"Known to the Police":

A Black Male Reflection on Police Violence in Toronto

by

Bador Alagraa

A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, Graduate Department of Geography, in the University of Toronto

ProQuest Number: 1598139

ProQuest.

ProQuest 1598139

"Known to the Police": A Black Male Reflection on Police Violence in Toronto

Bador Alagraa

Master of Arts

Department of Geography
University of Toronto

2015

In response to the increased prevalence of gun violence in Toronto, local politicians and media have focused on how to more efficiently police the city's most violent neighborhoods. Because of the racialized nature of this violence, much attention has been given to the role of structural and institutional effects of systemic racism and marginalization on the manifestation of violence in the City of Toronto. Obscured from these discussions however are the ways in which narratives of criminality are internalized by Black and Brown bodies and their communities. In light of this, this research will highlight the lack of attention given to the discursive remapping, and the reimaging of the Black male body in urban spaces. Ultimately, what I propose is a radical decentering of this institutional paradigm in favour of one that takes the subjectivity of the Black male as its point of entry.

TABLE OF CONTENTS:

Overview:

In 2005, the City of Toronto grappled with the increased prevalence of gun violence and homicides. These instances of violence occurred predominantly in the city's most heavily racialized neighborhoods in its inner suburbs of North York, Etobicoke, and Scarborough. However, on December 26th, 2005, the shooting and killing of Jane Creba altered the perception of the racialized geography of Toronto's confrontation with gun crime. Creba, a 16-year-old white female, was killed outside of Toronto's largest mall, The Eaton's Centre, and in the heart of the city's commercial district at the intersection of Yonge and Dundas. For the media, politicians and civic leaders, the death of Creba emphasized the materialization of the encroaching threat of racialized violence. Creba's death was labeled a 'tragedy', and local media outlets referred to the incident as the 'day Toronto lost its innocence' (Canadian Broadcast Corporation, 2005). This final moment in "The Year of the Gun", as it became known locally and nationally, inspired a moral panic from the city's white middle-class due to an assumption that Toronto was suddenly under siege by an impending threat of racialized crime and violence. For these white, middle-class voices there was a fear that if the problem was not addressed immediately, the casualties of this siege would begin to look more and more like Jane Creba. This fear inspired a militarization of Black and racialized spaces in and around the city through a coordinated effort from both the municipal and provincial government in the form of the Toronto Anti-Violence Intervention Strategy (or TAVIS).

On June 2nd 2012, another shooting, this time inside Toronto's Eaton's Centre, killed two men, and injured several others. The incident, caught on CCTV, went viral and received coverage not just across the country, but also on a global scale that was, at the time, unprecedented for Canada's largest city. However, unlike the reactions of the media, politicians, and police to the death of Creba just minutes away years prior, these same voices sought to first and foremost highlight not only the recklessness of the shooter to commit such an act in a crowded place, but the closeness to criminality of both the suspect and the victims. The emphasis in this narrative was that this was an "isolated event" and that even the victims themselves were "known to the police", and targeted in the shooting. In a perverse discursive turn, these narratives helped to rationalize the public sentiment that, somehow, their deaths were justified.

On July 16th, 2012 a 'mass-shooting' in Toronto's Scarborough suburb killed two local residents, and wounded 23 others, known locally as the 'Danzig Shooting' (The Toronto Star, 2012). Because of already existing perceptions of the Danzig neighborhood and its surrounding areas, much of the public and political responses surrounding the shooting highlighted a number of problematic and intersecting discourses. Occurring just weeks after the shooting that took place inside Eaton's Centre, and other high-profile shootings during the summer of 2012, the Danzig shooting refurbished a number of discourses implicating, among other things, racialized crime in areas historically associated with concentrated racialized poverty (Hulchanski 2010; Siciliano 2010). In addition, these discourses of criminality were highlighted further through their conflation with discourses of nationality, citizenship, and belonging; most notably, with former

Mayor Rob Ford suggesting that anyone convicted of a gun-crime in Canada should be deported (Dale 2012). This presents a key point of departure, as this problematic linkage between race, nationality, and 'inherent' criminality can be seen as operating under the assumption that perpetrators of gun crimes are first and foremost not *from here*.

In light of these problems, the focus of politicians and the media was centered on how to more pervasively and more efficiently police the city's most violent neighborhoods. On the other end of this dialogue, activists and academics have focused on the role that structural and institutional effects of systemic racism and marginalization have on the manifestation of violence in the city of Toronto (Siciliano 2010). Obscured from these discussions however are the ways in which these narratives are interpreted and internalized by Black and Brown bodies and their (marginalized) communities. In light of this, this research will highlight the lack of attention given to the discursive remapping, and the reimaging of the Black male body in urban spaces. Ultimately, what I propose is a radical decentering of this institutional paradigm in favour of an approach that is situated in a discursive lens that takes the subjectivity of the Black male as its point of entry.

Introduction and Research Questions:

My thesis research combines historical, ethnographic, and discursive analyses of the institutional narratives and paradigms that obscure Black subjectivity in contemporary discussions of gun violence and policing strategies. Ultimately, I seek to establish a research-based contribution that centres Black subjectivity, and runs counter

to these dominant institutional paradigms and discourses of inherent Black male criminality.

I plan to examine these narratives with a keen eye towards the ways in which the Othering of the Black male body is accomplished through the obscuring of Black marginality and anti-Black racism, and through the advancement of various myths regarding the inherent benevolence of Canada as a white-settler society (Lawrence, 2002; McKittrick, 2006; Thobani, 2007). Furthermore, I plan to uncover the ways in which histories of policing are implicated in the reification of the discursivities that forward the problematic assumption of inherent Black criminality. This necessarily includes a confrontation with the ways in which these problematic assumptions (re)invigorate and rationalize coordinated, state-sanctioned violence (both physical and psychological) on Black and Brown bodies.

Finally, I will show how these iterations of anti-Black racism are further complicated by highlighting the ways in which the Somali community in Toronto has dealt with targeted police practices. Of particular interest in this analysis are the ways in which "carding" is used. 'Carding' is a police tactic that involves documents and stores data of those who have interacted with the police, regardless if a crime has been committed (Rankin, The Toronto Star 2014). As a result of this analysis, I will show that the dominant ways in which this problem is discussed (ie. through institutional language and policy-driven concerns) fails to appreciate its effect on Toronto's various racialized communities. Ultimately, this section will offer an analysis that seeks to understand this problem from the bottom up, centering the discussion on Black bodies and subjectivities.

With these considerations in mind, my thesis will address the following questions: (1) How do prevailing myths regarding inherent Canadian benevolence towards immigrants/Black and Brown bodies obscure the histories of racism and violence towards the Other on Canadian soil?; (2) How do the narratives and histories that shape modern policing forward the discursive imaging of Black males as inherently criminal, and how does this in turn inform processes of state sanctioned violence (both physical and psychological) on Black bodies?; (3) What are the legal and institutional origins of the criminalization of Black bodies, and how does this rationalize the ways that Black spaces are targeted through the institutionalization of racist police strategies? (4) How do these narratives simplify the ways in which Black subjectivity is understood, and how might an intersectional approach towards understanding how these iterations of inherent Black criminality complicate the dominant ways in which Blackness is understood?; (5) What is particular about the experience of Black bodies who are targeted by the police that is obscured by the emphasis on the institutional and policy-driven narratives that have dominated discussion about racialized, Black violence in Toronto?

I have arrived at this research mainly through intimate experiences with violent policing. I grew up in the "Priority Neighborhood" of Steeles-L'Amoreuax, for the most part, in public housing complexes with other (mostly Black) racialized immigrants. As a Black, Muslim male, policing and surveillance were, and still are a constitutive part of my experience as a Black male in Toronto. The reality is that the vast majority of my childhood friends were incarcerated by the time they became legally able to work, and many still are.

The first time I was 'carded', I did not even know it had happened. As a matter of fact, I did not even know it by that name until much recently. What I do know was that it was not necessarily this particular event that agitated me, it was the constant fear of harm as a result of being criminalized in a space I was unwillingly relegated to in the first place. What is now known infamously as "carding" or "community contacts" in Toronto, was once just a part of the ways in which I, and many people like myself, believed the police interacted with citizens. I was wrong.

When I was thirteen years old, I was with a group of friends of maybe six or seven on Halloween. We were stopped by two officers who, before anything was said, called for backup, hand on hip, ordering us not to move (despite being frozen from the shock of the police car coming to a halt on the sidewalk). We were all questioned in relation to a robbery that occurred in an upper-middle class neighborhood about a ten-minute drive away. We were all searched *thoroughly*, and questioned about our whereabouts during the previous twelve hours. Their final words, I will never forget. A Black officer offered some 'advice', "There's a Tim Horton's down the street. Go over there, get jobs and "get off the street. Get a haircut, and pull your pants up. If you don't want to be stopped like this anymore you better take this advice." Again, I was 13, not even of legal working age.

This incident is only one of the many experiences I have had with the police. Being stopped like this is just one of the many 'minor' inconveniences Black bodies have to deal with, and thus this individual incident is not significant in and of itself. What hurt most about the incident was not that it happened, it was that after the dust had settled, I

could not find one person who believed that it wasn't my fault. Rather, the conversation always shifted to what I was doing there in the first place, whether I was "up to no good", and repeated proclamations that no matter what, I was just not supposed to be in certain places at certain times, no matter what I was doing there.

It became clear that in certain spaces, depending on the day, the time of day, and how big of a group I was with, certain bodies move more easily and freely than my Black body (Fanon, 2008). In spaces that have been historically attached to pathology, attached to identities considered inherently criminal and/or deviant, the friction of movement is noticeably higher. What is troubling is not this statement in isolation. It is rather the ways in which these problematic processes are inherited and internalized by people of colour as truisms, incorporated into their everyday lives as a "natural" way of being. In this way, the habits of Black male bodies are altered, as they are increasingly aware of the omnipresent surveillance of the police as the disciplinary arm (Foucault 1975) of the white-settler colonial hegemony.

Purpose Statement:

The dominant paradigms that are used to address racialized violence and policing violence are inadequate. To begin, these dominant narratives fail to recognize the colonial antecedents that ground the violence against Black populations at the hands of white colonial domination. Furthermore, in light of the dearth of academic literature on this violence, there needs to be a radical remapping of these dominant narratives away from one that emphasizes the 'fear' of Black spaces and bodies, and towards one that is

centred on the institutional and discursive violence that is endured by Black bodies themselves.

Finally, this research seeks to problematize the ways in which coordinated efforts to objectify the inherent criminality of Black male bodies have been accomplished through institutional narratives and violence against Black communities through the use of various social and political institutions, allowing this disciplinary power to circulate itself in various spheres of 'everyday life' (Foucault 1975). In doing this, I draw on the work of bell hooks (2010) in proposing a 'radical decentering' of these dominant narratives. It is here that I cast aside these institutional paradigms in favour of an approach that takes the subjectivity of the Black male as its point of departure. As a result, this project will reveal that the ways in which these dominant paradigms operate serve to obscure the violence endured by Black male bodies and their communities.

Interventions:

Because this research is concerned with the ways in which Black male subjectivity is obscured by the dominant paradigms affecting the views of Black male criminality, this research will deploy a number of subaltern approaches to understanding Black male subjectivity. Drawing on the theoretical and epistemological traditions of Black feminist thought, more specifically the work of Kimberle Crenshaw (1993), this research necessarily begins from an emphasis on the intersectionality evident in the ways in which difference is marked onto the Black body. Despite the focus on Black male subjectivity as the point of entry, the available literature from Black feminist scholars is

what allows for a more robust analysis of the multiplicity of oppressions that Black bodies are faced with. Furthermore, the focus on Black males is not intended to underestimate the effect of overpolicing strategies on Black women in these communities. The deployment of a coordinated police strategy that targets Black males specifically has gendered implications that go beyond the constitution and reinforcement of inherent Black male criminality. Such practices reify norms about the body, and what the body is capable of, more specifically, about which bodies are more able to commit crime. While this research is concerned with the moment of encounter between the police and Black males, these gendered implications highlight the complexity and multiple ways in which power and oppression manifests itself in these communities.

This research will draw heavily from the theoretical tradition inspired by Michel Foucault. Foucault's work offers numerous interjections that allow this research to make the connection between sovereign power and the ways in which the body is disciplined (Foucault 1975). Furthermore, building from the work of Foucault, Giorgio Agamben's delineation of the boundaries of this aforementioned sovereign power is also useful here. In addition, I will address the theoretical gaps in these works by highlighting how these processes reach and penetrate the Black male body. The work of Frantz Fanon figures prominently in this strategy. Fanon's work allows for a number of conclusions to be drawn regarding the ways in which the Black male body internalizes colonial violence. Because of the inherently racialized nature of targeted police practices, this step in the analysis is crucial, as it allows for the connections to be made between Black male subjectivity and the frustrations that result in the form of adverse police-Black male

interactions. It is with these theoretical considerations in mind that I propose to re-centre the Black male body in these discourses in a way that emphasizes the primacy of their confrontations with this racial ordering and colonial violence in the form of overpolicing strategies.

Research sites:

I have chosen to focus on Toronto for a number of reasons. The "revelation" of increasing incidences of gun crimes in Canada is exemplified by the ways in which it has been framed discursively. Toronto is symbolic for many reasons, including the idea that it is the archetypical example of the 'global city' metropolis in Canada, and thus, holds a sacred position in Canada's socio-political, economic, and spatial order. The resulting response(s) from this issue became the subject of national scrutiny, affecting many spheres of life.

Another site that will I will rely heavily on is New York City. Numerous legal and judicial precedents can be drawn between New York's Stop-and-Frisk program and the use and intensification of 'carding' in Toronto. Because of Toronto's role in forwarding neoliberal, global city competitiveness, the adoption of a coordinated police strategy targeting Black bodies draws its institutional lineage from the ways in which New York intensified their militarization of their historically Black neighborhoods like Harlem and Brooklyn.

While these two sites form the basis of this place-based analysis, the spectre of other Black spaces like South-Side Chicago, Detroit, and Watts, for example, are also

important in order to emphasize the assertion that fear of Black spaces due to both their 'endemic' patterns of crime, and their potentiality for revolutionary Black resistance will remain an underlying theme throughout this research paper. Indeed, spaces like Chicago, Detroit, and Watts are all associated with excessive policing as well as highly publicized organized responses to these incidents, including Chicago's recent 'We Charge Genocide' movement (We Charge Genocide, 2015). Furthermore, while I don't focus on these places specifically, like New York and Toronto, these spaces are inherently implicated in the narratives that this research will confront. In this way, it will be shown that the institutionalization of discourses of Black criminality exhibits effects that are particular to each context, while maintaining a rigidity of Black male criminality that disseminates itself even across differing socio-political and ethnocultural contexts.

Methodology:

To better understand how the mapping of criminality on Black bodies and spaces is accomplished through the pervasiveness of this narrative in an institutional framework, this thesis will employ two main qualitative methods. These include: (1) Semi-structured interviews; and (2) a discourse analysis. The combination of these methods allows this research to centre the Black body through the use of voices that are directly implicated in oppressive relationships that dominantly define police relationships with Black communities. More specifically, this data will allow this research to come to a conclusion not only on the discursive properties of 'carding' and other targeted police practices, but

as well as the larger metanarratives that influence the institutional gaze on the Black body.

(1) Semi – Structured interviews:

In order to fully appreciate the ways that dominant institutional paradigms and narratives of an inherent Black criminality are mapped on to Black bodies, I will be using semi-structured interview data from four interviews with Somali community organizers who are active in rallying around issues of police- community relations. This section will investigate how racialized, specifically Black youth, have internalized the various negative discourses of criminality and institutional racism that accompany interactions with police. Furthermore, this information offers insight into the ways in which the habits of these youths and their peers in their communities, has changed in light of the highly scrutinized spaces they most commonly interact with.

(2) Discourse analysis:

This research will interrogate the representation of Black bodies in legal, political, and institutional frameworks with the respect to the development of police strategies to curb gun violence and overall crime in racialized neighborhoods in Toronto. In addition to the interview data, this analysis includes maps, legal documents, news releases, and political rhetoric to emphasize the ways in which the narratives of Black criminality are mapped onto Black bodies, and how this has justified their intimidation, incarceration, and in some cases, execution. This section will show how power operates on a discursive

level before it is filtered throughout the various institutions that are implicated in targeted police practices aimed at Black bodies. What I will glean from this analysis is a subaltern way of deconstructing the effects these aforementioned institutional narratives have had on the subjectivity of Black males, how they are internalized, how are they resisted, and, ultimately, how this affects their movement through space and time.

Political Significance:

This task of radical decentering necessarily entails a political project of highlighting the internal contradictions of many dominant social, political, and economic processes in Toronto and in white-settler colonies in general. This research serves as a radical act of resistance in the context of a white hegemony that dominates the narratives surrounding gun violence and the racialization of space in general. While there has been an explosion of work in academic geography that has attempted to reinvigorate discussions about race and the body, this aforementioned hegemony is still salient in academia as the voices that dominate the literature around policing and gun violence remain antithetical to the ways in which the discourse of gun violence is mapped on the Black body specifically. Because of this, narratives of Black subjectivity are obfuscated in favour of an institutional lens. As a student in a discipline that represents the very foundation of this hegemonic rule, I am not only confronted with this but also with a significant archival gap. To begin with, the lack of Black geographers and available literature on Black subjectivity more generally in my discipline makes it, at the very outset, difficult to complete an ambitious task such as this. In light of this, this research

will begin to fill the archival and discursive gaps that fail to recognize the voices of people like myself. As such, I necessarily rely heavily not only on my own experience, but those of my peers to fill this gap.

<u>Notes on Reflexivity:</u>

My own implication in this project comes from two inspirations. As detailed above, my own experiences and confrontations with these discourses of inherent criminality and targeted policing practices necessarily shape the way I approach this subject. While the many instances in which I personally am faced with the problems associated with "Living While Black" are not central to this research, and will not be detailed in full, I cannot deny their role in shaping my interest in this research. As a Black male from Scarborough the confrontation with the institutional rhetoric that maps criminality on my body has had many and wide-ranging adverse effects. Furthermore, the deaths of close friends and family as a result of gun violence has affected me in ways that are impossible to detail here. This research represents a reconciliation of these sentiments and the anger I have felt towards narratives of inherent Black criminality. As such, this research allows me an opportunity to cast aside those labels that have been attached to my body: criminal, thug, 'nigger', "known to the police"; and establish 'new' ones; radical, revolutionary, and ultimately, human.

Chapter 1: Theoretical Considerations

This chapter highlights the theoretical considerations that have shape the discussions surrounding discipline, surveillance, and discursive violence against marginalized bodies. Recently, there has been an eruption of anti-racist scholarship in academic geography. Contributions from scholars like Katherine McKittrick, Minelle Mahtani, and Ruth Gilmore emphasize the necessity of looking at racism through a feminist epistemological framework that extends the theoretical traditions from transnational feminism I alluded to earlier. Certainly, the body is becoming a much more dominant subject of inquiry in geography than before, as this work paves a way for more interventions concerned with the nature of power relationships that affect the Black body. These works have established a nexus of research that extends previous work that addresses difference from a Marxist perspective. Because of the popularity of Marxist theoretical frameworks in academic geography since the 1980s, this scholarship has gone a long way to complicating the relationship that is made between the Other and capital, and repositioning this analysis towards a relationship between the Other to white supremacy and white colonial rule (Wilderson 2003). This is not to discount the contributions that analyses from a Marxist perspective may have for this research. The scholarship of Marxist geographers has a major impact on my own scholarly development the views put forth in this project. That being said, this research offers a chance to discuss topics that I have yet to have the privilege of address, namely the discursive relationships between the Black body and criminality. As such, I have chosen to address gaps in this literature, seeking to move away from analyses that seek to define the dominant ways in which Blackness is perceived within political and economic institutions, and towards an analysis that

seeks to centre how dominant sentiments of anti-Blackness are internalized by Black male bodies.

The literature I have chosen to focus on in this section is also not meant as a disqualification of the wealth of research that already exists that focuses on Black geographies. Work by Mahtani, Woods, Gilmore, Ruddick, McKitterick and others has gone far to prioritize the ways in which power and disciplinary techniques have become popularized and filtered themselves throughout various political, economic and social institutions (Gilmore 1993, Gilmore 2002, Gilmore 2007, Mahtani 2006, McKitterick 2006, Ruddick 2006, Woods 1998). Furthermore, this work has bridged the gap between analyses from a Marxist perspective and concerns about the body of the Other (Glimore 2002, Mahtani 2006, Roberts and Mahtani 2010). The following offers an analysis of a selection of academic and theoretical works concerned with the body. This selection is not intended to prioritize this literature over the works I have mentioned above. Rather, this focus is an attempt to follow the same theoretical traditions that the above works are grounded in. As such, the following analysis is structured not only in a way that highlights my own interpretations of disciplinary powers that affects the Black body, it is also out of respect and admiration for the work that has been done before me.

In *Discipline & Punish*, Michel Foucault traces the innovation and transformation of disciplinary techniques and punishment that are emblematic of Western society's transition to modernity (Foucault 1975). By tracing a genealogy of these techniques, Foucault attempts to establish not only what techniques were implemented over time, but also their significance and efficacy in relation to governing large populations. By doing so, Foucault shows how

these techniques were used to more efficiently discipline the body and exert biopower[1] over

the human subject (Foucault 1975). Foucault claims that this transition began with steady and

subtle changes to the ways in which the body was targeted for punishment. He states that

towards the end of the 18th century the body as the major target of penal repression had begun

to diminish in importance (Foucault 1975; Mbembe 2003). Foucault begins with the use of

public demonstrations and punishments; which until the end of the 18th century, was used as a

form of public shaming and as a deterrent from criminal behaviour through exemplifying both

the physical and social consequences of committing a crime (Foucault 1975). The main

impetus for the change, Foucault claims, is a discursive shift in "the certainty of being

punished and not the horrifying spectacle of public punishment that must discourage crime

(Foucault 1975; pg. 9)." For Foucault, the disappearance of the public spectacle at once marks

a "slackening of the hold on the body" and that physical pain or inflicting pain to the body

itself can no longer be a constituent element of the penalty (Foucault 1975; pg. 10). Because

of the explosion of the Western world's population beginning in the 17th century, Foucault

claims that the response to more effectively manage crime and change these forms of

punishment comes as an attempt to more efficiently govern the nation-state's population and

its criminals. Foucault writes:

> "if it is still necessary for the law to reach and manipulate the body of
> the convict, it will be at a distance, in the proper way, according to strict
> rules and with a much 'higher' aim (Foucault 1975; pg. 11)."

---

[1] Defined by Foucault as 'the power to make live and let die' (*History of Sexuality*, 1978). It refers to the mapping of disciplinary power onto bodies, in the form of control over such things as births, deaths, reproduction, medicine, and other corporeal formations.

Of particular interest to Foucault are the ways in which power governed the body more insidiously as Western society transitioned into modernity. He draws from the image of the Panopticon as a metaphor for the ways in which the structure of this power is disseminated through space and time. Derived from Jeremy Bentham's model of the panoptic prison, Foucault used this architectural idea as an analogy for the ways in which panoptic power works in disciplining subjects more efficiently (Foucault 1975). The basis of the prison's power remains in the prisoner's relationship to, and awareness of the guard. The guard, housed in a central tower visible to all prisoners, cannot be seen by the prisoners. As a result, the prisoners are unable to tell when the guard is watching them or not watching them. Obviously it is impossible for one guard to watch all prisoners at once, however, the uncertainty and fear that they might be watching at any given time is enough to reinforce this panoticism. Because of this, Bentham suggested that this form of surveillance was much more efficient, essentially forcing the prisoners to discipline and behave themselves (Foucault 1975). What is significant about Foucault's deployment of the idea of panoptic power is that by nature this power is one that is obscured. Because the prisoners cannot actually name or see the source of the power, they are unable to exactly locate the source of their fear. In addition, Foucault highlights Bentham's assertion that the simplicity of the technology behind the prison's design allows it to be operated by nearly anyone (Foucault 1975). Because of this, the anonymity of the source of the guard's power is further intensified.

Foucault's analysis further focuses on the several changes in and around the 18th century that altered the way power governs the body and biopower. Foucault states that there

is an historical moment where the art of the human body was born. This art concerned itself not only with the growth of the body's skills and the intensification of its subjection, but also the formation of a relation that in the mechanism itself makes it more obedient as it becomes more useful, and vice versa (Foucault 1975; pg. 138). Through what he calls 'subtle coercions', Foucault claims that these changes allow for an "infinitesimal power over the active body" (Foucault 1975; pg. 137). This new modality and expression of power implies an uninterrupted and constant coercion, allowing for the supervision of processes of human activity, rather than its result (ie. a criminal act). These techniques are exercised according to a codification that partitions time, space, and movement (Foucault 1975). In addition, Foucault is adamant in asserting that these methods made possible the meticulous control of the operations of the body, which assured the constant subjection of these bodies and imposed a relation of docility-utility, and that these relations might be called 'disciplines' (Foucault 1975; Foucault 1978). Foucault makes it very clear that these techniques differ from slavery; they do not want to appropriate the body through punishment. Moreover, he asserts that they differ from service, which is a form of domination that is established in the form of individual will in favor of their master (Foucault 1975).

For Foucault, this historical moment produced a system of power that defined how one may retain a hold over others' bodies, not only so that they may do what they wish, but with an unprecedented efficiency that those in positions of power determined was necessary (Foucault 1975). As a result, Foucault concludes that these forms of discipline produces subjected and practiced bodies, docile bodies (Foucault 1975). Although these techniques may seem insignificant in isolation, as a whole, they hold great importance. They defined a

great deal the ways in which a detailed political investment into the physical body intended to penetrate and control the social body (Foucault 1975).

Foucault's analyses and theoretical frameworks allow for a great deal of room for unearthing how these techniques unfold spatially. Indeed, Foucault himself has claimed that geography is at the "heart of my concerns (Foucault, 1980; pg. 77)." His work on the pervasiveness of technologies of biopolitical control pays close attention to the ways in which they manifest themselves through space. He claims that, at the outset, the aforementioned techniques of discipline proceed from the distribution of individuals in space (Foucault, 1975; Foucault, 1980). In order to achieve this a number of techniques must be employed that concern the manipulation and/or segmentation of space. Ultimately, Foucault claims that this spatial effect calls for enclosure, with the aim of deriving "the maximum advantages and to neutralize the inconveniences, as the forces of production become more concentrated, to protect materials and tools and to master the labor force (Foucault, 1975; pg. 142)." This process of segmentation has implications for how pathologized spaces are viewed, even today. Spaces that are deemed to be a "nuisance", inhabited by populations that are perceived as an inconvenience to a city's more "productive" populations, come to be associated with their distance from this norm. In a way, this distance simultaneously constitutes a physical distance, as well as a form of deviance in and of itself. As will be explained later, this deviance has major implications for how the state manages these populations, as well as major implications for the ways in which the perceived biopower of these populations is implicated in the delineation of who gets the privilege to live where, and on what terms. Furthermore, it will be shown later how this lends itself to a discursive repositioning of

marginalized and racialized communities as inherently deviant through this process of enclosure and segmentation. Foucault often refers to the act of partitioning in his theorizations. In Foucault's estimation, the act and principle of enclosure is neither constant nor indispensable, nor sufficient in disciplinary machinery (Foucault 1975). This partitioning of space aims to establish presences and absences, to know where and how to locate individuals, to set up useful communications, to interrupt others, to be able at each moment to supervise the conduct of each individual, to assess it, to judge it, to calculate its qualities or merits (Foucault 1975; pg. 143).

Foucault does not stop here; his analysis asserts that the control of space is not enough. This must also be accompanied by strategies intended to control the activities of bodies under its power, and their segmentation and separation. Foucault states that:

> "disciplinary control does not consist simply in teaching or imposing a series of particular gestures; it imposes the best relation between a gesture and the overall position of the body, which is its condition of efficiency and speed (Foucault, 1975; pg. 152)".

Foucault situates his analysis of the proliferation of panoptic power and spatial portioning from the measures that were taken to stop the spreading of the plague at the end of the 17th century in Europe. Among the techniques deployed included a strict spatial partitioning, ceaseless inspection of civic functions, and a mode of surveillance dependent on a system of permanent registration to facilitate the more efficient documentation of society's biopower (Foucault 1975). What is interesting about Foucault's analysis is the type of derivatives that the changes in documentation (and ultimately, segmentation) that were brought about by the plague. He claims:

"…there was also a political dream of the plague, which was exactly its reverse: not the collective festival, but strict division; not laws transgressed, but the penetration of regulation into even the smallest details of everyday life through the mediation of the complete hierarchy that assure the capillary functioning of power; not masks that were put on and taken off, but the assignment to each individual of his 'true' name, his 'true' place, his 'true' body his 'true' disease (Foucault 1975; pg.198)."

.

Foucault's suggestion is that there is a larger disciplinary goal that can be accomplished in the state's response to the plague. It provides an opportunity for the state to invade the everyday lives of its subjects and more efficiently solidify their presence, both physically and psychologically (Foucault 1975).

As mentioned before, Foucault's concept of biopower is predicated on the necessity of the state to transition to a more efficient form of biopolitical governmentality. The work of Giorgio Agamben, while built upon many of the same theoretical and epistemological concerns of Foucault, diverges from this understanding of biopower. Agamben asserts that there is a necessary exception that is at the very core of modern state power (Agamben 1998). He claims:

"The Foucauldian thesis will then have to be corrected or, at least, completed, in the sense that what characterizes modern politics is not so much the inclusion of zoë in the polis –which is, in itself, absolutely ancient – nor simply the fact that life as such becomes a principal object of the projections and calculations of State power. Instead the decisive fact is that, together with the process by which the exception everywhere becomes the rule, the realm of bare life – which is originally situated at the margins of the political order – gradually begins to coincide with the political realm, and exclusion and inclusion, outside and inside, bios and zoë, right and fact, enter into a zone of irreductible indistinction. At once excluding bare life from and capturing it within the political order, the state of exception actually constituted, in its very separateness, the hidden foundation on which the entire political system rests (Agamben 1998, pg. 9).

What Agamben is implying here is that the state does not just sustain itself through managing the health of its population, but that this management of life is itself predicated on necessary deaths (Agamben 1998). In this way, these "justifiable" and "necessary" deaths are never allowed the label of honourable sacrifice; as they are constructed as a necessary part of the exclusions that reifies the health of the nation, deaths for the 'public good' or overall benefit of the state (Agamben 1998). Consequently, Agamben asserts that state power can only sustain itself through a continuation of acts of inclusionary exclusion. Here, the significance of sovereign power becomes clear, as it is this power that demarcates those qualities worthy of qualified life. For Agamben then, this apparatus of exception is at the very core of sovereign power, and the presence of bare life more salient than ever in modern western society (Agamben 1998).

The theoretical interventions made by Giorgio Agamben would be helpful for an understanding of the ways this exclusion intervenes in the everyday lives of its subjects. The concepts put forth by Agamben allow us to more thoroughly understand the ways in which spaces, like historically Black and racialized neighborhoods in the West, come to be governed by the state of ambiguity that typifies the socio-spatial relationships put forth by the simultaneous action of upholding the law and violating ones liberties. According to Agamben, a state of exception comes into being through an imbalance between public law and political fact, in an "ambiguous, uncertain, borderline fringe, at the intersection of the legal and the political (Agamben 2005, pg. 1)." Agamben explains the importance of this border and its potential problems, claiming:

> "The question of border becomes all the more urgent: if exceptional measures are the result of periods of political crisis and, as such, must be understood on political and not juridico-constitutional grounds, then they find themselves in the paradoxical position of being juridical measures that cannot be understood in legal terms, and the state of exception appears as the legal form of what cannot have legal form (Agamben 2005, pg. 1)."

As this paper will reveal, the use of carding in Toronto relies heavily on the institutionalization of this exception, as what is political negates a discussion on what is legal, and often supersedes it. Agamben writes:

> "…if the law employs the exception - that is the suspension of law itself – as its original means of referring to and encompassing life, then a theory of the state of exception is the preliminary condition for any definition of the relation that binds and, at the same time, abandons the living being to law (Agamben 2005, pg. 1)."

In this way, Agamben clearly highlights the omnipotence of sovereign power. Here, the sovereign is the threshold of legality; even if the sovereign defies what is codified as legal, it remains legal by nature of the sovereign itself being the boundary of the law (Agamben 1998). Coupled with the anonymity of power that Foucault refers to, this condition of exception makes it so that even the derogation of rights is considered a legal act, since the sovereign determines the threshold of its legality (Agamben 1998; Foucault, 1975).

Agamben refers to the state of exception not as a rigid definition of one act or state of existence. He deploys the term in a complex identification, as a "syntagma" that refers to the consistent set of legal phenomena that defines it (Agamben 2005). He draws parallels to German theory, terms like Ausnahmezustand, and Notstand, and the "state of necessity", terms that are foreign to Italian and French theory, which prefer to speak of the suspension of law by law itself throughout the course of modern history (Agamben, 2005). He also draws

parallels to martial law and emergency powers in Anglo-Saxon theory, however, overall he maintains that all these terms prove inadequate in explaining the proper structures of the phenomenon of exception, and that it must be described and explained as an inherently political and fictitious term that is misleading (Agamben, 2005). He maintains:

> "…not a special kind of law, rather; Insofar as it is a suspension of the juridical order itself, it defines law's threshold or limit concept (Agamben 2005, pg. 4)."

Beginning with an analysis of the U.S. Patriot Act, Agamben draws a link to early United States history and the authorization of the arrest and trial of all rebels and insurgents, and all people discouraging support and involvement in the American Civil War (Agamben 2005). Agamben proclaims that the very power of the President as Commander and Chief of the armed forces is grounded in the emergency powers linked to a state of war (Agamben 2005). Because of this, Agamben believes that over the course of the 20th century, the metaphor of war becomes a vital part of the presidential political vocabulary whenever decisions of vital importance are being discussed in the political realm (Agamben 2005). In this way, the discourse of war deployed with reference to drug crime and the War on Drugs specifically, situates the narrative deployed by President Reagan likening their situation with an emergency state in which the "threat" and "contamination" that drugs and associated crimes (which themselves are broadly defined) may be thwarted upon the awarding of special powers to various law enforcement agencies (ie. DEA, FBI, CIA, INS). Accordingly, any failure to enlist or aid these "soldiers" could be considered high treason, or mutiny, a serious offence even in Civil War United States. Contrasted with the failure to aid police officers in their duty to "clean up neighborhoods", this could be extrapolated as a form of this treason, a

form of 'willful' neglect for the 'public' or common good. Such attitudes are nevertheless ignorant of the histories of intimidation and harassment that have encompassed police behavior towards Black communities historically, and fail to acknowledge that the distinct lack of trust between them is not solely based on inherent "criminality" of Black citizens.

Considering the salient implication of race in the discussion of targeted police practices, the work of Agamben and Foucault is insufficient to provide a relevant analysis. Without understanding the ways in which modern police tactics are inherently racialized, their work fails to appreciate the many iterations of this form of power. For some, the spectre of a panoptic police presence is one that is comforting. However, for Black and Brown bodies, the presence of this spectre means the omnipresence of punishment, of pursuit of the criminal that is forcefully attached to their body by way of targeted police practices in racialized spaces.

Foucault and Agamben's analyses are incomplete without acknowledging the role that race has had and continues to have in shaping and perfecting the techniques of biopolitical control that they sought to elucidate in their writing. While Foucault's focus on the body and on techniques that have had a major role in intensifying modern racism allows us to recuperate something useful despite his state-centered analysis of difference and allusions to racism. For Foucault, he recognizes the 17th and 18th century as the epicentre of the use of new forms of disciplinary control aimed at more efficiently governing a nation's biopower (Foucault 1975). However, it would seem that from his work that these techniques simply emerged spontaneously in Western Europe. He claims that after this time that public forms of punishment failed to be of importance to large states in order to govern its people. Ania

Loomba (1998) refutes this, claiming that, because Foucault averts his gaze from the colonies during the "turn" of modernity, he fails to appreciate how public and ceremonial punishment was every bit a staple of colonial domination even well into the 20th century (Loomba 1998). He makes an obstinate argument in claiming that these "new" forms of discipline are, by nature insidious, however, his lack of attention to *difference* explains why he believed these techniques to be 'new'. For Foucault, it is necessary for him to make this omission, or else he is confronted with the task of addressing the shadow of race that is so absent in Western political thought and praxis (Mbembe 2003). As a result, he fails to appreciate the different ways in which subjectivity is constituted, outside of white European bodies.

The claim that these techniques of discipline with which Foucault was preoccupied had at one time been tested and perfected in the colonies is prominent in Achilles Mbembe's work. Mbembe (2003) highlights this addition to Foucault's theories on biopower, asserting that racism is one of the central technologies that allows the exercise of biopower, and that this is inscribed in the very ways in which all modern states function in the West (Foucault 1978, Mbembe 2003). Mbembe confronts Foucault's understanding of biopower, restating Foucault's assertion that biopower functions through dividing people into those who must live and those who must die, thus, necessitating first that the human species be divided into groups. Because of this, Mbembe is adamant in his claim that racism is one of the constitutive elements of state power in modernity, as the sovereign's power over death is in many cases founded on a racial hierarchy (Mbembe 2003). Mbembe asserts that Foucault failed to realize this in his work, stating:

> "that race (or for that matter racism) figures so prominently in the calculus of biopower is entirely justifiable…race has been an ever

present shadow in Western political thought and practice, especially when it comes to imagining the inhumanity of, or rule over, foreign peoples (Mbembe 2003; pg. 17)."

Mbembe offers a necessary critique of the dominant ways in which biopower is theorized, and how bodies may be destroyed as a result of racial difference. Despite this, his work is concerned with how populations are destroyed in an institutionalized biopolitical or necropolitical order, and neglects the ways in which this destruction is understood more discursively. I intervene in this literature by situating my analysis at the level of the body, and how the racialized body, specifically the Black body, is redefined discursively as a result of this process of racial ordering. In order to adequately theorize this I refer to the work of Frantz Fanon's *Black Skin White Masks.* The foundational assumption in *Black Skin White Masks* holds:

"At the risk of arousing the resentment of my colored brothers, I will say that the Black man is not a man (Fanon, 2008; pg. 1)."

What is significant about Fanon's intervention is that he centres the Black male body in his analysis. As a result, his work offers an appreciation of the ways in which Black bodies internalize the violence of a colonial racial order. This order operates visually at the level of a historical racial-epidermal schema (Fanon 2008). In conversation with the work of Merleau-Ponty, Fanon proposes a corporal schema of difference, in opposition to Merleau-Ponty's corporal schema of bodily freedom (Fanon, 2008). For Merleau-Ponty there is a freedom that can be accessed at the level of the body because bodies have the ability to move through time and space and exhibit a reciprocal transfer (Fanon 2008). Fanon confronts this, pointing to the imbalance in the dialectic between the Black male body and the world in the form of the racial-epidermal schema

and the assertion that all bodies do not move as freely through space (Fanon 2008). In

pointing towards the imbalance between the Black male body and the world, Fanon cites

the moment of encounter with the white gaze. He recalls:

> ""Look, a Negro!" It was an external stimulus that flicked over me as I passed
> by. I made a tight smile.
> "Look, a Negro!" It was true. It amused me.
> "Look, a Negro!" The circle was drawing a bit tighter. I made no secret of my
> amusement.
> "Mama, see the Negro! I'm frightened!" Frightened! Frightened! Now they
> were beginning to be afraid of me (Fanon, 2008; pg. 84)."

Further:

> "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 move slowly in the world, accustomed now to seek no longer for upheaval.
> 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. I feel, I see in those
> white faces that it is not a new man who has come in, but a new kind of man,
> a new genus. Why, it's a Negro! (Fanon, 2008; pg. 87)."

What this offers is an understanding of how the Black male's encounters under this

white gaze is almost always a violent process. For the purpose of my project this is especially

important because the modern state's current imperatives to profile and violate Black male

bodies is hinged on this visual, epidermal schema of fixing the Black male in a particular

discursive framing at the moment of encounter. It is this gaze that I use as the entry point for

the violation and criminalization of the Black male body. As a result of this encounter with

the white gaze, for Fanon this creates a psycho-existential complex (Fanon 2008). In T*he*

Wretched of the Earth he states that this complex creates a muscular tension in the body of the

Other (Fanon, 2005). In the context of overpolicing strategies deployed in historically racialized, specifically Black neighborhoods, this muscular tension Fanon refers to can be seen as manifesting itself in the frustration of Black males with their constant surveillance – they are constantly ready to pounce (Fanon 2005). The agitation that results from these frustrations can be seen as directly related to the animosity between Black communities and the police as an institution. As a result, the dominant narrative of Black males 'not cooperating' needs to be cast aside, in favour of one that acknowledges these frustrations are rooted in violent colonial practices against the Black body.

In sum, there are a number of theoretical points of departure which this research will address, based upon the intellectual tradition that I have already delineated above. For Foucault, the major theoretical intervention that is useful for this research is the way that panoptic power disseminates and filters itself through various spheres of social and political life. In addition, Foucault highlights the effects of this power on the body more specifically, and the ways in which the source of this power is obscured, and what this means for surveillance as a result (Foucault 1975). While Foucault's emphasis on the body is a necessary concept in this research, his lack of acknowledgement of difference offers my research a space for a radical disruption of the ways in which the power of surveillance and insidious power is mapped onto the Black male body. Agamben's interjection in this theoretical tradition offers a useful way of identifying the threshold of sovereign power. Agamben asserts that the sovereign is not outside of the law, but rather, defines its boundaries, is the threshold of the law, which manifests in the paradoxical logic of exception (Agamben 1998, 2005). Despite these useful interruptions, because Agamben is following the

theoretical lineage of Foucault's work, he also fails to adequately address difference in his work. In addition, Agamben is preoccupied with understanding the boundaries of the sovereign's powers through a legal-juridical lens, and as a result he fails to identify the discursive ways in which this power is mapped onto the Black male body.

Mbembe's work reconciles the lack of attention to race and difference in Foucault and Agamben's work by offering an understanding of the ways in which the destruction of Black bodies is normalized. For Mbembe, what ultimately controls these populations is the threat of death, the necropolitical order, the 'hand on the gun' (Mbembe 2003). While Mbembe is useful for his realignment of the historical and racial antecedents at the heart of the politics of death and biopower, ultimately his project is an institutional framing of biopower. As a result, he leaves out the discursive order that makes these processes possible at the level of the body. Many of these conceptual gaps can be resolved through a careful reading of the works of Frantz Fanon. Fanon is one of the only scholars to date to theorize the Black body, difference, racism, and discursive power by using the Black male body as a launching point. Since I am engaged in a similar project of radical decentering of whiteness in favour of Black male subjectivity, this marks the entry point of my investigation. It is with these aforementioned theoretical framings in mind, that I launch my analysis.

Chapter 2: The Myth of Canadian Multiculturalism

In order to problematize the ways in which gun violence is understood in political and social narratives referring to racialized crime in general, I will demonstrate an understanding of the socio-spatial and ethnocultural contexts in which they are situated. More specifically, this chapter highlights a number of contradictory national mythologies in Canada that serve to obscure the problematic ways in which criminality and the Other is constituted. Ultimately, this section will demonstrate how the institutional and cultural narratives on gun violence in Canada erase the violence that has historically, and continues to occur, against racialized bodies. To begin, this section will critique a number of national mythologies that will complicate the problematic relationship Canada has had with the Other and racialized populations. This largely entails addressing Canada's origins as an explicitly white-settler colony, and as a consequence, the violence, past and ongoing, this has meant for Canada's indigenous populations. Next, this paper will highlight how the erasure of violence against racialized bodies historically continues to solidify the sentiment in Toronto that, because rates of gun homicide are comparably low when compared to cities of comparable size in the United States, that this is not a problem worth addressing with intense scrutiny. Lastly, this chapter will demonstrate how Canada's supposed "benevolence" and appreciation of difference is mobilized not out of a sincere Canadian appreciation of difference, but rather as a political and economic strategy to attract the most 'desirable' immigrants from around the globe. Toronto, one of the most multicultural cities in the world (Dhillon 2013), is an ideal location to deploy this strategy, as its visibility helps further the national mythology that

asserts that Canada as a nation has always been welcoming to its racialized populations, and that the issues with racism that are so salient in the United States are not indicative of our relationship with our Black and Brown communities. Ultimately, what this chapter will demonstrate is that these mythologies of a pristine and almost utopian society for racialized bodies obscures the discursive construction of who may legitimately be a citizen, who the 'settler' is, and how this is mapped onto the bodies of Black and racialized people in Toronto.

I. The Myth of Canadian Benevolence

A number of Canadian mythologies, concomitant with a revisionist history, allows Canada to retain a global reputation as an immigrant nation readily accepting all people from all places and walks of life. This myth is first and foremost inscribed in the ways in which Canada has been historically described at the time of the first settlers as a vast, empty wilderness, awaiting cultivation by white European settlers (Lawrence, 2002). Bonita Lawrence comments on the idea that the legitimacy of a pristine and unique Canadian national identity and culture is built upon the faulty assumption that Canada was awaiting settlement by those who would make use of the land's resources (Lawrence 2002, McKittrick 2007, Smith 2013, Thobani 2007). Because of this, the presence of Canada's indigenous population is essentially erased through the failure to acknowledge that these peoples had lived on this land long before white colonial domination and appropriation of their land (Lawrence, 2002; McKittrick, 2007; Thobani, 2007). Furthermore, this account is one of the ways in which the erasure of the 'native' in Canada is accomplished through the discursive mapping of Canada as solely the product

of white European settlement. For example, Lawrence implicates the role of mercantile

colonialism as one of the ways in which histories of indigenous exclusion are reinforced

(Lawrence 2002). Rewritten through a history that mystifies and depoliticizes the

exploitation of indigenous populations involved in the fur-trade, this revisionist history

serves to credit the success of this industry, and Canada's economy more generally,

solely to the hard-work and ingenuity of specifically white fur-trappers (Lawrence 2002).

Also missing from this history is the constant dispossession and exploitation of

indigenous lands, bodies and resources (Lawrence 2002). In addition, histories of

dispossession and theft of indigenous lands, alongside the continuation of legislations and

policies that solidify their erasure (ie. the Indian Act, residential schooling) must also be

'forgotten' in order for a pure, benevolent national identity to survive and thrive

(Lawrence 2002, Smith 2013, Thobani 2007). In this way, the refusal to acknowledge the

active erasure of these histories becomes an essential feature of white settler-colonialism,

a system that hides these past and ongoing genocides indigenous populations in Canada

(Lawrence 2002, McKittrick 2007, Razack 2002, Smith 2013, Thobani 2007). This

parallels the assumptions made by Agamben earlier in this paper, as this active erasure

hides from view the initial exclusions of our indigenous population, necessary in order to

create a unique notion of Canadian nationhood.

    I am not attempting to draw parallels between the subjectivities of Black and

indigenous bodies. There is already a wealth of research dedicated to the positionality of

Black and indigenous bodies under white settler colonial rule. Notably, Frank Wilderson

explains that Black and indigenous bodies are coded according to differing historical and

cultural axes that must be taken into account when discussing the two, despite the exploitation of both groups being a precondition for the establishment of white settler colonialism (Wilderson 2003). Andrea Smith adds to this, detailing the ways in which this exploitation differs between Black and indigenous bodies. Smith asserts that while the Black body is held in a relationship of property by white settler colonial rule, the indigenous subject is treated as a child (Smith 2013). As a result, it is only when the indigenous subject 'matures' from its status as a child that they may become a full member of white settler society. As a result, Smith claims the "Native" is destroyed upon the culmination of this maturation process, along with their culture and histories (Smith 2013). In this way, the genocidal effects of white settler colonialism are not just felt on the body, but through the erasure of these histories through maturation into full citizens (Smith 2013). This is contrasted with the Black subject, who is already included in the schematics of white settler colonial rule, albeit, initially as property. Furthermore, their potential for citizenship is not predicated on the active dismissal of their own histories. This echoes the ideas of Agamben, as even their idea of nationhood is predicated on an initial exclusion of the indigenous subject and their histories (Agamben 1998, 2005). The complexity of this dynamic definitely complicates the discussion of Black and indigenous positionality. To be clear, I am not attempting to extend this discussion. Rather, I am asserting that a constitutive relationship between the two subjects is created through the creation and continuation of narratives of Canadian benevolence, narratives that serve to erase the injustices both groups have faced in the past and are currently ongoing.

The maturation necessary for indigenous subjects to be included in a white settler society highlights the need for an increased presence of Aboriginal scholars for the narration of their own histories is seldom recognized because of another mythology that the 'native' is 'extinct' and therefore unable to relay this knowledge (Lawrence 2002, Smith 2013). As a result, the continued violence of white settler colonialism is reinforced through the appropriation of their histories and retelling them employing pedagogies of white supremacist rule. Important to revealing and actively contesting this erasure, Lawrence asserts that allowing indigenous communities the ability to write and orate their own histories is crucial to contesting the ways in which knowledge may be produced legitimately (Lawrence 2002). Lawrence laments the ways in which non-native scholarship often speaks *for* indigenous communities, rather than allowing those indigenous communities to speak for themselves and tell their own histories. As such, this imperative represents a strategy for retaining power through retaining the right to orate indigenous histories as they see fit and dislocating them from white colonial and institutional praxis (Lawrence 2002). Lawrence highlights the emancipatory potential of indigenous scholarship being conducted by indigenous scholars. Lawrence claims that such scholarship would allow indigenous communities the ability to determine and legitimize their communities' own imperatives and priorities, through creating a suitable discourse that would enable indigenous communities to discuss such matters among themselves, as well as in solidarity with non-native scholarship (Lawrence 2002).

Another prominent myth deployed in Canada's socio-political landscape is one of a global reputation throughout the Western world as an immigrant nation readily

accepting all people from all places and walks of life. Katherine McKittrick (2007) asserts that this logic operates through Canada's "legacy of racial tolerance and benevolence (McKittrick, 2007; pg. 98)," in part rooted in Canada's involvement in the freeing of slaves from the American South through the Underground Railroad (McKittrick, 2007). According to McKittrick, while this history is a source of pride for Canadians, these histories disregard the racism many of the 'freed' slaves faced upon arrival, as well as Canada's roles in the enslavement of Aboriginals and involvement in the trans-Atlantic slave trade prior to its abolition in 1833 (McKittrick, 2007). In this way, the violence associated with the discursive erasure of violence against the Other forms a constitutive relationship between the 'native' subject and the Black subject as the colonial violence they have both faced historically is obscured from view through coordinated, sterile narratives that disregard this violence and absolves Canada's first settlers of culpability in the trauma caused by white colonial domination.

Moving into the 20th century, new modalities relating to the treatment of racialized populations have emerged. To be sure, in Canada many of the narratives detailing the numerous opportunities for success for immigrants are borrowed from the United States context (McKittrick 2007, Thobani 2007). Given a closer look, the contradictory and problematic nature of these narratives becomes clear. To begin, these narratives of 'unlimited' opportunities for hard-working immigrants became dominant during a period where white European immigrants were by and large the largest immigrant population arriving in Canada (Siemiatycki 2011). As such, while the narrative is that all immigrants may enjoy success and plentiful opportunities for success,

in context, this narrative masks the fact that immigration was largely restricted to white bodies, and even in some cases legislated with this imperative in mind (ie. the Chinese head tax). Therefore, at the level of discourse, this sentiment was originally intended for white migrants that may more easily transition into Canada's white settler social fabric of the time (Siemiatycki 2011). Furthermore, given the vast difference between contexts, the adoption of this American social and moral rhetoric surrounding immigrant opportunity presents an image that is not entirely relevant to Canada's racial and ethnic order. Andrea Smith (2013) warns that the failure to address context specific racial logics with respect to settler-colonialism risks conflating the continuity of one racial logic with another (Smith 2013). In the United States, this racial logic is linked strongly to its relationship with histories of slavery and institutionalized anti-Black racism. However, in Canada, this relationship, while similar with respect to the myths associated with white-settler colonialism, differs with respect to the operation of the racial logics that determine the 'deserving' and potential Canadian subject more specifically (Smith 2013). In Canada, it can be seen that the refusal to acknowledge the presence of indigenous populations at the time of confederation is just one of the many acts of dehumanization that has occurred as a result of white settler colonialism. In addition to this, the implication and compliance (willful or not) of immigrant populations in this process of dehumanization offers a point of convergence as to the ways in which the aforementioned mythologies are rationalized and further hidden.

II. *Not here, but there*

The dismissal of the racialized nature of gun violence in Toronto due to its relatively low numbers compared to cities in the United Stateshas troubling implications for the ways in which Black male subjectivity is understood. It is undeniablethat, in relation to a city of comparable size in the United States, the rate of gun violence and overall crime in Toronto is much lower. However, I take issue with are the ways in which the resulting narratives obscure the important conversations that have been going on in Black communities in Toronto about the violence in their neighborhoods. This sentiment that 'it's not so bad' in Toronto, based on a substitution of American terms, is problematic. What is rarely discussed is that this 'relatively low' violence disproportionately affects Black communities in Toronto. This means that, while "not so bad" for all, it is still a serious problem that Toronto's Black community has grappled with for decades. To be clear, I am not asserting that Toronto's issues with gun violence is necessarily worse than in other cities. What I am interested in here is how discourses around racialized crime and 'Black on Black violence' are strategically mobilized depending on their political value, and as a result, silence the victims of these tragedies, predominantly Black males. Ultimately, this requires a strategy that is first and foremost concerned with repositioning the Black body at the centre of the conversation, rather as something that is identified, vilified, and whose destruction is justified.

To begin with, the assertion of an inherent benevolence towards the Other across Canada's socio-cultural and political landscape, essentially obscures Canada's own implication in violent erasures and violence against the Other, as I mentioned before

(McKittrick 2007, Thobani 2007). This is first and foremost built upon the erasure of Canada's Aboriginal population from Canada's socio-cultural landscape. By decentering racism as something that occurs 'elsewhere', in the United States, "not here" but "there", a constitutive relationship can be seen in the ways in which both indigenous and Black bodies are silenced, and the violence and racism against them, obscured. These dismissive narratives, that the prevalence of gun crime in Toronto's racialized neighborhoods are nothing but a series of isolated problems with no connection to each other, is emblematic of the ways in which these political and institutional narratives continue to fail to recognize the ways in which Toronto, and Canada more generally, has sought to absolve itself of its own problematic histories of racism, violent occupation, and neglect with relation to its racialized populations. As a result, this dismissal effectively decenters problems with our racialized population, and race more generally, as an issue that does not exist here.

As a result of this decentering, the moral panic and paranoia that manifests itself in the aftermath of highly visible instances of gun violence is often anchored in the racial paranoia and the spectre of race relations in the United States. As such, the common comparison that is made between Toronto and American cities highlights how the United States is used as a barometer for how crime is more or less bad in Canada. The sentiment that it is 'not as bad' is grounded in the (problematic) discursive relationship being made between our race relations and the United States. Because it is wrongfully assumed that the issues with race in United States don't exist *here*, the dismissal of Toronto's problems with gun violence obfuscates the inherently racialized nature of this violence. In this way,

the subjectivity of Black male bodies is masked, as, even in death, their oppression is at once heightened and obscured. The denial of this as 'our problem' leads to the failure to recognize the victims of this violence, and a failure to recognize that this violence is located first and foremost on racialized bodies.

Consequently, the dismissal of problems with racism in general is further intensified through the failure to acknowledge the subjectivity of Black male victims of gun crime, even in death. Such an analysis necessarily centers the American city in its comparisons. The use of American "global" cities like New York and Chicago as the archetypical examples through which to compare Toronto to, as will be shown later, is accomplished through many aspects of political and social spheres, with Toronto historically known to adopt its policy imperatives from major American cities.

III. Toronto in the multicultural imagination

I have chosen Toronto as my primary site of analysis for a number of reasons. To begin, Toronto is regarded as the preeminent example of the Global City in Canada. Because of this, Toronto holds a privileged position in Canada's socio-spatial and political economic order. Furthermore, Toronto is often compared to other major American cities, and thus has come to represent a sort of American metropolis on Canadian soil. Toronto is the most populous city in Canada, and the 4th most populous city in North America after Mexico City, New York City, and Los Angeles (Statistics Canada 2011). The growth of the city's population can be attributed largely to the large immigrant population, arriving steadily over the course of the 20th century.

Another reason for the city's immigrant population growth is a series of amalgamations that annexed the city's closest neighborhoods. While smaller annexations were prevalent, one remains especially significant. Under the supervision of then-premier Mike Harris, Ontario's Conservative government initiated a major amalgamation of Toronto's major inner suburbs in 1998 (see figure 1.1) that would result today's City of Toronto, or "Megacity" (Siemiatycki 2011). This amalgamation was promoted under the language of cost-efficiency and was at the very core of the spatial reordering of Harris' neoliberal agenda. Despite a municipal referendum and overwhelming rejection of the amalgamation locally, the Harris "Common Sense Revolution" that sought to reduce taxes while reducing the size of government essentially strong-armed the process, despite attempts by opposition parties and residents in the city's inner suburbs to prevent or at least slow down the process of amalgamation (Clarkson 1999, Keil 2002). On January 1st, 1998, the City of Toronto officially incorporated the surrounding suburbs of Scarborough, Etobicoke, York, East York, and North York (Keil 2002).

Toronto's local politics promoting 'diversity and inclusiveness' can be considered as part and parcel of the demographic shift that occurred as a result of both the intensification of immigration from the Global South since the mid-1970s significantly complicated Toronto's racialized geography. Because of the large-scale immigration that occurred in the 1990s, an "immigrant-friendly consensus" became a necessary political and institutional ambition, necessitated not out of the inherent benevolence of the city's majority white political leadership, but rather, necessitated by an electoral "self-

preservationist" goal of the city's white-dominated City Council (Siemiatycki, 2011; pg. 1226).

As mentioned before, this language of benevolence is essential to a distinctly Canadian cultural and national character that cemented itself in the nation's relationship to a new class of immigrant. Beginning in the 1970s, the dominant immigrant groups ceased to flow from Europe, and migration patterns were instead dominated by groups from the Global South (Thobani 2007). Thobani (2007) claims that the adoption of "multiculturalism" as an official national policy helped to politicize and institutionalize the "cultural diversity" apparent in Canada's major cities, and promoted Canada as a world leader with respect to the racial and ethnic tolerance of its immigrant populations (Thobani 2007, pg. 144). Furthermore, Thobani notes that this national character is mobilized in ways that actively contest and differ from United States melting pot discourses, through the apparent acceptance of difference by the receiving white population in Canada (Thobani 2007). Thobani labels these aforementioned commitments to immigrants as utopian and idealistic, arguing that the highly publicized institutionalization of multiculturalism discourses by Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau instead served a growing need for low-skill and service based labor in Canada (Thobani 2007).

Julian Brash (2012) highlights that this strategy is not particular to Toronto, referring to the multiculturalism narratives in New York City. Brash states that in New York, the push to redevelop (read, gentrify) the city's Black neighbourhoods was emblematic of a political agenda that had been accompanied by a type of 'corporate

multiculturalism' that tokenized the value of the city's diversity (Brash, 2012). Through this neoliberal project of 'corporate multiculturalism', a number of political, economic, and socio-cultural goals are simultaneously achieved – 'preferred' immigrants are attracted for the purpose of exploiting their labour. As a result, the value of their 'culture' becomes attached to the salience of their cultural markers – cuisine, music, art—for consumption by the receiving white population and neoliberal expansion more broadly (Brash 2012). Through this discursive and strategic rebranding of Canada as a 'benevolent' white, immigrant nation, the aforementioned foundations of white supremacy upon which the national culture itself is built is overlooked. The expansion of the myth of Toronto's acceptance of difference has become so widespread that Toronto's dedication to multiculturalism has begun to earn it a reputation as a 'post-racial' society (Hune-Brown 2012). As a result, the destabilization of Black subjectivities in light of these political and economic changes is masked, and the tokenistic violence these strategies embody is shielded from view.

The claim of an inherent Canadian benevolence to its immigrant population, while built upon the erasure of indigenous peoples, also implicates the treatment of other racialized populations, both historically and ongoing. As a result, we may begin to see how the violence against Canada's Aboriginal population allows us to understand the constitutive relationship that is formed in relation with Black bodies by forwarding and emphasizing discourses of benevolence. Furthermore, we can see how these histories are concealed by the dismissal of gun violence as a problem in Toronto's social fabric. Within this narrative is the dislocation of racism from the Canadian context by way of its

comparison to racial ordering and subsequent patterns of gun violence in the United States. Finally, the politics of immigration and the institutionalization of multiculturalism narratives allows for the further expansion of this project of obscuring the colonial antecedents of our current ethnoracial order. As a result, we may see how the lack of appreciation for Black male subjectivity goes unnoticed in favour of a discursive project of maintaining an inherent Canadian benevolence, and ultimately, innocence when it comes to the destruction of Black bodies.

Chapter 3: Fear of a Black Planet

The goal of this chapter is to demonstrate an understanding of the dominant representations of Black spaces in political and institutional narratives. More specifically, this section will show how interpretations of historically Black spaces are problematically conflated with criminality and deviance. To begin, this chapter will examine how fantasies and dominant ideas surrounding gun violence discourse draws on fears of the "contagious", "endemic" nature of racialized violence and crime, and how Black spaces are the origins of this contagion. Here, the dominant narratives surrounding 'Black on Black violence' in the United States figures prominently in the calculus of the discursive reinforcement of Black bodies as inherently criminal, as is the notion that these crimes are the product of the inherent impurity of Black spaces. Next, I will demonstrate how the language that is deployed to refer to the 'ghetto' is steeped in an ethno-racial logic that, at its very core, draws its historical roots from the fear of the deviant other. This logic has been used historically to rationalize the demarcation and segregation (both spatially and socially) of difference and is rooted in a prejudicial fear of the Other. Lastly, this paper will take an in-depth look at the origins and continued use of Stop-and-Frisk laws in New York City. The presence of New York in this analysis allows my research to hone in on the precedential legal and institutional frameworks of 'carding' in Toronto that originated with the New York Police Department's Stop-and-Frisk program. This analysis will first and foremost show how the legal jurisprudence in which these laws are grounded is one that prioritizes the erasure of violence that has historically occurred against Black male bodies through the sterilized legal and judicial practices that

seek to hunt down the inherently criminal Black male body. Furthermore, this section will show how the social, moral, and political rhetoric surrounding the War on Drugs further justified, and continues to justify the manifestation of racist police practices in Black communities. Ultimately, this section will show how these histories of policing are implicated in the discursive reproduction of Black males as inherently criminal, thus rationalizing coordinated, and state sanctioned violence on Black male bodies. In doing so, I will shed light on the problems Black male bodies face by being "known to the police", in a perpetual state of liminality between criminality and innocence.

I. Visions of the South Side

As discussed earlier, the question of whether Toronto has a growing problem with gun violence forwards a number of problematic narratives. Already discussed were the ways in which, on one end of the spectrum this amounts to a dismissive approach to gun violence and problems with racism in general in Canada. However, on the other end of this polarity is something equally problematic. There is a growing concern that, if Toronto's problems with gun violence in its Black communities goes unchecked, this problem will spill over into other neighborhoods. The insinuation here is that this problem may spread like a "contagion", and that proactive strategies to "solve" the problem must be undertaken in order to prevent the epidemic of gun crime from spreading. As mentioned earlier, Foucault shows how political narratives concerning the 'plague' represent an opportunity for the state to more proactively supervise deviant spaces and bodies (Foucault 1975). This concern is predicated on the deployment of places like South Side Chicago, Harlem, Watts, and Detroit as examples of places that

Toronto could 'end up like' if we don't take a proactive stance on policing gun violence and Black crime (Florida 2013). This conflates separate social landscapes and ethnoracial logics, reinforces the dominant racialized and racist stereotypes about both Black criminality and Black communities, and forwards a prejudiced anti-Black racist narrative veiled under the pretense of a common public concern for all (Smith 2013).

Much of the academic research regarding the urban poor in North America and Western Europe focuses on the United States context. In places like Canada and the United Kingdom, research aimed at identifying these areas tends to use frames of reference that are specific to the United States. Loïc Wacquant (2008) highlights the problems associated with this using the conflation of the Black American ghetto and the banlieue in Paris, France as an example (Wacquant 2008). This conflation has influenced an institutional response rooted in the fears of the growing immigrant populations in urban centres throughout Europe and the United States (Slater and Anderson 2011, Wacquant 2008). This response, steeped in the racist and xenophobic fears of receiving white populations politicizes the 'ills' associated with the urban poor in a way that induces a moral panic directly tied to negative stereotypes of the Black ghetto (Slater and Anderson 2011, Wacquant 2008). City planning divisions in these contexts have responded to such panics by proposing the systematic "revitalization" of historically racialized neighborhoods in 'declining' urban centres. With respect to Toronto, the use of the term 'ghetto' only serves to appropriate and further perpetuate a similar moral panic.

Historically, the definition of the 'ghetto' has taken on various mutations. The term itself draws its origins from Renaissance Venice, referring to areas of high

concentrations of Jewish populations living in squalid conditions (Slater and Anderson 2011, Waquant 2008). These were areas that were viewed with contempt, considered a source of the weakening regional power of Italy, and a sign of a moral corruption characterized by Jewish migration into Italy in the 17th century (Slater and Anderson 2011, Waquant 2008). Therefore, at its very inception, the ghetto came to describe a socio-spatial device designed to protect the city's white Christian residents from the perceived dangers associated with the Jewish population (Slater and Anderson 2011, Waquant 2008). Consequently, this term is steeped in an ethnoracial logic that at once creates a ethno-spatial hierarchy that defines which bodies should be under more intense surveillance and socio-spatial control. As Foucault (1975) elucidates in his description of 'partitioning' as a tool of political containment, this formula for ghettos as instruments of ethnoracial control and closure have historically helped to proliferate the confinement and stigmatization of Black and racialized bodies (Slater and Anderson 2011, Waquant 2008). Wacquant highlights this, stating that, while vast differences can be seen from context to context, the motivations that justify and reinforce ghetto formation remain fairly rigid, to the extent that it "enables a dominant status group in an urban setting simultaneously to ostracize and exploit a subordinate group endowed with negative symbolic capital (Wacquant 2000, pg. 383)."

However, what Wacquant misses is that these fears of Black spaces and bodies are not only predicated on their discursive (re)production as inherently criminal, but is also predicated on a fear of Black autonomy and liberation. It is not simply just a fear of deviant or violent behaviour, but also a fear of a politicized violence, of violent

revolution or any kind of social struggle that promotes Black autonomy (Fanon 2005).

What Harlem, Chicago, and Watts all have in common that cause them to be the

recurring spatial location for Black deviance is not only the rigid spatial (and

problematic) manifestations of inherent Black criminality, but also spaces in which the

institutional violence Black bodies faced was responded to in the form of 'violent rioting'

(Rucker and Upton 2007). In this way, these spaces represent at once spaces of

oppression but also of a potentiality for violent revolution that, without these obscuring

discourses, presents a troubling framework of anti-colonial resistance.

II. The dark ghetto and deviance

The pathologization and militarization of the Black ghetto informs the ways in

which a discursive Black criminality is reinforced and inscribed in the very strategies and

goals of the state. These characterizations evoke images of Black criminality and

violence that remain rigid and persistent across many distinct social landscapes. These

views further inform the notion of some spaces as inherently criminogenic and more

receptive to violence and deviance than other areas (Hayward 2012). The

institutionalization of these sentiments can be seen as a direct result of the deployment of

'broken windows theory'. The central premise behind this theory maintains that policing

minor forms of disorder and deviance may allow for the regulation of more serious

threats to urban life and general well being (Curtis 2012, Hayward 2012, Mitchell 2003,

Mitchell 2010). Authored by criminologists and urban sociologists James Wilson, George

Kelling, and Catherine Coles, the theory goes as far as to insist that if even a single

'broken window' is left untended to, it signals a lack of care for that space and may invite

other, more serious, criminal and 'anti-social' behaviour (Hayward 2012, Mitchell 2003, Mitchell 2010). This behaviour is defined as any action that disturbs urban life, and that more simple manifestations of disorder, like a broken window, helps to foster a criminogenic atmosphere, leaving the space more susceptible to more serious offences (Hayward 2012, Mitchell, 2010). Proponents of the theory claim that the sight of a 'broken window' is alone enough to invite an intensification of more serious criminal activity. Don Mitchell (2003) analyzes the ways in which this theory has been deployed as a way of identifying potential threats to urban communities. Mitchell notes the apparent vagueness embedded within the typology of what constitutes "disorder" in these urban spaces. The theory offers a set of characteristics that broadly defines disorderly behaviour, which include:

> "…aggressive panhandling, street prostitution, drunkenness and public drinking, menacing behaviour, harassment, obstruction of streets and public spaces, vandalism and graffiti, public urination and defecation, unlicensed vending and peddling, unsolicited washing of cars (squeegeeing) and other acts (Mitchell 2003; pg. 200)."

The idea that some areas can be more 'criminogenic' than others reeks of an environmental determinism that, as Keith Hayward claims, is still common in environmental criminology, despite being heavily criticized in other academic disciplines such as geography (Hayward 2012). Hayward claims that in some fields of environmental criminology, the way space is implicated rarely goes further than basic, 'objective' portrayals of space (Hayward 2012). Hayward offers a direct criticism of broken windows theory as a flawed interpretation of urban space and advances the flawed notion that the environment is simply a geographic site or location, and not itself a

product of, and producer of, power relations (Hayward 2012, Lefebvre 1991).

Furthermore, this archaic view of social spaces negates the discursive meanings

embedded in the cultural and social dynamics that help to shape these spaces (Hayward

2012). This simplistic approach is rooted in the academic legacy of the Chicago School

of (urban) Sociology, and as a result the complexity of these power relationships are

neglected in favour of a more managerialiastic approach intended to provide rational and

readily quantifiable results for policy purposes (Hayward 2012, Lefebvre 1975).

Hayward draws attention to the ways in which this outlook on the urban was affected by

outside influence and political power. He claims that:

> "the street is co-opted 'from above' in the sense of city planners and
> governmental and civic agencies inviting in the perspective of the
> rational policy-oriented ideal – a road that led ultimately to the creation
> of disciplinary variants such as environmental and administrative
> criminology (Hayward 2012; pg. 445)."

The rollout and intensification of such practices is evident in former New York

City mayor Rudy Giuliani's views on disorder. The central tenets of broken windows

theory are echoed by Giuliani in a speech he delivered in 1994, where he proclaimed that

visible disorder was emblematic of a city out of control, a city that cannot protect its

spaces or its children (Smith 2002).

Unfortunately, much of the literature on broken windows theory fails to leave space

for a centering the Black male body in its considerations. While the theory might be

useful for many different aspects of regulating social and urban life, the dominant ways

in which it was deployed was in conversation with the "disorder" that is mapped on to

Black bodies, making Black populations subject to intense scrutiny by the police. In this

way, Blackness itself is the disorder, and the presence of Blackness in marginalized communities is itself an indicator of a more widespread dysfunction in particular neighbourhoods. It is important to note that broken windows theory has been predominantly used in order to rationalize the stop, search, and unlawful detention of Black males in high crime areas (Mitchell 2010). While the available literature offers a useful starting point for determining how these interpretations of urban space are insufficient for addressing effects on Black communities from an institutional framework, this literature fails to demonstrate how this framework is first anchored in a project of defining Blackness itself as a pathology that must be watched, managed, and ultimately, corrected through intense surveillance, policing, and incarceration. At the core of Giuliani's political rhetoric was the fear of the supposed violence that had become rampant in New York. Katharyne Mitchell highlights this sentiment in one of his speeches:

> "Time brings all things to pass, and with the start of my Administration New York City is poised for dramatic change. The era of fear has had a long enough reign. The period of doubt has run its course. As of this moment the expressions of cynicism, New York is not governable, not manageable, not worth it. Our priority must be to reduce the violence. I'll place a much greater emphasis on stricter enforcement of the law to reverse the growing trend of ever-increasing tolerance for lawless behavior. (Mitchell 2010, pg. 290)"

Preying on the 'fears' of the white, middle class population, this sentiment at once signalled both the intent and rationalization of zero-tolerance policing in New York City. It is within this context that Giuliani broadened the scope of what could be interpreted as criminal or deviant behaviour. This zero-tolerance mandate was situated in a "sharp,

severe, and highly punitive reaction to a form of behaviour deemed malicious or 'anti-social' to the surrounding community (Mitchell 2010, pg. 290)." With this in mind, it becomes all the more difficult to demarcate what exact forms of 'deviance' would justify the unlawful stopping, questioning, and detention of Black males. Here, the legal discretion police possess is further expanded to allow them to make their own interpretations of what is "anti-social" behaviour in the name of protecting a "common good."

The use of broken windows theory has altered the dominant paradigms within which state power and authority operate in order to police Black neighborhoods and control the criminalized Black male body. This can be seen with the intensification of Stop-and-Frisk, however it is also important to note that the origins of this strategy coincides with the launch of national anti-drug and gang policing strategy in efforts to curb the prevalence of other, more violent crimes (Brash 2012, Gordon 2006, Lynch et al. 2013, Mitchell 2010). Beginning in the early 1970s, efforts to curtail the use and sale of illicit drugs in the United States provided yet another rationale for the arbitrary invasion and violation of the rights of racialized populations (Gordon 2006). While the constitutionality of the Stop-and-Frisk law can be argued under United States legal standards, as will be explained later, its interpretations and uses become all the more troubling given the contexts within which they were heavily enforced. The "War on Drugs" drastically increased the disproportionate amount of police contact with Black bodies and served as a political and ideological backdrop for the enforcement of these changes (Lynch, et

al. 2013). Although President Richard Nixon coined the phrase 'War on Drugs' in 1971, the campaign's most visible and vocal supporter may have been President Ronald Reagan during his presidency between the years of 1981 and 1989.

President Reagan took a more offensive approach to battling drug use and drug trafficking. Under his administration, the United States federal government created much harsher sentences and other financial penalties for drug offenses (Whitford and Yates 2009). Reagan was especially preoccupied with the use of crack cocaine. Under Reagan, the United States established much stiffer penalties for the use of crack cocaine than for any other drug (Lynch 2012). It is important to note that these stiffer penalties would have a disproportionate effect on Black communities, where the use of crack cocaine was much higher than in other communities since crack cocaine was relatively cheap and therefore more accessible to the largely poor urban Black populations (Lynch 2012). These ideological attacks against drug-use and sale, focusing on Black males, continue to shape the rampant zero-tolerance rhetoric established in the 1980s and 1990s.

There are a number of contradictions that are immediately salient when analyzing the War on Drugs and the ways in which these ideological frameworks have been deployed in major American cities. A look at how policing the "progressive", city during the 'War on Drugs' implicates a racialized geography of targeted police practices in a number of strategies that seeks to more efficiently quell the threat of Black criminality (Lynch et al. 2013). In New York, historically

embedded local racial politics shaped the structures of policing that have resulted in

racially discriminatory practices in law enforcement (Lynch et al. 2013).

Considering New York's adoption of zero-tolerance policies and the intensification

of its Stop-and-Frisk program, the mid-1990s under Mayor Rudy Giuliani

epitomized the racialized nature of strategies that sought to hunt down and capture

the deviant Black male. The main impetus behind the use of zero-tolerance policies

was to target smaller, petty offences (ie. drug possession) as a vehicle for justifying

'proactive' policing (Lynch et al. 2013, Mitchell 2003, Mitchell 2010, Smith 1998).

Because of this need for 'proactive policing', a significant amount of discretion is

awarded to officers to stop and question people in these areas in the hope of finding

something more substantial that may lead to other, more serious offences. Here, the

inherent criminality associated with Black bodies puts them on the front line of this

assault and the spaces in which they socialize and reside become the 'warzones'

where these interactions play out.

    In this way, the deployment of zero tolerance policies is emblematic of new

forms of control that govern urban space directed primarily towards Black bodies.

With respect to the threat of Black crime pervading white middle-class communities

and their values, the objective is to corral and control their bodies, and prevent the

threat in the first place. Katharyne Mitchell claims that these police practices, aimed

at corporeal control, are accompanied by new forms of social control (Mitchell

2010). Mitchell claims that because of these policies and narratives that justify them,

the movement of marginalized populations becomes constrained (Mitchell 2010). By

identifying and linking forms of spatial disorder with social disorder, those that live in the most stigmatized urban spaces, such as public housing, could be legally and permanently banished from them, often for minor infractions (Mitchell 2010). The language of deviance, 'zero-tolerance', 'broken windows theory' and Stop-and-Frisk can therefore be useful for understanding the need to 'subdue' Black male populations, and 'keep them in their place' through violent policing tactics.

III. From New York – Toronto: Stop-and-Frisk, Neoliberalism, and CompStat

In order to understand how the legal and judicial practices used to police historically racialized neighborhoods has informed the discursive mapping of criminality onto Black bodies, I will delineate in this section the origins of coordinated institutional campaigns to police Black spaces. Since strategies such as Stop-and-Frisk and carding necessarily rely on erroneous notions of the inherently criminal Black male, this section will reveal how these narratives are mobilized and forwarded through the language of objective reason and efficiency. In doing so, this chapter will situate the contentious issues surrounding carding within existing conversations on over-policing strategies. First, this chapter will provide a look at the legal precedents that have shaped New York's controversial 'Stop-and-Frisk' laws. Next, this chapter will highlight the importance of broader socio-political narratives in shaping local policing programs and tactics. This section will focus primarily on the influence of neoliberal rhetoric surrounding the 'War on Drugs' and how these narratives have further justified the intensification of racist stereotypes concerning the inherent criminality of Black and Brown bodies. This section will establish an appropriate starting point for understanding

the deployment of aggressive police tactics in historically racialized neighborhoods in Toronto.

This section will draw on the legal precedents that have actively promoted the racialization of criminal behavior, and the pathologization of the spaces most often associated with Black bodies. As a police strategy, carding draws its language and procedures from the use of "Stop-and-Frisk" laws in New York. Stop-and-Frisk has become infamous for the outrage surrounding the particularly racialized character of the stops in question, and the unapologetic attitude the New York City Police Department has displayed in the face of this criticism. The legal origins of "Stop-and-Frisk" stem from an amendment to the New York Code of Criminal Procedures on July 1st, 1964, that added provisions which enhanced the power of police (Margeson 2014, Ward 2014, Zeidman 2013). These powers made it possible for police officers in the state of New York to stop citizens they suspect of having committed a crime, or those they believe to be in the process of committing a crime. This amendment gave the police in the state of New York broad discretion to act on behalf of the "safety of the general public." The law states:

> "Temporary questioning of persons in public places; search for weapons.
>
> 1. A police officer may stop any person abroad in a public place whom he reasonably suspects is committing, has committed or is about to commit (a) a felony or (b) a misdemeanor defined in the penal law, and may demand of him his name, address and an explanation of his conduct.
>
> 2. When a police officer has stopped a person for questioning pursuant to this section and reasonably suspects that he is in danger of life or limb, he may search such person for a dangerous weapon. If the police

officer finds such a weapon or any other thing the possession of which may constitute a crime, he may take and keep it until the completion of the questioning, at which time he shall either return it, if lawfully possessed, or arrest such person. (Ronayne 1964; New York Code of Criminal Procedures 140:50)."

Critics of this amendment have claimed this change allows for the police to commit numerous violations of a citizen's constitutional rights. Scholars and activists alike have highlighted that the existence of this law constitutes an egregious disregard of Fourth Amendment rights, including the right to freedom from unreasonable searches and seizures without probable cause (Brash 2012, Margeson 2014, Ward 2014, Zeidman 2013). In addition, the amendment is criticized for violations of the Fifth Amendment, which allows citizens to abstain from incriminating themselves or be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of the law (Margeson 2014, Zeidman 2013).

Tracing the legal contours of Stop-and-Frisk, it is important to note the case of *Terry v. Ohio*. *Terry v. Ohio* was the first high profile case that actively engaged the aforementioned legal amendment. The case established a legal and judicial precedent that, until today, has justified the institutionalized violence against Black bodies at the hands of the police, and the further pathologization of Black spaces. On October 31st, 1963, John W. Terry, a Black male, was stopped by a Cleveland police officer along with two other men, also Black males (Margeson 2014, Ward 2014). The officer, suspicious that the three men were in the process of planning a robbery, followed and approached them. The officer identified himself and proceeded to 'pat down' the outside of the three men's clothing, during which he found a concealed weapon in Terry's overcoat (Margeson 2014, Ward 2014). Terry and one of his associates, Richard Chilton, were

found guilty of carrying a concealed weapon, a felony in the State of New York. Terry and Chilton attempted to appeal the decision on the grounds that the weapons that were found in their possession were only found due to the violation of their Fourth Amendment rights (Margeson 2014, Ward 2014). Their appeals were denied on the grounds that there was no substantial constitutional question involved. According to the prosecution, because they had acted 'suspiciously', this gave the officer enough cause to act and question them thus allowing the officer the discretion to search Terry and his associates. As a result, the court claimed that the officer was well within the boundaries of the constitution to question and search the three men (Margeson 2014, Ward 2014).

Terry v. Ohio set such a strong legal precedent that Stop-and-Frisks are still sometimes referred to as "Terry stops" (Margeson 2014, Zeidman 2013). The most significant outcome of this case may have been the ways in which privacy had become of secondary importance to the concerns of law and order and the 'public good', with or without the evidence of 'probable cause' (Margeson 2014, Zeidman 2013). This relates back to Agamben's ideas on biopolitics, as the ways in which the idea of the "common" or "public good" is deployed in order to mask and/or justify the initial and lasting exclusions that modern nation-states are predicated upon. Here, the courts emphasized that the police should be given the discretion to actively patrol and keep their neighbourhoods safe, and that the constitutional concerns expressed by Terry and Chilton were not significant enough (Zeidman 2013). Of course, the idea that the police should be taking a vigilant approach to prevent violence and other criminal behaviour is not one that would readily meet strong objection. However, what is significant about the court's

position is that its neutral narrative regarding policing in urban communities masks the disproportionate deployment of this "proactive" policing on racialized populations and spaces. Furthermore, the 'neutrality' evident in the documentation of these legal proceedings strips the case of its historical significance. At a time when racial tensions ran high in the United States, the lack of contextual data surrounding this decision in legal archives further mystifies its problematic nature.

Coming just months after the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., these archives fail to mention the context of heightened racial discord between the predominantly white New York police force, and its Black communities. This is not merely a coincidence, as the decision effectively awarded the police the power to arbitrarily stop and question Black bodies in order to document them and identify if they were potential threats in an era of racial turmoil (Margeson 2014). The vague definition of 'suspicious behaviour' allowed (and continues to allow) the police to use their own discretion in deciding the nature of these threats, and as such, the aforementioned suspicion of Black bodies becomes justified through its discursive connection with this suspicion alone. Margeson illustrates that within the American legal system it is quite easy for police officers to justify their actions and dismiss constitutional concerns, yet quite difficult to defend against these violations by police officers (Margeson 2014). An example Margeson uses is the codified language that is used by the police when conducting arbitrary stops, from "suspicious behaviour", to "casing a job" (Margeson 2014). Despite these problems, cynicism continues to dominate the literature and narratives on programs like Stop-and-Frisk. Given the political and legal climate, then

and now, Zeidman notes that it is unlikely that governments and their police forces will forfeit the amount of legal discretion they have been awarded to proactively police high-crime neighbourhoods (Zeidman 2013). Despite this, he claims that there is a significant gap in the American legal system, one that highlights the lack of legal mechanisms for maintaining the integrity of citizens' Fourth Amendment rights (Zeidman 2013).

While the literature thoroughly presents the legal and juridical upon which Stop-and-Frisk is predicated, there is a significant gap when attempting to understand the discursive implications of these institutional narratives. With respect to protecting the safety of the general public, safety itself is vaguely defined in order to prey upon the fears the city's white middle class majority has of the racialized other, or criminal Black male. This fear is what has allowed the NYPD to freely deploy these tactics and retain their discretionary power in conducting Stop-and-Frisks, which still today constitute a practice in which Black male bodies are subjected to state-sanctioned violence and the suspension of their rights.

The growth and intensification of Stop-and-Frisks, and other zero-tolerance policing strategies coincides with the growth and intensification of neoliberal governance and socio-political and economic ideologies (Mitchell 2010). As a result of this, there has been a noticeable push from major cities towards becoming more "competitive" with each other. As cities like New York and Toronto compete with one another towards their shared goal of embodying "global city" ideals, the necessity to police and scrutinize the Black male body becomes an imperative. Furthermore, the development of neoliberal

policies has prioritized a form of technocratic managerialism that has rationalized the intensification of Stop-and-Frisks through the language of cost-efficiency and lean governance (Brash 2012).

By neoliberalism, I do not intend to suggest a self-sustaining system of political-economic doctrines, but a form of governance driven by a set of core economic values that have a wide array of effects on social and political life in modern capitalist societies. Here, David Harvey's definition of neoliberalism may serve as a pertinent entry point:

> "Neoliberalism is in the first instance a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade. The role of the state is to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate to such practices. The state has to guarantee, for example, the quality and integrity of money. It must also set up those military, defence, police and legal structures and functions required to secure private property rights and to guarantee, by force if need be, the proper functioning of markets. Furthermore, if markets do not exist (in areas such as land, water, education, health care, social security, or environmental pollution) then they must be created, by state action if necessary. But beyond these tasks the state should not venture. State interventions in markets (once created) must be kept to a bare minimum because, according to the theory, the state cannot possibly possess enough information to second-guess market signals (prices) and because powerful interest groups will inevitably distort and bias state interventions (particularly in democracies) for their own benefit" (Harvey 2005, pg. 2).

The emphasis on liberal economic ideologies within this system of governance makes it an imperative that competition is allowed to flourish in order to provide an ideal economic environment that may benefit many different spheres of social life. This neoliberal governance that has accompanied the desire and path to successful 'global

cities', encourages this competition between cities like New York and Toronto (Harvey 2005, Smith 2002). Lynch et al. (2013) highlight this by showing how cities become stratified in comparison to their demographics and their respective desirability (Lynch et al. 2013). As a result, in order to ensure the safety of the global citizen, the imperative of competition has fuelled the adoption of various policing technologies with little opposition (Lynch et al. 2013).

In the context of New York, the intensification of a coordinated Stop-and-Frisk strategy highlights the need to move towards more 'technocratic and corporate strategies' to alleviate high crime areas (Brash 2012, Hayward 2012). The practice of stopping and frisking racialized individuals is situated in a rational managerialism that considers this approach the most efficient, 'lean' and effective way to curb more serious, violent crimes (Brash 2012, Hayward 2012, Mitchell 2003). However, what is missed in this calculation is the lack of attention paid to the victims of such violent crimes, and the systemic and discursive violence that is implicated in the continuation of targeted police practices in historically Black and racialized neighbourhoods. Such is the logic, strategy, and trajectory of neoliberal urbanism, rationalizing urban governance and even violence with the express purpose of fostering economic development and utility (Brash 2012).

A major example of this is the New York Police Department's use of CompStat. CompStat is a geographic information system database used to map crime throughout various neighbourhoods in the hopes of eradicating it more 'efficiently' (Brash 2012, Mitchell 2010). In order to enhance the New York Police Department's commitment to

efficiency and rational, "proactive" policing, the use of CompStat serves as a prime example of the technocratic managerialism I referred to earlier. The premise behind its supposed efficiency is the ability of the New York Police Department to see exactly where crimes are happening most, and subsequently allocate their resources more efficiently as a pre-emptive way of reducing the city's overall crime rate (Brash 2012, Mitchell 2010). Current New York Police Department Commissioner William J. Bratton first introduced CompStat while serving his first term as Commissioner under Rudy Giuliani. Despite its supposedly 'objective' and unbiased use of crime statistics, numerous critiques have been lobbed at CompStat. CompStat is an exemplary form of neoliberal governmentality, where the practices of benchmarking, assessment, and competition are prioritized over the rights and concerns of those subject to its power (Brash 2012, Mitchell 2003, Mitchell 2010).

Branded as an 'apolitical' technology based purely on empirical evidence, CompStat was used in New York City to effectively rationalize the intensification of police presence in Black communities, and allowed the further rationalization of the core values central to the "War on Drugs". In the process of producing detailed crime data by neighbourhood, the CompStat database effectively created a typology of its urban spaces that were deemed more endemic to crime (Mitchell 2010, Lynch et al. 2013). These databases provide an identification of the city's crime 'hotspots' that is quantifiable, and in doing so, further reinforces the negative stereotypes associated with high crime and racialized neighbourhoods. As a result, the stigma and stereotypes of historically troubled neighbourhoods is crystallized and used in a coordinated strategy to increase police

presence in those neighbourhoods. In the context of increasing pressure to decrease crime rates, the use of CompStat by the New York Police Department as a proactive response to the War on Drugs and gang related violence in the city seems, at best, a strategy through which they may "find" crime and justify the expansion of their reach and presence in Black communities. Perhaps most disquieting about the pressure to reduce overall crime is the competition it fostered between commanders and officers, as they were subject to comparisons for the most amount of criminals "taken off the streets" and the biggest "quality of life improvements" for their respective jurisdictions (Baker and Rivera 2010). Precincts have even gone so far as to falsify and/or set quotas for officers in order to compete with other precincts in the police department (Baker and Rivera, 2010). In Toronto, Deputy Chief of Police Peter Sloly suggested in an interview that, while these quotas don't exist, an officer's carding statistics could figure prominently with respect to promotions (Rankin 2013). This is troubling, as this practice, normalized within this institutional paradigm, represents a wilful exploitation of dominant notions of Black male criminality while simultaneously strengthening rationale for the continuation of programs such as Stop-and-Frisk.

Considering the role of competition among cities in the dominant paradigm of neoliberal urban governance, the use of CompStat has become popular in many major cities in North America. Among them are Washington, D.C., Los Angeles, Philadelphia, San Francisco, and even Vancouver. In Toronto, the city's purported problems with gun violence has been highly publicized in the mainstream media and has been rationalized through the use of crime statistics and reporting similar to the logic of CompStat (Florida

2013, National Post 2012). Notably, in an op-ed published by economist Richard Florida,

Florida details how the effects of economic segregation and class differences tend to

spread crime like a "contagion"(Florida 2013). Articles like Florida's have become a key

component in furthering the aforementioned wrongful conflation of Toronto's Black and

racialized neighbourhoods with examples of the Black American inner city (see figure

1.2). Furthermore, Florida completely obscures the ways in which these segregated

communities have internalized this violence. In this article, Florida compares the

relationship between class and gun violence, and draws very liberally from cases in the

United States to assert that Toronto is on the same path to ruin via violence in the cities'

most disadvantaged areas (Florida 2013). While he is quick to claim that Toronto should

be admired for its modest gun crime rates, he unapologetically compares Toronto's most

violent neighbourhoods to Chicago's South Side, described by Florida by a homogenous

composition of Black, uneducated, and poor residents (Florida 2013). Furthermore,

Florida makes the assertion that not only are these patterns becoming more common in

Toronto, but that these homicides are predominantly the product of "drug and gang

violence" more specifically, offering no evidence to support this claim than his own word

(Florida 2013). In addition, Florida foregoes an explanation of the intricate, racialized

nature of gun-violence in Toronto, and ignores race and racism completely in analysis

(save for his conflation of Blackness with poverty and low levels of education). In this

way, while discourses of criminality evident in Florida's statements stigmatize racialized

populations in Toronto, the victims of these crimes, also predominantly racialized

citizens, are effectively silenced.

Florida's conclusion that these processes are a result of economic disadvantage, rather than a combination of economic disadvantage with years of exclusion and marginalization, further highlights the misinformed nature of his interjection in this discussion. It is through this policy-driven and economically deterministic language that the justifications for the deployment of more aggressive police strategies in historically racialized immigrant neighbourhoods has occurred. The graphics provided by Florida serves almost as a map of neighbourhoods to avoid, neighbourhoods that are 'dangerous', and most problematically neighbourhoods readily available to overpolicing strategies without reproach from the broader public. In this way, these attempts to address crime in Toronto without first understanding the underlying racial logics under which these spaces operate, only serve to solidify the stigma associated with racialized spaces in Toronto. Accordingly, the technocratic approach to addressing this issue is insufficient as it fails to centre how the Black body internalizes the violence of the discursive (re)production of Black criminality, and the psychological and physical violence that manifests as a result of intense police surveillance.

Reports such as Florida's serve to further intensify police presence in the city's historically racialized neighbourhoods, irrespective of their long histories of oppression and marginalization. David Hulchanski's report *The Three Cities Within Toronto* uses similar objectifiable data in order to make assumptions about the nature of Toronto's increased income inequality since the 1970s (see figure 1.3). While Hulchanski's work is lauded for its comprehensive use of statistics and historical data, his analysis on the racialized nature of this income disparity leaves a lot to be desired. Despite his claim that

the city's visible minorities are disproportionately represented in the most marginal and impoverished neighbourhoods in Toronto, Hulchanski fails to address this any further (Hulchanski 2010). What is also notable is that Hulchanski reports crime statistics for each of the "three cities" (see figure 1.4) in Toronto, but fails to provide an in-depth analysis either to why this is so, or even why it is necessary in the first place (Hulchanski 2010). In 2012, the National Post published an article and corresponding geographic data portraying the geography of Toronto's homicides between the years 2006 and 2012 (see figure 1.5). What this accomplishes is essentially a reification of the spatial stigmas that and the reinforcing of the "where" crime happens in Toronto, while simultaneously erasing the fact that the majority of the victims of these crimes were racialized, more specifically, Black men. In 2013, the Toronto Star published an award-winning series called "Known to the Police" detailing the disproportionality of police stops in each of the city's patrol zones (see figure 1.6, 1.7, 1.8) as well as data detailing the amount of stops leading to charges (see figure 1.9, 1.10). While the Toronto Star's report was one of the first news media interventions that highlighted the disproportionality of documentation with respect to Black males, the resulting narratives fail to appreciate the ways in which this is internalized by Black communities and Black bodies. As such, such analyses, in addition to the others above, reinforce the institutional paradigm of objectifying where and who commits violent, rather than asking; what do the victims of these crimes look like? And how do they *feel* about this portrayal?

Chapter 4: "Nobody Knows the Trouble I've Seen": Racist Policing in Toronto

In order to situate the subjectivities that are created in response to the institutional paradigms that ground overpolicing strategies, this section will use first-hand accounts of the ways in which Black neighborhoods are policed. Most importantly, this section will demonstrate some of the ways in which the overpolicing of Black bodies has manifested itself in the minds of Black individuals, how their interactions with particular spaces have been altered, and what acts of resistance they use in the face of this institutional violence.

Particular attention will be paid to the ways in which the Toronto Police Service's use of carding has affected the Somali community in Toronto. With the help of four semi-structured interviews from Somali community organizers active in advocacy surrounding issues of racialized violence and police-community relations, this section will demonstrate how Somali youth have interacted with the institutional paradigms that paint them as inherently criminal. Due to the general lack of research that centers Black subjectivity in the Canadian context, the use of first-hand accounts serves as a way to table this discussion in terms that are not steeped in the institutional narratives that detail the nature of race relations with police, and will highlight the discursive the nature of power that these racialized, Black, marginalized populations are subject to.

For this paper, I intended to conduct 3 focus group interviews in addition to a handful of one on one interviews with various youth and community organizers in the Somali community. Upon approaching a number of people about my idea, many people expressed their interest in participating and further expressed their encouragement for taking up this type of research. However, upon completing ethics review protocols to

conduct these interviews, I had much difficultly rallying participants for a variety of different reasons, ranging from fear of reprisal or intense scrutiny from police and/or other government institutions, to inabilities to participate due to financial reasons. Even after focusing my interviews on five community organizers with experience rallying around issues of community policing, one of my respondents was forced to drop out. They feared that their views may complicate their new professional position building amicable relationships between the Toronto Police Service and the Somali community in Toronto. Despite my assurances and protection under anonymity, the persisting reluctance of my potential research participants not only highlights the significant lack of resources and spaces to speak freely about these topics, but also the more insidious ways in which the tension surrounding he subject may make us reluctant to speak about this subject.

The heterogeneity of different neighbourhood responses to gun violence and policing cannot be stressed enough. This heterogeneity is clear when one accounts for the great differences *within* the Black community, in addition to differences between the Black community and other communities. As I stated at the beginning of this paper, this research is necessarily grounded in a commitment to an intersectional approach that acknowledges the multiple ways in which subjectivity can be shaped. This approach is rooted in a theoretical tradition shaped by Black feminist thinkers like Kimberle Crenshaw (1993) and bell hooks (2010), who emphasized the *multiple* ways in which oppression can manifest itself/map itself to the body.

While there are rigidities evident in the policing of Black bodies in marginalized communities, intersections of race and faith with respect to Somali communities complicates the narratives and homogenizing discourse of inherent Black criminality. My interview with Mahad Mahmood highlights this particularity. Mahad is an active community organizer in Toronto's Black community. In addition, Mahad is a student at York University, where he is studying Human Rights and Equity Studies. He works for numerous initiatives including Speak Sudan, an organization seeking to enhance the creative expression of East African youth with a commitment to anti-oppressive frameworks and values. Mahad has also worked at the Community Action Resource Centre, a community resource for racialized individuals that seeks to mobilize marginalized communities in Toronto through the use of capacity-building strategies and a commitment to non-discriminatory approaches. In keeping with this intersectional approach, Mahad's statements highlight the similarities between the treatment the Somali community currently faces with those of other Black diasporic communities, while highlighting some particulars about the Somali community. He remarked:

> *"I think the Somali youth in Toronto are…I believe, in the same position that the Jamaican youth were, 10 years ago, and probably still are. Which is, you know, they pose a threat, in the sense that they appear to be foreign to police officers who, I think, are mostly white. And I think this causes a lot of cultural, racial, tension.*
> *Also I just wanted to mention, for the Somali community I think it's a very particular situation [also]. Because there is the religious aspect (referring to Somalis being a predominantly Muslim ethnic group), and then there's the racial aspect. So these two things combined, really paint a dark picture, because not only do the police officers have to worry about these youth being criminals, and not only do they have, of course in a very racist manner, that "oh these Black youth might be selling drugs" or things like that, thoughts I think are very dominant in*

that institution [the police] but now also they have to think, "oh they're Muslim so maybe they're terrorists?" Right? So, I think these two blinders when they are put together almost completely blind the police officers from seeing the truth. So you think of it as a police officer who is unable to see reality. Who is unable to see a young, Black Somali kid for what he is, and there's a racism aspect of it, and there's this "terrorism" aspect of it."

In the post-9/11 context, the surveillance of Black communities is complicated by the expansion of surveillance of Muslim communities around the world. It is important to note that the first North American encounters with Islamophobia are rooted in the fear of the Nation of Islam (Ernst 2013). Therefore, at its very core, the fear produces Islamophobia in the Western world was, and still is, an instauration of anti-Blackness. In the post-9/11 context, the complicated ways in which Blackness and Islamophobia interact has troubling implications for the surveillance of marginalized and racialized communities. For those who are both Muslim and Black, they are trapped in two intersecting spheres of surveillance resulting in a hyperbolic and excessive level of scrutiny on their bodies and beliefs. Islam by nature is a liberation theology, and as a result, the use of this theology by Black males inspired a fear of not just Islam, but an interpretation of Islam that is rooted in the fear of a Black revolutionary movement.

Granted, while there is a degree of particularity that makes the ways in which Black Muslim bodies interact with these policing techniques unique, there is also a degree of universality in the ways in which Black bodies are viewed. Zakaria Abdulle stated:

"...these hardcore police stops in certain areas, creates trauma and [negatively] affects a lot of young people in this community, be it Somali, be it Jamaican, be it Ghanian, it does not matter, Bengali, Indian, Vietnamese, Spanish...it doesn't matter, this stings people, right, when they're on their way home and they're being questioned

by four or five officers, and these people feel as though they are living
in a criminalized state, a surveillance state."

Zakaria Abdulle is a student at the University of Toronto, and is also the Project

Coordinator for the Policing Literacy Initiative (PLI). One of Zakaria's first projects with

PLI was a short-film/documentary on police carding in Toronto. The documentary was

aired by VICE Magazine last spring, and sought to reveal more publicly and lucidly the

racial disparity that is evident in the Toronto Police Service's use of carding as a policing

'tool'. What is most interesting about Zakaria's work with PLI is that it re-centres the

discussion on the victim of these breaches of Charter rights at the hands of the Toronto

Police Service through the use of testimonies and town hall meetings with youth from

marginalized communities. In our interview, Zakaria highlighted the troubling language

that suggests that these techniques have become "normal", a part of the everyday life for

Black and other racialized males in spaces that carry a criminalized stigma. Zakaria

further remarked that each time he is stopped by the police, the violent encounter

becomes more and more normalized:

> *"Oh what do you want from me now? You've already stopped me…*
> *growing up in Dixon it was common to get stopped by the police, it was*
> *very common, and we knew that the police targeted our young group*
> *and our generation whenever they see us in groups of 3 or 4, and even*
> *sometimes alone if information leads them to believe there was a*
> *incident in the neighborhood, or done by a Somali male. Which doesn't*
> *mean all Somali males are involved with these types of activities, but*
> *unfortunately the stigma that the community has now and has had for*
> *quite some time is these males being inherently criminal in*
> *nature…This is something that has become normalized for Somali*
> *youth, its normal for them to be stopped by police, and heavily*
> *interrogated and harassed and in some cases verbally or physically*
> *assaulted. So this is almost second nature, its always unfortunate when*
> *a group or community become desensitized to this type of heavy*

policing, and those practices, and the political costs that it has regarding their engagement with government."

Mahad furthers this sentiment:

"Mahad: Um, well I've lived in other communities previously… so in the community that I live in right now, carding isn't something that I would be very aware of, if it would be happening, because I don't hang around it a lot. But I do know that in the previous community that I lived in, which was, more or less, the same community composition [referring to the ethnic demographics] carding was something that happened very often. Bador:…which community are you referring to? Mahad: This was called…Martha Eaton. So, that's near Weston and Lawrence. So, carding used to happen there all the time, it was really something that was, you know, part of everyday life, and normal reality.

Mahad's comments reveal the experience of those faced with the constant possibility of being stopped by the police. To further this, he suggests a number of factors are included in the reasons for being approached. He states:

"if I was hanging out with my friends and we were in large groups, we would most likely be targeted by the police, and that actually happened on several occasions … like walking around late at night or at times when I think targeting young Black men would be easier."

The targeting of Black males "hanging out" is rooted in the 'the problematic insinuation that deviant Black males tend to exist in 'hordes' or groups (Dunn 2004, Gilmore 1993). This fear could be understood in a number of ways. Ruth Wilson Gilmore demonstrates how this fear has resulted in a popular fantasy of Black males in the street as a common public enemy that should be hunted down in order to keep children safe from gang members and drug dealers (Gilmore 1993). Furthermore, this fear is rooted in the sentiment that Black communities may violate socially imposed boundaries, and that the

pressure to proactively police these boundaries is predicated on the white fear of Black

bodies and their challenge of the status quo (Dunn 2004, Gilmore 1993).

In addition to this fear of encroaching Blackness, the need to proactively target

and police Black male bodies 'up to no good' draws its historical roots from the ways in

which fugitive slave laws were enforced during the 19ᵗʰ century in the United States.

These laws gave white police and government officials broad discretionary power to

create slave patrols that were intended to monitor the activity of slaves and prevent their

escape from captivity (Bass 2001). Sandra Bass notes that, with the abolishment of

slavery, white people in the south were faced with an economic and social dilemma of

how to control and monitor Black bodies (Bass 2001). In addition to laws against

vagrancy and loitering, these legal and judicial mechanisms were important for

maintaining the white supremacy of the Southern United States in the 19ᵗʰ century, and

served as a precursor to Jim Crow laws that regulated contact between Black and white

populations (Bass 2001). Idil Burale highlights the ways that this suspicion and tropes of

the fugitive slave have manifested itself in her past experiences with police officers:

> *"so there's this one cop who's like "oh your community, you guys*
> *harbor your criminals, you know, as soon as you guys find out your son*
> *did something, you ship them off to Somalia, everyone knows what*
> *happened, but you hide them". And he said this other thing which is,*
> *"you're a tight lipped community" and one of the officers talked about*
> *how he came to understand this. So they are very suspicious of our*
> *community, just like the community is very suspicious of the TPS."*

Idil Burale has been a prominent voice in the Somali community in this regard. Idil

is currently completing a fellowship at MarS Discovery and is a well-known community

advocate in Toronto's West End. In addition, Idil recently ran for City Council in Ward

1, Etobicoke North. She has been a major voice in the Somali community, especially in addressing policing issues and youth violence. One of the issues Idil's city council campaign sought to tackle was shifting the narratives around policing and violence away from the panics that have been created in the wake of the 'Year of the Gun' and Danzig shootings, towards narratives that necessarily grapple with the systemic issues that Toronto's racialized and marginalized communities face today. Idil also highlighted another interesting aspect of the interactions between Somali youth and police by noting the gendered nature of police stops of Black, Somali males. As mentioned before, the gendered implications of such targeted practices go beyond justifying the problematic narratives about Black male criminality specifically. The problematic assumption here is that Black *men* are not only more willing, but more *able* commit violent crimes. The erroneous conclusion that the violence and pathology that exists in these communities only exist because of Black men specifically, and *only* affect the Black men who shoot and kill each other is one that silences the ways in which gender and dominant assumptions about the body are reinforced. While arbitrary stops have a severely disproportionate affect on Black males specifically, this should not discount its importance and awareness among women in Black communities. Within the Somali community, these issues are highly salient. Idil notes:

> *"[on whether she has been carded] I have not, my brothers have growing up in Orpington [an Islington and Finch community] in the social housing area. I was shielded from that, because I am a girl growing up in a traditional Muslim community, where I was mostly not out very late in the night, and also the social norms, I guess in the west, which is to not card too many women. But my brothers have, one in particular who I think everytime he would go out with friends would be*

asked you know, "what are you doing here? Do you have any ID on you?" And stuff like that. And it's funny, I never asked him about it or we never talked about it until I started doing this kind of work. It was something that I was woefully ignorant of. I knew it existed and happened but even my brother when he was detailing these events, he said it "as a matter of fact" like it was a simple thing, kind of like I went to work today and that's what happened. And I thought that was highly problematic and troubling, but for him it was like "it is what it is" you know?"

In Idil's response, we again see this normalization of carding practices. The "matter of fact" ways in which racial profiling is referred to is all the more troubling, and her awareness of her own family members' experiences with these practices only became evident through her involvement in advocacy against these practices. In this way, the internalization of these techniques is such that they are not even significant enough to motivate a response to combat it; rather, they are simply accepted as part of the things one must deal with growing up in a racialized community. What's even more troubling about this normalization is that it has even created a set of responses that accept police practices, whether out of fear, shame and/or harm at the hands of the police. This sentiment was revealed in my interview with Abdi Hersi, an active community advocate around issues of targeted policing in the Somali community. Abdi is currently a student at the University of Toronto, working towards a Masters in Public Policy at the School of Public Policy and Governance. He is one of the founding members of the Policing Literacy Initiative, and was heavily involved in the facilitation of the Police and Community Engagement Review (PACER) that sought to use community consultations as a way of drafting possible solutions to the disproportionality of contact between the

Toronto Police Service and Toronto's Black community. Abdi describes the very essence of these troubling practices targeted at Black males:

> *"I took the attitude that most people from minority communities with regards to police, its kind of like just do what they ask, keep conversation to a minimum, and hopefully, your day goes on."*

What is interesting here is that Abdi is claiming that by actively forgoing his Charter rights, he may find a swifter and safer resolution. The archaic narrative that Black males are not educated on their rights, and that such education may resolve the problem, does not fit here. Rather, we are seeing an educated Black male making a rational decision based on his past experiences and knowledge of how interactions between Black males and police typically unfold. Abdi's assertion that "hopefully your day goes on" indicates that even through this act of submission, Black males still run the risk of encountering harm at the hands of the police. He knows that this form of submission puts him firmly at the mercy of the police officer and yet he is articulating something that is quite significant: this act of submission is preferable to standing up for yourself. This falls on the opposite end of the ideological leanings of thinkers such as Huey. In *Revolutionary Suicide* (1973)*,* Newton argued that through militancy and fighting back against a persistent police presence, Black males were willing go down fighting knowing they had nothing to lose. The inevitability of death is what motivated Newton's calls to take up arms in acts 'revolutionary suicide' (Newton, 1973).

Newton's rhetoric is still relevant in narratives of Black militancy and has been one of the prominent ways in which resistance to policing has been understood. However, Abdi is claiming something much different; it is the *fear* of death, as highlighted by

Mbembe (2003), which motivates him to forgo his rights. Abdi goes on to detail a

number of incidents in which he *knowingly* forgoes his rights because it provides a

swifter and safer resolution to the alternatives such as 'speaking up for yourself' and

direct confrontation:

> *"I was close to my neighborhood, close to a park near my neighborhood, just on the side walk using my phone, when I was approached by an undercover TAVIS officer in an SUV, and he asked "What was I doing?", "Why I was parked where I was parked?", and I told him it wasn't a big deal, and that I would move my car. And as I stepped into my car the TAVIS officer asked me for my license and registration, I asked him "Why do you need that?" The officer replied that he wanted to check my background. I just wanted to get on with my day, so I just gave it to him. Then, I was boxed in by four other TAVIS officers in SUVs, and 1 squad car belonging to 31 Division. I had two assault rifles pointed at me, 8 officers surrounding my car, which I thought was excessive for just talking on the phone on the sidewalk."*

> *"another incident I remember was right in front of my house. An officer asked me where I lived, if I actually belonged to the community that I was in and to provide him proof of address and I got into an argument with the officer because I just felt like I lived in a policed state where I could not even step outside of my house or be in the vicinity of my house without having to prove that I lived where I lived. And I just felt like this didn't happen in other communities where minorities aren't as prevalent. I just felt like the officer preyed on the fear and ignorance of people in these communities, and just…he was rude in that instance. "*

In this passage, a troubling narrative begins to take shape. While carding has been

identified by media and politicians alike as "the" problem plaguing police-community

relations, the emphasis on carding has veiled some much deeper, systemic issues. As a

result, the attention that the practice of carding itself has received in recent months has

shifted attention away from the more pervasive problems that affect these communities.

Zakaria states the underlying importance of addressing the motivations for carding,

stating:

> *"the "practice of police stops, disproportionate number of police stops, from what we've studied in PLI [Policing Literacy Initiative], is bar none the biggest issue that racialized communities are faced with. The thought that, because of how they look, they will be stopped more, due to biased policing, due to the inherent practices of an institution that represents one of the most diverse cities in the world. That mere thought is very troubling to racialized communities, and now, with the new carding policy of "community contact", early research is indicating, per our PLI meetings that the number of stops has decreased, but those who are being stopped are of racialized backgrounds, and disproportionately when compared to other groups. What does that say alone, right? "Yes you're stopping less people, but the people you are stopping are still from those communities."*

Zakaria is referring to the disproportionate number of police stops, not carding

specifically. The reality is that not all police stops end in carding, but the ubiquity of

stops (with or without carding) underscores the extent to which Black male bodies move

through space with a greater amount of difficulty. Fanon refers to this friction that the

Black body faces when moving through space, and how historically a racial-epidermal

schema has sought to enact techniques of corporeal control on Black bodies simply

through the presence of the white gaze (Fanon 2008). In an effort to reform carding

policies, the Policing Literacy Initiative found that although the number of total stops

decreased, the proportion of Black and racialized bodies being stopped had actually

increased (Community Assessment of Police Practice 2014). Knowing this, it is quite

clear that the Toronto Police Service has attempted to refine its practices, however, the

results have only exposed the degree to which racial profiling and the stigmas attached to

Black communities rationalize their strategies. Ultimately, what Zakaria is referring to

above is not carding per se, but the pervasive racism that is rampant within the institutions of policing in Toronto. When asked about the importance of carding as an issue in Toronto, Idil responded:

> *"I always struggle with that question, because I mean, I'm big on privacy so carding itself, why is it happening and what kind of information we're getting? But from what I've heard from most people, I think the issue they have is the way in which the process is carried, the way in which they are approached, even before words are uttered, it's the body language of the police. But more than that it's just the idea of young Black males mostly feeling occupied in their own neighborhoods, like it's the collateral damage of living in a bad area I guess. And that's the thing that pisses people off, not a one time, one off experience, but it's a persistent experience that I guess reminds you that you're under this, and this is very exaggerated to say "policed state", but it's this idea of 'if you are a Black man living in a certain neighborhood, you're going to have this experience.' It's going to happen regardless of whether you're doing something good or bad. People are just going to be curious about you. I think the big thing that people have with this is, it can seem like a public humiliation in a way. You know when, even if you're having a good conversation, you're just talking to a cop about a sporting event, it's the idea, the way that people in those communities perceive you talking to a police officer, as automatically being something bad. So the target that it could put on people is another issue."*

Idil's statements reveal that the issue is not necessarily a matter of excessive police documentation of Black male movements through carding, it is the constant paranoia and frustration that accompanies the inevitability of being stopped in your own neighborhood despite doing nothing wrong. She claims that it is the persistence of this experience and the way in which it is carried out that is most troubling. Also disturbing is the persistent lack of respect and compassion the police show in these neighborhoods, and the fact that, in Idil's words, "no matter what," Black youth will have to face this disrespect. She also

suggests that because of this disrespect and distrust that has been created as a result, there is a more ambivalent attitude towards people who do interact with the police. On the significance of carding, Mahad states quite bluntly:

> *"...in general I think getting targeted by the police does not usually just involve getting carded, there's a huge aspect of the police-civilian interaction that has to do with the imbalance in power, and the police's ability to intimidate people just by being themselves. So I think a lot of me and my peers feeling targeted, the targeting would usually occur on a psychological level. Where, you know, the dialogue between us and the police would be very hostile and we'd be expected to comply to that and it would always be insinuated that if we didn't, something would happen. So I think in that sense, the recognition of the unequal power situation, that would create the targeting "feeling" a lot.*

Here, Mahad echoes the sentiments of Fanon: how the Black body internalizes these imbalances of power and how, even in the absence of a police presence, the feeling of being watched and the persistent scrutiny that accompanies Blackness remains (Fanon 2008).

The use of the Toronto Anti-Violence Intervention Strategy (TAVIS) in the city's marginalized neighborhoods seemed to provide the most passionate responses from my interviewees. TAVIS was introduced in 2006 as a result of the panic caused by the murder of Jane Creba in late 2005 and the increase in violent crime during the 'Year of the Gun' in 2005 (Siciliano 2010). TAVIS is funded by both the municipal government and by the government of Ontario, and receives millions of dollars in annual funding to carry out its police strategy. As Amy Siciliano notes, TAVIS represents the antithesis of community policing, constituting a paradigm of militarization of Black spaces in Toronto

in an attempt to prevent gun violence spreading to other parts of the city (Siciliano 2010).

Zakaria details his knowledge of TAVIS, saying:

> *"So TAVIS is the Toronto Anti-Violence Intervention Strategy, it started in 2006 funded by the provincial government, well I won't go on giving more background…Do I feel as thought the TAVIS initiative is something I can support?...if you do a cost-benefit analysis of what TAVIS does and its work, it launches its campaign usually from about May to sometimes September, and the bad outweighs the good. Minority communities are heavily, heavily targeted. Yes, TAVIS does clean up crimes in neighborhoods, "gets rid of the bad guys" [emphasis added by respondent]…it does serve the community in that sense, but the Machiavellian approach of doing community policing, …TAVIS as an initiative needs to be very careful of its approach, because if they really want to work with the community and really improve police-community relations, maybe its time we examine TAVIS and we examine how its functioning and how it's put together and what better strategies could be implemented and deterring crime without alienating minorities in these communities."*

Abdi claims that the presence of TAVIS is among the biggest challenges to enhancing the relationships between racialized, and more specifically, Somali communities and the police. He recalls how after the shootings inside the Eaton's Centre and Danzig helped reinforce and rationalize an intensification of TAVIS' strategy in Black communities in Toronto:

> *"The biggest change was obviously Bill Blair's reformation of TAVIS units in response to that spike of gun violence [referring to the summer of 2012] and I feel like TAVIS as a unit victimized a lot of people in minority communities. The example I already talked to you about earlier about the TAVIS officers. They come in and basically harass community members who can't identify who they are. The officers from the Division are more friendly, are more kind, are more open to discussing things with you, but that's because I feel like it's because they will see you again. So that you can identify these officers, but TAVIS, as we know, don't belong to a particular community. They swoop in wherever they are needed across the city, and I feel like they*

believe, because they have automatic weapons…they feel like they are on a higher level than an on-the-beat officer. I feel like there is a sort of bravado and a sort of attitude that these officers have that is detrimental when it comes to police-community relations. And it's very hostile. And I have seen it time and time again manifest itself into situations where a kid, who might not necessarily have an issue, just because of the way he was handled by TAVIS becomes more and more of a problem. And [as a result] there's violence and there's misunderstandings just because of what the TAVIS officers bring to the incident. So, I would say that's the biggest issue with the community [and police relations]."

In *The Wretched of the Earth* Fanon talks about the muscular tension that manifests itself in the body as a result of constant colonial surveillance and violence (Fanon 2005). As I stated in my theoretical considerations, Fanon insists that because of this constant surveillance these subjects are always ready to pounce (Fanon 2005). What Abdi is referring to above is a well known reaction to a constant police presence in Black communities and can be seen as a manifestation of this 'ready to pounce' mentality, fostered by years of living in a policed state.

Mahad explains that although he never personally had any run-ins with TAVIS, these run-ins and encounters are a recurring theme that he and his friends joke about:

"I have not encountered TAVIS, but I do have a lot of friends who have, and from what I hear, and I do have a friend who lives in an area called Jamestown and he told me that a lot of the times that he gets people who are working for TAVIS who come and talk to him, and I think the best way I can describe is by narrating this story that he told me. He told…[lets out a laugh] he told me that during the day he was hanging out in his area and a lot of police officers were coming, and these were regular police officers, not TAVIS officers, they were coming and the police officers were just hanging around the area and talking to him in a friendly way and they were laughing, you know, regular conversation. And I think that conversation was primarily an attempt from those officers to bridge the gap between themselves and the people who lived in that neighborhood. And he was telling me how that conversation was

going and how amazing it was, and then he told me [laughs again] you know, when the sun set TAVIS came, and he told me how the guys who worked for TAVIS were just ruthless and they would come and shake them down and be like "What are you doing?" and "why are you out so late?" and I remember him telling me that and he was like "whoa…what do you do?" Because you don't know which police officer is here today and is a TAVIS member tomorrow. You know, which one is going to be friendly today and is not going to be friendly tomorrow. So I think that is generally my idea of TAVIS officers, is that, you know, they're the counterproductive element of policing and community police relations."

Idil Burale was animated in our exchange:

Bador: So just on the idea of high policing, TAVIS for instance. What do you know…Okay, so I can already tell from your reaction that you're not a fan.

Idil: I'm not a fan of TAVIS!

Bador: Alright, so, what do you know of it and what do you think of about their intervention strategy?

Idil: TAVIS is the worst thing that has happened to marginalized communities [in Toronto], and it's funny that it came about from a place of good intentions, it came after Jane Creba was shot. And you know, they had these meetings and it was like "we're going to create an anti-gang task force" and it seemed like a good idea from people who don't live in communities where "gangs like to hide". It's been, and I tell this to every cop I meet, you know, "TAVIS gave you guys a bad rep, because you guys wear the same uniform and we can't tell you apart and people are hostile towards you because of these TAVIS cops. Structurally, it doesn't make sense to me, because they're like a travelling band right? So they have no roots in any community, they just come, f*** s*** up, and then leave, and that [police] division has to deal with the aftermath right? And that court that you guys played basketball in [referring to a charity tournament that occurred two weeks prior to the interview, a court on Esplanade] those were TAVIS officers! I saw the video! I was like "you guys are so dumb! Why would you!?"

Bador: "Well the thing is, when I went, I saw that the court was brand new, and I said to myself you know "this is a nice court!" and "its beautiful" and they said [the community leaders organizing the event]

"well, it wasn't like this before". Apparently a cop car came onto the court [chasing a suspect] and got stuck on the court and started doing donuts on the court out of frustration and they messed up the entire court…"

Idil: Yea! So TAVIS is a big problem, I've spent most of my life talking against it and trying to get it broken apart. I think they get a "carte blanche" to just do whatever they need to do "in the name of safety". They may say that it's working and they've gotten "bad people" off the streets, but it's been done at a big cost, and that is [preventing] building trust within that community.

Idil's statements highlight the core of what is wrong with TAVIS. The racialized body's presence in the neoliberal state is one that exists in double, always paradoxical in that they need to rely on rights that exist only in their derogation. It is clear that TAVIS, and modern police forces more generally, are themselves paradoxical entities as a mechanism of surveillance and domination under contradictory logic of 'protecting rights' while violating them in their tactics.

Much of the reasoning given by the Toronto Police Service behind the evident overpolicing of racialized communities is the supposed lack of cooperation from community members when it comes to investigating crimes. In my experience, and in the experience of these community organizers, there are many ways to encourage positive interactions with the police, one being the active recruitment of members of affected communities into the ranks of the Toronto Police Service. Despite this, the deployment of TAVIS represents a top-down, neoliberal approach to policing, an approach that is motivated by the moral panics created by the media and by the white middle-class. Here, we see the convergence of neoliberal governmentality, and the biopolitical goals of the state, a convergence that highlights the simultaneous goals of exclusion for the benefit of

all, and in a way that incurs the lowest cost to the state. Furthermore, because of their

support from various levels of government, TAVIS' intervention in these communities

seems to come without reproach from white middle-class Torontonians. However,

another thread becomes apparent when considering how the focus on TAVIS has

obscured discussions of other stakeholders that have had a problematic role in

community-police relations. Idil states:

> *"The thing that pisses me off most in this discussion of safety and community is that, it always focuses on the two obvious people, right? So it's the police vs. the racialized communities, and I feel there's a lot of other stakeholders that hide behind that, who are not called up to task. Toronto Community Housing is one of those people [stakeholders]. I feel like they get away with failing communities so badly and doing the stupidest things on their property, and they never get called to task in the media. Another one is the TDSB. We make less than 2% of gifted programs. So how is it that a Black community, that at most is 12% of the TDSB are overrepresented in behavioural classes, and not in gifted classes right. We never talk about the TTC, and what role they play into it, we never talk about the fact that we have these 'Tea Party' councilors representing most of these neighborhoods, who are detached from these communities and sure enough, we have nowhere to go, we have no community centres. There's no sense of strong community and social capital, where people actually care about what happens to these kids. So it's much bigger than that [TAVIS]. Why is it, as a city and as a society, we don't invest in the preventative? We always like to address these things after the fact? It's always after a shooting that we rally up and give money to these organizations. "*

Foucault's idea of dispositif and the ways in which mechanisms of power and

discipline filter themselves throughout modern society are relevant here. What Idil is

highlighting is a consideration that Foucault argues is at the very core of this disciplinary

power – that the source of this power becomes difficult to locate through this filtering

and the panoptic nature of modern governmentality (Foucault 1975). Granted, Foucault

failed to appreciate more thoroughly how difference itself is something that must be disciplined, and how this plays out at the level of the body. Here, Idil is highlighting how the fear of the Other itself is what prevents the broader community from identifying the other systemic issues in Toronto's marginalized communities. Again, Idil highlights how other stakeholders have been absolved of any culpability in relation to negative interactions with the police, which helps to obscure other legitimate concerns in these communities. The panic in other areas of Toronto has silenced the community's prerogative to decide what issues matter most. Idil names Toronto Community Housing as one of those stakeholders that fails to uphold a standard for transparency in the attempt to enhance community safety. The Toronto Community Housing Corporation (TCHC) is a public housing agency, similar to housing authorities in other major cities such as the Chicago Housing Authority and the New York City Housing Authority. TCHC has been at the center of numerous controversies, including an admittedly hands off approach to their backlog of nearly $1 billion in repairs to existing housing stock (TCHC 2014). One issue that community groups have noted is TCHC's use of "Agent of Landlord" status (TCHC March 2005). This status gives the Toronto Police the discretion to act on Toronto Community Housing's behalf to identify potential threats to the community. Many of the controversial events that have occurred on TCH properties were a result of the lack of general knowledge of the application of this statute among residents. Below is an excerpt taken from a Toronto Community Housing document detailing the parameters under which these powers are enforced.

"Historically, in a number of TCHC communities, Agent of Landlord Status letters were automatically issued to Toronto Police Services on an annual basis. The Agent of Landlord notices provides the Toronto Police the authority to act as TCHC's "Agent' while on TCHC property. This in effect means that they can stop anyone on TCHC property and issue notices of Trespass to Property to persons on TCHC property at any time. In line with TCHC's approach to Community Safety and to engagement with tenants and community partners in identifying and utilizing the most appropriate tools available to suit the specific needs of each community, TCHC informed Toronto Police Services that on a go forward basis from January 2005, the Agent of Landlord Status letters would be issued on an individual community, individual need basis as opposed to issuing a blanket notice as in the past. This provides communities with the ability to determine together if the Agent of Landlord Status tool is one that is appropriate to the safety needs of their community. Where the community feels that it is they will and have been issuing the letters to their local police division. Other communities are finding that there are other tools and approaches that serve their needs.

It should be stated that regardless of whether or not TCHC issues an Agent of Landlord Status letter, the Toronto Police have every ability and right to enter our communities and perform their duties. The Agent letters do not detract or enhance their ability to perform their duties in protecting TCHC tenants as every other citizen of Toronto. The Agent of Landlord Status letter is an additional tool that is used for specific communities and for specific circumstances and is being used as such in those TCHC communities that decide to utilize this tool. Issuing a blanket Status notice was felt to detract from the decision making ability of communities to choose the safety approaches that they feel are most appropriate for the needs of their community as they work together, with their fellow tenants, staff, Toronto Police Services and other community agencies and partners in developing their individual Community Safety Plan. (TCHC, March 2005)"

This particular report shows overwhelming support from Toronto Police and representatives of Toronto Community Housing in favor of "blanket" Agent of Landlord powers for the Toronto Police that would extend to any Toronto Community Housing community. Despite this support, the document goes on to identify the problems in this approach:

> *"The blanket use of Agent of Status letters to Toronto Police Services would appear to take away the right of communities to determine the tools that are most appropriate to the needs of their community. The decision in no way prevents local communities from issuing the letter to their TPS Division where they feel it is appropriate. The Agent of Status Letter is a tool that can and will be used within the context of building local Community Safety Plans. The fact that the blanket notice has not been issued does not detract in any way from TPS performing its duties and continuing to protect the rights of TCHC tenants as citizens of Toronto (TCHC, March 2005)."*

While the changes to the "Agent of Landlord" status came before the high-profile murder of Jane Creba, and pre-date the 'Year of the Gun', this highlights the long-standing need of government officials and their proxy, neoliberal institutions to corral and control Black and racialized populations, who make up the majority of the residents in TCHC communities. During several community consultations regarding the nature of policing on public housing property, the existence of this statute seemed to surprise even some of the city's community safety experts and privacy lawyers. In this way, we can see how the mystification of practices that occur in marginalized communities is part of the project of obscuring that institutional narratives and rationalizations are involved in. As a result, the misunderstandings and violence that occurs against Black bodies becomes all the more unsettling.

One prominent example comes to mind with regard to this confusion. In November of 2011, four Black teenagers were stopped in a TCHC community in the Lawrence Heights neighbourhood. After one of the youth refused to identify himself to two TAVIS officers, the young men were arrested at gunpoint (Rankin 2013). Ironically, the four of them were on their way to a community-mentoring program, and the incident

was caught on security footage. The confrontation escalated when the youth in question

refused to answer the questions of the officers, insisting that he "knew his rights and

didn't have to answer (Rankin 2013)." Since the Agent of the Landlord status had been

granted to TAVIS officers in this particular TCHC community, this allowed the officers

the discretion to act as agents of TCHC, thereby justifying their ability to identify anyone

on TCHC property and issue Trespass to Property notices. This practice came under

heavy scrutiny and in the aftermath, with several TCHC employees who were involved in

the incident being terminated for "conflicts of interest" and for supposedly leaking the

video of the incident to local newspapers such as the Toronto Star (Rankin 2013). Rather

than addressing this issue and confronting the problematic Agent of the Landlord bylaws,

the TCHC exhausted a large amount of time and resources in the identification and

termination of the employees involved (Rankin 2013). All this highlights is the how

primacy of policing and documenting of Black bodies on TCHC property takes

precedence over the necessity to foster better police-community relationships and prevent

potentially fatal interactions between the police and Black male youth.

The above interview data allows this research to advance an intersectional lens

that is rarely addressed in institutional narratives surrounding gun violence and racialized

neighbourhoods in general. Furthermore, this data shows how in this particular context,

the targeting of Black males has its roots in colonial violence and surveillance of the

Black body, renewed and intensified in a post 9/11 society. In addition, by centering the

Black body and subjectivity, these interviews allowed members of Black populations to

speak on their own forms of resistance that they have developed as a result of of targeted

police practices. Perhaps most importantly, this research data tables the assertion that the public discourse surrounding carding has obscured larger discussions surrounding other forms of institutional violence that occurs against Black male bodies. Overall, this section offers a suggestion of how these institutional paradigms have failed to appreciate and acknowledge the effect continued and sustained surveillance, rooted in colonial, oppressive practices, has had on Black male bodies and minds.

Conclusion: Black Lives Matter

This research has allowed me to answer many questions of relevance, both to myself, and to Black and marginalized communities more generally. Some of these questions were posed at the start of this paper. These questions were: (1) How do prevailing myths regarding inherent Canadian benevolence towards Black and Brown bodies obscure the histories of racism and violence towards the Other on Canadian soil?; (2) How do the narratives and histories that shape modern policing forward the discursive imaging of Black males as inherently criminal, and how does this in turn inform processes of state sanctioned violence (both physical and psychological) on Black bodies?; (3) What are the legal and institutional origins of the criminalization of Black bodies, and how does this rationalize the ways that Black spaces are pathologized/targeted through the institutionalization of racist police strategies?; (4) How do these narratives simplify the ways in which Black subjectivity is understood, and how might an intersectional approach towards understanding how these iterations of inherent Black criminality complicate the dominant ways in which Blackness is understood?; (5) What is particular about the experience of Black bodies who are targeted by the police that is obscured by the emphasis on the institutional and policy-driven narratives that have dominated discussions about racialized, Black violence in Toronto?

The drive to answer these questions has been a close personal battle for me, not just for the duration of my Master's research, but ever since my first experiences with police and racism as a Black youth in Scarborough. To be clear, this research represents a project of radical decentering of the institutional paradigms that have been critiqued

above, in favour of an approach that takes the subjectivity of Black males like myself as its point of entry. Because of this, I have been able to begin the process of confronting the problematic ways in which the stigmatization and criminalization of Black bodies and spaces as a dominant narrative has been disseminated to the broader Canadian public.

At the beginning of this research, I highlighted the importance of Black feminist interventions in this project of de/recentering. It is through this theoretical and epistemological tradition that I drew the foundations of this process of decentering. As a result, I have been able to begin to place my community and myself at the centre of inquiry, as opposed to centering the ways in which we are dominantly portrayed. Most importantly, this deployment of Black feminist epistemological perspectives creates a space that allows a recentering of Black bodies that doesn't reduce them to simply Blackness. As such it opens up space for the appreciation of the multiple and intersecting ways in which subjectivity may be shaped. In addition, my conclusions have been necessarily shaped by the theoretical traditions inspired by the body of literature concerned with the ways in which states manage biopower through insidious means. The work of Michel Foucault offers a useful point of entry for identifying how modern states are preoccupied with this strategy of obscuring the source of sovereign power. By nuancing his work with the additions and critiques of Mbembe and Agamben, I demonstrated how these forms of insidious and panoptic power are rooted in regulating and controlling difference in a nation's body politic.

The value of Frantz Fanon's work within this project of uncovering those obfuscated subjectivities that are hidden from view in dominant conversations regarding

the body of the Black male cannot be stated enough. Fanon's work can be summed up in one powerful question he poses at the beginning of *Black Skin White Masks,* "What does the Black man want? (Fanon 2008; pg. 1)" Here, Fanon is insinuating that the Black man is not just *feeling* the oppressiveness in his constructed inferiority in relation to the white man. Rather, the Black man *thinks*, internalizes this, and desires something more. Ultimately, he is offering a way to think through this political project from the perspective of Black male subjectivity.

It is with this goal of centering the Black body that I conducted semi-structured interviews with members of the Black, Somali community in Toronto. These interviews allowed me to situate my theorizations in the lived experiences of Black Torontonians who have been at the forefront of this discussion and organizing efforts as well. While I focused on the Somali community in Toronto's West end inner suburbs of Etobicoke and North York, I used these as frames of reference for the sake of focusing this research, while maintaining a commitment to understanding the way brutality manifests themselves across different spaces and different ways of being Black.

In concluding my project, I am forced to confront one of the major roadblocks I faced while conducting this research – the need to focus my research. The reality is that this thesis is confined to a 100-page limit, however the totality of this subject matter would require a lifetime of work. As such, this research centres targeted police practices such as carding and Stop-and-Frisk as a way of detailing and critiquing the ways in which the police interact with Black communities in Toronto specifically. The issue of violent policing of Black communities is much larger than the proliferation of these

tactics. The histories of marginalization, pathologization and criminalization have resulted in much more than just a handful of coordinated police policies and strategies that maps criminality on Black bodies. These histories have resulted in widespread fear of Black bodies and spaces, as well as rampant disrespect and violence police have directed towards Black communities and bodies.

The saliency of this violence has become the focus of international scrutiny as of late. The killing of Trayvon Martin in 2012 was one of the first killings of unarmed Black males to go 'viral' in this age of social media. Martin was killed by George Zimmerman, an off-duty community watchman (Orlando Sentinel 2012). Zimmerman had approached Martin, who was visiting family in a gated community in Sanford, Florida. Despite being told not to approach Martin by the police and to wait for back-up, he confronted Martin and a fight ensued between the two (Orlando Sentinel 2012). Zimmerman then shot Martin, claiming self-defense, despite the fact that he was the one that followed, profiled, and confronted an unarmed Martin. Zimmerman was acquitted of all charges. The use of Florida's Stand Your Ground law came under intense scrutiny, which effectively gave Zimmerman the legal right to execute Martin because he felt threatened (Orlando Sentinel 2012). To put it frankly, his closeness to police authority as well as the fact that he was white helped exonerate him from the murder of Martin. During the weeks preceding the trial, a campaign aimed at defaming the character of Martin highlights the atrocious ways in which his death became justified.

More recently, the killing of Michael Brown, a Black male from Ferguson, Missouri has received unprecedented attention worldwide for the unapologetic

deployment of violence on mourners and protestors by the Ferguson Police Department. Brown, who was unarmed at the time, was killed by officer Darren Wilson after he shot Brown six times at point-blank range (New York Times 2014). Wilson was eventually absolved of any wrongdoing, with a shocking grand jury decision that allowed Wilson to go uncharged for the homicide (New York Times 2014). Brown's death was picked up by local, national, and international news outlets, as well as social media, and the resulting fervor caused widespread confusion as to the details of the incident. Eye-witnesses claimed that Brown had had his hands up at the time of his killing, drawing outrage that this was an execution style killing. Other reports claimed that Wilson was investigating a robbery that Brown was allegedly involved in a few minutes prior, however, Wilson himself admitted the initial contact with Brown was unrelated to the robbery (New York Times 2014). Defenders of Wilson insist that Brown was a criminal, despite a lack of evidence. Even if Brown was guilty of a criminal act, this only highlights a glaring contradiction in the very legal-judicial boundaries within which the United States (supposedly) deals with its criminals. It is clear that the execution of some criminals is justified, and the right to due process is waived for bodies already mapped with criminality.

The killing of Eric Garner, one that was captured in vivid detail on amateur video, highlights this justification of the execution of Black 'criminals'. Garner was confronted by several New York City police officers regarding his alleged sale of contraband cigarettes. Despite the video footage displaying Garner showing no physical opposition towards the officers, several officers, including one who pulled Garner into a headlock,

wrestled him down to the ground (New York Times 2014). Pleas from Garner stating that he couldn't breathe were ignored by the officers, who proceeded to brutally handcuff and choke him until he lost consciousness. Garner subsequently died from cardiac arrest as a direct result from the asphyxiation he suffered from the headlock administered by officer Daniel Pantaleo (New York Times 2014). Similar to the Brown ruling, a grand jury decision was reached to not charge Pantaleo for Garner's death. The subsequent outrage and public demonstrations prompted a federal investigation from the United States Justice Department. The irony of this case is that the man who filmed the murder of Garner, Ramsey Orta was charged with a minor firearms violation (New York Times 2014). Orta has since insisted that he is innocent of any wrongdoing and that he is being charged as a result of his filming of Garner's death. This sent a very clear message. Orta now has a criminal record, while Pantaleo was able to walk free with no trial or further inquiry into Garner's death, despite a coroner's report ruling the death a homicide. From Rodney King to Eric Garner, amateur video has been invaluable in exposing to the broader public the violent treatment at the hands of the police that Black communities have known for decades. However, what is troubling about the treatment of the man who filmed the exchange is that it sends a clear message – that filming these exchanges must be strictly forbidden in order to obscure the continuation of state violence against Black bodies and maintain the status quo that allows the execution of Black males, criminal or not.

These highly public events are not isolated to the United States or North America for that matter. In Toronto, the killing of 18 year-old Sammy Yatim in 2013 caused

widespread shock and outrage. Yatim was shot eight times and then tasered by Toronto

police officer James Forcillo (The Toronto Star 2013). The dominant narrative after his

death was that it was shocking to witness such a brutal display of police force in a place

like Toronto, refurbishing those dominant narratives that decenter police violence from

the Canadian context discussed earlier in this paper. However, to the Black community,

what this highlighted was something we have known for quite some time, that

unadulterated use of police force against racialized bodies is the status quo and that the

aforementioned narratives only serve to obfuscate the visibility of violence against Black

bodies. The killing of Mark Duggan in the United Kingdom by police sparked a series of

mass riots in East London that spread across England in 2011 and made international

news. What is important here is that police officers in the United Kingdom do not carry

firearms, thus necessitating an unusual and excessive use of police resources in order to

target Duggan. While the reason for his shooting was his supposed possession of a

firearm, no firearm was found on his body after his death (BBC 2012). In the following

months, police officials in London were persistent in their attacks on Duggan's character,

linking him to several London gangs and referring to him as a 'gangster' (London

Evening Standard 2011). It seems that with these cases, while the contexts and ethno-

cultural contingencies may differ, the rigidity of an inherent Black criminality remains,

and the excessive brutality that Black male bodies face is a constant.

  The 'Black Lives Matters' movement offers a continuation of this project of

speaking back to racial violence, as it draws on the very public deaths of people like

Garner as a rallying point in their resistance praxis. The 'Black Lives Matters' movement

came into the spotlight in the aftermath of the murder of Michael Brown. To be clear, the news and political commentaries wrongfully assume that this movement and others like it are spontaneous, just a response to the recent, publicized violence against Black bodies. I find this sort of narrative extremely disrespectful, as it ignores the daily acts of resistance Black people undertake, and further obscures the daily brutalization of Black people through the idea that this movement was only inspired by the Michael Brown or Trayvon Martin killings. In this way, the death of Brown highlights a disturbing reality, that someone has to die, and die publicly, in order for someone to recognize this resistance. Resistance has been happening on a daily basis all over Black communities around the world, long before these publicized murders.

At the core of the 'Black Lives Matters' movement is the highlighting of the historically constituted tactics police and the state use on Black bodies. What this movement misses is something very crucial: how does it *feel* to be brutalized by the police? How do *I* feel? This is the very essence of my research: how do Black bodies *feel* about the mapping of criminality on their bodies? How do they *feel* about the corporeal and psychological violence they encounter daily? The patterns of violence against the Black body is not something new. The torture and hanging of Emmett Till in Mississippi in 1955 should serve as a persistent reminder of the politics surrounding these events. Till was 14 when he was killed by an angry mob of white men for allegedly whistling provocatively at a white woman. Till violated the sanctity of a white femininity that must be protected at all costs, and his sentence was mutilation and death. Instead of a private ceremony, Till's mother Mamie had an open casket funeral in order to make a statement

about what it means to be Black and brutalized in America (Giroux 2006). What Mamie Till's act of speaking back highlighted was that often this work of responding to violence falls on the shoulders of the women in the Black community. This is why my framing of this work in the Black feminist tradition is so important. Even if it is not female bodies that are being discussed in this thesis, what the Black feminist tradition shows us is that the work of organizing resistance efforts often falls on the shoulders of Black women.

Agamben tells us that from the position of the sacred man, there is no way to launch an opposition to the strategies of dehumanization that sovereign power employs (Agamben 1998). In direct confrontation with this sentiment, Till's mother offered a way for Black communities who have experienced this trauma to speak back to this power and violence aimed at our bodies, even in death and mourning. It is this act mourning that I wish to emphasize here. In mourning her son's death, Till's mother was essentially able to allow her son to speak back on what it *feels* like, what it looks like to be violently targeted by white colonial violence.

As such, it is only appropriate that I conclude my project with a moment of mourning. I mourn the death of Emmett Till. I mourn the death of Trayon Martin. I mourn the death of Michael Brown. I mourn the death of Jermaine Carby, whose death at the hands of Toronto police during a traffic stop just weeks after Brown failed to garner the international attention like that of Eric Garner. Rest in peace Jermaine Carby. Rest in peace Eric Garner. Rest in peace Abdulle Elmi, a close personal friend and mentor of mine whose murder was overshadowed by the Eaton's Centre and Danzig shootings in 2012. Despite being a University of Toronto student, double majoring in Political Science

and Philosophy, Elmi was labeled as "known to the police" in the media and first press releases from the Toronto Police Service. What was not explained was that this connection was due to the shooting deaths of two of his own family members in the span of a couple of months, including one of the victims in the Eaton's Centre shooting. There are no suspects in his killing. No evidence. His killing is one of the many cold cases involving dead Black males not just in Toronto but worldwide. So it is here where I mourn for him in hopes his death is not forgotten. Hopefully, through this research, he is able to speak back. Rest in peace.

Works Cited:

"Tracking the Events in the Wake of Michael Brown's Shooting." *The New York Times* 24 Nov. 2014. Web. 23 Dec. 2014. <http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2014/11/09/us/10ferguson-michael-brown-shooting-grand-jury-darren-wilson.html#/#time354_10512>.

Agamben , Giorgio. *State of Exception* . Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.

Agamben, Giorgio. *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998.

Baker, Al and Ray Rivera. Secret Tape Has Police Pressing Ticket Quotas . 9 September 2010. <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/09/10/nyregion/10quotas.html?pagewanted=all>.

Bass, Sandra. "Policing Space, Policing Race: Social Control Imperatives and Police Discretionary Decisions." *Social Justice* 28.1 (2001): 156-76.

bell hooks. *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center*. Brooklyn: Southend Press, 2010.

Brash, Julian. "The ghost in the machine: the neoliberal urban visions of Michael Bloomberg." Journal of Cultural Geography (2012): 135-153.

Canadian Broadcast Corporation. "'Toronto has lost its innocence,' police say of Boxing Day shooting." 27 December 2005.

Clarkson, Stephen. "Paradigm Shift or Political Correction? Putting Ontario's 'Common Sense Revolution' in a Global Context." Regional & Federal Studies (1999): 81-106.

Crenshaw, Kimberle. Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color. Palo Alto: Stanford Law Review, 1991.

Curtis, Richard. "Report From TheFfield: Zero Tolerance/Stop and Frisk Policing in New York City."*Dialectical Anthropology* (2012): 343-52.

Dale, Daniel. "Rob Ford wants Ottawa to use immigration laws against gun crimes." The Toronto Star. Toronto, 17 July 2012.

Dhillon, Sunny. The Globe and Mail Toronto. 5 March 2011. 23 November 2014 <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/toronto/toronto-now-the-fourth-largest-city-in-north-america/article9317612/>.

Dunn, Kevin C. "Fear of a Black Planet: Anarchy Anxieties and Postcolonial Travel to Africa." *Third World Quarterly* 25.3 (2004): 483-99.

Ernst, Carl W. *Islamophobia in America: The Anatomy of Intolerance*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

Fanon, Frantz. *Black Skin, White Masks*. New York: Pluto Press, 2008.

Fanon, Frantz. *The Wretched of the Earth*. New York: Grove Press, 2005.

Florida, Richard. "The Deadly Mixture of Guns and Class in Toronto." *The Toronto Star,* 3 Mar. 2013. Web. 2 Dec. 2014. <http://www.thestar.com/opinion/editorialopinion/2013/03/03/the_deadly_mixture_of_guns_and_class_in_toronto.html>.

Florida, Richard. The deadly mixture of guns and class in Toronto. The Toronto Star. Toronto, 3 March 2013.

Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1975.

Foucault, Michel. *The History of Sexuality. Vol. I*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1978. III vols.

Foucault, Michel. *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972–1977*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1980.

Gilmore, R. W. "Public Enemies and Private Intellectuals: Apartheid USA." *Race & Class* 35 (1993): 69-78.

Gilmore, Ruth WIlson. "Fatal couplings of power and difference: notes on racism and geography." *Professional Geographer* (2002): 15-24.

Gilmore, Ruth Wilson. *Golden Gulag: Prisons, Surplus, Crisis, and Opposition in Globalizing California*. Oakland: University of California Press, 2007.

Giroux, Henry A. "Reading Hurricane Katrina: Race, Class, And The Biopolitics Of Disposability." *College Literature* 33.3 (2006): 171-96.

Goldstein, Joseph, and Marc Santora. "Staten Island Man Died From Chokehold During Arrest, Autopsy Finds." *The New York Times* 1 Aug. 2014. Web. 23 Dec. 2014. <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/08/02/nyregion/staten-island-man-died-from-officers-chokehold-autopsy-finds.html>.

Goodman, J.David. "Man Who Filmed Fatal Police Chokehold Is Arrested on Weapons Charges." *The New York Times* 3 Aug. 2014. Web. 23 Dec. 2014. <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/08/04/nyregion/after-recording-eric-garner-chokehold-ramsey-orta-gets-charged-with-gun-possession.html?_r=0>.

Gordon, Todd. "Neoliberalism, Racism, and the War on Drugs in Canada." *Social Justice* 33.1 (2006): 59-78.

Harvey, David. *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Hayward, K. J. "Five Spaces of Cultural Criminology." *British Journal of Criminology* (2012): 441-62.

Hulchanski, J. David. The Three Cities Within Toronto. Toronto: Cities Centre, 2010.

Hune-Brown, Nicholas. "A new mixed-raced generation is transforming the city: Will Toronto be the world's first post-racial metropolis?" Toronto Life. Toronto, 12 February 2013.

Jacobson, Susan. "Boy, 17, Shot to Death in Sanford during 'altercation,' Police Say." *Orlando Sentinel* 29 Feb. 2012. Web. 20 Dec. 2014. <http://articles.orlandosentinel.com/2012-02-29/news/os-fatal-shooting-sanford-townhomes-20120226_1_gated-community-death-sunday-night-shot>.

Keil, Roger. ""Common-Sense" Neoliberalism: Progressive Conservative Urbanism in Toronto, Canada ." Antipode (2002): 578-601.

Kobayashi, Audrey and Linda Peake. "Racism out of Place: Thoughts on Whiteness and an Antiracist Geography in the New Millennium." Annals of the Association of American Geographers (2000): 392-403.

Lawrence, Bonita. "Rewriting Histories Of The Land: Colonization And Indigenous Resistance In Eastern Canada."

Razack, Sherene. *Race, Space and the Law: Unmapping a White Settler Society.* Toronto: Between the Lines, 2002. 21-46.

Lefebvre, Henri. *Critique of Everyday Life*. London: Verso, 1991.

Logical Outcomes. "This Issue Has Been With Us for Ages". Logical Outcomes. Toronto, 2014.

Loomba, Ania. *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*. London: Routledge , 1998.

Lynch, Mona, et al. "Policing the 'progressive' city: The racialized geography of drug law enforcement ." Theoretical Criminology (2013): 335-357.

Lynch, Mona. "Theorizing the Role of the 'War on Drugs' in US Punishment." *Theoretical Criminology* 16 (2012): 175-99.

Mahtani, Minelle. "Challenging the Ivory Tower: Proposing anti-racist geographies within the academy." *Gender, Place and Culture* (2006): 21-25.

Margeson, William A. "Bringing the Gavel down on Stops and Fisks: The Equitable Regulation of Police Power." American Criminal Law Review (2014): 739-772.

Mbembe, Achilles. "Necropolitics." Public Culture (2003): 11-40.

McKittrick, Katherine. *Demonic Grounds*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006.

Mitchell, Don. *The Right to the City: Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space*. New York: Guilford Press, 2003.

Mitchell, Katharyne. "Ungoverned space: Global security and the geopolitics of broken windows." Political Geography (2010): 289-297.

National Post Staff. Where are Toronto's murders happening? The National Post. <http://news.nationalpost.com/2012/02/24/graphic-where-are-torontos-murders-happening/>.

Newton, Huey P. *Revolutionary Suicide*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1973.

Pagliaro, Jennifer. "Sammy Yatim: 8 of 9 Bullets Heard on Video Hit 18-year-old on TTC Streetcar." *The Toronto Star* 22 Aug. 2013. Web. 23 Dec. 2014. <http://www.thestar.com/news/crime/2013/08/22/sammy_yatim_shot_eight_times.html>.

Parsons, Rob, and Justin Davenport. "Father Dies and Policeman Hurt in 'terrifying' Shoot-out." *London Evening Standard* 5 Aug. 2011. Web. 23 Dec. 2014. <http://www.standard.co.uk/news/father-dies-and-policeman-hurt-in-terrifying-shootout-6429782.html>.

Rankin, Jim. "TCHC Employees Suspended After Toronto Star Story on Teens' Arrest." *The Toronto Star* 22 Mar. 2013. Web. 4 Dec. 2014. <http://www.thestar.com/news/insight/2013/03/22/tchc_employees_suspended_after_toronto_star_story_on_teens_arrest.html>.

Rankin, Jim. Toronto police propose purging carding information from database. 4 October 2013. <http://www.thestar.com/news/gta/knowntopolice2013/2013/10/04/toronto_police_p ropose_purging_carding_information_from_database.html>.

Razack, Sherene H. "When Place Becomes Race." Razack, Sherene H. Race, Space, and the Law: Unmapping a White Settler Society. Toronto: Between the Lines, 2002. 1-20.

Roberts, David J. and Minelle Mahtani. "Neoliberalizing Race, Racing Neoliberalism: Placing "Race" in Neoliberal Discourses." *Antipode* (2010): 248-257.

Ronayne, John. "The Right to Investigate and New York's "Stop and Frisk" Law." *Fordham Law Review* 33.2 (1964): 211-38.

Rucker, Walter C., and James N. Upton. *Encyclopedia of American Race Riots*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 2007.

Ruddick, Susan. "Abnormal, the "New Normal," and Destabilizing Discourses of Rights." *Public Culture* (2006): 53-77.

Siciliano, Amy. "Policing Poverty: Race, Space and the Fear of Crime After the Year of the Gun in Suburban Toronto." Toronto: University of Toronto, 2010.

Siemiatycki, Myer. "Governing Immigrant City: Immigrant Political Representation in Toronto." American Behavioral Scientist (2011): 1214–1234.

Slater, Tom and Ntsiki Anderson. "The reputational ghetto: territorial stigmatisation in St Paul's, Bristol." Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers (2011): 530-546.

Smith, Andrea. "Voting and indigenous disappearance." Settler Colonial Studies (2013): 352-368.

Smith, Neil. "Another revolution is possible: Foucault, ethics, and politics." Environment and Planning D (2007): 191-193.

Smith, Neil. "Giuliani Time: The Revanchist 1990s." *Social Text* 57 (1998): 1.

Smith, Neil. "New Globalism, New Urbanism: Gentrification As Global Urban Strategy." *Antipode* 34.3 (2002): 427-50.

Thobani, Sunera. Exalted Subjects: Studies in the Making of Race and Nation in Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007.

Toronto Community Housing . Agent of Landlord Status Letters - Trespass to Property Update (TCHC:2005-18). Toronto, 31 March 2005.

Toronto Community Housing. State of Good Repair. 1 January 2014. <http://www.torontohousing.ca/sogr_repair_needs>.

Toronto, City of. Toronto Facts. 2015. 1 September 2014 <http://www1.toronto.ca/wps/portal/contentonly?vgnextoid=dbe867b42d853410Vgn VCM10000071d60f89RCRD&vgnextchannel=57a12cc817453410VgnVCM1000007 1d60f89RCRD>.

Wacquant , Loïc. "The new 'peculiar institution': on the prison as surrogate ghetto." Theoretical Criminology (2000): 377-389.

Wacquant, Loïc. Urban Outcasts: *A Comparative Sociology of Advanced Marginality.* Cambridge: Polity Press, 2008.

Ward, Stephanie Francis. "Stopping Stop and Frisk." (2014): 38-45.

We Charge Genocide. 2015. 3 December 2014 <http://wechargegenocide.org/>.

Woods, Clyde. *Development Arrested: The Blues and Plantation Power in the Mississippi Delta*. New York: Verso, 1998.

Yates, Jeff, and Andrew B. Whitford. "Race in the War on Drugs: The Social Consequences of Presidential Rhetoric." *Journal of Empirical Legal Studies* 6.4 (2009): 874-98.

Zeidman, Steven. "Whither the Criminal Court: Confronting Stops-and-Frisks." *Albany Law Review* 76 (2013).

Appendix A: Maps
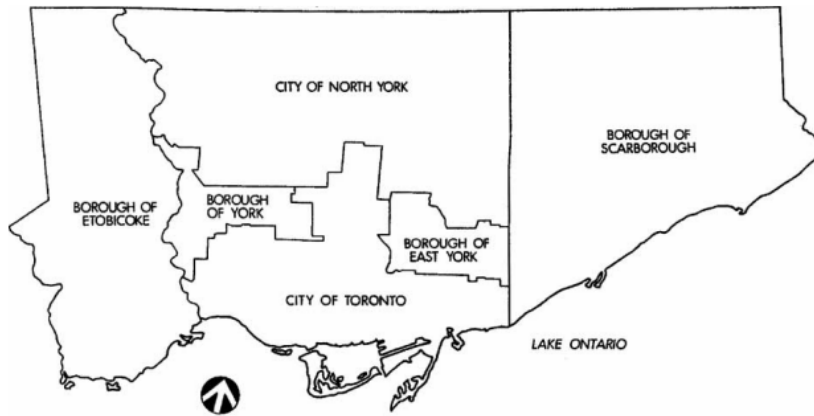
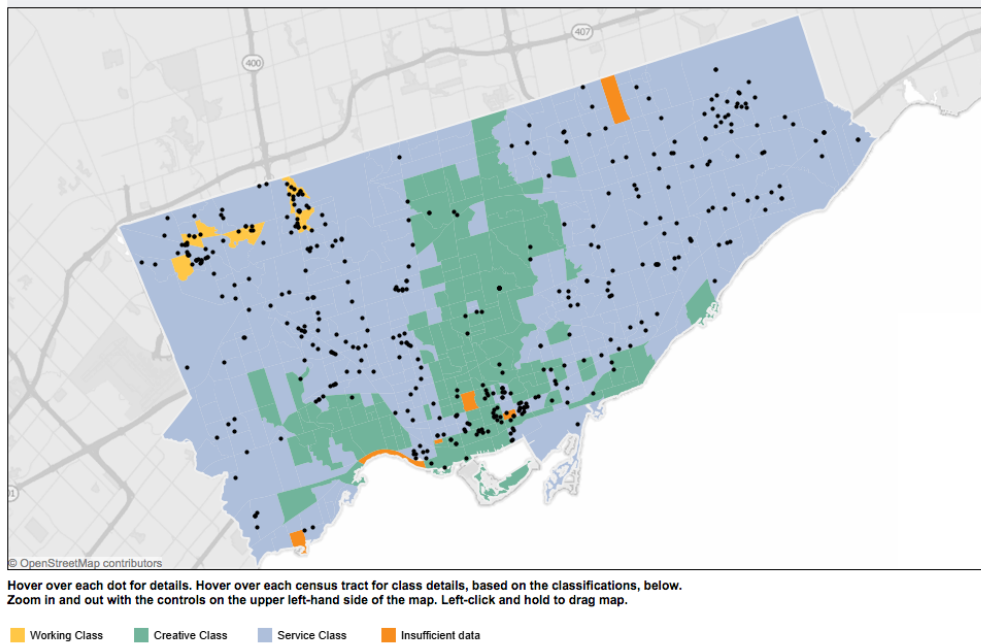Figure 1.1, Toronto Amalgamation Map
Source: Cowen (2005)

Figure 1.2, Concentrations of Crime in Toronto
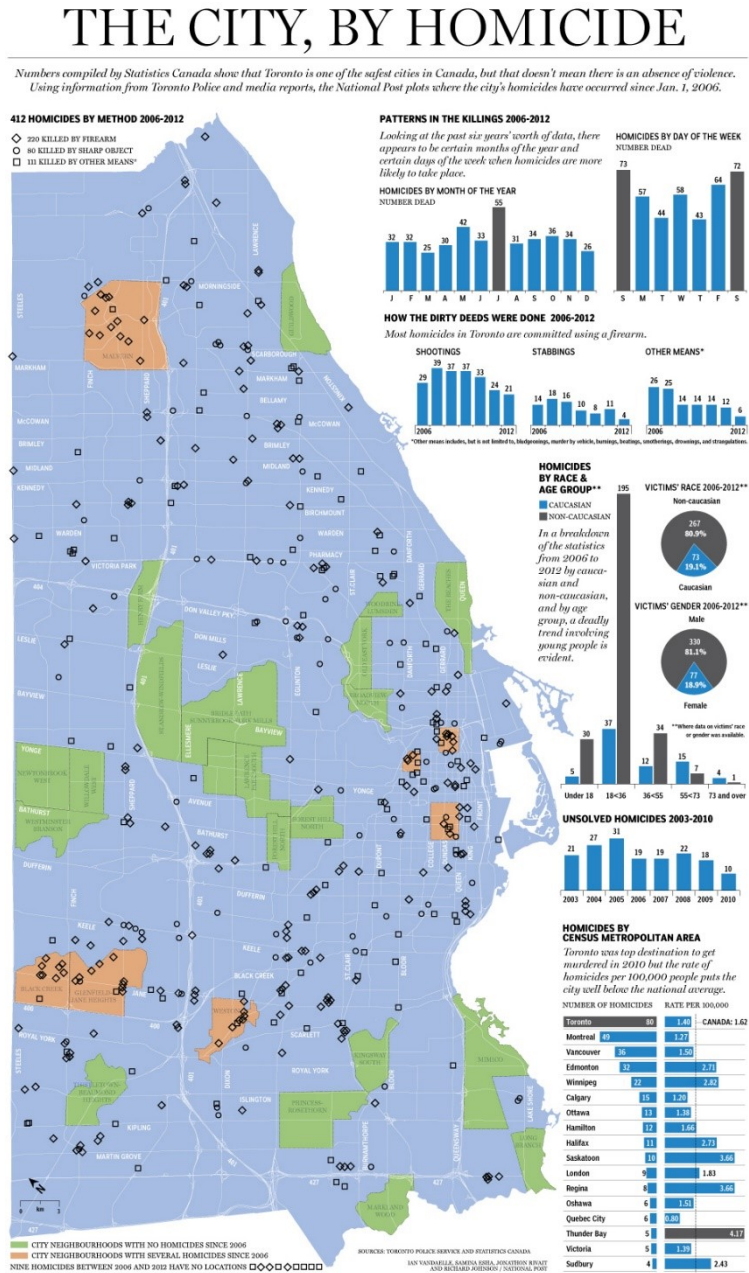Source: Richard Florida, The Toronto Star (2013)

Figure 1.3, The City, By Homicide
Source: The National Post, 2012

CRIME & SAFETY	CITY 1	CITY 2	CITY 3	CITY OF TORONTO
100. Total homicides 2005 to July 1, 2009, number & % of Toronto	35 / 10%	110 / 32%	183 / 54%	339 / 100%
101. Homicide by shooting 2005 to July 1, 2009, number & % in each area	22 / 63%	50 / 45%	102 / 56%	179 / 53%
102. Homicide rate 2005 to July 1, 2009, per 100,000 people 2006	8	12	17	14
103. Homicide victims by gender 2005 to July, 1, 2009, male % and female %	86% / 14%	74% / 26%	79% / 21%	78% / 22%
104. Average age of homicide victims 2005 to July 1, 2009	32 years	33 years	29 years	31 years
105. Homicide victims 20 years or younger, 2005 to July 1, 2009, number and % in each area	6 / 17%	24 / 22%	56 / 31%	89 / 26%
106. Total marijuana grow-ops broken-up by police, 2006-2007, number and % of Toronto	19 / 4%	155 / 32%	310 / 63%	489
107. Marijuana grow-op rate per 10,000 dwellings, 2006	1	4	8	5

Figure 1.4, Crime and Safety statistics between 2005 and 2009 in Toronto
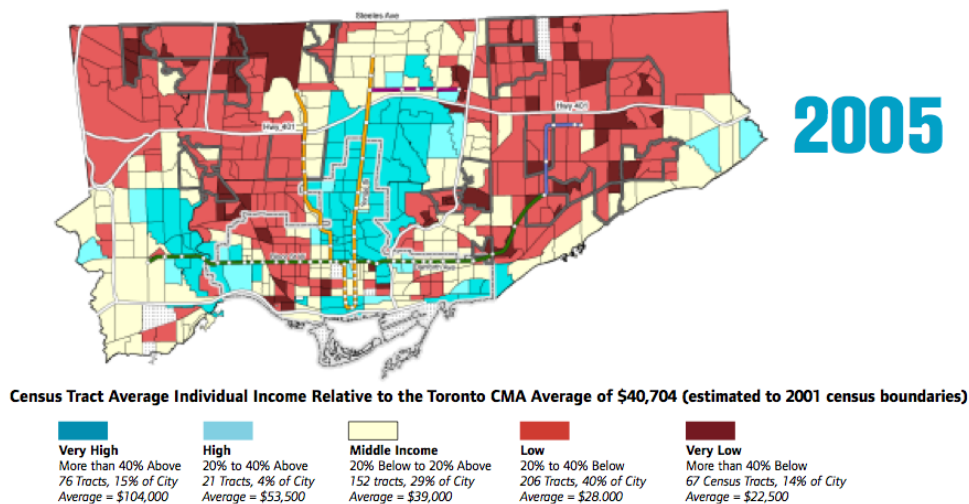Source: Hulchanski (2010)

Figure 1.5, Toronto Average Individual Income in 2005 by census tract
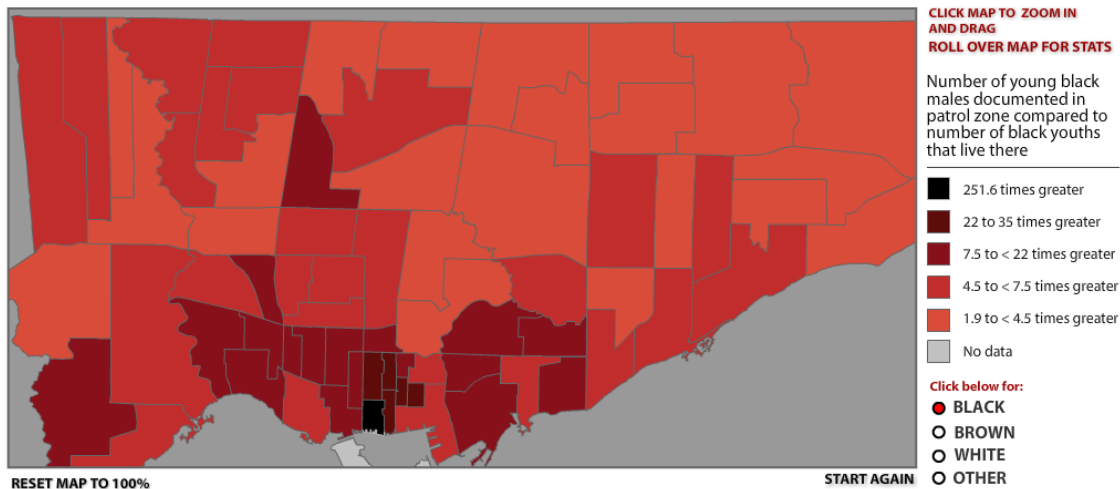Source: Hulchanski (2010)

Figure 1.6, Number of Black male youth documented compared to number of Black male youth inhabitants
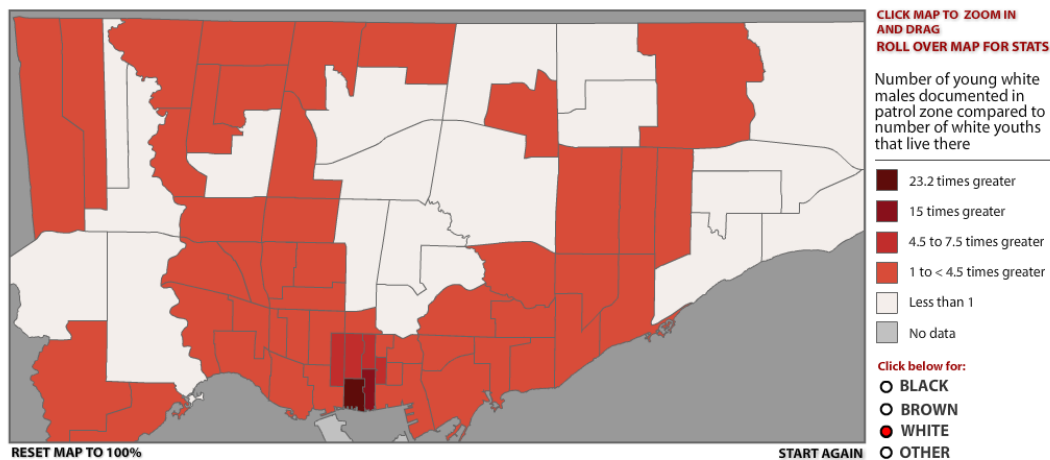Source: The Toronto Star (2013)

Figure 1.7, Number of white youth documented compared to number of white male youth inhabitants
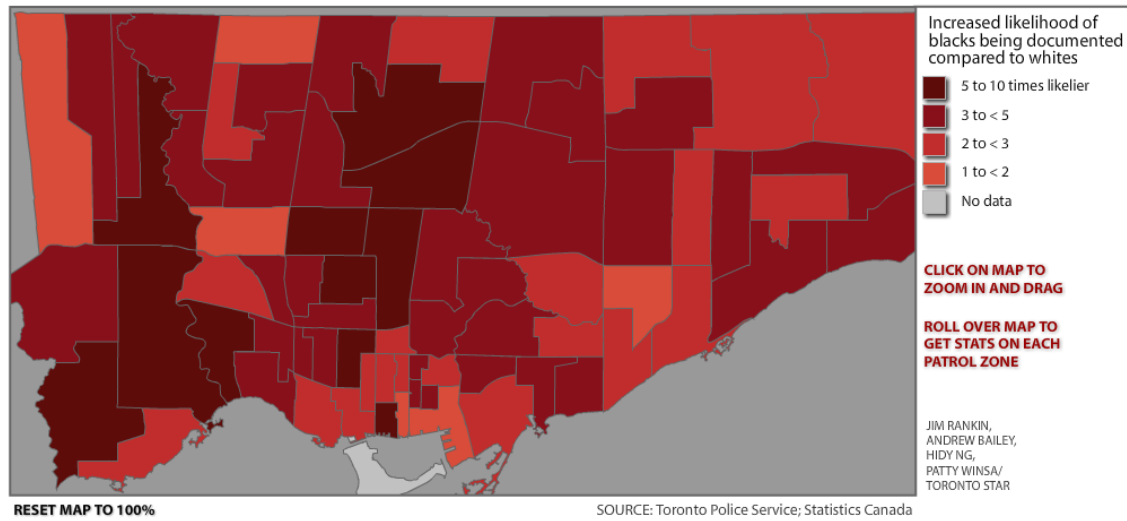Source: The Toronto Star (2013)

Figure 1.8, Likelihood of Black person being documented compared to white person
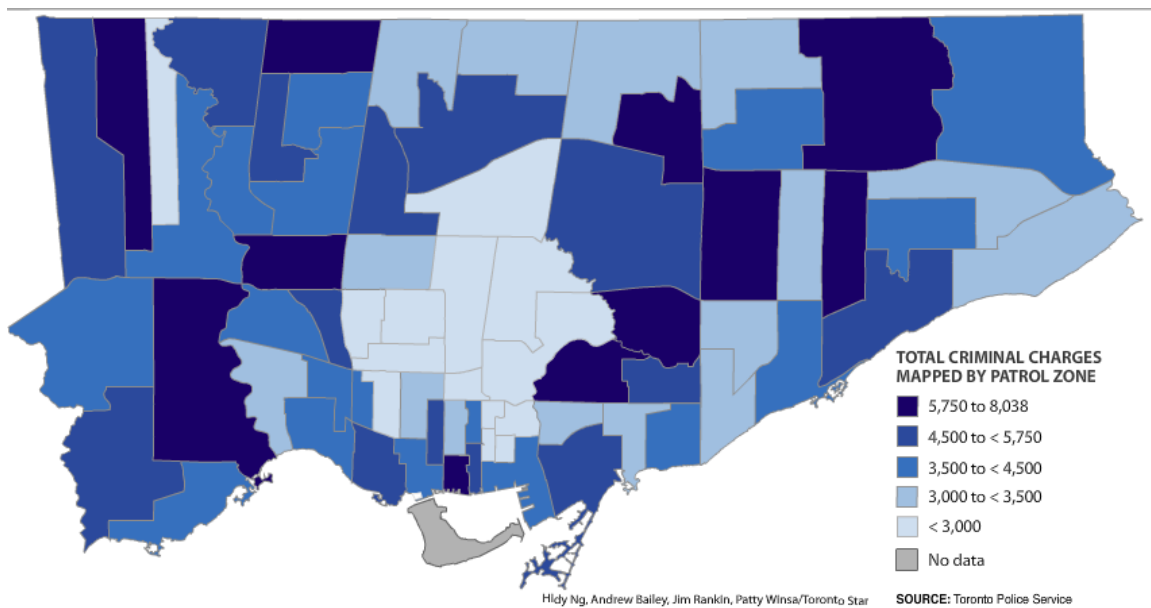Source: The Toronto Star (2013)

Figure 1.9, Total Criminal Charges by patrol zone
Source: The Toronto Star (2013)

VIOLENT CHARGES MAPPED
BY PATROL ZONE

- 875 to 1,166
- 650 to < 875
- 500 to < 650
- 350 to < 500
- < 350
- No data

Hidy Ng, Andrew Bailey, Jim Rankin, Patty Winsa/Toronto Star   **SOURCE:** Toronto Police Service
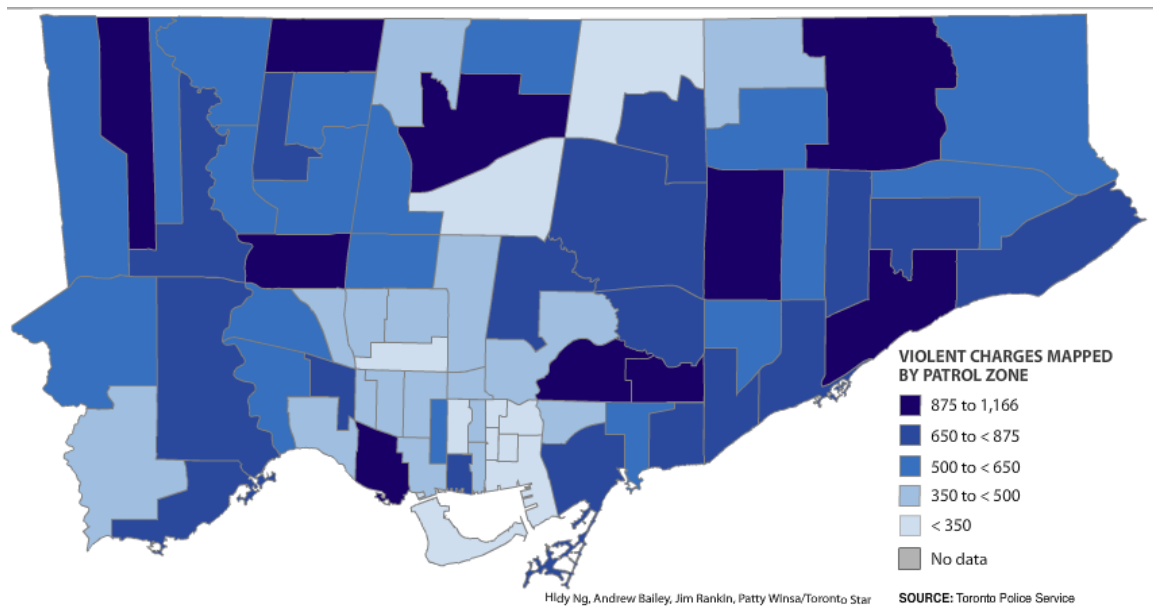
Figure 1.10, Total Violent Criminal Charges by patrol zone
Source: The Toronto Star (2013)