Chapter 1

The Black Presence in Canada

A Multidisciplinary Perspective

> *If you can learn a simple trick, Scout, you'll get along a lot better with all kinds of folks. You never really understand a person until you consider things from his point of view… until you climb into his skin and walk around in it.* — Atticus advising his daughter, Scout, in Harper Lee's *To Kill a Mockingbird* (1960: 30)

Canada, like most immigrant-receiving nations of the West, is home to many visible minorities, some of whom have come only recently, while others, including the African diaspora, have a long history in this country. In 2001, some 13 percent of the Canadian population belonged to a visible minority group; by 2006, this had increased to 16 percent (Statistics Canada 2008a). It is estimated that by 2017, roughly one in every five people in Canada could be a visible minority (Statistics Canada 2005). Obviously, the percentage increase in the size of visible minority immigrants entails a concomitant decrease in the share of immigrants from "traditional sources" such as the United Kingdom, Western Europe, and the United States. Unsurprisingly, this demographical shift has made ethnicity and race in Canada such a battleground for clashing opinions and social tensions that even the most cursory observer can hardly ignore it. "Ethnicity," write Berry and Laponce (1994: 3), "is likely to be to the twenty-first century what class was to the twentieth — a major source of social and political conflict."

Prior to the 1960s, non-Whites, notably Chinese, East Indians, and Blacks, were brought to Canada mainly to perform the hard, dirty, hazardous, and low-paying jobs (e.g., coal mining, railroad construction, and farm clearing) that White Canadians generally did not want to perform. Most of these immigrants worked as indentured labourers, enduring race-related abuses and harassment at the hands of White Canadians. Blacks and Aboriginal people were subjected even to slavery. Indeed, Canada was built on the backs of ethnoracial minorities, most of whom "were welcomed when they came to perform hard and dirty work, [but] were often rejected when those duties were completed, or when economic recessions occurred and it appeared they were taking jobs away from White Canadians" (Head 1984: 8).

Many Canadians are reluctant to admit that racial oppression and inferiorization exist/persist in this country. As Canadians, we have the tendency not only to ignore our racist past, but also to dismiss any contemporary racial incidence as nothing but aberration, or the work of "few bad apples" (Henry and Tator 2006) in an essentially peaceful, tolerant, charitable, and egalitarian nation. For the most part, we believe that we are superior to countries like the United Kingdom and the United States, which are openly struggling with racial problems (Boyko 1998: 16).

Vic Satzewich (1998: 11) writes that "one of our most enduring Canadian national myths is that there is less racism here than in the United States." However, historical records and contemporary comparative studies suggest that, when it comes to the treatment of racial minorities, Canada has a disreputable past and present (Henry and Tator 2006; Nakhaie 2006; Tanovich 2006; Bolaria and Li 1988; Head 1984). After a thorough empirical comparison of racial prejudice and discrimination in the United States and Canada — using variables such as overt racism and negative racial stereotypes, anti-Semitism, social distance, employment discrimination, and government action against discrimination — Reitz and Breton (1998: 65) concluded that "despite the historical differences between race relations in Canada and race relations in the United States, Canadians and Americans are roughly similar in their attitudes and behaviours toward racial minorities."

Admittedly, some previous studies also point to the contrary. For instance, in *Continental Divide* (1989), Lipset notes that Canadians are generally more tolerant of ethnoracial minorities than Americans. In a similar vein, Macionis and Gerber (1999: 327) argue: "The fact that Toronto, in a short period of time, went from being a largely Anglo-Saxon Protestant city to one with a substantial immigrant and visible-minority component without major violence or disruptions suggests a fair degree of social tolerance."

However, isn't the assertion that Toronto has not experienced any major race-based riots or disruptions problematic, considering the racial clashes that have erupted between Toronto's Black community and the police, culminating in the formation of the Stephen Lewis Commission of Inquiry?[1] Even that aside, isn't the argument that there have not been major racial disruptions in Toronto, therefore Canada (or Toronto) is a tolerant society logically specious? Can't one attribute the "absence" of major racial disruptions in Canada or Toronto to factors other than our presumed tolerance? Indeed, the "absence" of major racial distortions could be because ethnoracial minorities (notably, Blacks) are not politically well-organized; or because minorities are afraid of the possible repercussions, in terms of public backlash, media lashing, and police brutality; or because minorities have been oppressed to the extent that they cannot bear the financial burden of organizing a major resistance; or, worse still, because they are too oppressed to even fathom the thought

of a successful resistance. Who amongst us would deny that raw, unalloyed sense of alienation, or what post-colonial theorists might call extreme alterity, undermines social mobilization.

Several studies show that non-Whites are routinely subjected to discriminatory practices in many spheres of Canadian life, including education (Dei 2005; Solomon 1992), housing (Teixeira 2006; Murdie 2003), law enforcement (Tanovich 2006; Tator and Henry 2006; Aylward 1999), and employment (Hum and Simpson 2007; Nakhaie 2006). Perhaps, nowhere do minorities face more discrimination than in the arena of employment. We thus find Bolaria and Li (1988: 22) asserting decades ago that racial problems basically are the consequences of a "racial encounter predicated by exploitation of labour and resources."

Research indicates that even when qualifications are equal, the incomes of visible minorities are generally lower than those of their White counterparts (Nakhaie 2006; Laryea and Hayfron 2005). In his thought-provoking paper "The Market Value and Social Value of Race," Peter Li (1998: 115) made a twofold observation in this regard: first, there is a social hierarchy of races in Canada; and second, there is race-based disparity in earnings in the Canadian job market, "with those of European origin having higher earnings than non-White Canadians" who are equally qualified. Characteristically, Li (1998: 115) was able to support these claims with persuasive empirical evidence.

Because of their high visibility and the legacy of slavery, Blacks are stigmatized and discriminated against in a fashion that drastically undermines their social and economic status in Canada (Mensah and Firang 2007; Christensen and Weinfeld 1993). Undoubtedly, other visible minorities (e.g., East Indians and Chinese) continue to face racial denigration and discrimination; indeed, their much-touted socio-economic ascent in Canada has never been easy. But their racial problems, *arguably,*[2] pale in comparison to the wide-ranging exploitation and dehumanization suffered by Blacks throughout the history of Canada. And, of course, the fact that "Blacks" often serve as the discursive polar opposite of "Whites" — not only in the ephemeral chromatological sense, but also in terms of real-life political economy — undermines the positionality of Blacks in *the order of things* in Canada. Not surprisingly, the available Canadian literature on social distance usually situates Blacks at the bottom of the social hierarchy of acceptance (Moghaddam et al. 1994; Berry, Kalin and Taylor 1977).

Even though the history of Blacks in Canada can be traced to the seventeenth century, it was only after the introduction of the point system in 1967 that they began to arrive in Canada in significant numbers. The current Black population in Canada is highly heterogeneous. It includes the Canadian-born descendants of those who came through the slave trade, the descendants of those who migrated from the United States during and

after the Civil War, and Blacks who immigrated from Caribbean, African, and other countries in recent decades (Tettey and Puplampu 2005; Mensah 2005). Thus, Canadian Blacks have a wide range of socio-economic, linguistic, and cultural backgrounds. Consequently, any analysis that treats them as a homogenous group is inherently flawed. The vast majority of Black Canadians lives in metropolitan centres such as Toronto, Montreal, Ottawa-Hull, Halifax, and Vancouver (Mensah 2005). And, contrary to popular belief, Black Canadians have educational attainments that are comparable to those of other Canadians (Nakhaie 2006: 26–27; Macionis and Gerber 1999: 339; Christensen and Weinfeld 1993: 31). Notwithstanding the immense heterogeneity, Black Canadians invariably share one thing in common: the injuries and dehumanization of skin-colour racism in Canada.

While there is a growing body of literature on the experiences and social conditions of ethnoracial minorities, such as Chinese, East Indians, and Aboriginal people, until quite recently, very little specific, sustained, and systematic studies have been published on the Black presence in Canada. Most of the earlier studies on the Canadian ethnic mosaic, including the pioneering work of John Porter (1965), either ignore the case of Blacks entirely or give it peripheral attention. Blacks were usually treated as a mere insightful accessory by lumping them into the ambiguous category of "others."[3] In fact, until the 1996 census, even the number of Black Canadians was always in doubt due to gaps in official counts. Possible reasons for the lack of research on Black Canadians are several. For instance, some observers (e.g., Christensen and Weinfeld 1993) attribute the ironic "obscurity" of Blacks in Canadian research (despite their high visibility) to the lack of a charismatic Black leader in Canada. Others (e.g., Krauter and Davis 1978) have long attributed the lacuna to the smallness of the Canadian Black population — and, as a corollary, to the relative dearth of seasoned Black researchers to write their own stories. Considering that any analysis of Blacks inevitably evokes the racist character of Canadian society, something many scholars, especially those of the dominant group, are uncomfortable with, one can argue that this omission is probably strategic. Whatever the *raison d'être* may be, the dearth of research on Blacks is clearly a serious lapse, since race continues to be a crucial factor in structuring inequality in Canada (Li 1998).

Adding some nuance to this discussion in the interest of scholarly balance entails a tacit acknowledgment of some noteworthy studies that have come out since the publication of the first edition of *Black Canadians* in 2002. These works include Carol Tator and Frances Henry's *Racial Profiling in Canada* (2006); Grace-Edward Galabuzi's *Canada's Economic Apartheid* (2006); David Tanovich's *The Colour of Justice* (2006); and Wisdon Tettey and Korbla Puplampu's (2005) *The African Diaspora in Canada* (2005). That these studies have added useful insights and prescience to our understanding of the

Black presence in Canada is undeniable, but so is the need for a comprehensive text on Blacks from a multidisciplinary perspective. At present, there remain insufficient empirically and theoretically grounded analyses on Blacks in Canada — with the notable exception of Tettey and Puplampu's edited volume (2005) — to construct a detailed portrait of Blacks in contemporary Canada.

Furthermore, sociological and historical analyses have so successfully dominated the field that the most notable works project an image of the Black presence in Canada that seems to exist on "the head of a pin," with no spatial dimensions whatsoever. The relative lack of geographical analysis is particularly alarming in light of Foucault's paradigmatic declaration that "the present epoch will perhaps be above all the epoch of space. We are in the epoch of simultaneity; we are in the epoch of juxtaposition, the epoch of near and far, of the side-by-side, of the disperse" (1986: 22). And who can forget John Berger's (1974: 40) astute observation that "prophesy now involves a geographical rather than historical projection: it is space not time that hides consequence from us?"

Objective of the Book

This book examines the history, experiences, and socio-economic conditions of Black Canadians from a multidisciplinary perspective. Its main objective is to explore the incorporation of Blacks into Canadian society from the standpoint of their differential access to resources and rewards. A wide range of topics, including the history of Blacks, the spatial distribution of Blacks, and the involvements of Blacks in the Canadian labour market and in Canadian sports, is examined. The arguments and methodologies deployed cut across several academic disciplines (e.g., sociology, geography, economics, political economy, cultural studies, and philosophy), and as a corollary, a variety of theoretical paradigms (e.g., postmodernism, post-structuralism, Marxism, and post-colonial discourse) inform the discussions.

The book seeks to serve as a reference for teachers, students, and others who wish to know more about the Canadian component of the African diaspora in North America. Some arguments made in the book may be uncongenial for those with little appetite for pointed, provocative analysis from the standpoint of Blacks. At the same time, those with genuine interest in venturing beyond established orthodoxies and simplistic solutions to the contentious ethnoracial issues facing Canada will find the book to be worthy of close attention. To deny that, over the years, Canada has made remarkable progress towards racial equality and the settlement of immigrants and refugees from around the world is to refute an evident truth.[4] Still, there remains work to be done, and only a candid acknowledgement of our racist past and present can help alleviate the racism that continues to plague Canadian society.

Empirical and Theoretical Considerations

Social scientists have long been embroiled in epistemological debates over the relative veracity of empiricist, as against humanist, research methodologies. Whereas empiricists, following the tenets of positivism, give primacy to quantitative techniques — and their attendant reliance on the scientific method and statistical data for hypothesis testing — humanists, drawing insights from phenomenology, existentialism, idealism, and kindred philosophies, prefer qualitative techniques, entailing narratives, testimonials, ethnography, story-telling, in-depth interviews, and focus group discussions for their data procurement and analysis.

Hard-line empiricists chastise qualitative data, especially those emanating from narratives, as merely anecdotal, subjective, unscientific, or, at the very least, lacking scientific rigour, as they are often based on small, unrandomized samples with no basis for statistical "representativeness." In a provocative denunciation of the use of qualitative data in critical race studies, Richard Posner noted: "Rather than marshal logical arguments and empirical data, critical race theorists tell stories…. By repudiating reasoned argumentation, the storytellers reinforced stereotypes about the intellectual capacities of non-whites"[5] (cited in Tator and Henry 2006: 120).

For their part, humanist researchers chide positivists for being too mechanical and conducting research with little attention to human agency and subjectivity, while indulging in a false sense of objectivity, or playing the "God-trick" (Haraway 1991). What, then, is the best way to proceed in a research like this? What type of dataset would best capture the conditions of Blacks in Canada in a way that limits both the reality and perception of bias, and embraces human agency and intellectual rigour?

The bulk of the data for this book is quantitative, procured mainly from the *Census of Canada* and the *Historical Statistics of Canada,* published by Statistics Canada, and also from the *Immigration Statistics of Canada,* compiled by Citizenship and Immigration Canada. In addition to having a reasonable amount of empirical data on Blacks, the reliability of data from these government sources is almost beyond dispute. The book relies only minimally on narratives and experiential data, not out of any abhorrence for qualitative data, but simply because qualitative data are already common in a number of studies on race and racism in Canada, including Dei (2007), Tator and Henry (2006), Ighodaro (2006), Tanovich (2006), Okeke-Ihejirika and Spitzer (2005), and Yesufu (2005).

In any case, renowned social research methodologists (e.g., Singleton and Straits 2005; Creswell 2003; Babbie 2001) now acknowledge the value of quantitative, qualitative and mixed methods (or the so-called Q-squared approach) in social research. Still, it would be naïve to deny that while some critics may be quick to dismiss testimonial and narratives, especially from

Blacks on racism, they would be less inclined to do likewise to quantitative data on the same issue, especially when such data emanate from a source such as Statistics Canada.

At the same time, despite the prevalent "scientism," or the bias favouring the scientific method and quantitative techniques in social research, we must note that this approach has its own limitations. As Nassim Taleb skilfully demonstrates in his masterpiece, *The Black Swan* (2008), "a series of corroborative facts [and statistics] is not *necessarily* evidence. Seeing white swans does not confirm the nonexistence of black swans" (emphasis in original). No wonder the Ümberphilosopher of science Karl Popper (1992, 2002) calls for falsification, rather than empirical confirmation or verification, in establishing the veracity of scientific claims. Without question, sometimes quantitative data derived from a large, randomized sample are very useful, but other times a single piece of qualitative, or even anecdotal evidence, can be equally useful — it all depends on the context. As Taleb (2008: 57) points out, "it is true that a thousand days cannot prove you right, but one day can prove you to be wrong." Remember, until the discovery of Australia, all the swans known to the people of the Old World were white. Add to this, the longstanding "problem of induction" (or what some call Bertrand Russell's chicken problem[6]) and the epistemological limitations of empiricism and the scientific method would become apparent to even the non-philosopher.

At the theoretical front, we learn from intersectional theorists, such as Weber (2004) and Stasiulis (1999), that several significant axes of social organization, including race, gender, class, ethnicity, and sexuality, simultaneously intersect to determine the social reality of people. Given the innumerable array of social locations and their equally countless possible permutations and interrelationships, it is always difficult to determine the number of axes to include in a book like this and still preserve meaningful analytical focus. The "iron triangle" (Stimpson 1993: 17) or the "three giants of modernist social critique" (Bordo 1990: 145), namely, gender, class, and race, are all featured in this book. To be sure, all three are socially constructed and imbued with consequential power relationships. Still, for the purposes of this book, the primacy belongs to race, given its enduring power and persistent salience in the life experiences of Blacks in this country (Boyko 1998; Stasiulis 1999; Dei 1996). Thus, race is the main point of entry into this book; implicit in this position is the assumption that race is "a *central axis* of social relations which cannot be subsumed under or reduced to some broader category or conception" (Omi and Winant 1998: 16, emphasis in original).

At the same time, we must note that the flow of power in any society is hardly unidirectional: "The oppressed can also be the oppressor, and the victim the victimizer, depending on the particular site of power one considers" (Stasiulus 1999: 381). "That almost all of us occupy both dominant and

subordinate positions and experience both advantage and disadvantage,…" writes Weber (2004: 131), "means that there are no pure oppressors or oppressed in our society." Simply put, not all Blacks are oppressed, just as not all Whites are the oppressors in all situations. Therefore, "White" is used in this book to imply only in broad theoretical terms the antithesis of "Black." It is not meant to encompass all White people in Canada, many of whom have not only risen above the prevailing prejudice, but have also undertaken invaluable positive steps to enhance the conditions of Black Canadians.

Additionally, even though Black Canadians are the main focus, there are several instances where the book carefully draws insights from the case of Blacks in the United States, where the literature is far more comprehensive. Also, while the spotlight remains on Blacks, some of the basic arguments are readily applicable to the circumstances of other ethnoracial minorities and even some Whites in Canada. Undoubtedly, our life experience is only by contrast, and we can hardly understand the conditions of Blacks without any mention of Whites or other minorities. Also, with the conviction that one of the main tools we bring to any discussion is the questions that we pose (Weber 2004: 133), a number of questions are posed throughout the book for readers to ponder.

On even a higher level of theoretical abstraction, the careful reader would notice that the discussion in the book is informed, implicitly or otherwise, by such robust modes of reasoning and argumentation as dialectics, discourse analysis, hermeneutics, deconstruction, and critical theory. With these strategies of inquiry, the book is better positioned to help uncover the enormous heterogeneity, nuances, and power dynamics embedded in the Black presence in Canada. For instance, with critical theory, readers appreciate the need to be self-conscious, self-critical, and to eschew dogmatism in dealing the controversial issues surrounding race and racism in Canada. Also, critical theory highlights the contested construction of power and hegemony and promotes the emancipation of the oppressed (Bronner and Kellner 1989; Macey 2000; Rush 2004). Similarly, with dialectics, students learn to be sceptical of binary opposites and binary systems, with the acknowledgment that social constructions such as race are usually mutually constitutive and inherently problematic. Not only that, with dialectics, students notice that issues concerning race and racism tend to be internally heterogeneous, contradictory, and tension-ridden, but the embedded contestations are often a fecund source of growth, discovery, and prescience. Also, with some grounding in dialectics, students realize that when it comes to contentious phenomena such as race and racism, "causes" are often interchangeable with "effects," and "subjects" with "objectives" (Mensah 2006a).

The techniques of deconstruction, discourse analysis, and hermeneutics are equally useful here. With deconstruction we learn not only to be sceptical

of binary opposites, but also of meta-narratives, grand theories, or totalizing discourse. It also encourages us to take analytical x-rays of texts to unpack their hidden assumptions and meanings (Darrida 1997). Discourse analysis, helps us to be cognizance of the power dynamics implicated in discussions relating to such issues such as racism. With it we learn that "truth" or "knowledge" itself is a form of power (Foucault 1980). Finally, hermeneutics promotes the idea that facts rarely speak for themselves. With this, student recognize that every text is, indeed, open to interpretation, and that differentially situated readers are bound to produce correspondingly variegated readings, even though the reading that prevails as the "truth" usually depends on the relations of power in society (Bowie 1997; Foucault 1980).

The deployment of these many approaches and modes of reasoning reflects the conviction that, confronted with issues as complicated as immigration, ethnicity, race, and racism, we cannot afford to be constrained by our parochial disciplinary boundaries. To achieve clarity of thought we need to broaden our outlook by actively pursuing intellectual exchanges and debates with people with opposing points of view. An analogy used by John Stuart Mill in his *On Liberty* (1947 [1859]: 20–21), is instructive here:

> The most intolerant of churches, the Roman Catholic Church, even at the canonization of a saint, admits, and listens patiently to, a "devil's advocate." The holiest of men, it appears, cannot be admitted to posthumous honours, until all that the devil could say against him is known and weighed. If even Newtonian philosophy were not permitted to be questioned, mankind could not feel as complete assurance of its truth as they now do. The beliefs which we have most warrant for, have no safeguard to rest on, but a standing invitation to the whole world to prove them unfounded.

Implicitly, and in a true spirit of dialectics, we should be opened to the idea that our own *thesis* often captures only part of the story, and only by candidly engaging the *antithesis* of our opponents can we ascertain a good *synthesis* of social reality. It is in this same spirit that Atticus, in the opening quotation of this second edition, advised his daughter, Scout, to learn to consider things from other peoples' perspective (Lee 1960: 30).

Organization of the Book

Eight chapters follow. Chapter 2 deals with the conceptual framework of the book. "Race," "ethnicity," "Blacks," and kindred concepts are explored to provide some insights into how they are used in the context of this book. The controversial issues surrounding the origins of racial antagonism are also examined in this chapter. The chapter ends with an overview of Canada's

relationships with the major Black societies of Africa and the Caribbean. Chapter 3 covers the history of Black Canadians, their experience with slavery in Canada and their settlement patterns during the pioneering years. The geography of Black Canadians is the focus of Chapter 4, where the immigration trends and spatial distribution of Blacks across Canada are examined.

Chapter 5 profiles the major Black groups in Canada, including "indigenous" Blacks in Nova Scotia, two Caribbean immigrant groups (Jamaicans and Haitians), and two African immigrant groups (Ghanaians and Somalis). The labour market characteristics and problems of Black Canadians are the focus of Chapter 6. Here, the racial and gender underpinnings of the employment problems faced by Blacks are unravelled. In Chapter 7 the focus shifts to the contribution of Blacks to Canadian sport; the controversial issues surrounding the "superiority" of Blacks in sport are explored as well. Chapters 8 and 9 concentrate on government initiatives on race-relations in Canada. More specifically, the policies of multiculturalism and employment equity are examined from the standpoint of Blacks. The book concludes with some general comments on the Black presence in Canada.

The renowned French literary critic, Roland Barthes (1977), in his essay "The Death of the Author," strongly argues against the addition of author's biographical notes (e.g., the author's race, ethnicity, gender, religion, sexuality, etc.) in any work to set the context or to help readers distill meaning from the text. To him, the author is dead as soon as his or her work is published, and readers should not submit themselves to the authority of the author, or the "interpretive tyranny" of the author, for each text has multiple meanings, which, for the most part, do not emanate from the author, but from the impressions of readers. To undermine the *author*ity commonly accorded *authors,* he would rather use the term "scriptor" than "author."

Barthes certainly has a point. At the very least, he alerts us of the possibility of multiple meanings in any text. Still, can we candidly argue that the biographies, backgrounds, and values of authors have no bearing on their work and that we can ignore them without any intellectual vulnerability? In fact, many contemporary theoreticians rebuke the presumption of value neutrality, objectivity, or what some now call "the view from nowhere" or "God's eye view" in social discourse (Agnew 1996: 5). Critics such as Harding (1990) and Agnew (1996) argue that all analyses stem from specific identities, backgrounds, and locations; consequently, they urge writers to identify their voices. Edward Carr (1961: 26) made a similar admonition decades ago in *What is History*? when he encouraged readers to study the historian before they study his or her history. To paraphrase Stephen Steinberg (1995): Who can candidly claim objectivity in the emotional issues surrounding race and ethnicity in Canada? Who can even pretend to see both sides of the issue when innocent Aboriginal people are allegedly dragged into police cruisers

and dropped off on the outskirts of town on frigid Prairie winter nights for no apparent reason other than the fact that they are Aboriginal people?[7] Who can claim neutrality when Blacks are routinely harassed, arrested, and sometimes fatally shot in the streets of Toronto with little or no provocation?

Our presuppositions, which are almost always couched in our background and life experience, influence the way we approach issues. These presuppositions not only limit our selection of research data and information but also dictate, sometimes unconsciously, how we interpret them. As Clyde Manschreck (1974: 3–4) shrewdly puts it: "No stance is without presuppositions, for to be without them is to be without a foundation. Presuppositions are our guidelines to truth; they undergird our values, standards, and ideals; they form the framework within which we move."

With this in mind, let me bring this introduction to a close by locating myself with brief biographical data that might help readers to engage in purposeful deconstruction of the discourse and counter-discourse presented in this book. I am a Black man who was born and raised in post-colonial Ghana, with a master's degree and a doctorate in human geography from the Wilfrid Laurier University in Waterloo, Ontario, and the University of Alberta in Edmonton, Alberta, respectively. I taught various geography courses in universities/colleges in British Columbia (e.g., UBC, SFU, Kwantlen University College) in the mid-1990s until 2002, when I took up a faculty position at York University in Toronto. I became a tenured associate professor of geography at York in 2005; and the undergraduate program director of the former Atkinson School of Social Sciences at York from 2005 to 2007. I am currently the Coordinator of York's International Development Studies program. While my biographical information and presuppositions naturally have significant implications for the analysis pursued here, it bears stressing that good scholarship, in the form of reasonable substantiation of suppositions and sourcing of evidence, overrides sensationalism, propaganda, and egocentrism in this book.

Notes

1. Toronto has witnessed its share of major race riots. The Stephen Lewis Commission of Inquiry was set up in the early 1990s to help resolve the racism perpetrated against Blacks by the police and the criminal justice system in Toronto. Nelson and Fleras (1995: 253) estimate that between 1988 and 1993, the police in Metropolitan Toronto wounded or killed ten Black-Canadians. Most of these killings were followed by racial disruptions in the city. Similar killings and riots have occurred in Montreal. Nelson and Fleras (1995) observed that four (or 50 percent) of the last eight shootings in Montreal have involved Blacks, even though Blacks comprise less than 5 percent of the city's population. And who can forget the 1991 race riot in Montreal's east end, which started when a Black family moved into a neighbourhood and a group of young Whites planned