POLICING POVERTY
RACE, SPACE AND THE FEAR OF CRIME AFTER THE YEAR OF THE GUN
(2005) IN SUBURBAN TORONTO

by

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Department of Geography
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Abstract

In 2005, firearm homicides in Toronto spiked to unprecedented levels, prompting mainstream media to label 2005 as the 'Year of the Gun'. While the majority of those killed were young black men in Toronto's impoverished post-war suburbs, the shooting death of a young white woman downtown reframed the problem of gun violence in popular and policy discourse from the perspective of those it least affected: the predominantly white middle-classes in the gentrified urban core. This dissertation attempts to situate dominant narratives of the problem of gun violence and policy responses to it as an event in a history of Toronto, especially with reference to transformations in urban space and governance. It argues that the Year of the Gun can be understood as a destabilizing moment in the city's collective history that helped normalize ways of narrating and governing a growing socio-spatial divide between the city and the post-war suburbs. Through analyses of government proceedings, media discourse, social scientific research, participant observation, and key informant interviews it identifies how intersecting discourses, practices and representations framed

racialized poverty and crime in ways that further solidified causal links between the two. It offers a history for these causal links, illustrating how race and space have long played a vital role in real and imagined divisions between the city and its suburbs. It explores the formation and administration of three policy approaches responding to the crisis: a municipal policy framework for social investment, a targeted policing strategy, and non-profit faith-based programs for young black men. It analyses how each defined social problems for government in ways that eclipsed broader processes generating social inequality in the city. The findings of this research suggest that dominant narratives and practices governing poverty and crime have *prevented* public discussions about the racialized architecture of neoliberal urbanism while *enforcing* one of suburban decline. They have prevented dialogue about the correlation between whiteness and wealth in the core, while enforcing causal relations between blackness, poverty and crime in the suburbs. And they have prevented critiques about the surveillance of the city's young black men, while enforcing projections of these same men through the prism of masculinist culture.

Acknowledgements

I would first like to thank all those who took the time to share their knowledge, experiences and perspectives with me by participating in this research. Without their support, this work would not have been possible.

My supervisor, Kanishka Goonewardena, sharpened my understanding of this subject, and also rigorously insisted on the importance of form, not just content. While Deb Cowen formally joined my PhD committee at a later stage, she has been absolutely instrumental in the formation of this dissertation, from start to finish. I owe them both deep thanks and gratitude.

Emily Gilbert, Jason Hackworth, and Debby Leslie always asked challenging questions and provided thoughtful feedback as my PhD committee members. Roger Keil, Paul Hess, and Katherine Rankin served as my external examiners, and this dissertation has benefited from their generous and critical engagement. Gunter Gad and Sue Ruddick also took much time to share their knowledge of Toronto's social history, particularly during the early stages of the research.

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Thanks to my family—Martha, Don and Dawn Siciliano—one of my richest sources of strength and inspiration.

Et un gros merci á mon amour, Guillaume Neault, pour tout.

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Introduction

This dissertation is about how a recent 'crisis of gun violence' in Toronto fuelled fears of suburban ghettoization and conditioned policy responses targeting racialized neighbourhood poverty in the city's post-war suburbs. My initial motivation to investigate this crisis stemmed from what I saw as its sensational uptake in mainstream media as well as the punitive responses the crisis provoked from various state agencies. As I began researching this project I learned that the crisis of gun violence was far more complex than a media event with pernicious consequences for the racialized poor. Despite the fact that Toronto has had a stable rate of gun-related homicide, and one of the lowest in the country (and just a fraction of the rate in many U.S cities of comparable size),[1] such violence was indeed a reality for many in the city. Yet this reality was starkly divided along lines of race, class, gender, and geography: primarily affecting young black men in suburban areas of concentrated poverty. Meanwhile, the central city—where the vast majority of the city's white, middle and upper

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1 Toronto typically has a relatively low rate of violent crime, including homicides. In 2008 Toronto's homicide rate was 1.8. When compared to CMA's with populations exceeding 500,000, it was lower than Edmonton (3.4), Vancouver (2.4), Winnipeg (4.1), and Calgary (2.9), and lower than 8 of the 18 CMA's with populations between 100,000 and 500,000. Juristat, *Police-reported crime statistics in Canada, 2008*' 29.3, (Statistics Canada, 85-002-X, 2009). While gun-related violence rose in Toronto in 2005, violent crime rates decreased that year by 4% (in line with all CMA's excluding Ottawa and London). See M. Gannon, *Violent Crime Statistics in Canada*, 26. 4 (Statistics Canada, 2006). As a percentage of firearm homicides, handgun use rose from 63.4% in 1994 to 72% in 2004, but the overall rate of firearm use for violent crimes (including homicide) has gone down significantly over the past decade. For instance in 1994 the rate of firearm homicides was 6.2, by 2004, the rate dropped to 2.5. This decline in firearm use has paralleled trends in the U.S. (down from a rate of 6.5 in 1974 to 3.9 in 2004). See K. Hung, *Firearms Statistics: Updated Tables* (RR06-2e Research and Statistics Division Department of Justice Canada January 2006).

classes reside—experienced far lower incidences of gun-related crime. Given the social geography of this violence, it solicited some paradoxical responses: popular and policy discourses constructed the crisis as a problem that appeared to pose the biggest threat to those it least affected. This perceived threat thus soon prompted a surge of inquisitions into the nature of the problem facing the city—most of which appeared to rely on problematic assumptions between crime and growing concentrations of poverty in the city's suburbs. This paradox suggested to me that to understand how the crisis unfolded I had to position it within the context of broader socio-historical forces shaping relations between Toronto's centre and periphery.

The year 2005 marked the peak of the crisis of gun violence. That year gun-related homicides surged to unprecedented levels in Toronto; spiking by a remarkable ninety-two percent. By year's end fifty-two people had died, the vast majority of whom were young black men. But it was media coverage of gun violence that grew exponentially—far beyond the actuality of real increases in firearm homicides in the city (graph 1). By the end of the year, mainstream media had christened 2005 as the 'Year of the Gun', an appellation that lodged the problem into the position of a mounting social crisis in the city's collective consciousness.[2] Over the course of 2005 and in the years immediately following, official explanations of gun violence projected it in causal relation to concentrations of racialized poverty on the city's periphery, concentrations brought to the public's attention in catalytic

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2 L. Diebel, 'The Year of the Gun: Is this the end?' *Toronto Star* (December 31, 2005) A1.

report published in 2004 that mapped the migration of poverty from the inner city to the post-

war suburbs.[3] Released just as the crisis of gun violence unfolded in the city, the report
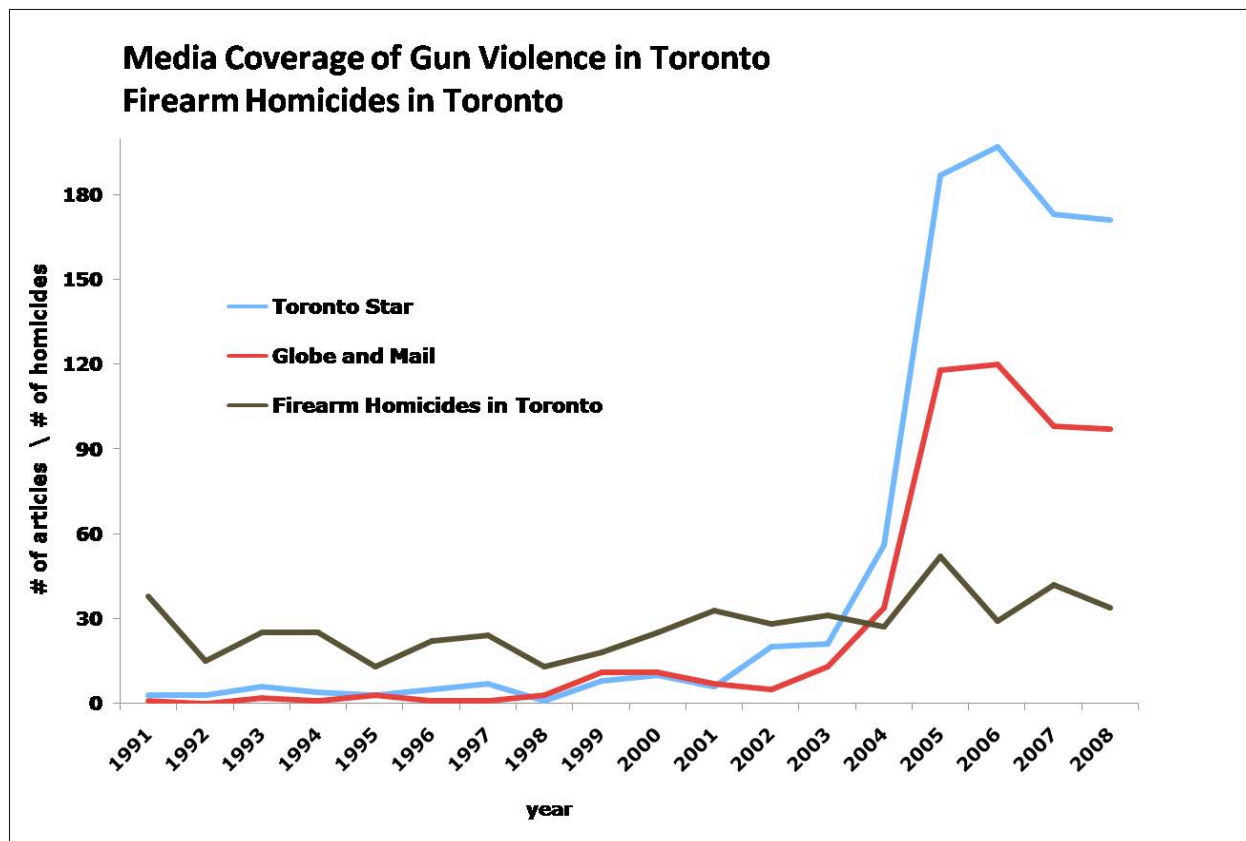
Graph 1: Number of firearm homicides in Toronto; number of articles in the *Toronto Star* and *Globe and Mail* on gun violence and Toronto, 1991-2008 (Source: compiled from Factiva database; K. Hung, 'Firearm Statistics, Updated Tables', Research and Statistics Division, Department of Justice, Canada, 2006; *Annual Report*, Toronto Police Services, 2009).

affirmed 'poor people's supposed predisposition to social disorder'[4] in popular and policy

discourse.

In narratives that spanned the spectrum of popular, academic and political discourse,

spatial correlations between crime and poverty were interpreted as causal links between the

two. Mainstream media mapped gun deaths alongside income levels in the city to fashion a

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3 Poverty By Postal Code: The Geography of Neighbourhood Poverty (Toronto: United Way of Greater Toronto, 2004).

4 M. Davis 'Foreword' in J. Hagerdorn, *A World of Gangs* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008) xii.

narrative that explained crime as an inevitable outcome of concentrations of racialized

poverty. Accounts of everyday life in these areas contributed to public perceptions that these

locales were rife with violence and crime (plate 1); headlines mapped out a geographic

Plate 1: 'The Other Toronto' Mapping the crisis (R. James 'The Other Toronto, *Toronto Star* August 14, 2005) A1.

imaginary of the city's dangerous neighbourhoods: *'Rexdale Gang Busted'*, *'Scarlem: The*

Scarborough Curse', *'One Hundred and Eight Charges in Malvern Violence'* and *'Life and*

Death in Jane-Finch'.[5] Socially conservative discourses added to the rhetoric, offering both

diagnosis and remedy by inferring the city's urban poor had been cultured into making

unwise 'choices'. They claimed that crime could be curbed through law *enforcement*

measures that included increased policing and surveillance of 'high crime areas' and

enhanced penalties like mandatory minimum sentencing for gun violence and gang-related

convictions. Many liberal and left-leaning public officials, academics and community

activists also provided a rationale that linked crime to poverty: the crisis was a consequence

of decades of social and economic exclusion that had *segregated* the city's poor. For these

disenfranchised populations crime was not as a 'choice', as the conservatives would have

it— but rather, a means to 'survive'. They advocated that crime could be *prevented* through

social investment in these marginalized suburban neighbourhoods. From all corners then, a

consensus emerged; the crisis rendered crime a symptom of racialized poverty. In other

words, the problem of crime was a really a problem of poverty, more specifically, a problem

of *concentrated* racialized poverty in the city's suburbs. The diagnosis of this problem thus

helped craft the range of possible remedies. Yet, absent from popular discourse and official

policy documents was the crucial fact that the sharp spike in gun violence was not a result of

increasing concentrations of racialized poverty in the city's suburbs. Instead it was, in large

part, an after effect of a 2004 police-orchestrated gang raid targeting a low income suburban

neighbourhood of Scarborough. According to the majority of policy makers and

administrators I interviewed during this research, including police, public housing and public

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5 B. Powell, '1,325 charges laid in gang raids: Rexdale gang busted' *Toronto Star* (September 16, 2005) A1; M. Ogilive 'One Hundred and Eight Charges in Malvern Violence', *Toronto Star,* (April 30, 2005) B1; D. Gilmore, 'Scarlem: the Scarborough Curse' *Toronto Life* (December, 2007); 'Life and Death in Jamestown' *Toronto Sun* (September 11, 2005)31.

health workers, this gang raid—at the time the largest in the city's history—was a primary

reason gun violence spiked as sharply as it did in 2005. As one research participant put it:

> The months leading up to that horrible year [of 2005] there was a huge gang bust [in a low income area of the city] and so what happened...is that they busted a bunch of these gangs and sent all of the gang elders to the clang and so there were a lot 15 and 16 year olds without elders who didn't ...understand that you're not supposed to shoot up your neighbourhood, and so it was mayhem. When you talk to the police about that time, they say yeah, absolutely, we busted the Malvern crew and then there were a bunch of these young bucks running around who thought they were the shit.[6]

That aggressive law enforcement contributes to violence rather than ameliorates it—an

argument supported by recent research by the Urban Health Research Institute at University

of British Columbia[7]—suggests the need for an alternative account of the 'Year of the Gun'

and its aftermath. It suggests that explaining the crisis through common sense assumptions

between crime and poverty replicates moralizing critiques of the urban poor in circulation at

least since the Victorian era. And it obscures how social imaginaries and policy actions—

however inadvertently—exacerbate the very problems they purport to be solving.

Rather than assuming poor people's predilection for crime and social disorder, this

research explores the relationship between this historical moment and the conditions that

make possible the criminalization of the suburban poor. Specifically, it asks: what set of

discourses, practices and representations posit causal relations between crime and racialized

poverty and why were these considered useful? How did the crisis of gun violence confound

questions concerning the problem of poverty and the means of addressing it? In answering

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6 Personal interview SDFA6, 2007.

7 They found that 'based on several decades of available data, the existing evidence strongly suggests that drug law enforcement contributes to gun violence and high homicide rates and that increasingly sophisticated methods of disrupting Canadian gangs involved in drug distribution could unintentionally increase violence'. See Urban Health Research Institute, *Evidence of Drug Law Enforcement on Drug-Related Violence: Evidence from a Scientific Review*, (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, March, 2010) 4.

these questions, my analysis seeks to foreground the common sense assumptions

underpinning public discourses of suburban decline and the implications of these on the

governance of poverty through crime. In an effort to disrupt these assumptions, the

dissertation offers an alternative narrative of the crisis and its aftermath, one that examines

how space, race, crime and poverty figured into popular imaginaries and public policy

articulations. Causal assumptions between racialized poverty and crime ushered in to explain

the crisis of gun violence expose how 'the rationalities of social space—its modes of

definition, maintenance, distribution, experience, reproduction, and transformation—are at

once fundamental influences upon the social relations of power'.[8] As this research

documents, dominant views of this crisis, and the governmental responses to it, constructed

bodies within the social spaces of the city as either respectable and innocent, or alternatively,

degenerate and dangerous.

In exploring the paradox of the crisis of gun violence—one that gave us a problem

from the perspective of those it least affected—this dissertation attempts to situate the crisis

as an event in a history of Toronto, especially with reference to contestations over urban

space and governance in the city articulated in terms of class and race. As I discuss below,

the most lucid exposé of this paradox came with the death of young white woman downtown.

Public and policy responses to this singular incident, when contrasted to the multiple violent

deaths of men and women of colour throughout course of that year, unabashedly indicated

that the narrative of suburban decline gleaned sustenance not only through the assumed

relationship between racialized poverty and crime, but in particular through the perceived

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[8] D.Goldberg, *Racist Culture: Philosophy and the Politics of Meaning* (London: Blackwell, 1993)185.

threat this decline, so imagined, posed to the core. In other words it wasn't only that suburban poverty generated violent crime, but the perceived capability of this violence to transgress the real and imagined boundary between Toronto's periphery and its core.

The Event Known as the 'Year of the Gun'

The crisis of gun violence projected the suburbs as sites rife with crime and violence; its residents as threatening to the city. As I noted, most of 2005's victims of gun violence were young black men in and around suburban public housing complexes and private apartment towers where the majority of Toronto's working class people of colour reside. Mainstream media narrated violence in the city's suburbs as an inevitable outcome of concentrations of racialized poverty, with the problem of 'suburban decline' a synecdoche for what otherwise might be considered overtly racist, gendered or classed interpretations of this perceived inevitability. In other words, it wasn't exactly that poor people, people of colour, or young black men were predisposed to crime but *spatial concentrations* of these that fostered criminogenic conditions. Aggravated by the explosion of academic research on ghettoization and its 'effects' in Canadian cities, these causal assumptions were also grounded in comparisons between Toronto's 'growing immigrant "underclass"' and the 'ethnic uprisings' underway in the Parisian *banlieues,* suggesting to some 'an alarming and disquieting analogue to the demographic portrait of the French suburban *cites*' [9] (plate 3; plate 4).

9 M. Valpy 'Could it Happen Here?', *Globe and Mail*, (November 12 2005)A1; D. Jouanneau, 'Lessons from the Violence in Paris', *Toronto Star*, (November 30, 2005)A21; See also Toronto City Summit Alliance, 'Strong Neighbourhoods: Supporting the Call to Action', (Discussion Paper for the Toronto Summit, February, 2007); 'Lessons from the U.S: Lock up your children' *Globe and Mail* (August 20, 2005)M6.

THE GLOBE AND MAIL

CANADA'S NATIONAL NEWSPAPER ■ FOUNDED 1844 ■ GLOBEANDMAIL.COM ■ SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 12, 2005

Could it happen here?

Ottawa to unveil Italian redress package

Grievances of other groups being studied

BY CAMPBELL CLARK, OTTAWA

The federal government will recognize today the wrong done to Italian Canadians who were interned in the Second World War as part of a $50-million package designed to redress the historic grievances of seven ethnic groups.

Today's package will not include

Plate 2: M. Valpy, 'Could It Happen Here?' *Globe and Mail*, **(November 12, 2005) A1.**

Lessons from the violence in Paris

France is implementing a 'charter of diversity' to bring youth into the mainstream, says ambassador *Daniel Jouanneau*

French ambassador Daniel Jouanneau says his government has set aside $50 billion for urban renewal and social projects in Paris over the next five years.

CHARLA JONES/TORONTO STAR

Plate 3: D. Jouanneau, 'Lessons From the Violence in Paris', *Toronto Star* **(November 20, 2005) A21.**

The social geography of gun violence took a sharp turn on December 26, 2005. A young white woman named Jane Creba was killed by a stray bullet released during an alleged gang-related shootout, while Boxing Day shopping on Yonge Street, downtown Toronto's busiest commercial strip. With Creba's death, the 'crisis of gun violence' migrated to a place with a starkly different social landscape, one that housed over eighty percent of the city's white, middle and upper classes, as well as the heart of the city's commerce and finance sectors. My analysis of how media and policy discourse narrated the crisis of gun violence confirmed that this problem mattered far more when it penetrated the social space of the urban core. Specifically, journalists, politicians, police and other influential civic leaders who spoke out about the Boxing Day shooting invoked material differences in racial and class composition between the city and its surrounding suburbs which made gun violence on Yonge Street appear to be not only radically 'out of place', but threatening to a social environment imagined to be— up until that moment—existing in a relatively peaceful state of civility and social order.

The perceived magnitude of this threat was amplified through its media saturation. In the wake of Creba's death the media headlines declared that Toronto had 'lost its innocence'. Unlike other shooting deaths that year—some of which were also accidental[10]—Creba's death made the front page headlines of mainstream presses across the nation, and received international coverage in the U.S. and U.K. The local press affirmed its primacy in the city's collective history printing full page maps of its place and timing to commemorate its one year anniversary. Creba's death also amplified the crisis of gun violence from a media event

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10 Such as the accidental shooting death of a young black woman named Chantal Dunn, which occurred in a suburban North York nightclub in May 2005.

to a political affair. Days following, various levels of government proposed and later enacted

a range of policy responses targeting what was by now widely embraced as a monumental

social problem of gun violence. The provincial government injected an initial fifty-one

million dollars into 'fighting guns and gangs', including providing the City of Toronto with

the financial resources to develop a new targeted policing strategy. In a federal election that

was underway at the time, each of the main federal parties launched a 'law and order' agenda

in their election platforms.[11] The right wing Conservative Party of Canada proposed the most

sweeping measures to the criminal justice system to 'get tough on gun crimes'. Holding the

press release on the site where Creba was killed foreshadowed the ideological weight this

event carried. The election of the Conservatives that year signaled a significant turning point

in punitive approaches to crime in Canada.[12] By spring 2006, millions of dollars had been

rechanneled into policy and legislative changes addressing gang and gun violence. These

ranged from installing prevention measures that targeted 'high-risk' areas for social

investment, to enhanced law enforcement ranging from new policing and surveillance

measures, new mandatory minimum sentences, and changes to Canada's Criminal Code for

gang-related crimes.

Capitalism, Urbanism and Crime

Space—its symbolic and material constitution—plays a vital role in relations between

capitalist urbanism and constructions of crime. Peter Linebaugh's penetrating history of the

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11 The centre-right Liberals launched their law and order agenda in Toronto's notorious Jane and Finch neighbourhoods—branded over a decade ago by a former Liberal Prime Minister as Canada's worst for gun and gang violence.
12 The Conservatives were elected as a minority government after two decades of Liberal rule.

criminalization of customary rights in eighteenth century London takes the relationship

between 'capital punishment and the punishment of capital' back to the nascent days of

urban industrialization. He documents how during this formative period, workers' customs

became reconstituted as property crimes. The blurring of contours between the poor and the

criminal was made possible in the ships, factories and dockyards of industrializing London,

by working in lockstep with transformations in property rights, global trade and the local

geographies of industrialization. Take for instance, Spitalfields, the centre of the globalized

silk weaving industry, which by the late 18th century, was also a district synonymous with

crime and poverty. In Spitalfield we learn that the proliferation of crime was tightly tethered

the industrialization of this commodity: according to Linebaugh, 'the prosecution

of…customs included the breadth of London trades, [but] two commodities particularly were

subject to vigorous, innovative repression—namely silk and sugar.'[13] Indeed it was in

Spitalfield where Patrick Colquhoun pioneered the theory and practice of modern policing

out of his own experiences with 'theft' as a Scottish textile merchant[14]. 'By November 1772,

he had organized spies to infiltrate the "mischievous Confederacies" of the silk district'.[15]

Linebaugh drew on the spectacle of public hanging designed to enforce working class

submission to give us a history of 'class struggle that includes both the expropriation of the

poor from the means of producing (resulting in "urbanization") and the appropriation by the

poor of the means of living (resulting in "urban crime")'.[16] But rather than starting from a

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13 P. Linebaugh, *The London Hanged: Crime and Civil Society in the 18th Century* (London and New York: Verso, 2003 [1991]) 407.
14 P. Colquhoun, A Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis, explaining the various crimes and misdemeanours (H. Baldwin and Sons: London, 1806);   A Treatise on the Commerce and Police of the River Thames (H. Baldwin and Sons: London, 1800).
15 Linebaugh, *The London Hanged*, 409.
16 Linebaugh, *The London Hanged*, xxxiii.

position that penal reforms and new technologies of rule responded to acts of *illegality*, Linebaugh's investigation instead departs from the perspective of 'the hanged men and women whose views and actions'[17] were informed and deformed by industrial urbanism, global trade, technology and law. Thus his premise begins not from how and why the state's penchant for public hanging came to be deemed a legitimate *response* to the propensity of the poor to commit crime, but instead under what circumstances did the views and actions of the urban poor come to be understood as criminal.

For Linebaugh, the punishment of capital, or what he aptly calls *social death* not only includes 'mutilations, homicides, injuries, stress of the office, mine and mill, but also…the migrations, the uprooting, the forced confinement, [and] the slavery of the sex industries that have become a planetary phenomena'.[18] The crisis of gun violence can perhaps be included in such an inventory. To be sure, the discursive construction of gun violence and governmental responses to it share similarities to the spectacle of public hangings. Both respond to actual events but depend on and further entrench a set of existing assumptions about the social ordering of urban space during particular moments in capitalist urbanism. The crisis of gun violence amplified the rationalities of social space underpinning dominant narratives of suburban decline. This narrative projected suburban poverty as the cause of racialized violence, recasting these social deaths away their relations to late capitalist urbanism and its governing logics, and instead towards the perceived threat poor people posed to those privileged in Toronto's contemporary cultural and political economy. The

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17 Linebaugh, The London Hanged, xxv.
18 Linebaugh, The London Hanged, 445.

management of poverty as a means of preventing crime and the control of crime as a method

of managing the poor have been the two most prominent responses to this crisis.

As this dissertation documents, the polarizing social geography of the city contributed

to the framing of this crisis and responses to it.[19] While Toronto's socio-spatial structure

represents an extreme case among Canadian cities, its bifurcations are not unique among so-

called 'global cities', an appellation the city has assumed since the mid-1970s as the

country's economic capital, and primary destination for international migrants.[20] Beginning

in the 1970s Toronto's social geography began to shift in relation to multi-scalar processes of

post-fordist economic restructuring, post-welfare re-regulation of state governance, and post-

colonial patterns of global migration.[21] In Toronto these structural changes translated into the

decentralization and overall decline of manufacturing industries, the polarization of its labour

market, and the onset of the gentrification of inner city neighbourhoods. As a consequence of

the latter, traditional immigrant areas in the core soon became inaccessible to lower income

immigrants even though the bulk of settlement services, employment and transportation

networks were centred in the city's core. By the late 1970s, Toronto's post-war suburbs—

which unlike other suburbs in Canada and the U.S., had an unusually large stock of

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19 D. Hulchanski, 'The Three cities within Toronto: Income Polarization among Toronto's Neighbourhoods, 1970-2000', 41 (Centre for Urban and Community Studies, University of Toronto, 2007) 4; A. Walks and R. Maaranen, 'Neighbourhood Gentrification in Toronto, 1961 to 2001', (Centre for Urban and Community Studies, University of Toronto, 2008), For US comparisons see A. Singer, S. Hardwick, and C. Brettell, (eds) *Twenty-First-Century Gateways: Immigrant Incorporation in Suburban America*. (Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2008).
20 P. Marcuse, and R. van Kempen, (eds) *Globalizing Cities: A New Spatial Order* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000); S. Sassen The *Global City: New York, London, Tokyo* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).
21 J. Boudreau, R. Keil and D. Young, *Changing Toronto: Governing Neoliberal Urbanism* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), S. Kipfer and R. Keil, 'Toronto. Inc? Planning the Competitive City in the New Toronto', *Antipode* (2002) 227-64; R. Keil, 'Common-sense Neoliberalism: Progressive Conservative Urbanism in Toronto' *Antipode* 34.3(2002) 578-601; E. Isin, *Democracy, Citizenship and the Global City* (London: Routledge, 2000).

affordable housing primarily in the form of multi-unit apartment towers—were fast

becoming isolated settlement areas for new migrants. David Hulchanski's mapping

household income distribution between 1971 and 2001 illustrates what is clearly observable

to anyone who has spent time traversing the boundaries between the city and its suburbs: the

suburbanization of poverty and the gentrification of the core (plate 4; plate 5).[22]

Plate 4: Average individual income compared to Toronto CMA average, 1970 (Source: D. Hulchanski, Centre for Urban and Community Studies, University of Toronto, 2007)

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22 His mapping of household income distribution across the city between 1970 to 2000 shows that average income increased by 20% around the city centre and close to the subway lines (20% of the city's census tract areas, and areas identified by Walks and Maaranen as fully gentrified). Meanwhile on the city's periphery—mainly in the northern parts of the city's post-war suburbs, average incomes decreased by 20% or more (36% of the city's census tract areas) The racial composition of those residing in the higher income areas of the city—primarily within the boundaries of the old city of Toronto— is overwhelmingly white (86%). Those areas dominated by low income households—predominantly the post-war suburbs of Scarborough, North York and Etobicoke— are predominantly comprised of racial minorities (66%).

Average Individual Income, City of Toronto, 2000

Average Individual Income from all sources, 15 Years and Over, Census Tracts
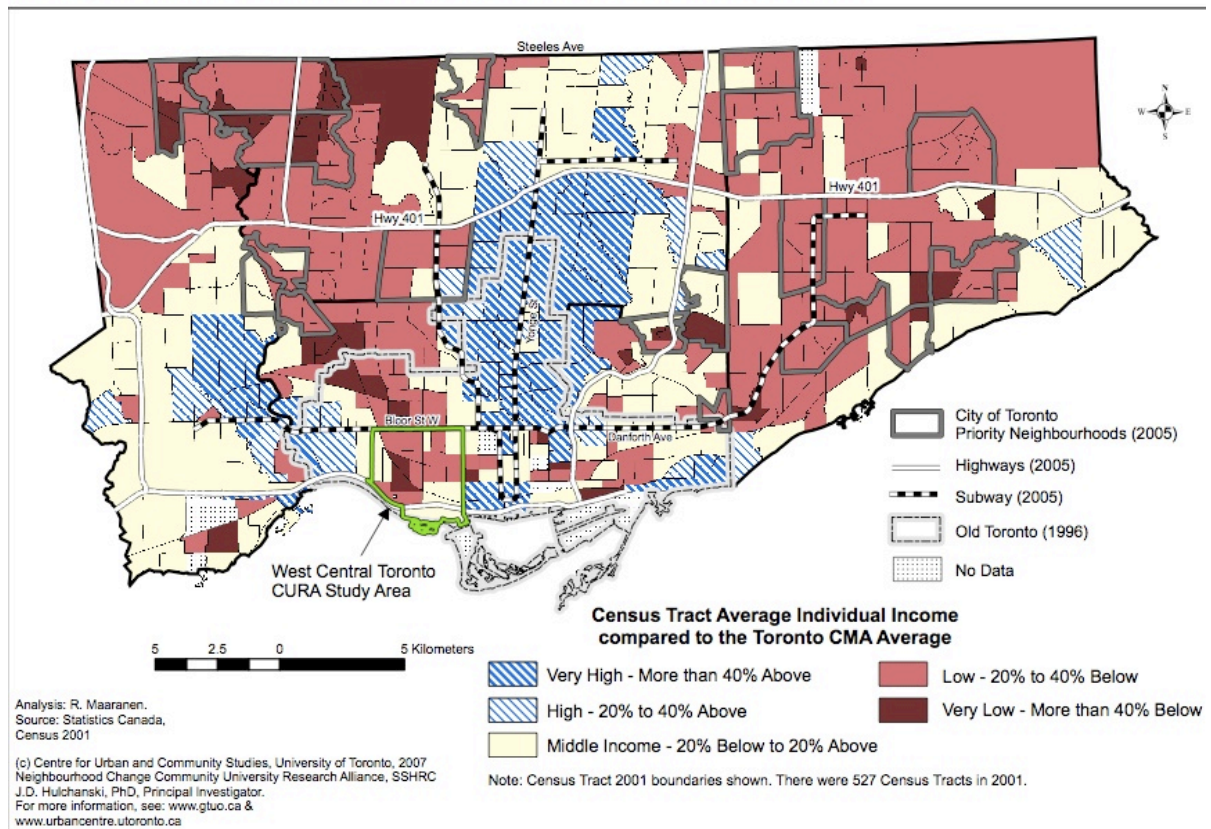
Plate 5: Average individual income compared to Toronto CMA average, 2000 (Source: D. Hulchanski, Centre for Urban and Community Studies, University of Toronto, 2007)

Political shifts exacerbated these polarizing trends as economic restructuring has been accompanied by a shift away from a Keynesian welfare state toward neoliberal forms of governance. This shift is expressed through the retrenchment of social security and concurrent policies of economic deregulation, a transition well documented as a combined result of a prolonged recession and high unemployment, public pressure to reduce social spending, and successful advocacy of a return to *laissez-faire* governance and market de-

regulation.[23] Neoliberalism as a cohesive strategy of governance commenced in the mid

1980s, when Brian Mulroney's Progressive Conservative administration initiated claw-backs

in core sector funding for affordable housing, public education, transportation, health care,

welfare and employment insurance. In Ontario, the election of Progressive Conservative

(PC) Mike Harris in 1994, and his successor Ernie Eves, helped accelerate the retrenchment

of social welfare and market deregulation through their 'Common Sense Revolution' (CSR).

Between 1995 and 2002, the PC's CSR made dramatic cuts to welfare benefits and

introduced workfare, amalgamated municipal governments,[24] reduced the number of

provincial social service workers, and abolished provincial public housing programs,

downloading the fiscal and administrative burden onto municipal governments. At the

municipal level the private sector and non-profit sector has assumed greater primacy both in

policy development and administration as local governments struggle to manage more social

services with fewer resources.

Targeting Crime and Poverty: Racializing Space, Politicizing Race

Practices producing and regulating space and the bodies associated with these spaces figure

centrally in how the boundaries and social character of particular places come to be defined,

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23 J. Brodie, *Politics on the Margins* (Halifax: Fernwood Press, 1995), A. Johnson S. McBride and P. Smith (eds), *Continuities and Discontinuities: The political economy of social welfare and labour market policies in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994).
24 In 1998 the Province forced the amalgamation of the City of Toronto with the surrounding municipalities of Scarborough, North York, Etobicoke, East York, and York. For an excellent account of the contested politics of this amalgamation, see J. Boudreau *Mega City Saga: Democracy and Citizenship in this Global Age* (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 2005). On how amalgamation has shaped strategic forms of urban governance in Toronto see Keil 'Common Sense' and D. Cowen, 'Suburban citizenship? The rise of targeting and the eclipse of social rights in Toronto' *Social and Cultural Geography*, 6.3 (2005).

and 'how individuals and groups will be determined through such understandings and associations'.[25] Barbara Fields explains, for instance, that 'ideas about color, like ideas about anything else, derive their importance, indeed their very definition, from their context…that tells people which details to notice, which to ignore, and which to take for granted in translating the world around them into ideas about that world.'[26] As I alluded to, and what will become clear moving through this work, responses to the crisis of gun violence were swept into a political framework already at work to assess, categorize and spatially bound social problems for government. The ways through which suburban social problems became visible, knowable and governable can be understood in part through a much broader shift toward strategic governance ushered in during the onset of neoliberalism, when the logic of social welfare began to be re-fashioned not as an entitlement of citizenship but as a response to 'problem' citizens. In Ontario, for instance, at the same time as the PCs were dismantling the welfare state and deregulating markets, they were introducing new forms of social regulation directed at those most penalized by such shifts.[27] A 'shift in political rationality away from implicit "universalism" toward a logic of explicitly partial and selective provision'[28] has meant that the logic of targeting now informs a much broader range of social policy. States and local agencies, under the auspices of fiscal constraint, are persuaded to

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25 J. Nelson, 'Spaces of Africville' in S. Razack, (ed) *Race, Space and the Law: Unmapping a white settler society* (Toronto: Between the Lines Press 2002).

26 B. Fields, 'Ideology and Race in American History' in J. Morgan Kousser and James M. McPherson (eds) *Region, Race, and Reconstruction: Essays in Honor of C. Vann Woodward*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982) 146.

27 For discussion and other examples of the introduction of new forms of penalizing social regulation in Toronto and elsewhere see Boudreau, et al, *Changing Toronto*; S. Body Gendrot *The Social Control of Cities?* (London: Blackwell, 2000); Daniels et al 2001; L. Wacquant *Urban Outcasts*: *A Comparative Sociology of Advanced Marginality* (London: Polity Press, 2008); R. Gilmore *Golden Gulag: Prisons, Surplus, Crisis and Opposition in Globalizing California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).

28 D. Cowen, 'Suburban citizenship?' 337.

target interventions toward areas or groups deemed 'high-risk' or 'in need'. Implicitly and often explicitly targeting creates its subjects by defining them as being 'outside the norm':

> [I]t is those groups located outside of these norms that are problematized through targeted policy. In relation to explicitly exclusive forms of belonging, non-normative citizenship is defined in similarly clear and bounded ways through policies directed towards spatially discrete social problems.[29]

Cowen documented the genesis of targeted recreation policy in relation to Toronto's changing social geography to make a compelling case for why 'the spatiality of targeting matters'.[30] She illustrates that while targeting today is widely heralded as a strategic solution to governing in a post-welfare state, in Toronto its rationale has long depended on the construction of an outside 'other'. In particular, she shows that the kinds of targeted policies that have recently emerged as a solution to a crime and poverty were first initiated in Toronto's suburban municipalities in the post-war era to address an emerging population of unconventional suburbanites—new immigrants and the working poor. Targeting she argues depended 'on the articulations of post-war suburban life, literally built around the private family in private space' that 'problematized racialized and gendered identities'[31] in the city's suburbs 'by measure[ing], identify[ing] and bound[ing] [these identities] for specialized government.'[32]

Social processes through which 'problem areas' are discursively constructed are not simply scientific and descriptive, but fundamentally diagnostic and prescriptive. Spatial co-relations between crime and poverty that gave us the 'problem' of the 'inner suburbs'

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29 Cowen, 'Suburban' 350. See also J. Brodie, 'Restructuring and the new citizenship', in Evans, P. and Wekerle, G. (eds) *Women and the Canadian Welfare State: Challenges and Change*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997): 126–140.
30 Cowen, 'Suburban' 351.
31 Cowen, 'Suburban' 336.
32 Cowen 'Suburban' 350.

confirmed what we thought we already knew, identified potential problems we hadn't yet

seen, and conditioned responses to the problems so identified. As I argue in chapter one, the

particular ways through which spatial concentrations of racialized poverty have been mapped

into public consciousness and policy frameworks on the one hand *spatializes* social

problems. In many ways, we are seeing a revival of some of the underlying premises of the

'culture of poverty' thesis.[33] In this case however, 'place'—or more precisely,

bureaucratically defined 'neighbourhoods'— becomes as an explanatory means of

accounting for acute class differences in the city by way of ahistorical and asociological

theories of ghettoization and neighbourhood effects.

On the other hand, in reifying racialized poverty from its broader social context while

positing violence as an inevitable 'effect' of concentrated poverty presents these spaces as

external and potentially threatening to mainstream practices and values. Marking bodies as

'outside the norm', targeting is premised on systems of classification that sort people by

colour, class, and other visible and social attributes, producing kinds of people (and places)

that in a certain sense, did not exist before.[34] Systems of categorization derive legitimacy

from deeply rooted scientific epistemologies that appear to transcend parochial perspectives

by offering a 'rational' method for understanding of the social world as a something

viewable from the 'outside', as measurable 'units', observable 'patterns', as objects for

policies, plans, and actions,

33The notion of a 'culture of poverty' can be attributed to the early post-war ethnographic work of Oscar Lewis, who pioneered the term to explain the perpetual cycle of poverty he observed in his studies in Mexico, Puerto Rico and New York O. Lewis, *Five families: Mexican case studies in the culture of poverty*, (New York: Basic Books,1959); *The children of Sanchez*. (New York: Random House, 1961); *La Vida: A Puerto Rican family in the culture of poverty-San Juan and New York*. (NewYork: Random House, 1966).

34 I. Hacking, 'Kinds of People: Moving Targets' *Proceedings of the British Academy* 151 (2006), 293.

creating an effect that we recognize as reality, by organizing the world endlessly to represent it. Representation does not refer here simply to the making of images and meaning. It refers to forms of social practice that set up in the social architecture and lived experience of the world what seems an absolute distinction between image (or meaning, or structure) and reality, and thus a distinctive imagination of the real.[35]

These distinctions between 'subject and object, process and plan, real and representation' always, Timothy Mitchell argues, make a 'double claim'. On the one hand, they provide us with a 'true' image of reality, however incomplete. On the other hand, they *assert* an objective reality of what they claims to represent—that these material objects themselves exist *prior* to mediation, that they present themselves to be *re*presented as complete, unmediated, 'real'.[36] Generating knowledge based on visible "evidence" (the prototype, Etienne Balibar argues is the nineteenth century evolutionist anthropology of biological races), even if only claiming to be descriptive, nevertheless provides the basis for articulating '*"visible facts"* to *"hidden causes"*'.[37]

As critical scholars of race and colonialism have long argued, the production of knowledge about where things are is simultaneously a process of explaining why things are. The meaning ascribed to social space—both that marked as problematic and that which remained invisible, natural and thus unproblematic—'place' bodies within material experiences that structure our social world, and in doing so help to ascribe meaning to these bodies. Such ways of knowing may not be overtly discriminatory, nor seen as so for those not directly affected, but as Goldberg argues, 'racisms become institutionally normalized in and through spatial configuration, just as social space is made to seem natural, a given, by

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35 T. Mitchell, 'The Stage of Modernity' in T. Mitchell (ed) *Questions of Modernity* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000) 17. See also J. B. Harley 'Deconstructing the Map' *Cartographia* 26.2(1989) 1-20.
36 Mitchell, 'The Stage',18.
37 E. Balibar 'Is there a neo-racism?' in E. Balibar and I. Wallerstein, *Race, Nation, Class* (London: Verso, 1991) 19.

being conceived and defined in racial terms'.[38] The challenge for me in this research was thus to distill how the material and symbolic production of space served as an 'interpretive key' in structuring popular and policy links between crime and racialized poverty in the city. I had to document what 'combination of practices, discourses and representations in a network of affective stereotypes…enables us to give an account of a racist community…and also of the way in which, as a mirror image, individuals and collectivities that are prey to racism (its "objects") find themselves…denied the right to define themselves'.[39]

Data and Methods

The methodological framework for this research takes 'context and situation as its points of departure' to document the interpretive context, or the social setting in which people and institutions say and do particular things.[40] Specifically, it identifies and explores the social and spatial contexts in which media, policy and social scientific discourses related to the crisis of gun violence were generated; the narrative schema that organized discursive claims and interpretations of this crisis, and how these were linked to specific governing practices. Within the field of urban geography, Beauregard provides a useful methodological illustration of how public discourses are filtered through specific events in cities to create conditions for the framing of urban policy processes by helping to shape, normalize and further entrench dominant social relations and governing structures. Beauregard merges

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38 D. Goldberg, *Racist Culture* 185.
39 Balibar 'Is there a neo-racism?' 18.
40 M. Burawoy, 'The Extended Case Method', *Sociological Theory* 16 (1998), 30; D. Smith, *The Everyday World as Problematic: A Feminist Sociology* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1989).

Gramscian theories of hegemony with Foucauldian insights of discourse as constitutive of practice to demonstrate that public discourses are not simply 'misrepresentations' of a given social reality, but play a central role in the making of dominant culture and politics.[41] In this sense, an examination of public discourses generated by specific actors and institutions can illuminate the 'preferred narratives for making sense of the origins of current situations, [the] conceptual and geographic spaces within which problems of government are made recognizable, how objects are identified as governmental concerns and how these objects shape agendas for policy action. Such an examination can also reveal how particular counter-narratives, objects and agents are mobilized *out* of governing frameworks'. [42]

The research takes 2005's crisis of gun violence in the city as a point of entry because as other scholars have convincingly demonstrated, it is during moments of crises that social processes and systems of belief guiding discourses and practices of institutions and actors tend to be revealed with greater force and clarity. As Burawoy puts it 'a social order reveals itself in the way it responds to pressure'.[43] Its primary empirical focus is directed toward how this crisis shaped the formation of a municipal policy framework for suburban social investment called the 'Priority Neighbourhoods'; a new policing operation called the Toronto Anti-Violence Intervention Strategy that demonstrates a unique combination of military and community logics, and faith-based crime control strategies targeting young

41 R. Beauregard, *Voices of Decline: The post-war fate of U.S Cities* (New York: Routledge, [1993] 2003). See also L. Lees, 'Urban Geography: discourse analysis and urban research' *Progress in Human Geography* 28.1 (2004) 101-107.
42 K. Stenson and P. Watt 'Governmentality and the "death of the social"?: a discourse analysis of local government texts in south-east England' *Urban Studies* 36. (1999) 192.
43 M. Burawoy, 'The Extended Case Method', 17; See also E. Klienburg, *Heatwave: A Social Autopsy of Disaster* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).

black men in Toronto's low income neighbourhoods. It draws on secondary literature, media and policy archives to offer a socio-historical context for these emergent policy agendas.

This research used three tools of empirical investigation to create an archive of material on which the following four chapters are based: textual analysis, key informant interviews, and participant observation. The appendix details the specific data sources used in this research and notes on their challenges and limitations. Below I detail the methods of analysis used in this research.

Preliminary Research: The first stage of research had two objectives: 1) to develop a broad overview of the policies that had emerged in response to 2005's crisis of gun violence, to understand the social context of this issue as it was articulated in public discourse; and to identify actors to participate in this research that would provide further context for these policy developments; and 2) to develop a broader overview of changing institutional, social and economic environments in relation to Toronto's urban governance since the post-war era. The preliminary research began in January 2006. It relied on a review of provincial and municipal policy documents, and recent legislative changes in the criminal code, media coverage, attendance at public meetings, and secondary sources. I conducted exploratory research on wide range of municipal, provincial, community and non-profit programs and policies that emerged in 2006 in response to gun violence but prioritized those that occupied prominent and/or contested positions in public discourse, and those that preliminary research suggested appeared to signal a shift or solidification in existing frameworks and practices of urban governance. By December 2006 I had identified the policy focus, key actors and institutions and socio-historical context for structuring further research.

Textual analysis of documentary sources: My analysis of texts was guided by three primary lines of inquiry: 1) how the problem of gun violence was conceptualized in spatial, social and temporal contexts; 2) how claims about the nature of this problem were related to other debates and literatures; and 3) how conceptions of the problem identified objects and strategies for governance. I drew on two types of policy texts: official governmental proceedings and legislation produced by federal, provincial, municipal agencies; and policies and reports produced by non-profit/non-state actors. My use of media served two purposes. First it was used initially as a source of information to identify key sites, actors, organizations and policy changes. Second it was used as a source of data for analysis of the public discourses pertaining to gun violence, street gangs, and suburban poverty. The primary sources of media texts were the *Globe and Mail* and the *Toronto Star* (Canada's two most popular dailies). I created an archive of approximately 1000 articles pertaining to gun violence, street gangs, the post-war suburbs and policies that emerged in the wake of the crisis. This archive was generated through daily reading of each newspaper from September 2005 through August 2008 and supplemented through keyword searches in the Factiva and Proquest media databases (between 1960-2009). I also added to this archive with articles relevant to particular events, actors, or actions that I collected from local or community-based dailies, magazines, and weeklies. I coded these articles into specific themes. Examples of these themes include gun violence, street gangs, suburban decline, neighbourhood poverty, immigration, Priority Neighbourhoods, community-based responses, Poverty By Postal Code, Jane Creba, policing, and federal/provincial policy.

Interviews: I conducted my analysis of interview data in relation to my textual analysis of specific policies and programs. In other words, I was interested in contextualizing my

analysis of policy-related texts within their social, spatial, temporal and institutional genesis and administration. In January 2007 I began contacting individuals within or adjacent to organizations responsible for the conception, management and/or administration of the specific policies I was investigating. I contacted each individual via email and post. Several of my research participants identified other individuals they deemed relevant to my research project, whom I also contacted (see Appendix for list of research participants). I conducted key informant interviews with thirty-five participants between January 2007 and April 2008. My interviews were semi-structured, in that I prepared an interview script with a base set of questions that I altered depending on the particular policy or program I was investigating. In all cases, I attempted to let the interviewee guide the interview, rather than sticking strictly to the interview script. My goal was to understand the specific institutional and social context of policy formation rather than simply affirming facts related to the development of a given policy, thus I approached the interview as an occasion to have conversation about a particular policy and its institutional genesis. I guaranteed my participants' confidentiality. All consented to being identified by their place of occupation. Each interview was transcribed verbatim and coded thematically to supplement the specific lines of inquiry identified through textual analysis of these policies.

Participant Observation: Participant observation as a methodological tool allows the researcher access to the kinds of tacit, situational, or practical forms of knowledge and social interaction in a given space and time that cannot be reached through texts or interviews.[44] Between January 2006 and April 2008, I participated in a number of public meetings, community consultations, board meetings, conferences, workshops, a police-pastor

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44 M. Burawoy 'The extended case method'.

neighbourhood foot patrol, and parts of a street gang criminal justice trial at the Ontario Court of Justice in Toronto. I recorded field notes and thematically coded these data to augment my textual and interview analyses of specific policies. Specifically, these data have informed this research by helping me forge connections with local communities, to understand the ways that different actors articulated the social context for crisis of gun violence, and how particular policies and legislation were presented to the public.

Chapter Outline

Chapter one examines how the city's post-war suburbs came to be considered problem spaces on the public radar and urban policy agenda. It interrogates the symbolic construction and social regulation of racialized neighbourhood poverty in Toronto's suburbs. Specifically this chapter examines how media accounts of suburban ghettoization, social scientific epistemologies of segregation and neighbourhood effects, and a municipal policy framework combined to forge links between gun violence and concentrated poverty. I demonstrate how social investment in these neighbourhoods was premised on preventing the spread of these social problems. I suggest that this framework abets discriminatory assumptions about inherent relations between racialized poverty and crime, while constructing suburban poverty as threatening to the existing social order of the city.

The threat posed by the suburbs to the city is given a history in chapter two, which explores how race and space aligned in Toronto during the 1960s and 1970s. In doing so it brings the nascent gentrification of the inner city, the suburbanization of poverty and the racialization of the suburbs to bear on real and imagined divisions between the city and its

suburbs. It focuses on reform-era municipal politics and urban activism, specifically attempts by the so-called urban 'reformers' to impede suburban integration with the urban core on the grounds that suburban values—predominantly interpreted as homogeneous desires for Fordist consumption—threatened their vision of progressive urbanism. I explore the complex ways in which this outdated imaginary of suburban homogeneity became constitutive of the downtown reform movement. I contrast reformers' advocacy over their vision of the city against material transformations underway in the suburbs during this era to illustrate that while the city's suburbs did embody many of the characteristics reformers detested, they were also far more diverse both in terms of income and race than suggested by these reformers. I suggest that contemporary discourses of the suburbs as threatening have been inherited from the anti-suburban ideology of the reform era.

Chapter three addresses the emergence of a particularly coercive and penalizing policy targeting the post-war suburbs in the wake of the crisis of gun violence: a new urban policing operation known as the Toronto Anti-Violence Intervention Strategy (TAVIS) deployed to tackle the problem of criminal street gangs in Toronto. Developed and implemented in early 2006, TAVIS comprises a targeted approach to policing that implements heightened methods of surveillance and patrol in low income areas through calculated strategies of community engagement. I situate TAVIS in the context of the broader ascent of punitive policy in the criminal justice system, the rise of intelligence-led, paramilitary models of targeted policing, transformations in police-community relations, and prevailing conceptions of the problem of street gangs in Canada. I argue that TAVIS entrenched and normalized punitive approaches to policing the racialized poor, applying the spatial logic of targeting to recast the boundaries between military and police practice.

While the suburbs were widely viewed as the site of social pathology, the problem of gun violence was diagnosed as a problem specific to certain bodies within these spaces: young black men. In chapter four I show how this diagnosis refined the ways young black men are subjected to policing and surveillance in the city. I illustrate how a group of local black pastors enlisted the support of a prominent U.S black pastor to mobilize gendered and racial stereotypes that recast Toronto's gun violence problem as a symptom of a much deeper crisis of black masculinity. I document how these local pastors gained popular, political and community-based support for the instillation of faith-based crime control programs that claims to rebuild masculinity in Toronto's young black men. I demonstrate how the targeted application of these programs—through various incarnations of 'midnight basketball' and faith-based social services—far from addressing social inequality, re-valourizes masculinist culture while subjecting black male bodies to heightened techniques of surveillance.

I conclude by suggesting that Toronto's 'Year of the Gun' exposes a racialized underbelly structuring urban space and urban governance in this socially polarized city. The post-war suburbs have came to be located in collective imaginaries and political treatments as an exotic Other, conceptually detached from the gentrifying spaces of the inner city and hierarchical structures of race, class and gender. No longer signifying the archetypical bourgeois utopia of post war North America, the narrative of suburban decline has since become a trope to enable discussions of race, but not white identity; about poverty, but not wealth; about crime, but not surveillance, and about young black men, but without confronting the masculinist tenor imbued in their prevailing representations.

Chapter One

Gun Violence, Ghettos and the Making of Toronto's Priority Neighbourhoods

There is a 'tipping point' where poverty concentrations, once passed, are difficult to reverse. 'Winnipeg's North End, and Vancouver's Downtown East Side provide ample proof of just how intractable and resistant to change concentrated disadvantage can be…The experience in Chicago shows that once neighbourhoods reach a 'tipping point' it is almost impossible to turn the cycle of decline and disinvestment around. What's worse, it tends to spread.

Toronto City Summit Alliance, 'Strong Neighbourhoods: Supporting a Call for Action' 2007[1]

Suburban poverty—particularly among new immigrants, women and children—had long been a discernable element of Toronto's social geography.[2] Yet it wasn't until the early 2000s that it came to occupy public and policy attention when the publication of a series of research reports and articles brought to light the increasing concentration of racialized poverty in suburban neighbourhoods. While attention to growing concentrations of poverty in the suburbs was long overdue, what prompted social researchers, non-profit agencies, politicians and the media to finally engage with social problems in the suburbs? This chapter explores this question by documenting how areas of Toronto's post-war suburbs came to be designated as problem spaces for government on the public radar and urban policy agenda. It focuses primarily on a temporal period between the early and mid-2000s when concern over gun violence and racialized poverty began to receive heightened attention in media,

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1 Toronto City Summit Alliance (February 26-27, 2007) 2-3.
2 A point I take up in detail in chapter two.

academic and policy realms. Documenting convergences between these popular, academic

and policy-orientated discourses it illustrates how dominant visualizations of racialized

neighbourhood poverty problematized racial and class identities to explain the problem of

gun violence in the city. The spatial concentration of suburban poverty lent explanatory

dependence to these assumptions by suggesting that it wasn't that the bodies in these spaces

were prone to criminality, but that neighbourhood *concentrations* with particular social

characteristics generated pathological environments.

The narrative of suburban decline asserted that concentrations of racialized suburban

poverty explained the contemporary problem of gun violence in the city. This narrative

informed the primary policy framework that has since emerged to address social problems in

the post-war suburbs. While this regulatory framework targets social investment to areas

long neglected in urban policy and planning, it simultaneously separates social relations that

reproduce inequality from their spatial manifestation. Without question, a great number of

people in the city *are* poor, lack access to transportation networks, settlement services, living

wage employment. And today the vast majority of the city's racialized poor live on the

periphery in homes and neighbourhoods requiring substantial investments in physical and

social infrastructure. But the dominant ways in which suburban poverty was made *visible,*

knowable and *governable* attributed local environments as the fundamental factor in

explaining the problems of these areas. A form environmental determinism which asserts that

poor suburban neighbourhoods make people poor, even criminal, was precisely what

informed a new targeted governing framework known as the 'Priority Neighbourhoods'.

Justifying social investment largely based on the perceived threats these poor

neighbourhoods posed to the city at large, this framework abetted discriminatory assumptions about an inherent relationship between racialized poverty and crime.

From Spatial Correlation to Social Cause

The situation is one where racism in all its cultural and institutional variants has become so naturalized, so pervasive that it has become invisible or transparent to those who are not adversely impacted by them. This is why terms such as visible minority can generate so spontaneously within the bureaucracy, and are not considered disturbing by most people acculturated to "Canada".

Himani Bannerji *The Dark Side of the Nation*, 2000[3]

The mid-1990s was a period marked by a rejuvenation of nationalist ideologies in Canada, Western Europe and the U.S fuelled by an increase in anti-immigrant rhetoric and practices.[4] Referring to the responses generated about immigrants in public consultations held across Canada in 1994 by the federal Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, Thobani notes, 'a palpable change in the public mood—decidedly anti-immigrant and resentful of multiculturalism—had been discerned among leading politicians, media commentators, immigration experts and ordinary Canadians across the country'.[5] In the media, in parliament and in local town hall meetings debates, raged about the value of immigration, the cultural threats immigrants pose to national identity and the limits of reasonably accommodating social difference. These debates have risen exponentially over the past twenty years,

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3 H. Bannerji, *The Dark Side of the Nation: Essays on Multiculturalism, Nationalism and Gender* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press, 2000).

4 E. Mackey, *House of Difference: Cultural Politics and National Identity in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002); L. Jagabuski, *Immigration and the Legalization of Racism* (Halifax: Fernwood Press, 1997).

5 S. Thobani, *Exalted Subjects: The Making of Race and Nation in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 180.

concurrent with increasingly diverse demographic profiles and visibility of racial difference in Canadian cities. Statistics Canada, for instance just released its latest demographic projections for 2031. Like its last report (released in 2005, a point I return to in a subsequent section), the current projection documented immigration trends, to make the point that Canada's 'visible minority' population will soon exceed white populations in Toronto and Vancouver. The framing of this so-called 'demographic shift' in media was displayed in the *Toronto Star's* front page headline on the March 8th 2010: *'Visible minority will mean "white" by 2031'.*[6]

Why the relative decline of the city's white population in Toronto's social geography was considered worthy of front page headlines is an important question. Its newsworthiness is suggestive of how white identity acquires meaning through its association with the social space of the city, and how the increased presence of people of colour in the city is perceived to be eroding and perhaps indeed threatening this identity. As many scholars have documented, there have been a number of significantly different forms of racism in the nation's history.[7] These documentations offer insight as to how race operates in dialectical concord with space in the construction of racial meaning. Thus for instance, on the one hand, the dominant group mobilizes the category of 'race'—a differentiation based on skin colour that has an extended socio-political history of legitimizing hierarchies—to flatten the spatial concentration of diverse peoples from diverse places together under the homogenizing label of 'visible minority'. On the other hand, the social space provides a material basis for

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6 See also J. Friesen 'The Changing Face of Toronto' *Globe and Mail* (March 13, 2010); D. Saunders, 'Canada's mistaken identity' *The Globe and Mail* (June 27, 2009);
7 S. Thobani, *Exalted Subjects:*; S. Razack, (ed) *Race Space and the Law: Unmapping a White Settler Society* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2002); H. Bannerji, *The Dark Side of the Nation*; H. Bannerj (ed) *Returning the Gaze: Essays on Racism, Feminism and Politics* (Toronto: Sister Vision Press, 1993).

mobilizing this differentiation. Since its establishment as a British colony, the city—its institutions, political agents and residential population—*has* been predominantly white Anglo-Saxon, Up until the 1970s the naturalness of the discourses and practices of Toronto's institutions, political agents and residents was, with exceptions, rarely called into question. The social space of the city has been made to seem natural—as having a natural spatial order—by being implicitly defined in racial terms.

If the systematic erasure our colonial past is a necessary part of naturalizing the notion of whiteness, the reality of the post-colonial present—in other words the enlarged demographic and political presence of people of colour into Toronto and other large Canadian cities—has seen the heightened mobilization of a white racial conscious, in large part because these 'visible minorities' had begun to call this naturalness and its often violent side into question. In the 1970s, as Toronto increasingly became the destination for migrants from the global south, the city saw a surge of racist violence, often but not only at the hands of police. Popular and policy explanations typically relied on recent immigration reforms to explain the cause of this violence. The cause of the violence directed at racialized groups was explained as a cultural reaction to the dilution of this social space by non-white immigrants. For instance a 1977 government monograph commissioned in response to a surge of racist violence in Toronto explains racist violence as follows:

> The seeds of our latest troubles can be found in the 1960s when the government changed the immigration policy of this country and in so doing made a commitment to a multiracial as well as a multicultural nation. This commitment was never fully explained and the implications were never fully outlined. And that may very well be the basic cause for the surfacing of racist violence in the streets and subways of our city. In the absence of this explanation or conditioning, a kind of cultural shock affected the host community. Individuals in Toronto did not know why they found so many people with different coloured skins on the bus, subway, in the public parks. There was no understanding that this change in immigration regulations had

encouraged a large number of able and skilled people to come from the Caribbean. It also extended the invitation to a group of people who lived in many countries but whose roots lay in South Asia. Many of them had brown skins, wore colourful clothing, prepared spicy food, wore turbans, and in general behaved in ways which contrasted with the expectations of those who perceived western ways as universal, superior and unchallengingly Canadian. This phenomenon shocked those who had no idea that changes in their world had taken place and the global village which they had heard so much about had suddenly imposed itself upon them. Toronto instead of being dominantly Anglo-Saxon had become diluted by the immigrant surge after World War II and was now not only multicultural, but multiracial. By the 1970's every Torontonian was a member of a minority group, visible or not.[8]

The social space of the city has long been described as existing in a state of relative peace and order: as *Toronto the Good*: a city with a social identity that embraces its multiracial identity and projects it citizens as *tolerant* to racial difference. This narrative has persisted despite, as the above commission attests, a deep history of violence against racial minorities in the city.[9] It has persisted despite collective resistance to this violence demonstrated for example in the Yonge Street Riots of 1992, an event that came in the wake of the eighth shooting of a black man by police in four years in Toronto, and days after the acquittal of police in the shooting death of young black man in Mississauga. In media reports the riot was framed as a 'reaction' to the uprisings in L.A after the Rodney King verdict, one that locally had 'little do with race'.[10] When this social imaginary of the city is disrupted it is

8 This is an excerpt from a speech given by Walter Pitman who was presenting the findings of his research on police-community relations in Toronto at the Empire Club in Toronto in 1977. His report was titled *Now is not too late* (Council of Metropolitan Toronto Task Force on Human Relations, 1977). The transcript of the speech is from P. Hermant (ed), *The Empire Club of Canada Speeches 1977-1978*, (Toronto, Canada: The Empire Club Foundation, 1978).
9 See P. Jackson 'Constructions of Criminality: Police-Community Relations in Toronto, *Antipode* 26.3 (1998) 216-35; D. Stasiulis. 'Minority Resistance in the Local State: Toronto in the 1970s and 1980s', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 12.1 (1989).
10 See for instance CityTV 'Yonge and Restless' (April 30, 1992), www.youtube.com/watch?v=9WZtRw9II2s&NR=1. This event did however provide the catalyst for the Provincial government inquiry into systemic racism in Toronto under the New Democrat government (led by Bob Rae). See S. Lewis: *Report on Racism in Ontario to the Premier* (Queen's Press,1992). Soon after the Ontario Human Rights Commission published an extensive report

often explained in relation to immigration policies or the presence of immigrants in the city.

Thus for instance, despite an extended history of violence against racialized groups, Creba's

death on Yonge Street was relayed as an event that marked *Toronto the Good's*, 'loss of

innocence', replaying claims following a 1994 death of a white woman at the hands of a

black man in a downtown café.[11] As Sue Ruddick as documented, this latter event—

commonly known as the 'Just Dessert shooting—prompted a surge of public discourse over

the inherent criminality of Caribbean immigrants and vehement demands for immigration

reform.[12]

The racial ordering of social space most recently helped explain sensational media

events like the Year of the Gun, the riots in the Parisian *banlieues,* and the 'war on terror'.

The most overtly racist discourses transformed these events—along with a number of other

social problems, like unemployment, women's rights, etc—into ones explicable by the mere

presence of immigrants in 'civilized' countries of the west.[13] Yet more sophisticated

articulations informed liberal explanations, where it was not the presence of immigrants, but

rather the spatial concentrations of poor immigrants and racial minorities that offered

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documenting systemic racism in the criminal justice system: *Systemic Racism in the Criminal Justice System* (Queen's Press, 1995). I address these reports and other accounts of racism in the criminal justice system in greater detail in chapter three.
11 For a critique of the cultural politics of racism embedded in the narrative of *Toronto the Good* see black playwright Andrew Moodie's play by the same name, which opened in Toronto in 2009.
12 S. Ruddick, 'Constructing Difference in Public Spaces: Race, Class and Gender as Interlocking Systems' *Urban Geography* 17 (1996) 132-51.
13 The most recent example comes from the Quebec government who in March 2010 proposed legislation banning women from wearing the niqab in public. According to opinion polls, this bill has the backing of over 90% of Canadians as well as that of the leader of the federal Liberal Party (and former director of the Carr Center for Human Rights Policy at Harvard University) Michael Ignatieff. See L. Gagnon, 'When Liberals were Liberals' *Globe and Mail* (April 5, 2010)A11.

explanatory weight to these analyses.[14] In particular, these articulations prevailed in

mainstream media, policy and social scientific research which positioned increasing

concentrations of racialized poverty in cities to explain social problems such as riots, ghettos,

neighbourhood decline, and crime.[15] Instead of race and class as analytical categories to

explain how populations became spatially segregated, or how such segregated subjects may

be subject to different strategies of government, the analytical value offered by these

categories rested in how the spatial concentration of low income, racialized groups could

explain the genesis of urban social problems.

Getting to the Root Causes

Concentrations of racialized poverty came to the forefront of mainstream media and public

policy thanks in large part to a catalytic report released by the United Way of Greater

Toronto (UWGT) in 2004. Titled *Poverty By Postal Code* (PBPC), it mapped Toronto's

'geography of poverty' over a twenty year period, tracing its migration from the inner city to

the inner suburbs while illuminating increased spatial correlations between race and poverty.

Its findings showed that these correlations had become especially acute in areas of Toronto's

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14 L. Sandercock's 'Is multiculturalism the solution or the problem?' (The Mongrel City, IDEAS, CBC radio one, June 26th, 2006); Munk Centre, University of Toronto, 'Terrorism in Toronto: What Does It Mean for Canadian Multiculturalism?' (June 12, 2006); D. Hiebert and H. Smith, 'Multiculturalism on the Ground' (Vancouver: Metropolis Project, 2007).

15 A. Walks and L. Bourne 'Ghettos in Canadian Cities? Racial Segregation, Ethnic Enclaves and Poverty Concentration in Canadian Urban Areas' *Canadian Geographer* 50.3 (2006) 273-297; T. Balakrishnan, S. and Gyimah, 'Spatial residential patterns of selected ethnic groups: significance and implications', *Canadian Ethnic Studies Journal*, 35.1 (2003) 113-34; T. Balakrishnan, P. Maxim, and R. Jurdi, 'Residential segregation and socio-economic integration of visible minorities in Canada', Migration Letters, 2.2 (2005) 126-44; M. Qadeer, and S. Kumar, 'Ethnic enclaves and social cohesion', *Canadian Journal of Urban Research*, 15.2 (2006), 1-17.

post-war suburbs, particularly in Etobicoke, North York, and Scarborough.[16]Analyzing

income and ethno-racial composition of households drawn from census tract data, PBPC

noted that the inner suburbs had the greatest increase in high poverty neighbourhoods—up

from 15 census tracts in 1981, to 92 in 2001.[17]

The PBPC was tremendously influential in constructing a new geographic imaginary

of the suburbs while also influencing public policy responses to suburban poverty. A policy-

orientated report from Toronto's largest charity organization and social service funder, it was

instrumental in framing media and policy focus toward the neighbourhood scale in

conceptions of the root causes of poverty in Toronto. To be sure, PBPC's fundamental

purpose according to the President of the UWGT was to put these 'high poverty

neighbourhoods in the public's mind and the policy agenda'.[18] 'Researchers in this country'

the report stated, 'have begun to show …interest in the growth in the concentration of

neighbourhood poverty' because:

> research on neighbourhoods indicates that one of the prime triggers of neighbourhood
> decline is highly concentrated poverty, and the associated 'stressors' that accompany
> it – high levels of unemployment, low education levels, and residential overcrowding,
> to name just a few…Why worry about poor neighbourhoods? Shouldn't we

16 Poverty rates within these high poverty neighbourhoods were double or greater the national
poverty rate for economic families. By contrast there were 23 census tracts with high poverty in the
former city of Toronto by 2001. See PBPC,10

17 PBPC measured income based the 'economic family' which is two or more persons living in the
same household and related by blood, marriage, common-law or adoption. 'Race' was measured by
'visible minority' and 'recent immigrant' status. Other census data illustrated co-relations with youth,
seniors, single parents, and the unemployed . See pg. 10. Approximately 90 percent of 'recent
immigrants' to Toronto would be considered 'visible minority'. Two thirds of Canada's visible
minorities identify as Chinese, South Asian or Black. The top five countries of origin for recent
immigrants are China, Pakistan, the Philippines, India and Iran.

18 F. Lankin, 'Speaking Notes for the Release of Poverty by Postal Code', (United Way of Greater
Toronto, 2004). See also Editorial 'Neighbourhood Strategy' *Toronto Star* (May 13, 2004)A26; F.
Lankin, 'Why we need strong neighbourhoods', *Toronto Star* (Nov 14, 2005); K. Gillespie, 'Toronto
the Poor expanding in size; Report to name neighbourhoods considered high-poverty Government
action 'crucial,' United Way summary states' *Toronto Star* (April 5, 2004)B1.

> concentrate on helping poor people?...This report…focuses on the geography of poverty, because *neighbourhood poverty has a devastating human cost and also damages the social vitality of an entire region, affecting the quality of life for everyone in Toronto*.[19]

Foregrounding the 'geography of poverty', the report defined the geographic boundaries and social composition of these places and how they came to be understood and defined. Racialized neighbourhood poverty could explain violence; a problem that left unchecked threatened the quality of life for all Torontonians. Its entrance into popular and policy discourse illuminates how the scale of measuring social difference—'neighbourhood' correlations between gun violence and racialized poverty—gained primacy in prevailing discourses explaining suburban decline and its 'effects' on the city.

If the label ghetto wasn't explicit in the PBPC, the local media did not hesitate in applying it upon the report's release: headlines such as '*Toronto's ghettos move to the "burbs"*'; '*Report warns of confining poor to growing "ghettoes"*' and '*Fears of an Underclass*' served to fuel public anxieties over the problem of racialized poverty on the periphery.[20] And as the crisis of gun violence unfolded in the city, PBPC's findings offered a common sense way of explaining the root causes of this outburst. For instance, the *Toronto Star* suggested that:

> For anyone worried about violent crime in Toronto, it's worth looking at a United Way report called *Poverty by Postal Code*. One of the scariest statistics in the 2004 study reveals the gap between the people in Toronto with money and the people without...Looking at other predictors [of violent crime]—poverty, inadequate

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19 Poverty By Postal Code: The Geography of Neighbourhood Poverty (United Way of Greater Toronto, 2004) 8-9.

20 The latter piece was written by Atkinson Fellow, Andrew Duffy. See, 'Fears of An Underclass' *Toronto Star* (September 28, 2004)A6; K. Harding, 'Report warns of confining poor to growing "ghettoes"' *Globe and Mail* (April 5, 2004)B2. Other headlines read 'Toronto The Poor Expanding in Size' *Toronto Star* (April 5, 2004)B1. PBPC's release made the front sections of Toronto's three local dailies, and was referred to in at least 20 articles in 2004, and an additional 45 between 2005-1008.

housing, school failure, fatherless children—it is reasonable to think that Toronto could see the murder rate continue to rise.[21]

As gun-related violence surged in 2005 causal relations between racialized poverty and violence were reinforced in both media and policy discourses. The local press mapped a social imaginary of Toronto's new suburban *ghettos* through stories about the changing neighbourhoods of Jane and Finch, Rexdale, Jamestown and Malvern among others, where changes in ethno-racial and class composition were cited as causes of suburban decline and violence. A representative sample comes from one *Toronto Star* interview about suburban decline with a long time resident of Scarborough. She lamented the area's by-gone days as 'a burgeoning suburb and a haven from inner city problems [where] subdivisions with single-family homes were surrounded by new apartment complexes with plenty of green space for the young families who came to set up house.' When 'the city followed,' however, the neighbourhood 'flooded' with people who spoke 'Tamil, Urdu, Farsi and Bengali'.[22] In a similar article from the *Toronto Star* 'neighbourhoods' and 'schools' we were told, had become 'populated by blacks and other minorities…[where] children grow up immersed in the gang culture, [and] guns, intimidation and casual violence are normal'.[23] These thick, descriptive narratives painted accounts of everyday violence, 'American-style' gangs, arrested development, immigrant isolation and despair.[24] The metaphor of the Wild West—a

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21 L. Scrivener, 'Guns, crime and income disparity In Toronto, all signs point to more violence' *Toronto Star* (January 15, 2006) D9.
22 L. Ferenc, 'Poverty spreading from inner city to inner suburbs', *Toronto Star* (Sept 23, 2005).
23 M. Welsh, 'The Game: Sell Drugs Make Money Look Good, Stay Alive' *Toronto Star* (April 29, 2006)A1.
24 See L. Brown, 'Getting Through to Gang Members', *Toronto Star* (January 20, 2006)A20; B. Powell, 'Artist muses on growing up in T.O. ghetto', *Toronto Star* (October 25, 2005)A13.

persistent allegory in popular accounts of the African-American ghetto[25]— gave this

suburban imaginary an exotic character:

> You need a lot of experience to navigate this part of the city…The Jamestown community is especially difficult—a gated community with no gates, a series of low-rise buildings…with entrances but no exits…Barry Thomas was recently appointed community housing manager for these buildings…Manager though, is such a meagre word. Thomas is more like the sheriff who limps into town with a dusty silver badge, a brave heart and a satchel full of demons. He chain-smokes, appreciates his liquor and women, and swears like a sailor—or rather, like a South African, which he is.[26]

By now a widely perceived problem of gun violence had helped to firmly implant the

term ghetto in popular discourse, while policy and social scientific research confirmed the

growing segregation of the city's racialized poor. The social stigma attached to this label was

also registering real effects. For instance in 2007 a provincial government employee sent an

internal email to a colleague about a rejected job applicant accidently copying the job

applicant by mistake. The author of the email referred to this rejected applicant—a young

black man from Scarborough—as 'the ghetto dude'. And when the *Toronto Star* picked up

the story, courtesy of its unintended recipient, it headlined the article with *"'Ghetto dude"*

email sent by mistake, province says'.[27] The *Star's* headline implied first and foremost that

the problem lay with the accidentally copied email, rather the reference to 'ghetto dude'.

At the same time Statistics Canada had just released its 2005 report forecasting

demographic change in Canadian urban centres over the next ten years. The headlines in the

major dailies reported that by 2017 the visible minority population in Toronto (and

Vancouver) would surpass the white populations in the city. Rather than displace debates

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25 See for instance D. Ley 'Black inner city as a frontier outpost' Washington DC: Association of American Geographers (1974).
26 S. Bishop-Stall, 'Thirty Days in Jamestown' *Toronto Life* (December, 2006) 70-80.
27 See L. Diebel, "'Ghetto dude" email sent by mistake, province says' *Toronto Star*, (July 23, 2007)A3.

about social problems in the city's suburbs, discourses around immigration projections in 2005—sometimes quite directly, in other cases only obliquely—refined everyday mediations concerning suburban decline. In other words, the racialized geography of the suburbs recently made visible could explain the violence that had come to be associated with these spaces. Together both offered a spatial referent for anxieties around racial segregation. While interpretations from the right were inflicted by overtly racist explanations, liberal discourses—that which dominated the public sphere—also revealed racist tenors. The latter premises went as follows: a lack of suburban social services had impeded immigrants' successful integration. As a consequence, new immigrants were now socially and economically alienated from mainstream society. This alienation propelled them into a life of crime. The following except summarizing a public forum on suburban decline well captured these premises:

> [I]t's no coincidence that neighbourhoods plagued by gun violence, poverty and despair are also those with the worst access to public transit, the fewest recreation centres and the least number of services for newcomers or low-income families, the forum heard. In the city's inner suburbs, banks and shopping centres are scarce. And essentials like doctors' offices, employment centres and places to learn English are often a crowded bus ride away.[28]

What became clear in my analysis of these liberal discourses about root causes was that in their calls for greater service provision to the suburbs they privileged the demographic context of poor neighbourhoods to explain 'violence, poverty and despair'. Claims for investing in social service provision to these neighbourhoods were understood as prevention

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28 L. Monsebraaten and D. Vincent, 'Residents seeking role in urban turnaround: Encouraging the people who live in underserviced `priority neighbourhoods' to come up with solutions to their problems is the first step to improving their prospects' *Toronto Star* (April 11, 2007) B1.

measures deemed necessary to counter the perceived hazards concentrations of racialized poverty posed to the city at large.

Mapping the Ghetto and its Neighbourhood Effects

Labels may be only words, but they are judgmental or normative words, which can stir institutions and individuals to punitive actions.
    Herbert Gans, *The War against the Poor: The Underclass and Anti-Poverty Policy,* 1995.[29]

The discursive construction of suburban decline illuminates racialized fields of visibility and invisibility in public documentation of the city's changing social geography. While media and the PBPC helped fuel the spectacular nature of these discourses, their ideological weight was carried through other actors and institutions helping to make the city's socio-spatial form knowable, measurable, and in this sense, real. The rise of anti-immigrant discourse in the 1990s coincided with a rejuvenation of scholarship directed toward interpreting contemporary immigrant and minority segregation.[30] It is an important shift to note because as many scholars have argued, certain threads of social scientific research on urban

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29H. Gans, *The War against the Poor: The Underclass and Anti-Poverty Policy* (New York: Basic Books, 1995)

30 J. Reitz, R. Breton, K. Dion, and K. Dion, *Multiculturalism and Social Cohesion: Potentials and Challenges of Diversity*, (Springer 2009); J. Reitz and Y. Zhang, 'National and Urban Contexts for the Integration of the Immigrant Second Generation in the United States and Canada' in R. Alba and M. Waters, (eds) *New Dimensions of Diversity: The Children of Immigrants in North America and Western Europe*, (New York: NYU Press, 2010); H. Smith, 'The Evolving Relationship between Immigrant Settlement and Neighbourhood Disadvantage in Canadian Cities, 1991-2001', (Working Paper No. 04-20. Vancouver: Centre of Excellence, Research on Immigration and Integration in the Metropolis, 2004). The literature on U.S ghettoization is extensive. Key texts include Massey and Denton *American Apartheid,* W.J. Wilson *The Truly Disadvantaged;* C. Jeneks and P. Peterson (eds) *The Urban Underclass* (Washington, D.C: Brookings Institute, 1991) M. Katz, *The Underclass Debate: views from history* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, *1993),* On UK literature, see D. Phillips 'Ethnic and Racial Segregation: A critical perspective' *Geography Compass* 1.5 (2007) 1138-1158; See also C. Kesteloot, J. Van Weesep and P. White. 'Minorities in West European cities', *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, 88. 2 (1997); A. Pred, *Even in Sweden?* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000); C. Peach, 'Does Britain have ghettos?', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 21.1 (1996) 216-35.

marginality in failing to foreground the political and economic production of urban inequality have provided support for discriminatory explanations for this inequality.[31] As Phillips has explored within the context of moral panics over racialized violence and riots in Britain and the global 'war on terror', 'even terms such as segregation and self-segregation have become loaded with meaning, readily conjuring images of the unassimilable "enemy within".[32]

Contemporary scholarship on urban segregation can be characterized through two interrelated research agendas: on the one hand to compare and characterize segregation levels across cities and states; and on the other hand, to investigate the so-called neighbourhood-effects of concentrated poverty. These two trends—while analytically separate—are conceptually linked: as Musterd, Ostendorf, and De Vos recently noted: '[a]lthough other concepts [besides neighbourhood effects] are employed in the international literature on urban issues, the essence is the same: a concern for segregation and the negative effects living in "ghettos" may have'.[33] The 'neighbourhood effects' literature specifically measures levels of segregation derived from visible social attributes (income, ethnicity, language, education, etc) to examine how residential location influences a range of social, economic and behavioral outcomes. In establishing correlations between location and social outcomes the literature claims to discern 'independent, separable effects on social and economic

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31 D. Phillips, 'Ethnic and Racial Segregation'; N. Smith, P. Caris and E. Wyly, 'The "Camden Syndrome" and the Menace of Suburban Decline: Residential Disinvestment and its Discontents in Camden County, New Jersey; *Urban Affairs Review*36.4 (2001) 497-531; P. Jackson (ed) *Race and Racism: essays in social geography* (London: Routledge, 1987)*;* Gans *The War* ; Katz, *The undeserving poor*.

32 Phillips 'Ethnic and Racial Segregation' 1143. See also 'Parallel Lives: Challenging discourses of British Muslim self-segregation' *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 24 (2006) 25-40.

33 S. Musterd, W. Ostendorf, and S. De Vos 'Neighbourhood Effects and Social Mobility: A Longitudinal Analysis' *Housing Studies*, 18.6 (2002) 878. For a critique see H. Bauder, 'Neighbourhood Effects and Cultural Exclusion', *Urban Studies* 39.1 (2007).

behaviour that arise from living in a particular neighbourhood'.[34] Typically, census data on

demographic variables such as ethnicity and income, or physical attributes such as the

condition of residential infrastructure are correlated with school dropout rates, teenage

pregnancy, marital status, anti-social behaviour infractions, and chronic

un/underemployment to demonstrate that neighbourhoods with specific social attributes

'trigger' cycles of dependency and foster poor health, social disorganization, unemployment,

increases in school dropouts, crime and drug use.[35]

Less than a handful of studies examine the relationship between urban segregation

and neighbourhood effects in Canada.[36] Smith and Ley, in a recent article published in the

prestigious *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, ascribe importance to this

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34 K. Kintrea and R. Atkinson, 'Neighbourhoods and Social Exclusion: The Research and Policy Implications of Neighbourhood Effects' (University of Glasgow: Urban Change and Policy Research Group Discussion Paper No.3, 2001) 6.

35 A sample of this literature includes C. Jencks and S. Mayer, 'The social consequences of growing up in a poor neighbourhood', in M. McGeary and E. Lawrence (eds) *Inner city poverty in the United States* (Washington DC: National Academic Press, 1990) 111-186; A. Case and L. Katz, 'The company you keep: the effects of family and neighbourhood on disadvantaged youths' (Cambridge MA: National Bureau of Economic Research Working paper 3701, 1991); P. Jargowski and M.J. Bane, 'Ghetto Poverty in the United States, 1970-1980', and J. Crane 'The Effects of Neighbourhoods on Dropping out of School and Teenage Childbearing' in C. Jeneks and P. Peterson (eds) *The Urban Underclass* (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institute, 1991); G. Galster and M. Mikelsons, 'The geography of metropolitan opportunity: A case study of neighbourhood conditions confronting youth in Washington DC', *Housing Policy Debate* 6 (1995) 73-102; P. Jargowsky, *Poverty and Place: Ghettos, Barrios and the American City*, (New York: Russell Sage, 1997); M. Gephart, 'Neighbourhoods and communities as contexts for development' in J. Brooks-Gunn, G. Duncan and J. Laber (eds) *Neighbourhood Poverty—Volume I: Context and consequences for children* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1997); M. Turner and I. Ellen, 'Location, location, location: How does neighbourhood environment affect the well-being of children?' (Washington, DC: The Urban Institute, Discussion Paper 1997).

36 See F. Hou and Picot, 'Visible Minority Enclaves and labour market outcomes for immigrants', Catalogue No 110019MIE (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, Business and Labour Market Analysis Division, 2003); J. Myles and F. Hou 'Changing colours: spatial assimilation and new racial minority immigrants' *Canadian Journal of Sociology* 29.1 (2004) 29-58; D. Ley 'Explaining variations in business performance among immigrant entrepreneurs in Canada', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 32 (2006) 743-62; L. Oliver, J. Dunn, D. Kohen and C. Hertzmann, 'Do neighbourhoods influence the readiness to learn in kindergarten children?' *Environment and Planning A* 39 (2007) 848-68.

research in understanding the social outcomes of those living in segregated neighbourhoods. Schools, families, peer groups and social stigma they argue 'give rise to local subcultures with neighbourhood effects'.[37] They make the case for expanding the neighbourhood effects literature in Canada because 'strong support from census based analysis [indicates] that living in neighbourhoods of deep concentrations of poverty exercised an independent effect of impeding upward mobility of immigrants, providing conditions for an "immigrant underclass"'.[38]

The ghettoization literature is more firmly established in the lexicon of topics defining urban research agendas in Canada. An article by Hajnal published in 1995 in the *Canadian Journal of Sociology* compared concentrated poverty rates in Canadian cities with U.S data, noting growing similarities between the two countries.[39] Since then sociologists' Kazemipur and Halli book *Ethnic Groups and Ghetto Neighbourhoods,* has been cited as the 'most influential in bringing the discourse of ghettoization into Canada',[40] by making the case that recent immigrants and Aboriginals were more likely to live in ghetto neighbourhoods.[41] Johnson, Forrest and Poulsen have since published a standardized framework comprised of a typology of segregation that enables researchers to rank degrees of segregation on a scale ranging from *isolated host communities* to *ghettos,* while providing

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37 Smith and Ley 'Even in Canada' 703.
38 Smith and Ley 'Even in Canada', 703.
39 'The nature of urban poverty in Canada and the U.S', 20.4 (1995) 497-528; See also C. Hammet 'Social Polarization in global cities: theory and evidence' *Urban Studies* 31 (1994) 401; MaLachlant and Sawada, 'Measures of income equality and social polarization in Canadian Metro Areas', *Canadian Geographer* (1997) 377; R. Murdie, in Musted and Ostendorf (eds)*Urban Segregation and the Welfare State* (1998).
40 Walks and Bourne 'Ghettos'.
41 The New Poverty in Canada: Ethnic Groups and Ghetto Neighbourhoods (Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press, 2000).

a benchmark for cross-country or city comparisons.[42] To be considered a ghetto an area has

to contain more than seventy percent visible minorities, of these visible minorities more than

sixty percent have to be from one single group, and this census tract must contain thirty

percent or more of that group's entire urban population.

In 2006 *The Canadian Geographer* published a now widely cited article by Walks

and Bourne, provocatively titled 'Ghettos in Canadian Cities?'.According to the authors, the

context for their research arose from concern over the rapid decline of income status for

recent immigrants of colour, 'raising the spectre of ghettoization emerging in Canadian cities

along the lines witnessed in the United States, a spectre fuelled by media reports of violent

crimes potentially linked to minorities and gangs, particularly in Toronto'.[43] The authors

apply Johnson et al's typology to map relative segregation levels in Canada. They find little

statistical evidence to suggest that high degrees of segregation are *necessarily* related to

neighbourhood poverty in most of Canada's urban centres. Given the lack of empirical

evidence indicating the presence of such ghettos as determined by their methodology they

question the analytical value of importing the 'common discourse of ghettoization' into

Canada.[44] Yet in pointing to an exception in their research—the case of Toronto, where

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42 The scale ranges from 'less than 20% visible minority' to 'greater than 70% visible minority; one minority group composes more than 60% of neighbourhood population; and 30% of the total members of that group living in the urban area must reside in that neighbourhood'. See 'Are their ethnic enclaves/ghettos in English cities?' *Urban Studies*, 39(4) 591-618.
43 A. Walks and L. Bourne 'Ghettos in Canadian Cities? Racial Segregation, ethnic enclaves and poverty concentration in Canadian urban areas' *The Canadian Geographer* 50.3 (2006) 274.
44 Other research also has pointed toward no necessary co-relation between segregation and social exclusion in Canadian cities. See R. Murdie 'The Welfare State, Economic Restructuring and Immigrant Flows: Impacts on Sociospatial Segregation in Greater Toronto', in: Musterd S, Ostendorf W, eds. *Urban Segregation and Social Exclusion in Western Welfare States*.(London: Routledge; 1997); M. Qadee, S. Kumar 'Ethnic Enclaves and Social Cohesion', *Canadian Journal of Urban Research* 2006;15(2):1-17; E. Fong 'Comparative Perspectives on Racial Residential Segregation: American and Canadian Experiences' *The Sociological Quarterly* 1996;37(2):199-226.

strong correlations between levels of ethno-racial segregation and low income were found

between 1991-2000—they conclude by noting that '[i]f future trends indicate any movement

towards increasing segregation and/or ghettoization…it would seem that Toronto would be

the first place to look'.[45]

What is the explanatory value of using labels such as ghetto and underclass to

characterize racialized urban segregation and its supposed effects? Given that a wealth of

scholarship has demonstrated the ideologically loaded nature of these terms and the

pernicious effects for those who fall under such labels, perhaps it is worthwhile to interrogate

the analytical value of their importation.[46] First, defining the boundaries of a neighbourhood

by aggregating census data suggest that the particular spatial unit of analysis is arbitrary with

respect to the lived experiences of the poor.[47] The collective representation of these areas as

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45Walks and Bourne 'Ghettos', 294.

46 L. Wacquant, 'Three Pernicious Premises in the Study of the America Ghetto' *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, (1997) 342. Wacquant, occupying a position as both progenitor and critic of the Chicago School of urban sociology, insists on a historical-analytical classification of ghetto formation as: 'an ethnoracial formation that combines and inscribes in the objectivity of space and group-specific institutions all four major 'elementary forms' of racial domination, namely, categorization, discrimination, segregation and exclusionary violence'. See also K. Kusmer, *A ghetto takes shape: black Cleveland, 1870–1930*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1976); T. Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996); P. Marcuse 'Space over time: The changing position of the black ghetto in the United States' *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment* 13.1 (1998) 1573-7772; P. Marcuse, 'The Ghetto of Exclusion and the Fortified Enclave', *American Behavioral Scientist* 41.3(1997) 311-326; H. Gans, 'Uses and misuses of concepts in American social science research: Variations on Wacquant's 'Three pernicious premises in the study of the American ghetto', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* (1997); Kusmar 'Ghettos real and imagined'; also Massey and Denton *American Apartheid*.

47 Murdie and Ghosh's recent article adds to the ghettoization research in Canada through qualitative, interview-based research with Bangladeshi residents living in a low income suburban apartment tower in Toronto. They conclude that spatial segregation does not necessarily imply 'ghettoization'. For these residents, they argue the move to Victoria Part was one of 'constrained choice' rather than simply 'constraint': 'None of the respondents indicated that they were 'forced' or 'steered' towards this part of Toronto. In that sense, even though Victoria Park is a low-income area housing racial minorities, it is by no means a ghetto'. R. Murdie and S. Ghosh 'Does spatial

neighbourhoods—rather than distilled from the material experiences of its residents—are academic terms constructed through administrative categories, which themselves are defined by social scientists. As geographers have long demonstrated scale is not something waiting to be 'discovered' by social scientists but always in the process of being socially produced. The scale of the neighbourhood—represented as ontologically given and absolute— tacitly reinforces problematic assumptions about the homogeneous social character of this spatial unit of analysis while 'suggest[ing] that the demographic context of poor neighbourhoods instills dysfunctional norms, values, and behaviour into individuals' that result, as Bauder has convincingly argued in an environmentally determined 'cycle of social pathology'.[48]

Second, the use of such terminology can have pernicious consequences. Ways of knowing the social world generated by state actors and public institutions for the purposes of making legible complex social relations have, as James Scott has demonstrated, seldom proved to be beneficial for less powerful groups.[49] As actors occupying a privileged position in the production and dissemination of knowledge about segregation, academics need to be mindful of reproducing stereotypes and common sense assumptions about the urban poor. Before choosing to import a term like 'ghetto' or 'underclass' into the lexicon of urban scholarship in Canada we would thus do well to consider the dangers of what Edward Said called 'travelling theory'. While the application of such labels may originate from a genuine desire to document and describe spatial expressions of urban marginality, the technical aura of authority they imbue propels their uptake by journalists, state agents, policy makers and

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concentration always mean a lack of integration? Exploring ethnic concentration and integration in Toronto', *Journal of ethnic and migration studies* 36. 2(2010) 307.
48 Bauder 'Neighbourhood' 86.
49 J. Scott, Seeing like a State: why certain schemes to improve the human conditions have failed (Yale University Press, 2000).

residents themselves. As activists and critical scholars have demonstrated once established in popular discourse and public policy umbrella labels like ghetto have real punitive effects for those who fall under their yoke. These include the reproduction of stereotypes and common sense assumptions about the racialized urban poor, the justification of targeted policing in poor neighbourhoods, the expansion of a wide range of criminal justice apparatuses, and the propulsion of systemic disinvestment in poor neighbourhoods long after official practices of redlining have been outlawed.[50]

The idea that spatial form has a direct impact on social relations extends back to the early Chicago School of urban ecology. And like the current ghettoization and neighbourhood effects literature, compelling critiques have been levied at the liberal perspectives of the early Chicago School for 'recogn[izing] inequity but seek[ing] to cure that inequity within an existing set of social mechanisms'.[51] To be sure prevailing approaches to research on urban segregation and neighbourhood effects dovetails with the rescaling of state governance and post-welfare governmental demands for strategic, accountable, and efficient social policy frameworks.[52] In the U.S, scholars influential in the national policy

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50 H. Gans *The War*, The term underclass, first introduced in 1963 by Swedish economist Gunnar Myrdall (who shared the 1974 Nobel Prize in Economics with Fredrick Hayak), was used to identify a new group of economic casualties in the emergent post-industrial economy in Sweden. Herbert Gans and William Julius Wilson each used it U.S contexts to describe dire employment outcomes in the wake of post-war deindustrialization. Its uptake in media, policy and by other social scientists in the 1980s propelled the term from an economic indicator to a behavioural one with pernicious consequences for the urban poor. See also M. Katz, *The undeserving poor: From the war on poverty to the war on welfare* (New York: Pantheon,1990) and K. Beckett and T. Sasson *The Politics of Injustice: Crime and Punishment in America* (London and New York: Sage, 2004)
51 D. Harvey *Social Justice and the City* (London: Edwin Arnolds, 1973) 136.
52 G. Kingsley G, 1996, 'Democratizing information: first year report of the National Neighborhood Indicators Project'', (Washington, D.C: The Urban Institute, 1996); G. Kingsley, 'Neighborhood indicators: taking advantage of new potential', (Washington, D.C: The Urban Institute, 1998);G. Kingsley 'Building and operating neighborhood indicator systems: a guidebook', (Washington, D.C: The Urban Institute, 1999). On the rescaling of urban governance, see N. Brenner *New State Spaces: Urban Governance and the Rescaling of Statehood* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

realm during the late 1960s such as Daniel Bell and Wilbur Cohen, were among the first to

promote neighbourhood based social indicators for their accuracy and efficiency; their ability

to 'enable us to assess where we stand and are going with respect to our values and goals,

and to evaluate specific programs and determine their impact.'[53] With technological advances

in computerization and sophisticated data processing and representational technologies,

policy makers and social scientist have become increasingly interested in visualizing

complex relationships between place and social phenomena.[54] General skepticism over the

ability to capture a complex social world by technological means further eroded when the

U.S. Census Bureau launched TIGER[55] in the mid 1980s—a fully digitized database

integrating social and geographic information. Since then advances in data processing of

Geographic Information Systems, and increasingly user friendly interfaces have propelled

interest and use in social indicators to map the social world, to predict various social and

behavioral outcomes, and target investments in a range of academic, policy, and public

arenas.

    The neighbourhood effects literature in particular lends explanatory weight to the

identification, measurement, and bounding of social problems for specialized government.

Non-governmental organizations in the U.S, and increasingly in Canada draw on the

neighbourhood effects literature for instance to call for more sophisticated and accessible

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53 D. Bell 'The Idea of a Social Report', *The Public Interest* 15 (1969) 72–84. W. Cohen and J.
Wilbur 'Social Indicators: Statistics of Public Policy', *The American Statistician* 22 (October, 1968)
14–16. R. Bauer, (ed) *Social Indicators* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1966).
54 G. G. Kingsley, *Building and Operating Neighborhood Indicator Systems: A Guidebook. National
Neighborhood Indicators Partnership Report* (Washington: The Urban Institute,1999). See also T.
Barnes, 'The quantitative revolution in economic geography', In R. Lee, A. Leyshon, L. McDowell,
and P. Sunley (eds) *Compendium in Economic Geography*, (London: Sage, forthcoming).
55 Topologically Integrated Geographic Encoding and Referencing.

census data that would facilitate the development of predictive social indicator systems.[56]

Social indicators, these groups argue, enable policy makers to better understand place-based

causes of social problems and formulate strategic solutions tailored to particular locales.[57]

Often cited examples come from the U.S, and U.K, where the use of social indicator systems

for policy formation is relatively advanced. These indicator systems typically rely on

agglomerations of census data (correlated with data from police, school boards and other

sources) to guide a range of governmental and non-profit policy decisions—from predictive

crime mapping to targeted social investments.[58]

    As I discuss in the following section correlations between physical, social and

demographic characteristics helped narrow the conceptual and geographical spaces for

governing social problems in the city. From the perspective of those at the City involved in

the production of this policy framework, problems in these areas were understood as having

arisen from a complex combination of historical and contemporary factors. These included

systemic neglect by senior levels of government in providing funding for social housing

without funding for attendant social infrastructure required by lower income populations, and

pre-amalgamation suburban municipal governments that refused to advocate or fund services

for the suburbanized poor. More recently they explained that poverty had deepened and

become more concentrated and racialized as a consequence immigration patterns, the lack of

affordable housing in the city, chronic under and unemployment, and physical and social

barriers in social service provision. Nevertheless, neighbourhood effects—particularly the

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56 See for instance D. Dale, 'Priority Neighbourhoods: Insight' *Toronto Star* (January 16, 2010) IN1-5.

57 See for instance, N. Bradford, *Place-based Public Policy: Towards a New Urban and Community Agenda for Canada* (Ottawa:Canadian Policy Research Network, 2005).

58 I have discussed the use of these indicator systems as a method of spatial targeting elsewhere in D. Cowen, and A. Siciliano, 'Surplus Masculinity and Security', *Antipode (*forthcoming).

spatialized social indicators they generated—provided them with policy-relevant

methodology to identify real and potential problems existing literature had associated with

growing concentrations of poverty. Given the financial constraints and political landscape of

governing in a post-amalgamated city social indicators could generate an evidence-based

targeted response to social inequity in the city. Social indicators in other words helped

construct a view of social reality aligned with the challenges of governing a post-welfare

state. As one manager at the City put it, the Priority Neighbourhoods framework was an

outcome of 'creative necessity', because:

> [T]he reality is if you are going to make real change, really improve housing
> conditions, create new community centres—what we can do is limited. And it is
> really a lot of the physical stuff in these neighbourhoods that needs changes—
> physical infrastructure. Some of those neighbourhoods don't even have community
> centres, the physical infrastructure just isn't there.

Community Safety Plan: Balancing Prevention with Enforcement

The City has taken the position that community safety is more than the absence of violence…
Safety initiatives must be directed at both reductions in violence (particularly gun-related
violence) and sustenance of the factors that contribute to community well-being…The
Community Safety Plan balances enforcement with prevention.
                              City of Toronto 'Making a Safe City Safer Mandate', 2010[59]

The framework for the Priority Neighbourhoods evolved out of the City of Toronto's

Community Safety Plan that was launched in the spring of 2004. The merging of these two

policy streams in the immediacy of the 2005 crisis of gun violence helped solidify causal

relations between growing concentrations of racialized poverty and gun violence in the city.

Despite stable or declining crime rates in the city (and the country), crime appeared as a big

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59 'Community Safety Plan' (City of Toronto, 2010) www.toronto.ca/community_safety/plan.htm

ticket item in the 2003 Mayoral race in Toronto. Polls indicated that it was the number one issue on the minds of voters.[60] Of the leading mayoral contenders, the issue featured most prominently in conservative John Tory's electoral platform. Backed by data published by Toronto Police Service that showed homicides had risen by six and half percent that year,[61] Tory promised to crack down on guns and gangs and fund the hiring of 400 more police officers. The leading liberal contender, Barbara Hall also called for tougher measures to address crime, noting how 'rising insecurity among citizens' was affecting the 'quality of life' in Toronto.[62] Hall's campaign however didn't rely on tendentious crime statistics, but rather the *perception* of rising crime: 'the fear of crime, whether or not it is valid, because it can become a self-fulfilling prophecy. If people fear going out and they don't go out, then the streets become emptier and are not as safe.'[63]

The disproportionate attention the crime agenda received made some commentators worry that the subject would eclipse other pressing issues in the city. Journalist John Barber, writing a piece in *The Globe and Mail* titled 'Crying Wolf on Crime', encouraged Torontonians to vote for David Miller, the left's leading candidate who campaigned almost exclusively on a pledge to 'clean up City Hall' and to halt the proposed expansion of a downtown airport. A vote for Miller, Barber urged 'will finally send the political fear

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60 A COMPAS asked Torontonians to rank what they considered the most prominent issues in the election. Crime was number one, with 23% ranking it first. Only 1% considered 'race relations' a significant election issue, despite prominent media coverage and heated debates over an investigative report by the *Toronto Star* on systemic racial profiling by police against the city's black populations.
61 Less reported was that this percentage rise translated to an actual increase of 4 more homicides in 2003 than 2002. The overall rate of violent crime decreased 4.1% in 2003 from 2002, falling from 35, 152 to 33,711 offences. See 'Annual Report' (Toronto Police Services, 2003).
62 Hall joined the 'Strategy on the National Community Safety and Crime Prevention' after losing Toronto's 1997 mayoralty race to Mel Lastman.
63 J. Gadd, 'Hall announces plans to run for mayor again', *The Globe and Mail* (January 2, 2003)A16.

mongers packing in this fall's elections'.[64] In a election result that surprised many in the city, David Miller assumed the position of City Mayor. Not only was the topic of crime largely absent from his election platform, nowhere did the words crime, safety, violence or guns appear in his inaugural address to council that outlined the key themes of his term.

Yet between the election and the end of 2003, four gun-related deaths occurred in Toronto (two downtown, one each in Jamestown and Etobicoke). And with the help of at least two conservative suburban City councilors and the support of mainstream media, the crime agenda was kept alive in public discourse.[65] For instance, two weeks into Miller's term a story in the *Toronto Star* headlined:

> *Wanted: A Mayor to Fight Crime*. Mayor David Miller must make this a top priority of his administration.…[S]ome have dared to compare his inaction on this file with his overaction [sic]on the island airport bridge.[66]

By mid-February 2004 it appeared that Miller's stance on crime had shifted: *The Globe and Mail* reported that 'Toronto Mayor David Miller wants to get guns, gangs and drugs off the streets…in the city's "at-risk" neighbourhoods', while the *Toronto Star* commended Miller for finally combating 'the rise of gangs and gun violence'.[67] The media were referring to Miller's 'Community Safety Plan' (CSP), a new program the City launched that week designed to target violence and crime in four low income suburban areas. In interviews with various media, Miller claimed that the plan was responding to a series of consultations with residents in these neighbourhoods who urged him to address the problem of gun violence and

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64 See J. Barber, 'Crying wolf on crime', *Globe and Mail* (September 13, 2003)M1.
65 In particular Michael Thompson of Scarborough Centre (bordering Scarborough Village) and Giorgio Mammoliti of North York (York West, bordering Jane-Finch) both pressed the Mayor to address crime in their neighbourhoods.
66 R. James, 'Wanted: A Mayor to Fight Crime', *Toronto Star* (Jan 13, 2004)E1.
67 R. James, 'McMurtry to head advisory panel', *Toronto Star* (February, 19 2004) A1; K. Harding and J. Gray, Miller proposes new panel to fight guns and gangs' *Globe and Mail* (February 19, 2004) A13.

street gangs in the city.[68] A young man at one of these meetings claimed it was 'easier to get

a gun than a job'.[69]

> In a memo to the City's Policy and Finance Committee Miller introduced the Plan:
>
> In recent months Toronto communities have experienced a disturbing number of shooting deaths and other crimes involving guns. Many of these incidents have involved young people. [Public] consultations confirmed that people generally feel that Toronto is a safe city. It was also clear that community safety is an issue that troubles many Toronto residents. Even though overall crime has actually decreased in many areas, we cannot ignore the tragic loss of life and serious injury that has resulted from the increased prevalence of guns in our city. The causes of crime are a complex mix of social and economic factors. Thus, solutions must also be multi-faceted. To be successful, the City's approach to improving community safety must balance enforcement with prevention. The central role of the Toronto Police Service in enforcing the law must be complemented by an effective blend of programs and services—particularly for youth who live in at-risk neighbourhoods.[70]

By March, City Council had approved the CSP, giving it a budget of 2.8 million (exclusive

of policing costs).[71] The CSP comprised of a nine-point plan: a mix of measures grouped

under *enforcement* and *prevention*. These included establishing an advisory panel of law

enforcement officials, youth, academics, and public health and housing agents to study gang

and gun violence; a new Community Safety Secretariat to formally liaise with Toronto Police

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68 These occurred under the auspices of 'Listening to Toronto' an annual community consultation program run across the city, established by Miller after his election in 2003. See 'Listening to Toronto', (City of Toronto, January 2004).

69 A claim repeated in media and policy circles. See for instance 'Interview with David Miller' *International Journal for Crime Prevention,* 40 (August, 2005); 'Council Unanimously Backs Miller's Crime Plan' *Toronto Star* (March 2, 2004)B1; K. Harding and J. Gray 'Miller proposes new panel to fight guns and gangs' *Globe and Mail* (February 19, 2004) A13.

70 D. Miller 'Community Safety Plan: Policy and Finance Committee' (City of Toronto, Feb 17, 2004).

71 The first Community Safety Strategy at the City of Toronto was launched in 1999. The rationale for its implementation was that while Toronto crime rates had long been lower than cities of comparable size, 'fear of crime was at unacceptable levels', and thus made Torontonians 'feel unsafe'. Pointing to the results of a study in Nottingham England, the Community Safety Strategy demonstrated that fear of crime was also hurting the economy. Like the current Community Safety Plan, the 1999 plan mixed prevention (targeted social investment) with enforcement (targeted policing in designated areas of high crime) See 'Toronto. My City. A Safe City: A community safety strategy for the City of Toronto' (City of Toronto, 1999).

Services and to evaluate and administer grants and programming targeting these areas; 'neighbourhood action teams' that would work in 'at-risk' area on resident engagement strategies around safety and crime prevention; a lobbying strategy to encourage the corporate sector to hire youth from 'at risk' neighbourhoods; an expansion of an existing 'crisis response program' to better equip city agencies to respond to gun-related violence, a liaison strategy between Toronto Police and city councilors to make safety a priority in their wards; and advocacy to senior governments for tougher criminal justice legislation concerning gun crimes. The CSP designation targeted municipally-funded social investment in youth employment, recreational and arts programming. Both the Provincial and Federal governments also targeted investment in these areas, funding for instance from Ontario Works was directed to youth employment schemes. New public-private partnership between a local law firm and business consulting agency both established internships for young people.

Based on Miller's public consultations with residents in January 2004 and recommendations from city councilors, four areas in the city's suburbs were designated for the initial targets for this funding: Jamestown in Etobicoke, Jane-Finch in North York; Malvern and Kingston-Galloway in Scarborough. In the wake of the CSP's launch, mainstream media lauded the City's strategic funding of 'programs, services, money, resources and action plans to try to reverse the economic and social conditions that breed crime'.[72] Yet while gun-related violence had undoubtedly affected these areas, police crime

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72 R. James, 'McMurtry' A1.

data showed them to have relatively *less* violent crime than other areas of the city.[73] What did

differentiate these areas was their disproportionate concentration of low income people of

colour. Jane-Finch for instance (a place that had only one gun-related death that year) houses

twenty three percent of the city's black population; Jamestown is home to the largest number

of Somali refugees; while residents of Malvern and Kingston Galloway are primarily black,

South or East Asian.[74] The CSP thus helped to solidify causal assumptions between crime

and concentrations of racialized poverty even when correlations did not exist.

In addition to social investments, these neighbourhoods were also subject to heighted

police presence. Between 2004 and 2008, each of these neighbourhoods was the site of a

Toronto Police gang raid; each raid surpassing the previous in terms of number of officers

deployed and the number of charges laid (a point I return to in chapter three). The first of

these raids was conducted in May 2004, in Malvern led by an elite police unit established in

2003 by the Toronto Police Service called the Guns and Gangs Taskforce. The raid yielded

more than 500 charges. Over 100 of these were organized crime charges enabled through

changes to Canada's criminal code ushered in with the 2001 *Anti-Terrorist Act* (discussed in

chapter three).[75] A total of 14 months of surveillance, 71 search warrants, 400 police officers

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73 Gun-related homicides in 2003 were concentrated around northern Etobicoke, East Scarborough (including, but not limited to Kingston-Galloway and Malvern), and downtown Toronto. Yet, when overall violent crime data on both number of offences (including murder and attempted murder) and the rate of these offences (based on number of offences per 100,000 residents) are broken down based on Toronto Police Services divisional patrol boundaries, these areas appear to have relatively low crime rates. In 2003 for instance, Division 43 (which includes Malvern) was tied for the third lowest violent crime rate in the entire city from 2002-2004. See Toronto Police Services, 'Annual Statistical Reports', (2002, 2003, 2004).
74 City of Toronto Neighbourhood Profiles, www.toronto.ca/demographics/neighbourhoods.htm.
75 Changes to the criminal justice system and the militarization of policing in Toronto will be discussed in chapter three. City Councillor Michael Thompson (Scarborough Centre), who had pushed for the targeting of Malvern and Kingston-Galloway as designated neighbourhoods for the CSP, was present at the media scrum following the raid and quoted saying 'What you see today is

and the reportedly liberal use of stun grenades among other military arsenals, yielded *five*

firearms, a kilogram of crystal meth, 100,000 'hits' of ecstasy, and an undisclosed amount of

marijuana, cocaine and hashish. Notably, as I discussed in the introduction, this raid

contributed to the spike in gun violence in 2005.[76]

The Priority Neighbourhoods: Responding to Crises

Priority Neighbourhoods are not organized on the basis of wards and that is purposeful.
They don't align with political boundaries, municipal, provincial, or federal, because in
framing that stuff it's not about politics, it's about neighbourhoods.

　Senior Manager, Social Development, Finance, and Administration, City of Toronto, 2007[77]

Gun-related homicides climbed in 2004 and continued to rise into 2005, and the issue of gun

violence surged in media and policy discourse. In early 2005 the City formed a partnership

with the United Way of Greater Toronto (UWGT) under what was called the Strong

Neighbourhoods Task Force (SNTF) a partnership that brought together the CSP, which

'focused very much with youth and gangs', and 'community development to ensure that

neighbourhoods have opportunities'.[78] The public profile of the United Way had risen with

the publication of PBPC, and according to interviews with management at the City and a

former UWGT employee, the president of the non-profit had been pressuring the City, the

Province and the Federal government to initiate 'tri-level' partnership to target social

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just the beginning'. See T. Meehan, 'Sweep takes aim at Malvern Crew' *Toronto Star* (May 13, 2004)
A1.
76 Unlike Malvern, subsequent raids, according to police I interviewed, have been followed with
sustained police presence, a presence made possible by funding for new policing strategy I discuss in
chapter three.
77 Personal interview, SDFA1, 2007.
78 Personal Interview SDFA3 2007.

investment in high poverty areas of Toronto.[79] While management at the City expressed

reservation in partnering with a non-profit, non-elected body in the development of social

policy, a partnership with the UWGT provided way to address budget crises that had plagued

the City's Social Development branch since at least the 1998 forced amalgamation of the

former City of Toronto with its surrounding suburbs:

> You have to understand, in 1999 and 2000, at the beginning of the budget process, the [previous] Mayor came out and said, I know how to fix the budget, we'll cut grants by 10%! That was the context on this stuff. By and large, a lot of my work was to protect the programs we had. We weren't in a position to take new direction. It was rough in the first two terms of the amalgamated city. The only way we could move forward was to partner with the United Way.[80]

Another manager noted that the partnership responded to,

> the [City's] fiscal situation, the recognition of lack of funding— it became efficient economically to do that. Increasing partnerships with community and non-profits, bringing in businesses in an advisory capacity is not totally new. [The previous] Mayor Lastman did this, but it has matured.[81]

Gun violence in Toronto had generated another a crisis moment at the City, according to my

interviews with management and staff at the social policy wing of the city (Social Finance,

Development and Administration):

> Everyone was going holy crap! There was stuff going on that we [at the City] hadn't had to deal with before. It was a new problem, or the expression of the problem was new. So there was a moment was everyone was kind of doing that [hands in the air]. It was a moment to move and to say let's try this. We can't guarantee it's going to work, but…[t]here are kids dying literally, we don't have time to study, we don't have time to do lots of stuff, we don't have a lot of resources, we've got to move and we've got to do it now. [82]

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79 Personal Interview UWGT1, 2007; SDFA1, 2007; SDFA3 2007. The United Way has entered into partnership with the three levels of government to target neighbourhood poverty in Vancouver (Downtown East Side) and Winnipeg (North End).
80 Personal Interview SFDA1 2007.
81 Personal interview SDFA3 2007.
82 Personal interview SDFA1 2007.

As another staff member explained it, the idea behind the partnership for targeted social

investment,

> flowed out of a sense of crisis. Whether or not it's a crisis or not it's increasingly
> become one because everyone now feels at risk. This comes back to the guns part of
> it. Guns have really driven the sense of crisis and the need for action. There is a real
> sense of urgency that we have communities in crisis. The media has focused on it; it
> has captured the people's attention. If there was no gun violence, if that wasn't the
> issue, would we have reacted as urgently to the fact that we have communities of
> people who are living with limited incomes?…That has [been documented] for
> almost 30 years! There was a report out there that was dealing with the problem of
> people isolated from support, from support services and infrastructure, who had
> economic issues and issues of settlement….But you might say 30 years later, well
> now we're in crisis.[83]

The partnership came to be seen as a means for 'all agencies [state and non-profit] to come

together for priorities and planning'[84] in a way that would respond both to systemic financial

crisis at the City and the immediacy of the crisis of gun violence by addressing what was

understood to be the latter's underlying cause: spatially isolated concentrations of racialized

poverty.

The SNTF's goal was to generate a framework for strategic social investment that

would 'assess specific needs in neighbourhoods across Toronto where investments most

needed to be made, and how residents, neighbourhood groups and governments c[ould] find

solutions to neighbourhood issues and challenges'.[85] The taskforce was charged with

developing a social indicator system to measure 'vulnerability' levels across the city by

spatially identifying concentrations of social attributes. The SNTF commissioned a series of

research reports that provided background rationale for targeted social investment,

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83 Personal interview SDFA3 2007. The report referred to here was *Metro's Suburbs in Transition*
(Social Planning Council for Metropolitan Toronto, 1979). I discuss this report in the following
chapter.
84 Personal interview SDFA3 2007.
85 *Strong Neighbourhoods: A Call to Action* Report of the Strong Neighbourhoods Taskforce (United
Way of Greater Toronto, City of Toronto, 2005).

recommended the types of social indicators that could be used, and proposed a method for evaluating policy outcomes.[86] These reports drew inspiration from place-based policies developed in the non-profit and public sectors of the U.S and U.K—particularly the U.S-based Urban Institute's National Neighbourhood Investment Strategy (NNIS); and the U.K.'s Vulnerable Localities Index (VLI) and National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal (NSNR). These models for social investment identify and rank neighbourhood vulnerability through what is termed a 'single deprivation system' distilled through census-based social indictors on health, income, education, crime, living environment, housing and services. Indicators, defined as 'statistics or measures that provide evidence of conditions or problems', are then weighted to produce a composite index of 'deprivation'.[87]

Why use an indicator system to produce and then rank neighbourhoods? Backing these indicator systems, as the reports duly noted was the neighbourhood effects thesis. Concentrated poverty it was argued had a 'multiplying effect…presumed to *lead* to social and economic polarization…increased crime, racial tensions, "anti-social behaviour", and health problems'.[88] The neighbourhood effects thesis, according to these reports, provided several advantages in developing a strategic policy framework for social investment. First, it wasn't considered discriminatory—it was, one report claimed, theoretically more sophisticated than 'earlier American ideas grounded in the "culture of poverty"' [thesis],

86 Research Report 1: C. Freiler 'Why Strong Neighbourhoods Matter' (Public Policy Consultant); Research Report 2: 'The Role of Community Infrastructure in Building Strong Neighbourhoods' (Laurel Rothman,Family Service Association); Research Report 3: 'Assessing Neighbourhood Vitality' (GHK International) Research Report 4: 'Neighbourhood Social Infrastructure in Toronto' (Social Policy Analysis and Research Unit, City of Toronto); Research Report 5: 'Putting Theory into Practice: Asset Mapping in Three Toronto Neighbourhoods' (Caryl Arundel and Associates); Research Report 6: 'Multi-Partner Funding for Neighbourhood Revitalization in Toronto' (GHK International).
87 GKH Associates, 'Measuring Neighbourhood' 5.
88 C. Freiler, 'Why Strong Neighbourhoods Matter' 3. Emphasis mine.

which suggested that 'deficiencies reside in the individual, rather than in the environment'.[89]

In other words, the report suggested that the neighbourhood effects thesis did not rely on

explanations of behavioral outcomes in relation to a particular group's culture, but instead as

the result of local *environmental* conditions generated from spatial concentrations of

immigrant and visible minority population, housing tenure, education levels, average income,

etc.

Second, an indicator system was more efficient and effective because social

indicators could eventually be warehoused in a single database (similar 'data warehouses'

characterize both the UK's Deprivation Index and the U.S.'s NNIP indicator systems). Data

collected could then be shared by multiple stakeholders: 'for example, school boards may

collect information regarding levels of pupil non-attendance: information that could be

pertinent …for local police in terms of predicting youth crime in an area'.[90] These data could

be thus used proactively, by sending more police to areas marked as 'high risk'. This data

warehouse model would also importantly offer 'evidence based research'; or quite plainly,

'service delivery based on…"what works"'. The indicator system moreover, in producing a

single composite figure of 'vulnerability' based on proven neighbourhood effects, made

'complex phenomena easier to understand', despite evidence from the literature that 'the

weightings of the domains' and environmental 'aspects of deprivation are not entirely

89 C. Freiler 'Why Strong Neighbourhoods' 3. The 'culture of poverty, first introduced in 1959 by
Oscar Lewis in his ethnographies of impoverished areas in Mexico, Puerto Rico and New York,
understood poverty as a 'whole way of life', perpetuated by a range of social, economic and historical
variables (Lewis named 65 in all). Lewis' work marked the disintegration of established
understandings of poverty a consequence of individual shortcomings. See O. Lewis *Five Families;
Mexican Case Studies in The Culture Of Poverty* (New York: Basic Books, 1959); O. Lewis, 'The
Culture of Poverty', in D. P. Moynihan (ed.) *On Understanding Poverty: Perspectives from the
Social Sciences* (New York : Basic Books, 1968).
90 GKH Associates, 'Measuring Neighbourhood' 6.

clear'.[91] Nevertheless, quantitatively measurable data would, the reports suggests provide

quality, credibility and consistency. In fact, according to these reports, '[s]tarting from the

bigger picture does not support a comprehensive understanding of neighbourhoods; of

identification of barriers, assets and neighbourhood investment opportunities'.[92]

Finally, concentrated and racialized poverty was seen as impeding 'intercity

competition,' and as the reports argued, Toronto was 'behind comparable cities and countries

in terms of developing a neighbourhood indicator system' to address this social problem.[93]

Poverty was 'not just an equity issue focusing on the poor; [but] also an economic issue for

all of us'.[94] The reports argued that high levels of ethno-racial segregation and perceived

increases in youth crime threatened the city's economic competitiveness, specifically by

generating fears that could lead to 'homeowner flight', hurt 'tourist revenues' by tarnishing

the 'image of the city' and even propel a 'flight of capital'.[95] Notably, this economic rationale

figured centrally in the PBPC and in other reports released during this time that called for

social investment targeting racialized poverty.[96] A recurring reference to the African America

ghetto and its relationship to urban decline in U.S contexts framed racialized poverty in

Toronto as a threat to the city's economic vitality. The primary social problem of racialized

neighbourhood poverty from this perspective was in how it shattered the successful branding

91 GKH Associates, 'Measuring Neighbourhood' 15-16.
92 Caryl Arundel and Associates, 'Putting Theory' 80; GKH Associates, 'Measuring Neighbourhood' 5-6.
93 GKH Associates, 'Measuring Neighbourhood Vitality' (Strong Neighbourhood Task Force, Research Report #3, 2005) 39.
94 A. Habiby, 'Michael Porter on Essential Elements for Regional Competitiveness and the Role of the Inner City', *Economic Development in America* (U.S. Department of Commerce. Winter 2004). 6-8, cited in Freiler 'Why Strong', 7.
95 TCSA Strong Neighbourhoods: A Call to Action 2007. Personal interview Ministry of Children and Youth Services, Province of Ontario 2007 (MCYS1).
96 See *Enough Talk: An Action Plan for the Toronto Region* (Toronto City Summit Alliance, April, 2003); Toronto City Summit Alliance, *Strong Neighbourhoods*.

of Toronto's social image in a competitive marketplace. Joe Berridge, president of local firm

specializing in creative city planning put it this way in a prominent passage in the PBPC:

> Toronto's claim to fame has been that of the well-planned, liveable, yet urbane city
> with an exemplary quality of life. Walking around many big U.S. cities—and then
> walking around ours—it's no longer safe to assume our primacy. I never thought in
> my lifetime the tables might be turned.[97]

Citing the indicator system's successes in instigating policies of socially mixed

neighbourhoods the reports justified social investment through market-based rationales:

> Physically attractive neighbourhoods support people who want to be there to feel
> comfortable and feel proud of their neighbourhood. Such neighbourhoods attract the
> middle class, thereby increasing the likelihood of diversity and the resulting
> neighbourhood traits such as services, reputation and social order.[98]

> In June 2005, based on the findings of this research, the SNTF published 'Strong

Neighbourhoods: A Call to Action'. The SNTF's indicators combined social and

demographic census data to identify nine 'neighbourhoods'[99] with low 'Indicators of Vitality'

(see table 1.1). These neighbourhoods were: 1) Black Creek, 2) Westminster-Branson, 3)

Steeles, 4) Victoria Village, 5) Dorset Park, 6) Kennedy Park, 7) Eglinton East, 8)

Scarborough Village, 9) Crescent Town (plate 1.1). By October 2005, City Council adopted

the 'Strong Neighbourhoods Strategy' to strengthen priority neighbourhoods through

targeted social investment'.[100] When doing so it merged the policy framework from the CSP

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97 Joe Berridge 'Reinvesting in Toronto: What the Competition is Doing'
98 Caryl Arundel and Associates, 'Putting Theory into Practice', 10. Social mixing—or what critical scholars term 'policy-led gentrification'—is already underway in some of Toronto's most stigmatized areas: Regent Park and Lawrence Heights.
99 These neighbourhood boundaries were developed by the Research and Policy division at the City of Toronto in 2004, to divide the municipality into 'measurable units' for social planning purposes.
100 S. Corke, 'Toronto Strong Neighbourhoods Strategy' (City of Toronto Staff Report, Oct 5, 2005), 1.

into the Priority Neighbourhoods framework to address issues of poverty and crime, which

Plate 1.1 'Strong Neighbourhoods Strategy' neighbourhood map: Black Creek, 2) Westminster-Branson, 3) Steeles, 4) Victoria Village, 5) Dorset Park, 6) Kennedy Park, 7) Eglinton East, 8) Scarborough Village, 9) Crescent Town.

Economic	Median household income
	% of population spending 30% or more on shelter costs
	% of population aged 25+ who are unemployed
Education	% of students passing the Ontario Secondary School Literacy test
	% of population with college or university qualifications
	% of population aged 15+ attaining less than grade nine education
Urban Fabric	% of occupied private dwellings requiring major repairs
Health	Number of low birth weight babies per 1,000 births
Demographics	% of population with no knowledge of English or French
	% of population who are recent immigrants
	% of population by mobility status one year ago

Table 1.1: Indicators of Vitality, (Source: UWGT, City of Toronto, 'Strong Neighbourhoods: A Call to Action, A Report of the Strong Neighbourhoods Taskforce' 2005).

were assumed to be inextricably linked. As one policy analyst at the City explained:

> If the Strong Neighbourhoods Strategy was about deteriorating neighbours and the implications of that being high crime and other kinds of pathologies, and the same time there was the Community Safety Plan that was responding to the outbreak of crime. Ultimately then, that became the other dimension through which neighbourhoods were prioritized: gangs and guns. It wasn't really based on—and maybe this is a criticism—on analysis of crime incidents across the city, where you know there might not be a lot of gun violence, but there might be a whole lot of other kinds of things, particularly youth related that triggered violence.[101]
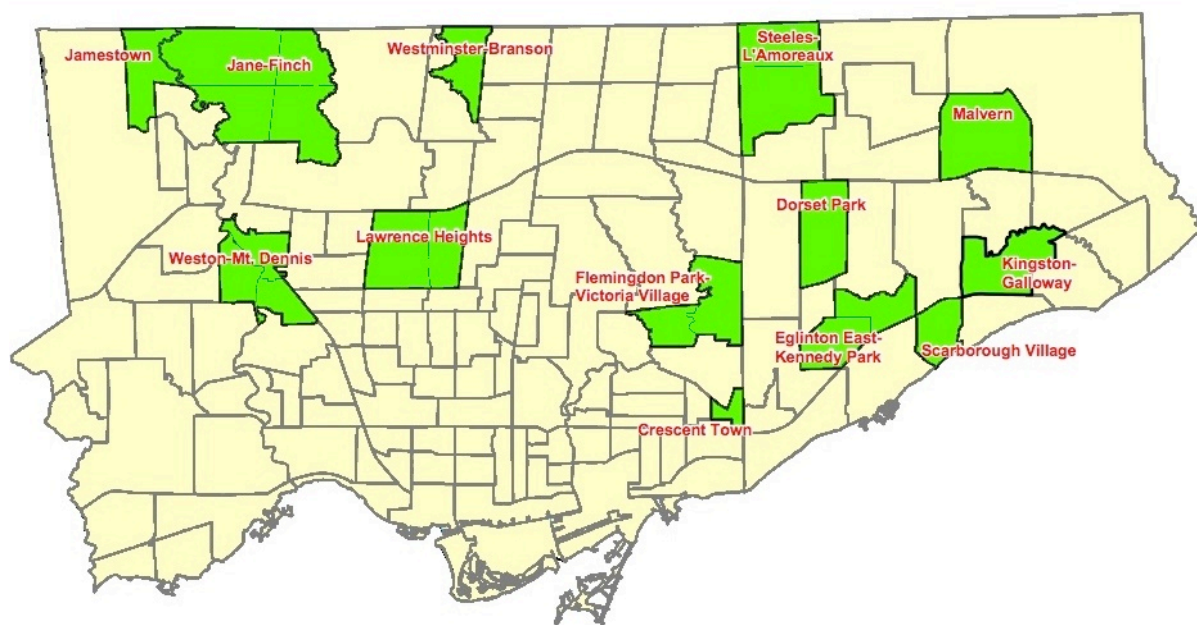
Plate 1.2: Thirteen Priority Neighbourhoods: Jamestown, Jane-Finch, Westminster-Branson, Lawrence Heights, Weston-Mt. Denis, Flemingdon Park-Victoria Village, Crescent Town, Steeles-L'Amoreaux, Dorset Park, Eglington East, Kennedy Park, Scarborough Village, Kingston-Galloway, Malvern (Source: City of Toronto, Strong Neighbourhoods Strategy, 2005).

Thus while the Strong Neighbourhoods Strategy originally designated nine areas, when

Council adopted the strategy it included these original nine, plus the four identified in the

CSP to create thirteen relatively large areas in the city's post war suburbs for investment

(plate 1.2). The recommendation report to Council noted this policy framework:

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101 Personal interview SDFA 3 2007.

takes place within a context in which some areas of the city are at greater risk of negative outcomes than others. Persistently low incomes and a widening income gap between the rich and the poor in many communities threaten the social cohesiveness that has marked the success of the city. Some neighbourhoods have experienced increasing levels of gun violence and criminal gang involvement resulting in city-wide concerns about community safety.[102]

The City of Toronto launched the Priority Neighbourhoods framework in a series of public forums held in Scarborough, North York and Etobicoke (plate 1.2). Community Safety was the official rhetoric through which the Priority Neighbourhoods framework for social investments was delivered. These forums comprised a panel of representatives from the City's Social Development, Finance and Administration Department, The United Way, The Ministry of Children and Youth Services (provincial) and Services Canada (federal) that explained how social investments would be made. In my interviews with City management about the choice of Community Safety to envelope a wide range of social services, they explained that the umbrella of 'community safety connect[ed] the dots with everything, back to a *place*—whether its about transportation, or health services, it all comes back to community safety':[103]

> In the past we may have been called the healthy cities office. I think its just the place and time. Gun violence was rising and it think it was under the safety agenda that we could make sure everyone felt safe and secure in the city…Safety is something we can all relate to maybe. In the past maybe safety would have only been associated with crime prevention and criminal activity, its no longer associated with that, I think you know there is a much broader understanding of that—we always want to feel safe, we always want to feel secure. We want to feel safe in our relationships in our home with our partners, in the world outside as we interact, we want to feel safe when our kids go to school, and that not necessarily about physical violence, but feel safe to be able to view the world in a way that makes sense to them. I think its just a changing perception of what that means to all of us. And for some of us, some people who come from other parts of the world [Toronto] is a safe place where they feel they

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102 S. Corke, 'Toronto Strong Neighbourhoods', 3.
103 Personal interview SDFA5, 2007.

are not going to be hurt or that democracy is in place and inclusion is in place here.[104]

Community Safety—which was initially conceived as a response to the problem of gun

violence in Toronto—was now normalized into the rationale for targeted social service

provision in racialized low income neighbourhoods. Its operative logic was positively

reinforced by higher levels of government, as one manager the City reflected:

> Since 2005 Toronto has become very well known for its work on community safety
> across Canada and other places—certainly Ottawa will tell you that the way we've
> been able to mainstream community safety into what we do is phenomenal, and
> certainly fits with everything that the academic research tells us we should be doing.
> You don't have community safety as a separate entity, but let it permeate into the way
> you do business as an organization and as a city.[105]

Social investment conceived as a means of preventing crime prioritized these thirteen

neighbourhoods for funding. It represents a prioritization that has, according to the majority

of my interviews with City employees, begun to 'set up this economy around gang and

violence'. The message communicated to young people according to front line workers was

that the geography of crime determined the distribution of public funding. As a one noted:

> It's interesting because when all of this investment started rolling out, and granted a
> lot of neighbourhoods don't understand that it is recycled money…but you would
> actually hear youth on the ground…say "What do I have to do, go out, get a gun and
> shoot somebody?" They aren't stupid. They understood was what needed to get
> attention. They understood that their programs were being cut, that staff were being
> laid off, they didn't have the same money for trips that they once did, or any number
> of things. And they saw the media focus on the Priority Neighbourhoods and knew
> why; they heard it and knew it was about gangs and guns.[106]

Not only did residents in other poor neighbourhoods in the city suddenly find themselves

redlined for City grants and other forms of investment flowing in from Provincial and

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104 Personal interview SDFA4, 2007.
105 Personal interview SDFA4, 2007.
106 Personal interview SDFA6, 2007.

Federal governments, but as one public health employee put it, 'people feel

neglected…because the City, Province, Federal wide, everybody wants to be in Jamestown,

everybody wants to be in Kingston/Galloway.[107] Political leaders also want to appear to be

'engaging' youth. As a member of Toronto's Youth Cabinet (a youth advocacy organization

with the City's Social Development wing) explained:

> We've never had — lets say a meeting with a provincial or federal official, or it had been very rare. [After Creba's death] our phones were sort of ringing off the hook. We ended up meeting with Dalton McGuinty...and we met with the Governor General. We met with all the political parties because the federal election was happening at the same time, except the Conservatives, right. So people wanted to say "hey look".
>
> Our phones were ringing off the hook, people wanted to say 'Look we are doing something'. In terms of did it translate into actual results? If you are looking to try and get incremental change, well you can say we got this 150,000 in grants for youth-led initiatives [in the Priority Neighbourhoods] that didn't exist before and now its there every year. But that is very incremental. Will that change how a young person in a so-called high needs area actually lives day to day life? Well no. If we were to say well don't build that police firing range,[108] build 50 million dollars worth of social programs, that would not be supported by the city. At least that's the sense I get...So we got a lot more attention after the shooting, but I don't know if it translated into any results.[109]

Even within the City, many spoke of how the focus on *gun* violence and its inextricable link

to certain neighbourhoods 'completely skewed' not only how the City was measuring the

success of its new policy framework, but also what counts as 'violence' and to whom:

> [The Priority Neighbourhoods] focuses on where things occur rather than how they occur, who participates in the occurrence. It begins to set up this value system around violence, which is crazy. For about 6-7 months last year the Community Safety Secretariat would set up these crisis response bulletins and they were all based on gangs and guns. And there was this one week where sent one of these things out and

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107 Personal interview SDFA6, 2007.
108 The Toronto Youth Cabinet ran a campaign called 'Recreation not Ammunition' over the 2005 City of Toronto budget proposal to spend 45 million dollars on a new Toronto Police Services firing range. They instead proposed to allocate this money toward building recreation centres for youth. Their campaign was unsuccessful.
109 Personal Interview, SDFA10.

it said there were no critical incidents in this past week. I emailed them immediately and said you know what? there were tons of critical incidents through the entire city. Did they fall within your purview? Are they political enough for you? No. But don't ever say there were no critical incidents. I'm sure a 100 women at least, got beaten by their husbands. I'm sure children got abused. Don't sit back and tell me there were no critical incidents. How profoundly stupid is that? So it didn't occur in the 13 designated neighbourhoods and no one had a gun, that we know of. And it wasn't gang related, so its not a critical incident?![110]

A member of the Youth Cabinet concurred:

There is a real need to reframe the history. And we tried to do that with Boxing Day, when we had a press release, we said "root causes, root causes, root causes". What got printed was "Youth responding to violence...violence, violence, violence"; "Youth don't feel safe", and then maybe one line on how we need to address root causes'. That's really the problem—when you are trying to reframe the issue, it can be extremely difficult.[111]

Conclusion

This chapter documented the conjuncture of discourses, practices and events that made suburban poverty visible, knowable and governable. It illustrated how the neighbourhood scale in providing a means of visualizing social attributes and predicting behavioral outcomes, rationalized policy solutions based on the notion that concentrations of racialized poverty posed a threat to the city at large. Obscured through the scale of the neighbourhood, the category of race operated as an explanatory variable in constructing the problem suburban decline its associated links with gun violence in the city. In other words its wasn't poor black people that caused gun violence and neighbourhood decline, but *spatial concentrations* of this population. *Mediating* racialized ideologies of exclusion and domination, the space of the 'neighbourhood' thus became central to racial and class subjectivity: constructing social relations within a neighbourhood scale not only objectifies

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110 Personal Interview, SDFA6.
111 Personal Interview, SDFA10

subordinate identities but also reinforces dominant ones. Social scientific research helped

translated fears of the ghetto into visible social attributes for measuring suburban decline and

validating its 'effects'. These fears, cleansed of their socio-historical dimensions through

administrative means and political rhetoric facilitated the legitimate expression of anxieties

over perceived threats to the existing social order of the city, while providing a scientific

framework that justified social investment in these long neglected suburban areas but not on

a rights based logic of inclusion and social citizenship, but rather as a means of crime

prevention.

Chapter Two

The Cultural Politics of Urban Reform

In Toronto, an unusually large number of high-rise apartments poke above the flat landscape many miles from downtown. … This is a type of high-density suburban development far more progressive and able to deal with the future than the endless sprawl of the U.S.

Buckminster Fuller, 1968[1]

Toronto's post-war suburbs… are baffling physically and incoherent socially as their counterparts anywhere, and fully ecologically destructive and as ill-suited to service by public transportation.

Jane Jacobs, 1993 x[2]

Racial and ethnic segregation, poverty concentration and gun and gang violence today signify the threat the suburbs pose to the city. Yet only a few decades ago a strikingly different image of the suburbs mobilized a similar spatialized threat. By the late 1960s civic leaders and urban activists in Toronto united under the banner of an urban reform movement to *save the city from suburbia*, which for these actors signified an exclusive, intensely private, middle class area on the city's periphery that was ruled by the automobile and mass consumption. These enclaves were expanding exponentially reformers argued and thus threatened to destroy urban space and civic life across North America.

The timing and precision for this concern was not unique to Toronto. Across Canada and the U.S. leading urbanists had long been debating the origins of modern society's

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1 B. Fuller Geometric, Architects, Engineers, Planners, Project Toronto, A Study Proposal for the Future Development (Cambridge MA, 1968).
2 'Forward', in J. Sewell, *The Shape of the City: Toronto Struggles with Modern Planning* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993).

cultural malaise. Becky Nicolaides who has written about some of the key American urban intellectuals of the era states that 'writers like... Lewis Mumford, Jane Jacobs, and William Whyte conveyed ideas with profound impact on public understanding of what both city and suburban life were doing to the health of...community.' Each argued that 'aesthetic and social failures' of the post-war suburbs—in particular the value systems the local physical and social environment appeared to generate—were wreaking havoc on cities across the U.S and Canada.[3] Their ideas took hold in an 'an age of anti-communist anxiety, [where] intellectuals were prone to critique of mass culture, conformity and consumerism, rather than the basic structural flaws in the American liberal state.' Specifically they rejuvenated the Chicago School's urban ecology approach to analyses of urban change, by focusing 'more on cultural form, less on politics and political economy'.[4]

In Toronto, these notions about the suburbs gained traction during a period of profound change in the city's built environment and demographic composition. These notions were aided in no small part by Jane Jacobs herself, who had recently relocated to Toronto from New York.[5] Jacobs leveraged experience organizing a successful grassroots campaign against freeway and high rise construction in her old Greenwich Village neighbourhood to lead the victorious battle against the Spadina expressway that would have connected the suburb of North York to the downtown core (and pass by her house en route). This grassroots mobilizing soon progressed into a populist political agenda that gave reformers the balance of power at City Hall in 1972.

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3 B. Nicolaides, 'How Hell Moved from the City to the Suburbs', in K. Kruse, T. Sugrue (eds), *The New Suburban History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007) 95. See also P. Siskind, 'Suburban Growth and its Discontents', in K. Kruse, T. Sugrue (eds), *The New Suburban History*.
4 Nicolaides 'How Hell moved', 95.
5 Jane Jacobs immigrated to Toronto in 1968.

Yet as the passage from Buckminster Fuller suggests, unlike most metropolitan regions in the U.S. and Canada, the reality of suburbs had long betrayed prevailing images of 'suburbia' reformers mobilized to assert their claims. Toronto's suburbs in fact were already quite diverse in terms of demographics and housing stock: private and public low income apartment towers stretched across the suburban landscape. Distinct clusters of high-rise apartments stretched from Northwest Etobicoke to South East Scarborough, making Toronto's suburbs resemble much more those of London or Paris, rather than the typical North American post-war suburb.[6] Many of these towers quickly became primary settlement areas for the country's new immigrants, the working poor, the unemployed, single parents and seniors as gentrification and urban renewal took root in the core. MG Vassanji's novel, *No New Land* offers a rare literary glimpse of this exceptional moment linking global migration to post-war suburbanism in early 1970's Toronto. In Vassanji's rendering of the metropolis, downtown appears as but 'single needle jab into the sky'. Vassanji's protagonists, Narin Lalani and his family, had recently 'landed' in the suburb of North York, but one of thousands of immigrants arriving in the Toronto area from the global south in the wake of immigration reforms in Canada. Rather than strolling through *cul-de-sacs* bordered by single family dwellings and two car garages, in Vassanji's novel, the Lalani's traversed the austere Don Valley Parkway, where suburban

> apartment buildings, identified only by their numbers—the famed "Sixty-five," "Sixty-seven", "Sixty-nine" and "Seventy-one"…faded and grey, turn[] away sullenly from the picturesque scenery behind them, to the drab reality in front. Barely maintained, they exist in a state just this side of dissolution.[7]

6 Toronto has the second highest number of high-rises in North America, most in its post-war suburbs. Two-thirds of the city's public housing stock is located in the suburbs, a point I turn to later in this chapter. See P. Hess, 'Suburban Apartments and the Planning of Modern Metropolitan Toronto, 1946-1975', *European Association for Urban History*, (Lyon France, 2008).
7 M.J. Vassanji, *No New Land* (Toronto: McClelland and Steward, 1991) 2.

These apartments, we learn, acquired fame not from architectural cachet, but from 'dreams of emigration in friends and relatives abroad'.[8] Yet, the Lalanis' everyday suburban life and other newcomers like them appears to have been eclipsed in prevailing geographic imaginaries during this era. Caulfield's research on the Toronto's early gentrifiers—who activated and propelled the cultural and political success of the city's reform movement—suggests that while these inner city residents were fully aware that the suburbs had become quite demographically diverse, their 'suspicion [was] that, apart from public housing projects, most of the suburbs' statistical heterogeneity [was] illusory'.[9]

In this chapter I explore the complex ways in which an outdated imaginary of suburban homogeneity became constitutive of the downtown reform movement. More specifically I explore anti-suburban discourses, practices and representations of the era to illustrate that reformers' focus on their local environment and the perceived dangers posed to its existence had at least three interrelated consequences. First, by arguing that suburban environments *caused* various social pathologies they eclipsed broader structural changes affecting both suburban and urban development underway during that time. Second, reformers, in activating measures to preserve the city's built form played a central role in physically and socially isolating the racialized poor in the suburbs. Third I suggest that contemporary assumptions about the suburb as threatening to the city's social order have been inherited from the anti-suburban ideology of the reform era. To be sure, while the content of the suburban threat has changed since this time—from automobiles and social

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8 Vassanji, *No New Land* 2.
9 One of his respondents' reflections on the suburbs notes 'I'd look out, and there would be an Indian family over here and a black family over there'. J. Caulfield, *City Form and Everyday Life: Toronto's Gentrification and Critical Social Practice* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994) 190.

conformity to gun violence and ghettoization—the collective message remains the same: the

city is the locus of 'authentic community' while the suburbs are the generator of social

pathology.

The onset of reform ideology in the mid-1960s responded to an era of massive

economic and social upheaval; changes to immigration and citizenship policies and massive

scale renewal projects ostensibly aimed at modernizing Toronto's built environment,

expanding its housing stock, and providing better transportation links between the city and its

rapidly growing population in its surrounding post-war suburbs. Reformers positioned

themselves as defenders of Toronto's 'organic' urban form perceived to be under threat from

rampant highway and high-rise construction. They waged vehement battles over the virtues

of urbanism and evils of 'homogenous' suburban values, and in doing so, cultivated the

social and cultural capital instrumental to the re-valourization and gentrification of the core.

As many scholars have demonstrated, reformers were overwhelmingly white; their

politics resolutely middle class. Today's near complete gentrification of the central city was

in fact made possible in large part by the cultural capital generated by the white middle-

classes leading urban reform in the 1960s and 1970s.[10] The racial and class identity ascribed

to urban space during the reform era still influences the ways that contemporary perceptions

of suburban decline register in popular and policy discourse. Perhaps because the outcome of

these varied struggles has only recently been made visible in today's near complete—and

10 D. Ley, *The New Middle Class and the Remaking of the Central City,* (New York: Oxford
University Press, 1996) J. Caulfield *City Form*. See also W. Magnusson on how reform ideology
aligned with broader scale transformations in capitalism. W. Magnusson, 'Toronto', in W.
Magnusson and A. Sancton (eds), *City Politics in Canada*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press); T.
Slater, 'Gentrification in Canadian Cities: From Social Mix to Social Tectonics' in Atikinson and
Bridge (eds), *Gentrification in a Global Context: The new urban colonialism* (New York: Routledge,
2005).

overwhelmingly white—gentrification of the core,[11] even those who have written critically of reform era politics and the anti-suburban ideology that drove the movement have not explicitly addressed the racialized 'architecture of power' it implanted.[12] A racial and class privileged perspective helped ground a covert genealogical myth about the 'natural social ordering' of urban space in an era when whiteness—as a 'legitimate' means of maintaining social hierarchies—was being effectively confronted both domestically and at a global scale. As I illustrate in this chapter, Toronto's reformers, while celebrating (and often advocating for) the city's diversity and inclusiveness, *in practice*, privileged whiteness—aesthetic and cultural practices, both material and symbolic, that while obscuring broader structural changes underway during the time, asserted a natural social ordering to the city through a 'white Anglo appropriation of urban space'.[13] While not explicitly articulated as such, a white middle class identity was nevertheless at the core of the protectionist urbanism of the reform era. It grounded a powerful anti-suburban politics practiced not only by reform-minded aldermen, but by many local scholars and activists who helped define these much maligned spaces of the city's periphery as generators of social pathology. While reformers varied articulations of their right to urban space did not forge claims through overtly racist politics, the tenor of their struggles bears remarkable similarities to the present: a desire to

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11 See A. Walks and R. Maaranen, 'Neighbourhood Gentrification in Toronto, 1961 to 2001', (Centre for Urban and Community Studies, 2008).

12 Keith and Cross 'Racism and the postmodern city' in M. Cross and M. Keith, *Racism, the city and the state* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993) 8.

13 P. Jackson for instance, has demonstrated how white racial identity was articulated through discourses of Englishness. see, 'Constructions of "whiteness" in the geographic imagination' *Area* 30.2 (1998) 99-106. See also R. Atkinson and G. Bridge (eds), *Gentrification in a Global Perspective* (New York: Routledge, 2005) 2; S. Thobani, *Exalted Subjects: Studies in the making of race and nation in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007).

preserve and protect authentic urban life from pathologies fostered in suburban environments.

Modernizing Toronto

From the mid-1950s to the early 1970s the social, cultural and economic fabric of Toronto would be radically reshaped through accelerated shifts in domestic and global migrations of both capital and labour. For those living in Toronto during this period, a new society was being created before their eyes, expressed through drastic changes to the built environment and through the increasingly diversity of social life in the city. On the one hand the rampant redevelopment of Toronto's central business district reflected its emerging role as Canada's new centre for finance capitalism.[14] Not unlike other major urban centres in the 1960s and early 1970s, a new relationship between urbanism and capitalism had emerged. '[S]peculative capital', Kristin Ross remarked of this era, 'no longer drawn to foraging abroad was increasingly directed toward the built environment.'[15] In Toronto, civic boosters—propelled by a financial and real estate boom—pumped billions into the heart of one of the fastest growing economies on the continent.[16] In the early 1950's, the Gardiner Expressway was built, slicing through neighbourhoods east and west of the urban core. Between 1961 and 1971, 36,000 apartments were built in the city, most replacing single-

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14 Montreal had previously occupied this position. Quebec's Quiet Revolution—which began in the 1950s— cumulated in the October 1970 crisis. The Front de Liberation Quebec, kidnapped government officials and led Prime Minister Trudeau to implement the War Measures Act in Quebec. These events engendered a mass exodus of capital and financial headquarters. For instance, by 1977 all of Canada's major banks—including the Bank of Montreal—were located in Toronto.

15 K. Ross, *Fast Cars, Clean Bodies: Decolonization and the Reordering of French Culture*, (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1996) 11; See also H. Lefebrve, *The Urban Revolution*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005).

16 P. Filion, 'Rupture or Continuity? Modern and Postmodern Planning in Toronto', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 23.3 (2006).

family homes, a construction boom that 'Manhattanized' the skyline of the burgeoning metropolis. Meanwhile, monuments to corporate capital arose in epic proportion and successively outlandish style: in 1967 Mies Van der Rohe's signature Toronto Dominion Centre; in1972 the triple towers of Commerce Court; two years later the 72 storey First Canadian Place. By 1977 the patent 24-karat gold plated glass towers of the Royal Bank Plaza stood just eastward of the tallest free standing structure in the world—Canada's icon to modernity, the CN tower.[17]

On the other hand, modernization was a highly contested period of social differentiation as diverse social groups asserted claims over rights to civic life and urban space. This was a moment marked by the counter cultural arts movement, gay and lesbian activism, and social movements for equal citizenship led by women and people of colour. But arguably the most cherished popular memory in the urban history of this era of social upheaval was the successful struggles against rampant highway and high-rise construction threatening the organic development and 'quality of life' for many urban residents.[18] Commemorated as those who forcefully—and often successfully—resisted established city boosters' drive to modernize the city, a swelling force of grassroots resistance led a political movement against what Jon Caulfield and other characterized as the 'slash and burn' approaches to prevailing practices of urban redevelopment.[19]

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17 Scotia Bank tower was completed in 1988. The Bay Adelaide Centre, initiated in the mid-1980's, was put on hold when 90's recession hit. It is presently under construction, making it the first office tower built in the city since the early 1990's.

18 A wealth of literature—both popular, academic, and fiction—documents Toronto's reform era. Reform ideologies still typify left-leaning liberal urban politics. See for instance J. Boudreau *Mega City Saga: Democracy and Citizenship in this Global Age* (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 2005)

19 J. Caulfield, *City Form and Everyday Life: Toronto's Gentrification and Critical Social Practice* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press,1994), 61; H. Kaplan, *Reform, Planning, and City Politics: Montreal, Winnipeg, Toronto* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982).

Reformers gained ground in City Hall in 1968 due to in part to electoral redistricting, but more fundamentally by capitalizing on 'the emergence and gelling of popular attitudes about traditional urban fabric that opposed the agenda of old-style civic boosterism'.[20] Jon Caulfield places the popular attraction to reform ideology in the context of 'changing values in planning and related professions; the growth of the city's young adult population affiliated with marginal political and cultural groupings; and the increasing number of middle class households settling in the inner city'.[21] Reformers' supporters ranged from old urban elite ratepayers to working class groups in the core, as the movement congealed public dissent that had been rising against old guard urban boosters whose plans and policies were contributing to the demolition of poor neighbourhoods, the loss of '"historic" buildings… [and] traffic overspill into well established and newly emerging gentrifying areas'.[22] United by a strong desire to alter the direction of municipal politics and planning, reformers thus traversed the full political spectrum, hailing from conservative, liberal and radical leftist backgrounds. When reform-minded politicians gained the majority of seats at City Hall in the 1972 municipal election 'people of practically every political persuasion applauded the same event', namely the 'coming of aldermen who would re-create the city in their own vision'.[23] Mobilized by an anxiety over rampant urban change and a desire to reclaim territorial losses by wrestling control of the urban planning process away from the perceived hegemony of 'big business', reformers passionately worked to rearticulate the very idea of *urbanism*, away

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20 Jon Caulfield, John Sewell and Karl Jaffary were each elected in working class neighbourhoods that had previously been disenfranchised by their inclusion in the upper class ward of Rosedale.
21 Cauldfield *City Form* 67.
22 G. Gad, 'Downtown Toronto and Montreal', *Canadian Journal of Regional Science* (1999): 155. See also G. Gad and D. Holdsworth, 'Corporate Capitalism and the Emergence of the High-Rise Office Building' *Urban Geography*, (1987), 8.
23 M. Goldrick, 'The Anatomy of Urban Reform in Toronto' *City Magazine* 3 (1978) 29.

from dominant interpretations of the city as a vehicle for *progress* and *modernization*, to one that revered quality of life, difference, and diversity. These urban idealists railed against the epitome of post-war conformity and the 'ethic of growth': the booming post-war suburbs.

The iconic image of suburbia—fuelled by mass consumption, guided by familial norms, and ruled by the automobile—became an obvious and easy spatial fix for assorted anxieties over threats to the city. To be sure, modernization, of which suburbanization was perhaps its most palpable post-war form, undoubtedly *was* destroying cities, facilitated in large part by federal programs supporting suburbanization and highway construction, albeit to a much lesser extent in Canada, than the U.S. To an increasingly vocal majority congregating in the central city, Toronto's new suburbs thus became both the cause and consequence of the city's immanent demise.[24] Yet, missing from the wide and varied accounts of Toronto's reform years was what distinguished their object of attack: the rise of an explicitly anti-suburban ideology surfaced at the precise moment when the post-war suburbs began to migrate *away* from their iconic post war identity.

Urbanizing 'Colonial Encounters'

The new racism is a racism of the era of "decolonization", of the reversal of population movements between the old colonies and the new metropolises, and the division of humanity within a single political space…It is a racism whose dominant theme is not biological heredity but the insurmountability of cultural differences, a racism which at first sight does not postulate the superiority of certain groups or peoples in relation to others but "only" the harmfulness of abolishing frontiers, the incompatibility of life-styles and traditions…a differentialist racism.

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24 J. Caulfield, *City Form*; F. Frisken, L. Bourne, G. Gad, and R. Murdie, 'Governance and Social Sustainability', in M. Polèse and R. Stren, (eds) *The Social Sustainability of Cities*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000).

Etienne Balibar, *Race, Nation, Class* 1991[25]

Up until the 1950's Toronto was a city whose population was overwhelmingly white Anglo-Saxon. This is in large part due to the colonial history of the country and that its citizenship and immigration policies up until 1962 (with exception) granted citizenship and immigration rights only to following groups of 'preferred classes': British, French, and American citizens. By the 1960s the explicit logic racial superiority that structured the country's exclusionary policies began to collapse under the twin threats of domestic labour shortages and of anti-racist and anti-colonial organizing occurring on a global scale. As critical race scholars have documented, this was a period when explicit assertions of white racial dominance came to be largely discredited.[26] In Canada, this period was marked by 'the increasing demands of francophones in Quebec, the continued struggles of Aboriginal peoples for self-determination; the class and gender based political movements of the period; and the increasing demands of people of colour for full citizenship'.[27]

Like many other modern western states, explicit mechanisms of racial exclusion and inclusion in Canada—in particular restrictions on citizenship and immigration based on nation of origin were soon abolished. In 1967, Pearson's federal government replaced the county's racially exclusionary Immigration Act (1952) with an ostensibly colour-blind/country blind 'open door' points system, extending the progressive removal of

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25 Balibar 'Is there a neo-racism?' 21. See also S. Thobani *Exalted Subjects,* H. Bannerji, *The Dark Side of the Nation* B. Brander Rasmussen, E. Klinenberg, I. Nexica, and M. Wray, (eds), *The Making and Unmaking of Whiteness,* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001).
26 M. Omi and H. Winat *Racial Formation,* E. Lawrence, 'Just plain common sense: The "roots" of racism', in *The Empire Strikes Back: Race and Racism in 1970s Britain* (London: Routledge, 1983), M. Baker *The New Racism* (London: Junction Books, 1981), P. Gilroy, *There aint' no black.*
27 Thobani *Exalted Subjects* 150; H. Bannerji, *The Dark Side;* D. Stasiulis. 'Minority Resistance in the Local State: Toronto in the 1970s and 1980s', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 12.1 (1989).

discriminatory clauses in Canada's immigration policies. The controversial policy shift was

enacted in the wake of two decades of economic expansion, widening the potential labour

pool—both skilled and unskilled—under sustained demands at home and declining supply

from traditional European sources. In a matter of years, this dramatic shift radically

transformed the racial composition of immigrants to the city. In Toronto, which received by

far the largest number of these new migrants,[28] the timing of the shift in geographic origin of

immigrants from the global north to the global south coincided with the swelling of popular

and political support for reformers (graph 2.1).

Origin of Immigrant Population Arriving in Toronto
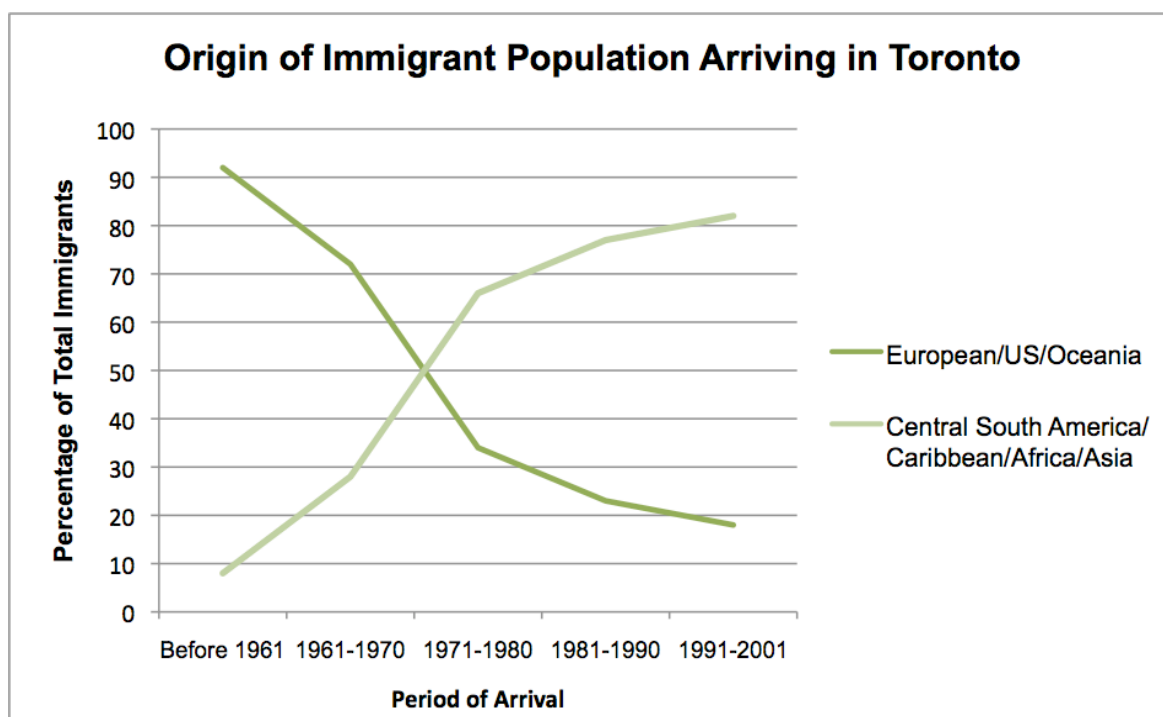
Graph 2.1: Origin of Immigrant Arrival in Toronto. Source adapted from *Toronto Immigrant Settlement Trends by Census Tract,* www.urbancentre.utoronto.ca/cura

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28 Toronto has long been the primary destination for international migrants. Since 1971 it has
received over a third of Canada's new immigrants and refugees. See R. Murdie, 'Diversity and
Concentration in Canadian Immigration: Trends in Toronto, Montréal and Vancouver', 1971–2006
(Centre for Urban and Community Research, University of Toronto, March 2008).

Unlike the development and governance of western cities like Victoria, Regina, Edmonton and Winnipeg, whiteness—or specifically the meaning of white identity— had never been explicitly challenged in Toronto due in large part to its overwhelming British roots.[29] This is not to say however, that the migration of people of colour into 'white society' was a precondition for the expression of racism in Toronto. Nor is it to say that the historical successes of racism have not always depended on 'placing' black bodies.[30] As Miles argues 'neither the racist imagination, nor the social forces that stimulate that imagination depend upon immigration [from the 'Third World'] to provide a subject for its rational and not so rational constructions of an Other'.[31] Crucially however, this contemporary field of vision was forged in an era when, on the one hand biological racism as a system of beliefs and set of practices had been largely discredited, and while on the other hand global configurations of racial formations had become increasingly *urbanized*.

At the same time south of the Canadian border, the paradigm of urban race relations had become a defining political issue of the time.[32] Critical urban scholars were among a choir of voices comparing Toronto in the 1960s and 1970s to urban conditions expressed in the U.S. to argue that 'Toronto was never seriously threatened by the…racial conflict that devalued the inner areas of American cities'.[33] On the contrary, racialized uprisings in

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29 Stasiulis. 'Minority Resistance'; S. Razak (ed) *Race, Space and the Law: Unmapping a White Settler Society* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 1998); P. Edmonds, *Urbanizing Frontiers Indigenous Peoples and Settlers in 19th-Century Pacific Rim Cities* (Vancouver: University of British Colombia Press, 2010).
30 See R. Miles, *Racism after 'Race Relations* (New York: Routledge, 1993) 13-14.
31 Miles *Racism* 13.
32 T. Sugre, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis*: *Race and Inequality in Post War Detroit* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).
33 W. Magnusson, 'Toronto', 112. See also W. Bunge and R. Bordessa, *The Canadian Alternative: Survival, Expedition and Urban Change*, (Geographic Monographs 2, 1975). Yet, as other scholars have documented, the 1970s as I discuss in Chapter three marked the moment that race relations

Detroit, Watts, Newark and Chicago lent credence to the myth of a relatively 'integrated' and 'peaceful' Canadian urban landscape; one habitually deployed in academic, popular and political discourse to assert Canada's moral superiority, and instrumental in generating the city's social identity as 'Toronto the Good'. That the Canadian state developed and launched its national multicultural agenda (a policy which notably had no official program for immigrant integration into labour or housing markets, nor one that aimed to address existing colonial relations with indigenous populations[34]) in the immediate wake of these racialized uprisings in the U.S largely escaped such comparative analyses. Indeed, these moralizing critiques may have paradoxically helped obscure the construction of racialized urbanism nascent in Canada's most racially diverse city. While racial divisions in Toronto clearly weren't expressed with the magnitude of Detroit, struggles over the meaning of the city were playing a central role in the racial ordering of urban space.

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came to prominence in public policy in Toronto, particularly in response to increasing reports of police violence against racialized minorities.

34 For critiques of multiculturalism and multicultural state policies, see K. Goonewardena and S. Kipfer 'Spaces of Difference: Reflections from Toronto on Multiculturalism, Bourgeois Urbanism and the Possibility of Radical Urban Politics' *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 29.3. (2005) 670-678; A. Kobayashi, 'Multiculturalism: representing a Canadian institution', in J. Duncan and D. Ley (eds.), *Place/Culture/ Representation* (London: Routledge,1993); M. Siematycki, T. Rees, R. Ng and K. Rahi 'Integrating community diversity in Toronto: on whose terms?', in P. Anisef and M. Lanphier (eds.) *The World in a City*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002); E. Dua. and A. Robertson (eds.) *Scratching the Surface: Canadian antiracist feminist thought* (Toronto: Women's Press, 1999).

Towering Toronto: 'High-Rise vs. No Rise'[35]

The trouble with Ontario Housing is that it needs to liberate its mind. They have shovelled people out here in such numbers that what is happening to their souls is nobody's business.
                                        16-year-old public housing resident from Rexdale, 1970[36]

In the mid 1950's Metropolitan Toronto,(Metro) the newly minted regional governing body

for the city and its suburbs had an enormous housing problem: the suburbs' population was

growing exponentially, but there was a severe shortage of housing to meet the demand.[37]

While the city had a substantial tax base, it hadn't the land to enable such extensive

development. The suburbs had the opposite problem: they had ample room to build, but a

limited revenue base from which to fund infrastructure to support almost *any* development.

In an effort to facilitate suburban expansion while ostensibly solving the housing crisis,

Metro established Metro Toronto Housing Authority (MTHA) to take advantage of housing

subsidies from the federally-administered National Housing Act (NHA) of 1951. The NHA

would provide loans and grants to build subsidized housing if provincial or municipal

agencies took on ownership and operation. By leveraging the city's wealth, Metro could

expand much-needed infrastructure into the suburbs. In turn, the suburbs would have to play

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35 'High-rise vs No-rise' was the title of a cost-benefit analysis commissioned by the suburban Borough of York to determine the impact of apartments on municipality's tax base. See L. Kentridge and P. Oliphant 'High-rise vs No-rise: The Municipal Cost-Benefit Equation', in A. Powell (ed) *The City: Attacking Modern Myths* (Toronto: McClelland and Stuart, 1972).
36 Staff, Housing but little living, *Globe and Mail* (April 18, 1970). Rexdale, is in the northwestern part of Etobicoke.
37 Magnusson, 'Toronto', 109. The mandate of the metropolitan governing body, Metropolitan Toronto was to facilitate metropolitan expansion and manage growth. Its genesis stemmed from a failed attempt at amalgamation: in 1950, the City of Toronto applied to the Ontario Municipal Board to annex all of its suburbs but such 'imperialistic designs were defeated by the province' who instead proposed the creation of Metro. It operated as a the regional governing structure until the city and its suburbs amalgamated in 1998.

their part in fixing the housing shortage by taking 'their share' of public housing.[38] A

sentiment also appears to have existed among some councilors in Metro Toronto that

suburbanizing public housing would avoid the type of regional stratification that in the U.S.

context was 'leaving the poor alone in the inner city'.[39]

In the wake of heated public controversy surrounding the development of Regent

Park North, Canada's first and largest public housing project that demolished several blocks

of low-income housing just east of the city centre and replaced them with several mid-to-low

rise apartment towers, it was also becoming clear to politicians and planners that would be

cheaper and perhaps less contentious to build public housing on vacant suburban lots rather

than expropriating, demolishing and rebuilding in the central city.[40] Thus Metro opposed

financial assistance for more public housing in the city and also urged the federal

government to do the same, arguing instead that all public housing should be built in the

suburbs.[41] And when in 1964, the Province joined in the construction of subsidized housing

by establishing the Ontario Housing Corporation (OHC),[42] public housing construction

accelerated in Metro's suburbs.

Such public housing in the suburbs typically took the form of large-scale, high

density developments, often built along ravines, arterial roadways or hydro fields, physically

separated from existing single family dwellings. This built form stood in stark contrast to the

inner city where public housing was often better integrated into the existing urban fabric. The

influx of private high-rises also contributed to the making of Toronto's heterodox suburban

38 A. Rose, *Canadian Housing Policies 1935-1980*, (Toronto: Butterworths, 1980); H. Kaplan *Reform*.
39 *Metro's Suburbs in Transition* (Metropolitan Toronto, 1979) 4. Subsequently cited as MSIT.
40 See Kaplan *Reform* 647-657.
41 Kaplan*, Reform* 648.
42 MTHA was incorporated into the OHC in 1964.

landscape: already by the mid-1950's over fifty percent of new housing starts in the suburbs

took the form of private multi-residential apartments. Given sustained demand (and federal

support) for the construction of single family dwellings, reasons varied as to why suburban

municipalities also approved the large scale construction of private apartments—many of

which were built adjacent to these public housing projects. Recent work by Paul Hess

suggests that the proliferation of private apartments in the suburbs was a combined result of

the seduction of modernist planning principles, sustained emphasis on efficient use of land

and capital resources by planners, an acute housing shortage in Metro, and perhaps most

importantly, a desire to increase property tax revenues.[43] Given that high-rises were deemed

to be inappropriate places to raise children, suburban planners forecasted that tower living

could rapidly expand the tax base without corresponding demands on public school budgets.

1967 represented a 'watershed year in suburban housing patterns': it marked a shift

away from single family dwelling to multi-story apartment construction. Housing statistics

illuminate what must have been an acute visual contrast in the suburban landscape: while

single-family housing starts increased by eighteen percent, high-rise construction increased

by seventy-eight percent; townhouses by two hundred and forty-nine percent. Public housing

starts increased tenfold.[44] By 1973 Metropolitan Toronto contained sixty percent of the

province's public housing stock, two thirds of it within Metro's suburbs.[45]

If social unease with apartment development by suburban municipalities was muted

in the varied ways they chose to physically separate such developments to 'protect' single

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43 See Hess, 'Suburban Apartments' on suburban private apartment construction in Metro.
44 Between 1964-74, 21,000 public housing units were constructed in Metro, most in the suburbs. Rose, *Canadian*.
45 See Rose, *Canadian*; M. McMahon, *Metro's Housing Company: the first 35 years* (Toronto: Metropolitan Toronto Housing Company Limited, 1990).

family dwellings,[46] outright opposition to public housing by municipalities and ratepayers was often explicit. In Rexdale, a neighbourhood in northwest Etobicoke, local resistance to 'Thistletown', a massive public housing project proposed initially in the early 1950's, was so severe that the provincial government eventually had to override the township's repeated rejection of the development in order to commence construction.[47] The final approved location, (about 30 kilometres from downtown Toronto) on the farthest northwestern edge of Etobicoke—was likely no accident.

Like many of these new public and private apartment towers, residents were mainly new immigrants and single-parent families, many displaced from the combined effects of gentrification and urban renewal underway in the central city.[48] Suburban municipalities received no funding (and had little desire) to establish attendant social services required by many of these aberrant suburbanites.[49] In a social landscape largely fashioned in the image of

46 Metro's Official plan of 1959 privileged the single family home noting that 'apartments…are to be developed under controls which protect neighbouring single-family dwellings against unfavourable influences'. Metropolitan Toronto Planning Board, Official Plan of the Metropolitan Toronto Planning Area, (Toronto: Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto, 1959), cited in Hess, 'Suburban Apartments'. See also R. Dennis and S. Fish, *Programmes in search of a policy: Low income housing in Canada* (Toronto: Hakkert,1972).
47 McMahon, *Metro's*. Like Lawrence Heights in North York, suburban opposition to MTHA's five hundred acre Thistletown development in northwest Etobicoke, centred on diverging 'ways of life'. Middle class, private, familial values meant that 'people in Etobicoke were not in the habit of using public services' they were accustomed to providing for themselves *The Enterprise*, (March 18,1954), cited in M. McMahon, Metro's, 51. Seniors housing was met with less opposition because they were seen as a more 'deserving' part of the social fabric. McMahon, *Metro's*. See also Rose, *Canadian,* on resistance to the development of suburban public housing projects of Thistletown, Lawrence Heights, 70-77.
48 F. Frisken, et al, 'Governance'. See also, conference proceedings from 'Inner City Housing', in *Plan Canada*, 13(2), 1973; Social Planning Council of Metro Toronto 'Families in High Rises: A First Study', (Toronto: Social Planning Council, 1973); Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto 'Metropolitan Profile' (Toronto: Social Planning Council ,1975). McMahon however notes that by 1964, fifty-three percent of those on the waiting list for public housing in Thistletown were from the suburbs, ten percent of those from Etobicoke.
49 Staff, 'OHC Worries, not Taxpayers Candidate Says', *Globe and Mail* (Nov 30, 1966) 5. After 1968, Metro began to selectively target low income and immigrant children with special funds for

the private, familial, middle class citizens, such services were largely non-existent and not

surprisingly, actively discouraged by ratepayers.[50] In Etobicoke, even residents of partially

subsidized suburban co-op housing opposed *fully* subsidized housing: 'its just like taking our

92 units and dumping them into the middle of Regent Park and saying "integrate"', remarked

one co-op resident when surveyed on a proposed expansion of Thistletown.[51] Public

opposition was enshrined through zoning by-laws restricting second hand clothing stores and

multi-family occupancy.[52] The *Globe and Mail* documented the struggles over the contested

suburban landscape during this volatile period, and in one article remarked that the influx of

low income housing without the attendant social service provision 'belies the promise of

suburbia'.[53] Rexdale, it noted:

> is a classic example of a new Suburban phenomena –an over-night housing
> development with a runaway population growth and no priorities given to the
> provision of services and facilities that bear directly on the quality of human life.
> There are no accessible grocery stores, one swimming pool for 10,000 children,
> totally inadequate and expensive transportation, schools so overcrowded that the
> atmosphere is that of an institution, and social services that are scattered, piecemeal
> and often inaccessible.[54]

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education. When it took over welfare administration in 1973, suburban residents became eligible for
social services previously restricted to city residents. Most of these services however remained in the
core and accessibility issues were never addressed. See Frisken et al, 'Governance'.
50 See D. Cowen, 'Suburban Citizenship? The Rise of Targeting and the Eclipse of Social Rights in
Toronto.' *Social and Cultural Geography* 6.3 (2005) 335-359. In Scarborough, local residents had
resort to fundraising if they wanted to furnish public playgrounds with equipment.
51 Staff, 'Subsidized Housing Cheating Them, Homeowners Contend', *Globe and Mail* (May
21,1966) 5.
52 For example, after the completion of OHC's Thistletown, Northwestern Etobicoke had a
population of approximately 10,000 children between the ages of 6-12 and only one recreation centre
with a maximum capacity of 150. See McMahon, *Metro's*. Police, for example, claimed that juvenile
delinquency was no more serious than in any other suburb, '[y]et shopkeepers and homeowners alike
blame the 2,000 children in the OHC for most of their problems', Staff, 'The Experiment Called
Thistletown Not Likely to be Repeated', *Globe and Mail* (1968, Aug 14) 5; see also, Staff , 'Comfort
Overdone?' *Globe and Mail* (April 22, 1966) 5.
53 Staff , 'Marriage is in real trouble', Thistletown pastor says, *Globe and Mail* (Sept 24, 1968)10.
54Staff, 'Housing but little living', *Globe and Mail* (April 18, 1970).

Rexdale's isolating suburban landscape was not unique. In 1963 Metro Toronto's Social

Planning Council released a report identifying important gaps in suburban social service

provision, including non-profit day cares (they cite one in all of Metro's suburbs), mental

health, employment, and legal aid services. Other major problems included the

overconcentration of low-income housing in certain areas, isolation from mainstream

communities, few if any supports to facilitate re-settlement, restrictive suburban zoning-by

laws, and negative effects on the family unit due to the long distances 'men' had to travel to

and from work.

Despite this severe lack of social services and the stressors placed on these new

'unorthodox' suburban residents, the root of social problems surfacing among residents were

often framed as a consequence of the built environment. Thus even though apartment living

was hardly a novel idea, around since the late 19th century in Toronto, moral condemnation

of 'apartment lifestyles' began to surge: [55]

> After 1970 what had been sporadic coverage of apartments by the local press became
> a barrage of mostly negative articles. All the old charges of apartment life were
> repeated including that apartments put stress on children and families, created passive
> males with nothing to do, did not allow for privacy and promoted all kinds of social
> deviancy.[56]

Reports by Metro's Social Planning Council *Families in High Rises* (1973) and North York's

Public School Board *The Effects of High-Rise Living on School Behaviour* (1971)

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55 Both Richard Dennis and Richard Harris have documented early 20th century cultural attitudes to
these building types. Perceptions of apartment living elevated anxieties about class, sexuality and
gender norms, and raised concerns over public health and sanitation.
56 Hess, 'Suburban Apartments' 10. See also W. Mitchelson, 1976, Reversing the 'Inevitable' Trend:
High-rise Housing in Sweden and Denmark (Research paper no. 79, Toronto" Centre for Urban and
Community Studies, University of Toronto, 1976); Children's Aid Society of Metropolitan Toronto,
'Standards for High Density Living' (September 5, 1973)

investigated the possible perils of apartment life.[57] With apartment construction becoming

more and more politically charged, municipalities and boroughs began rejecting development

applications.

In 1972 the Borough of York hired planning consultants to conduct a cost-benefit

analysis of apartment developments which revealed a negligible impact on increases to the

municipality's property taxes. The authors came to the conclusion that 'apartments are not

productive in the same way as industrial plants are productive. The building and rebuilding

of places to live and shop have therefore a very low contribution to make to the long-term

productivity of Canada.'[58] A journalist from the *Globe and Mail* reporting on the consultants'

finding noted that York's 'politicians have been moving quietly ahead to do many of the

things which Toronto reformers only dream of: curb high-rise development, save the single

family homeowner, [and] introduce citizen participation into planning…'.[59]

'Whitepainting' the City

Like the British term…gentrification, whitepainting is normally used to refer to young,
mobile, highly educated upper status households moving into lower status neighbourhoods.
George Spragge, 1983 [60]

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57 See Hess, 'Suburban Apartments'. In 1973, N. Senathirajah an architectural and planning
consultant in Toronto reviewed recent literature on apartments noting that 'in all this debate about the
suitability of apartments, the people heard from the least often are the families who live in them'. See
'Families in High Rise: What do we know? What do we need to know?', *Plan Canada* 13.2 (1973)
150-162.
58 Given the apparent low rate of productivity of this widespread urban phenomenon, the consultants
speculate that Canadian entrepreneurs might be 'forced into such investments by their inability to
make headway against foreign ownership in the industrial sector'. L. Kentridge and P. Oliphant
'High-Rise', 34.
59 G. Russell, (Feb 14, 1972), cited in A. Powell (ed) *The City: Attacking Modern Myths* (Toronto:
McClelland and Stuart, 1972), 20
60. G. Spragge, Exploring a Planning Methodology: Policies for Whitepainted Neighbourhoods',
Plan Canada, 1983, 23(1) 10.

Cabbagetown, a pariah neighbourhood, a 'bad address' is assumed to contain all sorts of terrible characteristics violence, prostitution, alcoholism, criminality, filth and neglected children. Such 'regions of hell' are not nationally unique. Cabbagetown is a national battlefield. A concession in Cabbagetown could establish a repeatable national precedent.

William Bunge and Robert Bordessa, 1975[61]

[T]he city is not an island unto itself.

Ontario Municipal Board, 1975

By the early 1970s the social and built environment of Toronto's suburbs had rapidly

transformed from their early post-war years. Their demographic transformation accelerated

with the first wave of gentrification in areas like Cabbagetown and Riverdale—then primary

low-income and immigrant settlement areas of the city.[62] By the mid-to late 1960's, a 'rapid[]

swelling of [] inner-city middle class' homeowners had begun to produce what Jon Caulfield

calls a 'major shift in officially encoded urban meaning'.[63] Urban renewal programs,

specifically the NHA had left a bitter taste for planning among the early gentrifiers and

existing middle and upper classes: for them 'planning' was synonymous with 'development'.

By the early 1960s, severe tensions had come to characterize relations between city planners

and reformers: '[t]o the reform movement, all the city's zoning codes and official plans were

illegitimate because they had been prepared from the top down, without adequate

consultation of grass-roots interests'.[64] As Caulfield recalls, this was a period in planning

'when devolution of power to local communities was emerging as a central icon of populist

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61 *The Canadian Alternative*, 148
62 Walks and Maaranen 'Neighbourhood', 36-37. The Yonge Street corridor, for example, which housed low income populations before and after the second World War, began gentrifying in the 1960s, and was fully gentrified by 1980 as were most neighbourhoods in Cabbagetown, Riverdale, Yorkville, Playter Estates, and the Annex.
63 Caulfield, *City Form*, 74.
64 Kaplan *Reform*, 669.

ideology'. This ideology was driven by a 'new localism', which posited the idea of 'the

neighbourhood' as a "natural" form of (capitalist) urbanism', a localism that soon

'animat[ed] [a] broader politics of place'.[65] The proliferation of downtown residents'

associations during the reform era were a tangible sign of how 'neighbourhood' ideals of

community marshaled in the organizing structures necessary for distinctly parochial 'self

management and identity construction'.[66]

 Often referred to by their adversaries as the 'anti-planning new left', the reform bloc

had strong non-interventionist leanings, seeing government planning as 'bureaucratic', and

'abstract'. By the mid-1960s reformers began organizing to prevent both public and private

interests from 'wrecking the city's attractive residential neighbourhoods'.[67] The reformers

railed against the perceived wrath of modernization, re-orientating urban planning from its

technocratic obsessions with density and circulation to a concerted focus on appearance and

design. An emerging generation of urban planners and professionals were becoming

increasingly receptive to these demands, their notions of organic urban development

informed by Jacobs, Venturi and Mumford.[68] Leaders of this new political wave aimed to

foster a 'new school of urban studies in Canada' where planners could devise policies to

'protect city residents' interests in matters like regional development, transportation and

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65 Caulfield *City Form*, 69.

66 See N. Rose *Powers of Freedom: Reframing Political Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) 176.

67 Kaplan, *Reform*, 639. Kaplan calls these early coalition groups the 'neo-reformers' to distinguish them from the 'old reformers': 1960's right leaning, 'neighbourhood oriented populists', 637. The old guard reformers referred to the neo-reformers as 'parochial', akin to 19th century 'veto groups' who sabotaged the good of the community for the sake of their own narrow interests.

68 Caulfield *City Form*, 102.

downtown development'.[69] These ideals were soon activated with the instillation of 'neighbourhood planners' in Toronto, some with their own site offices. By 1979 there were forty eight neighbourhood planners in Toronto, while suburban neighbourhoods still awaited their first.[70]

This new urban politics intersected with a range of cultural producers and social movements of the era, giving concrete cultural form to this new urban identity.[71] Diverse social groups were congregating in the city—some to escape an existing suburban reality of social conformity, sexual and gender oppression—to assert claims to citizenship and social belonging. A 1973 article 'Hetero-burbia', published in Toronto's first gay and lesbian newspaper collective *The Body Politic*, stands as testament to the kinds of oppressive realities that helped generate broad support for reformers' anti-suburban animus. For many of Toronto's gays and lesbians the suburbs *were* 'an intense apparatus of social control'.[72] At the same time a deluge of books, new publishing houses, and journals such as *City Magazine* and *Our Generation* were emerging—all underscored by a 'solid core of middle class elitism'. Articles and social commentaries often drew on progressive social movements and the increasingly vibrant social and cultural diversity that was coming to characterize Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver, to demand the urban citizenry to 'wake up to the significance of

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69 J. Lorimer, 'Urban Studies and Reform Politics: The Phenomenon of the Radical Press in Toronto', *JAE* 29.3 (1976):18.

70 This chasm was likely the result of the fact that these neighbourhood planners were employed by the City of Toronto, suburban municipalities were generally resistant to investments in community-based and social planning.

71 Magnusson, 'Toronto'; Kaplan *Reform*; Ley, *The New Middle*.

72 Cited in A. Blackwell, 'The Gentrification of Gentrification', *Fuse Magazine* 29(1), 35; See also C. Nash on the intersecting agendas of gay movement and 'ethnic minority politics in Toronto during this time: 'Contesting Identity: Politics of gays and lesbians in Toronto in the 1970s' *Gender, Place and Culture* 12.1 (2005) 113-35.

the growth ethic for their personal lives'.[73] A burgeoning creative arts scene downtown—

recently afforded an unprecedented degree of state funding and autonomy', testament to

kinds of creativity urban life was capable of generating.   But it would be two 'principle

intrusions' activating local reform mobilization against the suburbs: highway and high-rise

construction in the city's core.[74] By the mid 1960s public housing development was:

> set to expand south into Trefann Court, while developers were assembling property in
> anticipation of the dispersion of the Corbusier-like high-rise apartment complex of St.
> Jamestown, whose high-density towers housed 12,000 people, into other inner-city
> districts.[75]

It was the development of Regent Park North that marked the onset of what Harold Kaplan

characterized as the 'renewal rebellion' in the city. 'Especially intense and prolonged [it]

soon came to be linked to a more general, anti-car, pro-neighbourhood, neo-reform populist

revolt'.[76] This reform bloc, he argues, 'demanded nothing less than an end to the [public

housing] renewal program'.[77] Under pressure from community resistance, 'CMHC [Canada

Housing and Mortgage Corporation] dropped its original plan for Trefann Court, and a

reform council after 1972 down-zoned many of the inner city districts.'[78] And where and

when public housing was constructed in the core, reformers fought to ensure that it was

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73 See K. Cameron, 'What is the New Urban Politics and why are all these people writing books about it?', *Plan Canada* 13.1, (1973). Cameron reviews four books published in 1972, the year the municipal elections brought reform-minded coalitions to power in both Toronto and Vancouver: James Lorimer's *Citizen's Guide to City Politics,* David Stein's *Toronto for Sale*, Stephen Clarkson's *City Lib*, and John Sewell's *Up Against City Hall*. See also A. Powell (ed), *The City: Attacking Modern Myths* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1972).
74 G. Gad, 'Downtown' 155, see also Caufield *City Form;* Ley *The Making*; Kaplan *Reform;* Magnussen, 'Toronto'. The mid 1960's saw a significant rise in the construction of cultural centres downtown such as St. Lawrence Centre, O'Keefe Centre, Royal Alexander Theatre.
75 Ley *The making*, 233.
76 Kaplan *Reform*.
77 Kaplan *Reform*.
78 Ley *The making*, 233.

developed on recently vacated industrial land, and that it be small scale, socially mixed, and architecturally integrated into existing built form:[79]

> A particular success in the inner city of the left-populist wing of reform was a shift in the city's social-housing policy away from the construction of large bureaucratically run projects like Regent Park and Alexandra Park that destroyed old neighbourhoods, to the creation of mixed-income developments built on formerly non-residential land and smaller projects located in existing, rehabilitated buildings.[80]

Refomer's earlier successes against highway construction stirred populist support and by the 1969 municipal election, brought a minority of Toronto's reformers onto city council.[81] '[B]right, modish professionals of the sort who were inhabiting the inner city', their power was overshadowed by the old city 'boosters' until the following election in 1972 ushered in the so-called reform council, under the leadership of mayor David Crombie.[82] During Crombie's reign—1972 to 1978—the 'City of Toronto began to articulate its preferred level of development—preservation of neighbourhoods, human scale physical developments, deconcentration of downtown functions into sub-centres, [and] mixed-use and heterogeneous residential environments'. Toronto's reform council, consisting of members associated with the prominent political parties from the left, right and centre, immediately began to revise the City's 1969 Official Plan, which included two additional proposals for expressway development through the core—one of which, the 'Crosstown' would have cut through the elite neighbourhood of Rosedale; the other which would have traversed north-east into Scarborough. A new 'urban conservatism' blossomed as 'blight', became an 'urban

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79 Regent Park being an obvious exception.
80 Caulfield *City Form*, 65.
81 In 1969 a ward in the Annex elected a councillor who sole campaign was based on opposition to Spadina expressway. Caulfield, *City Form*, 68.
82 Magnusson, 'Toronto', 104. Ley also notes that the social groups most closely associated with reform-era politics were professionals in the arts and media, education, design, social work, public sector and law

resource' rather than an eyesore, 'a valued part of the city's heritage and a desirable local for living'; and Toronto's 'social diversity and venerable architecture' a cause for both celebration and protection.[83] A revised Official Plan adopted by city council in 1976, encouraged the 'stabilization' of new residential and office construction.[84] It disallowed further expressway and *subway* construction linking the central area to the city's surrounding suburbs.[85] In 1977 John Sewell, one of the first reform councilors and soon to be Mayor of Toronto wrote, in a special issue of *City Magazine* superciliously entitled 'John Sewell on the Suburbs',

> …in the City of Toronto a major transportation study undertaken by Metro and the Provincial Government indicated that each suburban rider was subsidized to the tune of $75 per year by each *city* rider… The effect of serving suburbia has been [that] in six short years, the TTC deficit has jumped from nil to $56 million per year… a direct result of attempting to provide transit service to the suburbs.

Given the suburbs' low density, residents' apparent disdain for the public good, and a 'great proportion of the people are housewives and children who do not travel regularly' he concluded that '[f]or the suburbanite, public transit doesn't work'.[86]

Sewell led a feverish fight against transit expansion to the suburbs. For him, Metro and Provincial funds should be improving service downtown, not building 'costly capital

83 Caulfield, *City Form*, 74.
84 Gad 'Downtown', 155. The geographic heart of the reform movement was in the Annex. Larry King, a social planner at the City during the reform era remarked that city planners used to refer to the Annex Resident's Association (ARA) as the Annex Republican Army. Larry King, 'Social Planning in Toronto', Intersections Speaker Series, (Department of Geography, University of Toronto November 14, 2007).
85 Gad 'Downtown', 155, see also City of Toronto, Proposals: Central Area Plan Review. Part 1: General Plan. (Toronto: City of Toronto Planning Board, 1975), City of Toronto, No. 34-76. A By-Law to adopt an Amendment to Part 1 of the Official Plan for the city of Toronto respecting Housing and Parts of the Central Area (Toronto, City of Toronto, 1976).
86 J. Sewell, Why Suburbia Hasn't Worked, *City Magazine*, 2.6, (1977), 45 (emphasis added). Sewell claimed that the abolition of the 'two fare system', which required suburban residents to pay double the fare to reach downtown fuelled the deficit. See also A. Baker, 'The humbling of Sewell could crack Metro' *The Globe and Mail* (December, 1979) 7.

projects such as the RTL line to Scarborough Town Centre'.[87] The *Globe* reported that 'demands of the suburbs for widened roads and new roads leading into the city to make it easier for the motorist to travel anywhere in Metro is seen [by the City] as an affront to the preservation of the status quo in city neighborhoods'.[88] Eventually, Metro substantially lowered their population projection (to 2.5 million from 2.9) so that 'with the exception of a street car line to Scarborough Town Centre, a network of fixed rail lines has been removed from the plan, and even the Scarborough line could be shelved'.[89]

By the mid-1970s reformers had helped usher in some remarkable transformations in the class composition of the inner city. In 1980 the City of Toronto's planning department, reflecting on recent data from the 1976 census observed:

> Virtually the entire east end of the City of Toronto experienced above average increases in real incomes. This has been due to a significant influx of middle and upper-income households…The 'whitepainting' or gentrification movement started in the east end in Don Vale and spread to North Riverdale, the Beaches, and South Riverdale.[90]

Meanwhile, pockets of acute poverty were surfacing on the city's periphery: this same census data revealed that fourteen of the twenty six census tracts showing real decreases in incomes were in the suburbs.

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87 H. Shepherd 'What's up Sewell's sleeve for Godfrey? *The Globe and Mail* (November, 30, 1978) 7.

88 A. Baker, 'The humbling' 7

89 A. Baker, 'Tough problems for Metro Council start with a housing alarum' *The Globe and Mail* (Dec 11, 1978) 19.

90 Cited in Ley, *The making* 63. See Richard Harris on the exponential rise on housing prices and rents between 1974 and 1984 in 'Boom and Bust: The effects of housing Price Inflation on Home-Ownership Patterns in Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver', *Canadian Geographer,* 30.4 (1986).

'The Era of Suburban Innocence is Over'

As the symbolic landscape of suburbia continued to crumble, Metro Toronto's Social

Planning in a 1979 report titled, *Metro's Suburbs in Transition* (MSIT) asserted:

> the era of suburban and metropolitan innocence in Toronto is over. For increasing
> numbers of the "new social majority" in the suburbs –aged adults, youth, single
> parents, working mothers—existing suburban land use patterns are not always
> efficient or effective in serving their needs. These are groups which are transit
> dependent; benefit from compact diverse and public forms of community life, [and]
> tend to have modest income levels. Dispersion and distance militate against everyday
> life needs, the formation of "formal and informal support networks, [and] limit
> employment opportunities, particularly for immigrants, single mothers and youth.[91]

Toronto-based dailies also ran stories noting how 'social and cultural homogeneity of

suburban life ha[d] changed'.[92] Accounts ranged from how concentrated clusters of

immigrants in high rise apartments were lowering property values on more 'established'

forms of suburban dwellings, the spread of gangs and juvenile delinquency, to debates at

council over multiple family occupancies[93] and provisions for commercial and social services

geared to lower income households (second hand clothing stores, community and recreation

services and centres). According to Metro's Social Planning Council, North York's planning

board was but one of many suburban boards lamenting that suburban land use was 'not

keeping with the desirable…characteristics of the community'.[94]

MSIT aimed to draw attention to emergent problems in Metro's suburbs due to a lack

of social services for marginalized residents. They signaled out the current political climate

in the Toronto as one of the reasons why problems in the suburbs were not being addressed.

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91 MSIT, 233, 240.
92 L. Kalchuman, Suburban Families (low income) Can't Afford Organized Hockey, The Mirror,
(May 3 1978), 54' *Globe and Mail*, (1970).
93 Reformer John Sewell took the lead in cracking down on 'illegal' bachelorettes in Toronto.
94 North York Planning Department, 'Report on Existing Policies' (February, 1977), 81.

Specifically, they described this era as an 'inward period for residents of the City [of

Toronto]'… blurring 'the realities at the periphery of one's own environment':

> Of primary concern has been a growing tendency by non-suburbanites within Metro
> (and elsewhere) to reduce suburban life to a set of simple images—sprawl,
> dominance of the automobile, excessive levels of market consumption. Simple
> images can arise from a sense of distance and denial…and as a result, rely[] upon a
> limited range of symbols to understand what is not experienced directly […] the
> newer suburbs of Metro have come to be portrayed as antagonistic to City concerns.
> By implication there has been the assumption that differences exist because the social
> and economic interests of suburban residents are homogenous, and differ from those
> of City residents. [95]

One of the few reports documenting this transformation, MSIT warned that 'the inner

municipalities were no longer the exclusive reception areas for new immigrants'; instead

Metro's suburbs had taken on this role.[96] The suburbs they noted were fast becoming ill-

equipped reception areas for the country's new immigrants: '[f]or many immigrant children,

a suburban high rise apartment surrounded by other tall buildings and empty land, is not only

their first exposure to Canada, but to urban life in general.[97] According to MSIT, North York

and Scarborough were among the highest of these new reception areas. These suburbs

contained a higher proportion of immigrant children—nineteen versus fifteen percent—than

the other municipalities. While Toronto continued to receive the largest number and

proportion of total immigrants, both Scarborough and Etobicoke had higher percentages of

school age immigrant children often, as MSIT noted, with special learning needs—

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95 MSIT, 3-5. See also J. Durlak, B. Duncan, and G. Emby, Suburban Children and Public
Transportation in Metropolitan Toronto, (Toronto: Ministry of State for Urban Affairs, January
1976).
96 MSIT 1979, 176. See also 'Policy Statement: Response to the Royal Commission on Metropolitan
Toronto, (Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto, Oct, 1977). This report showed that the
needs of minority communities in the post-war suburbs were not being met or recognized by
suburban municipalities.
97 MSIT, 185.

particularly around language.[98] The highest reception area in all of Metro was North York in the neighbourhood of York Mills, bounded by Wilker Creek to the west, Don Mills Rd to the east, the 401 to the north and the border of East York to the south.[99] Here, close to one out of every three residents was a recent immigrant.[100] The Metropolitan Toronto Separate School Board collected data in 1978 country of birth of immigrant children from kindergarten through grade eight (see table 1). While incomplete, it provides a telling picture. North York's Jane-Finch neighbourhood had the highest number of different countries of birth in *all* of Metro. In Scarborough's public schools over 7% of elementary pupils had migrated with their families from India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Japan, China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Korea, Caribbean, Guatemala, and Guyana.

Country of Origin	Etobicoke, North York, Scarborough	Toronto, York, East York
Philippines	825	599
Jamaica	632	132
Guyana	247	--
Ecuador	224	268
Trinidad & Tobago	181	117
Hong Kong	160	--
India	150	--
Argentina	105	--
Chile	105	--
Columbia	103	--
Uruguay	102	--

Table 2.1: Non-European/North American (excluding Mexico) immigrant children in Metro Toronto Separate School Boards, 1978 (Source: adapted from MSIT).

In 1971 Canada became the first country in the western world to adopt 'multiculturalism' as official state policy. While multiculturalism 'officially constructed

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98 MSIT calls these immigrant suburban settlers 'pioneers'. By 1976, of the highest reception areas seven were North York and Scarborough, six in the Toronto, East York and York, MSIT, 176-177
99 Today's Priority Neighbourhoods generally fall within the same areas identified in 1979 as high immigrant areas in crucial need of social services and transportation.
100 MSIT; see also D. Hulchanski, 'Toronto Immigrant Settlement Trends by Neighbourhood (Census Tracts), 1961 to 2001' (Neighbourhood Change and Community Alliance Initiative, 2006).

identities…including visible minority, new Canadian and ethnic', at the urban scale no

policies were mandated to address education, language housing or employment concerns and

needs of recent immigrants, an oversight to which some municipal agencies demanded

remedy. For instance, in 1977, the Scarborough Board of Education, in a letter to the

Minister of Manpower and Immigration wrote '[th]e cost involved in meeting the present

Scarborough program for immigrant students places a heavy burden on the Scarborough

school system. The Scarborough Board of Education is completely unable to assume the

costs involved in adding staff or additional programs'.[101] At the same time prohibitive zoning

by-laws against multi-family occupancy meant that more established suburban

neighbourhoods were inaccessible to many immigrants. New suburban residents who could

not afford single family housing were often clustered in apartments separated by 'empty

land, commercial/industrial/institutional uses, or wide arterial roads'.[102]

Suburban public housing was also becoming disproportionately racialized, a trend

that prompted the Reference Group, a black advocacy organization in Toronto, to take their

concerns first to MTHA, then eventually to the press.[103] These concerns prompted a study by

Robert Murdie illustrating that between 1971 and 1986 the percentage of blacks in Metro

Toronto Housing rose from an average of 4.2 percent to 27.4 percent—five and a half times

greater than the population of blacks in the Metro area. Of the seventeen housing projects

where the black population was above this average, fifteen were in Etobicoke, Scarborough,

101 Scarborough Board of Education, 'Meeting the Needs of Scarborough Immigrant Students: A brief to the Minister of Manpower and Immigration', (March 1977) 3, cited in MSIT, 186.
102 MSIT, 180-181.
103 A Duffy 'Blacks in Near Ghettos, study says' *Toronto Star,* (October 7, 1991) A1.

and North York; five alone in the Jane-Finch; most of them high-rise apartment towers.[104]

Murdie offered the following explanation:

> Given this evidence, a possible scenario emerges. Caribbean born blacks first entered Canada in large numbers in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Many lacked the resources to buy housing or move into private rental stock. Most were relatively small households, and in the MTHA system the available units at the time were in the newly-built developments in the suburbs. Of the 25 developments in the top quintile of the index of potential black occupancy, 18 were built between 1968 and 1974 (15 in the early 1970s). All except one were located in Scarborough, North York and Etobicoke. Most were high rise buildings with one and two bedroom units.

> In the intervening years the social system created in the 1970s was reproduced and intensified as more black Caribbean immigrants entered Toronto. Although there is no hard evidence, it is also likely that many black Caribbean families who entered the MTHA system in the 1970s remained there, perhaps moving to larger units as family size increased.

My interviews with management at Toronto Community Housing Corporation (TCHC) contextualize Murdie's explanation: they consistently claimed that part of the biggest challenge they faced in their workplace was overcoming 'systemic discrimination in the legacy companies that made up TCHC'.[105] As one manager put it 'what is problematic is that many of our colleagues are former prison guards and when you hire with that skill you have already created a reality that people that we house are the problem'.[106] Another noted:

> You go across TCHC—and I'm from South Africa—so its very hard for me not to wonder why where I work…every godamn body is black. Everybody is black. Its like

104 R. Murdie, '"Blacks in Near-ghettos?" Black Visible Minority Population in Metropolitan Toronto Housing Authority Public Housing Units,' *Housing Studies* 9 (1994). By 1986 blacks were five and a half times overrepresented in public housing in Toronto's CMA. See also D. Quann, Racial discrimination in housing, (Ottawa: Canadian Council on Social Development, 1979). Smith has also documented the increasing residualization of public housing in Toronto measured through increases in elderly population, decreases in the percentage of tenants reporting employment earnings, increase in number of single-parent families. Changes in citizenship requirements have also altered tenant profiles: in 1988 permanent residents became eligible for public housing; in 1991, eligibility was extended to refugee claimants. S. Smith, Challenges of public housing in the 1990s: the case of Ontario, Canada. *Housing Policy Debate* 6.4 (1998) 905–31.
105 Personal Interview, TCHC6, 2007.
106 Personal Interview, TCHC7, 2007.

sophisticated apartheid. How the hell did they get placed there? They all came from all different parts of the world and decided we want to go live in Jane and Finch? They [MTHA] had a choice about where they lived.[107]

While a constellation of forces have contributed to contemporary racial and class divisions in Toronto social geography, and while many actors and institutions articulated classism and racism in ways more explicit than reformers, the cultural politics of the reform era had their own insidious consequences. Reformers' quests to preserve urban space led them to pursue a paradoxical composition of progressive ideals. While reformers mobilized against 'big business' and boosterism, their parochial political practices helped condition the gentrification of the core, aligning with broader movements toward urban reinvestment underway at the time.[108] While they struggled to save blue collar jobs and promote the construction of social housing in the city, their preoccupation with property values of their neighbourhoods (articulated as heritage preservation of central city residential enclaves) paradoxically meant that most of the sites proposed for social housing in the city were restricted to recently abandoned industrial land, aiding and abetting broader transformations of the city from a production to consumption-based economy.[109]

Reformers' mobilization to make the city 'livable' also pivoted on a regional housing policy structure that enabled the displacement—not eradication—of the problem associated with large-scale housing developments. The capacity for Metro to suburbanize these projects meant in other words that the poor would not be abandoned in the inner city, but in the suburbs instead. Importantly reformers retained an image of the suburbs—as white, middle class and familial—that fostered a transportation agenda that actively impeded the ability for

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107 Personal Interview, TCHC1 2007.
108 H. Lefebrve, *The Urban Revolution*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005) 15, 35
109 Magnusson, 'Toronto'.

those displaced to suburban 'towers in the park' to integrate with the core. Instead, these suburban poor—increasingly comprised of new immigrants—were confronted with not only a virulent social landscape, but one physically isolated them from essential social and public services such as transportation, settlement, and employment among others.

Conclusion

Reform ideology was rooted in a reactionary politics—a concerted response to an era of rampant modernization in the city, where the city's built form was an acute site struggle over the very meaning of social life and civil society. Positing that suburban environments caused various social pathologies reformers often neglected broader structural changes affecting political, economic and demographic change. If the pastoral vision of the authentic urban neighbourhood generated by leading New York reformer Jane Jacobs was as Marshall Berman notes, 'the city before the blacks got there',[110] this same pastoral vision in Toronto— of which Jacobs was a vital part—was cultivated on the cusp of the most profound demographic change in the city's racial composition. Reform politics—while not explicitly articulated through white privilege nevertheless fostered a normative sense of who and what 'belonged' where in the city; how the city 'ought to be', and the scale at which social issues were registered. Such cultural conceptions and policy articulations were made possible in part by discursive and material practices of white appropriation of urban space in a crucial era of social change in Toronto.

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110 M. Berman, *All that is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity* (New York: Penguin, 1982), 324.

Chapter Three

Community Policing or Policing Community?

The spike in gun violence in 2005 confirmed the criminogenic environment media, social scientific and policy discourses associated with suburban decline. Jane Creba's accidental death—allegedly a result of a shootout between two rival street gangs[1]—convinced the press, politicians and police that gun violence was not confined to the city's racialized poor, but posed a real threat to public safety at large. Despite acknowledgement by police and other public service workers that the spike in violence could be explained by a gang raid in Malvern in the previous year, the shock of Creba's death lent credence to a narrative circulating in public discourse that was already at work to explain this crisis. This narrative claimed the city's poor, immigrant neighbourhoods were breeding grounds for street gangs, and these gangs were currently engaged in violent territorial battle to control the drug trade in the city.[2] Furthermore this narrative claimed that these battles were increasingly a threat to the downtown, largely white and middle class population. A handful of other public shootings in the years following sustained the strength of this narrative in public discourses,

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1 Thus far, only three of nine individuals accused of her death have been tried and convicted. One (a youth) was convicted of second degree murder, two with manslaughter. The Crown attorneys in each of these cases were unable to prove that any of the convicted fired the weapon that killed Creba. In the case of the youth, they were unable to prove that *any* weapon had been fired. The trial judges in all three cases also excluded the Crown's police-based evidence of gang links.
2 See for instance A. Humphreys, 'Most dangerous gang in U.S. takes root here: MS-13 notorious for beheading its victims' *National Post* (December 30, 2005).

the most shocking perhaps the death of a black teenager inside a public school in the Jane-Finch neighbourhood.

Fears of gang related gun violence have since guided a range of legislative and policy changes and infrastructure investments from all three levels of government. Combined these have taken the country on the most punitive public policy turn in its history.[3] Take for instance the federal penitentiary budget, which has risen from 1.6 billon to 3.1 billion since the Conservative government took power in 2006. The 2010 federal budget—noteworthy for its slash in social service expenditures—creates '[m]ore than 4,000 new positions…at correctional institutions and parole offices across the country, with estimates of a twenty-five percent increase in employees during the same period'.[4] Beyond the penitentiary, previous Conservative budgets funded the creation of a 64 million National Anti-Drug Strategy to 'crack down on gangs';[5] 400 million to hire 2,500 new front-line police officers in Canadian cities; and an additional 32 million to the Public Prosecution Service of Canada. For the most part these investments have garnered support across the political spectrum. When Prime Minister Steven Harper held a press conference in Toronto to introduce legislative changes that ensure the country's criminal code and judiciary aligned with these substantial federal

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3 See Appendix A for a list of proposed and enacted legislative changes to the Criminal Code of Canada.

4 B. Curry, 'Burgeoning prison budget spared the axe' *Globe and Mail* (March 29 2010). Over the past four years Correctional Service Canada has received a cumulative total in 224 million for infrastructure and training. These investment are based in part on the findings of a study commissioned by the Minister of Public Works titled 'A Roadmap to Strengthening Public Safety: Report of the Correctional Services of Canada Review Panel' (October 2007). The study was led by Robert Sampson, the policy architect behind Ontario's first privately run prison.

5 The National Anti-Drug Strategy (which has funding of $598 million allocated to 2012) is 'the reduction of the supply and demand for illicit drugs'. The goals are 'to prevent illicit drug use, treat illicit drug addiction, and combat illicit drug production and distribution'. Twenty-four percent of funding for the National Anti-Drug Strategy is allocated to the Prevention Action Plan, 32% to the Treatment Action Plan and 44% to the Enforcement Action Plan. See Government of Canada 'National Anti-Drug Strategy' www.nationalantidrugstrategy.gc.ca

infrastructure investments in law enforcement, he stood united with Dalton McGuinty,

Premier of Ontario, and David Miller, mayor of Toronto, and asserted: 'the Canadian way of

life and those proud traditions of safety and security are today threatened by a rising tide of

guns, gangs, and drugs'.[6]

Political elites and law enforcement agencies have since held the reins in determining

the causes and scope of the problem of street gangs in Canada. They have dictated the

rationalities for the dimensions and strategies governing street gangs. On the ground, the

approach has been strategic, militarized and violent. Consider the following:

> Wake up! Boom—a battering ram. Boom—a flash grenade…the doors are busting down. The…squads, in helmets and flak jackets, storm through the rooms, shouting for people to get their hands in plain view. Children and grandparents stagger outside, stunned by the onslaught. Young men and women are dragged into the morning light. At 4.30am, 12 cube vans—each one carrying a fully equipped…team…of 600 officers had gathered…An hour and a half later, they were storming the units with the force and precision of a military operation.[7]

This was a media account of a gang raid on May 18th 2006, executed by Toronto's

Emergency Task Force (the city's Special Weapon And Tactics unit). Called Project XXX,

its target was an area known as Jamestown, located in the most northern part of the post-war

suburb of Etobicoke. The raid deployed over 600 officers who descended into a decaying

public housing complex comprised of about 550 townhouse units. Surpassing the 2004

Malvern raid, Project XXX became the largest gang raid in the city's history at the time,

netting over 1000 charges. The raid's chief architect boasted of the 'military precision' of

6 R. Benzie and J. Byers 'Leaders Unite against gun criminals: Harper, McGuinty and Miller to unveil tough new security measures today' *Toronto Star* (Nov 23, 2006)A1. In January 2010, Harper appointed five new senators, brining his total number of new appointments to 33. The press release from the Department of Justice for the most recent appointments noted: 'The Prime Minister's action…has greatly strengthened our efforts to move forward on our tackling-crime agenda'. See Department of Justice 'Minister Welcomes New Senators to Support Law and Order Bills' (January 29, 2010).
7 J. Bishop-Stall. Thirty Days in Jamestown'. *Toronto Life* (December, 2006), 71.

execution,[8] while journalists underscored its warring overtones. Like the passage above, these reports could have easily been dispatched from Kabul or Baghdad, rather than an aging suburb on the city's northeastern fringe. Echoing previous accounts and foreshadowing subsequent ones explicitly militarized metaphors depict 'rapid response teams' that 'penetrate' and 'storm' neighbourhoods 'as if they had just landed in Kandahar'.[9] But these are more than just metaphors; residents, police, and housing workers likened Project XXX to a theatre of war.[10] This experience may be familiar to many residents of Jamestown since a great number of them are Somali refugees.

How exactly is such a domestic policing approach to street gangs considered acceptable and appropriate, especially given the already marginalized and likely severely traumatized population it targets? Precisely how does the problem of street gangs justify the infrastructure investments, policy and legislative changes we've seen? In this chapter I explore these questions, but not because I contest the existence of street gangs exist in Toronto, or excuse their violent acts. Nor is it to dispute the correlation between street gangs and poor neighbourhoods in the city. Instead, this chapter demonstrates that police methods of regulating suburban poverty has an important history that both acts upon and works to constitute imaginaries of racialized suburban neighbourhoods as 'problem areas' and their residents as 'foreign' to the city. The militarized and punitive approach to governing street gangs is not novel—it has important precedents—although it has certainly intensified. Through an examination of a new targeted policing model that has emerged in response to

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8 Personal Interview, TPS1, 2007.
9 N. Alboca, 'Jamestown Crew had Links to L.A Gangs' *National Post* (May 20, 2006); J. Friesen, 'A show of community, not force' ,*Globe and Mail* (May 15, 2006); J. Wingrove, Transforming crime hot spot into sea of tranquillity, *Globe and Mail*, (Oct 23, 2009).
10 K. Joshi-Vijayan 'Jamestown raid' *Basics* 9 (May 2008).

the Year of the Gun to tackle this social problem, I illustrate how this approach has become

more entrenched and normalized.

I first trace different practices of policing low income and racialized communities in

Toronto beginning with those from the 1970s in suburban Toronto that posit police as

'community workers', to the contemporary pursuit of street gangs in many of these same

neighbourhoods: a trajectory that has paralleled the punitive turn in Canadian public policy

and legislation. I then turn to examine a new police operation called Toronto Anti-Violence

Intervention Strategy (TAVIS).[11] Originally introduced through a five million dollar

investment from the provincial government less than a week after Jane Creba's death, its

militarized strategy was initially posited as a *temporary* response to 'gun and gang

violence'.[12] It has since become permanently installed within the Toronto Police Service

(with a cumulative provincial investment of 44 million), and the model exported to other

cities across Canada. Civic leaders—from Mayor David Miller to Police Chief Bill Blair—

laud TAVIS as proof of the city's move toward 'community-based policing' and for its

progressive engagement with racialized groups. I illustrate how the notion of community as

practiced by TAVIS comprises a targeted approach to policing that implements heightened

methods of surveillance and patrol in low income areas through calculated strategies of

'community engagement'. Considered to be a proactive model of policing, it is designed to

expand arenas for gathering intelligence from community members and to separate the

'criminals' from the 'informants'. Further domesticating military techniques and weapons in

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11 Personal Interview TPS3, 2007.

12 See Toronto Police Services Board minutes (February 15, 2006). TAVIS officers were also the first to pilot Tasers (along with police in two suburban divisions 31 and 42, and one downtown division 52). See Toronto Police Services Board minutes (July 10, 2006).

response to the problem of street gangs in Toronto, TAVIS is the latest and most invasive

targeted securitization of the racialized poor. Since TAVIS's implementation racial profiling

of young black men has increased, especially in low income neighbourhoods. While police

acknowledge this problem they simultaneously justify the practice as an inevitable

consequence of policing the problem of street gangs in Toronto.

'Policing a World within a City'[13]

*The sometimes troubled relationship between police and community looks one way when
viewed from Toronto City Hall. But it looks somewhat different when seen from the front seat
of a police cruiser roaming Scarborough late at night.*
       David Lewis Stein, 'Police work looks different from a cruiser' *Toronto Star*, 1989[14]

In Toronto's post-war suburbs, already by the 1970s a primary destination for immigrants of

colour, there was very little by the way of social service provision. The police however were

a conspicuous part of everyday life for these residents, particular for young people.[15] *Metro's*

Suburbs In Transition for instance remarked that 'other than the police…there are few if any

community workers operating in rapid growth districts with broad mandates to promote

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13 Toronto Police Services, *Policing a World Within a City: The race relations initiatives of the Toronto Police Services*, (Toronto Police Service, January 2003). This report was published in 2003 as a response to evidence of racial profiling in an investigative report conducted by the *Toronto Star* (see J. Rankin, J. Quinn, M. Shephard, S. Simmie, J. Duncanson, 'Singled Out: an investigation into race and crime', October 19, 2002) A1. The report inventories race-relations initiatives under taken by Toronto Police to explicitly counter these claims. According to then police Chief Julian Fantino, the report stands as ' testament to the Service's exemplary record of performance in the field of race relations.'
14 'Police work looks different from a cruiser' *Toronto Star*, (March 17, 1989) A2.
15 Public policing in pre-amalgamated Toronto fell under the administration of Metropolitan Toronto, thus, both Toronto and its post-war suburbs in other words had the same police force. Policing was one of the only municipal services coordinated under this regional governing body.

constructive patterns of race relations'.[16] They cautioned that 'the police may often be the only community workers that many young people with difficulties come into contact with outside of school'. While police may have taken on the role of community worker to promote constructive patterns of race relations, this was not at the expense of their primary role as law enforcers: in 1976, out of the eleven areas in Metro Toronto with three hundred or more recorded juvenile offences, eight were in immigrant suburban areas.[17]

Metro's Suburbs in Transition was one of several reports documenting mounting tensions between police and racialized communities in Toronto. An increasingly publicized 'sentiment expressed by many blacks and South Asians was that their communities had fallen *outside* the general terms of police accountability and were treated as communities *apart* from the general public'.[18] Accusations of different policing practices—not just concerning racialized groups but also leftist political organizations, lesbian and gay, and women's rights groups—placed Toronto Police under increased public scrutiny. After the police shooting of an unarmed black man named Albert Johnson in 1979, Toronto City Council passed a vote of non-confidence in the Metro Policing Board saying that 'it no longer reflected the mentality of an ethnically-mixed community'.[19]

Between 1975 and 1986 at several formal inquires commissioned by Metro Toronto, the Ontario government and other agencies dealt explicitly with the relationship between

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16 *Metro's Suburbs in Transition: Part 1 Evolution and Overview* (Metro Toronto Social Planning Council, 1979) 191, (subsequently cited as MSIT)
17 MSIT, 208. For instance, out of the eleven areas in Metro Toronto with three hundred or more recorded juvenile offences, eight were in the suburbs.
18 D. Stasiulis, 'Minority Resistance in the Local State: Toronto in the 1970s and 1980s', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 12.1 (1989), 66.
19 D. Stasiulis 'Minority Resistance' 69.

racial minorities and policing.[20] Davia Stasiulis and Peter Jackson have each documented

tensions between police and racialized minorities during the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s

through organized efforts by minority groups to counter repeated instances of racist policing

practices and the varied responses by police to demands for reform. As early as 1973, Metro

Toronto Police established a Police Ethnic Relations Unit. Initially charged with dealing with

Italian immigrants, the unit expanded to include blacks in 1975, followed soon after by other

minority groups.[21] Its role however, as Stasiulis has noted was primarily one of public

relations aimed at projecting a positive image of policing. According to one member of the

unit 'our whole thing is to sell the department'.[22] The Liaison Group on Law Enforcement

represented another attempt at police reform. This group established a framework for

discussions about race with committees in various neighbourhoods that comprised of

residents and police. Crucially, the terms of reference for these committees, as Stasiulis

notes, were often circumscribed in such a way as to 'to address the problems of "race" in

isolation from its connection with the dynamic of "class"'.[23] For instance attempts to analyze

specific geographic patterns of racial incidents were thwarted when police headquarters

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20 These were: J. Gandy, Law Enforcement-Race Relations Committees in Metropolitan Toronto: an experiment in police-citizenship partnership (Toronto: Social Planning Council for Metro Toronto, 1979); G. Carter, The Report to Civic Authorities of Metropolitan Toronto and its Citizens (Toronto: Office of the Cardinal,1979) A. Maloney, Report to the Metropolitan Toronto Board of Commissions of Police (For the Province of Ontario, 1975); W. Pitman. Now is Not Too Late (Report to the Council of Metropolitan Toronto by Task Force on Human Relations, 1977); D. Morand, Royal Commission into Metropolitan Toronto Police Practices (Ontario, 1976) ; I. Ellison, 'Racial Attitudes and Racial Violence in the School and School Community in Metropolitan Toronto Ontario' (Metro Task Force on Human Relations, 1977); W. Head, The Black Presence in the Canadian Mosaic: A Study of Perception and Practice of Discrimination Against Blacks in Metropolitan Toronto (Toronto: Ontario Human Rights Commission, 1975) B. Cryderman and C. O'Toole, Police, Race and Ethnicity: A Guide for Law Enforcement Officers (Toronto: Butterworth and Company, 1986).
21 P. Jackson 'Constructions of Criminality: Police-Community Relations in Toronto, *Antipode* 26.3 (1998) 218.
22 Stasiulis 'Minority resistance', 70.
23 Stasiulis 'Minority resistance', 72.

refused to release such divisional statistics. A geographic analysis of divisional statistics would have, as Stasiulis notes, give the committees data that could have been deployed to push their mandate away from responding to isolated accusations of racist policing across the city, to demonstrating obvious *patterns* of differential policing practices in poor and racialized neighbourhoods. And while police did enact reforms in response to public demands for accountability they simultaneously defended different police practices based on their perception of the dangerous nature of some of the city's neighbourhoods.

A repeated recommendation in the multiple reports on race relations in the 1970s was for increased contact between police and minorities. One of the ways police adopted this recommendation was through increased foot patrols in areas where tensions between police and the community were strained.[24] Efforts to reform policing through 'community based models' ensued during the early 1980s based on the principle that 'in order for modern police to be an effective and efficient source of order and control in urban communities they must reintegrate their organizational polices and operations to respond to the community's collective policing concerns'.[25] Rather older models of dealing with the problem of racism in policing that had been described by police as little more than a '"safety valve" where minority groups could "blow off steam in a public forum"',[26] this new model aimed to improve police-community relations by altering the nature everyday police-citizen contact. In 1982 the low income, primarily black neighbourhood of Jane-Finch would be among two of the first areas in Toronto (the other was a low income neighbourhood in Toronto's west

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24 The report by Gerald Cardinal Carter *Report to Civic Authorities* explicitly called for the expansion of foot patrols.
25 C. Murphy, 'Community Problems, Problem Communities, and Community Policing in Toronto' *Journal of Crime and Delinquency* (1988) 397
26 Stasiulis 'Minority Relations', 73.

end called Parkdale) to be the recipient of what was a new model for community-policing in

the city. Police identified these communities as 'having persistent problems' thus warranting

intervention.[27] In 1983 the National Film Board released a film, *Home Feeling: Struggle for*

a Community that highlights how two 'beat cops' identified the neighbourhood's high

concentrations of low income racialized immigrants as one of the primary reasons policing

the area had become more hostile and difficult.[28] The film also highlights how police

deflected the subject of racism as just another 'rights-based' movement that typified the

social climate of the era. The film moreover captures how the area's stigma as a high crime

neighbourhood justified discriminatory policing practices despite community accusations of

harassment. In the minds of the officers, Jane-Finch—the geographical boundaries and

formal naming defined by police based on 'persistent problems'[29]—was first and foremost

identified as a 'high crime' territory that the officers were charged with controlling:

> *Officer 1*: I don't see the police as getting the same respect here as we did eight or
> nine years ago here. I can't say why, I don't feel I've changed my attitude, but I don't
> see us getting the same respect anymore. Just in the way people talk to the police
> sometimes it comes across as an uncooperative attitude.
>
> *Officer 2*: A good majority of the youths, or people in this area, hone in on the
> harassment aspect when police are dealing with them just on the basis that the officer
> has stopped them, talked to the them—not necessarily to investigate them—it could
> be a casual conversation where I've done numerous times where you go into the street
> lingo and say 'What's happening? How's everything going?' And we are sorting of
> trying to, what we are attempting to do is ease the burden in the area, trying to break

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27 Murphy 'Community Problems', 397.

28 *Home Feeling*, Dir R. McTair and J. Hodge, (National Film Board of Canada, 1983).

29 For the launch of the community policing pilot in Jane-Finch and Parkdale, the community
boundaries were formally designated by police 'defined by the logic of calls for police service, car
mileage, case loads, response times and equitable resource allocation rather than abstract concepts of
natural boundaries and social integration.' Murphy evaluated the pilots and conducted a survey of
residents. He found that 'these formal community labels…had little meaning for its residents. The
response to the question [of identifying their neighbourhood's name] were so diverse and inconsistent
that the replies could not be coded and analyzed. See Murphy 'Community Problems' 398.

the ice, get into the group and find out more or less what they're up to.

Officer 1: It seems to me that it's fashionable at times to say that a particular group is being discriminated against. Lately it's old people, they feel they are being discriminated against. And five or six years ago it's the women's movement and women feeling they are being discriminated against. I suppose you're talking about colour? I don't see it in our society really.

Different policing practices for people of colour and immigrants in Canadian cities took on an explicitly militarized dimension during the 1980s. In 1986, days after Ronald Regan renewed the War on Drugs in the U.S., Prime Minister Brian Mulroney—in the midst of a prolonged recession and declining popularity for his Progressive Conservative Party—joined forces with the U.S in combating the circulation of illicit drugs in Canada. 'Drug abuse', the Prime Minister argued, 'has become an epidemic that undermines our economic as well as our social fabric'.[30] In the U.S, political elites generated broad support for punitive public policies and the domestication of cultures and practices of police militarism by inflating and convoluted the problem of crime and drug-related violence.[31] Like in the U.S., little evidence supported the notion that drug use had substantially increased. Jenson and Gerber, who reviewed data on drug use during this era, note that 'neither self-reports, official statistics, nor health-related statistics provide consistent evidence that there was an epidemic

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30 Cited in P. Erickson, 'Recent Trends in Canadian Drug Policy: the decline and resurgence of prohibitionism' *Daedalus* 121 (1992), 248. Canada's first 'National Drug Strategy' was introduced in 1987. It provided federal funding for a range of prevention and law enforcement initiatives.
31 Christian Parenti traces the genesis of militarized policing to the urban uprisings in U.S cities during the late 1960s. Los Angeles' SWAT team, the first in the country, gained 'national prestige' when it was deployed against the Black Panthers in 1969. Regan's War on Drugs however was the moment when militarized policing was generalized across American cities. See *Lockdown America: Police and Prisons in the Age of Crisis* (New York and London: Verso, 1999). See also R. Gilmore *Golden Gulag: Prisons, Surplus, Crisis and Opposition in Globalizing California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).

in illicit drug use during the 1980s and concluded it was a political move designed

reinvigorate support for the party.[32]

Changes to Canada's Criminal Code and new drug enforcement legislation soon

followed, reflecting a much more punitive approach to crime, including minor drug offences.

In the 1980s Mulroney's Conservatives introduced restrictive measures regarding violent and

drug related offences to limited parole eligibility. In 1995, under the ruling Liberal party,

parliament passed the Controlled Drugs and Substance Act which extended police powers of

search, seizure and surveillance for drug related investigations; allowed police to sell drugs

to aid in investigations; and allowed harsher sentencing for drug convictions. By the end of

the millennium, the Criminal Code of Canada (CCC) contained twenty-nine mandatory

minimum sentences, nineteen of which targeted firearm use (even though violent offences

involving firearms were already clearly declining). Thirteen private members bills for

mandatory minimums were introduced between 1999 and 2001—most pertaining to drug use

and firearm violations, reflective of public support for harsher drug penalties.[33]

Canada's war on drugs also stimulated the expansion of public and private

paramilitary police units in Canadian cities. Canada's first SWAT unit was established

within the Ontario Provincial Police in response to security concerns for the 1976 Olympics

(Ontario was hosting the sailing events). Within fifteen years most municipal police forces

numbering over 100 members had their own SWAT unit. By 2000, approximately 65 units

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[32] See Jenson and Gerber 'State Efforts to Construct a Social Problem: The 1986 War on Drugs in Canada' *Canadian Journal of Sociology* (1993) 458; see also J. Giffen, S. Endicott, and S. Lambert, *Panic and Indifference: The Politics of Canada's Drug Laws. Ottawa: Canadian Centre on Substance Abuse* (Ottawa: Canadian Centre on Substance Abuse, 1991)
33 A. Doob and CM Webster 'Countering Punitiveness: Understanding Stability in Canada's Imprisonment Rate' *Law and Society Review* 40.2 (2006) 325-368.

were operating in Canada within the federal, provincial and municipal jurisdictions.[34] The

establishment of SWAT units formalized military training and tactics for municipal policing

services. This training included the transfer of military technologies to domestic policing

jurisdictions; the advancement of 'intelligence-led' and 'proactive' policing models, and the

migration of domestic police operations beyond national territorial borders.[35] SWAT units

are also typically outfitted with military equipment including sub machine guns (Heckler and

Koch MP5s), stun grenades, night-vision goggles, sniper rifles, and armoured personnel

carriers (the latter only in the municipal police forces of Calgary, Vancouver and Toronto).[36]

During the 1980s, Toronto police launched a series of intensive raids targeting

(predominantly black) low income neighbourhoods in Lawrence Heights, Malvern, and

Jamestown. Residents likened them to an invasion, and a siege, reporting that their

neighbourhood had been 'treated as if it was occupied by a foreign army.'[37] Meanwhile jails

and penitentiaries soon began to reflect discriminatory policing practices. As David Tanovich

has documented, by 1992/3, blacks constituted sixty percent of total admissions in Toronto

jails, a number fourteen times greater than their total population in the city.[38] In federal

penitentiaries, blacks accounted for about two percent of population, but five percent of

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34 T. Jones and T. Newburn, *Plural Policing*: A Comparative Perspective, (New York: Routledge,2006); D. Pugliese, 'SWAT You're Dead' *Saturday Night* 113.3 (1998) 40-6.
35 W. deLint and A.Hall, *Intelligent Control: Developments in Public Order Policing in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009); T. Gordon, 'The political economy of law and order policies: Policing, class struggle and neoliberal restructuring', *Studies in Political Economy* 4(2005) 53-79; G. Rigakos G (2002) *The New Parapolice: Risk Markets and Commodified Social Control* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press)
36 Vancouver municipal police acquired its first armoured personal carrier in anticipation of the 2010 Olympics.
37 See P. Jackson, 'Constructions' 226.
38 D. Tanovich, *The Colour of Justice: Policing Race in Canada* (Toronto: Irvin Law, 2006) 88.

federal inmate population. [39] The limited studies on prison admission rates suggest even

starker disparities. In Ontario for instance, a 1995 study showed admission rates of 705

whites per 100,000, 3,686 for blacks. Isolating the data for black men, this rate changes to

6,796 (for white men the numbers are 1,326; for Aboriginal men 3,600). [40] Police and other

public officials—given a platform in mainstream media outlets—typically justified targeting

and dismissed accusations of racial profiling implicitly and sometimes explicitly claiming

that blacks were simply more likely to be involved in the drug trade. [41]

Street Gangs: A Deviation or the Norm?

It is the slum, the city wilderness…which provides the city gang its natural habitat.
                                        Robert Park, Preface to *The Gang*, 1926 [42]

In 1995 the Ontario Human Rights Commission threw a wrench into police claims about

black people's inherent criminality. In a well publicized report 'Systemic Racism in the

Criminal Justice System' they documented severe racial bias throughout the system: '[i]t is

clear from our findings that…one effect of the "war on drugs", intended or not, has been the

increase in imprisonment of black people…[as a result of] the intensive policing of low

39 Sentences two years or longer are served in Federal penitentiaries; sentences under two years in provincial prisons.
40 See K. Roberts and A. Doob. 'Race, Ethnicity, and Criminal Justice in Canada', *Crime and Justice, Ethnicity, Crime and Immigration: Comparative and Cross-National Perspectives* 21 (1997), pp. 480-81.
41 In 1988, Julian Fantino (then Staff Inspector) claimed that blacks were responsible for 82% of robberies and muggings in the Jane Finch Neighbourhood. Alan Tonks, chairman of Metro Toronto Council at the time, claimed that blacks in Toronto committed a disproportionate number of crimes. See Jackson 'Constructions' 228. On racialized discourses of criminality in Toronto see also F. Henry and C. Tator (eds) *Discourses of Domination: Racial Bias in the Canadian English Language Press* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002).
42 F. Thrasher *The Gang: A Study of 1,313 Gangs in Chicago*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927) ix.

income areas in which black people live'.[43] Yet findings confirming both the persistence of

racism in the criminal justice system and the ineffectiveness and unaccountability of

Canadian drug policy racism,[44] as well as an overall decline in rates of crime, differential

police practices in low income neighbourhoods of Toronto has intensified. Take for instance

an example of two police raids in Toronto, separated by a span of twenty years. In the

Lawrence Heights raid of 1986, police numbered 60, and made 10 arrests. The 2006

Jamestown raid harnessed the power of 600 police from the RCMP, OPP, and Toronto Police

forces and made over 100 arrests.[45] The Jamestown raid laid over 1000 charges—100 of

these related to organized crime. Many of the surveillance technologies police deployed, and

the organized crime charges they laid were made possible, as I discuss below, through

legislation ushered in through Canada's Anti-Terrorism Act (2001), and related amendments

to Canada's Criminal Code.

Police, public and policy discourse concerning street gangs dovetails with the

literature on neighbourhood effects. This problem, like so many others, is deemed an 'effect'

of neighbourhood decline. The framing of this social problem can be traced back to a student

of Robert Park's at the Chicago School of urban sociology, Fredric Thrasher, whose theories

on gang formation have made a lasting impact on knowledge about street gangs.[46] His

ethnographic research on gang formation in early 20th century Chicago led him to conclude

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43 Report of the Commission on Systemic Racism in the Ontario Criminal Justice System (Toronto: Queen's Printer Press, 1995) 82-3. See also S. Lewis 'Letter to the Premier: Report on Racism in Ontario to the Premier' (1992) .
44 Report of the Auditor General of Canada 2001, Chapter 11: ' Illicit Drugs: The Federal Government's Role' (Office of the Auditor General of Canada, 2001). See also D. Riley 'Drugs and Drug Policy in Canada' (Canadian Foundation for Drug Policy, 1998).
45 N. Alcoba, 'Jamestown Crew Dismantled: 100 Arrested' *National Post* (May 19, 2006); Personal Interview TPS1, 2007.
46 M. Sanchez, 'Gangs and Social Change' *Theoretical Criminology,* 3 (2003).

that poor immigrant enclaves were natural 'breeding' grounds for street gangs due to the high levels of neighbourhood 'social disorganization' associated with these areas. In other words, these neighbourhoods lacked mainstream social and economic institutions; consequently street gangs emerged to fill a natural void, offering 'a substitute for what society fails to give'.[47] For Thrasher, gang formation and the characteristic traits he identified among street gangs in Chicago were integral to the immigrant experience, a 'natural and spontaneous' yet transitory stage in immigrant assimilation.[48] While Thrasher's argument was directed against prevailing conceptions of street gangs as an ingrained trait unique to immigrants, his research has been instrumental in situating the social determinants of street gangs within a localized environment.

When street gangs are understood as determined from a local environment, not only are their 'roots' severed from broader social relations, but gang formation and social behaviour are also typically characterized as an external threat or invasive species, their behaviour theorized in highly territorial terms. For instance, in public discourse gangs are described as social problems that 'take root' and 'proliferate' in local communities.[49] Gang *violence* is viewed as a territorial defence mechanism—a necessary strategy to protect their drug market. To be sure, this rationale relies on racializing metaphors that arguable would not apply in other social contexts. Gangs are characterized through the savage and animalistic tendencies of its members: 'swarms' 'hordes' and 'packs' of 'predators' 'attack' the 'innocent' people, signifying the imminent danger street gangs pose to the general public.

47 F. Thrasher, *The Gang: A Study of 1,313 Gangs in Chicago*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927) 230.
48 One of the primary aims of Thrasher's research was to differentiate between the street gang and organized crime syndicates operating in Chicago during the time.
49 M. Chettleburgh Young Thugs: Inside the Dangerous World of Canadian Street Gangs (Toronto: Harper Collins, 2007) 11.

[50] As Canada's Department of Public Safety explains it, 'street gangs fight other street gangs for turf; attack small business people in hold-ups and use violence or threat of violence to intimidate. Often, it is an innocent bystander who suffers from this violence'.[51]

Yet Martin Sanchez, who has conducted perhaps the most extensive and intensive ethnographic study of street gangs in the U.S., questions the exceptional nature of street gangs as framed in popular and policy discourse. His research counters conceptions gangs as determined by their local environment and the supposedly territorial motivations for their criminal behaviours. For Sanchez the social determinants of street gang formation and activity are precisely the opposite of local. His research illustrates that street gangs have refined the social and cultural norms that guide the advanced capitalist political economy.[52] For him, 'the contemporary gang problem must be understood' not as a problem generated by *localized* conditions, but 'as a result of certain structural conditions that exist in the United States, or any society with similar structural and ideological conditions'.[53] Instead of a social organization that *deviates* from the norm Sanchez's ethnographic analysis of street gangs led him to conclude that these social organizations embody and perfect the core principles of free market capitalism: entrepreneurialism, competitiveness, efficiency and resourcefulness:

> gang members have accepted the principles of the dominant social ideology and
> economic culture, and have adapted their strategies to the opportunities and resources

50 Personal interview with TPS1, 2007, TPS2, 2007, TPS3 2008; See also Department of Public Safety, 'Facts on Street Gangs', (Government of Canada, 2008) 'Safe Canada' (Government of Canada, 2008); RCMP. *A Research Report on Youth Gangs: Problems, Perspective and Priorities* (Government of Canada, 2007).
51 Department of Public Safety, 'Facts on Street Gangs'.
52 See also J. Hagerdorn, A World of Gangs; M. Davis, *City of Quartz: excavating the future of Los Angeles* (New York: Vintage, 1990)
53 M. Sanchez, 'Gangs and Social Change' 211.

available to them. There have been losers in this effort, but, as in all capitalist markets, winners as well.[54]

His research also indicates that environmentally deterministic framings prevalent in popular and policy contexts demonize and externalize the nature of this social problem, building popular support for harsher penalties for gang-related crime and intensive policing strategies in poor neighbourhoods. Rather than ameliorate street gangs, however, these policy solutions strengthen gang ties to existing organized crime syndicates:

> Since more youths are incarcerated of late for longer periods of time, local street gangs have reacted by integrating themselves into the organized crime syndicates associated with prison. Thus, instead of weakening the organizational structure of gangs through the policy of increased incarceration of gang members, the state's policy worked to strengthened them. Ironically, despite the counter-productive results in affecting the gang phenomenon, the state's continued policy response is to build even more prisons and pass even more harsh rules.[55]

Sanchez's research suggests that the dominant methods thus used to counter street gangs in the U.S have actually contributed to the success and proliferation of criminal organizations both inside and outside prison, *creating and exacerbating the very problems they purport to remedy*.

From Organized Crime to Terrorist Threat

In Canada the vast majority of research on street gangs has been generated by police-based profiles. Police are also typically deemed experts on knowledge about the extent and nature

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54 M. Sanchez, 'Gangs and Social Change' 211, Sanchez, *Islands in the Street: Gangs and American urban society* (Berkeley: University of California Pres, 1991)，See also William Whyte's 1943 ethnography of 'Cornernville' an Italian slum in North Chicago, a notable departure from environmentally deterministic theories of gang formation: 'Cornerville's problem is not lack of organization but failure of its own social organization to mesh with the structure of the society around it'. *Street Corner Society: The Social Structure of an Italian Slum* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943) 272.

55 Sanchez, 'Gangs and Social Change' 211.

of the problem of street gangs both in the media and in the criminal justice system.[56] In 2005

for instance in a precedent setting criminal trial in Toronto, a judge qualified a Detective

from Toronto Police Service as an expert witness in street gangs.[57] In a 2005 study,

researchers surveyed police departments to understand how police determined whether or not

criminal activity was gang related. The following indicators were given:

> an individual is a member of a gang; the individual has been observed associating
> with known gang members; the individual acknowledges gang membership; the
> individual has been involved in gang-related crime; there is a court ruling that the
> individual is a gang member; and the individual uses gang markers, such as gang
> colours, paraphernalia and tattoos…dress, and graffiti.[58]

As the above determinants suggest, the obvious scope for biases and inconsistencies on

which knowledge about extent of the problem of street gangs in Canada has helped generate

demands for standardization within law enforcement agencies and institutions. Policy

documents and research produced by the federal and municipal law enforcement agencies

suggest a concerted effort is underway to establish a 'universal definition of street gangs

under the umbrella of organized crime syndicates'.[59] As the Department of Public Safety

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56 National Crime Prevention Centre, 'Youth Gangs in Canada: What Do we Know?' (Ottawa: Department of Public Safety, 2007); K. Kelly and T. Caputo, 'The linkages between street gangs and organized crime'; B. Mellor, L. MacRae, M. Paul and J. Hornick, 'Youth gangs in Canada: A preliminary review of programs and services' (Ottawa, ON: Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness Canada, 2005); 'Results of the 2002 Canadian Police Survey of Youth Gangs' (Department of Solicitor General Canada, 2003); R. Gordon and S. Foley, 'Criminal Business Organizations, Street Gangs and Related Groups in Vancouver: The Report of the Greater Vancouver Gang Study, (Victoria: Ministry of Attorney General, British Columbia,1998); J. Hébert, S. Hamel, and G. Savoie 'Youth and street gangs, phase I: Literature review'. (Montréal, QC: l'Institut de recherche pour le développement social des jeune, 1997). Scot Wortley and Julian Tanner are currently conducting research on street gangs in Toronto through interviews with self-identified gang members.
57 Two years earlier, in a different trial, (and different judge) this same Detective was not only denied as a gang expert, but the term 'gang' was not allowed to be used in the court room.
58 K. Kelly and T. Caputo, 'The linkages between street gangs and organized crime: The Canadian Experience', *Journal of Gang Research*, 13 (2005) 23.
59 T. Hemmati 'The Nature of Canadian Urban Gangs and Their Use of Firearms: A Review of the Literature and Police Survey' (Ddepartment of Justice, June 2006) 27.

puts it, '[m]any of us think of street gangs when we think of organized crime'. At the Police

Chiefs of Canada annual meeting of 2005, they adopted the following definition of a street

gang:

> *Three* or more persons, formerly or informally organized, engaged in a pattern of
> criminal behaviour creating an atmosphere of fear and intimidation within any
> community, who may have a common name or identifying sign or symbol which may
> constitute a criminal organization as defined in the Criminal Code of Canada.[60]

This definition appears to offer little remedy to existing problems of knowledge about street

gangs in Canada. Moreover, given the likelihood of street gangs to expand their syndicates

once incarcerated (notably, most are held for years in remand while awaiting trial for their

charges)—a problem that police readily acknowledge—the logic behind this move may be

pre-emptive. It also makes further sense when placed in the context of recent changes to the

Criminal Code of Canada.

It was only in 1997 that 'organized crime' became an indictable offence. The relevant

legislation was introduced when rivalry between two biker gangs in Montreal led to the

accidental death of a young boy after a bomb, intended for a gang member, detonated outside

a schoolyard in the city's east end. The definition of organize crime in the Criminal Code of

Canada is notoriously vague—organized crime could have been almost any indictable

offence involving five or more individuals—and thus was severely criticized by the Canadian

Bar Association for its potential for misuse.[61] When in 2001, a second so-called 'anti-gang'

amendment to Canada's Criminal Code was introduced and adopted under Canada's *Anti-*

Terrorism Act, the definition became even more ambiguous, when the number of members

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60 T. Hemmati 'The Nature of Canadian Urban Gangs'. See also See B. Mellor, B. MacRae, M. Paul,
J.P Hornick, *Youth gangs in Canada: A preliminary review of programs and services*. (Ottawa, ON:
Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness Canada, 2005).
61 *Submission on Bill C-24 Criminal Code Amendments (Organized Crime and Law Enforcement)*
(Ottawa: Canadian Bar Association, National Criminal Justice Section, November 2001).

required for the charge of 'organized crime' decreased from *five* to *three* individuals. In a

report submitted to the Senate prior to the adoption of the Bill, the Canadian Bar Association

cautioned that:

> [t]here are very few limitations on the definition of criminal organization. It could be a very loosely associated group of people who have never really met… it would, in reality, affect not only organized criminals and terrorists…The Bill's proposals are so broad that they would permit arbitrary use against any targeted groups or individuals, including those with no association with organized crime. [62]

Defining gangs as 'criminal organization' not only heightens public anxiety associated with

them and their supposed genealogy, but widens the methods through which street gangs can

be legally pursued as criminals and the ease through which police can detain without

charges, compel testimony, and use 'reasonable suspicion' rather than 'reasonable belief' as

grounds for police action.[63]

To be sure, the Anti-Terrorist Act grants police and those identified as their agents

broad exemptions from liability for criminal acts in the course of their investigation,

expanding the legal range of police action as well as those acting under their direction.[64]

Thus, Toronto police—who classified the Doomstown Crips as an organized criminal

syndicate—enlisted the aid of public housing employees at Jamestown to identify the youths

and their place of residences. One TCHC manager referred to Project XXX as an event 'that

we organized', and perhaps unaware of the protection afforded to civilians operating under

police authority since these changes to the CCC, noted that:

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62 Canadian Bar Association, National Criminal Justice Section, 'Submission on Bill C-24 Criminal Code Amendments (November 2001).
63 See C. Murphy 'Securitizing Canadian Policing: a New Policing Paradigm for a Post 9/11 Security State?' *Canadian Journal of Sociology*, 32.4 (2007) 449-474.
64 Sections 25.1-25.4 of the Criminal Code provide a limited justification at law for acts and omissions that would otherwise be offences when committed by designated law enforcement officers (and those acting under their direction) while investigating an offence under federal law, enforcing a federal law, or investigating criminal activity.

all of us were way the hell over the legal line of evidence gathering…so far over the line. [But] now that we knew for a fact that these were the people in the game it was like okay, find the line now. Step back over it. Review what we have and now figure out how do we build cases that will stick without compromising the fact that we've been so far over the line so that by the time they write briefs to get warrants from JPs…they've got factual information.[65]

These amendments to the Criminal Code also relax restrictions on warrants granted

for electronic surveillance by removing the so-called 'last resort requirement' meant to guard

against potential misuse. Prior to the Bill's passage, investigators had to demonstrate that a

series of conditions had been met before a court would consider issuing an electronic

surveillance warrant. These were: a) that other investigative procedures had been tried and

failed, b) that other investigative procedures would be unlikely to succeed, and c) that it

would be impractical to carry out the criminal investigation by way of other procedures. The

Bill removed all three of these precautionary provisions. For instance, the primary piece of

evidence police submitted to the Justice of the Peace in application for their wiretapping of

Jamestown residents was a home-made rap video circulating on Youtube produced by the

Tha Squad called 'We need More'.[66] The video features members of the Doomstown Crips

brandishing handguns in front of the camera (plate 3.1). Police submitted the video as

evidence to a Justice of the Peace as 'reasonable suspicion' of organized crime and applied

for a wiretap warrant. Investigators were doubtful they would get their warrant, given the

unconventional nature of the evidence and the notorious difficultly of obtaining wiretap

warrants, widely acknowledged as the most invasive form of police surveillance. Yet, in a

path-breaking decision, the JP granted the warrant marking, according to the lead

investigator, 'the first time a visual medium was the starting point for a wire tap warrant

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65 Personal interview TCHC 1, 2007.
66 Tha Squad 'We Need More' Dir: Future, (Rap Sheet Premier Edition 2, 2005).

application. First time ever in North America, and possibly the world, but definitely in North America'.[67] As a member of the police force explained to me, this ruling was a phenomenal victory for police, giving them a huge advantage in their battle against street gangs since one of their primary means of 'communication' is rap music. He also noted that in the wake of the ruling, the force had received calls from police departments across North America to learn how police assembled the successful warrant. Similar anti-terrorist legislation has been adopted in the U.S. and UK. Yet, in Canada expanded police powers apply to *all* forces—federal, provincial, and municipal—rather than being restricted to federal or special forces as they are in the U.S. and UK. The Act thus holds profound implications for further

Plate 3.1: Image from Tha Squad video, 'We Need More, (2005)

militarizing the culture and practice of urban policing—as it blurs the lines between terrorist groups, organized crime, and street gangs. For instance, a member of Toronto Police described to me how street gang's communication networks bear semblance to those of terrorist organizations:

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67 Personal interview with TPS1 2007. Since then, police have paid closer attention to the media produced by Toronto's underground network of rap—a YouTube video for instance, was again used to obtain wiretap warrants that lead the gang raid of 'Project Kryptic' in Jane-Finch in 2007. In October of 2005, Crown prosecutors entered another underground DVD compilation at a sentencing hearing. In both cases the videos were used as evidence of the gang affiliations of the accused.

> They talk about Al-Qaida, and subliminal messaging is how they communicate; through the Internet and subliminal messaging, and coded messages. It's no different than with what is happening within the urban gang culture. It's the same thing that's happening.[68]

Toronto Police Services, have relied on their expanded powers when orchestrating gang raids in the city. Since 2004, there has been approximately one gang raid per year: In 2004 Malvern; 2005 Galloway and Ardwick; 2006 Jamestown; 2007 Driftwood; 2008 Regent Park/Cabbagetown. Each targeted low-income public and private housing complexes—all except one in the Priority Neighbourhoods.[69]

Meanwhile, recent federal legislation introduced in February 2010 by the Conservatives to amend drug and gang-related offences, which invoked the 'Boxing Day shooting' as justification have again garnered support from the mainstream political parties although both the Liberal and NDP critics reportedly called them too 'modest', saying that the measures don't go 'far enough in Canada's fight against gangs'.[70] Among several of proposed legislative amendments to the CCC *any* gang-related homicide would classify as first-degree murder, carrying a sentence of at least twenty five years without parole. Legislative changes also establishe a minimum jail term specifically for drive-by shootings. A second bill rejuvenates legislative changes ushered in during the onset of Canada's war on drugs by amending the Controlled Drugs and Substances Act to include a mandatory two-year sentence for drug trafficking in cocaine, heroin or methamphetamines to young people

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68 Personal interview TPS1 2007.

69 Regent Park raid, was the exception. Regent is Canada's oldest and largest public housing project surrounded by gentrified neighbourhoods and currently being demolished and rebuilt with a mix of public and private housing. Perhaps with gentrification in mind, police titled the Regent Park gang raid 'Project Revival'. The most recent police gang raid occurred in April 2009 (simultaneously targeting neighbourhoods in Scarborough, York, Peel and Durham). It surpassed the Jamestown raid in size—over 1,000 officers were involved. One hundred and twenty-five people were arrested.

70 M. Fitzpatrick, 'Opposition MPs support 'modest' Tory crime bill', *National Post* (February 29, 2009).

and a two-year mandatory sentence for running a large-scale marijuana grow-operation.

Persons caught dealing drugs in 'areas normally frequented by young people' would also

face mandatory two-year sentences. The Conservatives also introduced legislative changes

that remove parole eligibility for non-violent offenders. This act was well timed to harness

public dismay over 'white collar crime' in the wake of the 2008 global financial crisis.

Government press releases and media reports neglect the fact that this legislation holds for

all non-violent offenders—including, for instance, those convicted under minor infractions

such as bail non-compliance.

Community Policing: TAVIS, the 'People's Police'

Government, at all levels, is more attentive to the need to protect public safety than at any time in recent memory. They are providing the Toronto Police Service with considerable numbers of new police officers, with the financial resources to invest further in enhancing public safety, and examining legislative changes that will make communities safer.
> Bill Blair, Message from the Chief of Toronto Police Services, 2006[71]

Bill Blair's statement on the state of security in Canada was by no means an understatement.

As I noted, the Conservative's combined emphasis on legislative changes and law

enforcement subsidies is unprecedented. Less than two weeks after Jane Creba's death,

Premier of Ontario Dalton McGuinty, also announced his own 'Anti-Gun Strategy', which

injected an initial fifty one million dollar into law enforcement. This investment funded a

new Provincial Operations Centre in a 'top secret' Toronto location dedicated to co-

coordinating the Crown's efforts against gang-related cases. It also funded sixty-two new

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71 'Message From the Chief', (Toronto Police Services, 2006).

Crown Prosecutors, specifically 'to provide early legal advice to police, especially on search warrants…and get legal authorization for the police to conduct wiretaps'.[72] From the perspective of police, the most celebrated provincial investment was in a new policing operation. The Toronto Anti-Violence Intervention Strategy (TAVIS) targets the Priority Neighbourhoods and other 'areas where [crime] analysis indicates chronic or an acute escalation in violence'. Considered 'both an offender and location-based approach to policing', TAVIS, 'operates on the principle that intelligence-led policing activities, in crime hotspots, have a deterrent effect on crime and disorder'.[73]

When approached by the Province, Toronto police saw an opportunity to enhance their Emergency Task Force by developing 'the concept of rapid response officers', or a 'dedicated group of police trained and on call to provide immediate response to gun and gang violence'. The 'rapid response teams' receive specialized tactical training at a new training centre in a working class neighbourhood in south Etobicoke shared with the Department of National Defence in a simulated city 'complete with stores and offices…[and] a battle house [which is] an enclosed space where officers can train for high-risk situations in close confines'.[74]

According to police TAVIS was a necessary investment because, 'in 2005… it's been well-documented [that] there was a spike in gun violence in the city of Toronto, culminating on Boxing Day in the shooting of Jane Creba… And, in a nutshell…they put five million dollars in funding to allow for the deployment of uniformed police officers, in the thirteen communities identified by the City'.[75] Yet, many activists and black advocacy groups in the city were quick to point out that TAVIS, and the other investments in law enforcement *only* rolled out after Creba's death, and thus exposed the differential value placed on life based on

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72 'Ontario Anti-gun strategy gives police and prosecutors the tools they need' (Ministry of the Attorney General, January 6, 2006).
73 'TAVIS: Toronto Anti-Violence Intervention Strategy', (Toronto Police Service, 2007), 3.
74 Staff, 'New College a Training Beacon', *The Badge*: Newspaper of Toronto Police Service (September/October 2009) 4-5.
75 Personal Interview TPS1 2007.

skin colour—a point that mainstream media did not ignore (plate 3.2). TAVIS in particular,

Dead, innocent, black, white

Chantel Dunn's mother says probe 'different' from Creba's
Detective insists evidence, not race, affecting investigation

MICHELE HENRY
AND TRACY HUFFMAN
STAFF REPORTERS

Days after police arrested nine suspects this summer in the high-profile shooting death of 15-year-old Jane Creba, Sandra Walters called the homicide detective investigating her own daughter's murder. With a sadness that turned her voice to a quiet rasp, she posed one question:

"If my daughter was white, would anything be different?"

That's a question many in Toronto's black community have been asking since June, but for detectives still on the case — stymied by silence from those who know who killed Chantel Dunn — the answer is a resounding "no."

Det. Wayne Fowler has been working on the Dunn case since Feb. 6, when gunfire claimed the life of the cheerful, 19-year-old York University student who dreamed of a career in law.

"No" is the one-word reply the veteran Toronto police officer gave Walters then, and it's still his answer now, despite accusa-

York U. student Chantel Dunn, left, and Jane Creba, 15, were slain a little over a month apart. Arrests have been made in Creba case.

tions of a double standard levelled in news outlets such as *Share* after the June arrests of gangsters involved in the Boxing Day shootout in which Creba was killed and six others injured.

An editorial in the Sept. 28 edition of the black community newspaper, entitled Cops Must

➤ Please see **Race, B4**

Plate 3.2 Mainstream media coverage of discriminatory policing practices (Source: M. Henry and T. Huffman 'Dead, innocent, black, white' Toronto Star October 17, 2006)

aligned with the kinds of targeted, militaristic policing which blacks in poor neighbourhoods were already quite familiar with. Acutely aware of the politicized nature of its launch and the history behind it, an officer noted that:

> We started [TAVIS] in the beginning of 2006, I don't necessarily agree with the catalyst for it, and I understand the arguments from the black community—you have a middle class white girl who is tragically slain on Boxing Day, and you have all this Provincial funding. We have a young black girl who is shot on the bus on James Street and no funding from the provincial government.[76]

Both the context of its launch and the history of discriminatory policing practices preceding it would shape TAVIS's design and programming. TAVIS, according to one officer 'creates legitimacy for what we do in the community'.[77] This legitimacy is achieved through TAVIS's 'community' component. This community approach represents advancement on earlier militarized approaches; differentiating it from the past, 'cause historically, that's what policing would do, assault the community. Not a physical assault,

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76 Personal Interview TPS1 2007.
77 Personal Interview TPS2, 2007.

just an operational assault.'[78] While TAVIS was militarized, and explicitly so (inviting for

instance the *Toronto Star*'s crime reporter and a photographer to follow TAVIS on a 'rapid

response mission'), it was not a model based on the extreme militarization characteristic of

'American' policing in the 'ghettos'. One officer for instance made a point to distinguish

TAVIS from the 'American system':

> These types of [rapid response] units have been tried but not with the same community component built into them, or the same understanding of the communities. Historically in the U.S., you had...the crash unit model, which is the high insignia that is focused on the gang, communities that are subjected to a lot of gang violence, gun violence. And have been focused historically, on high visibility enforcement, zero tolerance. And what would happen is that you would have a…community that is victimized by gun violence you would send 500 policemen to suppress gun violence and they would just go after everybody in the community. And the reality of it is that's counterproductive to mobilizing a community or working in partnership with a community…. As opposed to directly assaulting the community, you directly assault the people that are affecting the quality of life in that community. That's the difference in the Anti-Violence Strategy of Toronto, and that is the difference of the rapid response…The American system is basically the paramilitary: a show of force and assault the community.[79]

 TAVIS officers didn't characterize militarized policing of poor neighbourhood however as

unusual or inherently unjust. Instead the problem is that it

> is not effective, because… next…you are asking that same community and the children who you made into criminals to provide you with information to assist you in assisting them, and that's where the breakdown is...that where we've always had this breakdown in communication, historically in policing in North American culture. But now going in and dealing with the actual people that are the actual cancers [gang members] in your community…surgically removing them alone, and looking to help heal that wound that's left, that's when you start to solicit that information, that's when you start mobilizing those communities...and that's when you start showing communities you understand what is going on within that community.[80]

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78 Personal Interview TPS3, 2007.
79 Personal interview, TPS3 2007.
80 Personal Interview, TPS1 2007.

TAVIS's notion of community policing represents a proactive, intelligence-led means of building legitimacy for law enforcement targeting the very communities police already have tenuous relationship with. Its fundamental role as underscored by police is to 'tackle gun and gang violence'. The 'community component', 'involves collecting information and developing intelligence on organized criminal gangs operating in Toronto, [and] assisting squads and divisions with intelligence-gathering and enforcement initiatives.'[81] The primary means through which TAVIS carries out these varied operations are by installing

> dedicated neighbourhood officers for each of the neighbourhoods within the reach of all the divisions and…a commitment that those officers would be seconded to those communities for a minimum of two years, so that they can learn, learn the actual intimacies of those communities—whether it be the dynamics of these communities specifically, the stakeholders or the criminals, the residents of the community and basically anybody that was involved specific to that small geographical area.[82]

> One of the ways this policing strategy is carried out is through 'Community

Mobilization', conceived as

> [th]e processes through which individuals, groups, and organizations, including the police, plan, carry out and evaluate activities on a coordinated and sustained basis to reduce crime, enhance safety and address quality of life issues in the community. Community members can help the police with the anti-violence strategy by participating in local divisional activities such as community clean up days, attending the community police liaison meetings to discuss local concerns, most likely crime concerns, *and most importantly calling the police with information that might help solve crimes or reporting crimes.*[83]

In practice, police dictate the terms of engagement, while the most important role community-members have in this relationship is that of the informant. Through greater degrees of community 'engagement'—defined and controlled by police themselves—on the one hand targeted spaces are subject to greater surveillance and patrol, while on the other

81 B. Blair, TAVIS promotional video. (Toronto Police Services, 2008)
82 Personal Interview TPS3, 2007.
83 TAVIS: Toronto Anti-Violence Intervention Strategy (Toronto Police Service, 2007), emphasis mine.

hand a more 'democratic' sphere of control expands its institutional boundaries, where the

practice of policing is entrenched in a wider range of community initiatives.

A central component of the TAVIS strategy involves the instillation of police in poor

neighbourhoods to enlist community support for law enforcement. TAVIS publishes on its

website maps of the neighbourhoods it targets over the summer months. In 2009 police

hosted a community barbeque in Jane-Finch where residents were encouraged to 'welcome'

the onset of police targeting (plate 3.3). Other strategic partnerships solidify boundaries

between the 'criminal' and 'informant'. Day-long Community Mobilization workshops for

instance, allow participants who pass the required criminal background check to 'receive

instruction about how to make themselves and their property safer' as well as 'information

about the programs and services available in their community that can help them to reduce

crime and disorder where they live and work'.[84] Another—the Youth in Policing Initiative—

funded by the Provincial Government's Ministry of Children and Youth Services, aims 'to

enhanc[e] police and community relations', 'the link between the police and the

neighbourhoods we serve' and 'promote the TPS as an 'employer of choice'. Since 2006, this

program has employed 100 youths each summer. To be eligible, youth must be 'permanent

residents' of the Priority Neighbourhoods (or Regent Park). Like the Community

Mobilization Workshops, the boundaries between 'informants' and 'criminals' are marked

by mandating a criminal background check prior to eligibility.[85]

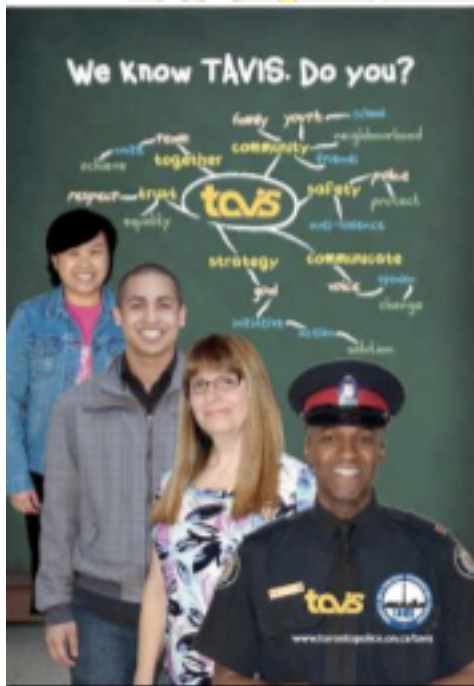
84 Toronto Police Services 'Community Mobilization Workshops'
www.torontopolice.on.ca/communitymobilization/cmw.php
85 Personal Interview, MCYS, 2007. See also Toronto Police Service, 'Youth in Policing Initiative'.

Plate 3.3: Posters in Jane-Finch neighbourhood to advertise the onset of TAVIS patrols (Source: Toronto Police Services, 2007).

'This is not soft policing, its strategic policing'

Toronto's Chief of Police Bill Blair publically invokes his early years working as a 'beat

cop' in Regent Park to promote TAVIS as a paradigm model of community policing. Yet

little suggests that TAVIS is modeled on foundational ideals of democratic, participatory

approaches to policing. To be sure, police quickly dispelled the myth that TAVIS's adoption

of 'community policing' signaled a turn to 'soft policing':

> I don't think that community policing or policing that is working towards Community Mobilization is soft policing…When they first started the concept of community policing, a lot of it we already did, we just didn't call it community policing. It was the guy on the beat and you were the kid—40-50 years ago, the kid got caught stealing a loaf of bread, then you'll would kick his ass and send him home to his parents, that whole type of Cabbagetown policing.[86] But the people thought that community policing, [means] well, we have to go and we just have to flip hamburgers and you know, play at the water parks with the kids. The reality is community policing is very focused high intensity, targeted policing— targeting, as we say, people that are affecting the quality of life, not the whole community. That's what community policing is, understanding a community, having intimate knowledge of it. We have become anonymous within our communities, and now
> what's happened is that we are getting back to being more intimate with our communities; and gaining an understanding of who affects that community either positively, or negatively, and engaging them appropriately. This is not soft policing, its strategic policing. That's what community policing is.[87]

TAVIS's community component led another officer to refer to TAVIS as 'People's Police'

because its proactive, rather than reactive approach gives officers both increased time and

resources within communities,

> whereas divisional policing is responsible for calls, emergency calls, we don't do that. We don't say [to the community], I've got a take this report and go cause I've another call. TAVIS has time to do vertical patrols [patrolling high-rises]. So it's a people's police in that regard. I've got enough time as I need…We are there to work for them, we make the time to talk to them…Community response has been positive... But the bottom line here is catching the bad guy. I want you to go out and arrest the guy. If there is someone you've identified causing the problem I want to

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86 Cabbagetown was a low-income, immigrant neighbourhood in Toronto in the early post war era.
87 Personal Interview TPS1, 2007.

know everything about where he lives, who he hangs out with, when he goes to that club. *But its different when you do it this way because the community doesn't feel like you are coming in indiscriminately*…We know who those people are by going in and talking to people, neighbourhoods, people who are in charge of TCHC, they will identify people, or we look at public complaints, crime reports, [and] intelligence reports.[88]

Rejecting community policing as 'soft policing'—an image with strong feminine connotations—also lends potency to a practice of policing long derided by an institution 'that overwhelmingly attracts those more interested in catching 'the "bad guys" than attending neighbourhood meetings'.[89] As Steve Herbert argues, 'community policing implies a definition of the police role that runs counter to the masculinist crime fighter image, and thus faces resistance from officers' who refuse to accept that policing is actually 'more akin to social work than war'.[90] The deeply masculinist culture of policing has long impeded reform agendas designed to give citizens more institutional oversight:

> In community policing, officers are instructed to downplay their aggressive derring-do and instead engage in the involved and complicated process of establishing cooperative relations with the citizenry. For many officers, community policing thus amounts to social work. This is so inconsistent with their masculinist self-image that many officers refuse to redefine their role.[91]

Reframing 'community' in terms of 'suspects' and 'informants', and relationship-building as 'intelligence gathering', further domesticates the masculinist culture of militarism where 'community mobilization' and 'rapid response teams' are no longer antagonistic to the gendered ideology that permeates the culture of policing. No longer seen as "women's work", TAVIS assembles the Gun and Gang Task Force, Toronto Drug Squad, Intelligence

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88 Personal Interview TPS3, 2007.
89 S. Herbert, 'Hard Charger or Station Queen? Policing and the Masculinist State' *Gender, Place and Culture* 8.1(2001) 555-56.
90 S. Herbert, 'Hard charger ', 63.
91 S. Herbert, 'Hard Charger' 56.

Services, a new Bail Compliance Unit and Urban Organized Crime Squad under the umbrella

of *community mobilization*.

Through the precise 'blanketing' specific neighbourhoods, TAVIS, claims not to

'attack' neighbourhood experiencing 'violence', but through sound intelligence, 'eliminate

criminal *predators*' by 'target[ing] violence and those responsible for it'.[92] In the words of

one TAVIS member:

> When you go in [to a community], let's say these are your crime figures, and these are
> your crime problems [individuals]: you go directly here, here, and here [to the crime
> problems]. You don't go here and lift, turn this rock, turn this rock, and hopefully find
> something, at this point its just probability. That's what [TAVIS] is. At the same time
> you are going in for [the crime problems], as you are walking, this one is easy, it's on
> the periphery, this one's at the back, you stop and explain to this person why you are
> there, talk to this person, talk to this person, talk to this person, deal with this person,
> and come back out. This person knows you haven't touched, you haven't – I'll say
> assault— there is no assault in the community.[93]

The address of residents charged with criminal offences are known to police, and thus enable

police to carry out one of the most celebrated parts of TAVIS: its Bail Compliance Unit

(BCU). The BCU was established to lessen the likelihood that those out on bail (charged but

not convicted) will reoffend by having a team of dedicated officers that 'go into high priority

neighbourhoods, look at a neighbourhood affected by violence, look at those on bail, violent

offences. Now we go and knock on their door to make sure they are complying with their

bail conditions, three to four times a day'.[94] If they are not, they are in breach of bail, arrested

again with new charges. According to police, the BCU enables,

> the worst of the worst offenders [to] get the full attention of each and every division
> [because] [w]e know that it is only a core group of people responsible for the

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92 Personal Interview, TPS3, 2007.
93 Personal Interview TPS3, 2007.
94 Personal Interview TPS1, 2007

majority of violent crime…We put a lot of time and effort into making arrests, but we have to follow the case through the courts and know when accused offenders are back on the street…If no one follows up, why would an accused stay at home or out of a certain area?[95]

In 2008, the BCU was piloted in Jamestown, Etobicoke, and in Parkdale, a neighbourhood west of downtown. Both have relatively higher concentrations of low income residents, people of colour, and new immigrants.[96] In Parkdale, officers made more arrests than any other police division in the city—an achievement Toronto Police attributed to enforcing bail compliance.[97]

Policing Community: TAVIS, Whose People's Police?

The reality of life is that people become entrenched in a criminal lifestyle, and once it becomes a part of their nature, a part of their psyche they are going to commit other offences…Our justice system is predicated on the presumption of innocence, but we have to balance that with the needs of the city.

Srgt Kelly, Toronto Police, 'Bail Compliance Unit Stopping Offenders', 2009[98]

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95 D/Sgt Brian Preston, quoted in Staff, 'Bail compliance units keeping tabs on most violent' *The Badge* (Toronto Police Services, May 2009) 1. A 'Bail Compliance Database' enables police to rank those charged under the CCC and out on bail based on their criminal history: 'The officer does not have to decide if the offender meets the threshold—the system does'.

96 See City of Toronto, 'South Parkdale: Social Profile # 2 Immigration, Ethnicity and Language'(City of Toronto, Social Development, Finance and Administration, 2006); 'South Parkdale: Social Profile # 4: Income and Poverty' (City of Toronto, Social Development, Finance and Administration, 2006); 'Mount Olive-Silverstone-Jamestown: Social Profile # 2: Immigration, Ethnicity and Language'(City of Toronto, Social Development, Finance and Administration, 2006); 'Mount Olive-Silverstone-Jamestown: Social Profile # 4: Income and Poverty' (City of Toronto, Social Development, Finance and Administration, 2006)

97 Staff 'Compliance Checks Net the most arrests last year' *The Badge* (Toronto Police Services, May 2009) 1.

98 Cited in Staff, 'Bail Compliance Units Stopping Offenders', *Toronto Sun*, (April 5th, 2009) videos.torontosun.com/video/news/toronto-and-gta/5745370001/bail-compliance-unit-stopping-offenders/18662114001

Accounts of racial profiling have resurfaced in recent years. A 2005 survey of Toronto high school students by criminologists Scot Wortley and Julian Tanner suggests black students were four times more likely to be stopped by police than whites, and six times more likely to be searched.[99] In February, 2010 The *Toronto Star* released a report on race and policing. Their findings—like those of the Commission on Systemic Racism in the Criminal Justice System from fifteen years ago, and like the *Toronto Star's* previous report on racial profiling released in 2002— illustrated that blacks receive harsher treatment than whites in traffic violations, bail hearings, and drug charges among other offences. It also suggested that the trend of profiling blacks in low income neighbourhoods has continued.

One of the most proactive, targeted and controversial aspects of TAVIS is its use of 'contact cards', which police are required to fill out when stopping individuals. These cards require police to note the reason for the police encounter, the name, description, and address of the individual. This information is then entered into a police database regardless of whether the person was subsequently charged with a crime. While the use of these cards extends beyond the onset of TAVIS, their use has come under public scrutiny since its launch. This has been due to the increased frequency and disproportionate targeting of young black men in poor neighbourhoods.

David Tanovich, Law Professor at the University of Windsor critiqued the current use of contact cards in a recent op-ed piece for the *Toronto Star,* because the practice

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99 The study controlled for students involvement in criminal activity. See S. Wortely and J. Tanner, 'Inflammatory Rhetoric? Baseless Accusations" A Response to Gabor's Critique of Racial Profiling Research in Canada', *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice* 47 (2005). On other recent reports on police targeting in relation to race and class see 'Paying the Price: The Human Costs of Racial Profiling' (Ontario Human Rights Commission, 2004); 'Who's the Target: A evaluation of Community Action Policing' (Committee to Stop Targeted Policing, 2000).

requires African Canadian and other racialized youth to carry identification when walking the streets of Toronto. It requires them to identify themselves when approached by a police officer, to provide details about who they are and to consent to a pat-down search. The information is then recorded...and entered into a police computer for future reference. This no-walk list is officially sanctioned under the buzz name of community policing but, in reality, it is a mass racial profiling campaign.[100]

The *Toronto Star*'s recent report analyzing police data on contact cards illustrated that between 2003-2008 blacks were three times more likely than whites to be stopped by police (black men aged were 15-24 two and a half times more likely). Their findings demonstrate that 'police begin documenting youth in certain "at-risk" neighbourhoods in serious numbers when they are on the cusp of becoming teenagers'.[101] They directly link the increased frequency and profiling of blacks to TAVIS:

> The number of cards increased in 2006 and remained high for the next two years, which overlaps with the period the Toronto Anti-Violence Intervention Strategy has been in place.
>
> TAVIS targeted policing efforts have resulted in higher proportions of black and, to a lesser extent, brown people being documented, which, as the police suggest, may be due to deeper demographics of small areas being targeted.[102]

In 2008 Fitzroy Osborne was charged with police assault by an officer who stopped him in the Jane-Finch area to explain the role of TAVIS and in the process, issued a jaywalking warning to Osborne and his companion. Claiming that Osborne, who is black, began to walk away from her visibly agitated, she commanded him to stop while calling for backup. Osborne, in his agitated state, struck the officer in the chest while waiving his arms. When

100 D. Tanovich 'One list for air travellers, one list for Black youth' *Toronto Star* (July 5, 2007)AA8
101 J. Rankin 'CARDED: Probing a racial disparity', *Toronto Star* (February 6, 2010) A1. According to this report, blacks comprise 8.4 per cent of Toronto's population, yet account for three times as many contact cards.
102 Staff, *Toronto Star Analysis of Toronto Police Service Data, 2010*, (*Toronto Star*, 2010) 4, 15. The report also notes that the 'most documented person in 2008 was a 29 year old Jamaican born black man', documented 58 times.

the case went to trial the presiding judge dismissed the officer's charge of assault, and in her

ruling claimed that:

> The police have the authority to stop and question a pedestrian, but not to detain that
> person, unless the detention is also permitted by law…It is crucial that officers
> engaged in community-based policing be mindful of the proper scope of their
> authority.[103]

In response to this ruling, and in the midst of renewed accusations of racial profiling by

police since TAVIS's launch, Chief Bill Blair has openly admitted his force has a problem

with racial profiling. This represents a marked difference from his predecessor Julian Fantino

who uncompromisingly denied systemic racism in Toronto's police force. The *Toronto Star*

in 2002 published the results of an investigative report into police racism similar to the one

published in 2010. Fantino countered their allegations with a 337 page testimony of the

force's 'proud tradition' of race relations initiatives within Toronto Police Services. He

introduced the document, titled 'Policing a World Within a City' by way of the following:

> Recent controversy has served to remind everyone of the fragile nature of
> [community- police relations] and how potentially divisive allegations of racial bias
> can be. Unfortunately, even the perception of such bias has put in question the
> relationship between some segments of society and the police. I remain steadfastly
> confident that systemic racism does not exist within the Toronto Police Service.[104]

Blair has taken a different approach to accusations of racial profiling. While admitting to

racism he defends the use of contact cards as integral to TAVIS's directive of 'getting to

know' the neighbourhood; 'an important element of intelligence-led policing', in the fight

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103 B. Powell, 'Police went too far judge rules' *Toronto Star* (March 20, 2008)A6. See also a letter
sent to Chief Blair on behalf of the Canadian HIV/AIDS Legal Network who wrote out of 'concern[]
by…reports suggesting this new initiative [TAVIS] will become another excuse to crack down on
people who use drugs, many of whom are already among society's most marginalized and vulnerable.
J. Csete, 'Report of police destroying crack pipes' (Canadian HIV/AIDS Legal Network, Feb 13,
2006). www.aidslaw.ca/publications/publicationsdocEN.php?ref=607
104 Cited in Toronto Police Services, 'Forward', *Policing a World Within a City*, (Toronto Police
Service, 2003).

against street gangs in Toronto.[105] In other words, while Toronto Police under Blair acknowledge problematic practices of racial profiling, the practice is justified an unavoidable outcome of policing criminal street gangs in the city's low income neighbourhoods.

Conclusion

The problem of street gangs in Toronto has further entrenched and normalized different practices of policing low income and racialized communities in Toronto despite a lack of evidence to support an argument for rising crime. These enforcement measures have been widely embraced and adopted by police and political elites despite evidence that illustrates that a 'tough on crime' approach to managing drug trafficking, gun and gang violence neither 'deters' nor 'solves' these problems; and evidence that enforcement initiatives such as gang raids lead to *increases* rather than *decreases* in violence. This chapter has attempted to make sense of this governing practice by suggesting that rescaling understandings of street gangs to a neighbourhood 'effect' recast the problems of poverty and social disinvestment—not as problems of a polarizing city and its cultural and political economy—but as ones requiring aggressive means of punishment and containment. As the Jamestown raid attests—poor suburban neighbourhoods home primarily to immigrant and racial minorities—have crystallized into symbols of arrested social development, crime and violence. Today, the terms *predator*, *cancer, gangs, and guns* perpetuate the illusion that the public is under attack from a spatially defined, outside Other.

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105 B. Blair, 'Making communities more secure, Re: One list for air travellers, one list for Black youth' *Toronto Star* (July, 7, 2007); D. Bruser 'Desperate for change: our towers' *Toronto Star* (February 7, 2010).

Chapter Four

'The Problem with Men': Governing Racialized Masculinity

If you were introduced at the beginning of the school year to a whole crowd of young men, do you think you could spot the ones that didn't have dads? Are there identifying characteristics in the way they behave?
      Andy Barrie, 'Growing Up Without Men', Canadian Broadcast Corporation, 2006[1]

A debased culture cannot be fought except by a superior culture…A culture of noble manliness, built upon taking responsibility for others, protecting the weak and honouring one's commitments.
      Father Raymond de Souza, 'We Need a Toronto Miracle', *National Post*, 2005[2]

On November 20th, 2005 eighteen year-old Amon Beckles was smoking a cigarette on the front steps the Seventh Day Adventist Church in Rexdale, Etobicoke when he was gunned down in a drive-by shooting. He had been at the funeral of his friend Jammal Hemmings, himself victim of a drive-by the week prior. Accounts of this impudent event circulated in community meetings, mainstream and alternative presses to chronicle an aberrant culture of criminality among the city's young black men and the depths of suburban decline. For some it demanded extraordinary responses: for instance, the leader of this black church, Pastor Al Bowen called for implementation of the War Measures Act.[3]

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1 Metro Morning, 'Interview with Eugene Rivers', *Growing up without men,* (CBC radio one, January 20, 2006).
2 R. de Souza, 'We Need a Toronto Miracle', *National Post,* (December 30, 2005).
3 M. Valpy, 'Pastor Calls for War Measures to Combat Shooting'. *Globe and Mail*, (November 25, 2005)A1.

At the same time however, the event invigorated discussions in community meetings, public forums, and editorials in both mainstream and alternative presses about the relationship between gang-related gun violence and young black men. Two quite diverging premises came to characterize these discussions. One came primarily from black activists, social workers, academics and labour leaders. For this group suburban poverty and its disproportionately negative outcomes on young black men had to be understood in relation to much broader social and historical trajectory of racial discrimination and economic inequality in the city. The other came from a group of socially conservative, primarily black pastors who banded together in 2003 as the GTA Faith Alliance in response to gun related violence among black men.[4] Aided by an influential pastor from the U.S, this group mobilized stereotypical impressions of black culture—in particular the prevalence of fatherless families—to position Toronto's crisis of gun violence as a problem for which blacks were themselves fundamentally responsible.

The explanation offered by these pastors soon became incorporated into common sense approaches to the problem of gun violence as it gained broad circulation in mainstream media and soon became institutionalized in a faith-based approach to social policy provision.[5] This chapter documents this process arguing that its mainstreaming offered an explanation of the crisis that didn't implicate racism as a source of the problem. Instead it

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4 The Alliance was originally formed from about 35 religious leaders, mostly black, mostly Baptists, but it also included a handful of white pastors. See M. Welsh, 'Faith in ending violence: 'We are not going to sit back and let 2006 become like 2005' *Toronto Star* (January 10, 2006)B1

5 In this sense the migration of the pastors common sense explanations into public policy was not unlike other once-fringe groups who helped transform nascent political perspectives into public policy. See for instance, J. Hackworth 'Neoliberalism for God's Sake: Sectarian justifications for secular policy transformation in the United States' ; See also S. Hall 'The Toad in the Garden: Thatcherism among the Theorists' in C. Nelson and L. Gossberg, *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture* (London: Macmillan, 1988).

gave us a problem that sat squarely on the shoulders of young black men—a problem

specific to young black men's masculinity, or rather, lack thereof. While some solutions the

pastors prescribed—like recreational programming—are badly needed in the underserviced

areas they target, I illustrate how the particular design of these solutions revalourize

masculinist culture, while also subjecting young black men to heightened surveillance by

police.

'The Analysis has Already Been Done'

Already by the summer of 2005 two very different renderings of the crisis had begun to take

shape. One, from a range of public meetings held by diverse groups of black and youth

activists, left academics, social service providers among others. [6] The most organized among

these was the umbrella group called the Coalition of African Canadian Organizations

(CACO). This coalition formed in August 2005 out of thirty-three different black groups that

ranged from organized labour to neighbourhood committees. Their aim was to generate

public discussions from black perspectives about the crisis and exert influence on public

policy decisions. [7] CACO were not alone in taking a more critical approach to the crisis. In

all of these meetings young black men's overrepresentation in the year's cumulative death

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6 'Racialization of Crime: Anti-Racist responses to the Guns + "Gangs" Debate in Toronto' (Toronto Reference Library, January 26 2006,); 'Meet the Coalition' African Canadian Coalition, (Harbourfront Centre, Feb 12th 2006); 'An Anti-Oppression Framework for Addressing Black Youth and Violence'. Ryerson University Jorgenson Hall, March 21 2006), 'Guns, Gangs and Racism' (Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, May 1, 2006); 'Continuing A Dialogue on Black Youth Within an Anti-Oppression Framework' (Ryerson University, Jorgenson Hall , May 30, 2006); 'A Community Forum on National Security, Arbitrary Arrests and the Criminalization of Dissent in Canada' (Ryerson University, Auditorium , June 23, 2006).
7 'Meet the Coalition' (Coalition of African Canadian Organizations, February 12 2006). Harbourfront Centre, Toronto. See also, Staff, 'Toronto gun violence blamed on racism' *Ottawa Citizen* (November 23, 2005).

toll from gun violence was understood as one of many health and social crises facing young black men.

The national homicide rate for black men had been hovering at a rate of 10.1 compared to a 2.4 Canadian average since at least the early 1990s.[8] In Ontario schools black boys had long been underperforming in relation to their peers, and were massively overrepresented in expulsion and suspension rates.[9] They were more likely to be living in poverty, and chronically unemployed: black youth unemployment in Toronto stood at thirty four percent, more than double the percentage for all youth under 25.[10] For these groups, the radical claw-backs to social services in welfare, education, job training and housing ushered in during the 1990s former Premier Mike Harris' Progressive Conservatives only exacerbated these trends, while heightening social stigma projected onto black bodies, especially in poor neighbourhoods. Grace Galabuzi, at an event organized by Ryerson University's Social Justice Committee in March 2006, discussed how negative stereotypes imposed on blacks in the city influenced young black men's subjectivities:

> When young black men seek to negotiate their sense of identity and establish a sense of belonging they are often confronted with aggressive peers, police, security guards, and student administrators in schools, malls, lower income neighbourhoods. Engagements with symbols of established power in public space as well as private space often ends up with young black men being subjected to institutionalized

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8 R. Gartner and S. Thompson (eds) *Community Safety: From Enforcement to Prevention* (University of Toronto, Centre for Criminology, 2004); See also G.E. Galabuzi, *Canada's Economic Apartheid: The Social Exclusion of Racialized Groups in the New Century* (Canadian Scholars Press: Toronto, 2006).

9 See K. Bhattacharjee, 'The Ontario Safe Schools Act: School Discipline and Discrimination' (Ontario Human Rights Commission, 2003); CBC Radio One, The Current 'The Colour of Zero Tolerance' (CBC Radio One, 20 November 2002). See also M.D. Ruck, and S. Wortley, 'Racial and Ethnic Minority High School Perceptions of School Disciplinary Practices: A Look at Some Canadian Findings' *Journal of Youth and Adolescence* 31.3 (2002) 185-195.

10 In Toronto home to the largest population of blacks in Canada, 45% of households were living in poverty; 60% of those female-headed single family. Black youth unemployment rate averages 32% . See G.E. Galabuzi, *Canada's Economic*.

processes of containment and surveillance. These include projecting forms of masculinity which are contradictory and confusing with messages that reinforce patriarchal practices on the one hand and on the other hand racial subordination.[11]

From this perspective then, 'the analysis had already been done':[12] decades of inquires by governing bodies, independent commissions, and mainstream media, among other institutions had repeatedly confirmed the operative effects of systemic and everyday racism in the city. Participants noted that mainstream discourse and policy responses to the crisis of gun violence exposed a double standard of citizenship in the city: violent crimes provoked questions of nationality, culture, and community *only* when committed by people of colour.[13] The crisis of gun violence generated from this analysis in other words diagnosed the problem as deeply rooted in social relations of racism and violence.

'The Elephant in the Room'

As the pastors from the GTA Faith Alliance gathered evidence for their analysis of the crisis of gun violence, they did not deny—nor avoid— the subject of racism. On the contrary, they were quick to acknowledge that racism explained both practices and discourses of white institutions and dominant culture. Jane Creba's death (discussed in the previous chapter) for example illustrated how race—along with gender and space—mattered deeply in the

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11 'Anti-Oppression Framework for Black Youth' (Social Justice Committee, Ryerson University, Toronto, March 21, 2006).

12 'Racialization of Crime: Anti-Racist responses to the Guns + "Gangs" Debate in Toronto' (Toronto Reference Library, January 26 2006).

13 Examples included the multiple violent crimes committed by two whites Paul Bernardo and Karla Holmolka in the early 1990s, and the murders of eight men associated with the white biker gang the Banditos in 2007. See also H. Bannerji ,*The Dark Side of the Nation*, 116.

differential responses to the crisis. According to one of the pastors who penned an op-ed in a

national daily:

> Talk about how Toronto has *lost its innocence*—from the police spokesman
> nonetheless—was troubling. In a year when there have been seventy eight homicides,
> fifty-two of them gun killings…what are we to make of the *lost innocence* talk? How
> does that sound in the neighbourhoods where young black men have been killed all
> year long? Is innocence only lost when a white teenage girl is killed near the Eaton
> Centre and not when young black men are killed…on the steps of a church?[14]

Some expressed dismay, even disgust, at the City's recent 'obsession' with community

safety. One pastor drew on experiences of racism from his own life and that of his son's to

elaborate on what he meant:

> You know when I have the antidotes like these and from people I know, when I know
> what happens to me, when I've been stopped for no apparent reason, I think, hmn, so,
> ...[sarcastically] community safety? Community safety is now a national issue
> because Jane Creba got shot on Yonge Street. Community safety has always been an
> issue for me.[15]

My interviews with pastors occurred after they had received funding to establish social

programs and in part may explain why issues of racial inequality were often highlighted, and

then positioned as part of 'systemic issues that are beyond our control'. As one pastor put it,

'we exist within the constraints of these systemic issues, but there are things that we can

do'.[16]

Yet when pastors were represented in mainstream media—in editorials or

interviews—they spoke of the crisis of gun violence as one that may generate racist

responses, but not one that was *caused* by racism. Racism, in other words was rendered as an

effect not a cause of the crisis. The crisis from this perspective was overwhelmingly

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14 de Souza, 'We Need a Miracle'.
15 Personal interview, PA1 2007.
16 Personal Interview, PA3 2008.

positioned as an opportunity for black communities to 'speak frankly about…the principal cause of the violence', for blacks to take responsibility for problems that generated racist responses.[17] The 'elephant in the room' from this vantage point wasn't 'race', but 'culture', a 'debased culture'— that needed to be 'fought by a superior one…That is why it is better to speak of a cultural problem, rather than a racial one'.[18] Beckles death exemplified this rationale: it would likely have been prevented if only blacks had co-operated with police to identify Jammal Hemming's killers. For the pastors black people's lack of trust for police— acknowledged as a response to systemic racial profiling—had only exacerbated the crisis of gun violence. A 'code of silence' when it came to police had generated detrimental—even lethal—effects for black men, their families, and their communities. As one black pastor commented in the *Globe and Mail* 'our kids will keep dying until we break that code of silence…That wall of silence is a road to the graveyard.'[19]

The pastors' diagnosis of the problem in certain ways aligned with liberal discourses circulating the media. It acknowledged practices such as racial profiling of black men by police. Yet even as this practice was noted as problematic, it was also understood as a necessary outcome of tackling the issue of criminal street gangs in the city's low income neighbourhoods.[20] Their diagnosis also resonated with more socially conservative discourses that anchored their explanations of the crisis on pathologies within 'black culture'. William Thorsell, a member of the editorial board of the *Globe and Mail*, thus expressed his

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17 de Souza, 'We Need a Miracle'; See also R. De Souza, 'The man behind the "Boston Miracle"' *National Post* (December 29, 2005).
18 de Souza, 'We Need a Miracle'.
19 M. Valpy, 'Pastor calls for "war measures" A1.
20 See for instance interviews with Chief of Police Bill Blair in J. Rankin, Race Matters: Blacks documented by police at high rate' *Toronto Star* (February 6, 2010).

enthusiastic support for the pastors' demands that blacks take on personal responsibility for

the crisis:

> It was wonderful last week to hear a pastor at another Toronto funeral for a young murdered black man demand that dysfunctional families and communities accept responsibility themselves for the trauma. Stop laying most of the blame on others, he said; face the fact that much of the pathology comes from within the home. The mourners in the church applauded. Many people who might try to help these troubled communities defer, waiting for the communities themselves to speak honestly about their own condition. At the core, it is a matter of values... A values revolution at home is the first condition of social success in communities habitually hit by violence and grief.[21]

This cultural explanation actually appeared to offer an alternative explanation of the crisis,

given that while poverty was rising, crime was not. In other words, it could help explain that

it wasn't simply poverty that caused crime, but rather the cultural norms of black

communities. Thorsell continued:

> [G]rowing relative poverty does not cause crime. Crime rates in Toronto have been falling over the past 15 years in most categories, even as these economic indicators shift for the worse. This is testament again to the role of values in society. We are not, as Marx suggested, the dumb outcome of material conditions and relations. Leftist social activists often fudge this point in the face of contrary data.[22]

The evidence was on the table: poverty did not push people into a life of crime. As race

diverged from class in dominant analyses of the problem, gender performed a crucial role in

rescaling this problem to the individual. The solution specifically entailed rebuilding black

men's masculinity by 'teach[ing] our young men how to be men'.[23]

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21 W. Thorsell, 'Even in the city, it takes a village to raise a child' *Globe and Mail* (November 29, 2005)A21. Mr. Thorsell is currently CEO of the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto. See also M. Wente, 'Guns, gangs and Boston's miracle' *Globe and Mail* (November 24, 2005) A25.
22 W. Thorsell, 'Even in the city'.
23 Personal interview, PA2 2008.

The Reverend Eugene Rivers: 'Growing up without Men'

As early as 2003, the GTA Faith Alliance had enlisted the aid of Dr. Eugene Rivers, a black

Pentecostal minister from the U.S. to assist them with their analysis of Toronto's crisis of

gun violence. Rivers has long been renowned in U.S policy circles for a faith-based approach

to crime fighting he established in the mid-1990s in Dorchester, a poor, predominantly black

inner suburb of Boston. Run largely on volunteer labour organized by black churches, the

program has been credited by some authorities as reducing violent crime in Boston by as

much as ninety percent, earning the nickname 'The Boston Miracle'.[24] River's approach

brings together 'churches, police, schools and social agencies' to instill values of discipline

and hard work through recreational and social programming for poor black and Latino youth,

most of whom come from fatherless families.[25] Rivers likes to characterize his technique as a

cross between the 'Jesuits and Marines'.[26]

     Rivers's main argument was that the prevalence of fatherless families in black

communities explained higher rates of gun violence among blacks. The dearth of male role

models had generated a whole series of social problems with black men; gang-related gun

violence being the most terminal. Rivers presented a range of data illustrating high

correlations between female-headed households and criminal male behaviour to argue that

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[24] Homicides dropped from 152 in 1990 to 31 in 1999. J. Berrien and C.r Winship. 'An 'Umbrella of Legitimacy: Boston's Police Department-Ten Point Coalition Collaboration.' In G. Katzmann, (ed) *Securing Our Children's Future: New Approaches to Juvenile Justice and Youth Violence*.
(Brookings Institution, 2002); C. Winship and J. Berrien, 'Boston Cops and Black Churches.' *Public Interest*. 136, (1999). Rivers program is run out of the Ella J. Baker House in Boston (ellajbakerhouse.org).
25 M. Wiens, 'The Problem with Men' *CBC Reporters Notebook* (CBC Radio One, January 20, 2006).
26 J. Fowlie 'No more bodies on our streets: Man on A Mission' *Globe and Mail* (April 3, 2004)M3. Rivers' program was initiated under nearly identical circumstances to Toronto: a young black men was beaten and stabbed to death while attending his friend's funeral in Boston.

'father absence [is] the single most important predictor of whether or not a kid is going to get involved in forms of anti-social activity'.[27] Drawing parallels between rates of female-headed households in Toronto and Boston he suggested a fundamental similarity in the problems between the two:

> I would say the last data I looked at would suggest that statistically we're talking comparable percentages of father absence [between Boston and Toronto] and what is significant to note when we're looking at the data is that there is a high correlation between father absence, single parent households and criminal behaviour particularly on the part of young males, and for the purpose of methodological consistency, we'll simply say there is indisputable high correlation between the two phenomena.[28]

For Rivers there were other similarities as well. In Canada, like in the U.S.,

> a certain kind of racial political discourse…holds up racism as the key to violence. That's an old paradigm that doesn't work. It comes down to family and culture. If you're in touch with your culture and have a strong family racism can't stop you.[29]

A former gang member from a poor black family he is currently a Fellow at the Center for Values and Public Life at the Harvard Divinity School and a founding member of the Azusa Christian Community, a socially conservative religious congregation. Rivers's complex identity lends him authentic positioning in debates about race, class and gender: his ideas while not uncontroversial have resonated in both liberal and conservative circles, and among blacks and whites.[30] In 1998 Newsweek featured Rivers on its cover to recognize his emerging status as 'a national figure' in debates about urban crime; a man who had 'met with the president, been courted by the Christian Coalition and served on the religion panel at

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27 E. Rivers 'Growing up without Men' , *Metro Morning* (CBC Radio One, 2006).
28 E. Rivers 'Growing up without Men' , *Metro Morning* (CBC Radio One, 2006).
29 N. Carniol 'Make children the bottom line; Leaders urged to seize momentum Pastor challenges politicians, churches' *Toronto Star* (January 12, 2006)E4.
30 Staff, 'Religion and Ethics: Interview with Reverend Eugene Rivers' (PBS, Episode 911, November 11, 2005).

Colin Powell's 1997 Volunteerism Summit'.[31] In Toronto his ideas were given mostly positive coverage in both liberal and conservative media ranging from the left-liberal *Toronto Star* and *Canadian Broadcast Corporation,* to the more right leaning *Globe and Mail* and *National Post*. The CBC devoted an entire week-long radio and town hall series to discuss the relationship between father absence and gun violence in Toronto, titled 'Growing Up Without Men' (plate 4.1).[32] Royson James, a black liberal journalist for the *Toronto Star,* embraced Rivers's 'social gospel', heralding him as a controversial, yet ultimately successful 'urban missionary' who had 'surviv[ed] gunshots fired into his home and vehicle—to live among the poor and make a difference in their lives'.[33] The timing of Rivers's appearance in the city is thus noteworthy: he offered Torontonians a scientific, cultural and experiential explanation for the crisis of gun violence that disassociated it from white racism, class inequality and their socio-spatial manifestations.

Rivers's ideas were subject to critique. Rinaldo Walcott, a black activist and academic from Toronto had publicly signaled out both Rivers and the GTA Faith Alliance as generating a 'a middle-class perspective' of the crisis of gun violence and for advocating a socially conservative agenda that preached to young black men 'how to be a good patriarch'.[34] Rivers responded to this critique by, in his words, launching a 'philosophical coup against the prevailing ideology of the old guard'. For Rivers, 'liberal excuses for urban

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31 J. Leyland, 'Saviour of the Streets' *Newsweek* (Jun 1, 1998); H. Toler Jr. 'Rivers of Babylon: A Harvard man brings the Gospel to the crack house', Policy Review 70 (1994): 68.
32 See Metro Morning Series *Growing up without Men,* (CBC Radio One, January 22-27, 2006).
33 R. James 'Violence is a result of the sins of the church', *Toronto Star*. (Jan 15, 2006) A5. N. Alcoba, 'Reclaiming lost sons: Crime-fighting Boston clergyman joins Toronto's battle. *National Post*, (January 10,2006)A8; R. James, 'Rev. Rivers voice still reverberating across city' *Toronto Star* (February 6, 2006) B3; G,. Chong, 'Helping youth help themselves: Offer support but instill family values.' *Toronto Star*, (January 19, 2006)A18; M. Welsh, 'Pastor hopes to save Toronto.' *Toronto Star* (2006, January 11)B3; R. James 'Clergy plays waiting game' *Toronto Star* Nov 17, 2006) B1.
34 R. Walcott 'Anti-Racist Responses'.

pathologies' were not only outdated, but disabled political organizing and concerted action around the *real* causes of racialized violence: dysfunctions within black culture.[35] In this sense, Rivers's prognosis resonated with his contemporaries like John Dilulio, Bill Cosby, Orlando Patterson and others (most recently U.S President Barack Obama), who all have offered what they call a *more honest* discourse about black men, black culture and black crime.[36]

Plate 4.1 Dr. Eugene Rivers, 'Growing up without Men (CBC Radio One, Metro Morning, January 22, 2006)

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35 J. Barber 'Local black protest model dated, Boston Leader Charges' *Globe and Mail* (January 12, 2006) A16

36 J. Dilulio *Godly Republic: A Centrist Blueprint for America's Faith-Based Future* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008); O. Patterson, 'A Poverty of the Mind' *New York Times* (March 26, 2006); B. Cosby and A. Poussaint, *Come on People! On the Path from Victims to Victors* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2007). President Obama has publically affirmed his support for a 'tough love' approach to black poverty, citing fatherlessness as a 'root cause' of the problem. P. Bacon, *Washington Post* (July 13, 2008). The mainstreaming of faith-based approaches to social policy stem back from Clinton's welfare reforms in 1996 introduced the so-called Charitable Choice provision allowing faith-based groups to apply for government contracts for social service delivery. In 2001 President Bush further entrenched the relationship between religion and public policy opening the Office for Faith-based Organizations and Community Agencies, and appointing John Dilulio as Director (who resigned amid much controversy within a year of his tenure). President Obama recently renamed it the Office for Faith-based Organizations and Neighbourhood Partnerships.

In certain ways, Rivers also modernizes Daniel Patrick Moynihan's 1965 iteration of the culture of poverty thesis. Moynihan's report helped shape L.B. Johnson's War on Poverty, positing that a 'tangle of pathology' was at the root of African American's welfare dependency. The emasculating effects of slavery had resulted in the ascent of matriarchal social structures in black families, and 'complete breakdown' of familial structures, with dire outcomes for black men. In his CBC interview, Rivers drew on Moynihan's report 'The Negro Family' to reinforce the historical depth of his argument about fatherless families:

> [F]orty years ago, Daniel Patrick Moynihan in the United States attempted to address the issue. He was criticized as a racist because no intelligent thought goes unpunished. He made the very basic point that he knew by looking at comparative data—Jewish, Irish, black—that when you didn't have fathers to stabilize the family—two-parent households, mommy-daddy—you were going to have problems.[37]

Like Moynihan's argument, which emerged amidst growing public anxiety over increasing expressions of discontent by blacks over racial inequality in America, Rivers' theory gained ground during a time in the U.S. of moral panic over street gang warfare, crack epidemics and the coming invasion of teenage 'superpredators'.[38] Likewise in Toronto, his ideas gained traction amidst 2005's crisis of gun violence. If Moynihan acknowledged racism as an historical event with implications for the present, Rivers like Toronto's pastors, also acknowledged the impact of racism, but argued that the latter had prevented blacks from accepting responsibility for their own role in gun violence.

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37 E. Rivers 'Growing up without Men' , *Metro Morning* (CBC, Radio One, 2006).
38 Princeton Professor of Sociology John Diulio coined this term in his 1995 article 'The Coming Of The Super-Predators' in the Weekly Standard (November 27, 1995). On the moral panic over urban crime in the 1980s and 1990s see, S. Macek *Urban Nightmares: The Media, the Right and the Moral Panic over the City* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005); D. Wilson *Inventing Black on Black Violence: Discourse, Space, and representation* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2005).

Crucially Rivers, like Moynihan, offered policy solutions to the problem that did little to implicate whites in its genesis. Take for instance another report that emerged two years after Moynihan's—also commissioned by L.B. Johnson in response to racial uprisings in U.S inner cities. This report, commonly known as the Kerner Report, singled out in a variety of ways how *contemporary* white racism was one of the primary factors causing the riots.[39] While it circulated broadly, it was largely rejected by the administration perhaps because— not unlike the alternative explanations circulating in Toronto by CACO and others—it may have required policy approaches that implicated whites in the solutions. Rivers answer to Toronto's crisis however, not unlike Moynihan's, put the genesis of the crisis squarely on the shoulders of blacks.

And while Rivers ability to identify the roots of the problem in *black culture* stems from his experience in the U.S., in certain respects it appeared to make *more* sense in Canada where slavery and other institutional forms of racial segregation did exist in such stark form.[40] As one white journalist commenting on the popularity of Rivers's ideas in the city expressed it:

> The key point that is too often missed in Toronto and elsewhere is that such self-destruction [of young black men] is the product of a conscious choice. Canadian adolescents are not powerless inheritors of a legacy of slavery or Jim Crow: Most of the city's black families immigrated in recent decades, when anti-discrimination already was well-established in law….It is not "isolation and despair" that cause men to abandon their children—but rather the disgraceful fact that such behaviour is accepted by certain sub-cultures. The enormous discrepancy in crime rates among Toronto's ethnic communities is matched closely by discrepancies in fatherlessness…This truth may be politically incorrect by Toronto's lights. But that is

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39 O. Kerner. 'Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders' which pinpointed the riots as black frustration from systemic white racism (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968).

40 See A. Cooper *The Hanging of Angelique* (Toronto: Harper Perennial, 2006) for a devastating account of institutional slavery in Canada.

not the case in the United States, which has been dealing with such problems for far longer.[41]

Female-headed Households: 'Normalizing the Abnormal'

Women played a distinct role in constructing the problem of gun violence as one specific to black culture and black masculinity.[42] As Rivers and many local pastors articulated it, the social problems among young black men had to be understood in relation to the contemporary mainstreaming of feminist and other 'liberal' values. These values were having devastating effects on young men's masculinity. This argument depended on recasting women's strengths such as single parenting, not only as signs of weakness but—given correlations between female headed households and crime—as fundamental to the spike in violent crime in Toronto. As Rivers explained in his CBC interview:

> *Eugene Rivers:* There's been this heroic attempt on the part of certain feminists and well intentioned liberals who didn't spend much time in the hood to romanticize the fact that Mom by herself could raise Junior. It just doesn't happen.
>
> *Andy Barrie [reporter]*: Let's talk about the romanticizing if we could. I'm looking at the lyrics to a song called Baby Mamma:
>
> > *Nowadays, it's a badge of honour to be a baby mamma. I see you paying your bills, I see you working your job, I see you going to school… and girl, I know it's hard, and even though I know you're fed up with making beds, you're a hero.*
>
> Talk to me about the culture of music… we had a young woman on this morning, and she was saying that everywhere she goes with three children fathered by two different men, people tell her she's doing an exemplary job... they try to turn her into a hero.

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41 J. Kay, 'The real source of ghetto crime' *National Post* (May 1, 2006). Kay's editorial responds to an article positing a similar analysis printed earlier that week in The *Toronto Star*. Commending the Star for 'beginning to realize the truth in that approach', Kay notes 'perhaps there is hope for this city after all'.

42 See R.W. Connell on how religious institutions have been anti-feminism's most successful advocate, 'Change among the gatekeepers: men, masculinities, and gender equality in the global arena. *Signs,* 30.3 (2005)1801-1825.

Rivers: That is insane, cultural sewage in decay. The reality is that there is a culture of promiscuity that elevates booty-lishisness, booty-poppin', and *that* reality, *that* cultural tragedy, is resulting in normalizing the abnormal. What we have now is a situation in which what should be viewed as abnormal [female, single parent households] and what is clearly empirically dysfunctional has now been normalized, and you get a host of feminists who practice a functional form of misandry, which is the hatred of males, which has the most devastating impact on poor black communities.[43]

Recurring images of 'black mothers' in media outlets during the crisis of gun violence contributed to the notion that female-headed households were responsible for the crisis, while simultaneously representing women as passive recipients of black men's actions. For instance, in an investigative report headlining the front page of *Toronto Star* titled 'Where are the Men?' single black women figured as hapless 'baby-machines', with men coming around to 'suck[] the blood out of our veins'.[44] Toward the end of 2005 and running through 2006, the *Toronto Star* revisited news stories of women whose children had been murdered over the past several years with a weapon—although not always a gun—into a narrative about a 'club' of black single mothers who had lost their sons to violent crime. These stories merged correlations between father absence and criminality to 'authentic voices' of single mothers and their so-called criminal offspring to paint grassroots views of the lethal consequences of fatherless families.[45]

At the same times these discourses advanced the claim that women in particular had a responsibility to reduce criminal opportunities by increasing informal social controls in the

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43 Metro Morning, 'Interview with Eugene Rivers', *Growing up without men* (CBC Radio One, January 20, 2006).

44 L. Diebel, 'Where are the men? *Toronto Star*. (August 19, 2007)A1.

45 R. Dimanno, 'As last resort, mother does unthinkable' *Toronto Star,* (January 6, 2006)A2; 'Faith targets crime's roots: Leaders blame rising violence on family breakdown' *Toronto Star* (January 10, 2006); J. Fiorito, 'From heartache comes hope' *Toronto Star* (January 9,2006)B1; T. Huffman, 'For sake of a murdered son, mother lobbies for Kempton's Law' *Toronto Star* (January 19, 2006) ;B. Mitchell, 'Few Leads in 2004 Shooting Death' *Toronto Star* (April 4, 2006)B4.

home and community. The mother's responsibility was the care of 'her community' through the policing of her (male) children or partner. In 2007 the Toronto Police Services board donated $30,000 to a magazine targeting single mothers called *Yo Mama*. While the magazine covers a range of issues facing single mothers in the city, police funded it based on its perceived ability to enlist women in the fight against gang violence (plate 4.2). Upon receiving the donation, the magazine's editor was quoted in the media explaining these women's roles in policing their partners:

> I mean if he comes home and he's covered with blood and he's got gunpowder on him, you're going to have to question that. The women need to start ... taking responsibility of their boyfriends' actions. [Its not] finking, it's about saving your community, and saving your man. Even if he goes to jail ... it's safer maybe in jail than on the street.[46]

Black women's voices in the media were represented by calls for more police patrols in neighbourhoods, mandatory minimums, and reverse bail onuses for gun offenders. The founder of UMOVE (United Mothers Opposing Violence Everywhere)—an organization positioned as experts on this subject in local media—demanded that '[t]he same kind of action the government has taken with terrorism, they need to take with this kind of violence as well'.[47] Paradoxically then, black women who disproportionately rely on public subsidies and have unquestionably been most affected by their claw backs, were posited as those not only responsible for the crisis of gun violence but also for maintaining the social welfare and public safety of their communities.

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46 B. Powell, 'Can "baby mothers" stop gang violence?', *Toronto Star*, (February 21, 2007)A1.
47 P. Edwards and H. Siddiqui ,'Three charged in boy's shooting' *Toronto Star* (August 6, 2005)A1.

Can 'baby mothers' stop gang violence?

Police board funds magazine that advises young moms not to cover for boyfriends

BETSY POWELL
CRIME REPORTER

Young women involved with gang members have a significant role to play in stopping the perpetuation of aggression and bloodshed, says the editor of a magazine written by and for young mothers.

Gang members often have babies with multiple partners — "baby mothers" — and these women may be a key link to breaking the cycle of violence in troubled neighbourhoods, says Amanda Cain, the 27-year-old editor of *Yo'Mama*.

"The only way we're going to stop the violence is a two-tiered system . . . the women staying at home saying, 'Look it's got to stop — go get a real job,' " Cain said yesterday, her powerful voice rising from behind her desk at the quarterly publication's office near Regent Park.

In some cases, young women are covering up for men and that also must stop, she added.

"The women know who it is who are doing this. I mean if he comes home and he's covered with blood and he's got gunpowder on him, you're going to have to question that. The women need to start . . . taking responsibility of their boyfriends' actions."

It's not, she continued, "finking, it's about saving your community, and saving your man. Even if he goes to jail . . . it's safer maybe in jail than on the street."

Last week, the Toronto Police Services Board unanimously approved $30,000 in funding for the magazine, part of a comprehensive response to violence begun by the board in the midst of the summer of 2005, known as the year of the gun.

While the board has funded

Grant can pay 'unbelievable dividends'

"special requests" in the past, 2005 marked the first time it approved a "systematic" allocation of a minimum of $100,000 a year for five years for projects advancing the City of Toronto's Community Safety Plan.

"We not only need to enforce the law, at the same time we needed to do whatever we could to also encourage prevention," police board Chairman Alok Mukherjee said yesterday.

At Friday's meeting, vice-chair Pam McConnell noted that in the past, the focus on crime prevention has been "on young men acting out" but there are women involved on many levels.

She said for such a "small investment," a project such as *Yo'Mama* can pay "unbelievable dividends."

Five thousand copies of the quarterly publication are distributed free across Toronto to 150 social service agencies, hospitals, libraries, schools, community health centres, city councillors, MPs and MPPs.

Yo'Mama is written by young mothers between the ages of 13 and 24, most of whom live in or are returning to Toronto's 12 "priority neighbourhoods" as defined by the city.

This fall, *Yo'Mama* plans to include an insert called *Solace*, examining different areas relating to violence, including domestic and mental abuse.

Rebeca Maralit, 27, who will edit the insert, plans to return to Don Mills to the neighbourhood where she was raised — Flemington Park — to find contributors.

The magazine format is an ideal way to reach young moms, particularly those in violent relationships that are "complicated situations," she said.

"It's very touchy and they've been surrounded by a lot, so much so that some girls don't even realize it's abuse."

A magazine is something "they can read at home, in the privacy of their room, but it's a powerful message and it's a lot easier to take it in."

The impact can also be that much greater when the writers are people who know of what they speak, allowing them to

Yo'Mama's strength is that the writers and readers have had the same experiences

feel a sense of shared experience.

Providing a forum for young mothers to develop their voices helps build self-respect and encourages them to look toward the future, getting an education, jobs, taking more control of their lives, not being dependent on the guys, especially gang members, Cain added.

Their allure, she said, can be analogous to that of a groupie to a rock star.

"Hey, musicians have them," she said. "They're the guys with the money, the power, the authority, the clout."

Cain hopes to reach the kind of young women who "stay at home and make sure everything's good," emerging for court appearances, for instance.

"A lot of guys who run in that lifestyle, it's about power, a lot of the women they choose to be involved with aren't necessarily the ones with strong backbone. They're there to be supportive of their man, they're like ride or die chicks . . . you're either down with the program or you're not."

And what's changed since Cain was a teen is the casualness of sex, something *Yo'Mama* will address this fall in a "family planning" edition.

"They have to be very aware of what's happening now is this new culture of hooking up, where they just kick it — have sex — and it's very casual. People don't really date anymore."

A single mom herself, Cain lived at a shelter for two years and remembers two women who both had the same baby father "and they didn't know it until the guy came (to visit)."

She understands how young women succumb to these charmers. "When you're young it's easy to have the fantasy, stay with the guy, they're going to be the one and they're going to love you forever."

Especially, she said, when the love might be not be coming from elsewhere.

RICHARD LAUTENS/ TORONTO STAR

Amanda Cain edits a magazine that advises its young women readers to encourage boyfriends who are gang members to change their ways. The police services board has given the magazine $30,000.

Plate 4.2 'Can "baby mothers" stop gang violence?' (B. Powell, *Toronto Star*, (February 21, 2007).

'The Globalization of Thug Life'

We'd like to show you some pictures…frightening, graphic pictures of a culture where guns are part of life and just walking around the neighbourhood could be a matter of life and death.
  'The National', covering the release of the underground rap DVD, *The Real Toronto*, 2005[48]

We just trying to rap where we from, put our people on the map, you know what I'm sayin'?
Scartown rapper, *The Real Toronto* 2005[49]

Feminists and women were not the only arsenal of evidence Rivers harnessed to make sense

of Toronto's crisis: gangsta culture was also implicated. In an editorial in the *Globe and Mail*

Rivers published days after Beckles's death, he claimed:

> Canada's black community faces a crisis. A generation of poor, predominantly black youth is in violent rebellion against fatherlessness and, by logical extension, against law and order and an established middle-class black leadership that purports to speak for them. This largely unacknowledged crisis is part of a larger international pattern; from Kingston, Jamaica, to Birmingham, England, from Los Angeles to Chicago, we are witnessing the globalization of "thug life."
>
> Thug life may be defined as the gangsta-talkin' world view that celebrates and promotes through a multibillion-dollar media and fashion industry the rhetoric and reality of black-on-black violence and criminality. This phenomenon, which has emerged from the gangsta wing of the hip-hop nation founded in the 1970s in U.S. ghettos, has emerged as a powerful symbol of the cultural and political decay of black civil society. In this world, style is substance. The obligatory "big pimpin" hyper-masculine pose is essential for many young black males to conceal the underlying political impotence that masquerades as manhood. The violence now being witnessed in Toronto's poor black neighbourhoods is ultimately the voice of political orphans denied the firm discipline and direction of the black fathers.[50]

Rivers injected his critique of gangsta culture into well fuelled public debates. Mainstream

media had already turned to gangsta culture in an effort to explain the crisis, in part a

response to young men's own actions.

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48 Staff, 'The National', *CBC Television*, (October 28, 2005).
49 *The Real Toronto* Dir. Madd Russian, (2005).
[50] E. Rivers, 'The sins of the fathers are visited on black youth' *Globe and Mail*, (December 2, 2005) M23.

In October of 2005 the DVD *The Real Toronto* went mainstream. This feature length underground rap documentary was produced by a recent Russian immigrant on a shoestring budget throughout the course of that year. The director, who went by the name Madd Russian, developed his deep appreciation of hip hop back in his economically depressed hometown of Nyzhny Novgorod. When he immigrated with his family to Toronto, his admiration of the genre led him to befriend two local rappers. These rappers helped him gain access to the gangsta culture thriving in other neighbourhoods of the city. In an interview with the *Toronto Star*, he noted that 'being an immigrant…helped him gain the trust of young men who also consider themselves outsiders. "They didn't see me as white"'.[51] His comments suggested that whiteness was not simply a marker for skin colour, but for privilege and power.

The documentary subverted urban boosters' creative city branding of Toronto as a city of neighbourhoods for a gangsta guided tour of the city's poor, mostly suburban locales. Each chapter narrated an exposé of everyday life from young men's perspectives in Jamestown, Malvern Jane-Finch, among others. These men rapped with unrestrained bravado as they relayed stories about gangs, guns and drugs in obvious effort to out posture each other—and each other's *hood*. Their props ranged from handguns, to housing projects, to abandoned community centres, police cruisers and CCTV cameras (plate 4.3). These images generated a narrative of danger, risk, surveillance, and isolation; a world in which bravery, prowess and street smarts are necessary tools of survival. In the words of the twenty-two year-old director:

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51 G. Gonda, 'Real life in the projects' *Toronto Star* (October 15, 2007)A1.

Toronto, known to most as a world class city has another side to it. This movie shows the reality of living in housing projects and some of the most run down areas in the city. This footage includes interviews with gang members, drug dealers and some of the realest street rappers in Toronto. From Scarborough to Etobicoke this movie will take you through hoods in nine different locations to show you.[52]

Rivers, the local pastors and mainstream media identified gangsta culture as a seductive form of agency for poor and racialized young men. But from this perspective the seduction was a symptom of the problems within black culture; the appeal of gangsta among young black men a surrogate for the lack of male role models in their lives. Others have generated alternative explanations of gangsta. Ethnie Quinn for instance explains, that gangsta as a cultural form must first be understood through the social context of its genesis and uptake in 1980s Compton, Los Angeles. She notes that '[th]e considerable insecurity within and between places at once produced gangsta and was reproduced in gangsta', as it responded to '[t]he social ills… result[ing] from deindustrialization, and destructive government policies—poverty, chronic unemployment, political disaffection, …police repression, the drug trade and gang activity'.[53] And, while gangsta finds its origins in the U.S. inner city, Rinaldo Walcott suggests that its transnational popularity can be explained as a gender specific cultural form that reconfigures the 'transmigration of the racial metaphor that "black equals criminal"' onto a terrain redefined by young men. While reproducing historical representations of black masculinity as menacing, territorial and untamed, gangsta simultaneously usurp this demonized conception of blackness into an image widely consumed in popular culture.[54]

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52 This passage is taken from the DVD cover of *The Real Toronto* (Toronto: Independent, 2005).
53 E. Quinn, *Nuthin' but a 'g' thang: The culture and commerce of gangsta rap* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005).
54 54 R. Walcott, *Black Like Who? Writing Black Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998). Collins *Black Sexual*. See also P.H Collins, 'A Telling Difference: Dominance, Strength and

Plate 4.3: Images from Black Creek Chapter, *The Real Toronto* **(2005)**

Its mass appeal lies in the fact that the message of gangsta does not, contrary to established

interpretations, conflict with mainstream norms. For many scholars of the genre, gangsta in

fact best personifies conventional values of individualism, entrepreneurialism and patriarchy;

a performance that fully endorses and embraces an era in which profit and power are

fundamental measures of self-worth.[55] Gangsta simply takes this zeitgeist to its logical

conclusion, playing back to society an image of itself in which social and sexual relations are

Black Masculinities' in A. Mutua (ed), *Progressive Black Masculinities* (New York/London: Routledge, 2006) 73-98; b. hooks *We real cool: Black Men and Masculinities* (New York/London: Routledge, 2006), R. Kelly *Yo' Mamma's Dysfunctional* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1997); M. Kimmel, *The Gendered Society* (New York: Oxford Press, 2000) and 'Toward a Pedagogy of the Oppressor' in A. Mutua (ed), *Progressive Black Masculinities*, 63-72.
55 E. Quinn, Nuthin' but a 'g' thang'7. I. Perry, *Prophets of the Hood:Politics and Poetics in Hip Hop* (Duke University Press 2006), See also M. Forman, *The Hood Comes First* (Wesleyan University Press, 2002); B. Hooks, *Outlaw Culture: resisting representations* (London: Routledge, 2006).

mediated almost exclusively through profit, prestige and power. Its appeal no doubt comes in part from its circulation as a commodified, mass mediated image that promises to transform social stigma associated with the ghetto into a politically savvy, street-smart, and potentially lucrative form of cultural capital for poor black men.[56]. As gangsta mythologizes a way out of the *hood* it also teaches a set of technical skills and performances that young black men can use to negotiate an existing reality of repressive state and societal apparatuses.[57] Gangsta rappers, as Robin Kelley put it 'are especially brilliant at showing how—if I may paraphrase Marx, young urban black men make their own history, but not under circumstances of their own choosing'.[58]

Importantly, the video represented a moment in the city where identities, performances, perceptions and realities surrounding gangsta culture and its predominant symbol— the street gangs—came to be increasingly conflated and confused (plate 4.4). On the one hand, as the passage from the CBC's, *The National* attests—the images contained in the video reinforced narratives and practices criminalizing black men by criminalizing the culture most closely associated with them.[59] On the other hand the video offered a platform

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56 Quinn, *Nuthin'*. Its mass market appeal is largely driven by demand from white middle class suburbanites. In this way, gangsta is an extension of the popular success enjoyed by R&B in the 1960s and 1970s. Paradoxically as whites fled the inner city, black music increasingly provided the soundtrack for their new suburban lifestyles.

57 R. Kelly 'Kickin Reality, Kickin Ballistics', in W. E. Perkins (ed) *Dropping Scene: Critical Essays on Rap Music and Hip Hop Culture* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1996); M. Forman, *The Hood Comes First* (Wesleyan University Press, 2002).

58 R. Kelly 'Kickin' Reality' 124.

59 J. Friesen, 'Welcome to the neighbourhood A guerrilla documentary featuring 'gang members, drug dealers and some of the realest rappers in Toronto' says it's showing a side of the city few people know', *Globe and Mail,* (October 15, 2005) M3.

to question the substance and causality behind claims about the extent of the criminal street

Plate 4.4: 'Welcome to the Neighbourhood' *Globe and Mail* **(October 16, 2005).**

gang problem in Toronto. Paul Nguyen, a resident of Jane-Finch whose website 'Jane-

Finch.com received considerable coverage in mainstream media, was interviewed by CBC

radio in the wake of the release of *The Real Toronto*. Even as he strived to explicate how *real*

this story was, he also positioned Toronto's gangsta image as mass mediated, vivid

dramatization of the city's social ills:

> *Toronto don't have no clown niggas anymore*: that's what these new underground
> DVDs are basically saying. You see, south of the border in places like Atlanta, Cali
> and New York, that's how the people involved with thug life over there perceive the
> thugs over here. We got less "street cred" here. *So these DVDs are basically made for
> them AND for us. To show that we DO have the street credibility and that we're just*

as hard at they are.

These new DVDs shock people who aren't aware of the street life in Toronto. The people living outside the projects, who live in their own suburban worlds, do not see the gritty reality that street people face. You've got upper-class folks in Forest Hill and Davisville who hire dog walkers to walk their pets. These are the people that would be most shocked about the widespread existence of guns in their city. It's the same as people in poorer neighborhoods. They would be shocked to hear about people spending money to hire someone else to walk their pet. Both worlds are SO divided, they don't even see each other.

As a person who isn't involved with the gang life, but who lives in a poor neighborhood and sees things, these DVDs don't shock me. It's actually about time that these videos came out. It's a wakeup call to the media and politicians, to show them that a bigger problem exists in their backyards. *Not that there are BAD people among the streets of Toronto, but that there are places in the city where people are left to defend for themselves*. These so-called thugs live in really bad conditions, where education, money and security are not things taken for granted. We don't have dog walkers. We don't have parents that can buy us cars or send us to college. The guys, AND girls, in these videos are just expressing themselves. Some of them have busy parents working 2-3 jobs, so the TV and internet raises us. We're just copying the States.[60]

If Nguyen's interpretation of the *Real Toronto* (and other rap video like it) was an image fashioned to win approval from those guarding the gates of authentic gangsta culture, in most public discourses these videos solidified the linkages between gangsta culture and crime. Despite an obvious conflation between gangsta culture and street gangs this connection was buttressed in mainstream media whose take on gangsta only reinforced causal links between the two. Police cited *The Real Toronto* as evidence of what they already assumed: the 'stark and dire consequences' street gangs posed to 'public safety' even while they acknowledged that the 'gangster lifestyle' was 'a fantasy lifestyle' that 'comes out of Los Angeles'.[61] The media-hyped arrest and conviction of Toronto rapper Alias Donmillion

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[60] P. Nguyen, 'The Real Toronto', (Jane-Finch.com).
61 Toronto Police Superintendent Gary Ellis, cited in J. Friesen, 'Welcome to the neighbourhood'M3. The video was used by police to get permission to conduct wiretap warrants in Jamestown in 2006, and Jane-Finch in 2007. See B. Powell, 'Knives and .45s' in Doomstown'

demonstrates how these causal links wove through public discourses. For mainstream media, Alias's case provided real life fodder for the '"lawless" nature of hip hop culture and "extreme regionalization" of the city's neighbourhoods'. As the rapper's lawyer told the press, the dangerous lifestyle of gangsta *forced* Alias to bear arms and now he is 'paying the consequences' in jail.[62] Yet, Alias's charges were not the result of a turf war between rival gangs, as suggested by media narratives and their headliners. Rather the rapper was downtown with friends after recording his latest music video when in a celebratory moment outside a hotel parking lot he discharged his gun in a 'West Indian Salute'. As Alias explained it, his actions were 'dumb'. [63] Even given Alias's rather banal account of the event, prevailing perceptions of gangsta's culture solidified the rapper as hard core criminal:

> Of [the shooting's dumbness] there is no doubt. But when Donmillion gets out of jail and heads to the studio to record his next album, will he confess his dumbness and decry drug-and-gun gangsta culture? Or will he bask in his real-life criminal bona fides and turn his incarceration into a NWA style gangland epic? I think we all know the answer.[64]

Faith-based Crime Control comes to Toronto: 'Down with Guns'

Rivers's thesis did much more work than simply help shift responsibility for Toronto's crisis of gun violence onto blacks: it raised the pastors' status among political elites, helping them to secure government funding for the launch of a faith-based approach to crime fighting in Toronto. To be sure Rivers`s entry into Toronto in the wake of Creba's death and in the

Toronto Star (December 28, 2005)A1; B. Powell, 'Videos shine light on tough street reality' *Toronto Star* (January 16, 2006)B1; M. Wente, 'Get mad, we're bein' had, gangsta rap's really bad' *Globe and Mail* (November 26, 2005)A31.
62 B. Powell, 'Rapper Pays the Price' *Toronto Star* (January 11, 2007) R1.
63 B. Powell, 'Rapper'.
64 W. Kinsella 'Glorifying the Gun', *National Post* (January 18, 2007) A21.

midst of a federal election revolving around urban crime was not only timely, but

opportunistic: two years earlier a group of local pastors, social workers and police went to

enlist Rivers's help in generating the political will and public support necessary to set up a

'Boston Strategy' in Toronto.[65] As a pastor who made the trip explained:

> We'd been trying to get Eugene Rivers up here without success, because he's a corporation now you know, and his appearance fees, we could not afford. But at the end of that really awful year of violence [2005], he just out of the blue called and said "I'm coming!"[66]

For the pastors, the timing of Rivers visit to Toronto was thus ideal. The crisis of gun

violence, the pastors noted, enabled Rivers 'to go into places that we had not been able to

access, one of which was the office of the Premier.'[67]

The pastors joined Rivers on his meeting with the Premier, who '[a]fter some

dialogue, said well you guys think you can do stuff—community safety is definitely our

[government's] priority. You have the infrastructure, you have the resources, you have

relationships within the communities we are trying to reach—bring us a proposal and we'll

fund it' (plate 4.5).[68] McGuinty was recorded in the press as being 'very heartened that

representatives of the faith community have decided they are going to take on more

responsibility for the black community when it comes to addressing the issue of crime and

guns'. Meanwhile Rivers reminded Torontonians that gun violence 'is a family conversation.

It requires that the black community come together, stop making excuses, move beyond

rhetoric, race card [sic] and focus on how we as a community become more accountable.'[69]
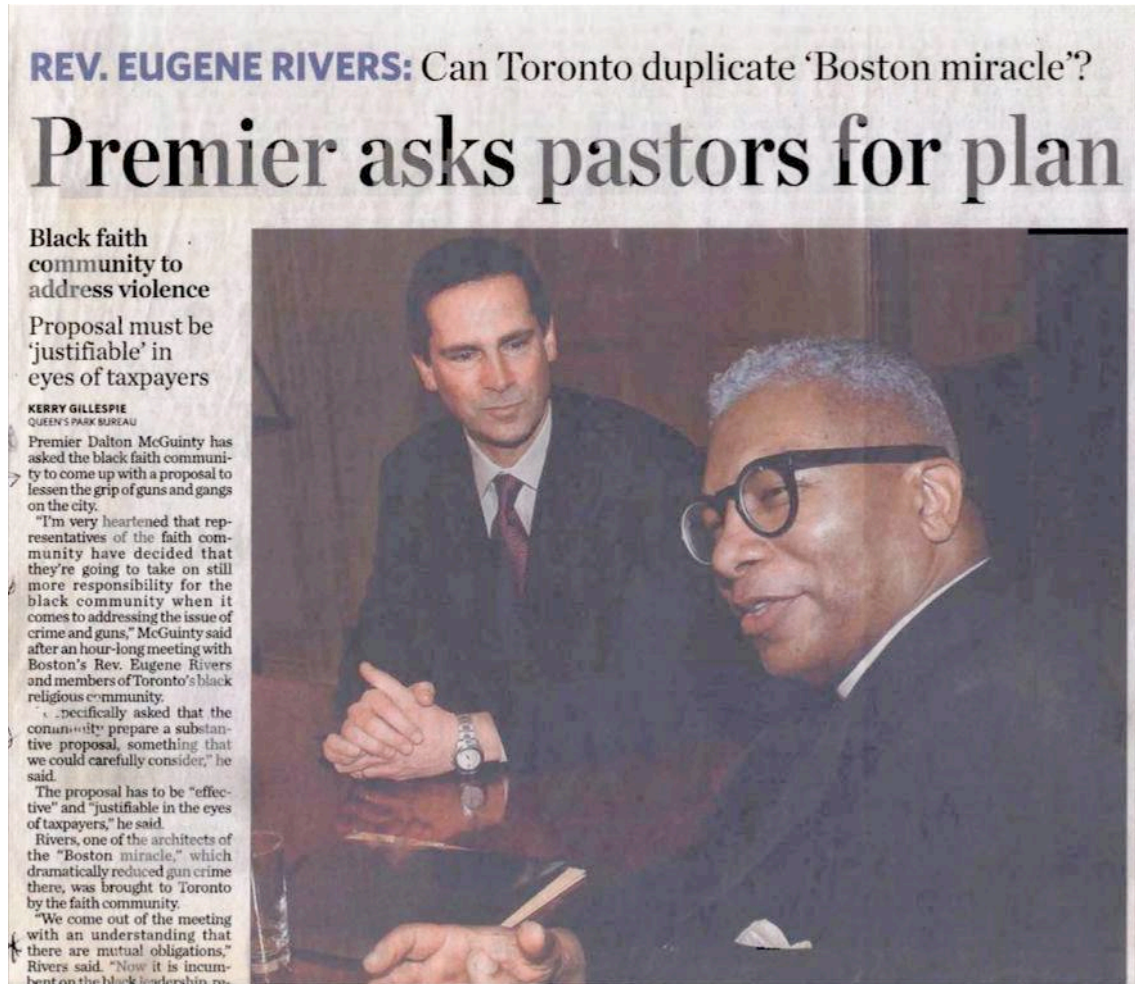
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65 During Rivers visit, the leader of the Provincial Tories invited him to speak at an upcoming convention. See R. James, 'Rev. Rivers voice'
66 Personal interview, PA1 2007
67 Personal interview, PA1 2007
68 Personal interview, PA1 2007.
69 K. Gillespie, 'Premier asks pastors for a plan', *Toronto Star* (January 10, 2006)B1

REV. EUGENE RIVERS: Can Toronto duplicate 'Boston miracle'?

Premier asks pastors for plan

Black faith community to address violence

Proposal must be 'justifiable' in eyes of taxpayers

KERRY GILLESPIE
QUEEN'S PARK BUREAU

Premier Dalton McGuinty has asked the black faith community to come up with a proposal to lessen the grip of guns and gangs on the city.

"I'm very heartened that representatives of the faith community have decided that they're going to take on still more responsibility for the black community when it comes to addressing the issue of crime and guns," McGuinty said after an hour-long meeting with Boston's Rev. Eugene Rivers and members of Toronto's black religious community.

..pecifically asked that the community prepare a substantive proposal, something that we could carefully consider," he said.

The proposal has to be "effective" and "justifiable in the eyes of taxpayers," he said.

Rivers, one of the architects of the "Boston miracle," which dramatically reduced gun crime there, was brought to Toronto by the faith community.

"We come out of the meeting with an understanding that there are mutual obligations," Rivers said. "Now it is incumbent on the black leadership, re-

Plate 4.5: 'Premier Asks Pastors for a Plan' (Source, *Toronto Star,* January, 2006)

In April 2006, McGuinty announced the Provincial government's new partnership with black faith-based organizations at the site of Beckles`s death. At the pulpit of the church, McGuinty declared: 'what we are doing today is drawing upon a resource that government never before in the history of our province has tapped into'.[70] He launched 'Down with Guns'—a three year, three million dollar grant dedicated to faith-based social programming. Run through an 'all volunteer-based' Christian community collation called the African Canadian Christian Network (ACCN), the stated goal of the program is to build

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70 Personal observation, see also 'Backgrounder: Down with Guns' (Attorney General of Ontario, April 2006)'.

capacity with Toronto's troubled youth'. While it has four areas of focus—Family,

Education, Crime Prevention and Employment, funding proposals must clearly articulate

'how the project will help reduce youth violence with identifiable behavioural change(s)'.[71]

Like most of the investments directed toward the Priority Neighbourhoods, the ACCN funds

only project-based (not core or sector-based) investments; it differs in that rather than

targeting 'at risk' neighbourhoods, it explicitly targets black youth.

Thus black institutions and their communities have come to appear in social policy as

experts who need to take responsibility for the crisis of gun violence in Toronto. Moreover,

the social institution of the church—built on ideologies of community, volunteerism and

capacity building—provided its own answer to the retrenchment of state-based social

welfare. As one pastor explained:

> Within the black community, the role [of community development and social services] has always been the role of the church. Its a recent development that governments have taken on that responsibility…but clearly that's a far more expensive role: you're bringing in experts requiring serious dollars, they have no connectedness in the community, its a job, they have no investment, so I think just like you have a concept, like housing, if you've got a vested interest, the chances of success are greatly enhanced, and if you're using volunteers as opposed to paid staff the costs are cheaper.
>
> They [the government] have nothing to lose [in a faith-based solution to gun violence]. It just makes sense. Here are churches, who exist in the very neighbourhoods that we consider at risk, who have lasting relationships there, who have real estate there, who have volunteers there, who have access to a donor base—I mean there is a dollar value to the donor base as well, so you can get space for free, you have all this manpower for free, you can actually raise dollars, you already have relationships. It makes sense. So this is the tradition that has already existed, I mean [my] church has been doing that here for 180 years.[72]

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71 'Funding Guidelines', African Canadian Christian Network (2006).
72 Personal interview PA1, 2007.

Hackworth's research illustrates that in both Canada and the U.S., the political entrenchment of neoliberalism into social policy has benefited from the philosophical ideas and volunteerism of the Christian religious right'.[73] It is noteworthy thus that while Rivers helped the pastors get funding for their program he in fact was quite critical of the pastor's demands for state funding. For Rivers, such reliance on state welfare only exacerbated blacks 'cycle of dependency':

> Internally, the black community…has to make a decision that it will move beyond excuses, asking for funding to do programs which can be initiated without funding. You see, I don't need a request for proposals to be committed to having an internal conversation in the black community which says black men are going to be challenged to take responsibility for the babies that they make and that no excuses will be accepted and that the black community is going to step up and say, black men take responsibility for your children.[74]

'Sports as Salvation'

One of the primary solutions to the crisis targeted young black men through social scripts that required performances favouring discipline, physicality, and submission to authority—traits typical to sports such as basketball. 'Premised on the remarkable proposition that having young people run around in short pants will have a positive effects far beyond the limits of health and fitness…', sports have long been propositioned as solutions to various social problems.[75] Critical sports scholar Douglas Hartmann documents how state provisions of sports at the turn of the century responded to such social problems ranging from the need to 'Americanize' the immigrant working class to countering ideological threats of Soviet expansionism. In Canada, 'sport and recreation' have been touted as methods that 'can both

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73 Hackworth 'Neoliberalism'.
74 E. Rivers, Growing up without Men'.
75 D. Hartmann, 'Notes on Midnight Basketball and the Cultural Politics of Recreation, Race and At-Risk Urban Youth', *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 25.4 (2001) 339.

integrate people into Canadian society, and help them maintain their cultural heritage'.[76]

Hartmann's research demonstrates that in the U.S., the 'right to sport' has never been a

rationality for the provision of recreation by the state; Cowen's study of targeted social

policy —though limited to a particular time and place—demonstrates similar logic: public

subsidy for recreation in the private and familial post-war landscape of Etobicoke was

provided *in response* to the mounting 'social problems' posed by the presence of poor

youth.[77] In the mid-1980s 'midnight basketball' emerged as a distinct solution to the problem

of crime in U.S. cities. The Chicago Housing Authority pitched the idea of installing

basketball courts and official tournaments to the federal office of Housing and Urban

Development. It described the program, launched at the height of the War on Drugs, first and

foremost as an 'integral part of a much larger anti-drug strategy'. Nowhere in the proposal

was the provision of sport or recreation mentioned as a goal.[78]

Basketball—not unlike gangsta—enjoys immense popularity among black men. It is

not surprising thus that this form of intervention was chosen as a response to the crisis.

Basketball also is also rooted in 'the myth of upward social mobility', but in contrast to

gangsta appeals as 'a gender-specific social script for an *honest* way out of poverty'.[79]

Coaches or 'father figures' are capable of 'training' young men, by teaching values of

76 Our Diverse City Forum, 'Parks and Recreation: A Central Component of a Healthy Community', June 15, 2005 (Conference proceeding published in Our Diverse City, Metropolis Project: Ottawa, 2007) 76.

77 Cowen however highlights important geographical variations, contrasting the case of Etobicoke with that of Toronto, which prior to amalgamation provided free recreational programs to all its citizens. See D. Cowen 'Suburban Citizenship: The Rise of Targeting and the Eclipse of Social Rights in Toronto' *Social and Cultural Geography* 6.3 (2005)

78 Hartmann 'Notes' 2001

79 P. H. Collins *Black Sexual Politics*, 154, See also R. Kelley *Yo' Mamma's Disfunktional* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1997).

physicality, discipline and responsibility. In this way the image of basketball and gangsta

work together to, as Collins notes,

> constitute a modern version of historical practices that saw black men's bodies as needing taming and training for practical use'…The controlling image of Black men as criminals or as deviant beings encapsulates this perception of Black men as inherently violent and/or hyper-heterosexual and in need of discipline.[80]

In Toronto the official entrance of midnight basketball was celebrated for its ability to

instill masculine values in a context where having a father is 'an unthinkable luxury'.[81]

Established by a group of police officers, over ten years ago, police saw it as a way to build

relationships in Toronto's 'tough neighbourhoods'. A retired police officer who'd learned

about the program on a trip to Detroit started midnight basketball over ten years ago,

unabashedly naming the program 'Five O'.[82] By 2005, midnight basketball was positioned as

a popular remedy for the crisis of gun violence. 'Sport as salvation: it's a core cliché in North

American culture, but on the ground it remains a sturdy fact. Even poor kids who aren't

destined to earn NBA millions can use basketball to improve their lives.'[83] For police

involvement in midnight basketball has enhanced their capacity for intelligence gathering

particularly in areas of the city where community relations are strained:

> Five-O…helps officers build contacts in some of the city's toughest neighbourhoods. Wilson [a police officer] used basketball as an entry point during a homicide investigation...Teens he'd played against a decade earlier helped him gain access to

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80 Collins, Black Sexual Politics .
81 G. Gonda, 'Cops, Courts and Kids', *Toronto Star*, (October 29, 2005).
82 Five-O is long standing street slang for police, the call often heard on the streets prior to an immanent raid.
83 G. Gonda, 'Cops'. One suburban councillor (Ward 7, North York) however recently made an effort to get basketball courts removed from his ward because he argued that they caused rather than prevented crime. Accompanied by members of the Humberlea Ratepayers Association in a park near Weston Road and Albion the councillor removed a basketball net, stating: 'It's going to send the message [that] drug dealers are not welcome in Ward 7. They're not welcome to hang out in the parks. They're not welcome to hang out in our basketball courts.' Staff, 'Will Removing Basketball Nets In Troubled Areas Reduce Crime?' CityTV (November 11, 2008).

the area known as Jungle …leading to two arrests and murder convictions. "In all the interviews I did, I talked basketball".[84]

Since its inception, Down with Guns has dedicated over a third of its funding to initiating or otherwise financially supported existing or new midnight basketball programs targeting the poorest neighbourhoods of the city, as samples from successful funding applications attest:

- The Toronto Police force will…be a part of the [basketball] program in the form of security as well as having an actual basketball team (Jamestown, Jane & Finch, Weston-Mt. Dennis, Lawrence Heights, 2007).

- Youth will take part in weekly formal basketball training coupled with positive mentorship. They will play in quarterly league tournaments and give back to the community through monthly outreach activities (Jane/Finch, 2007).

- Youth are…engaged in a basketball program which incorporates discipline and team work (Jane/Finch, 2007).

- Hoops is a Christian Community Organization providing life coaching and mentoring through Basketball. It is a summer, four day a week program and school year weekly program camp that includes skill development, competitive basketball, personal mentoring and Christian spiritual teaching and development. (North Etobicoke, 2007).

- This basketball for boys that operates in the Jane and Finch area, offers coaching that affords them the opportunity to participate in a league and tournaments as well as benefit from mentorship by positive male role models (Jane/Finch 2007).

- Working closely with the Toronto Police Services, B4L [Basketball 4 Life] is a mentoring and sports program that focuses on building long term relationships with young black males by providing a safe environment of fun while fostering respect (citywide, 2007, 2008).

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84 Gonda, 'Cops'.

Down with Guns was not the only policy to emerge out of the crisis has helped construct the crisis of gun violence as one to which black should be held responsible. In addition to City funding for sports programming in the Priority Neighbourhoods, the 45 million dollar Youth Challenge Fund (YCF), while not generated or run from a religious basis, also financially supports a wide range of basketball and other sports programs. Mike 'Pinball' Clemens—the black coach of the city's football team—is the chair and official spokesperson for YCF. His appointment reinforced explanations of the crisis of gun violence as a result of deficiencies in black men's masculinity. It symbolized a vision of the problem as one rooted in black culture; one that required discipline from—and submission to—father figures as correctives.

'The Etobicoke Strategy'

Other programs have also emerged from faith-based perspectives that while aligning with prevailing cultural explanations of the crisis, submit young black men to increased police surveillance. 'Rising concern about the impact of violence crime in several Etobicoke communities' led founding members of the GTA Alliance and police officers from 23 Division (North Etobicoke) to implement an 'Etobicoke Strategy'.[85] The program was also recently installed in North York. Both programs according to pastors were responding to 'very few fathers, thus role models' in the community.[86] Modeled on Rivers program in Boston, the strategy is premised on 'unprecedented levels of information sharing'.[87] In other words means 'police, probation, corrections, school, community agencies…all talk…, so everyone knows what's going on'. As a youth worker from Rexdale who made the trip to

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85 Staff, 'Operation Homefront' *Canadian Baptist* (Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec, Winter, 2006) 3.
86 Personal interview PA4, 2008.
87 Personal interview PA4, 2008.

Boston in 2004 explained: 'Johnny was picked up last night for this charge in that area, and so and so is being released'.[88] The Etobicoke Strategy is run out of a Baptist church, which had already been 'working really well in the community, with basketball programs, for example' implemented the strategy.[89] In lieu of direct public financial support, it relies on 'dedicated officers in 23 Division' and the 'huge volunteer community' of the church to implement its agenda which includes basketball programs, neighbourhood patrols in low-income neighbourhoods, and after school programs for youth.[90] Concerning the latter, one pastor explained to the *Toronto Star*:

> We in the church groups can do something. We can take volunteers and put them in the community to walk about. I do know that when you have a physical presence—other than the gangs—walking the streets, you can't take their guns from them and you might become a target yourself, but at least you are challenging them as to who controls the turf.[91]

The pastors are joined on by on duty-officers on their walks (see plate 4.6; 4.7). A typical session involves targeting young men in various locales,

> go[ing] out each Thursday night with the officers, either door to door or through a shopping mall. We get in the back of the cruiser —have you ever been in the back of a cruiser? — and we'll stop in one of the communities… If the police walk through by themselves, everybody scatters— you'd think that the place had been bombed! But if we go through together—and we try to have some excuse, sometimes we get football tickets from the Toronto Argonauts… anything …to legitimize the fact that we are there.[92]

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88 M. Weins, 'Reporters Notebook: The black community has a special responsibility', *Growing Up Without Men* (CBC Radio One, January 20, 2006)
89 Personal interview with PA4, 2008.
90 Personal interview, PA4. See also Canadian Baptist (Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec, Winter, 2006), 3.
91 M. Walsh, 'Faith in ending violence; 'We are not going to sit back and let 2006 become like 2005' *Toronto Star,* (January 10, 2006)B1.
92 Personal interview PA3, 2008.

Plate 4.6: Etobicoke Strategy, (Source, *Canadian Baptist*, Winter 2006)
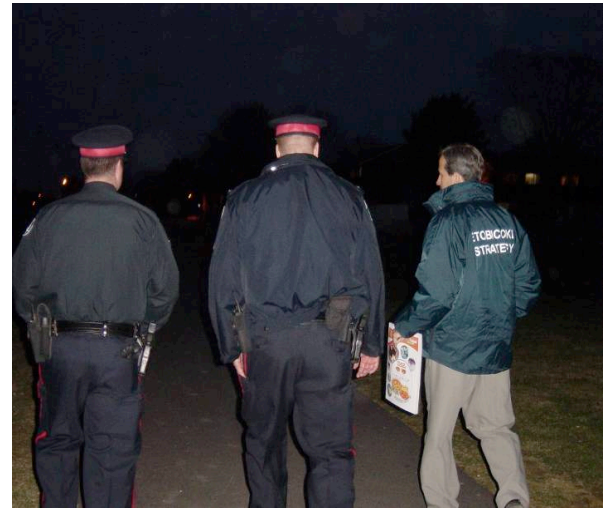
Plate 4.7: Jamestown walk, Etobicoke Strategy
(Source: Author, April, 2008)

Police on the other hand, acknowledge that walking through neighbourhoods with the pastors helps residents feel 'more at ease' in their presence while allowing them to become more familiar with specific social networks and congregation points that they otherwise would be less likely to observe alone on their regular foot patrol.[93] As I observed during my participation in a patrol in late February 2008, while police rarely engage in conversation with residents, the pastors share specific information about residents, particularly youth, they glean from their own conversations, such as family histories, and country of origin. Both the pastors and police exchanged details about specific residents' known encounters with the criminal justice system. Yet, as a pastor emphasized their relationship with police 'doesn't mean we are [their] patsies'. The police, for instance,

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93 Personal communication Toronto Police Service members on Jamestown walk, 2008.

don't do everything right, they are pretty clumsy. But, we are on their side. And, well the community's side too. We're neutral in a way, but really not. But police don't understand the brokenness that many of these youth come from— leaving war torn countries, growing up fatherless. They [police] only see the bad, and that is where we have a role to play. Now, we don't want to get labeled "hug a thugger". The church has the big task— the most important task— of telling people the Evangelical Gospel, the message of the Bible, but it also has the task of working out the social aspect of that. But its always hard to know what the balance is. It is right to present the social gospel, but not at the expense of the evangelical gospel that were really meant to be about. We are considered neutral but we aren't of course, we want everyone to come to church and believe in God, but you can't get there if people are shooting each other.[94]

The Etobicoke Strategy also sponsors over 300 missionaries from the U.S. South to run annual summer recreation programs for low-income youth in Rexdale. It runs parallel with another group called Church Fathers who 'train' youth to take on the 'proper role of father in the household and to be protectors and providers'.[95] And in 2006, founding members of the GTA Faith Alliance with over a million dollars in government grants, opened a storefront in a Priority Neighbourhood in Scarborough, (Dorset Park) in a social service desert of Scarborough.[96] Programmed and run by a group of evangelical Baptists it houses a skills and employment training centre, a games room, a skate park, a recording studio, a café, a church, and two pastor residences. A pastor from the centre, originally from Arkansas, explained the motivation behind the centre's innovative approach to social service delivery and the particular challenges of doing his work in Toronto:

> I come from the Bible Belt, I come from a place where everybody believes in God… It's a different world up here. I have not been involved with a church that has taken on the range of initiatives we have. I have a vision that we don't have [remain] behind four walls. We have a 72,000 square foot building and we want to maximize its potential. We want to impact young men… for good… our services are just an opportunity to…influence their lives.[97]

94 Personal interview PA4, 2008.
95 Personal interview PA4, 2008.
96 M. Welsh, 'Faith in ending violence' B1.
97 Personal interview, PA3 2008.

Conclusion

Faith-based organization, mobilized by the commanding presence of Dr. Eugene Rivers in Toronto, played a central role in diagnosing the crisis of gun violence as a problem for which blacks were accountable. In doing so Rivers and his local supporters entrenched a cultural explanation that delinked dominant cultural, social and economic relations from not only the issue of gun violence, but also from other social disparities experienced by young black men. This cultural explanation reworked historical renderings of black masculinity into contemporary discourses about the young men's social pathologies. Gangsta culture provided a potent cultural referent to ground these discourses—a powerful way to objectify black male bodies, while facilitating the criminalization of young black men on arguably non-racial grounds. These cultural explanations further entrench existing subjectivities and identities already at work to delimit ways of seeing, representing and penalizing young black men. The solutions generated by this cultural rendering instilled practices that reinforced gender hierarchies and valourized masculinist culture while subjecting black male bodies to heightened surveillance.

Conclusion

Prevention and Enforcement

Prevent: *to be in readiness for; to deprive of power or hope of acting or succeeding; to keep from happening; to hold or keep back.*
Enforce: *to give force to; to urge with energy; constrain, compel; to carry out effectively.*[1]

This dissertation is an attempt to situate the reality signified by the 'crisis of gun violence' as an event in the history of Toronto, especially with reference to transformations of urban space and governance articulated in terms of class and race. It began with a paradox: Toronto's crisis of gun violence represented a problem from the perspective of those it least affected. Starting from the position that there is no inherent relationship between racialized poverty and crime, it illustrated how the discursive construction of this crisis in the mainstreams of public opinion responded to actual events, but also clearly hinged on a set of existing assumptions that correlated social relations to urban space in unexamined concordance with popular imaginaries concerning poor black people and criminals. The research thus involved on the one hand identifying intersecting discourses and practices entrenching these assumptions and imaginaries, and on the other hand situating these in their historical context to analyze how they shaped and normalized responses to racialized poverty and crime in ways that further entrenched links between the two. It argued that the Year of the Gun can be understood in this historical perspective as a pivotal moment in the city's collective consciousness: an event that has served as an instrument to accelerate, normalize, and institutionalize ways of narrating and governing the growing racial and class difference

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1 Merriam Webster Dictionary of the English Language (2003)

between Toronto's centre and periphery. What then can we distill from the way dominant and subordinate relations—today acutely manifest in the racial and class divisions between the city and the suburbs—have acquired meaning?

The findings suggest that the symbolic and material construction of urban space played a vital role in the discursive construction of this crisis and responses to it. This crisis helped normalize how racialized poverty came to be culturally figured and represented in popular and policy arenas by fixing causal assumptions between poverty and crime. These causal assumptions established the parameters for explicating the 'root causes' of the crisis, and for formulating policy responses targeting poor suburban neighbourhoods. In addressing the question of how these assumptions gripped popular and policy discourse this dissertation demonstrates the centrality of intersecting constructions of race, class and space.

First, while there are different ways social relations can be represented, the narrative through which suburban poverty became visible, knowable and governable in popular and policy arenas has done little to implicate those privileged through these relations by way of race and class. In fact, the popular and policy frameworks through which this narrative wove did precisely the opposite by erasing processes contributing to concentrations of whiteness and wealth in the core from this representation. Instead racialized poverty was spatially bound, correlated to crime and other pathologies at the neighbourhood scale, and as a consequence labeled as 'high-risk'. Suburban poverty thus appeared on popular and policy horizons not only *out of place* in a landscape coded until recently in popular consciousness as white, middle-class and familial, but also as *unrelated* to the city's fully gentrified core. As the latter was naturalized by virtue of its invisibility in media, policy and social scientific

discourse, the former was problematized in these same realms by virtue of its uncontested

association with gun violence.

A constellation of intersecting discursive venues—popular, scientific, community-

based, and political—concerted to explain that local environments with high concentrations

of certain visible social attributes generated the conditions for gang-related gun violence,

among other social and cultural pathologies. This is a *partial* representation that—even in its

progressive articulations—firmly grounds methods for excavating the 'root causes' of social

problems squarely within cultural and material boundaries of the lived experiences of the

poor. For instance, while many actors working in key policy venues understood concentrated

suburban poverty to be intimately connected to the growing concentrations of wealth in the

core—a spatial manifestation of much broader political economic shifts in social welfare and

urban governance—such a representation of the problem was nevertheless rescaled in part

because of the institutional constraints within which social policy operates. In this sense the

rationale behind targeting spatially bound areas for government was similar to that of the

black pastors whose experiences of systemic and everyday racism led to a response focused

on the moral reform the black community, because the systemic reasons for their conditions

were 'beyond our control'. While prevailing wisdom in practical and theoretical circles

would suggest that local 'neighbourhood effects' can explain higher rates of unemployment

in the Priority Neighbourhoods, the case of the rejected provincial job applicant from

Scarborough suggests that discriminatory hiring practices *outside* of these neighbourhoods

are deeply implicated in racialized patterns of chronic under and unemployment in suburban

neighbourhoods. Addressing the root causes of highly racialized and spatialized patterns of

unemployment thus must begin from a broader framework that *includes* the institutions and practices of labour markets.

Second, the findings of this dissertation demonstrate that social investment in the suburbs came primarily in response to the threat suburban poverty appeared to pose to the core. The crisis of gun violence opened a window into Toronto's growing concentrations of racialized poverty and the violence signified what was at stake if the problem of suburban poverty remained unattended. The basic elements of this perspective included not only local experiences of the fifty two gun homicides in 2005 and the extraordinary murders that occurred in schools and other public places during and since then, but also the ways in which these local events were mediated through the racialized uprisings underway in the Parisian *banlieue* and the systemic violence that has long affected poor African American neighbourhoods—all of which painted a threatening picture of Toronto's future. The building blocks also included contemporary social scientific research that has become increasingly preoccupied with measuring urban segregation and its alleged effects—research that often invokes the threat of racialized violence as context and justification for investigation. The analytical value of the social categories of race and class in many instances appears to lie in whether or not social scientists can persuasively ascribe such labels to urban segregation. Material concentrations of racialized poverty in the suburbs were in this context instrumental in constructing associations between poverty and crime: indeed, the resultant view of the behaviour of these black bodies as an outcome of their pathological suburban environments gave here the category of race an amount of explanatory value that it would not otherwise possess on its own.

As I have illustrated, a historical view of this suburban threat highlights its specific racial dimensions. I identified the onset of this threat in the late 1960s to early 1970s, a period marked by the increased political and demographic presence of peoples who had long been considered and governed as 'racially inferior' both locally and on a global scale. This was a period in which global configurations between centre and periphery began to take on an increasingly urban form: in Toronto this translated into suburbanization of racialized poverty and the movement of the white middle classes to the core. While the cultural content upon which urbanites fears of the suburbs have since evolved—from automobiles and social conformity to gun violence and ghettoization—the basic point remains the same: the suburbs are the site of social pathology, the city is the site of authentic community.

The rendition of the crisis of gun violence extended privileged narrative of Toronto's social history that relies of real and imagined spatial divisions between the city and the suburbs to normalize what might otherwise be consider discriminatory discourses and practices. This narrative celebrates leaders of grassroots struggles against encroaching suburban threats and mourns the passing of its cherished identity as Toronto the Good with violent deaths of white women downtown. Such a white-liberal perspective necessarily represses a racialized underbelly of the city's social history: a legacy of state violence against people of colour, discriminatory practices of policing low-income suburban neighbourhoods, and systemic disinvestment in these same neighbourhoods.

Such an historical perspective of the narrative of suburban decline and the threat it appears to pose helps explains the current double-movement concerning suburban poverty and crime: the rationale of *prevention* now justifies long overdue social investments into poor suburban neighbourhoods; at the same time the rationale of solution sanctions increased

law *enforcement* through the domestication of militaristic policing in these same neighbourhoods. Yet, given that racialized poverty is rising while crime is not, how exactly can we make sense of this double-movement in Toronto's urban governance that has conjoined spatially targeted practices of preventing crime (social investment) and enforcing the law (militaristic policing)? The findings of this research suggest that this double-movement has *prevented* public discussions about the racialized architecture of neoliberal urbanism while *enforcing* one of suburban decline. It has prevented dialogue about the correlation between whiteness and wealth in the core, while enforcing causal relations between blackness, poverty and crime in the suburbs. And it has prevented critiques about the surveillance of the city's young black men, while enforcing projections of these same men through the prism of masculinist culture.

In disrupting the narrative of suburban decline and its genesis as one of neighbourhood effects and ghettoization this research aims to challenges prevailing views of the 'root causes' of the various social problems to which poor suburban neighbourhoods have been inextricably linked. In particular, I have tried to reposition the crisis of gun violence, and those spaces and bodies upon summoned to take responsibility for it, in relation to the logic of late capitalist urbanism. To position crime in relation to capitalism is not to say that young men are *compelled* to criminality because capitalism has relegated them to the margins of society, but rather to foreground how viewing this problem through the narrow lens of certain suburban spaces has on the one hand reified it from racialized social relations of late capitalist urbanism, and on the other hand, pathologized *place* in ways that contribute to new and renewed means of criminalizing the poor. If the factories, ships and dockyards of 18th century industrializing London were the spaces in which workers' customs could be

reconstituted as crime, today Toronto's postwar suburbs—specifically the decaying public and private tower neighbourhoods—constitute the spaces where being a young black man appears to be enough to render you as criminal.

The critique framing this research is not meant to disparage census-based methods of data collection, nor methodologies that harness such data to quantify differences in class, race, gender and other categories of social difference, visualize their distribution over time and space, and demonstrate patterns of uneven development. In fact, the current federal government has just announced it will make much of the socio-economic data collected through the 2011 national census voluntary, a move that the arguments in this dissertation do not endorse.

Paradoxically, the federal government's plans to dismantle sources of data that have the potential to visualize the polarizing effects of neoliberal urbanism and provide crucial means of illustrating local manifestations of global shifts in capital and labour[2] comes at a time when public and private agencies are enhancing the collection, analysis and distribution of crime-related data. Many police departments now map reported crimes across space and time and make these maps available to the public. In 2007, for instance the Toronto Police Service began publishing city maps of shootings, stabbings and homicides on its website.[3] This spring, Kingston Ontario joined the ranks of municipal police forces in Ottawa and Brandon (and over 800 municipalities in the US) who employ the for-profit services of CrimeReports to generate spatial distributions of crime data and make them freely available online. Visitors can also sign up to have 'free crime alerts' in their neighbourhood delivered

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2 For an excellent example see A. Walks. 'The Social Ecology of the Post-Fordist/ Global City? Economic Restructuring and Socio-Spatial Polarisation in the Toronto Urban Region', *Urban Studies* 38.3, pp. 407 - 447.

[3] Toronto Police Service 'Crime Statistics' http://www.torontopolice.on.ca/statistics/stats.php

via email or text.[4] According to Kingston's Chief of Police, investments in these interactive crime mapping tools are about 'community mobilization... [I]f we're not giving the public the information about what's happening in their own neighbourhoods, how are we really reaching out to them or expecting them to help us?'.[5]

Given the swelling budget for law and order in Canada, the support it has received across various levels of government, political parties, and public opinion polls, these recent shifts remind us that mapping social problems such as criminality, segregation, racialized poverty without also making visible the sites to which such social problems are inextricably linked further entrench and normalize discourses and practices that sustain such dominant and subordinate relations. As a key element in the production of knowledge that governs and regulates our everyday lives spatializing social problems can impart useful, even crucial information, but only when such a practice helps to question rather than reinforce the reified narratives used to imagine and make sense of the social world and our relationship to it. The racialization of inequality has long helped to obscure capitalism's contradictions, harnessing first biological, then cultural, explanations to pathologize and criminalize the poor. In an era when such racist explanations have been largely discredited, and during a period of growing residential segregation in Canada's largest cities, mapping social problems at the scale of the neighbourhood runs the risk of providing *spatial* 'evidence' that spawns a very similar façade. Spatial analysis of statistical data may offer a crucial means to expose patterns of social and economic inequality, but the analyses and the solutions must be squarely situated

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4 CrimeReports.com. A website called Spotcrime.com, established in 2008 offers a similar service.
5 R. Tripp, 'Online map charts crime', *The Whig Standard* (May 9, 2010) www.thewhig.com/ArticleDisplay.aspx?e=2534933.

within the socio-political context driving the collection of such data and within the relations

that generate their meaning.

Appendix A: Data Sources, Limitations

Research Participants (N=35)

City of Toronto Social Development, Finance and Administration: 11 (coded as SDFA in the text)

Toronto Community Housing: 14 (coded as TCHC in the text,)

Toronto Police Services: 4 (coded as TPS in the text)

Ministry of Children and Youth Services: 1 (coded as MCYS in the text)

United Way of Greater Toronto: 1 (coded as UWGT in the text)

Pastors: 4 (coded as PA in the text)

Participant Observation

2006   'Racialization of Crime: Anti-Racist responses to the Guns + "Gangs" Debate in Toronto' January 26th 2006, Toronto Resource Library.

'Challenging Social Exclusion in One Toronto Neighbourhood: Lessons from Malvern' The Malvern Youth Leadership (MYLIFE) Project, January 27th 2006, University of Toronto, Centre Joint Centre of Excellence for Research on Immigration and Settlement.

'Meet the Coalition' African Canadian Coalition, Feb 12th 2006, Harbourfront Centre.

'An Anti-Oppression Framework for Addressing Black Youth and Violence'. March 21st 2006, Ryerson University Jorgenson Hall.

'Down with Guns Launch' Seventh Day Adventist Church, April 26, 2006, Rexdale Etobicoke

'A View from the Inner Suburbs: Public Forum', April 2006, St. Lawrence Centre for the Performing Arts.

'Guns, Gangs and Racism' May 14th, 2006, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.

'Continuing A Dialogue on Black Youth Within an Anti-Oppression Framework' May 30th 2006, Ryerson University, Jorgenson Hall.

'A Community Forum on National Security, Arbitrary Arrests and the Criminalization of Dissent in Canada' June 23rd, 2006 Ryerson University, Auditorium.

'OCAP Women of Etobicoke Demonstration Against Police Harassment' July 7th 2006, 2126 Kipling Ave

'Community Summit: African Canadian Coalition: A partnership for Transformation and Development' July 22, 2006, Ryerson University, Room LIB 72.

2007   'Toronto Anti-Violence Intervention Strategy CCTV Public Consultation Meetings', Toronto Police Services, February 2007, East York Civic Centre, Delta Chelsa Hotel Toronto, Dufferin Community Centre.

'Making Safe Communities Safer: Priority Neighbourhoods Public Consultations', City of Toronto Social Development Finance and Administration, United Way of Greater Toronto, Ministry of Children and Youth Services, Service Canada March 2007, Scarborough Civic Centre, East York Civic Centre.

'Safe Cities for Youth: A culture of Smart Choices' March 12-13 2007, City of Toronto and Department of Justice, 89 Chestnut Conference Centre, Toronto.

Toronto Police Services Board Meetings September 2007; October 2007; February 2008

2008   Etobicoke Strategy, April 8, 2008, Jamestown, Etobicoke.

News media, Magazines, Films

News media	**Magazines**	**Films**
Globe and Mail	*Now*	2006 *Hear the Story* dir. Allison Duke, City of
National Post	*Eye*	Toronto, Community Safety Secretariat
Toronto Star	*Macleans*	2006 *EMPz4 Life* dir. Allen King

CBC Radio One	*Toronto Life*	2005 *The Real Toronto* dir. Madd Russian,
CBC Television	*Saturday Night*	independent

2004 *A Call to Action* dir. Carl Thériault, NFB
2005 *Voices of Rexdale* dir. Laura Mullin, Expect Theatre
1994 *Jane Finch Again* dir. Roger McTair, NFB
1984 *Home Feeling: Struggle for a Community* dir. Jennifer Hodge/ Roger Mc Tair, NFB

Policy Documents

City of Toronto/ Metro Toronto

Proposals: Central Area Plan Review, Part 1: General Plan, City of Toronto Planning Board (1975).

A By-Law to adopt an amendment to Part 1 of the Official Plan for the City of Toronto Respecting Housing and Parts of the Central Area (No 34-76), City of Toronto, (1976).

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D. Miller, Community Safety Plan: Policy and Finance Committee, February 17, (2004).

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Neighbourhood Social Infrastructure in Toronto, City of Toronto, March 3 (2005).

S. Corke, Staff Report: Toronto Strong Neighbourhoods Strategy. October 5 (2005)

Minutes of the Policy and Finance Committee, October 20, 21, (2005)

Minutes of the Council of the City of Toronto, October 26, 27, 28 and 31. (2005).

Research Report 1: C. Freiler 'Why Strong Neighbourhoods Matter' Public Policy Consultant (2005).

Research Report 2: 'The Role of Community Infrastructure in Building Strong
       Neighbourhoods' Laurel Rothman, Family Service Association, (2005).

Research Report 3: 'Assessing Neighbourhood Vitality', GHK International, (2005).

Research Report 4: 'Neighbourhood Social Infrastructure in Toronto', Social Policy Analysis
       and Research Unit, City of Toronto, (2005).

Research Report 5: 'Putting Theory into Practice: Asset Mapping in Three Toronto
       Neighbourhoods', Caryl Arundel and Associates, (2005).

Research Report 6: 'Multi-Partner Funding for Neighbourhood Revitalization in Toronto',
       GHK International, (2005).

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       October 5 (2005).

Status Update on the Accelerated Building Investment Program. Toronto Community
       Housing Corporation 2006. March 22 (2006).

Minutes of the Council of the City of Toronto, February 24, 25, 26 and 27. (2006).

Minutes of the Special Meeting of the Council of the City of Toronto, March 29 and 30,

       (2006)

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Research Notes and Gaps in Data

   I have attempted to construct a coherent narrative as possible that at the same time is tightly tethered to the data from which it emanates. One of the biggest challenges I faced was that the crisis of gun violence, and the policies and programs related to it were in the process of unfolding while I embarked on this research. I tried to overcome this challenge by following up with research participants when possible, frequently updating my archive of policy documents and legislative changes, and triangulating different sources of information about specific policies. In some cases, gaps in the research are a consequence of unsuccessful attempts at recruiting research participants within particular organizations influential to policies and policy frameworks. With the exception of one former employee of the United Way this was wholly the case with this organization despite contacting eight people employed (or formally employed) with the agency. The United Way figured centrally in the genesis of the Priority Neighbourhoods, and the perspective of this agency in this process would have enhanced my analysis of the social and institutional context in which the Priority Neighbourhoods, the Strong Neighbourhoods Taskforce, and Poverty by Postal Code were developed. I was also interested in documenting the formation of the Youth Challenge Fund, a new public (provincial) private partnership that targeted over 45 million dollars into the Priority Neighbourhoods. Although I contacted four people involved in the Youth Challenge Fund, I was unsuccessful in getting research participants involved in the development and administration of this Fund to agree to an interview. Despite contacting five individuals associated with the Coalition of African Canadian Organizations I was also unsuccessful in

my efforts to formally interview this group, although did talk to members informally at the meetings they hosted in 2006.

Finally, this research is motivated by my concerns with urban social justice, particularly as a critique of the prevailing discourses shaping urban governance, policy and planning. It has informed, and been informed by my work in Toronto's post-war suburbs in various capacities over the past four years as an activist, research assistant and community facilitator. Through these experiences I have learned a great deal from people who live and work in the Priority Neighbourhoods about both the positive and negative experiences and outcomes that come with this label, and I have contributed in a small way toward broader efforts contesting, transforming and reconfiguring dominant discourses and governing structures concerning the city's suburbs.