within the tightly knit community.

Where Lee's novel traces the whole of immigrant history in Chinatown, the Vancouver of Wayson Choy's *The Jade Peony* is a more intimate one, limiting itself to the perceptions and experiences of three siblings in a Chinese immigrant family. Choy's novel examines the process of acculturation, racism, ethnic violence, and the varied apparatus of the state (immigration and health departments, police) which have come to shape the Chinese-Canadian community. Most vivid in Choy's account of his Vancouver experiences are the ways in which each child's perception of the bewildering urban spectacle is solidified into categories of knowledge: the physical boundaries of the ghetto, which delimit communities and identities; the polyphonous dialects and verbal modes of address which characterize its social hierarchies; the gossip, folk tales, and superstition which colour its streets and alleys. Through his "subtly deconstructive reading of ethnicity" (C. Lee, 1999, p. 21), Choy demonstrates that Chinese-Canadian identity is not so much a multicultural mask as it is the constant negotiation of border spaces—physical, cultural, and linguistic: "The Chinese Canadian subject must always negotiate these contradictory positions and racialized identity emerges as a site of hybridity and contamination" (C. Lee, 1999, p. 25).

In the following section, I will examine the representation of Canadian rural spaces in the novels being discussed, arguing that while nationalist discourses efface the Oriental body from Canadian landscape, the Chinese offer their own spatial models, which reflect a unique history of transience and marginality in that space. These "spatialities of counter-hegemonic cultural practices" (Keith & Pile, 1993, p. 6) question the spatial paradigms which seek to evacuate or otherwise "contain" those ethnic bodies which threaten the "sameness" of the body politic.

The "residual" Chinese body in Canadian colonial space

In both *Disappearing Moon Café* and *The Jade Peony*, Canadian rural space is articulated in a variety of seemingly incommensurable ways. For the Canadian government, landscape represents unspoiled economic opportunity—a resource to be dominated, surveyed, built upon, and exploited—as well as an empty space that must be "filled" with the civilizing gesture of coloniza-

tion. The spatial imaginary of a settler society such as Canada provides "no place" for the many Chinese migrant labourers who were used as cheap labour in the completion of the railway.[3] The fact that such "foreign bodies" have occupied Canadian territory since its early history is denied or put under erasure in the creation of Canada as a white colonial space:

Particular realizations of colonial ideology may have been inscribed in locally specific ideologies of empire; these underscored the definitions of "self" and "other" that lay at the heart of spatially diverse and contradictory understandings of nation, whiteness, power, subjection, Commonwealth; and which were installed at the heart of the imperial metropolis. (Keith & Pile, 1993, p. 17)

In colonialist discourse, the new world is figured as a neutral space devoid of meaning, a "state of nature" that lacks the structuring gaze of European colonial authority. Richard Cavell has argued that such a spatial model becomes crucial to the expansionist rhetoric of empire: "Colonial space was represented as an absence … to the extent that the land was configured as Utopia, its material existence was devalued, thus paving the way, ideologically, for its exploitation" (Cavell, 1994, p. 82). If the centre of empire is absent, then so is Canada and its "periphery," and any effort to reproduce that peripheral space becomes an exercise in restoring the lack at its centre, an attempt at maintaining the legitimacy of colonial authority.

Indeed, one of the most effective discursive tools in spatial representation and exclusion is mapping, be it the extensive geological surveys necessary to the completion of the railway, or the urban maps which transform Vancouver's "swamplands" into an easily negotiated grid of streets and alleyways. While maps produce a spatial discourse which "seeks to impose abstract order on material space as part of a program of appropriation" (Cavell, 1994, p. 83), it is the slippages within these representational schemes that prove to be their own undoing. The map "subverts its own authority by disclaiming its ability to re-present the true, real world" (Nash, 1993, p. 52), and the inconsistencies, omissions, and slippages which occur in such reductionist representations glaringly reveal the "colonial desire to control the land and place its subjects within places which it controlled" (Pile & Thrift, 1995, p. 5).

In *Disappearing Moon Café*, mapping as a strategy of containment and control necessary to the project of nation is undermined from the point of view of the excluded. While the "empty" space of the Canadian wilderness is transformed into "place" through its segmentation and partitioning into numbered sections of the railroad, such mappings elide the presence of the Chinese labourers who built the very railway which structures that space. Gwei Chang, a young labourer travelling across the interior of British Colum-

bia, is aided by maps provided to him by the Canadian Pacific Railway as he seeks out the abandoned grave sites and work camps of those who preceded him:

> He had maps, with sections of the railroad numbered. He pointed out the grave sites, haphazardly described at the end of each section. He'd been told that there would be markers, or cairns, or something. How hard could it be …
>
> "Hah! You're a dunce!" Chen's expletive clipped him on the chin. "Come with me! Bring your so-called maps!" (Lee, 1990, p. 11)

It is only with the help of Chen Gwok Fai, the elderly labourer living on the periphery of an abandoned work camp, that Gwei Chang can find what he is searching for. The old man "scrutinized his maps and criticized his information" (Lee, 1990, p. 11) in the search for bones, but they prove useless, for they lack any information about Chinese presence in Canadian space. Chen's "cognitive mapping" of work camps and grave sites signals an alternate spatial history of Canada, one which reveals the dynamics of power involved in spatial representation. The abandoned work camps and the bodies left there may be seen as a residue of colonization, a belated trace of Oriental Otherness in the cartographic representation of Canadian space. With his emphatic denunciation of the official maps, Chen is in effect involved in a process of "unmapping" which is "intended to undermine the idea of white settler innocence and to uncover the ideologies and practices of conquest and domination" (Razack, 2002, p. 5).[4]

Chen's disavowal of those maps, which have fixed Chinese migrant workers to their abject resting place, resonates with the understanding that "maps are not empty mirrors, they at once hide and reveal the hand of the cartographer" (Pile & Thrift, 1995, p. 48). By effacing the presence of Chinese graves and work camps from official maps, documents, and histories, the Canadian government in effect evacuates the ethnic Other from the collective body of the nation and constructs him as a pollutant that must be both physically and symbolically expelled. If the Canadian rural landscape is symbolically cleansed of the abject and restored to a purified space of white privilege, it nevertheless remains that "the ontology of the Western subject necessitates and creates the other: the silent subaltern" (Probyn, 1990, p. 183).

Similarly, in *The Jade Peony*, mapping functions as tool of colonization. The "Nielson Chocolate Map of the World" displayed prominently at the front of Miss E. Doyle's classroom signals the discourse of multiculturalism in which Chinese and other immigrant groups, that "unruly, untidy mixed bunch of immigrants and displaced persons, legal or otherwise," are moulded into "some ideal collective functioning together as a military unit with one

purpose: to conquer the King's English, to belong at last to a country that she envisioned including all of us" (Choy, 1995, p. 180). This map of an empire under siege in the Second World War is rendered more vivid through the letters from the front lines which Miss E. Doyle reads to her classroom. The immigrant children are enraptured by "how the smoke rose in furious clouds over a place called Pick-a-dill-lee Square.... 'We will never surrender,' John Willard Henry wrote, quoting a man named Churchill, who, Miss Doyle emphasized, was a loyal friend of the King and Queen" (Choy, 1995, p. 176).

The map, like the framed portraits of "King George and his Queen" which oversee the children, is an "insignia of colonial authority and signifier of colonial desire and discipline" (Bhabha, 1994, p. 102) which not only constructs Canadian space as an outpost of empire, but engages each immigrant child in the defence of the very power which has marginalized them. Maps are thus not transparent representations of the "real" but a form of spatial discourse which seeks to control, delimit, and define the social, political, and symbolic meanings attached to those spaces; they regulate and control the bodies which occupy that space by defining the boundaries between abject and privileged spaces, becoming "three-dimensional and fluid, on and through which bodies are the points of capture of multiple power relations, power relations which inhere in simultaneously real, imagined, and symbolic encounters" (Pile & Thrift, 1995, p. 44).

Both *Disappearing Moon Café* and *The Jade Peony* reveal that the spatial models employed by the Chinese immigrant community of British Columbia differ in a variety of ways from those used in the discourses of nation-building. For instance, John Ralston Saul has argued that "the natural flow in Canada is east-west," not only because of the "artificial creation of nineteenth-century government initiatives, such as the Railroad and the National Policy," but also because of the movements of explorers, those "small groups of men who leapfrogged westward into the unknown" (Saul, 1998, p. 165), and the ensuing lateral economic relationships between Upper and Lower Canada. While the completion of the railroad is "an act of physical heroism and political determination" (Saul, 1998, p. 165) which symbolizes the collective mastery over nature and spatial immensity, its east-west spatial logic is incommensurable with the transnational nodes through which the Chinese community grew and prospered.

The seasonal movements of migrant workers—their connections to mainland China and to San Francisco (which contains the largest Chinatown in North America)—figure more prominently in their imaginary landscapes than does the east-west spatial logic described by Saul. While the Pacific Rim as a spatial paradigm has been central to the emergence of the Chinese community in Canada, it is virtually absent from the nation's main-

stream spatial imaginary.[5] For the Chinese diaspora, mobility itself connotes spatial meanings and experiences markedly different from those of the white majority. Landscape is equated to displacement, transience, economic precariousness, and death. The Chinese labourers in the novels of Lee and Choy do not see Canadian landscape in terms of fixed boundaries which delineate the ground upon which collective identity is built, but as a more fluid space of transit and seasonal economic opportunities. After the Canadian government imposed the Chinese Immigration Act—better known as the Chinese Exclusion Act—in 1923, the Canadian landscape becomes a space of containment, entrapment, and division from family overseas. Choy recalls that "thousands came in the decades before 1923, when on July 1st the Dominion of Canada passed the Chinese Exclusion Act and shut down all ordinary bachelor-man traffic between Canada and China, shut off any women from arriving, and divided families" (Choy, 1995, p. 17). Cynthia Wong suggests that for the white middle class, "horizontal movement across the North American continent regularly connotes independence, freedom, an opportunity for individual actualization and/or societal renewal—in short Extravagance," while for Asians, mobility is "usually associated with subjugation, coercion, impossibility of fulfilment for self or community—in short, Necessity" (Wong, 1993, p. 121).

   These contrasting images of spatial fixity and mobility are evoked in a scene in *The Jade Peony* in which Jung-Sum is given a coat as payment for his help in the ironically named American Steam Cleaners Shop. While Jung-Sum stands proudly looking like "the young Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek," it is Poh-Poh, the "Old One," who reveals the "three inch Genuine British label [which] depicted an old windjammer under sail in stormy sea" (Choy, 1995, p. 102). While the insignia connotes the naval power of the British Empire, literally colonizing the Oriental body as it covers it, Poh-Poh offers her own counter-discourse, revealing that "the first Chinese came to Gold Mountain huddled in the smelly cargo hold of sailing vessels like this ancient windjammer" (Choy, 1995, p. 102).

   Just as the Canadian landscape is rendered meaningful through the various mapping strategies used in the building of the national railway and through the "rational" application of scientific principles in colonizing a "savage" landscape, the "ghosts" which inhabit this same terrain also structure its space in a meaningful way. While the Chinese migrant workers in *Disappearing Moon Café* are excluded from the official spatial models imposed by the rhetoric of nation-building, their presence remains indelibly marked upon the Canadian landscape. For Gwei Chang, the Canadian landscape is not only "hostile territory ridden with whites" (Choy, 1995, p. 16) but one littered with the ghosts of long-dead Chinese labourers "sitting on the ties,

some standing with one foot on the gleaming metal ribbon, waiting, grumbling. They were still waiting as much as a half century after the ribbon-cutting ceremony by the whites at the end of the line, forgotten as Chinamen generally are" (Choy, 1995, p. 6). These "unruly" bodies and ghosts are the residues of nation-building that refuse to remain dormant; they whisper their secrets to the collector of bones, and the graves which would ostensibly have been their final resting places are themselves transitory. While Canadian rural space is physically transformed by the toil of the Chinese labourers, "their voices had to drown out the chopping of the mechanical Iron Chinks in the fish canneries, defy screeching eight-foot crosscut mill saws" (Choy, 1995, p. 201).

The elision of Chinese presence in Canadian rural spaces, like the relegation of aboriginal populations to reserves, effectively evacuates their "Otherness" to a peripheral space. In the need to identify Canadian space as coterminous with "our" collective identity, ethnic Otherness is either effaced or relegated to an ethnically overdetermined ghetto space. This evacuation of the threatening Other becomes the necessary means through which the integrity of self is maintained. "The cultural heterogeneity of the countryside or the city," Sibley points out, "has to be denied in these fictional characterizations if they are to symbolize an imagined national community" (Sibley, 1995, p. 108). The equation of territory, both rural and urban, with the hegemonic cultural, political, and social body is politically expedient, for it renders any claims on Canadian space by marginalized groups suspect in the eyes of the majority.

In the following section, I will turn to the representation of urban space in order to examine how the exclusionary spatial practices of the city's white middle class comes to shape the urban experiences of its Chinese immigrants. I suggest that Vancouver is "contested terrain," not only in terms of the racialized hierarchical mapping of the city and the intra-ethnic tensions which result from it, but in that subversive spatial practices within the Chinese community serve to destabilize some of the assumptions which regulate the gendered uses of space and the "disciplinary tool" (Lee, 1999, p. 21) of Chinese ethnicity itself.

Chinatown: A geography of containment

In *Vancouver's Chinatown: Racial Discourse in Canada*, Kay Anderson suggests that Chinatown is contested terrain, "an important site through which society's concepts about the Chinese were constituted and reproduced" (Anderson, 1991, p. 4). Through the valorization and application of various

nineteenth-century biological theories about race, the majority white population managed new arrivals, appropriated spaces for economic exploitation, and defined a majority culture against racialized minorites. Racialization is "the process by which attributes such as skin colour, language, birthplace, and cultural practices are given social significance as markers of distinction" (Anderson, 1991, p. 18). The building of city and nation was thus informed by racial categories; in the ongoing territorial arrangements of an emerging settler society, race becomes the "authoritative concept" around which law, government, and public discourse are organized. Race theory thus distinguished "West and East, civilized and uncivilized, Christian and heathen, master and slave. These us/them dualisms hardened around the idiom of colour in the mid-sixteenth century and supplied Westerners and non-Westerners a world view without which capitalistic expansion might not have been so extensive or influential" (Anderson, 1991, p. 22).

Anderson suggests that the legislative assembly established on Vancouver Island in 1849 "assumed the means of conceptual control over the definition and status of all settlers to the colony" (Anderson, 1991, p. 24). This is crucially important, for concomitant with the authority to define the policies of settlement and immigration comes the ability to construct racial categories and enforce their meaning: "In the ambition to build a dominant 'Anglo' identity and community the state sought to secure popular legitimacy by defining people of Chinese origin in opposition to all that could be made to stand for 'white' Canada" (Anderson, 1991, p 26).

The various modes of spatial exclusion which characterized public discourse in Vancouver not only influenced, in practical ways, the day-to-day lives of Chinese immigrants to the city (in terms of housing policies, employment, immigration quotas), but also shaped the symbolic meanings attributed to those spaces. Thus, while the Chinatown ghetto may represent an administrative "problem" for the city or an exoticized space of ethnic consumption for its privileged white citizens, it is experienced, for Chinese immigrants, as a site of containment, limited mobility, secrecy, gossip, and lies. This suggests that place is experienced in radically different ways by subjects who are differently situated within its social hierarchy.

According to Robert McDonald, it is impossible to understand the racial Othering of the Chinese in Vancouver without considering that such social and spatial ghettoization was a result of anxieties on the part of the middle class of entrepreneurs flocking to British Columbia at the time and defining their own cultural predominance and social status in the province:

By according low status to ethnic minorities, seasonal labourers, and the poor, members of both the "wealthy business and professional class" and the "artisan or

moderately well-to-do class" sought to secure their own identities as respectable citizens. Race and ethnicity served as the most significant sources of status differentiation. (McDonald, 1996, p. 201)

This stratification along ethnic/racial and class lines manifests itself concretely in the various social and urban engineering practices in which the opportunities of marginalized groups (including other visible minorities, Natives, the poor, criminals, and prostitutes) are regulated and policed. It is through the enacting of legislation which severely limited or outright banned the Chinese from participating fully in Canadian social, political, and economic life that the majority "used the ideology of race to secure their place as the dominant group in British Columbia" (McDonald, 1996, p. 203). Some examples cited by McDonald include restrictions on voting, restrictions on the Chinese entering high-status professions such as pharmacy, law, and education, and limits on the ownership of land, the obtaining of liquor licences, and employment in public works (McDonald, 1996, p. 205). More overt forms of social and spatial exclusion included the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1923 and the Chinese head tax.

The spatial practices used by the dominant and administrative class in Vancouver, concomitant with the ideology of "whiteness," relegated the Oriental Other to abject spaces in the city, and thus maintained the vision of Canada as an outpost of the British colonial empire. Consequently, the urban environment in which Chinese migrant labourers lived mirrored their low status within the social, economic, and racialized hierarchy of the city. It is because they were understood as residual elements of "proper" Canadian colonial society—as a negligible, abundant, cheap, and easily replaced labour force to be exploited—that those areas of the city in which they lived were of little account, and did not benefit from governmental intervention unless that space was perceived as a threat to the public good.

Laws against vagrancy effectively criminalized the scores of idle Chinese bodies on the streets of Vancouver despite the fact that they were denied employment due to racial prejudice. In *The Jade Peony*, Choy writes that during the Depression years, in which many were out of work, "China men were shoved aside, threatened, forgotten" (p. 18), their living conditions unbearable: "In the crowded rooming houses of Chinatown, until morning came, living men slept in cots and on floors beside dead men" (Choy, 1995, p. 18). Even several generations after the first arrivals of Chinese, the residents of the inner city lived in difficult conditions: "Our clapboard two-storey house, which people called 'a Chinaman special,' was shaking with cold. The wide cracks in the walls had been stuffed a generation before with newspapers printed in a strange Eastern European language" (Choy, 1995, p. 72).

In the cramped conditions of the Chinatown ghetto, these "foreigners" were interpellated by the exclusionary gaze of the white majority. The many instances of racial/ethnic violence that erupted between the white middle class and the Chinese migrant workers, small businessmen, and seasonal labourers before and after the turn of the century in Vancouver were indicative of the larger tensions over issues of housing, employment, and public health. Through policies such as the forced evacuation of tenement dwellers and health and immigration inspections of the area, Chinatown was subjected to the controlling hand of the state. Moreover, the location of Vancouver's Chinatown at the physical centre of the city permitted an easier policing of its "alien" inhabitants. This form of urban surveillance, a recurring image in the novels of Lee and Choy, impacts not only upon ethnic constructions of urban space, but also on the way in which the community constructs itself as isolated, hemmed-in, inward-looking, and trapped by the invasive, orientalizing gaze of the majority.

In identifying a part of the city with the racialized Other, the urban space of Chinatown is thus constructed in mainstream public discourse as a troubling rift in the collective fantasy of a white, Protestant, and primarily middle-class Canadian nation, its urban "messiness" stemming as much from its physical squalor as from the sense that it is populated by foreign undesirables. The arrival of large numbers of Chinese in Vancouver at the turn of the century elicited a form of "urban panic" in the white majority population, a sense that their city and way of life was under direct attack. In *Disappearing Moon Café*, Morgan discovers that in the summer of 1924, the scandalous murder of a white woman by a Chinese houseboy sent repercussions throughout the city, as residents of Chinatown are exposed to the scrutiny of police inspectors and vigilante mobs seeking to "protect" the integrity of public order:

The idea of a young, lone, yellow-skinned male standing over the inert body of a white-skinned female would send them into a bloodthirsty frenzy. The first instincts of the Chinese told them to board up their businesses and barricade Pender Street, with enough rice and salted fish stockpiled to outlast a siege. (Lee, 1990, p. 70)

What ensues is a widespread panic which constructs all Chinese immigrants as potential criminals. The penetration of the female body in a sexual act and murderous stabbing comes to symbolize the fouling of the integrity of the collective body and its violation at the hands of a perverse, orientalized sexuality. Both the moral purity of the white woman and the ethnic purity of white space are desecrated by the "slant-eyed vermin" (Lee, 1990, p. 67) which lurk on the streets of Vancouver.[6]

In both *Disappearing Moon Café* and *The Jade Peony*, gender becomes one of the criteria by which bodies are interpellated in public space. While there were relatively few women in early Chinatown, McDonald points out that "they were not totally absent from this gendered space which encompassed the waterfront, the Chinese, the Japanese, and the old business district of Vancouver" (McDonald, 1996, p. 216). Obstacles such as the Royal Commission on Chinese Immigration of 1884–85, the Chinese Exclusion Act, and the Chinese head tax, imposed by the Canadian government, greatly limited the ability of male labourers to bring wives and family over from China. For this reason, early Chinatown was predominantly a male space, a "self-contained community of men" (Lee, 1990, p. 68) in which women were in short supply. Their very presence in this male-coded space suggests, at least in the minds of men, their sexual availability.

In *Disappearing Moon Café*, Mui Lan's limited mobility mirrors the public / private dichotomy in which she finds herself; because, as a woman, she cannot publicly display the tyrannical power she wields, she must resort to circuitous lies, deceit, and intimidation in order to ensure that her impotent son, Choy Fuk, will produce a male heir. She is thus rendered spatially immobile by the "disciplinary tools" of ethnicity and gender which place high value on public propriety, patriarchy, and familial harmony at the expense of women's own desires and ambitions. Fong Mei, her daughter-in-law, similarly realizes that Chinese women have little control over their own destinies, for their lives "belong to strangers" (Lee, 1990, p. 45). Their personal histories, limited to the spaces of domesticity, are subsumed within patrilineal family lines, elided in the "official" male-dominated histories of Chinatown. As Doreen Massey points out, "the attempt to confine women to the domestic sphere was both a specifically spatial control and, through that, a social control on identity" (Massey, 1994, p. 179). In *The Jade Peony*, women are also denigrated and excluded from privileged spaces: "Jook Liang, if you want a place in this world … do not be born a girl-child" (Choy, 1995, p. 31).

Kae imagines her grandmother Fong Mei's thoughts as she moves across the sexually charged landscape of early Chinatown, "a lovely young female with a body that hungered beyond my control, surrounded by this restless ocean of male virility lapping at my fertile shores. I could have gone swimming, but instead I felt so ashamed, guarding my body so stiffly that my muscles shrivelled and ached" (Lee, 1990, p. 188).

The presence of women in places traditionally coded as male (the street, the outskirts of the city) disturbs "the masculine desire to fix the woman in a stable and stabilizing identity" (Wilson, 1991, p. 157). Those women who *do* transgress the codes of propriety within the Chinese-Canadian community— be it in terms of their overt sexuality or their challenges to familial hierarchy— are stigmatized and relegated to an "abject" space on the margins of family,

community, and public respectability. For them, public spaces of the city carry the double interdictions of ethnicity and gender; not only is the visible Chinese woman constructed as Oriental Other by white, middle-class Vancouver, but she is an "unruly woman" in the eyes of the Chinese, for she appropriates spaces that have traditionally been off limits to her.

The construction of the ethnic other as the carrier of disease, as the abject or the defiled, is signalled also by incest, a form of disease which "spreads within a marginalized community that is forced back on its own resources" (Huggan, 1994, p. 40). In this case, disease is seen as "a self-inflicted condition—hence the white colonial perception of Chinatown as intrinsically decadent, as carrying within it the seeds of its own destruction" (Huggan, 1994, p. 40). The racist discourse of contamination in describing the "yellow fever" introduced into the white collective body from the exoticized Orient is an attempt at separating the self from the Other, of evacuating that which threatens. Vancouver thus becomes a policed space in which all Oriental bodies are looked upon as possible saboteurs of regulated urban order.

This is how the young Sek-Lung and Meiying are seen as they walk through Chinatown after a curfew is imposed on the city after the Japanese attacks on Pearl Harbour during the Second World War. The children are interpellated by the "volunteer men and women who carefully checked each window and door to see that the law was being strictly obeyed":[7]

"You Japs?" a man in a brown jacket said to us.

Meiying showed him the tiny buttons pinned on our lapels that had the Chinese flag proudly stamped on them. Kiam had got them for us from Chinese school. I also had one that said: "I AM CHINESE."

"Get home," said the man. "It looks like snow."

We didn't rush. Meiying walked as if we had every right to be walking as we did, slowly. (Choy, 1995, p. 219)

The children's ethnic identities must be literally pinned to their sleeves, for the orientalizing gaze not only effaces the distinction between Japanese and Chinese, but the specificities of class, status, gender, and regional cultures within those communities. "We all peapod China men" in the eyes of the "white devils," Wong Bak remarks (Choy, 1995, p. 18). In the encounter with the Other, "the object must be turned into something familiar," (Keith & Pile, 1993, p. 47). This strategy is "radically unable to deal with the strange" and consequently, the other is constructed as a "fetish and phobia" (Keith & Pile, 1993, p. 47).

The workings of abjection function through the visual; in decoding the Asian body as strange, untenable, grotesque, the white gaze differentiates between the proper (white) body and the improper (Oriental) one.[8] With this

visual inspection, the body becomes "a point of capture, where the dense meanings of power are animated, where cultural codes gain their apparent coherence and where boundaries between the same and the other are installed and naturalised" (Pile & Thrift, 1995, p. 41). The regulatory gaze controls bodies and movements, determines who can and cannot circulate in public space, and ascribes moral value to various sites within the city. The body is thus implicated in the demarcation of racial boundaries, for the European desire for "distinct racial classifications" demands that whites constantly "(re)create their own identities and superiority against the bodies of racialized others" (Razack, 2002, p. 49).

<p style="text-align:center">✳</p>

The landscapes of British Columbia's interior and the cramped quarters of Chinatown are constructed as ambiguous sites of immigrant memory and identification, spaces whose physical and symbolic boundaries are bound together with notions of community, family history, and ethnic performance. While the technologies of surveillance, mapping, and racial exclusion interpellate the Chinese as visible minorities and contain them within abject spaces, the internal hierarchies of class and gender within Chinatown assign places and modes of display to each body. The city is in this way constructed as a "contested terrain," as the site of intersecting spatial practices and discourses. These spatial models not only interrogate the established colonial/nationalist assumptions about Canadian space, they are "territorial disputes" which, as Huggan suggests, "pose a challenge to the self-acknowledging 'mainstream' of metropolitan culture, to the hegemonic tendencies of patriarchal and ethnocentric discourses" (Huggan, 1995, p. 408).

Notes

1 Race and racialization in Canadian nationalist discourse has been theorized by a number of scholars working in a variety of disciplines. John Porter's *The Vertical Mosaic* (1965) established that white, protestant Anglo-Saxons occupied a place of privilege in the Canadian socio-economic hierarchy, while visible minorities and natives occupied its lowest rungs. See also Anderson and Frideres' *Ethnicity in Canada: Theoretical Perspectives* (1981), Bienvenue and Goldstein's *Ethnicity and Ethnic Relations in Canada* (1980), and Li's *Race and Ethnic Relations in Canada* (1999).

2 Foucault (1979) has demonstrated how various forms of subjectivity have been created through the institutionalization of power. In prisons, hospitals, and asylums, a new type of subject was created through the application of minute processes of surveillance, discipline, regimentation, and examination, producing subjected, docile bodies. The ethnic ghetto, as an institutionalized form of

spatial discourse, also produces embodied subjectivities (the Oriental Other, the resident alien) through various forms of surveillance and control.

3 If the railway has been a foundational myth of the nation, whose linking of east and west has come to symbolize Canadian industriousness and mastery over its immense landscape, its symbolic significance to excluded groups is quite different. For the Natives in George Ryga's *The Ecstasy of Rita Joe*, the railway becomes a physical threat which destroys the "savage" body of the indigene, while for African-Canadians who served as porters, the railways have come to represent economic precarity and limited social mobility.

4 Richard Phillips (1997) writes that "To unmap is to denaturalize geography, hence to undermine world views that rest upon it" (p. 143).

5 The Pacific Rim as a nation-building spatial paradigm briefly achieved national consciousness with the influx of an affluent Chinese business community when England gave up political control over Hong Kong. Otherwise, the Pacific Rim is more commonly understood and constructed as a network through which "undesirable" illegal refugees make their way to the shores of British Columbia. Glenn Deer (1999) examines the reception of Asian "illegals," and suggests that "Asians in North America, whether fresh off the rusty boat of a snakehead (a smuggler of people) or a fourth-generation descendant of Asian Canadian pioneers, continue to be interpellated as stereotypical and simplified *Others* by an historical narrative that includes acts of exclusion, internment, disenfranchisement, and discriminatory taxation" (p. 6).

6 "In racist discourse," David Sibley writes, "animals represented as transgressive and therefore threatening unsullied categories of things and social groups, like rats which come out of the sewers and spread disease, have in turn been used to threaten minority groups … to animalize or de-humanize a minority group in this way, of course, legitimates persecution" (Sibley, 1995, p. 10).

7 To be "interpellated" is to be "called forth" as a subject by an ideological apparatus. Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin illustrate the process in the following way: "When a policeman hails you with the call 'Hey you!', the moment you turn around to acknowledge that you are the object of his attention, you have been interpellated in a particular way, as a particular kind of subject. Ideological State Apparatuses interpellate subjects in this way" (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 2001, p. 221).

8 Steve Pile and Nigel Thrift (1995) write that, "codified in the aesthetics and ethics of meeting someone's eye / I, the scopic regime still remains a scene of ambiguity, uncertainty and conflict: transfixed by the interrogating gaze, people shuffle their feet and look away—to different places" (p. 48).

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GAMBLING ON THE EDGE

**The moral geography of a First Nations'
casino in "Las Vegas North"**

Cathy van Ingen

9

The power of place: Race and space in Casino city

Where on earth can you expect to find a casino under the same roof as a waterpark, amusement park, skating rink, hotel, and over 800 stores and services? Look no further than the Palace Casino in Edmonton, Alberta. —"Palace Casino," 2003

I n August 2003, *Gambler Magazine*, a gaming industry publication, contained a feature article on the extravagant casino located in West Edmonton Mall, the world's largest entertainment and shopping centre. The article describes the unique setting the mall provides for the "two-level 30,000-square-foot luxurious facility that overlooks the world's biggest indoor amusement park" ("Palace Casino," 2003). To elevate the casino's image and appeal to a growing gambling market, the casino underwent $2.5 million in renovations. Now the tuxedo-clad staff serves customers "in style, in a high class atmosphere which boasts brass and marble fixtures, a spectacular ornate circular staircase, as well as quality dining" ("Palace Casino," 2003). The expensive makeover turned out to be a marketing success and sparked a trend in Alberta casinos to provide what is considered a more "glamorous" experience.

Dubbed "Las Vegas North" by the local media, Edmonton has cashed in on the government-approved gambling explosion. The city now has the distinction of being the "gambling capital of Canada," leading the nation in gaming opportunities per capita (Gerein, 2003). Currently there are five casinos in or near the city, as well as a "racino," a horse-racing track with hundreds

of slot machines (Gerein, 2003). In 2001, the Alberta Gaming and Liquor Commission (AGLC), the branch of government that licences and regulates gaming in the province, announced an end to the moratorium on new casino licences, and began evaluating several proposals for developing new casinos. The AGLC confirmed the opening of two more licensed casinos within the Edmonton area, raising the total number of casinos to seven. It is the development of one casino that is the focus of this chapter. In 2002, the Enoch Cree Nation, a First Nations community located three kilometres west of Edmonton and a five-minute drive from West Edmonton Mall, submitted a proposal for the development of a $127 million full-service destination resort with a premier casino facility. Tribal leaders viewed the on-reserve casino as a feasible solution to "the overwhelming need for on-reserve economic development" (Enoch Cree Nation Economic Development, 2003). A moral crisis threatens, or so several local politicians, as well as the city's West End residents would have us believe as the province introduces First Nations gambling.

It is important to recognize that while there are straightforward objections and tensions over gambling, particularly with problem or compulsive gamblers, gambling has become an acceptable form of mass-market entertainment. Casinos, in particular, are a form of consumption so naturalized that they are comparable to visiting a shopping mall or a theme park (Ritzer, 2001). In this chapter, I am not concerned with the morality of gambling or its effects. Rather, I discuss the spatial strategies of exclusion targeting a First Nations reserve that is viewed as transgressing boundaries and encroaching onto the periphery of white suburban sprawl. To demonstrate these points I utilize David Smith's notion of "moral geographies" (1997; 1999; 2000; 2001) and David Sibley's conception of "boundary consciousness" (1995) to discuss the racism that underpins local responses and concerns over Enoch Cree Nation's casino application.

Chris Philo contends that applying a "moral lens" to geography establishes the geography of everyday moralities given by the different moral assumptions and supporting arguments that particular peoples in particular places make about "good" and "bad"/"right" and "wrong"/"just" and "unjust"/"worthy" and "unworthy." There can be little doubt that these assumptions and arguments do vary considerably from one nation to the next, from one community to the next, from one street to the next. (Philo, as cited in Smith, 2000, p. 5)

In order to illustrate the moral crisis underpinning the Enoch Cree Nation's casino proposal, several accounts are utilized to highlight the interplay of spatial location, race, and social relations on the periphery of the city. At first, negative reactions to the casino appeared to be driven by the profit

imperative of capitalism, as city officials expressed concern over an increasingly saturated gaming marketplace. However, these objections soon gave way to other variations and discourses of difference, moral assumptions bound up in stereotypes that play an important role in the configuration of urban space. Residents closest to the reserve expressed concerns over increasing crime, noise, and traffic. Others declared that the city's charities would be robbed of much-needed gambling revenues. Edmonton's mayor vowed to delay the sale of water and sewage treatment services to the reserve, and real estate experts and residents of several exclusive neighbouring communities testified that their house values would decrease. These concerns are examined to reveal the struggle over space, and the displacement of non-white bodies from urban landscapes (Goldberg, 1993).

Most of the objections to the Enoch casino proposal direct us to deeper meanings and assumptions that lie between race, place, and the right to the city. What becomes clear as the Enoch casino proposal enters into public discourse are the moral judgments that surface, designed to exclude racial minorities identified as polluting the urban landscape. Urban spaces have historically excluded First Nations peoples from access to capital and services. I read much of the rhetoric, if not the outright tactics used to stop the resort development and impede First Nations economic growth, as a means of maintaining boundaries separating the "unruly" landscape of a reserve from the "orderly" urban landscape. Moreover, this moral reading illustrates the socio-spatial boundaries between on-reserve Aboriginals and wealthy, mostly white suburbanites, and reveals a moral geography that speaks to the present marginalization of Aboriginals within the city.

Rez casinos: The new buffalo?

The first tribal casinos were established in the United States.[1] As in Canada, American federal policy toward Aboriginals has failed to ameliorate crushing poverty and abject social conditions on many Indian lands. Against a backdrop of stagnant economies and poor social health, gaming has been a growth industry in Indian country (Economics Resource Group, 2002). In fact, the world's busiest casino is not in Las Vegas, Atlantic City, or even Monte Carlo, but in Foxwoods, southern Connecticut (Chalmers, 2000). The Mashantucket Pequot Tribal Nation's Foxwoods Resort Casino generates revenues of about one million dollars per day. Not surprisingly, many refer to Indian casinos as the "new buffalo," the modern source of tribal wealth and sustenance (Magnuson, 1998; Paige, 1999). In the U.S., tribal gaming annual revenues at Indian casinos exceed $14 billion (Kramer, 2003). While there are several dramatic success stories for American Indian casinos, such as Foxwoods, the vast

majority of tribes enjoy only modest gaming income. The most successful on-reserve casinos in the United States are those that are located close to major urban centres, or areas that are already developed for extensive tourism (Kramer, 2003).

As the real estate adage "location, location, location" indicates, Enoch is prime development land because of its proximity to Edmonton and several outlying communities. The Enoch Cree Nation flanks the city of Edmonton, literally sharing a border with the western edge of the city. Moreover, the city of Edmonton is established on what were the traditional lands of the Enoch Cree Nation. The reserve itself only came into existence in 1876, when Treaty 6 was signed, designating the bounded space of Enoch Cree Nation #440. The Enoch Cree Nation, like many other reserves in Alberta, struggles with devastating economic conditions. There are less than 1,700 people on the reserve, which is in part due to a housing shortage dating back to 1977 (*Morin v. Canada,* T-82–98, 1980). As a result, more than one third of registered band members live off the reserve (*Morin v. Canada,* T-82–98, 1980).

A recent national report, *A Statistical Profile on the Health of First Nations in Canada* (2003), released by the First Nations and Inuit Health Branch of Health Canada, outlines the enormous health inequalities that exist between First Nations and non-Aboriginal Canadians. Infrastructure, housing, employment, income, environment, and education are all areas where sharp disparities exist. These disparities raise serious questions about differences in resources and the distribution of access to those resources. It was these very same concerns that led to the decision by Enoch Cree Nation's leaders to move toward economic independence through gaming. Ron Morin, Chief of the Enoch Cree Nation, fully anticipated that "First Nations gaming will provide immediate, direct economic and social benefits for all of our people" (Government of Alberta, 2001).

While Aboriginal poverty will not be easily erased, many Canadian tribal governments view gaming as an effective policy choice for addressing the backlog of social and economic problems they have inherited from the country's colonial era. The move to develop a gaming-based destination reflects what Fredric Jameson would call "a prodigious expansion of capital into hitherto uncommodified areas" (1992, p. 35). Indeed, the reserve was planning to urbanize by becoming an entertainment district, a playground blending recreation, hospitality, gaming, and entertainment. Not only was the resort development expected to become a local attraction, the projected facility was promoted as the country's first full-service destination resort ("Enoch Cree Nation applies for casino licence," 2002). The development of the Enoch Entertainment Resort would be only the first phase in a long-term plan that projected the opening of a golf course and several retail stores. Enoch's tribal

council planned to use the commercial success from these projects to develop a residential, commercial, and civic infrastructure similar to what was found in the West Edmonton area (Enoch / Paragon Limited Partnership, 2003).

State-sanctioned gambling is the only legal form of gambling in Canada, and provides substantial revenues to government. Since the *Criminal Code* was amended in 1969, governments have been able to licence and sponsor lotteries and sweepstakes, using revenues to host international events, such as the Olympics, as well as fund health care, education, and other social programs. A second amendment to the *Criminal Code* in 1985 further expanded the gambling menu, enabling provinces and territories to operate mechanical gaming devices. The introduction of electronic gambling in the form of video lottery terminals (VLTs) and slot machines vastly expanded gambling options in the provinces and territories, and has provided significant additional revenue sources. In Alberta, revenues from gambling have grown steadily to the point that the provincial government has become more reliant on gambling revenues than any other province or territory in Canada (Wynne, 2000).

As gambling policy continues to evolve in Canada, gaming is generally seen as an acceptable revenue source for the government. However, until recently, First Nations tribal governments were not given the same access to gaming revenues. Canada has a decentralized policy structure with respect to gambling, and each First Nations community has to work out an agreement with its provincial government to develop gambling agreements. In 2001, the government of Alberta approved a new First Nations Gaming Policy enabling First Nations communities to apply for a licence to operate on-reserve casinos.[2] First Nations casinos on reserve land would be regulated by the Alberta Gaming and Liquor Commission (AGLC), and would function under the same terms and conditions as off-reserve casinos. Just as provincial governments used gaming revenue to fund various non-profit community and sports organizations, tribal governments would now be entitled to use gaming proceeds as a revenue source, and to determine how these funds would be spent.

The use of reserve lands for large-scale commercial gaming is a relatively new trend in Canada. First Nations communities in Saskatchewan and Ontario have casinos, and more recently British Columbia, Alberta, and Manitoba have introduced policies to develop on-reserve casinos (Kelley, 2001). One of the main motivations for casino development cited by the Alberta First Nations Gaming Association is the fact that the provincial government takes in over $1 billion a year in gambling revenues, a portion of which goes to fund community projects. In addition, each casino in Alberta benefits approximately 180 charities that operate year-round (Government of Alberta, 2001). Aboriginal peoples on reserves argue that they lack access to tradi-

tional urban charities and fundraising opportunities, preventing them from fully participating in Alberta's economy. The Enoch Cree Nation was granted the first licence in the province to establish an on-reserve casino facility. It will not, however, be the last. There are 105 reserves in Alberta, and several of these reserves are interested in developing tribal gaming.[3]

On March 1, 2002, the day following the AGLC announcement lifting the moratorium on new casino licences, the Enoch Cree Nation—in partnership with Las Vegas-based Paragon Gaming—submitted an application under the First Nations Gaming Policy. The projected facility would be unlike any existing leisure complex. Plans for the resort included two hotels, a premier casino facility, restaurants and other food and beverage facilities, a conference centre, an event/concert centre, a sports complex with two indoor soccer fields, a swimming pool, and two ice arenas, including one Olympic-sized, and a members-only health spa featuring a full range of exercise equipment, pool and Jacuzzi areas, and massage and therapy studios (Enoch Cree Nation Economic Development, 2003). The resort was expected to become a substantial attraction, as evidenced by the size of the on-site parking area, which provided space for 2,950 cars.

This project marked an enormous shift in the traditional economic initiatives of the reserve. Chief Ron Morin had plans not only for the casino but for other projects, including an oil refinery and a power generation plant, to eliminate First Nations poverty on the reserve within a generation (Pedersen, 2003). This reserve community with a population of less than 1,700 members would be attempting to transform itself into an urban tourist location or as Chief Morin claims "Edmonton's most unique entertainment destination" ("Enoch Cree Nation Applies for Casino Licence," 2002).

Once again it is important to restate that the issue here is not whether casinos or gambling are good or not, but rather how race and location are inseparably implicated in the moral readings of places. Traditionally, gambling research is dominated by clinical and social epidemiology. As a result, there is much less research investigating gambling from a cultural or geographic perspective. One exception is the work of cultural historian Suzanne Morton (2003), whose work uncovers the ways in which the respectability of gambling in Canada was often based on the gender, class, and race of the participants. She explains that "while present-day stereotypes link gambling to Aboriginal peoples, in the first half of the twentieth century gambling was linked prejudicially to a relatively small (and predominantly male) Chinese-Canadian community" (Morton, 2003, p. 17). Morton's work describes the severe enforcement campaigns that targeted the Chinese population in Canada prior to the amended *Criminal Code*. There is no question that contemporary understandings of gambling remain imbued with racial under-

standings, particularly surrounding Aboriginals. The Enoch casino application raised several critical issues at the interface of gambling and race. The impacts of these tensions, which are sustained by racial stereotypes, delimit what kind of people should rightfully participate in urban leisure.

A sited identity: Enoch Cree Nation

Geographer David Sibley argues in *Geographies of Exclusion* that "spatial boundaries are in part moral boundaries. Spatial separation symbolizes a moral order" (1995, p. 39). In other words, his work details the ways in which particular minorities, in this case Aboriginal peoples, are perceived as polluting urban areas, such as the inner city. Sibley (1995) maintains that as places are associated with racial minorities, moral panics surface, "articulating beliefs about belonging and not belonging, about the sanctity of territory and the fear of transgression. Since panics cannot be sustained for long, however, new ones have to be invented (but they always refer to an old script)" (p. 43). This understanding of moral geography is echoed in Radhika Mohranram's (1999) argument that space in general, and maps in particular, have been forcefully used to designate the Other. The bounded space of reservations, perhaps more than any other landscape, reflects the deeply racialized topography of Canada. In particular, reserves often function as the paradigmatic referent of poverty and blight.

Borders, such as those marking the landscape of a reservation, are powerful markers of enclosure and exclusion. Moral geographies of reservations are sustained through an overwhelming set of racist images and stereotypes, including corruption, violence, bad smell, filth, technological backwardness, and a lack of modernity, which sustain racist and imperialist imaginings. This process of segregation establishes moral distances (Smith, 2000) and brings boundaries into focus by accentuating differences (Sibley, 1995). Sibley (1995) also explains that the formation of borders, either formal or informal, lead to boundary enforcement, or what he calls "boundary consciousness," whereby the preservation and control of boundaries is a means through which to control people. As he notes:

there are many instances of collective action against groups who appear to threaten the perceived spatial and social homogeneity of localities, where the threat comes from difference in ethnicity, sexual orientation, disability, or lifestyle … it is essential to maintain boundaries, whether by expelling polluting agencies … or by excluding threatening groups or individuals. (Sibley, 1998, p. 410)

Geographies of separation work to demarcate differences in localized places. For instance, there are areas of the city designated to insulate the wealthy from the poor. Deteriorating inner-city neighbourhoods go through "urban renewal" to suggest that the area is now more desirable, since it is occupied by middle- to upper-class residents rather than working-class people. Or take, for example, the establishment of gated communities within cities. The controlled territory of these residences reflects a desire to build barriers to produce and maintain a homogeneous community, a defensible space that protects and separates its inhabitants from outsiders, "undesirables" and crime. As Smith (2000) outlines, social inequality and spatial segregation are central characteristics of moral geographies. In particular, spatial distance or proximity can be used to create and maintain moral dimensions of urban spaces, such as the distance between those living in decaying areas of inner cities and those in the posh suburbs on the cities' edge. In turn, the moral significance of these particular locations becomes the "'glue' [binding] together the assumptions … of particular peoples in particular places" (Chris Philo, as cited in Smith, 2000, p. 5).

Pushing further, we can tease out David Delaney's assertion that "geographies of race are embedded within other geographies of (economic, political, cultural) power" (2002, p. 11). Moreover, boundaries that demarcate racial differences are not metaphorical; they have real consequences in the lived-in world. Within the last decade, there has been a swell of research exploring the role of race in the practices of place-making and the phenomenology of belonging (Bonnett, 1996; Delaney, 2002; Kobayashi & Peake, 1994; Nash, 2003; Peake & Kobayashi, 2002). The ways in which race is given spatial expression remain an urgent project for understanding how space functions as sites for the re / production of power (van Ingen, 2003).

Siting differences: Moral geographies, the location of difference, and peripheral urbanization

Sibley (1995) discusses how the construction of the uncivilized Other was an essential feature in the colonial encounter. In particular, spatial boundaries were used to distinguish between civilized selves and uncivilized "Others." In this section I argue that boundary consciousness continues to underpin much of the discourse surrounding the Enoch reserve and the city. A Manichean perception of the reserve as "bad" and the city as "good" is triggered by the recurrence of racism, which induces spatial division of the social world into "good" and "bad." Specifically, it is the interplay of tensions between an urban civilized space and an uncivilized periphery that provides the

creative force in much of what follows.[4] Although the concept of moral geography is generally overlooked in gaming research, it is elaborated here as to make visible power relations that need to be given a more explicit racial reading.

What I will illustrate below are the ways in which this moral geography augments and encourages the development of separate systems of economic opportunity and reality. However, as the term moral geography implies, I am dealing here with something altogether more nebulous than the structural features of economic development (Thomas, 2002). I am dealing with a socio-spatial process that reinforces spatial distances and elaborates the assertion of social difference and inequality. Moral geographies exert a palatable hold on social consciousness, and shape and inform our sense of place. In other words, "the value of a specific place cannot be separated from estimations of the value of the people who occupy it" (Deskins & Bettinger, 2002, p. 57). By examining the reactions to Enoch's casino proposal, as well as unstated ideas, idioms, and images, I examine the elements and contours of a moral geography that can be read as an archive of the colonial encounter, and which speaks to the present distribution of power which frames First Nations peoples as urban "outsiders."

The posh suburbs and the poor reserve

Space is one of the ways in which the dominant group retains privileges (Lefebvre, 1991). Critical geographers, such as Henri Lefebvre and David Sibley, have outlined the ways in which space is both a material expression of difference and its verification. Sibley (1995) argues that "spatial purification" is a key feature in the organization of space. This argument resonates most heavily in the term "white flight." The phenomenon of white flight from the city centre to the periphery is defined as a marked unwillingness for whites to live in neighbourhoods with significant numbers of people from another race or social class (Deskins & Bettinger, 2002; Pulido, 2000). Suburbanites relocate residences to outlying areas, and are more able to completely avoid inner city neighbourhoods occupied by racialized Others. As David Harvey notes, "those who have the power to command and produce space possess a vital instrumentality for the reproduction and enhancement of their own power—they can create material space, the representation of space and the spaces of representation" (1993, p. 233). Indeed, the periphery of the city becomes an important site of spatial and moral differentiation.

In order to obtain a licence for a charitable casino, including any First Nations casino, the AGLC has established a comprehensive eight-step process.

Step four in the licensing process provides a specific opportunity for communities to express support for or against the casino proposal. When the Alberta government announced that it was moving ahead with a review of the Enoch casino and resort development, the residential communities closest to the Enoch reserve rallied to voice concerns. The reserve's previously undeveloped land borders on several high-income residential developments. One suburb close to the development is Lewis Estates, which contains uniformly groomed neighbourhoods, and is described as "an upscale master-planned golf course community" (Melcor Developments, 2003). Lewis Estates is pitched by developers as secluded enough from the city core that it is safe and quiet, but close enough to urban life that it is only a five-minute drive from West Edmonton Mall. Advertisements for homebuyers in this area describe the architecturally controlled neighbourhood as featuring "a 5.5 acre park, tree lined streetscapes and beautiful views of the golf course" (Melcor Developments, 2003). Lewis Estates is "beautiful estate living" based on exclusion, symbolizing an imagined community that is culturally and financially homogeneous and which implicitly excludes the racialized and the poor (Anderson, 1991). As Sibley (1995) explains, the "suburb" has a particular connotation of stability, order, and affluence. Residents of this seemingly secure and stable community expressed panicked concern over the "controversial native casino development." Their concerns revealed an attempt to maintain the boundaries of the suburb, and fears that their community would become tainted by crime, congestion, outside traffic, and noise (Mah, 2002a; Mah, 2002b; Ward, 2002).

The issue I examine here concerns the ways in which race and geography are inseparably implicated in sentiments which inform a boundary consciousness that is always already ideological, always already loaded with meaning. The overriding concern suggested by residents on the border of the reserve was that the wealthy suburbs were going to be unfavorably impacted by Enoch's commercial development. A moral panic surfaced to maintain the boundaries of the suburb as an enclosed community that was socially purified. As a result, the reserve became a location from which urban residents wanted to distance themselves. The thought of what might ironically be termed "reserve sprawl" seeping toward the edges of the orderly suburbs was seen as threatening the moral order of an elite community. It was this moral panic that brought the boundaries separating the suburb and the reserve into sharp focus, accentuating the differences between the respectable residents of the suburb and the negative stereotypes of the reserve and its inhabitants.

The increasingly phantasmagoric landscape of the reserve threatened to disrupt the city's peripheral urbanization, where the purified and homoge-

neous topographies of the suburb would be clearly segregated from the raced poor, normally contained within the distant inner city or on an underdeveloped reserve settlement. The fear of crime, in particular, was—and is—one that reinforces the ideals of the "good" social space of the posh suburb, highlighting the reserve as a space of danger, characterized by lawlessness and vice, coded terms for Indian deviance. It is within "a context of increased fear of crime in which the poor are often associated with criminality, the upper classes fear contact and contamination" (Caldeira, 1999, p. 90). The potential development of a reserve casino on the edges of the prosperous suburbs brought a "paranoid spatiality" to bear on its residents (Davis, 1992).

Bounded space: Maintaining control of the "Other"

Reservations have provided an important context for stereotypes of First Nations peoples. An enduring racist stereotype is one of untamed people located within an untamed space. This type of racist imaginary then works to legitimate and support a dominant vernacular of defilement and underdevelopment. To demonstrate this point I examine key aspects of the negotiation process between the Edmonton city council and the Enoch Cree Nation regarding the provision of municipal services such as treated water, adequate sewage, and improved roads to the reserve (Mamczasz, 2003; O'Donnell & Farrell, 2004; Purdy, 2004). For members of the Enoch Cree Nation administration, the development of the casino resort was also seen as a means of providing material improvements in housing, water supply, and sewage disposal to the reserve. However, as negotiations to buy water and sanitation services from the city began, some city officials, including the mayor, vowed to withhold services to Enoch. I read this refusal as an exercise of power rooted in a colonial context in which a "civilized" society can choose to exclude racialized Others. Specifically, I want to examine the socio-spatial exclusion of the Enoch Cree Nation in terms of access to basic services as part of a more general question of social control. Furthermore, I argue that this attempt at exclusion and control can only be explained through a moral reading of space.

In spring 2002, Edmonton city council was approached by Chief Ron Morin to sell municipal services to the reserve. The Enoch tribal council wanted to strike a deal with the city to extend treated water and sanitary and storm sewers onto Enoch lands, and to improve nearby roads. In order to ensure future developments and improve residential opportunities, the band insisted that the city provide services for its full tract of land, not just the casino site (Ward, 2002). As Chief Morin explained, "these services are

required for future social and economic development of the entire Enoch lands" (Ward, 2002). The effort to control and influence the Enoch development by withholding access to basic services exhibited stark continuities with the colonial past.

City council's first response to the proposal to buy municipal services was to write to the province stating its opposition to the location of the casino. City council stated that the casino would be better situated near a highway, further outside of the city (Ward, 2002). This obvious attempt at distantiation would have further established moral distances between wealthy west end residents and the casino development, and maintained the hypersegregation of the reserve from the urban space. The second move by council was one that caused the Enoch band to threaten legal action. Based on concerns from west end residents, council's executive committee recommended that the city halt negotiations unless the casino and resort met Edmonton's development standards ("Enoch casino can't be stopped, city told," 2002). It is important to note here that the Enoch Cree Nation is not legally subject to Edmonton by-laws or building standards. However, the city used its political leverage to have Edmonton's planning department begin negotiating each building location and size, architectural style, signs, access, parking, lighting, and landscaping, as well as ways to dampen noise and soften the appearance (Mah, 2002b).

As Smith (2000) argues, landscapes tend to invite aesthetic reactions, an approving or disapproving gaze. Imposing order on a landscape is an intrinsically moral project (Smith, 2000). The urban planning scheme imposed by city council reinforced the tendency of powerful groups to dominate space. The suburbs were safe and respectable—that is, moral—and in need of protecting. Michel Foucault (1980) explains that "space is fundamental in any exercise of power" (Rabinow, 1984, p. 252). His work examines the ways in which architecture is a means to promote the aims and techniques of government. It is therefore important to consider the ways in which a change in space also indicates a change in power. Specifically, it is important to ask, Who is empowered by any re-arrangement of this resort space? and Who has the ability to act, to influence or to authorize action? In applying a moral reading to this situation, the ability to control the sight and sound of the development reinforces social control, prevailing power relations, as well as values concerning what is "in and out of place." I read the efforts to control the structure and design of the resort as a means of establishing order. Having the reserve development conform to the aesthetics and design of the city protects the posh suburbs, and is an attempt to impose discipline and moral order on the reserve.

In total, city council spent more than a one-year period delaying the negotiations and sale of utilities to the reserve. As one news article explained, in a "bid to win some control over a massive casino complex just outside of Edmonton's western border, council's executive wants the city to break off talks with the Enoch Cree Nation over providing services, such as water, for the development" (Mah, 2002b). In addition, Edmonton Mayor Bill Smith twice moved to delay talks with the reserve, and proposed fighting the "controversial" casino development all the way to court. When a vote to negotiate a formal servicing deal with the Enoch Cree Nation was finally confirmed, it was described by Chief Morin as historic, the first agreement made between the city and any reserve. Sarah O'Donnell, a business journalist for the Edmonton Journal, pragmatically noted that the decision "came almost a year after city lawyers first told council the city is legally obligated to provide services like water and fire protection, if the band pays for the amenities" (2003, p. A1).

A key hesitation on the part of city councillors was a concern that the city "could be saddled with extra costs … while at the same time be shut out of tax revenues generated by the development" (Mah, 2002a, p. B1). One difficulty with this argument was that the city in fact sold its services to other outlying communities, including the nearby cities of Sherwood Park and St. Albert, without attaching conditions. The other noticeable difference with this line of reasoning was that St. Albert also had its own casino, the Gold Dust Casino, which did not provide tax revenues to the city of Edmonton. Here, the moral dimension took the form of a contrast between services provided for in other communities and services provided for on the reserve. In response, Chief Morin rightfully suggested that "the city follows a different standard for First Nations" ("Enoch casino can't be stopped, city told," 2002), voicing the barely hidden implication that some people and places were worth servicing and others were not.

Post-colonial racism: Keeping the golden goose

We [West Edmonton Mall] are a world-class entertainment and shopping facility. We are the number one tourist attraction in the province…. They are going to kill the golden goose if they allow this particular project to go ahead. (Sinnema, 2002, p. A1)

A concern expressed by several Edmonton-based casino operators was that an on-reserve casino would unfairly take away business from existing casinos. Gary Hanson, general manager and chief operating officer at West

Edmonton Mall, went so far as to say that First Nations casinos received special treatment: "We oppose the uneven economic playing field the First Nations gaming policy produces in respect to casinos and their operating profits. That, in our view, undermines competitive fair play and puts our ability to compete in jeopardy" (Thomas, 2003, p. B2). Behind this statement is Hanson's concern that profits from gambling could be used to finance other economic projects on the reserve, such as a rival hotel. He feared that access to substantial gaming funding would enable the reserve to compete with other businesses (and sources of revenue) located within the mall, such as Fantasyland Hotel. The province's share of proceeds from on-reserve casinos would be deposited in the Alberta Lottery Fund, and used for traditional lottery programs and to provide funds to a new First Nations Development Fund. Hanson's concern was that there were not, in his mind, adequate restrictions as to how the development fund might be spent.

A second and related concern raised by the Edmonton residents was that Enoch's casino would mean the loss of revenues to Edmonton-based charities and non-profit organizations. Currently about 30 percent of traditional casino revenues go toward charities that fund numerous social service programs, as well as amateur sport and recreation.[5] Under Alberta's First Nations Gaming Policy, the reserve itself was designated as the charity through a distinct not-for-profit society. What was conveniently forgotten with these arguments, which suggested that funding for urban organizations would be unfairly compromised, was that for decades First Nations poverty had been virtually ignored. In addition, most people were unaware of the direct benefit of gaming revenues to their communities. In 2002–2003, $206 million was raised through gaming for charitable and religious groups in the province (AGLC, 2003). Non-profit child care, arts groups, community leagues, and amateur sports organizations are the types of charitable organizations that receive funding from gaming revenues. First Nations peoples have historically been denied access to the programs and services offered to urban residents. However, the thinly veiled claim that Aboriginals were given special privileges through the First Nations Gaming Policy reflects a superficial reading of history and an ignorance of treaty rights, as well as the historical relationship between tribes and the government. Moreover, to suggest that Aboriginals are now receiving benefits not available to the "average" (read white) Edmontonian is post-colonial racism.

Ken Gelder and Jane Jacobs (1998) explain that post-colonial racism represents, among other things, the breakdown of old, colonial binaries. They explain that as conventional colonial distinctions are shifting, new forms of racism emerge—forms of racism, such as those that ensured the hypersegregation of Aboriginals on reserves and in the inner city, which make cer-

tain that Aboriginals remain "in their place" geographically and socially. This form of racism maintains economic disparities, and provides a means for the assertion of social difference and inequality. As First Nations tribal governments are making claims on the nation and going forward with land claims negotiations, voicing rights, and self-government agreements, there is a movement "out of [the] place" designated for them under colonial conditions. As a result, some of the most privileged individuals and groups in Canadian society are attempting to lay claim to a new category of "minority" identities by asserting that they are being economically disadvantaged.

Conclusion: Siting the future

Edmonton's famed shopping centre, West Edmonton Mall, spans "the equivalent of 48 city blocks in the prestigious west end of the City of Edmonton" (http://www.westedmall.com/). It is the province's most popular tourist attraction, generating 21 million visitors per year. Currently, the mega-mall is 5.3 million square feet in size, has a twelve-storey, 355-room Fantasyland Hotel, a five-acre water park, and several other "world class attractions," not to mention over 800 retail stores. In 2003, the Ghermezian family, the mall's owners, announced a ten-year expansion plan, adding 300,000 square feet of additional retail space, a third hotel, an 8,000-seat sports/exhibition facility, 500 apartments, a twelve-storey office building, and more parking (Gourdine, 2002). The announcement of this enormous addition to the already colossal shopping and entertainment complex did not generate a moral panic from city councillors or local residents. There was no overwhelming concern voiced about the increased traffic, noise, pollution, or crime resulting from the expanded development. West Edmonton Mall, with its Vegas-styled Palace Casino, offers the same incongruous mix of adult entertainment and family-oriented leisure as the proposed Enoch Casino and Entertainment Centre. Yet, there was no moral crisis labelling this expansion as "controversial." The difference lies in the moral geographies of each location. The sanctity of the territory in the "prestigious west end" and the fear of transgression from a First Nation's reserve bring racial boundaries into sharp focus.

Urbanism is widely perceived as defining the condition of Western society as a whole, and is the symbolic locus of current debates and moral panics about problems of crime, drugs, homelessness, race, sexuality, immigration, and poverty (Deskins and Bettinger, 2002). In order to engage in an adequate moral reading, it is necessary to discuss both the production of a sited identity—in other words, how place shapes identity—and the siting of

difference, how borders are often accompanied by symbolic and material forms of exclusion (Smith, 2000). The landscape of urban leisure provides an important venue for examining the everyday racism in urban life and the moral geography of urbanization. The power to define the Enoch Cree Nation's casino proposal as controversial is itself a product of social relations, and invites a moral reading. The reserve is often *only* considered a zone of "Otherness." The announcement of the Enoch development was effectively devalued by linking the reserve to crime and as a menace to public order and private property. The tactics used to delay the agreement between the city and the reserve reflected a punitive move highlighting important connections between racism and the exercise of power.

Moral geographies are maps of the present, embued with vestiges of history. It is necessary, therefore, to trace out the entanglements of the colonial past with the post-colonial present. This chapter extends a critical analysis of representations of racial identity formation in the city, or, more specifically, on the periphery of the city. Sibley (1995) explains that the "distance between the affluent and the poor ensure[s] the persistence of stereotyped conceptions of the other" (p. 55). The abhorrence of an on-reserve casino bordering on the edge of the city is overwhelmingly perceived as polluting, inciting place-related concern for nearby residents in the posh suburbs that are no longer able to distance themselves from the racial "Other." By placing the attitudes and responses about tribal gaming and an on-reserve casino under examination, we can begin to understand the complicated ways in which race impacts the moral geography of urban space.

Notes

1 Congress passed the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act (IGRA) in 1988, granting American Indians the right to run gambling establishments on tribal lands. The Act also gives American Indians the right to use gambling revenues to promote tribal economic development, tribal self-sufficiency, and strong tribal government (Kramer, 2003).

2 All casinos within the province, including First Nations casinos, are regulated by the Alberta Gaming and Liquor Commission. Ron Morin, Chief of the Enoch Cree Nation, notes that the First Nations Gaming Policy approved in 2001 is "the first economic agreement secured collectively with either the provinial or federal government" (Government of Alberta, 2001).

3 The terms and conditions for the licensing of First Nations casinos took effect in March 2002. A total of eight First Nations applied to the AGLC for casino licences (AGLC, 2003).

4 It should be stressed that there are additional explanations and interpretive grids that can be used to examine the resistance to Enoch's casino development. Other plausible concerns, for example, included the relationship between the Enoch Cree Nation and its U.S.-based business partner, Paragon Gaming,

which stood to reap substantial benefits from the reserve development. The task here is to present the processes of racialization as part of one interpretive framework, among others, in order to understand how this particular First Nations casino was labelled as controversial.

5 Charity portions vary depending on whether the revenue is from table games or slot machines (Government of Alberta, 2001).

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LIVING WITH THE TRAUMATIC

Social pathology and the racialization of Canadian spaces

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Introduction

March 6, 1998—the day is etched into my memory. It was at a party hosted by a friend from grad school: a place that I believed to be safe space, a place where I could put my guard down. Not long after we arrived, I was made painfully aware that for racialized peoples in Canada, safe space is always a tentative thing at best. I sat in the room, along with five other anti-oppression workers, and listened to a White woman[1] attack my cousin. He had just immigrated the day before and I had thought that this party would be the perfect place for him to experience a little slice of Canadian culture. Ironically, in retrospect, he did.

The interrogation began as soon as she discovered that he had recently immigrated from India. "So that's the place where those people put those things on their heads, right?" "It's really dirty there, isn't it" "There are a lot of slums there, huh?" "You must be so happy to get out of there," etc. We all heard her, and while the situation demanded that we say something, we had been taught / disciplined not to react, to be polite and to not "start trouble." I could see the confused look in my cousin's eyes. He knew that he was being set apart from the others. He knew that there was something not right about the situation. He knew that something bad was going on that he couldn't quite put his finger on. Different culture, he thought. "Maybe I just wasn't getting the joke," he said to me afterwards—he was so unsure of how to interpret things. *He was the joke.* What he did know was that the situation made him feel odd, different, it made him feel like an outsider.

Her language was all nicely hidden and easily dismissed as curiosity, stupidity, ignorance, and / or just plain obnoxious behaviour. She never called

him a Paki, Sand-Nigger, Pull-start, or any of the other slurs reserved for people of South Asian descent. So to the eyes and ears of privilege in the room, racism was not what they had seen and taken part in. They would not name it racism. I knew what it was and I knew how it was working, but I did nothing—we did nothing—they did nothing. We were all paralyzed. Some were immobilized out of pain, some out of shock, and others out of simple indifference, but the result was that nothing was taken up or challenged. We were left to deal with the aftermath: the pain born in the violence of the moment, the shame of inaction, and the intrapsychic/psychological scars that accumulate through a lifetime of experiences just like this one.

On the way home in the car we discussed what had happened. I was drained, feeling that I had been physically assaulted, and I hadn't even taken the brunt of her racist barrage. But I suppose that is the nature of language and human interaction; they are rarely uni-directional. I knew what it was, and being able to see it was empowering to some extent, but that knowledge really didn't help me resist or fight in the moment, nor did it ease the pain afterwards. My girlfriend at the time (a White woman) could not, or would not see it. I spent the entire ride home looking for validation, asking her to understand my pain. She questioned my inaction, insisting, "You can't do nothing and then complain about it afterwards." Why was it important for me to get her validation, her understanding? My cousin couldn't see what it was. He knew how it made him feel, but he felt that racism wasn't part of the equation because she didn't use slurs. Importantly, as a newly arriving Indian immigrant, this was his first lesson in racism, his first lesson in becoming "Other." This is an important distinction, as it emphasizes the difference between *being the Other* and *becoming the Other*. I am sure that upon his arrival to Canada, he might have described himself in many terms: short, engineer, brother … Brown would likely not have been one of them. But Canadian society is so finely tuned in its racist thought and ability to recognize/categorize all things racial that this experience would be the first in a series of moments constituting him as Brown, as Immigrant, as Other. This would be the first in a series of moments teaching him that "space" and "place" are distinctly different things.

Our experience of the world is always mediated by how we engage "the moment" in relation to our various positionalities. With that being said, while poststructural calls for a recognition of the subjectivity of experience cannot be ignored, I would still maintain that there is a "reality" to racism, and that racialized experience cannot be muted. It is a "reality" that cannot, and must not, be lost in challenges to what can be known, and what can be proven. In asserting the existence of a "racist reality" in "racialized space," I mean to suggest that in this time, space, and place in Canada, the social, political,

and historical fabric of existence has constituted a relationship between oppressor and oppressed. This is a relationship constructed through discourse, and through the institutional structures that work to subjugate the margins. Canadian space is racialized, and, as such, everyone within its national boundaries has become framed along racial lines. But importantly, the oppressor has mapped out social space in ways that normalize, idiolize, and reify his image, knowledge, and experience—it is as much about identity and belonging as it is about the manifest act of possession. Simply put, space and place are not coterminous, and so real inclusivity cannot be about the marginalized gaining access to physical space alone, but must also include the intangible "cultural" qualities that speak to belonging.

Within this conceptual framework for engaging the realities of racialized space, I deconstructed how and why the woman at the party was able to access such clear and uncontested "knowledge" about India (one of the unfortunate repercussions of globalization and our digital "world at a touch" age). I theorized on the nature of her privilege in that moment (why/how it was constituted, why/how we were all positioned within the shifting relations of oppressed and oppressor), but that understanding alone was not enough to prevent the pain. I had spent so many years learning how to theorize about changing the world that I had deluded myself as to what it was like to actually live in it. Now, I'm not sure which is worse, being confronted by a racist in a dark alley, or going through moments like these. In facing this "reality," we must begin to question whether or not our strategies need to be retooled, refocused, and rewritten. In contrast to conventional anti-racist struggles to address the "real" violence of racism and the materiality of oppression, mainstream discourses commonly place the responsibility for racism in our hands, at our feet, and relative to our subjectivity: "we're too sensitive," "we're too militant," "we overreact," and "we need to get over it."

In contrast to such engagements, I question the interplay of psychology and sociology as they relate to racism and seek to redirect our efforts from the external validation and material examination of racism to insurgent fields of inquiry that interrogate the intersections of consciousness,[2] oppression, and the dialogic self. What I have tried to do in this paper is to bring our engagements with the experience of racism out from under the mainstream umbrella of attitudes and feelings, and toward a more critical analysis of the very real psychological, physiological, intrapsychic, and spiritual violations that scar us in the everyday. We can no longer afford to relegate our engagements with racism to those common-sense discussions of personal ignorance and bias that frame racial oppression as problems of the radical right alone. Rather, it is imperative that we address how relations of power serve to bolster the ongoing production of racialized subjects as effects

of oppressive discourse in Canadian spaces that are supposedly neutral, equitable, and safe. In doing so, we might find ourselves able to address our experience of racism in ways that will explore why its effects infiltrate every aspect of our lives.

I have come to the very stark realization that Canadian spaces—all Canadian spaces—are racialized, and as such, they play an integral part in the social pathology that maintains, supports, and bolsters racism and racial oppression. I would assert that we cannot sidestep this reality any longer. As noted by Danieli (1998) in relation to Holocaust survivors, "social silence" and systemic disavowal of pain and loss will only force the oppressed to conclude that nobody cares to listen and that nobody can understand. Moreover, the social apathy that arises relative to interrogations of race and racism only serves to impede the possibilities of intrapsychic healing for the oppressed (Danieli, 1998, p. 4). The destructive experiences that racialized people live through/with can only be addressed if we stop using comfortable and easy euphemisms to address the issue and rather name it for what it is…TRAUMATIC. I propose that the time has come to engage the social pathology that continues to make racial trauma an everyday part of our lives in Canada.

Throughout this paper, I draw from participant narratives generated during a research study I conducted between the years 2001 and 2003. In wanting to critically address the banality of everyday racism in Canadian spaces, this study was designed to interrogate how the lives of people of colour are breached and ruptured by racialized experiences of intrapsychic and psychological trauma, and how in turn those violations might be resisted and/or repaired. Employing a qualitative research design, the participant narratives were engaged to argue in favour of a new diagnosis in "traumatic theory": an approach that might speak to the variety of "traumatic reactions" that arise within the psycho-socially constructed experience of race and racial oppression. For the purposes of this paper, I engage some of these same narratives to illustrate and elucidate the racialization of Canadian spaces and the requisite social pathology through which those spaces are mediated.

Crossing disciplinary boundaries

It is a peculiar human imbecility that allows us to recognize and lament the abhorrent nature of individual suffering while turning a blind eye to the multiple atrocities that torment and oppress generations. As a case in point, it was only after the concept of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) was legiti-

mated in the 1980s, relative to survivors of war, that essentially the same psychological syndrome was seen reflected in the lived experience of survivors of rape, domestic abuse, and incest (Herman, 1992, p. 32). With respect to the complexity of these "silent" violations, I would argue that the time has come to engage in a critical interrogation of how such cumulative and complex traumatic relations are paralleled in the tensions that arise relative to public and private experiences of racialized violence.

Traditionally, psychological and psychiatric work has tended to frame issues of race and racism either as a cultural phenomenon or in relation to the very specific aspects of the multigenerational transmission of trauma. Beyond the extensive research and writings on the Holocaust (see Bar-On, 1989; Kogan, 1995; Danieli, 1998), the relationship between race and trauma has been addressed only relative to the genocide and dispossession of indigenous peoples in their own lands and as slaves taken from their lands.[3] These works, while important in clearing space to discuss the effects of trauma in historical context and content, do little to uncover the banality and cumulative impact of racial trauma on peoples of colour who did not experience an externally visible upheaval or communal rupture. Reflecting the ongoing evolution in trauma theory, I would assert that racism's violating, pervasive, and destructive nature can no longer be framed solely in relation to attitudinal and/or systemic readings of experience. Rather, I seek to develop a very different interpretation of racism as "traumatic" and perhaps most importantly, I look to engage that reality as existing not only at the fringes of the social landscape but as part of the normal, banal, and commonplace experiences of "multicultural" society in Canada.

In addressing these issues of space and place, we must first break with traditional psychological theories that problematically view the traumatic as "existing outside the range of usual human experiences" (*Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*, 1994) because such positions are ill-suited to the study of racial trauma as an aspect of everyday life for peoples of colour in Canada. I mean to suggest that Canada's social, political, and historical fabric has constituted a relationship between oppressor and oppressed that is maintained in/through democratically oppressive applications of multiculturalism. Even with the new work being done in the aftermath of September 11, there continues to be little mainstream recognition that racialized peoples in Canada live a distinctly different experience than their White counterparts. This silencing of racial issues is reflected in the stark absence of materials relating specifically to issues of race, racism, and trauma. For example, the fourth edition of the American Psychiatric Association's *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (2000)—the "DSM-IV"—includes several brief narrative discussions of psychiatric symp-

toms and disorders related to culture, as well as a glossary of culture bound syndromes, but factors involving racism are entirely slighted. As noted by Scurfield (2001), while numerous race-specific syndromes arise in relation to such everyday phenomena as race-based assault, race-hate speech, and racist environment, these avenues remain unexplored in the DSM-IV. He further notes that the specific omission of racial trauma is particularly glaring among the approximately sixteen environmental stressors mentioned in the text of Adjustment Disorders, as well as the roughly thirty-six stress factors in the acute and PTSD texts (p. 1).

In fleshing out the existing/non-existing investigations into racial trauma, it becomes clear that research and writing in the area of race-based psychological problems have begun to take shape only in the later half of the 1990s: the landmark studies by Jackson et al. (1996), which interrogated psychological distress among Blacks in the U.S.; Klonoff, Landrine, and Ullman's (1999) article on psychiatric symptoms among Blacks; the introduction of a model for the systematic study of the physiological effects of perceived racism among African Americans by Clark et al. (1999); and perhaps most notably, the recent assertations by Larry Higginbottom, Omar Reid, and Sekou Mims that theoretically link slavery to stress disorders among African Americans (see Bombardieri, 2002). However, while these works are fundamentally noteworthy for several reasons, not the least of which being that they are at least beginning to address issues relevant to psychological and physiological consequences of racism for racialized peoples, they still engender certain problems that hinder the advance of anti-racist research. I would suggest that readings of PTSD in relation to race/racism are problematized by the conspicuous absence of critical anti-racism theory, as well as neglecting to question the various discursive, symbolic, linguistic, and ideological stressors that impact racialized existence. Simply put, the absence of "race talk" in these areas is symptomatic of a larger social dilemma: How do racialized peoples experience race and racism when the reality of that existence is muted, silenced, and marginalized in Canadian socio-political space?

In 2003, after the Ontario Human Rights Commission released a report entitled *Paying the Price: The Human Cost of Racial Profiling*, Toronto Police Chief Julian Fantino issued a series of defensive and dismissive statements that did little to acknowledge the reality that racism and racial profiling have consequences for the lived experience of people of colour.[4] What do such disavowals do for the racialized person trying to understand why they are in a constant state of hyperarousal? The traumatic dilemma for the oppressed, in our perception of the world through the eyes of our oppressor, is that we see the world as fair, just, and equitable. Therefore, because we have been blinded to the reality of our situation, we are in turn blinded to our existence

as an existence of abnormalcy. Let me clarify. In terms of racial oppression, the white existence supersedes all other frameworks as the norm. It proceeds from this point because our frameworks of understanding advance from that premise: norms of speech, appearance, dress, culture, etc. So when the person of colour experiences racial oppression, s/he is experiencing an abnormal condition. It is either that we are abnormal, and that our responses to normal situations are abnormal, or that the situations and conditions in which we live are themselves … abnormal. This reality parallels traditional psychological tenets that assess, define, and diagnose exposure to race-related stressors along a continuum that rates discrete/markedly memorable events, subtle exposures, and durations of harms relative to a normative (White) world view.

Unlike the "colonial" reliance on overt racism, the normalizing effects of contemporary racial/racist discourses in multicultural Canada work to bind notions of difference and hierarchy into critical domains of culture, such that a moral, ethical, and intellectual leadership develops through a sort of manufactured consent (Hall, 1986, p. 19). The insidious nature of such discourses is that they function not only to inform the experience of the oppressor as rightfully dominant but also to inform the experience of the oppressed as rightfully subjugated. It is an exercise of power through discourse that effectively demands and manoeuvres us to be implicated in our own oppression. Henry et al. (1995) employ the theoretical framework of a "democratic racism" in order to problematize and interrogate the binary value sets that support everyday acceptance and rationalizations of racism relative to the general tenets of liberal democracy in Canadian society. These socio-political controls work to constitute and manage an entire underclass of vulnerable peoples under the guise of a multicultural meritocracy. Henry et al. (1995) posit that within the democratically racist society, inequality and oppression are not seen as systemically produced and reproduced (p. 51), but rather that the contemporary discourses of democracy and meritocracy work in concert to mute arguments that place race as a fundamental factor in the development of what has become an oppressive democratic sphere. By belying the truth of oppression while appearing consistent with the discourse of liberal democracy, these discourses ensure that those who experience racism and suffer its material/non-material consequences are seen as somehow responsible for their state of being. Democratic racism, therefore, permits people to maintain racist beliefs and behaviours while seeming to hold democratic values (Henry et al., 1995, p. 17).

In this paper, I engage in a critical anti-racist perspective that frames these stressors as part of a larger ongoing complex of oppression infusing every aspect of our lives and preventing us from claiming either space or

place in Canada's intensely racialized landscape. I make this distinction because, regardless of the impact on the individual, family, or community, the chronic and pervasive effects of racism are rarely taken up in the mainstream. In fact, I would argue that the discourse of multiculturalism actively obfuscates the reality of oppression in Canadian society, and prevents racialized peoples from exploring the boundaries to citizenship and belonging that have been systemically and psychologically placed on and infused into our experience. I propose that present definitions of what constitutes trauma must be reassessed and refocused to reflect how racialized peoples engage and explore these experiences of racism in Canada. The alternative is the resulting "conspiracy of silence" that works to frame the racialized experience as profoundly painful and damaging.

The traumatic potential in everyday Canadian spaces

As asserted by Dei (1996), contemporary anti-racist frameworks require non-reductionist, historically specific analyses that touch on the internal elements of the racial and racialized experience. In this sense, Dei maintains that anti-racist theory and practice must expand its epistemology to engage critical inquiries of both the systems that organize and constitute the lives of marginalized people, as well as the internal structures of identity that frame their dialogic relationship with that system.

Maslow's hierarchy of needs (1954), which has become a classic expression of the requirements for basic human survival and growth, frames a linear progression through which we might interrogate the movement of human psychological development. Importantly, while I do not adopt his theory as such, his work helps me to ask important questions. In framing his notion of "deficiency and growth needs," Maslow asserted that certain basic deficiency needs (e.g., physiological, safety, belongingness, and esteem) needed to be met before certain growth needs (e.g., cognitive, aesthetic, self-actualization, and transcendence) could be acted upon. Stepping outside normative Western structures that herald individual success over the development of communal relationships, I would follow Maslow's framework to assert that these categories help us interrogate what we mean by the term oppression, and how it applies to racialized peoples in Canada. After all, who most readily has access to these needs? While I am cognizant of the positivistic tone of Maslow's work, I am still convinced that there is great value in approaches that can adapt his framework into less structured and rigid terms. I find this framework to be extremely useful in that it opens space to discuss the basics of human needs in relation to the realities of socio-psychological deprivation and loss in supposedly safe space.

While psychology had traditionally paid little attention to the question of human potential, Maslow's work moves us to a position where we might begin to consider and support the psychological growth of people who are basically well-adjusted, but disenfranchised and persecuted. In a similar vein, I take on the importance of framing such deprivation within an analysis that speaks to the harsh realities of racial oppression without seeking to pathologize racialized families and communities. In other words, as a theoretical point of departure for this work, discussions of needs in this light must be understood relative to the overriding influence of social oppression rather than any failings intrinsic to individuals, families, or communities. After all, how do you frame a life that is built on fear, violation, and panic as common states of being without understanding that existence to be oppressive, traumatic, and requiring ameliorative efforts? Such dismissive and regulatory entry points function to pathologize the racially oppressed by implying that their problems are somehow self-inflicted, associated with cultural adjustment disorders.

As can be seen in the DSM-IV, it is not easy to conceptualize a notion of trauma that fits my purposes, because only very recently have traumatic events gained acceptance as existing within the range of common human experiences. In this light, I believe it to be fundamentally important that we rethink our engagements with "trauma" as being linked solely to "extreme situations" such as dispossession, imprisonment, slavery, and combat neuroses. Rather, I propose that the notion of "everyday racial trauma" must gain an acceptance in psychological and sociological inquiry, specifically because of its banality and ability to overwhelm, scar, and damage what Herman (1992) problematically terms "the ordinary human adaptations to life." Basic to Herman's conceptual framework is the recognition and validation that traumatic experiences carry the potential to produce profound and lasting *changes*[5] to physiology, emotion, cognition, and memory (p. 34). See for instance, Herman's recognition of the history of the *diagnostic mislabeling* of trauma:

The tendency to blame the victim has strongly influenced the direction of psychological inquiry.... While it is clear that ordinary, healthy people may become entrapped in prolonged abusive situations, it is equally clear that after their escape they are no longer ordinary or healthy. Chronic abuse causes serious psychological harm. (Herman, 1992, p. 116)

While her use of normative language can be problematic, I feel Herman's naming of "the traumatic" as profoundly painful and harmful to be most useful for this work. Perhaps the distinction that needs to be made is the re-

cognition that the traumatized are in fact reacting quite normally in light of their abnormal / unhealthy situation and environment—the definition of abnormality and unhealthy being reflective of the assertion that healthy environments are not intrinsically harmful or traumatic. In this respect, it is not the oppressed themselves that I would pathologize, but rather the socio-psychological environments in which they struggle.

Fundamentally, I think that to engage this question, we must address how we "live the trauma of the everyday." Because we are inundated by racialized / racist discourse in every moment and in every space of our experience in Canadian contexts, it is important that we reformulate our understandings of trauma to reflect our experience in such supposedly "safe" space. We must begin to question our need to constantly reaffirm our self-worth in order to resist those self-portraits of deviance and depravity that are embedded in our minds. We must begin to question the cumulative impact of being caught in the cycle of oppression and how that cycle of oppression constructs and constitutes internalized understandings of inferiority, limits, regulation and fear. In working to formulate a new diagnosis in "trauma theory," I work from Herman's notion of complex trauma to engage the various affective, psychological, intrapsychic, and physiological reactions to the traumatic. For the purposes of this work, I conceptualize trauma in relation to the silent ruptures and conspiracies of race that both systematically and consistently assault the oppressed in *every* moment of the everyday experience. Like Herman's discussion of prolonged and repeated trauma as only occurring in circumstances of captivity and within other regulated bodies of power and difference, I find it most useful to discuss the "everyday racialized experience" as a circumstance of captivity. It is within this general conceptualization of racial trauma that I engage this work, and specifically, it is through these engagements that I take up the notion of racial trauma as social pathology in Canadian spaces.

Similar to the notion of colonial pathology, I engage these tensions to move beyond traditional Western notions of pathology as strictly biological and genetic, to recognize the physiological, psychological, and intrapsychic health problems experienced by racialized peoples who endure experiences of subordination, subjugation, and oppression. According to the *Comprehensive Textbook of Psychiatry*, feelings of intense fear, helplessness, loss of control and threat of annihilation are the common denominators of psychological trauma (cited in Herman, 1992, p. 33). Similarly, in relation to the impacts on developmental child psychology, Terr (1990) asserted that traumatic experiences have the potential to inflict significant and permanent psychic scars that would interfere with, and negatively impact, a child's learned social behaviours and relationships. Herman's discussion of "control

loss" and Terr's discussions of "psychic scars" speak to the importance of the psychological-physiological-intrapsychic interplay that so commonly frames the traumatic—it is an interplay that stands as fundamental in my thinking on these issues. It crucially important to tease out the connective tissue that runs between such psychological aspects of racialized experience and those physiological effects that speak to racism's traumatic nature. As suggested by Kardiner and Spiegel (1947) in their study of First World War veterans and stress related illness, "the nucleus of the [traumatic] neurosis is *physioneurosis*" (p. 13).

I am pointed in my use of Kardiner and Spiegel's term physioneurosis because it speaks directly to our physical responses to trauma, and in their contention that physiological-biological systems commonly function in preparedness for the reoccurrence of the traumatic events, they address our basic instincts for self-preservation and survival. We must also recognize that, once a person is traumatized, regardless of the probability of the event's reoccurrence, the invasive and traumatic nature of the experience will often push the victim into a state of permanent alert. This state of "hyperarousal," one of the first symptoms of PTSD as put forth by Herman (1992), manifests itself in several physiological ways: (a) extraordinarily sensitive and disproportionate responses to situations or moments that are interpreted to be similar to the traumatic event; (b) a pronounced shock reflex; and (c) impaired sleep (p. 35). Like Lewis (1998), I feel that framing the everyday lived experience of abuse through the metaphor of captivity carries not only powerful personal importance for the traumatized, but penetrative social resonances as well. It is important to focus on the totalitarian and coercive nature of racially oppressive environments in that it might allow victims of abuse to look beyond notions of individual pathology to a more critical notion of social pathology. Herman (1992) asserts that the most powerful determinant of psychological harm is the character of the trauma itself in direct relation to the number of people affected and/or the intensity and duration of harm (p. 57). How, then, do we determine the impact of racial trauma in Western contexts, when it extends to all racially marginalized peoples who are "held" for the entirety of their lives in a state of oppressive captivity? The notion is deeply disturbing in theoretical terms, but when placed within the context of real people's lived experiences, the disturbing quality grows into almost unfathomable, unnameable levels.

Reflecting P. H. Collins's (1990) argument that ideologies that objectify Black women are allowed to flourish in schools, communities, corporations, and other socio-political sites, I recognize the importance of engaging the pathological realities of trauma that stem from such ideological and discursive relations. The understandings of "self and world—self in relation to

world" that circulate in these spheres become produced, reconstituted and presented as common-sense knowledge that frames the oppressor and oppressed alike. In discussing the necessity to pathologize everyday social space in racially oppressive terms, it is important to critically address and interrogate how various bodies are positioned and constructed relative to the White normalizing gaze. To this end, I am drawn to this dialogue with Bharthi[6] because it directly reflects how the mind, body, spirit, and emotion of racialized peoples are tied into notions of deviance and depravity.

Bharthi: So this teacher pulls me out of class and basically tells my parents that I'm a drug addict and a slut. I had never done drugs in my life. I had never kissed anyone in my life, and completely freaked my parents out.

Leeno: Why did she do that?

Bharthi: Because I was a shit disturber, and I was in the cool crowd, and there were people who did drugs and were starting to fool around.

Leeno: Did she pick out the rest of them and do that, too?

Bharthi: No. And what she said to me when she pulled me aside (and I remember not telling any of my friends that she said this, because it made me uncomfortable), and it was years later before I realized how racist it was, and why I kept it silent. That she pulled me out and said, "It's not your fault, it's just the way you are. There's something about you that's so exotic. You move like an Indian dancer and that's why boys pay so much attention to you. I look back at that now and I'm like "Fuck, I wish I could find her."

Particularly in this case, as I draw from Stasiulis's (1990) forceful interrogations into sexuality and race to reflect on how "matter of factly" Bharthi's teacher defines her by her exoticism and immorality, I must reflect on the unique ways in which race and gender converge in this moment. We see here that images of female sexuality across racial divides are fundamentally polarized in relation to the romanticized image of the pure, passive, and sexually repressed White woman. Importantly, I would mention that while images of Black, Asian, and South Asian femininity are all held up to varying images and understandings, they are all ultimately placed in contrast to the White ideal, a reality that Bharthi in her silence and discomfort learned all too well. So how is her silence and discomfort interpreted by others? Does the impact of this moment manifest itself in other ways and in other spaces?

Just as is reflected in the above dialogue, pain, emotional dissonance, and intrapsychic struggle are the constants that circumscribe our lives. After all, what options are left to us within racialized/racist contexts? Racially minoritized children who find themselves rejected, attacked, and isolated on a regular basis have little recourse but to react, but that defensive reaction most

commonly arises in one of two forms: hostility or passivity, and neither is an effective strategy. Hostile reactions always serve to pathologize and define the victims of violence as angry, bad, aggressive, and dysfunctional, while passive reactions function to internalize the violence until they are "robbed of confidence and motivation [and] withdraw into moroseness, fantasy and fear" (Delzado, 1995, p. 164). The racial traumas of the everyday illustrate quite clearly that to be "of colour" is to "know" violation and violence. So as we work to integrate our understanding of this complex system of reactions within the dialectic of mind-body-spirit in relation to social spaces, we must be wary of the tendency to diagnose and pathologize within orthodox psychiatric and psychological frameworks.

This interrogation of the linkages between social process and personal experience is perhaps one of the most significant aspects of this work in that it is within this connective tissue that we will engage the notion of "colonial pathologies" as an "externalized" antecedent to the problem of racial trauma. Waldron (2002) rewrites the traditional usage of pathology to look beyond mental health problems as connected to biological or genetic dysfunction, and toward a more socially relevant and contextualized concept that links mental illness to social dysfunction and the realities of living within oppressive spaces (p. 79). It is a conceptualization of social pathology that speaks to how the oppressed are constituted through daily experiences of terror, intermittent reward, isolation, and enforced dependency in ways that produce a submissive and compliant prisoner of discourse and power. This psychological domination takes place in the most banal moments in everyday social spaces:

Magda: In elementary school, I don't know what grade. Grade three maybe ... seven or eight years old. Like I said, it was a White community, but there was a Native girl, there was me, and I think there was a Chinese girl (both of them ended up moving within a year), so it was just me again. So I remember in school, the Native girl was picked on. I don't remember if it was because she was Native or because she was poor, whatever it was ... so that cloud is still there ... but I just remember that there were several instances where they picked on her because of her Brown skin. And me being the "other" one in the classroom, or the playground ... hearing it and ... I mean, I have brown skin too but they weren't directing it at me. I mean, I was this popular, nice quiet girl. So it wasn't directed at me, but ... I remember me not speaking up for her, not saying anything. And of the instances that I remember, I think that happened every time. Yeah, with me being able to decide that I didn't want to be teased either.

Leeno: Do you think of that inaction now?

Magda: Not in that particular instance, but other instances like that? Definitely.

In looking at this dialogue with Magda,[7] I am particularly drawn to her self-positioning as a nice, popular, and quiet girl. She places herself as popular, but I would contend that she recognizes that status as "popularity to a point." It is a carefully managed and regulated social position that she is "allowed" to enjoy and she clearly recognizes the social codes that enable her to retain that relative "state of grace"—Don't be too loud or they'll find you—If you're not nice enough, you'll be next. Magda is clearly aware that she is silently complicit in the situation, and even mentions that "I didn't want to be teased either." What I find to be most compelling is the focus she places on that silence: "I remember me not speaking up for her, not saying anything. And of the instances that I remember, I think that happened every time." There is a stark discomfort that frames Magda's words as she describes her option to stay silent in the face of the Native girl's suffering.

This type of internalized guilt is commonly endured by the oppressed because moments of complete surrender are "par for the course" in the game of psychological domination. In fact, the process of psychological domination generally culminates when the victim is forced to violate her personal morality and principles and to betray her basic human attachments. Herman (1992) contends that such intimate and internalized betrayals are the most destructive of all coercive techniques in that the victim who has succumbed to her psychological torture learns to loathe herself and is truly "broken" because (whether under duress or not) she has participated in the sacrifice of others (p. 83). With that in mind, we can see that as Magda's social schema seems built on the notion of passing under the radar of her oppressors, her fear made her a target, her compliance gained her tentative freedoms, the salience of skin colour marked and "otherized" her without hope of escape, and her dependence on those "relative freedoms" added to her desperation and compliance. All of those factors speak to her personal adaptive struggles in the moment and in that oppressive space. Another very similar example of this type of regulated complicity was shared through Andaya's[8] narrative of silence and shame:

Andaya: She was the school bully. And my friend was just the gentlest creature. She used to wait for us and it was just like clockwork. She would wait around the corner, and we don't even know why she would wait because all of her friends were gone but she would wait. And then she would tease her and tease her and tease her….

Leeno: Tease her how?

Andaya: Oh, horrible stuff. Like you smell, don't you smell. Pakis smell…. And I actually felt really bad about it because I've always felt that I didn't do anything. That's what I felt bad about.

Leeno: How exactly were you an actor in those moments? What did you do or not do?

Andaya: Well, how I understood it was that if I didn't agree with her, and we didn't agree with her, it would go on. So you had to sort of just go, "Yeah, yeah, yeah." Because there were days that it would go longer, and there were days it just felt like it would go on forever, but if you just went "Yeah, yeah, yeah." She would just … I don't know how we would get away from her, but we would…. It's funny, because I've thought about this incident a lot, and I've thought that when we think about things that happen directly to us that's one thing. I don't know, maybe it's my sense of social justice, but this hurt me more because I didn't do anything.

The guilt expressed in Magda's narrative is also reflected in Andaya's admission of intense shame in relation to her silence and refusal to speak out in defence of a friend. These silences are concessions that we must make to forestall the ever-present reality of further trauma. However, when Magda and Andaya "broke" and voluntarily watched their respective incidences in silence, they did more than internalize the everyday markers of weakness and "otherness" that inscribed their soul. They also absorbed the guilt over their inaction, as well as the humiliation of "knowing" that their wills had been broken. It is important that we recognize that these "moments" are in fact happening directly to us. We need not be principal actors in the interaction to play an important role within it. As their sense of autonomy ruptured, so too did their sense of self as good and trustworthy. As a long-term effect, the question Why? will undoubtedly re-emerge in each re-enacted "moment" as painful, harmful, and intrusive memories.

Fanon (1963) asserted that colonial domination and oppression inflicted such abuse on the colonized personality that the resulting harms would invariably manifest themselves as profound sensitivity, the erosion of self-worth and self-respect, and ultimately mental pathology. In addressing Fanon's concerns, I draw from my dialogue with Ayo[9] to reflect on the cumulative impact of such psychological burdens. Ayo recalled her violent reaction to her first racist experience, and—problematically—she was the only one in the room who recognized it to be a violent and violating moment:

Ayo: It was in preschool and this girl wouldn't let me play with her…we had "show and tell" and she brought her toy and she wouldn't let me play with it. She let everybody else play with it and she wouldn't let me play with it. So I bit her and took like skin off. There was like blood and I got sent home. And I remember it because my family likes to relive this moment. And I remember it because I was really frustrated because she was letting everyone play with that thing except for me. Her name was Paulette…. I'll never forget that kid's name.

Leeno: How old were you at this point? You were like four.

Ayo: Yeah. It's so vivid … that frustration … and I bit her and drew blood. They

had to call my mom to come and take me out of the daycare … so I was
banned from daycare.

Leeno :   So in this case there were no words exchanged in terms of racist words.
Just the refusal to let you play with the toy.

Ayo :   Yeah. Yes, I was a violent child.

She recognized this to be a racial / racist incident, so as a child her behav-
ioural response to the emotionally disruptive action appears to all those out-
side her oppressed vantage point (including the staff, who banned her, and
her family, who rebuke her) to be excessive and extraordinarily sensitive for
the immediate situation. As suggested by Fanon in relation to mental path-
ology, this profound sensitivity is an important point that needs to be ad-
dressed. Garretson (1993) shows that, along with hallucinations, delusions,
and suspiciousness, inappropriate (or seemingly inappropriate) affect often
leads to the most frequent misdiagnosis of "mental illness" among African
Americans. Moreover, she also maintains that clinicians are often quick to
label such people as schizophrenic due to their unfamiliarity with the cul-
tural / racial contexts in which such symptoms arise (p. 120). After all, what did
Ayo's sudden outburst of violence do for her internal evaluations of self?
How deeply ingrained does the external definition as an over-sensitive, unpre-
dictable and "violent" child become internalized in her self-concept?

  Fernando et al. (1998) contend that the experience of racism in all of its
various facets will often result in social disconnection, alienation, and ulti-
mately the development of a spiritual void in the oppressed (p. 227). Similarly,
Fanon (1963), in his assertion that colonialism would inevitably produce psy-
chiatric and behavioural problems among the colonized, speaks to the real-
ities of racism as a "psychological assault" on peoples of colour and their
overall sense of self. I contend that these persistent psychic and intrapsy-
chic injuries and traumas will commonly manifest as mental health problems
among racialized peoples who suffer from feelings of subordination, subju-
gation, and oppression within racially oppressive societies (p. 130). With
racialized realities in mind, it becomes all the more important that we take
these considerations of "colonial pathology" into account to articulate an
oppositional praxis.

Some concluding thoughts

In the preceding pages, I have argued in favour of developing a new diagno-
sis in "traumatic theory" that recognizes and attends to the realities of a
racialized existence in everyday Canadian spaces. The significant roles played
by racism and other intersecting forms of oppression must be addressed if we

are to begin distinguishing between mental health issues that are socially contextual and those that are internal to the individual. With these concerns in mind, I contend that new definitions and strategies are necessary because the exploration of such experiences is rarely undertaken unless they are deemed important by those with power and privilege. As Wellman (1977) reminds us, "a paradox of White consciousness is the ability not to see what is very salient." These omissions beg the question: What about trauma as experienced by migrant peoples and the various "others" whose histories are touched by neither physical captivity nor forced relocation? After all, we must not forget that the roots of North American racism were established long before the advent of slavery in the antebellum South. So what about trauma as experienced by those whose everyday lives are marked, muted, and managed through a socially constructed "prison of the mind"? What about those whose experiences are framed in Diaspora rather than dispersion?[10] What about the everyday "diasporic" experiences of alienation and oppression as faced by those peoples who have voluntarily resettled to "new" hostlands?[11]

As asserted by Delgado (1995), we must recognize that colour acts as a signifier of both inferiority and privilege that becomes internalized in the individual and passed on to future generations. In this light, I assert that the psychological trauma of racism cannot be relegated to any one series of events or moments. Rather, it must be considered relative to the pervasive and expansive socio-historical contexts of racial formation and oppression as developed to date in relation to the Canadian socio-historical-cultural context as a whole. Simply put, there is no safe space for peoples of colour in Canada. The politics of this work speak specifically to the need for theory and practice to address the central dialectic of racial trauma, and the conflict between the need to deny horrible events and the need to proclaim them aloud. It is only after the truth is recognized that the oppressed can begin the process of healing. The alternative is a silence that invariably returns in symptom rather than in verbal narrative (Herman, 1992, pp. 1–33).

As asserted by Danieli (1998), societal reactions have a profound effect on how survivors integrate their traumatic experiences and coping mechanisms into everyday life, and particularly within "moments" that are reflective or reminiscent of the initial trauma (p. 4). But, again, these societal reactions are part and parcel of oppressive formations that function to blind and constitute both oppressed and oppressor alike. In relation to the scripted interactions that take place in these "moments," racialized people's disciplined responses in the face of racism speak to several different dynamics. We cannot overlook the problematics of "internalization" that plague the oppressed as we learn to see ourselves through our oppressor's eyes, and see them as they see themselves.

We exist *within* a traumatic event that functions as a pre-present-post framework for our lives. Moreover, unlike the soldier, who, removed from the environment of stress, finds his/her subjective anxiety receding, the racially oppressed never find that panacea where the object of their fear is forever kept from them. Our state of anxiety always remains reflective of hyperarousal because we must always live within an oppressive milieu. We will always be "too sensitive" even if we don't admit it. Our psychological and physiological normativity is based in anxiety, fear, and a self-preservational instinct, so we must engage a fundamentally proactive and political pedagogy if we are ever to rewrite the banality of trauma in our lives. By this, I mean to say that because traumatic event(s) reoccur throughout our lives and in almost every social space, our ability to heal or "move on" either by developing resistance strategies or by removing ourselves from the temporal space and place of specific events is never a realistic option for us. However, that does not mean that the pain, oppression, and trauma of racism must be a fundamental aspect of our lives, or the lives of our future generations.

While the Canadian landscape is physically evolving into a reflection of the world community, the lived reality of these spaces continues to be cemented in forms and functions that produce and reproduce power and privilege as set within White Eurocentric frameworks. Moreover, the racial meanings embedded in the socio-historical contexts of Canadian society work to normalize Whiteness and the hegemonic social and spatial order in spite of the physical changes taking place. That being said, I firmly believe that the "social pathology" of these everyday spaces must continue to be explored if we are to address "racial trauma" as a lived reality that generally arises in contrast to, but alongside, the imagined and/or physical reality of Canadian social spaces as inclusive, equitable, and safe. It is my hope that these discussions will open new avenues through which to rethink, resist, and reform our experience of racism in the Canadian context.

Acknowledgements

Notes

1 In an earlier review of this paper, it was suggested that my use of the descriptive "White woman" in the following contexts ran the risk of oversimplifying the complex nature of identity and individual positionality. The reviewer suggested that:

the woman is presented as ignorant and vindictive but the only subjectivity she is permitted is that of the generic "White woman." Even the author's girlfriend is not allowed any richer identity; despite the intersubjective relations they shared, she too is allowed to be only a "White woman." What the author is doing here is precisely the act of othering and racialization that is condemned in the rest of the paper.

I think that it is important to speak directly to this critique because, while we do occupy multiple subject positions, the contextuality of a given space and time will frame which positionalities we engage in the moment. The shifting of positionality can be dynamic, and that fluctuation between positions speaks to the complexity and multiplicity of the dialectic self that is constructed in normative Western contexts. For me, a racist is not defined through biology, but in philosophical / discursive / social / material / linguistic terms, and so I would not suggest that white skin colour and privilege should be immediately equated with racism. Rather than presuming some subjects to always / already be racist, my use of the term "White" to frame the women in this narrative reflects my assessment of the role played by these specific subjects in this specific moment. This is a political stance. It is a stance that is necessary if we are to name the racist moment as such. If we can name the moment, then we must not be afraid to use the language to name individuals or groups who occupy those moments as racist / privileged / oppressor, and by the same token, we must be able to frame them relative to the positionality through which they act as oppressive in that space. For me, positioning is strategic and pointed, and cannot be divorced from the politics of resistance. That being said, relative to the positioning of the "White women" in this narrative, I "draw the line" at those basic positions that accessed the hegemonic systems and structures that served to empower them as oppressor while marginalizing and disciplining us as oppressed.

2 Like Bohm (1984), I interpret "consciousness" as a filter that effectively moulds the boundaries of our experiential and embodied perceptions relative to normative social paradigms and deep-seated assumptions about self and world. I engage the notion of consciousness in specific relation to how our identity subtly shapes and is shaped by our experiential "awareness' / perception of, and interaction with, the world. See D. Bohm, *Causality and Chance in Modern Physics* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984), first published in 1957.

3 Raphael, Swan, and Martinek (1998) address the legacy of colonialism relative to the traumas of Australian Aboriginal peoples, much as Cross (1998) does relative to African Americans and as Duran, Duran, Brave Heart, and Yellow Horse-Davis (1998) do in relation to North American Aboriginal peoples: see Y. Danieli, ed., *International Handbook of Multigenerational Legacies of Trauma* (New York: Plenum [1998]).

4 Darren Yourk, *Toronto police chief slams racial profiling report.* (*Globe and Mail*, December 9, 2003 [online update]).

5 I have placed the word "changes" in italics to emphasize Herman's problematic assumption that "the traumatic" intrudes on a "once normal life." As I will interrogate explore in this article, the experience of racism is such that no single event necessarily affects such changes in the oppressed. Rather, the insidious nature of racial trauma is most often played out in its ability to circumscribe the very nature of "normal life" for the racially oppressed.

6 Bharthi identified as a South Asian in terms of race, as a North Indian with respect to ethnicity, and as a Canadian in relation to nationality. Raised in Toronto, in a family that was both extremely political and fiercely active in the community, Bharthi grew up in a particularly anti-racist environment. Interestingly, even though she never engaged anti-racism through a university education, her anti-racist analysis is quite scholarly and extensive, a product, she asserts, of discussions with her highly politicized family and of her journey through feminist studies. Bharthi presently works as a medical practitioner but also does grassroots anti-racist education within her field.

7 Magda is a Black woman who grew up in a small rural White community with very little contact with other Black people outside her immediate family. In light of her immersion in that small White community, her parents arranged for her to attend Black community organizations in the hopes of helping her develop a sense of community that would not exclude her Blackness. She credits much of her present positive sense of self to her parents and their effort to support her positive image of Blackness in the face of overwhelming Whiteness.

8 Andaya is a South Asian woman who, like several of the other study participants, has a very politicized and critical anti-racist ontology. Andaya, born in Punjab but raised in Toronto, began to develop her critical anti-racist consciousness as a teenager. She is active in her community, and feels that for her, doing anti-racist work, requires a critical dedication to both personal and social change. However, she clearly establishes that space and place are issues that are intrinsically tied to the work she can and cannot do.

9 Ayo is a Black woman who lived in eastern Canada until the age of seventeen. Having moved to Ontario in order to attend university (she completed a master's degree, focusing on critical pedagogy and cultural studies), Ayo asserts that her formative years on the Coast were framed by "omissions" and a clear silencing of issues surrounding race. Ayo still finds it intensely difficult to address and cope with her experiences of racism as a child. In her adult life, as an anti-racist activist, she still experiences intrusive memories that trigger various trauma-related responses, the most overt being physical responses of paralysis and hyperventilation.

10 As diaspora and diasporic experience play an important part in this work, it is vital that we understand the context in which it is employed here. Confusion arises in much current discourse on diaspora because of the various meanings assigned to the word. Generally speaking, I interpret and engage the notion of diaspora as any community of individuals living outside their homeland and who identify themselves in some way with the state or peoples of that homeland. See, F. Riggs, *Diasporas: Some conceptual considerations* (University of Hawaii website).

11 Importantly, homeland is used here in reference not only to a migrant's region or country of origin but also to those places with which migrants identify themselves. Relatively, I use hostland in reference to the nation or region in which such migrants presently reside.

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