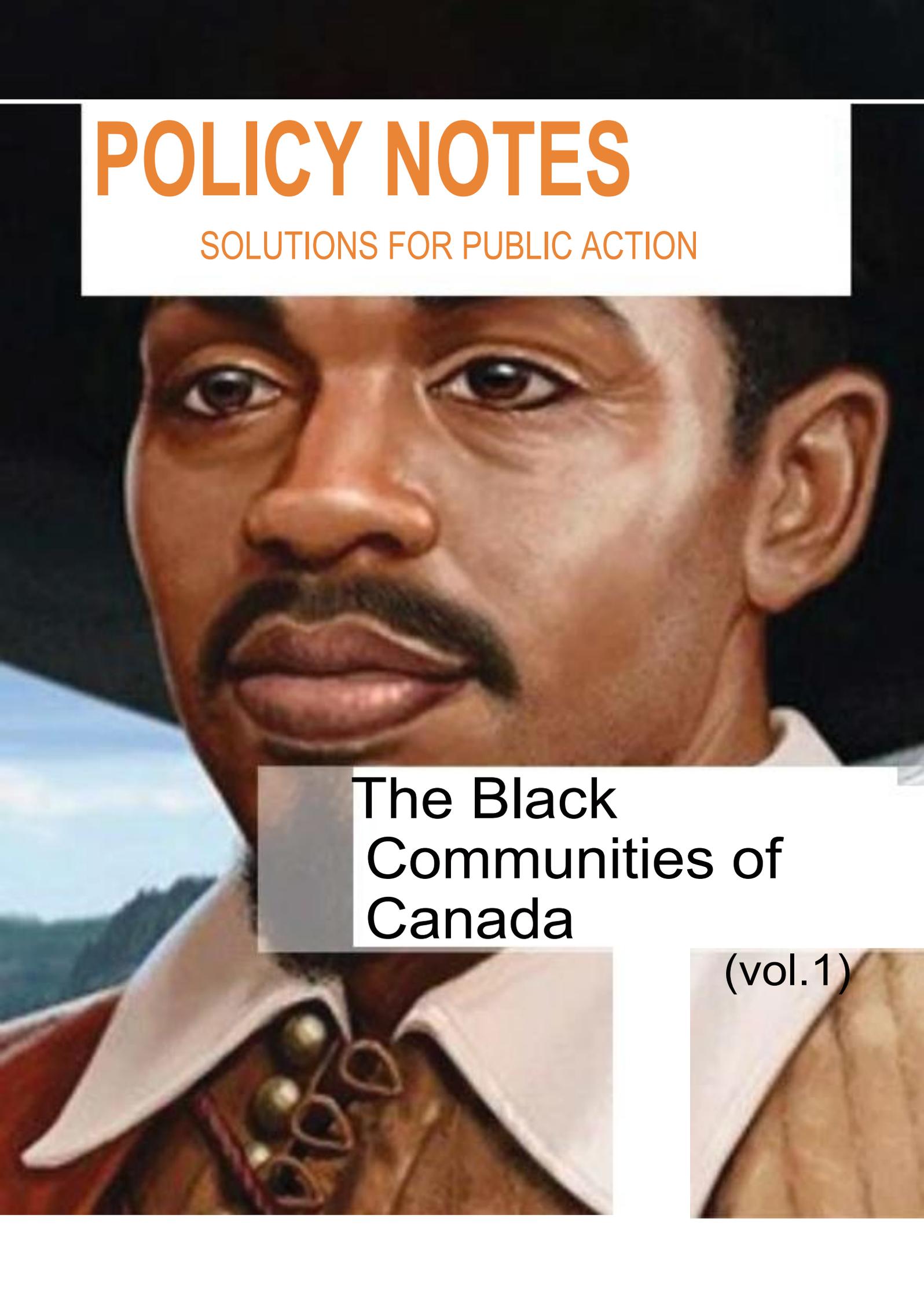


POLICY NOTES

SOLUTIONS FOR PUBLIC ACTION

A close-up portrait of a Black man with a mustache, looking slightly to the left. He is wearing a white collared shirt and a brown jacket with brass buttons. The background is dark with a hint of a landscape.

The Black Communities of Canada

(vol.1)

N° 3- May 2022

Publisher: IDEAS-AFRICA

71A-, Strathyre, Lasalle
(QC) H8R 3P8, Canada
info@idees-afrique.ca

Editorial Committee

Nordin LAZREG, Ph.D. (University of Montreal)

Flore DONGMO, Ph.D. (IDEAS-AFRICA)

Raoul TAMEKOU TSOVA, Ph.D. (IDEAS-AFRICA, Montreal)

Jean Roger ABESSOLO NGUÉMA, Ph.D. (University of Douala/IDÉES-AFRIQUE)

Traduction: DENISE ODILE ETOA

Disclaimer: The opinions expressed in this review are those of the authors and should not be taken as official positions of IDEES-AFRICA.

ISSN: ISSN 2564-100X

TABLE DES MATIÈRES

| | |
|--|----|
| TABLE OF CONTENTS | 2 |
| A WORD FROM THE DIRECTOR | 3 |
| THEMATIC DOSSIER | 6 |
| Lerona Dana LEWIS Gloria Ann COZIER CHANGING BLACK YOUTH FUTURES: COMMUNITY LED RESEARCH BY THE LA SALLE MULTICULTURAL RESOURCE CENTER (LMRC) | 7 |
| Patsy FAUBLAS OVERWORK IN BLACK COMMUNITIES IN CANADA | 15 |
| Alain BABINEAU BASED ON STEREOTYPES | 24 |
| Maxim FORTIN RACIAL PROFILING IN CANADA: DOCUMENTING, ANALYZING AND MOVING BEYOND BIAS | 32 |
| INTERVIEW | 39 |
| EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW WITH THE HONORABLE MAKA KOTTO | 40 |
| CRITICAL REVIEWS | 45 |
| Alain DENEALT, Delphine ABADIE, William SACHER. <i>Black Canada: Pillage, corruption and crime in Africa.</i> Montreal: Ecosociété. | 46 |



A WORD FROM THE DIRECTOR

Raoul TAMEKOU TSOWA, Ph.D.

Director IDEAS-AFRICA

To name is to make exist. The words chosen to define reality often go beyond description. They make it happen, construct it. This performative function of language seems to us to be particularly enlightening in terms of the stakes of meaning that underlie the choice of this issue's theme. Indeed, the expression "black communities" is prevalent in social discourse and is a popular fiction whose historical and rhetorical processes of fabrication and action must be taken into account. In order to clearly grasp its contours, let us distinguish the constituent terms. Let us begin with "Blacks". Although the uniqueness of the human race has been established by science for decades, racial categories, which have been a driving force in the global history of human societies, continue to be powerful forces of expression, and objectification, of human difference. However, "whiteness" and "blackness" are conditions inherited from political relations, and therefore from domination. The color of the skin, simple biological result of a mixture of chromophores or of a variation of the melanin, assumes a particular social significance according to the times, the societies, the contexts.

In a minority context, such as Canada, dark-skinned people construct their identity by drawing on the repertoire of moral and material resources that their position in relation to the dominant group confers. Being in the world takes shape through norms, conventions, power relations; it exists in the form of assimilation. The group becomes community through the sharing of attributed or stated characteristics. Fiction is developed. A point of biological variation is associated with selective indicators in order to construct artificial markers, with very real effects. In Canada, this political enterprise of designation allows for the fixation and freezing of very distinct human groups in pernicious codifications that not only deny their plurality, but also essentialize their minority position in social relations. On the political and social level, these minority human groups, who resemble each other less by epidermal homogeneity than by marked variation with the dominant group, from this point of view, visibly form a community. They even constitute a "visible minority"! On the cultural level, similarly, the same arbitrary process of codification of domination is consecrated by a convenient expression "diversity". Simplification and reduction are operative processes in the construction of public problems, and then in the design of public policies. Reducing makes it possible to circumscribe, and therefore to manage better. Practical for the definition

This is the case for the creation of an agenda, the development of a budget, and the identification of objects of accountability. Nevertheless, arbitrarily assembled in an instrumental category that serves purposes of social and political control, black people do not take ownership of this collective foundation of their own construction, in that it offers them concrete bases for acting on their condition. The fiction becomes denser. Naming also allows for transformation.

The history of Black communities in Canada is a history of domination, strongly rooted in the very genesis of the country. In the popular imagination, the presence of Blacks is associated with recent immigration, and the extent, if not the existence, of the phenomena of violent subjugation and dehumanization of racism and slavery, particularly in the United States. Yet, going back as far as the beginning of French colonization in Canada, the presence of blacks is attested. Similarly, although slavery did not have the same scope or intensity as in the United States, the manifestations are no less similar. As early as the 18th century, slavery acquired legal foundations and a Black Code was applied. The Black man was by default a slave, therefore a commodity, a movable good likely to be treated like any other commercial object. Finally, racism in Canada is also a historical and persistent phenomenon. It is rooted in institutions, professional and organizational practices, normalized in discourse and social representations. Systemic, it is no less overwhelming. Thus, since Mathieu Da Costa, the first black man in Canada (1606), or Olivier Lejeune, the first black slave (1629) who arrived in Canada, the number of black people has increased considerably. Today, they represent 3.5% of the total population of the country. On the other hand, one constant remains through the centuries and the evolution of society: the precarious status of this group of people. And if it is true that statistics only make sense through the way they are used, in other words, they allow us to point the finger in the direction we are pointing, we can say that black people in Canada are a community first and foremost because of their strong representation in the indices of equality and social justice. This includes health and social services, education, economic prosperity, access to justice and policing.

These issues are specifically the focus of the articles in this issue. In their text, **Lerona LEWIS** and **Glory ANN** analyze the role of Black community organizations in Montreal in addressing the limitations of the Quebec educational system. The Lasalle Multicultural Resource Center (LCRM) is used as an example. Indicators or concrete effects of this systemic failure include the low graduation rate of black students, particularly anglophone students, counterproductive disciplinary measures, and the shortcomings of the French language learning policy. The authors pertinently analyze the deep roots of the academic performance of Black Anglophone students in Quebec, and in particular their link with anti-black racism. Finally, the authors highlight a program (*Changing Black Youth Future*) carried out by the LCRM and present the issues and solutions to the problem.

of anti-black racism in education in Quebec. In her article, **Patsy FAUBLAS** focuses on a mental health issue in Black communities in Canada, burnout. In her inspiring and instructive text, the author analyzes the phenomenon of overwork by putting forward the characteristics, causes and solutions. Using official statistics, she also paints a picture of the extent of burnout among Black people in Canada. We learn that Black women (25-59 years old), and in general, Black workers are more likely to experience burnout than the rest of the population. The causes of this high representation are social and structural. They are rooted in working conditions and career paths, both of which are impacted by the system of social representations of blacks within society, based on systemic racism.

The role of representations in the judicial system is rightly addressed by **Alain BABINEAU** in his article which analyzes the impact of stereotypes in racial profiling in Canada. The author shows that, statistically, Black people are the target of police interventions more often than people from other communities. In the same vein, **Maxim FORTIN** in his text, presents a study of racial profiling in the literature and analyzes two recurring causes: prejudices on race, ethnicity, culture and religion and public policies oriented towards the fight against "street gangs" and the repression of incivilities.

In the "Interviews" section, we welcome for this issue an exceptional personality, the Honourable **Maka KOTTO**, former Member of Parliament and former Minister in Quebec, who talks to us about his career and provides us with keys to understanding issues related to Black communities, and more specifically, to populations of African origin in Canada. Finally, a critical review concludes the publication.

THEMATIC DOSSIER

CHANGING BLACK YOUTH FUTURES: COMMUNITY LED RESEARCH BY THE LA SALLE MULTICULTURAL RESOURCE CENTER (LMRC)



Lerona Dana LEWIS, PhD.



Gloria Ann COZIER, PSW, CCPA, QCA, ISSUP
Researchers with the LMRC

Abstract

Black Community Organizations in Montreal have a long history of involvement in educational endeavors to address the shortcomings of the Quebec Education System. The effects of these shortcomings include, lower graduation rates of Black Students, particularly Black Anglophone students, harsh disciplinary measures, and the conflation of challenges to learn French as a second language with learning disabilities. The project examines the trajectory of Black Youth in Montreal, from secondary school to work, or post secondary education. The tradition of Black Community organizing in Montreal, Anti-Blackness in Quebec education, the need for greater focus on the academic success of Black youth in Quebec, the relevance of this LMRC project and the need for continued government support to support Black community organizations are among

the areas addressed in this article.

Key words: education; Black community organizations; Anti-Blackness; Quebec

Summary

Black community organizations in Montreal have long been involved in educational projects to address the shortcomings of the Quebec education system. The effects of these shortcomings include lower graduation rates for Black students, particularly Black Anglophone students, harsh disciplinary measures, and the conflation of French as a second language difficulties with learning difficulties. The project examines the trajectory of Black youth in Montreal from high school to work or post-secondary education. The tradition of community organizing

Black youth in Montreal, anti-blackness in Quebec education, the need to focus more on the educational success of Black youth in Quebec, the relevance of this PSRC project, and the need for continued government support for Black community organizations are among the areas addressed in this article.

Keywords: education; black community organizations; anti-blackness; Quebec

CHANGING BLACK YOUTH FUTURES: COMMUNITY LED RESEARCH BY THE LA SALLE MULTICULTURAL RESOURCE CENTER (LMRC)

Black Community Organizations in Montreal have a long history of involvement in educational endeavors to address the shortcomings of the Quebec Education System. The effects of these shortcomings include, lower graduation rates of Black Students, particularly Black Anglophone students, harsh disciplinary measures, and the conflation of challenges to learn French as a second language with learning disabilities. The LaSalle Multicultural Resource Center is undertaking a research project called "Changing Black Youths Futures" which is funded by Heritage Canada to address these shortcomings. The project examines the trajectory of Black Youth in Montreal, from secondary school to work, or post secondary education. The tradition of Black Community organizing in Montreal, Anti-Blackness in Quebec education, the need for greater focus on the academic success of Black youth in Quebec, the relevance of this LMRC project and the need for continued

government support to support Black community organizations are among the areas addressed in this article.

Tradition of Black Community Organizing

The LaSalle Multicultural Resource Center (LMRC) is part of a rich tradition of Black community organizing in Montreal to improve the lives of Black people in Canada in the face of racial discrimination. The Negro Community center (NCC), the first such organization in Montreal, formed in 1927, operated for just over six decades and youth education was one of the key areas of focus. Today, other organizations and institutions continuing the work of supporting Black youth education include, the Quebec Board of Black Educators (QBBE), the Cote de Neiges Black Community Association (CDNBCA), the Bureau de la Communauté Haitienne de Montréal (BCCHM), the La Maison ddHaïti, the Jamaica Association of Montreal (JAM), the West Island Black Community Association and the Fonds 1804. Black community organization around education is the subject of research by McGill University professor Philip Howard in a study funded by Fonds de recherche-Société et culture entitled *Documenting and Understanding Black Community Supplementary Educational Initiatives in Montreal from 1900 to the Present*. The work of community organizations and their importance in the fight against racial discrimination is also recognized by the government of Canada. The government's strategic document *Building a Foundation for Change: Canada's Anti-Racism Strategy 2019-2022* states that it recognizes the "expertise of community

organizations" to develop targeted solutions to systemic barriers. The impact of the government's Anti-Racist strategy will be evident with time. However, Black Community organisations like the LMRC that have been working with insufficient financial support and forced to continuously compete for funding can benefit (for the moment) from funding associated with this Anti-Racism strategy.

born out of the need to better support Black students in their school to career transitions. From its work within the community, the LMRC observed that Black students were having difficulties in schools, that there is a strong police presence around the schools in the area, and that students were overrepresented in classes or programs for students with what is termed behavioural difficulties or "maladjustment" as presented in discourses of Ministry of Education.



The LMRCs work with Black youth is located within the tradition of members of the Black community coming together to address the problems of racism in their daily experiences. The LMRC is a registered charitable organization established in 2004 and is in good standing with all levels of Governments. The LMRCs began its operation to fill the need for culturally relevant English language services to residence the borough of LaSalle. The population served includes first, second and third generation of immigrants, newcomers, and refugees. This specific project Changing Black Youth Futures is

Anti-Blackness Quebec Education

Existing research supports the LMRCs observation about the experiences of schooling that Black students in Montreal endure. The notion of Anti-Black Racism provides a very fruitful way for thinking about the racism experienced by Black Students in Montreal. Anti-Black racism is pervasive institutional practices, beliefs and attitudes embedded in Canada's White supremacist history and culture that denigrate people of African descent, manifested by

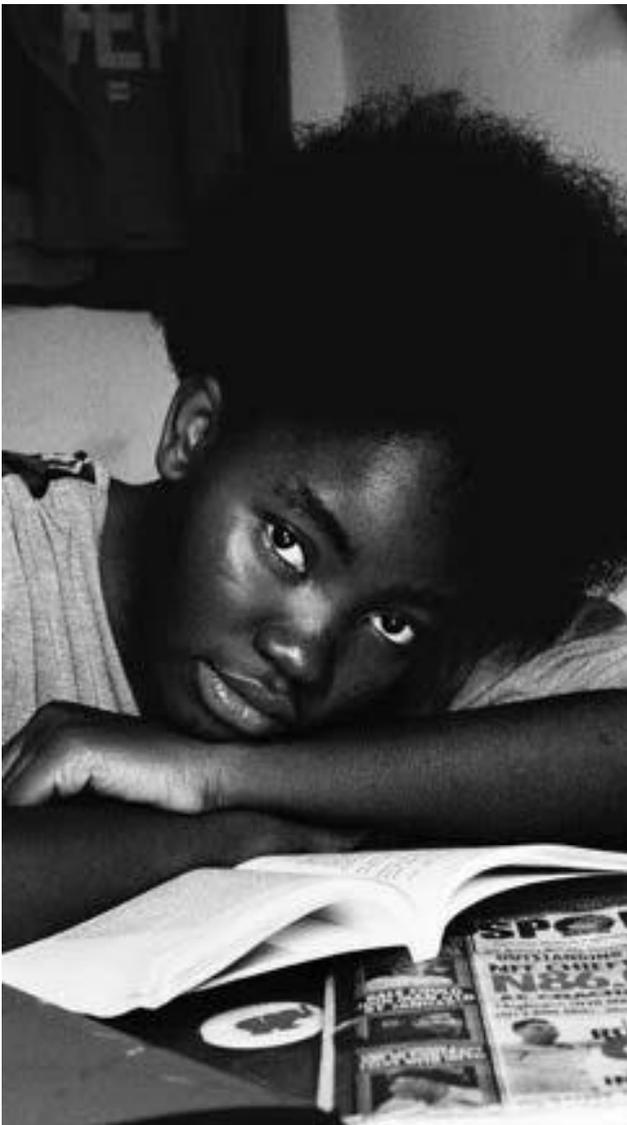
structural violence and racialized inequities in all institutions, including education (Clark, Hasford Gudge & Mills-Minster, 2018). Anti-Black Racism is evident by unequal opportunities, lower success rate of Black students, higher levels of expulsion and suspension, higher levels of unemployment and poverty, poorer health indicators, and over-representation in youth protection services and the criminal justice system, compared to the rest of the population. A very current example is the disproportionately high negative impact of COVID-19 on Black people in Canada (Mensah & Williams, 2022). Anti-Black Racism highlights the need for data to illustrate disparities in health, education, economic and social well-being. Unlike Toronto where race-based data is now collected in education, Quebec and Montreal do not routinely collect quantitative race-based data in Education. Inferences are made by proxies such as birthplace of parents or language spoken at home as in the (McAndrew, 2008). The problem with this approach is that it frames the issues of Black students' academic success as relevant only to students whose families are not from Quebec. It is also perpetuation the "Myths of two Solitudes" the French and English as the foundation of Quebec. This myth has rendered Blacks in Quebec to "the sidelines of the nations narrative sitting outside the boundaries of the nation and its entitlements" (Austin, 2013 p. 38). The Indigenous People on the land when the settlers arrived were also excluded from the narratives of Quebec. It goes without saying that the increased public awareness and the current acknowledgment of the Indigenous Peoples in Canada did not come naturally and is necessary to

redress the deliberate destruction and erasure of Indigenous culture and way of life in Canada ([See the Truth and Reconciliation Commission](#)).

The practical effect of founding myths about Canada and Quebec is the erasure of presence of Black people in Quebec. With that erasure of Blackness, the denial of systemic racism becomes easier for those in authority in Quebec. Government officials engage in thesaurus gymnastics to explain away the existence of systemic racism. This denial has very real consequences for Black men, women, and youth children living in Quebec because of what Critical Race Theorists refer to as the *ordinariness of racism*. This ordinariness can lead to violent encounters of school age children with law enforcement in public places in Quebec (Ann, 2021). It can lead to teachers profiling Black students as dangerous or threatening in schools (Lafortune, 2019). It allows the government tabling Bill 32 in what is considered a response to the use of the N-word at the University of Ottawa (Grant, 2002.). Bill 32 will enshrine the rights of professors to use *any word* in a university classroom in the name of academic freedom.

Yet, prior to the Bill being tabled there were reports at the high school and the college level, in Quebec (CBC News, 2020; Ferah and Ouelette- Vézina, 2021) where the use of the N- word created tension, mistrust and feelings of powerlessness for Black student in the classroom, conditions which are the antithesis to a positive learning environment. The heightened awareness of the detrimental effects of racism on Black people in the summer of 2020 helped to expose the history

of verbal abuse that high school students experienced by a teacher who repeatedly used the N-word in his classes over many years and led to his suspension and eventual dismissal (Montreal Gazette, 2020). The tabling of Bill 32 despite the known distress caused to Black students is emblematic of the continuation of the denial of Blackness in Quebec. Is it that Black students are imagined as absent in education spaces, and as such do not need protection from the state?



The other significant policy legalisation that impacted the education of Black youth in Quebec was the implementation of the Charter of the French Language commonly referred to as Bill 101 which

restricts access to English Language schools in Quebec. Children must attend Francophone schools up to high school, whether in public or government subsidized private institutions. The law does not apply to schools that are not subsidized by the government. However, these unsubsidized schools are cost prohibitive for most Black Anglophone families. The challenges that some students experience learning French in elementary and high school has been conflated with learning disabilities. Such "diagnosis" results in delays in the students' academic journey. In elementary school some students have had to repeat grades because of difficulty with French (Lewis, 2015). It is not uncommon for Anglophone students who age out of the Francophone high school to attend an English institution where they obtain their high school diploma, a testament of their perseverance in the face of an education system that was inherently designed to exclude them. In the pursuit of the protection of the white French Quebec identity (which is considered a minority within the North American context,) the rights of minority groups within Quebec such as Black Anglophone can be dismissed with the notwithstanding clause (see The Canadian Encyclopedia, 2022).

Bill 96 is another legislation pertaining to language instruction and is seen as an extension of *Bill 101* designed to protect the French language in Quebec, but which would result in a reduction in access to college (the step before University in Quebec) in English for students who do not have the right to attend English primary or secondary schools. The decline in enrollment and closure of English schools has

been attributed to *Bill 101* (Ciamarra, Lamarre, Donovan, & OdDonnell, 2021). Could a similar decline occur in English language CEGEPS? In the absence of readily available race-based data is impossible to predict how changes introduced by Bill 96 are likely to affect the trajectory of Black youth in the Quebec Education System. It is known that within the Francophone school system Black Anglophone youth are least likely to complete high school in five years compared to other groups (McAndrew, 2006). If students must attend CEGEP in French AND if there is no significant improvement in French as second language pedagogy in elementary and secondary school, there could be a prolongation of the time to completion of CEGEP among Black Anglophone students and possibly a higher dropout rate from CEGEP.

The policy framework that governs education filters down to the classroom and impacts Black students' schooling experience. Black student academic success in high schools in Montreal was reported to be lower than that of their white counterparts (McAndrew, 2006). The pushing out of Black youth from the education system due to culturally inappropriate curriculum, low teacher expectations, and harsh disciplinary measures negatively impacts their educational pathways, school-to-career transition and eventual life chances. In Montreal several reasons have been advanced for the disengagement of Black youth from the education system including immigration status, language as discussed earlier, a preponderance of single parent families, low socio-economic status, and the school not attended (La Fortune and Blade, 2012; McAndrew, 2008). However, as Howard

(2014) pointed it is time to look beyond irrelevant issues such as marital status of parents to the link between poverty and unemployment and underemployment of Black parents. With limited financial resources Black parents on their own cannot supplement the failings of the Quebec education system. Community organizations like the LMRC could make a significant difference through the programs offered to Black youth.

Research project to make a difference

The LMRC's research project, *Changing Black Youth Futures* examines the trajectory of Black youth ages 14 to 25 from high school to work or career. Led by the community organization the project has an advisory group comprised of university professors from Montreal and members of the LaSalle Community. The project runs until March 2023. The goals and objectives of the project are to enhance the vitality and employability of current and future members of the Black Community in Montreal. The results of the project will support the ongoing work of LMRC as it strives to address inequity in educational attainment experienced by Black youth in Montreal. It will provide practical tools to parents and school administrators on the best ways to support Black youth who are faced with racial discrimination in schools.

The LMRC project recommendations may reflect current thinking about education of Black youths which emphasizes the need to increase recruitment and retention of Black teachers in elementary and high school. Teacher education programs can also help to better prepare the

largely white population of pre-service teachers to develop lesson plans that do not cause harm to Black students and so that Black high school students are not burdened with the task of educating their peers and in some instance their teachers. Consideration should be given to the impact of new polices and laws in Quebec designed to protect Quebec Francophone Identity along with inclusion of targeted resources and measures to mitigate the possible harmful effect of these policies that could violate the liberty and equality of the Black Anglophone communities in Quebec. Increases in financial support for Black community organizations working to support Black youth education will continue to be critical. Most important, however, is the willingness to acknowledge the racial discrimination experienced by Black youth in Quebec schools and a strong commitment from the government of Quebec to dismantle pillars of Anti-Black Racism in Quebec Education. The LMRC anticipates that its current project *Changing Black Youth's Future* will assist in improving the educational experiences of Black youths, while continuing the long tradition of Black community organizing in Quebec.

References

1. Ann, Virgine 2021 Quebec Police say the are investigating footage of violent arrest of Black Teens The Canadian Press November 28. <https://globalnews.ca/news/8408345/quebec-police-black-teen-violent-arrest-video/>
2. Austin, D. (2013). *Fear of a black nation: race, sex and security in sixties Montreal. Between the Lines.*
3. CBC News 2020 Montreal-Nord high school teacher captured on video repeatedly using the N-word in Class. Accessed April 30 2022. [Montreal-Nord high school teacher captured on video repeatedly using N-word in class | CBC News](https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal-nord-high-school-teacher-captured-on-video-repeatedly-using-n-word-in-class-1.5711111)
4. Ciamarra, N, Lamarre, P, Donovan, P and O'Donnell, L. (2021) Decline of Enrollment in Quebec
5. English-Language School Sector. Quebec English Speaking Communities Research Network QUESCREEN. Education Research Brief no. 1
6. Clarke, Jennifer; Hasford, Julian; Gudge, Leyland; and Mills-Minster, Sonia (2018). "Imagining a Community-Led, Multi-Service Delivery Model for Ontario Child Welfare: A Framework for Collaboration Among African Canadian Community Partners." *Journal of Law and Social Policy* 28:2. Pp 42-66.
7. <https://digitalcommons.osgoode.yorku.ca/jlsp/vol28/iss1/14>
8. Ferah, M and Ouellette-Véxina, H (2021). "L'emploi " répété " du " mot commençant par un N " dénonce <https://www.lapresse.ca/actualites/education/2021-11-11/college-de-maisonneuve/l-emploi-repete-du-mot-commencant-par-un-n-denonce.php>
9. Grant, Josh (2022) Quebec moves to shore up academic freedom with controversial bill. Accessed April 30, 2022 <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/academic-freedom-bill-tabled-1.6410128>
10. Howard, Philip S. S. 2014. "Taking the Bull by the Horns: The Critical Perspectives and Pedagogy of Two Black Teachers in Anglophone Montreal. Schools. *"Race, Ethnicity and Education* 17(4):494- 517
11. Lafortune, G. (2019). "The CEGEP experience of young people of Haitian origin: a gender-differentiated relationship to education?" *Canadian Journal of Sociology*, 44(4), 343-372. <https://doi.org/10.29173/cjs29492>
12. Lewis, L. (2016). *Caribbean immigrant parents' involvement in their children's education in francophone elementary schools in Montreal* (dissertation). McGill University Libraries.
13. Mc Andrew, M., Ledent, J. & Ait-Said, R. (2006). Does the Quebec school ensure equal opportunity? *Le cheminement scolaire des jeunes noirs au secondaire. Cahiers québécois de démographie*, 35(1), 123-148.
14. Mc Andrew, M., Garnett, B., Ledent, J., Ungerleider, C., Adumati-Trache, M. & Ait-Said, R. (2008). The academic success of students from immigrant backgrounds: a question of social class, language or culture? *Éducation et francophonie*, 36(1), 177-196. <https://doi.org/10.7202/018096ar>
15. Ou <https://www.erudit.org/fr/revues/ef/2008-v36-n1-ef2292/018096ar.pdf>
16. Mensah, J., & Williams, C. J. (2022). Socio-structural injustice, racism, and the covid-19 pandemic: a precarious entanglement among black immigrants in Canada. *Studies in Social Justice*, 16(1), 123-142. <https://doi.org/10.26522/ssj.v16i1.2690>
17. Montreal Gazette (2020) Montreal North teacher fired after using the N-word repeatedly in Class. Accessed April 30th 2022 [Montreal North teacher fired after using N-word repeatedly in class | Montreal Gazette](https://www.montrealgazette.com/education/montreal-north-teacher-fired-after-using-n-word-repeatedly-in-class)
18. The Canadian Encyclopedia (2022) Notwithstanding Clause (Plain-language Summary) Accessed April 30th 2022. <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/notwithstanding-clause-plain-language-summary>



OVERWORK IN BLACK COMMUNITIES IN CANADA

Patsy FAUBLAS¹

Grosame Quebec-Canada²

Summary

Burnout is a syndrome characterized by a state of intense and chronic mental, physical and emotional fatigue, loss of control and inability to perform tasks effectively, caused by the burden of prolonged involvement in demanding work environments. It is usually caused by the presence of chronic stress, high workload and job strain. Particularly high in Black communities in Canada, burnout is analyzed in this article as an effect of systemic racism.

Keywords: burnout; mental health; systemic racism; Canada

Abstract

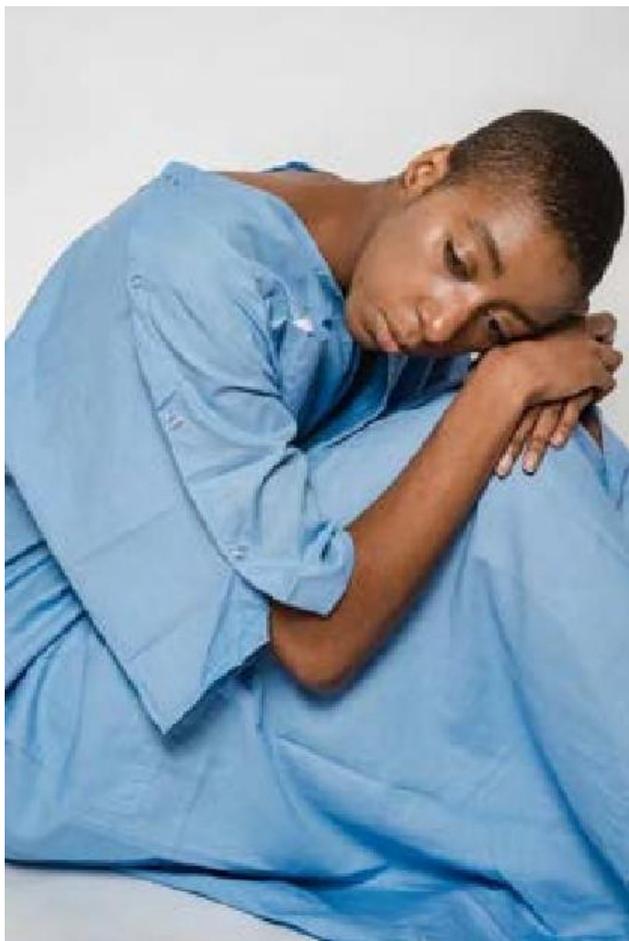
Burnout is a syndrome characterized by a state of intense and chronic mental, physical, and emotional fatigue, loss of control and inability to perform tasks effectively, caused by the burden of prolonged investment in demanding work environments. It is usually caused by the presence of chronic stress, high workload, and job strain. Particularly high in Black communities in Canada, burnout is analyzed in this article as an effect of systemic racism.

Keywords: burnout; mental health; systemic racism; Canada

¹ *Born in Montreal, Patsy Faublas has a deep love for her Haitian cultural heritage. Having studied for her doctorate in psychology, Patsy wishes to specialize in She is currently working in ethnocultural psychology in order to be better equipped to contribute to the well-being of the Black community living in Canada and internationally. Currently, she is the President of Grosame Quebec Canada, based in Montreal. The mandate of this organization is to help individuals of African and Caribbean descent take charge of their mental health by making information and services related to mental health more accessible through prevention and intervention activities. In 2020, she founded Productions Nù'bien, an art production company dedicated to the promotion of Afro-Caribbean culture. Since the last performance of the Fanm Fò Monologues in 2014, Patsy has continued to coordinate and produce various artistic events in Montreal. Moreover, this passionate artist is constantly creating and is currently involved in a number of projects in Montreal and internationally.*

² *Contact: grosameqccan@gmail.com/514.831.0697*

Research project to make a difference



Testimony, 30 years old, black woman, Marketing Strategist

Two weeks after starting a new job, I found out that my new employer was in litigation. The next week, the mass layoff process was underway. Usually when you are the last hired, you are the first to go. I was in this strange empty place because I had just gone through layoffs at my previous job, but luckily I was spared. However, from that day on, I always felt like I had one foot in, one foot out. I couldn't be comfortable because I dreaded the day I would be fired.

In addition to my job, to prepare for a possible financial loss, I accepted writing opportunities, which meant that I was writing three to four articles a day. My job also began to become more demanding as several layoffs occurred and tasks were divided among the remaining team members. When my supervisor went on vacation for six weeks, I had to take his place and oversee the entire marketing department by myself. During this time, I was overloaded, didn't like the work environment anymore and was looking for another job. Despite all of this, I started a series on networking because I just didn't feel passionate about the work I was doing. I wasn't getting enough sleep and it had serious impacts on my physical health.

I developed stress-related sleep paralysis. One day I was sleeping and I had this sharp pain in my shoulder, and it just wouldn't go away. So I went to the doctor and he told me I had rheumatoid arthritis, probably caused by chronic stress. I also gained weight, 30 to 35 pounds, and even started to get gray hair. Despite all the signals my body was sending me, I still felt a great urgency to earn money in case I ended up unemployed. Continuing to work was my only option. I think often as Black women we often put up with more than normal, but what else can you do when you are working in a system that doesn't recognize you for what you are or provide opportunities to

the same way he does for others (Morgan, 2020)

What is overwork?

Burnout is a syndrome characterized by a state of intense and chronic mental, physical and emotional fatigue, loss of control and inability to perform tasks effectively, caused by the burden of prolonged investment in demanding work settings.

The overwork or burnout commonly known as "burn-out

"It was first used in 1969. It is categorized as a rehabilitative disorder in the manuals of mental illness i.e. ICD-10 (International Classification of Diseases) and DSM-5 (The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental disorders, 5th Edition), overwork is not recognized as an illness. However, there has been some progress, when in May 2019, the World Health Organization ruled that overwork would be a work-related phenomenon that would be sufficient justification for granting sick leave in some countries.

Detecting symptoms

An attending physician may determine that an individual is experiencing an episode of burnout as an acceptable diagnosis requiring time off work. To do so, he or she must prove the presence of emotional and behavioral signs, as well as the unavoidable existence of chronic stress directly

related to work. There are many different types of symptoms. Some of them are listed below:

1. *Emotional symptoms*
 - a. Anxiety
 - b. De-motivation
 - c. Disinterest
 - d. Irritability
 - e. Hypersensitivity
 - f. Nonchalance
2. *Cognitive symptoms*
 - a. Attention deficit
 - b. Confusion
 - c. Indecision
 - d. Maladjustment
 - e. Lack of concentration
 - f. Memory impairment
3. *Physical symptoms*
 - a. Allergies
 - b. Sleep disorder (insomnia or hypersomnia)
 - c. Loss of energy
 - d. Weight loss or gain
 - e. Musculoskeletal pain
 - f. Gastrointestinal disorders
 - g. Headaches
 - h. Dizziness
4. *Behavioral symptoms*
 - a. Isolation
 - b. Aggression or violence
 - c. Decreased empathy
 - d. Addictive behaviors
 - e. Lack of diligence and rigor
 - f. Breaking the rules
 - g. Weight gain or loss

In addition, the physician must take into account additional information relating to working conditions (workload, relations between colleagues and employers, working hours, etc.) and individual particularities

(personal and family history, medical, family or interpersonal history, life experiences, etc.)

Differences between overwork and depression

Dr. Tracy Marks, a U.S.-based psychiatrist, explains that burnout is related to chronic stress at work. However, the symptoms are similar to those of depression. The important thing to remember is that burnout can be summed up in 3 main symptoms: exhaustion, cynicism, and ineffectiveness in the workplace. During a major depressive episode, the patient experiences depressed mood, disinterest, eating disorder, sleep disorder, agitation or tarrying, decreased energy, lack of self-esteem, rumination, suicidal ideation and more. Cynicism and depersonalization of work, i.e., the feeling of living outside of oneself, are factors that are specific to overwork. A depressed individual may experience depersonalization but it is not a major characteristic of depression. One way to differentiate between burnout and depression is that the person suffering from depression has difficulty enjoying one, many or all of the activities that used to make him or her feel good in any given life context. This is not the case for the individual who is experiencing burnout. The example that the psychiatrist proposed to better illustrate this difference between depression and burnout is the following:

Imagine that you have all the

resources to offer a luxurious trip to a dream destination for a depressed person and an overworked person for 10 days. You also have everything necessary to ensure the viability of all their belongings during their absence i.e. everything is taken care of to ensure the continuity of the different spheres of their lives until their return. The depressed person even under the ideal conditions of those 10 days will never be able to enjoy the trip and will return from the trip as bad as when they left or worse. None of this matters because they carry their unhappiness with them wherever they go, even on a trip... Whereas the overworked person, especially if they are in the early stages of overwork, will enjoy the trip to the point of being completely relieved of all the symptoms related to overwork.

It is important to understand that this nuance between depression and burnout does not exclude the fact that both can co-exist. A person can be depressed and overworked. It can start with overwork and progress to depression. Another way to distinguish between depression and overwork is that, although in both cases, an overworked individual and a depressed individual may have feelings of disgust and worthlessness, these feelings are generalized to all areas of the depressed person's life. On the other hand, the overworked person will experience feelings of self-worth and work. Good self-esteem is generally preserved.

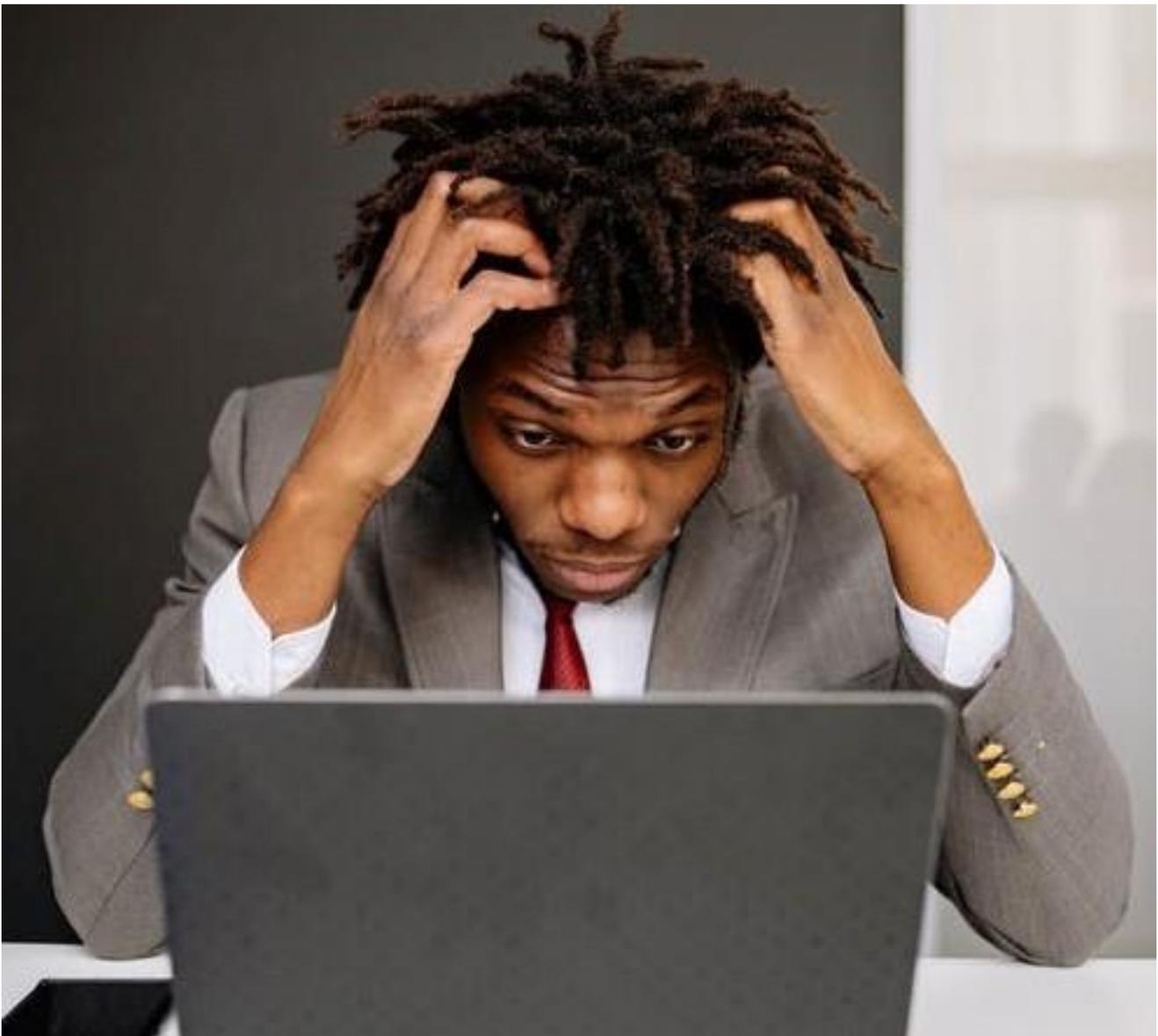
There are other differences between depression and burnout. It is always important to take the time to

It is important to make this distinction because it is a key point in determining the ideal treatment to prescribe. For example, a person who is overworked does not usually need to use antidepressants. The best way to treat burnout is to address the factors that caused the burnout. Ideally, the start of treatment should begin with this crucial question: What triggered this person's overwork in the first place?

The causes of overwork

Since each individual is unique, there are many causes of burnout. However, the three most common factors are

- Presence of chronic stress
- High workload
- They experience tensions in their professional environment: little recognition of the quality of their work, poor communication with their colleagues, psychological harassment, too many demands (from management or on themselves), etc.



Treating overwork

The first thing to do when you suffer from overwork is to stop working! Depending on the severity of the symptoms, the doctor will grant a longer or shorter period of sick leave for "professional incapacity". Then, in order to understand the reasons for the burnout, it is necessary to talk and ask questions. Thus, a cognitive-behavioral therapy is recommended. This can be done in a group or individually, depending on the needs and preferences of each person. In some cases of burnout, but not necessarily, antidepressants, anxiolytics or sleeping pills will also be prescribed, for a more or less long period (Allard, 2021).

Caution: Relapse is possible

If measures are not implemented to ensure full recovery from burnout, the individual may be at risk for a recurrence of burnout. It is important to develop a personalized and appropriate plan. When returning to work, it is imperative to discuss with the employer possible adjustments to the work organization before returning to work. A gradual return to work can be considered in conjunction with follow-up with an attending physician.

The specifics of burnout in Black communities

To properly evaluate the characteristics

In order to understand the significant effects of burnout in the Black community, it is necessary to share some statistical data. This section will be filled with numbers that will support some of the findings that need to be considered in addressing mental health issues in the Black communities.

As stated earlier, one of the important criteria for determining burnout is the unavoidable link to work. In fact, the other name used for burnout is "burnout". A study, conducted by Mental Health Research Canada in collaboration with the Mental Health Workplace Strategy and Canada Life, found that there were five industries with burnout rates higher than the national average of 35%: (Adriano, 2022).

- Family caregivers (36%)
- Education and child care (38%)
- Finance, legal and insurance (39%)
- Transportation (40%)
- Health and social services (53%)

Overwork is experienced by 35% of workers in Canada. The most affected sector of activity is "health and social services" at 53%. The Black community represents 3.5% of the total population of Canada. The median age of the Black population in Canada is 29.6 years and is composed of 51.6% women and 48.4% men. In the working population, aged 25-59, 78% of men and 71% of women are employed.

In 2016, the unemployment rate was 10%. The professional sectors most invested by women were at the rate of 33%, "and 23.1% in the "manufacturing" sector. "for men.

In light of this information, the finding is as follows: Black women aged 25-59 are more likely to experience burnout than the general working population, given that they work in the sector most affected by burnout in Canada. Indeed, the health and social services field is recognized as having an enormous workload and the hours worked exceed the norms established to maintain a healthy lifestyle. This is not the case in the general population where men and women are almost equally affected by overwork.

Looking at a few risk factors, workers from the Black community are more likely to experience one or more episodes of burnout during their working life. In Canada, Afro-Caribbean immigrants make up 52% of the Black population. As first generation immigrants, they often have difficulty setting boundaries in a context of work overload. They do not have material and financial assets so they have to build and start over in a new country. They have high expectations of themselves as they carry, many of them, the financial burden of the nuclear family

and extended families who often still live in their country of origin. Black single-parent families are at a 20% rate in Canada. Over 90% of single parent families are headed by women. Many working Blacks make all aspects of their lives revolve around their profession. In their eyes, it is the ultimate solution to ensure a better future, especially for the next generation. Recognizing the importance of having an active life in Canada, Black workers tend to be overzealous in all aspects of their jobs without considering time management and priorities. The adage being "as a Black person, you have to work twice as hard as a White person to succeed". They live with the constant fear of losing their jobs for the slightest mistake. They will often endure unhealthy working conditions and an unpleasant work environment in order not to lose their jobs. The majority are unaware of their rights and privileges. In fact, of those who are aware of their rights and privileges, many believe that they do not apply to them as Black people.

Overwork amplified by racism systemic

They are not entirely wrong. This general feeling of non-recognition of Black workers' rights based on skin color is supported by evidence that racial discrimination, specifically systemic racism, exists in Canada. Therefore, systemic racism has been shown to be an additional risk factor in the development of

overwork. African Canadians face many of the same challenges as their African American counterparts. Moreover, the history of slavery, racial discrimination and systemic racism in Canada has been overshadowed by those in the United States, fostering a popular belief that Canada has never experienced such atrocities. It is true that racial conflict and slavery in Canada did not occur over as long a period of time and with the same intensity as in the United States. On the other hand, it is important to note that the African American population (42 million) in the United States exceeds the total Canadian population (38 million). (38 million people). It is not surprising that the U.S. narrative is taking up so much space. According to two prominent African-Canadian historians, Renaldo Walcott and Afua Cooper, the lack of knowledge about the history of the Black community in Canada has been encouraged by decision-makers in the media and education (Canadian History) who have long avoided revealing to the entire population the presence and relationship of Blacks in Canada. Indeed, there are few, if any, academic textbooks that report on Black history in Canada. In short, the failure to acknowledge the Black experience as a whole normalizes the negative. In particular, the microaggressions experienced by the African Canadian community in the various social interactions of daily life, especially in the workplace.

Prevention is better than cure

It is true that an individual cannot fully control his or her environment. However, everyone has the ability to reduce the risk of burnout by implementing the following preventive measures:

- Don't hesitate to ask for support from family and friends by talking about the hardships experienced in the workplace;
- Don't ignore the symptoms and harmful effects of stress on the body and soul
- Once stress is detected, learn to discover the causes;
- In the short term, it is possible to take on a higher workload. However, when the work situation extends beyond a certain period of time, it is important to discuss a reorganization of the work with colleagues and the employer;
- Cultivate the art of time and priority management;
- Letting go and delegating;
- Breaks, vacations and days off are as important as work. They should not be neglected, but planned for and taken full advantage of;
- Promote a healthy lifestyle to achieve a good work-life balance: eat well, sleep well, exercise, spend quality time with family and friends, incorporate leisure activities, etc.

No one is immune to overexertion. The Covid-19 pandemic, the last two years, have been especially challenging for the world's population. Black communities have experienced an increase in

The most common problem reported during this period was overwork, with the advent of the "essential workers", consisting primarily of health and social service professionals. During this period, the most reported maladjustment was overwork with the advent of the "essential workers" composed, first, of health and social services professionals. The government had demanded a considerable increase in work hours and workload for a period exceeding 6 months; in very dangerous working conditions (constant exposure to people infected by the virus). Soon enough, the essential workers began to collapse physically and mentally. As a result, employment opportunities and financial compensation are unheard of, but at what cost? It is important to remember that a healthy mind in a healthy body is fundamental to a longer and healthier life expectancy. If you or someone you know is experiencing an episode of overwork, it is important to contact your family doctor as soon as possible in order to start the process of wellness.

"A workaholic usually ends up falling under his knife." Albert Brie

References

- Adriano, Lyle. 2022. "Which five industries have the highest burnout rates?", Insurance business Mag, <https://www.insurancebusinessmag.com/ca/news/group-benefits/which-five-industries-have-the-highest-burnout-rates-322490.aspx>
- Allard, Jacques. 2021. "Le Burn Out (épuisement professionnel)", Passeport santé, www.passeportsante.net/fr/Maux/Problemes/Fiche.aspx?doc=epuisement-professionnel-pm-l-opinion-de-notre-medecin
- Dock, Samuel. 2017. "The 7 Differences Between Depression and Burnout" Huffington post, <https://www.huffingtonpost.fr/samuel-dock/7-differences-between-depression-and-burnout-a-21902717/>
- Holt, Brianna. 2020. "Beyond Burn-out," The Cut, www.thecut.com/article/black-women-on-burnout.html
- Houle, Rene. 2020. "Changes in the Socioeconomic Status of the Black Population in Canada, 2001 to 2016," Statistics Canada, <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/en/pub/89-657-x/89-657-x2020001-eng.pdf?st=nGqENXy->
- Miller, Jason. 2020. "Why the Black struggle in Canada has all but been erased. Two historians explain our blind spot," Toronto Star, <https://www.thestar.com/news/gta/2020/06/04/why-the-black-struggle-in-canada-has-all-but-been-erased-two-historians-explain-our-blind-spot.html>



BASED ON STEREOTYPES

Alain BABINEAU³

Abstract

Racial profiling is a practice by a person in authority of stereotyping a person's race, color, ethnicity, or national origin to determine whether to stop, search or investigate him or her for alleged criminal activity. Studies conducted across Canada (Halifax, Toronto, Montreal, Repentigny, Kingston) buttress this notion, and have shown consistently that Blacks are disproportionately stopped by police as "suspects" regardless of crime rate in particular areas. The actions needed against racial profiling must be multifaceted, and conducted at the micro, meso and macro levels.

Key words: racial profiling; Canada; anti-black racism

Summary

Racial profiling is the practice of a person in authority stereotyping a person's race, color, ethnicity or national origin to determine whether to arrest, search or investigate them for alleged criminal activity. Studies across Canada (Halifax, Toronto, Montreal, Repentigny, Kingston) confirm this notion and consistently show that Blacks are arrested in a variety of ways.

³ After 30 years in law enforcement, including stints with the Ontario Provincial Police and the Canadian Military Police, Alain (Al) Babineau retired as a Staff Sergeant from

the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) in 2016. He holds a Juris Doctor and Bachelor of Civil Law from McGill law Faculty, a Bachelor of Social Sciences in Criminology from University of Ottawa, a B.A in Legal Studies and a Graduate Diploma in Conflict Resolution from Carleton University. Alain is presently an L.L.M. (Master of Law) candidate at McGill Law Faculty in Montreal. The object of his research will be to examine the current police powers to conduct random traffic stops, and whether they are justifiable in a free and democratic society in the 21st century. Al is also currently working as the expert on Racial and Social Profiling for the Commissioner Bureau for the fight against racism and systemic discrimination for the city of Montreal. Prior to this role, Alain was an advisor with the Center for Research Action on Race Relations (CRARR) in Montreal, on issues of racial profiling in private and public security. He is also often consulted on these issues by politicians and lawyers at the municipal, provincial and national levels. Al is regularly called upon to comment as a law enforcement analyst on racial profiling issues as well as on general law enforcement, by TV and radio as well as the written press at the national, provincial and local levels. Alain has also lectured in Colleges and Universities, as well as provided training to private and public institutions, on issues of de-escalation techniques, anti-Black racism, racial profiling/police legitimacy and the law. Some of his main interests revolve around policing reforms, social justice, police management accountability, and the use of alternative dispute resolution in law enforcement to mitigate internal and external conflicts.

disproportionately by police as "suspects," regardless of the crime rate in particular areas. The actions needed to combat racial profiling must be multidimensional and conducted at the micro, meso, and macro levels.

Keywords: racial profiling; Canada; anti-black racism

Based on stereotypes

Someone assumes that you are a criminal based on your race, and treats you like one! That is racial profiling in a nutshell. There is a plethora of definitions of racial profiling which have emerged in American and Canadian academic and governmental publications over the last three decades. Legally, the definition of racial profiling as adopted in 2005 by the Quebec *Commission des droits de la personne et des droits de la jeunesse* (CDPDJ), was confirmed by the Supreme Court in 2015 in *Bombardier*⁴:

"Racial profiling is **any action taken by one or more people in authority** with respect to a person or group of persons, for **reasons of safety, security or public order**, that is based on actual or presumed membership in a group defined by race, colour, ethnic or national origin or religion, without factual grounds or reasonable suspicion, that results in the person or group being exposed to differential treatment or scrutiny.

⁴ *Quebec (Commission des droits de la personne et des droits de la jeunesse) v. Bombardier Inc (Bombardier Aerospace Training Center)*, 2015 SCC 39 at para. 33 [Bombardier].

Racial profiling includes any action by a **person in a situation of authority** who applies a measure in a disproportionate way to **certain segments of the population** on the basis, in particular, of their racial, ethnic, national or religious background, whether actual or presumed."

In Ontario, the Human Rights Commission's definition⁵ for "racial profiling" is:

"any action undertaken for **reasons of safety, security or public protection**, that relies on **stereotypes** about race, color, ethnicity, ancestry, religion, or place of origin, or a combination of these, **rather than on a reasonable suspicion**, to single out an individual for greater scrutiny or different treatment.

Racial profiling is therefore a practice by a person in authority of stereotyping a person's race, color, ethnicity or national origin to determine whether to stop, search or investigate him or her for alleged criminal activity.

To better understand, we must first define what a "stereotype" is and when "stereotyping"⁶ occurs. Racial remarks, sexual remarks, and gender remarks are the most common types of stereotypes.

In his book "Public Opinion"⁷ Walter Lippmann, an influential American journalist, wrote extensively about the nature and effect of stereotypes.

⁵ Ontario Human Rights Commission, <https://www.ohrc.on.ca/en/paying-price-human-cost-racial-profiling/what-racial-profiling>

⁶ Puddifoot, Katherine. "Stereotyping: The Multi-factorial View." *Philosophical Topics*, vol. 45, no. 1, 2017, pp. 137-56, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26529429>. Accessed 14 Apr. 2022.

⁷ Lippmann, Walter. 1922. *Public opinion*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company.

He claims stereotyping occurs anytime you are grouping races or individuals together and make a judgment about them without knowing them. However, stereotyping becomes a particular concern when conducted by persons in positions of authority (security and law enforcement officers) who act on these views in a way that affects othersd rights and freedom. While an attitude underlying racial profiling is one that may be consciously or unconsciously held, there can be no racial profiling without racist attitudes. Therefore, a police officer need not be an overt racist, but her conduct may be based on subconscious racist stereotyping.

survey administered during a research on the "racialization of crime "⁸ showed that nearly half of the respondents believed that a relationship exists between race and criminality, and, of those, 65% thought that Black people committed more crimes than other racial or ethnic groups. The negative portrayal of Blacks conveyed in the Canadian and American media for generations, particularly in films and television, has had a disastrous impact on the current practice of racial profiling in this country. For example, in popular culture in both the American and Canadian societies, young Black males historically have been stereotypically



In Canada, Black people are particularly affected by racial profiling. Being that the power of the anti-Black stereotype is deeply interwoven in North A m e r i c a n culture, most people have racist views of one type or another. A 1996 Canadian

⁸ Henry, F., Hastings, P., & Freer, B. (1996). *Perceptions of race and crime in Ontario: Empirical evidence from Toronto and the Durham region. Canadian Journal of Criminology, 38(4), 469-476.*

portrayed as "a violent and threatening street thug(s)"⁹ In *Le10*, quoting the report *Under Suspicion*¹¹ by the Ontario Human Rights Commission, the Court remarked that:

"Racial stereotypes often represent gross generalizations about marginalized people by the dominant group in society that have been formed over many years. For example, stereotypes that exist today about African Canadians reflect anti-Black racism, which is historically rooted in slavery and racial segregation."

Studies conducted across Canada (Halifax¹², Toronto¹³, Montreal¹⁴, Repentigny¹⁵ Kingston¹⁶,) buttress this notion, and have shown consistently that Blacks are disproportionately stopped by police as "suspects" regardless of crime rate in particular areas.

Racial profiling can affect any Black person regardless of social status. In *Pieters*¹⁷, Mr.

9 Kelly Welch, *Black Criminal Stereotypes and Racial Profiling*, August 1, 2007, <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/1043986207306870>

10 *R. v. Le*, 2019 SCC 34, [2019] 2 S.C.R. 692

11 REPORT: UNDER SUSPICION - Research and consultation report on racial profiling in Ontario, https://www.ohrc.on.ca/sites/default/files/Under%20suspicion_research%20and%20consultation%20report%20on%20racial%20profiling%20in%20Ontario_2017.pdf.

12 HALIFAX, NOVA SCOTIA: STREET CHECKS REPORT Researched and written for NS Human Rights Commission by Dr. Scot Wortley University of Toronto Centre for Criminology & Sociolegal Studies, March 2019, https://humanrights.novascotia.ca/sites/default/files/editor-uploads/halifax_street_checks_report_march_2019_0.pdf

13 Nick Boisvert - CBC News, Dec 10, 2018, Human Rights Commission releases 'unprecedented' report on racial profiling by Toronto police, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/ohrc-police-profiling-report-1.4936547>

[canada/toronto/ohrc-police-profiling-report-1.4936547](https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/ohrc-police-profiling-report-1.4936547)

14 Police Stops in Light of Racialized Identities - Team Armony-Hassaoui-Mulone, August 2019. https://spvm.qc.ca/upload/Rapport_Armony-Has-Saudi-Mulone.pdf

15 Antoni Nerestant, CBC News, Sep 16, 2021, Black people about 3 times more likely than whites to be stopped by Repentigny police, report says <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/police-checks-repentigny-black-community-1.6178026>

16 Profiling a problem in Canadian police lea-

Pieters and Mr. Noble were counsel in a proceeding at the Brampton Courthouse. Both lawyers and their articling student who was accompanying them at the time were Black. Mr. *Pieters* and the articling student had dreadlocked hair. During a break, they went to the lawyers' lounge with some of the other lawyers involved in the proceeding. While in the lounge, they were approached by an attendant who asks them to produce identification to prove they were lawyers and law students but did not ask anyone else present there. All three jointly filed a racial profiling complaint with the Ontario Human Rights Commission. The Tribunal ultimately found their rights had been infringed and awarded each appellant \$2000 for injury to his dignity. To arrive at its conclusion, the court used a two-step process to determine if racial stereotype took place. First, was the pejorative assumption made by the attendant was that Black males have a higher propensity to commit crime. Secondly, from this conclusion, the attendant made an all-encompassing generalization and assumed that all Black males (even lawyers¹⁸ and judges¹⁹) are more prone to commit crimes than others.

For some, racial profiling is simply a "perception" by the public of a law enforcement practice that is totally legitimate²⁰. They insist that "racial profiling" is simply a misunderstood and consistent attempt on the part of members of a police service, to identify previously undetected criminals based upon the single factor of race, in the absence of credible evidence that might warrant such targeting²¹. From their perspective,

dership: The Kingston Police data collection project, June 2008, Canadian Public Administration, 49(2):143 - 160.

17 *Pieters v. Peel Law Assn* <http://selwynpieters.com/documents/2013CarswellOnt7881.pdf>

18 Laval lawyer filing racial profiling complaint after Montreal police handcuff him in front of daughter, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/racial-profiling-complaint-laval-lawyer-1.5896906#:~:text=CBC%20News%20Loaded,Laval%20lawyer%20filing%20racial%20profiling%20complaint%20after%20Montreal%20police%20handcuff,still%20handed%20a%20%24400%20tick> et.

19 Vancouver mayor apologizes to retired Black B.C. judge wrongly handcuffed by police, <https://globalnews.ca/news/7865656/mayor-apologizes-black-judge-handcuffed/>

20 Thomas Gabor, "Inflammatory Rhetoric on Racial Profiling can Undermine Police Services" (2004) 46:4 Can J of Criminology & Crim Justice 457.

21 *Ibid*, 458.

the public just does not understand the extent to which law enforcement has to resort to in order to keep the community safe from its criminal elements. To be clear, racial profiling is different from criminal profiling.

at high risk and passengers had a history of previous drug-related infractions.

Racial profiling can also be "systemic" in nature. The Ontario Human Rights Commission (OHRC) refers to Systemic racial profiling as:



The former is based on stereotypical assumptions because of one's race, colour, ethnicity, whereas the latter relies on actual behaviour or on information about someone's suspected activity. For example, in *Clayton*²², the court explained that a legitimate use of race as a descriptor would be when a victim of crime describes the perpetrator in part by reference to the perpetrator's race. In *Kelly v. Palazzo*²³ the Court ruled that race or place of origin may also be legitimately used as one factor among many in the formation of a "criminal profile". In that case, the Court highlighted the fact that the officers were aware from training and experience that flights from Jamaica were

"Patterns of behaviour, policies or practices that are part of an organization's or sector's structure, that create a position of relative disadvantage for racialized and Indigenous peoples. These policies, practices or behaviors may appear neutral, but may result in situations where racialized or Indigenous peoples tend to be singled out for greater scrutiny or negative treatment."²⁴

Racial profiling may reflect an officer's legitimate perception of the reality of the world in which he/she operates. Looking for people "out of place" is "an expectation laid out to them formally during Police College.

²² *R. v. Clayton* <https://scc-csc.lexum.com/scc-csc/scc-csc/en/item/2372/index.do>

²³ *Kelly v. Palazzo* (2005) <https://www.ontariocourts.ca/decisions/2008/february/2008ONCA0082.htm>

²⁴ Ontario, Ontario Human Rights Commission, *Under suspicion: Research and consultation report on racial profiling in Ontario, 2017*, 92

For instance, the Ontario Human Rights Commission explains that "a black person in a white neighbourhood or someone driving an expensive car in a poor neighbourhood"²⁵ can become a reason for police to investigate. This is the root of racial profiling...²⁶, the Commission adds, and even a non-racist police officer may employ racist practices daily on people living in "hot" zones. Racial profiling is therefore often a matter of implicit bias and the use of acquired stereotypes about race and crime, often unconsciously, affecting police decision-making. Consequently, systemic racial profiling can unfortunately become part of the "normal" way a police service operates. Racial profiling can also take the form of an adverse impact in the provision of policing services. In *Symonds*²⁷ Mr. Symonds alleged that he was issued a ticket for jaywalking issued by a Halifax Regional Police officer because he was Black. The Nova Scotia Human Rights Commission agreed and urged the Police Services Board to take notice of the "poor relations, historic and ongoing, between the police and the Black community" in that Province. The Commission added that Symonds was subjected to policing that was disproportionate to the circumstances of white Nova Scotian crossing in the middle of the road to get a coffee, whom would have likely simply received an informal education about jaywalking.

"Driving While Black" (DWB) occurs when an officer uses highly discretionary and minor statutory powers of traffic regulations, to justify criminal investigations grounded in racialized "usual offender" stereotypes. The "landmark case" in Canadian "DWB" is *R v Brown* (2003)²⁸ when a Toronto Police officer stopped and charged with

25 *Ibid* 23.

26 *Ibid* 79.

27 *Symonds v Halifax Regional Police Department* (2021) <https://www.canlii.org/en/ns/nshrc/doc/2021/2021canlii37128/2021canlii37128.html?searchUrl-Hash=AAAAAQAcmfJqWfSfHByb2ZpbGluZyBoZWlnaHR->

impaired driving, Dee Brown, a young African American who was playing for the Toronto Raptors at the time. At trial, Brown argued that Officer Olson had detained him without proper cause because he was a black man driving an expensive car. Brown lost. However, on appeal, the court reversed the decision and found that racial profiling had influenced the officer's decision to stop Brown. In this case, the Court applied the "correspondence test" which relies on "inductive reasoning". In order to determine racial profiling, the court must rely on evidence that is largely circumstantial. In other words, would the police have treated the subject that way if he/she had been white?

Racial profiling may occur even if the police officer is racialized or a member of the particular race that is targeted. In *DeBellefeuille*²⁹ the police pulled over a car belonging to Joël DeBellefeuille, a Black man with a name (according to the police officers) which did not correspond to the owner. The Tribunal found that the officers had racially profiled DeBellefeuille³⁰. The fact that two "racialized" police officers from the same police service were involved in the racial profiling of a Black man, is symptomatic of a much deeper systemic problem within police services which even affects racialized officers.

In rendering his decision Justice Tremblay commented:

"The false or ignorant belief that the surname "DeBellefeuille" cannot possibly be the surname of a black-skinned person, can only denote a flagrant lack of knowledge of Quebec society. An individual or their descendants may very well

have been adopted or naturalized under this name for whatever

29 *CDPJ DeBellefeuille c Ville de Longueuil* https://tribunaldesdroitsdelapersonne.ca/fileadmin/tribunal-droits-personne/pdf/2020-11-27_CDPDJ_DeBellefeuille_c_Ville_de_Longueuil.pdf

30 *Marian Scott, Montreal Gazette, Nov 22, 2020, Rights tribunal hands down landmark ruling in Longueuil racial profiling case, <https://montrealgazette.com/news/local-news/rights-commission-orders-longueuil-and-cops-to-pay-12000-in-profiling-case>*

reason."(Translation)

In 2020 case of "Any negro will do"³¹, the Quebec Human Rights Commission ruled that Errol Burke³², a Black man, was racially profiled and pinned to the ground at gunpoint when police said he looked like a suspect they were looking for in a nearby stabbing.

Burke was getting milk at his local convenience store when the officers were looking for a suspect described as a Black 18-year-old man whose height was 1.85 metres. Burke stands at 1.70 metres and was 54 years old at the time of the intervention. Burke and the suspect were also wearing different styles of clothing.



In October 2021, a police ethics board³³ judge also found the two police officers guilty of racial profiling, using excessive force and illegally searching Mr. Burke.

Racial stereotypes of criminality have also led police to conduct unjustifiable arrest, searches or use excessive force and respond to perceived danger with extreme force.

³¹ ANY NEGRO WILL DO: MONTREAL BLACK YOUTH VIOLENTLY ARRESTED AND CHARGED IN A CASE OF MISTAKEN IDENTITY, <http://www.crarr.org/?q=node/19472>

³² Côte-des-Neiges man claims victory in racial pro-

filed case against Montreal police, <https://globalnews.ca/>

In December 2021, the Quebec human rights commission called on an off-duty police officer who called 911 on a young Black man³⁴ whom he associated as a member of a street-gang, to pay him and his mother more than \$61,000 in damages. Malik Spaulding-Smith had been sitting in

his car smoking a cigarette a couple of blocks from his home when the off-duty police officer whose home he was parked in front of came outside and asked him to leave. Spaulding-Smith left soon afterward and went home. Upon leaving home for work shortly thereafter, he opened his front door and saw 12 squad cars and nine officers who had

him, and another officer across the street with an assault rifle pointed in his direction. Spaulding-Smith was arrested and held alone in a jail cell for nine hours. He was ultimately released when their investigation revealed that an electrical problem made the sound, not a gunshot!

Conclusion

The actions needed against racial profiling must be multifaceted, and conducted at the micro, meso and macro levels. The micro level focuses on the direct instances of racial profiling

[news/7194927/montreal-police-racial-profiling-crarr-ruling/](https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal-police-ethics-committee-montreal-profiling-errol-burke-1.6214419)

33 CBC News, Oct 17, 2021, Police ethics committee finds Montreal officers guilty of racial profiling, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal-police-ethics-committee-montreal-profiling-errol-burke-1.6214419>

34 Verity Stevenson, CBC News, Dec 13, 2021, Quebec human rights commission calls on police officer to pay Black mother and son \$61K in profiling case, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/human-rights-commission-roussillon-police-profiling-1.6283332>

by an officer. Everyday police officers engaged in law enforcement must think and act quickly. At the same time, what separates a "willing officer" from another is the entrenchment of the stereotype and the flexibility to see the specifics and the facts despite the strong temptation to fall back on the stereotype. To avoid the impact of the behavioural component, what is demanded is more than anything, self-awareness, introspection and the willingness to do policing differently! Recruiting bias-neutral police officers with greater attitude towards diversity is essential.

We can repress criminality without oppressing a community! Looking at the meso level helps us identify those institutional operational priorities, policies and directives which tend to permit this illegal practice to go on. A zero-tolerance internal policy against racial profiling along with procedural justice training is essential. Procedural justice involves fair and respectful treatment of people by police giving voice, showing neutrality, treating people with dignity and respect, and evidencing trustworthy motives³⁵. At that level, participatory collaboration between police and security services and the community, can also assist in curbing the practice of racial profiling while maintaining a sense of safety amongst the citizens.

Finally, there is a need for a reframing of the issue of racial profiling as a public "health and safety emergency"³⁶ that requires all hands-on deck. A macro level approach should focus on how the institutional and systemic forms of racism interact with other social forces, to perpetuate racial stereotypes and inequality. As I mentioned earlier, because

³⁵ *Reforming the police through procedural justice training: A multicity randomized trial at crime hot spots*, Edited by Richard Rosenfeld, College of Arts and Sciences, University of Missouri, St. Louis, MO; received October 20, 2021; accepted January 27, 2022. <https://www.pnas.org/doi/pdf/10.1073/pnas.2118780119>

³⁶ *Racism, Discrimination and Mental Health*, <https://>

stereotypes that influence racial profiling are deeply embedded at the societal level, it makes them particularly difficult to change. We can only hope to eliminate stereotypes well ingrained in all levels of society, by reviewing our entire education system including Police College. It is the education system which is molding the minds and forming the beliefs of tomorrow's law enforcement officers and leaders. Deconstructing and eradication of the stereotypes that produce the practice of racial profiling must be conducted "root and branch"!



RACIAL PROFILING IN CANADA: DOCUMENTING, ANALYZING AND MOVING BEYOND BIAS

Maxim FORTIN³⁷

*Researcher - Institute for Research and Socio-Economic Information (IRIS)
Coordinator - Ligue des droits et libertés - Section Québec
Doctorate in Political Science - Laval University (2019)*

Summary

Recent research on racial profiling attests to its existence and scope in Canada. Although research on this phenomenon is still in its infancy, current research leads us to identify two major causes: 1 - prejudices on race, ethnicity, culture and religion; 2 - public policies oriented towards the fight against "street gangs" and the repression of incivilities.

Keywords: racial profiling; systematic review; Canada

Abstract

Recent research on racial profiling attests to its existence and extent in Canada. If research on this phenomenon is still slow to develop, current studies lead us to identify two major causes: 1-prejudices about race, ethnicity, culture, and religion; 2-public policies oriented towards the fight against "street gangs" and towards the repression of incivilities.

Key Word : racial profiling; systematic review; Canada

37 Contact: mfortin78@hotmail.com

Racial Profiling in Canada: Documenting, Analyzing and Moving Beyond Bias

Although little discussed a few years ago, the notion of systemic racism is increasingly used. This notion refers to the differential and discriminatory treatment suffered by individuals and groups belonging to ethnic and cultural minorities within institutions and in the public space. One of the most obvious manifestations of systemic racism is the phenomenon of racial profiling³⁸.

While the issue of racial profiling is receiving a lot of media attention in the wake of the George Floyd case in the United States, it should be noted that this issue is also an object of international research. In France, a 2012 survey found that black people are 7.8 times more likely to be stopped by police on the streets of Paris than white people (Jobard et al 2012, 102). In a study comparing identity checks in France and Germany, Julien Gauthier concludes that while "Berlin police appear to generate less discrimination than in the French case, they nonetheless contribute to the hierarchization of groups based on their nationality, culture or religion" (Gauthier 2015, 124). In 2015, a report by the U.S. Department of Justice

³⁸ *The Quebec Human Rights Commission defines racial profiling as "an action taken for reasons of safety, security or public protection by a person or persons in a position of authority.*

This action targets an individual or group of individuals based on actual or presumed race, color, ethnicity, national origin, or religion. The action, taken without probable cause or reasonable suspicion, exposes the individual to differential treatment or scrutiny. Racial profiling also includes any action by persons in a position of authority who apply a measure disproportionately to segments of the population because of, among other things, their actual or presumed racial, ethnic, national or religious affiliation" (CDPDJ 2022). The Ontario Human Rights Commission defines it as "any action taken for reasons of public safety, security or protection that relies on stereotypes based on race, color, ethnicity, religion, place of origin, or a combination of these factors, rather than on reasonable suspicion, for the purpose of singling out an individual for special consideration or treatment. The Commission adds that age and gender may also affect the experience of racial profiling" (OHRC 2022)

United States revealed that from 2012 to 2014, African Americans accounted for 85% of traffic stops, 90% of traffic citations, and 93% of arrests made by Ferguson, Missouri police despite making up only 67% of the city's population (USDJCRD 2015). A 2019 New York Civil Liberties Union (NYCLU) report, meanwhile, highlighted that despite an overall decrease in stops in New York City, black and Latino youth continue to be disproportionately targeted (NYCLU 2019). But what about Canada? What is the status of Canadian research on this phenomenon?

While research on racial profiling is relatively recent, it should be noted that racial profiling emerged as a municipal political issue as early as the late 1970s, particularly in the City of Montreal. In 1979, the *Negro Community Center* (NCC) submitted a brief to municipal authorities denouncing racism and police harassment (Rutland 2019). However, despite the grievances of the Black community, racial profiling continued to be an issue in Montreal, Quebec and across Canada throughout the 1980s and 1990s. It was not until the 2000s, and even the 2010s, that we began to pay attention to it. In 2011, a Toronto survey mobilizing 2007 survey data revealed that 57% of Black people surveyed considered racial profiling to be a major problem (Wortley and Owusu-Bempah 2011). The same survey shows that 14% of Black respondents have been stopped by Toronto police at least three times in the past two years, compared to 5% of Whites and 3% of Asians. On average, Black people in Toronto were stopped 1.6 times in the two years prior to data collection. In comparison, white people were stopped 0.5 times and Asian people 0.3 times.

The issue of racial profiling has received institutional attention since the 2010s. In 2011, the Quebec Human Rights Commission addressed the issue and produced a report (CDPDJ 2011). The Ontario Human Rights Commission did the same in 2018 (OHMC 2018). The City of Montreal took an important step in 2019 when it commissioned a research team to study the ethnicity of those stopped. Released in 2019, the report found that a black person is 3.9 times more likely to be stopped by police than a white person (Armony, Hassaoui and Mulone 2019).

(Armony et al 2019). In 2020, a qualitative study examining the experiences of racialized youth in a working-class Montreal neighborhood concluded that they are "subject to frequent, repeated and sometimes violent interactions with police officers" (Livingstone, Meudec and Harim 2020, 134). This quantitative and qualitative data confirms what had already been reported to the Service de police de la Ville de Montréal (SPVM) in 2008 and 2010 via two internal reports that sounded the alarm about discriminatory police practices (Courcy 2008; Charest 2010).



People of Arab origin and indigenous people also suffer from this discrimination, as they are respectively 2.3 and 5.8 times more likely to be stopped than white people

In the wake of accusations of racism and racial profiling in Repentigny, a suburb of Montreal, the same research team was given the same mandate and published a report in

2021. This report shows that "as was observed in Montreal, the black population is significantly more likely to be stopped than the white population. More specifically, a person from the Black community is between 2.5 and 3 times more likely (depending on the demographic scenario considered) to be stopped than a person from the white, non-racialized majority" (Armony et al 2021, 36).

Canadian research on racial profiling has yet to develop, including in the areas most likely to contribute. As Giwa, Mullings, Adjei and Karki note, "little Canadian social work research has been conducted on racial profiling and social work professionals have been silent on ending this discriminatory practice" (Giwa et al 2020, 224). Nevertheless, several recent works attest to the interest of the social sciences and law in the issue and allow us to anticipate interesting developments in the short and medium term.

The causes of racial profiling

Research tends to identify two major causes of the problem of racial profiling, or at least two factors that can largely explain its existence and persistence over time: 1. prejudices about race, ethnicity, culture and religion; 2. public policies oriented toward fighting "street gangs" and cracking down on incivilities. The first cause refers to the that the police treat differently

This dimension of the problem seems to be relatively well understood by the public authorities. This dimension of the problem seems to be relatively well understood by public authorities. However, the second dimension seems to be obscured for the moment. And

This is precisely where research on racial profiling and systemic racism can shed light.

Before proceeding further, let me provide some context for the evolution of public safety and policing policies in Canada in the 1990s and 2000s. Although Canada prides itself on being the "land of multiculturalism" and likes to emphasize the progressive nature of its policies, it was largely inspired by American neo-conservative policing approaches in the 1990s and 2000s (DeKeseredy 2009). A phenomenon of "*policy transfer*" and demulation characterized the development of Canadian security policies during this period. Ontario, Canada's most populous province, adopted the "broken window"³⁹ and "zero tolerance" approach in the 1990s (DeKeseredy 2009). In 2003, the City of Montreal adopted the "broken window" perspective and amended its bylaws to deal more severely with minor regulatory violations and incivilities (Livingstone et al 2020). Presumably, this approach has not been formally adopted by all police forces in Canada, but it has had some influence on all policing in Canada.

39 *The broken window theory is based on the idea that a broken window left unattended sends a message that an area is being neglected by the forces of order and conducive to crime. Beyond the analogy, this approach argues that incivilities and visible signs of urban deterioration create favourable conditions for criminal activity. Consequently, the enforcement of minor offences and the adoption of a "zero tolerance" approach to regulatory offences should be emphasized by the authorities. This theory was put forward by James Q. Wilson and George Kelling in 1982 (Wilson and Kelling 1982).*

Fighting gangs: An open door for racial profiling?

Although often the victims of crime committed by criminalized gangs, Canadian ethnic and cultural minorities are exposed to forms of police control that target them first and foremost, as the discourse on street gangs suggests that the problem lies with ethnic and cultural minorities.

young white woman trafficking drugs on a bicycle does not fit the "profile" of a "gangster" and has very little chance of being randomly arrested.

This dynamic has far-reaching consequences for racialized communities. On the one hand, the discourse on street gangs mobilizes and amplifies racial prejudice.



The fight against street gangs has led to a "racialization of discourse" and a "normalization of a racialized discourse" within the police (Livingstone et al. 2020). This racialized discourse translates into discriminatory practices on the ground as it incorporates the dimension of "race" in the assessment of a situation. According to police discourse and knowledge, a black man driving a luxury car and wearing "hip hop" style clothing fits the "profile" of a police officer.

"This man has a very high chance of being arrested at random. This man has a very high chance of being arrested randomly. On the other hand, a

On the other hand, the fight against gangs accentuates the possibilities of judicializing and penalizing racialized populations. As legal scholar Marie-Eve Sylvestre has demonstrated, "the way in which street gangs have been problematized or defined, i.e., both too broadly and too narrowly (I), has led to a multiplication of criminal justice systems, particularly the combined use of the normative systems of criminal law, regulatory criminal law, and administrative immigration law, and to an expansion of the sphere of repressive control (II), with dramatic consequences for

the communities targeted by street gangs, which are essentially poor and ethnically predominant, thus exacerbating tensions with state officials, fostering prejudice and contributing to the maintenance of their precarious conditions and the production of juvenile delinquency (III) (Sylvestre 2010, 181)".

From the repression of incivilities to discrimination of minorities

The adoption of policies inspired by the "broken window" theory led many large Canadian cities in the 1990s and 2000s to develop a repressive approach that focused on the judicialization and penalization of bylaw violations. When the City of Montreal amended its bylaws in 2003, it went so far as to prohibit "26 categories of civility, such as spitting, littering, urinating, loitering, congregating in groups, making noise, being rude, graffiti and vandalism" (Livingstone et al 2020, 131). While Céline Bellot and Marie-Eve Sylvestre have shown that these changes have increased the judicialization of people in delinquent situations (Bellot and Sylvestre 2017), Livingstone et al's survey "shows that these regulations also unfairly penalize racial minority youth" (Livingstone et al 2020, 132).

The broken window approach promotes a specific conception of policing: "pro-active policing" (Epp et al 2017). This policing approach institutionalizes stops and stops "not on the basis of an observed offense, but on the basis of an ill-defined suspicion: officers must stop people to see if they are doing something wrong" (Epp et al 2017, 169).

The Montreal study by Livingstone et al. concluded that "most police-initiated stops are unmotivated, as they are random and unrelated to any offence committed by a youth. In the contrary cases, the offences are minor and discovered during the interaction between the police and the youth. In general, youth are released once the arrest is over. However, in many cases, the encounter ends negatively for the youth in the form of a fine, arrest, detention, or violent treatment" (Livingstone et al 2020, 134-135).

Conclusion

Racial profiling is therefore part of the Canadian reality. Aboriginal, Afro-descendant and Arab-Muslim people are regularly victims of racial profiling and this in itself constitutes a violation of their right to equality, a right recognized by the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Research must continue to document the phenomenon of racial profiling, collect testimonies from those who are victims, produce statistics on the ethnicity of those questioned, but, above all, go beyond a simple understanding of racism as a phenomenon fuelled primarily by prejudice and move towards analyses that integrate the role of public policy in the production and reproduction of the discourses and practices that fuel systemic racism and racial profiling.

Bibliography

- Armony Victor, Hassaoui Mariam, Mulone Massimiliano. 2019. *Police stops in light of the racialized identities of those stopped. Final report submitted to the SPVM*. Montreal: SPVM.
- Armony Victor, Hassaoui Mariam, Mulone Massimiliano. 2021. *Research portrait on the interpellations in the profiling file. Report presented to the Service de police de la Ville de Repentigny (SPVR)*. Repentigny: SPVR.
- Bellot Céline, Sylvestre Marie-Eve. 2017. "La judiciarisation de l'itinérance à Montréal : les dérives sécuritaires de la gestion pénale de la pauvreté" *Revue générale de droit*, 47, 11-44.
- Charest Mathieu. 2010. *Popular Discontent and Interrogation Practices of the SPVM since 2005: Should we stay the course after the storm?* Montreal: SPVM.
- Human Rights and Youth Rights Commission (HRYRC). 2011. *Racial profiling and systemic discrimination of racialized youth*. Montreal: Commission des droits de la personne et des droits de la Jeunesse.
- Human Rights and Youth Rights Commission (HRYRC). 2022. *Lexicon: Racial profiling*. Retrieved from <https://www.cdpcj.gc.ca/en/lexique>
- Courcy Martin. 2008. *Intervention report in Montreal-North. Confidential report*. Montreal: SPVM.
- Dekeseredy Walter. 2009. "Canadian Crime Control in the New Millennium: The Influence of Neo-Conservative US Policies and Practices" *Police Practice and Research*, 10(4), 305-316.
- Epp Charles, Maynard-Moody Steven, Aider-Markel Donald. 2017. "Beyond Profiling: The Institutional Sources of Racial Disparities in Policing." *Public Administration Review*, 77(2), 168-178.
- Gauthier Julien. 2015. "Controlled Origins: Police and minorities in France and Germany," *Contemporary Societies* 97(1): 101-127.
- Giwa Sulaimon, Mullings Delores, Adjei Paul, Karki Karun. 2020. "Racial Erasure: The Silence of Social Work on Police Racial Profiling in Canada" *Journal of Human Rights and Social Work*. 5(4): 224-235.
- Jobard Fabien, Lévy René, Lamberth John, Névanen Sophie. 2012. "Measuring discrimination by appearance: an analysis of controls. d'identité à Paris", *Population*, vol. 67, no. 3, 2012 :423-451.
- Livingstone Anne-Marie, Meudec Marie, Harim Rhita. 2020. "Racial profiling in Montreal, effects of organizational policies and practices." *New Social Practices*, volume 31, number 2, fall 2020:126-144.
- New York Civil Liberties Union (NYCLU). 2019. *Stop-and-frisk in the De Blasio era*, Retrieved from <https://www.nyclu.org/en/publications/stop-and-frisk-de-blasio-era-2019>
- Ontario Human Rights Commission. 2018. *A collective impact: Interim report on the inquiry into racial profiling and racial discrimination of black persons by the Toronto Police Service*. Ontario: Ontario Human Rights Commission.
- Ontario Human Rights Commission. 2022. *Racial profiling*. Retrieved from <https://www.cdpcj.gc.ca/en/lexique>
- Rutland Ted. 2019. *An eternal failure: the fight against racial profiling in Montreal, 1979-present*. Montreal: Commission de la Sécurité publique de la Ville de Montréal. Montreal.
- Sylvestre Marie-Eve. 2010. When the problem is also the solution : Street gangs and the multiplication of normative systems of penal care. *Revue générale de droit*, 40(1), 179-197. .
- Wilson James, Kelling, George. 1982. "Broken Windows: The police and neighborhood safety," *The Atlantic*, New-York: Manhattan institute.
- Wortley Scot, Owusu-Bempah Akwasi. 2011. "The Usual Suspects: Police Stop and Search Practices in Canada" *Policing and Society*, 21(4), 395-407.
- United States Department of Justice Civil Rights Division (USDJCRD). 2015. *Investigation of the Ferguson Police Department*, Washington: Department of Justice/Civil Rights Division.

INTERVIEW



EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW WITH THE HONORABLE MAKA KOTTO

Maka KOTTO was born in Cameroon. He studied Law, Political Science, Drama and Cinema in Paris.

He had a twenty-five year career as an artist in Europe, Africa, Asia and America before entering active politics. He was elected and served in the House of Commons from 2004 to 2008 and in the Quebec National Assembly from 2008 to 2018.

He has held numerous positions, such as Opposition Critic for International Relations, Francophonie and Cultural Communities; and notably the positions of Vice-Chairman of the Commission de la Culture, the Commission de la santé et des services sociaux, the Delegation for Relations with the French National Assembly, the Commission des relations avec les citoyens, and Minister of Culture and Communications in the government of the Premier of Quebec, Mrs. Pauline Marois

He is a speaker and columnist for the Journal de Montréal and the Journal de Québec.

1) Born in Cameroon, you have had a rich career as an actor and director in France and Quebec, then as a politician in Canada. You are the first African sovereignist elected to the Canadian Parliament. Can you tell us about three founding moments in your life?

I define myself as a tree that took root in Africa (in Cameroon); that blossomed in Europe (in France) and that gave its fruits in Quebec.

2) Your exceptional career path has been built between three continents, America, Europe and Africa. What role has uprooting played in your career? How have you experienced and felt it personally through your different anchors in your host countries?

Fragility, resilience and determination are the words that come to mind when referring to my uprooting and my journey. Fragility, because I was without a net: few friends, no network or cultural references. A total change of scenery. Resilience and determination, because I had to overcome many obstacles, especially those related to integration and discrimination, without losing sight of my principles, my goals or my passions.

3) What is your relationship with Africa? (Can you tell us about the nature and reality of this relationship?)

I remain very attentive to the major social, health, political, economic, and security issues facing African countries. Due to the active awakening and aspirations of its young and dynamic populations, the continent has entered an unprecedented process of transformation. The fundamental responses to the expectations and aspirations of these young people will be decisive in the medium to long term for the future of the continent. Jden speaks in particular in the following articles: ["The dislocation of the Francophone family in Africa"](#); ["Africa-Europe: an ambiguous adventure"](#); ["The sad fate of migrants"](#); ["Canada in Africa: a reputation at stake"](#).

In many ways, Africa remains a

Terra Incognita in Quebec and Canada. The economic, tourist and strategic potential of the continent is largely unknown and under-exploited. Between age-old prejudices and misinformation, knowledge of African societies and cultures is also [low](#).

- 1- African countries: champions of economic growth
- 2- Rapidly growing demographics and explosion of the middle class (2 billion Africans in 2050). The middle class tripled between 2000 and 2018 in Africa;



4) How can we turn things around and create a new dynamic in Canada-Quebec/Africa relations? What measures do you recommend for the reinvention of a new win-win partnership?

You are obviously right to point this out; Africa remains a *Terra Incognita* in Quebec and Canada, consequently, the economic, tourist and strategic potential of the continent is largely unknown and under-exploited.

We should inform about the new Africa and its Agenda 2063. Similarly, we should align African priorities with Quebec's strengths. We should focus on common values and also remember the main reasons to invest in Africa, including :

- 3- Rapid urbanization: half of all Africans live in cities;
- 4- By 2050: the Francophonie will be African. 60% of the world's Francophones will live there;
- 5- The African soil is the largest reservoir of natural resources in the world;
- 6- The energy challenge in Africa: 645 million people live without electricity;
- 7- The digital challenge: There will be 1 billion Internet users in Africa by 2040;
- 8- Quebec's strengths in international cooperation: sustainable partnerships;
- 9- A Quebec rich in diversity: Attracting students and the power of the diaspora
- 10- Africa is the continent of the future and of envy: France, USA, Italy, Germany,

Russia, Turkey, Gulf countries... Canada (examples of national investments of these countries in Africa are legion);

- Etc.

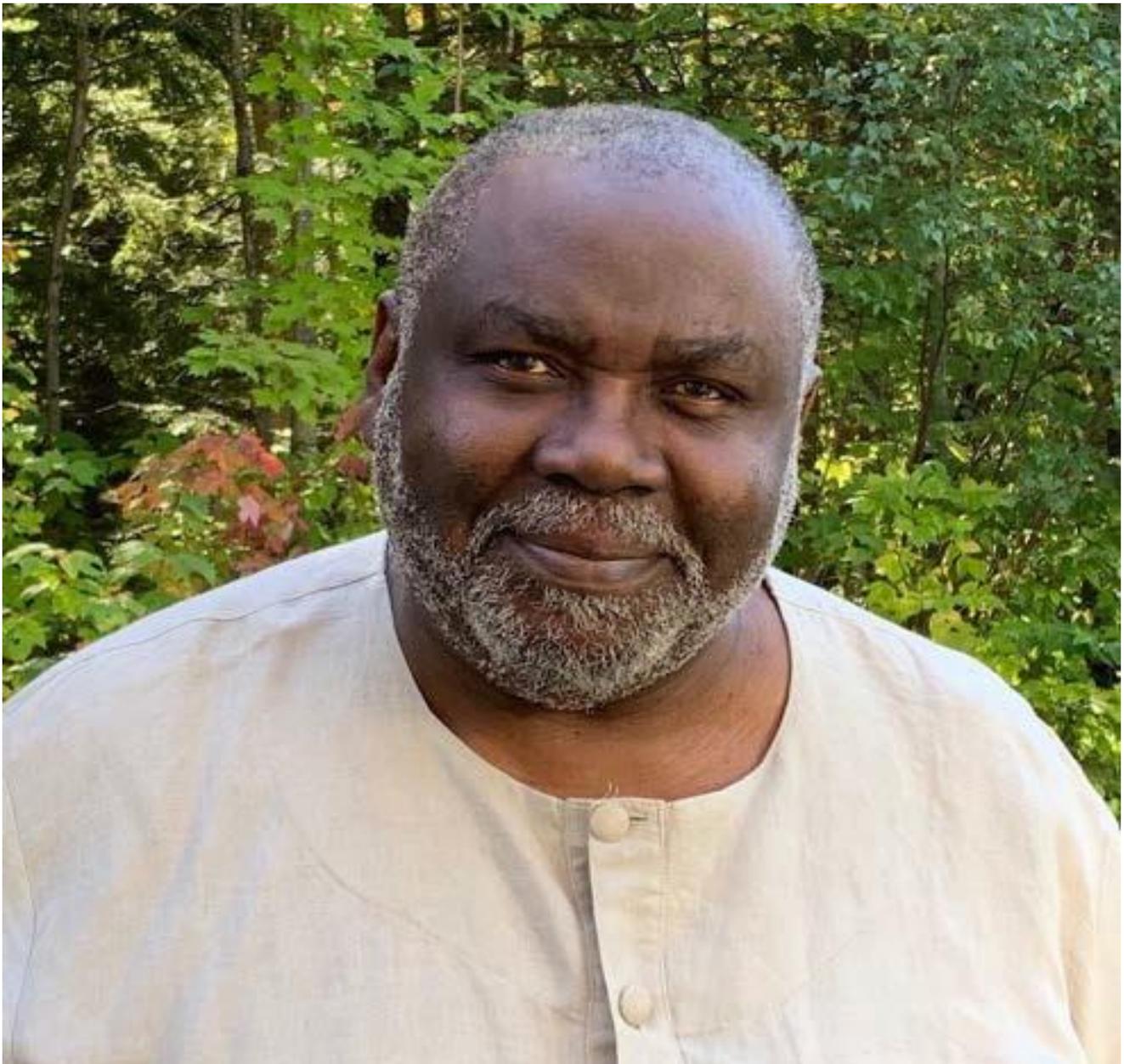
- And above all, the new Africa is much more inclined to welcome, with open arms, investors and partners who come to the continent with a "win-win" approach and a respectful posture for Africa and Africans. The old paradigm

The "dominant-dominated" is now in the cemetery, six feet under the ground.

- I personally participated in the reflection surrounding the development of this [win-win partnership project between Quebec and several countries of the continent](#).

5) In 2013, the United Nations named the decade from 2015 to 2024 the Decade of People of African Descent. The theme of this decade is "People of African descent: recognition, justice and development". What is your assessment of the measures and actions taken by the Canadian and Quebec governments in favour of Black people of African descent?

First of all, I note that obviously, little has been done to prevent young Africans from turning the Mediterranean into a graveyard. They are legion to lose their lives there, for lack of prospects on their own land... It is deplorable.



That said, the measures and actions taken by the Canadian and Quebec governments in favour of people of specifically African descent are a double-edged sword, as little or no tangible explanation of the ins and outs of these operations has been given beforehand to avoid the boomerang effect. In the eyes of the so-called "Caucasian" majority and other "communities", the people targeted are seen as either "profiteers" or "welfare recipients" and this reinforces prejudices already deeply rooted in the popular imagination. Unfortunately. There are few people who really know the history of these excluded Africans and the weight of their difficulties resulting in particular from the discrimination of which many are victims in different environments or spheres of activity. But that said, objectively speaking, this is a salutary boost for many entrepreneurs of African origin, excluded from the mainstream, living here. They needed it.

6) The existence of people of African descent who immigrate to Canada is at the intersection of two identity bases Black and African. When they arrive, they are classified as "visible minorities" or "black communities". However, this categorization masks their internal richness and plurality. Do you think that this crossing of identities has a decisive impact on the integration of Black Africans living in Canada? If so, in what way?

At the outset, I would like to emphasize that I personally am not a fan of communitarianism. It is comparable to tribalism, a source of sectarianism, discrimination, self-exclusion and exclusion. Communitarianism is a soft version of the apartheid system.

Thus, I do not adhere to the sociological concepts of "visible minorities" or "black communities". Without denying my African origins, and I am proud of it, I define myself more as



in the city as a full-fledged citizen and not as an entirely separate citizen. Self-exclusion is not a reflex inscribed in my psyche. It is my intellectual posture. It goes back to my adolescence at the Jesuits in my native Cameroon.

However, if my origins and my melanin level are determining issues in the eyes of some people, that's their problem; not mine. In my mind, we are all African descendants on this planet, regardless of our physical appearance. The science bears this out... That's why I oppose all so-called discrimination.

"There is only one human race: Homo sapiens. There is only one human race: Homo sapiens.

Speaking of "internal richness" and "plurality" "We are individually the result of our particular experiences and our specific paths. This is not determined by "community" dogmas. And any interaction with otherness can only be a source of intellectual inspiration and enrichment. It is a process that is part of reciprocity with otherness and in a perpetual dynamic when one's mind is open. Not when the mind is locked in a fixed form in which one confirms oneself with cognitive biases of all kinds.

7) What do you see as the strengths of the Black communities in Canada?

A high level of education and respectable competence that predisposes them to work in different fields: Science and technology, public and private administration, economy, social, health, teaching, politics, culture, etc.

And their limits or weaknesses?

Communitarianism, sometimes negative prejudices and lack of networking.

8) In many cases, diasporas leave a positive and strong mark on their host country, particularly in the economic, political and academic fields,

cultural, urban. In Canada, Chinese, Italian, Israeli, Portuguese and Jamaican communities illustrate this observation in abundance. We must recognize that African communities are still far from playing this structuring role in Canada. How do you explain this?

This is a general perception. But on closer inspection, there are many successful careers in terms of structuring contributions in the various spheres of activity I mentioned earlier. Unfortunately, they do not make the front page of the news... It is the "marginalized" who often have this privilege. Gangs, in particular...

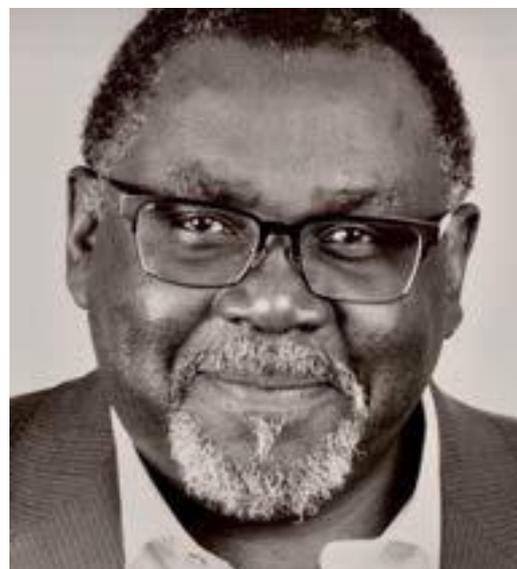
9) How can we change this?

Advocate again and again for a paradigm shift.

10) Finally, who are your inspirational historical figures? Do you have any final words to add?

Rudolf Douala Manga Bell and Nelson Mandela. To understand the influence of these characters on my trajectory, I invite you to read this [article](#).

Finally, if February 11 is celebrated in Quebec as Nelson Mandela Day, it is because of the adoption, on June 12, 2015, on behalf of all Quebecers and all the members of our National Assembly, of a law that I sponsored: The law proclaiming February 11 as Nelson Mandela Day.



CRITICAL REVIEWS

Alain DENEULT, Delphine ABADIE, William SACHER. *Noir Canada: Pillage, corruption and criminality in Africa.* Montreal: Ecosociété.

Keywords: Corruption, Canada, Africa, Diplomacy, Looting

The authors report on Canada's diplomacy in African countries, particularly those in the Great Lakes region. It is a call for solutions to evaluate the role of these Canadian companies in Africa (p.9), causing collateral damage (p.11). They denounce the role played by Canada by highlighting the very unorthodox practices as well as the devastating effects of the notorious abuses (p.2) to the detriment of African countries and for the safeguarding of Canadian interests, in particular those of private companies. All measures are taken by the latter to achieve this, including the appropriate legal framework (p.5), the natural resources plundered, exploited, plundered in the beard of the international community are among others oil, mines, impoverishing the soil and inflicting inhuman treatment on the populations, environmental pollution, major ecological risks (p. 34-5).

Canadian companies are equally active in arms trafficking, scams and theft (p.80), financing devastating wars, political support, corruption, massive looting. They excel in land expropriation, civil wars (p203), new diseases, famine, political interference, looting of infrastructure, genocide, abuse of the working classes with the complicity of the governments in place. These companies that operate in sensitive areas (p.41) to participate in the development of the African subsoil (p.50) feed political intrigues with the complicity of the high political spheres. They "jostle between rebels and governments to get the best shares, taking care to remain on the winning side and forcing fate, if necessary" (p.57). The "treasure hunters" (p.101) operate with the support of the Canadian state (p.148) and the backing of the Canadian stock exchange and diplomacy, the

This is the case in Africa, where local authorities are complacent and enjoy complete impunity (p. 164).

Canada has revealed itself to the world as a friend of tax havens (p.181). According to UNCTAD, these Canadian interventions cause tax evasion that is almost double the overall public debt of African countries (p.187). In short, Canadian intervention in African countries, implemented supposedly to accompany the development of communities, only contributes to the exacerbation of their poverty and to the impoverishment of African nations. Their "civilizing actions" (p. 268) are only set in motion for the interests of their companies. The collateral effects include the weakening of state power. Canada "exploits desperate Africans, in the name of God" (p.268)

Like most Northern countries, Canada has set in motion a diplomatic strategy in Africa, in this case in the Great Lakes Region, carried by Canadian companies and supported on the one hand by Canadian and local governments, and on the other hand by certain international institutions, and not the least. The development so much shouted and sold by these plunderers for Africa seems like an antiphrase thrown into the media circuits and diplomatic networks to easily access the projected spoils. Indeed, through the work of these authors, we are allowed to stop dreaming of the effective contribution of the countries of the North to the development of our communities, if their interventions bring only barbaric drifts, incapable of leading African nations to a growth. Thus, Canadian diplomatic strategies produce more inconveniences in the countries of intervention than they do solutions to the daily problems of the populations. More surprisingly, these multiple acts of infringement of human rights and the security of states are not considered important by the international structures that guarantee peace and security. Africa is a cake that is shared by these companies, leaving impoverished populations and heavily indebted states.

This book by Alain DENEULT et al. is divided into three parts: the introduction, the content of the book, which is divided into six unevenly distributed parts, and the conclusion. The introduction presents the effects of Canada on the world, specifically the Great Lakes, and announces the role of Canadian companies in this region through the

"The next sections of the paper discuss the parameters of Canada's relations with the Great Lakes Region through the interventions of Canadian companies in the acts of unintentional genocide and homicide, as well as the role of the Canadian government in supporting these companies. The following sections evoke the parameters of Canada's relations with the Great Lakes Region through the interventions of Canadian companies in acts of homicide and genocide, involuntary. The authors also denounce the leonine contracts signed in Congo Kinshasa. They point out the presence of Canada on all the boards of this region with as advantages drawn from the judicial system, the enjoyment of tax and judicial havens of the mining and oil companies. They do not fail to highlight the role of the Canadian International Development Agency as an interface, hiding the white elephants generated by Canadian interventions. Finally, the authors present Canada as Africa's friend before moving on to the concluding section of their book. Through this last part of their book, the authors draw conclusions about the Canada-Africa relationship.

The first part of the book discusses the homicides and genocides perpetrated by private Canadian companies in Tanzania and Mali as well as the actions of the coalition of the IMF, the World Bank and Canadian mining companies. Indeed, the exploitation of natural resources in the Great Lakes countries causes collateral damage (p.11) such as human abuse, political support, arms trafficking, corruption, looting of massive resources and infrastructure, land expropriation, political interference, genocide, environmental pollution and major ecological risks (p.34-5). In Tanzania, for example, the authors denounce the burial of artisanal miners by one of the Canadian companies in activity and "acts of rare violence occurred in the melee" (p. 16), despite

The authors claim their innocence. While in Mali, the history of this exploitation will be a litany of horrors for the inhabitants of the region (p. 23) because it affects their health, expropriations in some villages, theft and drug addiction. Added to this are the poor salary conditions (p. 26) and the harmful effects of greenhouse gas emissions (p. 34). In Ghana, the World Bank and the IMF support Canadian mining companies, despite the harmful effects of their operations on the environment and on the population.

The second part of their book, which deals with leonine contracts, first highlights the horde of facilities offered by the ex-dictator and President Mobutu to fuel "Zairianization" (p.44) and corruption, the debt of Zaire is getting out of control, without forgetting to mention the political and military interference of AMFI in the rebel and armed movements (p.47), a worrying illustration of the companies that make up the "Mafiafrique" (p.51). Indeed, these companies fuel political intrigues with the complicity of the government, which leads them to position themselves between the rebels and the government, while taking care to side with the winner (p.57). In general, the objective of these companies is to participate in the development of the African subsoil. The authors also show the practices implemented by these companies to stand up to the law and the information revealed by the audits carried out by the World Bank. Thus, the natural resources of the African subsoil are sold off in contexts that generate fraud, theft (p.80), unfair agreements, the financing of devastating wars, and the illegal trafficking of weapons by these Canadian companies.

In the third part, which presents Canada on all fronts in the African Great Lakes, the authors once again reveal the unhealthy and abusive practices of Canadian companies in this region, in particular the plundering of the resources of the Congolese subsoil under President Kabila, as an "economic culture", again with the support of the Canadian government

40 Samia Kazi AOUL, Émilie REVIL, Bruno SARRASIN, Bonnie CAMPBELL, Denis TOUGAS, *Towards a Spiral of Violence, op. cit. in Appendix B.*

(p98). This is how they were able to break up the Congo into antagonistic micro-states lacking financial means and economic infrastructure, which they then simply had to arm globally in order to lose all control over the whole problem⁴¹. All this is done under the nose of international institutions and those in charge of defending human rights, eternal accomplices. Indeed, their practices are the same, from the Congo to Uganda via Tanzania, with the aim of happily siphoning off the oil in these countries.

The fourth part highlights the role of the stock market mafia in Canadian companies, the arrangements made to provide these companies with judicial security, the attacks in Sudan, the mercenarism set in motion in Sierra Leone and Angola, as well as Canada's oil intrigues. The authors show how the Canadian government supports the operations of Canadian mining companies (p. 148) while the Toronto stock exchange grants them very friendly formalization facilities by promoting the lack of transparency in the dissemination of exploited resources and reserves (p.155). This context has favored the internationalization of the activities of these companies, notably their opening to the juicy African markets (p.160). Indeed, the Canadian government consequently presents itself in the world as a defender of its investors (p.162) by offering them a judicial paradise and complete impunity in Africa (p.164), notwithstanding the innumerable and serious condemnations of which they are the object (p.168) Even in Sudan, the results are disastrous for the population: forced displacement, village burnings, summary executions, planning for famine, incitement to rape, slavery with the triple alliance of finance, oil and military (p.170). In Angola, Sierra Leone and Liberia, mercenary firms operate to safeguard Canadian diamond mining interests. While these companies are getting richer, local populations are suffering, among other things, from

systematic mutilation, sexual slavery,

⁴¹ Pierre Baracetyse, "L'Enjeu politique des sociétés minières internationales en République démocratique du Congo (ex-Zaire)", *op. cit.* p. 7.

the recruitment of drug-addicted child soldiers, (p. 177-8). According to UNCTAD, their activities generate tax evasion estimated at about twice the public debt of African countries (p. 187) with leaders steeped in corruption.

The fifth part relates the implications of the activities of the Canadian International Development Agency in Africa, contributing to the financing of actions to dismantle states, making development aid available to support Canadian investors on the one hand, and the contribution of Canadian civil society on the other. Indeed, the financing of the construction of infrastructures and electric dams, far from being a solution for access to services for the population, constitutes a boon for the enrichment of Canadian companies. Indeed, these operations are for the latter to voluntarily encourage civil wars (p.203). These operations lead to famine and new diseases. In Mali and Senegal, the construction of the railroads has had major repercussions for Canadian companies (p.210). (p.210). The Canadian government has even made it easier for Canadian companies to do business in Africa (p.217), stating that "Canadians are making the world a better place"⁴² is part of the literature that illustrates the Canadian strategy, while at the same time cushioning the cataclysms of their operations. Canadian companies are indeed taking advantage of the exceptionally low operating costs in Mali (p. 225).

In the sixth part of the book, the authors evoke the mysteries of the concept of "human security" advocated by Canadian diplomacy to establish a global "governance" that gives them every right to intervene for their personal interests. They also highlight the mechanisms used by these companies to hold the pharmaceutical sector hostage and their role in the spread of HIV-AIDS. Finally, they focus on the schemes tailored to benefit these companies and the underbelly of African debt.

⁴² CANADIAN DEVELOPMENT AGENCY INTERNATIONAL, "Canadians contributing to a world Best," <<http://www.acdi-cida.gc.ca/CIDAWEB/acdicida.nsf/Fr/j0S-3171680-SSK>>.

In fact, Canadian companies are implementing strategies that destroy life together, but they are positioning themselves as peacemakers in conflict zones (p. 231). Conferences and meetings organized for Africa as well as ratifications and decisive acts are taken at the international level to feed this new concept. While in Nigeria, the exploitation of oil causes innumerable damages to the health of the populations and to the natural resources (p. 242), favoring poverty, the pauperization of African nations. Canadian "civilizing actions" in fact amount to implementing exactly the opposite of what they say. According to the authors, NEPAD is a tool for implementing their diplomacy of contradiction. Thus, the actions carried out, supposedly, to fight malaria and AIDS would only really be to their benefit, as these diseases constitute promising markets for them. Among the mechanisms they have been able to put in place to facilitate the impoverishment of African countries is the famous "mining code", which favours the strengthening of the presence of Canadian companies to the detriment of the development of local initiatives. Indeed, they exploit the misery of the desperate in Africa, in the name of God (p.268). Measures are taken to cancel the debt of African countries after so many atrocities have been committed there.

The last part of the book allows the authors to draw conclusions, but also to list the observations they have made, before drawing up perspectives and strategies. They denounce the use of the *mass media* by Canadians to truncate the image of Canadian diplomacy in Africa and to give Africa a degraded image, in contrast to the rare and scattered actions of non-governmental organizations and academics to restore the truth of the facts (p.307-8). For the authors, "it is indeed necessary to define what is legal and what is not, and the extent to which an investment can be considered legitimate and rational" (p. 311). In light of the above, they recommend taking stock of the governance of Canadian diplomacy in Africa and drawing on the experiences of other Northern states in Africa, which could contribute to the improvement of their practices.

The observations they have made relate, among other things, to the fact that it is usually Western companies operating in Africa that benefit from official development assistance, causing Africa to lose its sovereignty and reinforcing its dependence on the outside world (p.314-5).

"Given the pressure to always lend money, coupled with weak oversight, the World Bank and regional development banks have been led to invest heavily in projects that have raised heavy suspicions of corruption. Export credit agencies have an even darker record of working with companies engaged in corruption that harms indebted populations"⁴³ (p.315). Thus, according to these authors, trade negotiations or debt relief projects would have no chance of success (p.316).

The prospects announced for this relationship are to the detriment of Africa, which serves as a guinea pig for Canada to experiment with its technical, economic, social and political implementation methods. These two partners would be in a political era that sketches in "hollow its own rules and practices, its abstruse morality, its unexpected forms of subjectivation" (p.322).

However, there is no miracle strategy to adopt in such a context (p.322), even if the Toronto Stock Exchange has offered all the possible largesse to Canadian companies, such as legal cover and tax advantages, while financing their aftermath and violent interventions in Africa (p.323). The book closes with a questioning of Canada's debt to Africa, not the one that is loudly promoted (p. 324).

Marius Elvis Mahouton Djossou, Ph.

⁴³ David NUSSBAUM, "A world built on corrupt foundations", *International Herald. Tribune*, March 19, 2005.

References

Samia Kazi, AOUL, Dir, 2000. Towards a spiral of violence? Appendix B. Montreal

Pierre, BARACYETSE, "LdEnjeu politique des sociétés minières internationales en République démocratique du Congo (ex-Zaïre)

David, NUSSBAUM, 2005. "A world built on corrupt foundations," International Herald. Tribune.

CIDA "Canadians Making a Difference in the World", <<http://www.acdi-cida.gc.ca/CIDAWEB/acdicida.nsf/En/j0S-3171680-SSK>>.



Policy Briefs: Solutions for Public Policy receives no public or private funding.

You can support the magazine with a donation: <https://www.idees-afrique.ca/donations/>.

- You can now promote your business or services by requesting a sponsorship or by purchasing advertising space in the magazine. For more information, contact us at info@idees-afrique.ca.
- The journal invites contributions from authors for its thematic and review sections. The next thematic issue will focus on "Black communities in Canada".