Locating Crisis: Representations of Race and Space in the English Media
Montreal 1987 - 1992

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ABSTRACT

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Janin Hadlaw, M.A.

This thesis examines the paradoxical effects of the intense media coverage of police killings of blacks in Montreal between 1987 and 1992. Media representation, particularly in the Montreal Gazette, came to frame the events as a 'discourse of credibility.' The black community's insistence that the killings were evidence of police racism and the police department's denial of racism as the cause, came to be represented in terms of the 'credibility' of the 'actors' involved. As this 'discourse of credibility' evolved, the conflict between the black community and the police force came to be re-framed as a skirmish between the 'criminal' interests of blacks and (white) public security. This discursive re-configuration was most clearly evident in Black & Blue, a CBC news feature broadcast in January 1992.

An analysis of Black & Blue is the keystone of this study. It argues that the feature played a crucial role in defusing public concern over police racism by effectively 'locating the crisis' of policing and 'race' in Little Burgundy, a 'black' neighbourhood. Using a theoretical framework informed by the work of Michel Foucault and Henri Lefebvre, this thesis explores the ways in which concepts of 'race' and 'space' are animated in representation to 'locate crisis' and recuperate the status quo. By examining the similarities between representations of Little Burgundy in media and urban planning documents, it illustrates some of the ways in which 'race' functions as an organizing metaphor for the 'management' of social space.
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INTRODUCTION

The Police, Media and the Black Community in Montreal, 1987-92

Between 1987 and 1992, the Montreal Urban Community (MUC) Police were responsible for both killings and harassment of young black men. The high frequency of these incidents led the local media to run, in addition to the news reports on the incidents themselves, an unprecedented number of stories about police racism. Although accusations of racism had been leveled at the Montreal Police Force with great regularity, the debate tended to remain within black groups and organizations. The event which led to a firestorm of discussion in the media was the shooting of Anthony Griffin by Officer Alain Gosset in November 1987. The nineteen year-old Griffin was shot and killed in the parking lot of a Montreal police station after being arrested for not having sufficient funds to pay his cab fare. According to the driver of the cab, Griffin made no attempt to flee when the police were called, nor did he resist arrest. In fact, he was so composed that the police officers who arrested him forgot to use handcuffs. Somehow, in spite of his apparent cooperation, Griffin was shot in the head just feet from the police station doors. The official police report stated that he was shot while 'attempting to flee custody.' The media disputed the police explanations of Griffin's killing. Police officers were interviewed about racism in the Force. The police investigation of the shooting as well as the subsequent trial and acquittal (February 25 1988) of Officer Gosset were prominently featured and extensively commented on in both print and electronic media.

The Gosset story continued to play out in Montreal. Juxtaposed with these stories, the local media ran reports on police racism and the death of black suspects in Toronto,
race riots in Nova Scotia, and killings of black youth in the United States.¹

Media coverage peaked in 1991 as the Crown's appeal of the acquittal of Officer Alain Gosset began (January 29). Instances of police brutality which had occurred in the interim were revisited in media accounts as Gosset and the Police Brotherhood fought the appeal. On March 6, the stunning amateur-video footage of Rodney King being viciously beaten by officers of the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) was first broadcast to viewers across the North American continent. This footage, the subsequent coverage of the trial and acquittal of the accused LAPD officers, the LA riots, and the re-trial of the officers continued to be prominent in the media through to mid-1993. For the first part of 1991, images of Rodney King and the four officers charged in his assault were seen alongside those of Anthony Griffin and Alain Gosset on local news shows.

On July 4 1991, a special unit of the MUC Police shot and killed Marcellus François in a spectacular mid-day assault on the car in which he and three friends were traveling through Montreal's financial district. The killing was a result of 'mistaken-identity.' The officers were attempting to 'bring in' an informant who was being sought in an assault. The dozens of officers on the scene and the ambiguous statements provided by the police department bore an eerie resemblance to the King beating in LA. But the François shooting, like the shooting of Anthony Griffin ended in the death of an innocent black man, and public concern and media attention intensified.

Reports of police killing, beating or harassing blacks, typically under- or un-reported, were now being regularly documented and debated in the media in Canada and the United States. In Montreal, the English language-media were increasingly vocal in

their rejection of the plausibility of police explanations of the killings of Griffin and François. The English media (especially the *Montreal Gazette*, the *Mirror* and the CBC) were especially diligent in 'following-up' police accounts of the incidents and seeking information from the families of the victims and members of the black community. The news environment had become saturated with stories on race relations. Less violent but equally disturbing stories of police racism were being featured as 'human interest stories.'²

In unprecedented number, black Montrealer's accounts of harassment were being investigated by the mainstream media. Stories on employment equity, multiculturalism and mixed-race families were all 'making the news.' This intense media interest created a forum for the concerns of black citizens and contributed to a perceptible increase in white middle-class knowledge and support of blacks' complaints against the police. For example, whereas previously police officers were rarely scrutinized while questioning or arresting black suspects, it was not unusual during this period to see whites stopping to 'witness' an arrest procedure.³

*Black & Blue*, a feature produced by CBC Newswatch was broadcast on January 21, 1992. It was the result of a 'media investigation' into accusations of police wrongdoing and was promoted in its advertising as a critical look at policing the black community. *Black & Blue* made extensive use of interviews with several individuals but, most especially, with Otis Fletcher, the person who had originally approached the CBC with

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³ In the summer of 1991, I stopped in Westmount Park at the sight of a group of about a dozen people watching two police officers question a black teenager about the theft of a bicycle. When I inquired as to what everyone was looking at, I was told by one of the bystanders that he was just watching to make sure that "the kid doesn't get the death penalty if he stole that bike." I observed similar responses all over Montreal during this time. A small group of women and children gathered to silently watch two officers requesting identification from two young black men at the corner of Atwater Avenue and St. Jacques Street. One of the (white) mothers later told me that she felt stopping to watch was "the responsible thing to do".
information about the activities of three officers. The video also documented his death.
Fletcher was killed during a police chase shortly after giving the interview to the CBC.
The police officers who had been chasing him claimed he had committed suicide. The
news footage of the crime scene, as well as at-the-scene interviews with both the police and
bystanders were incorporated into Black & Blue.

A peculiar effect of Black & Blue was that it 'located' the debate on race and
policing in the neighbourhood of Little Burgundy. The producers undertook to
'investigate' police misconduct by juxtaposing allegations of harassment made by Fletcher
and others with footage shot on-the-job with the officers who patrolled the neighbourhood.
In one sense, the exposé succeeded dramatically. An illegal entry-and-search conducted by
the police officers was captured on video. The woman whose house had been entered
subsequently made use of the documentary to successfully sue the police officers and the
police department for violation of civil rights. On the other hand, the documentary may
have actually undermined public sympathy and support for blacks seeking to stop police
harassment and (re-)instilled suspicion about 'black criminality.' I propose that Black &
Blue functioned to allay growing (white) middle class fears about personal safety by
'locating the crisis' of race in the physical and symbolic spaces of a 'black'
neighbourhood.4

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4 Hall, Critcher, et al. posit that the conflation of crime, race and ghetto as a social
problem occurs as a result of incidents which "[locate and situate] black crime geographically
[emphasis added] and ethnically, as peculiar to black youth in inner city ghettos."
Extending this concept, I suggest that there exists an urge to locate 'blackness' and all of its
symbolic associations which results from a perception of 'race' itself as a social problem
and its appearance in social discourse as implicitly threatening.
Research design and method

This thesis examines the discursive process by which media representation effectively 'located the crisis' of race and policing in the neighbourhood of Little Burgundy. I propose that this process was not simply a result of a different way of looking at the neighbourhood. Rather, it is characteristic of 'a way of seeing' in which race is an organizing metaphor for the management of social space. As evidenced in the commitment of the media in questioning police accounts, this 'way of seeing' is not the result of a reporter's or a producer's bias against the black community. Rather, it is a model of visibility in which racially-identified neighbourhoods (such as Little Burgundy) and their residents are typically represented. This 'way of seeing' identifies 'race' itself (and implicitly, poverty) in terms of social 'crises' requiring management.

In this thesis, I explore the ways in which 'race' and 'space' are animated in the process of 'locating crisis' and recuperating the status quo. I analyze media coverage of policing and police issues in Montreal between the years 1987-92 and examine the representational strategies, as exemplified in Black & Blue, which functioned to 'locate the crisis' of police brutality in the symbolic and real spaces of the black community.

This period provides a quantity of material to study and compare. I have chosen to limit my analysis to a series of newspaper articles appearing in the Montreal Gazette between January 1987 and January 1992, the CBC (Montreal) news feature Black & Blue, and a short clip which appeared on a local news show, CFCF Pulse, on May 9, 1992. The Gazette, CFCF and the Montreal office of the CBC, can all be defined as local mainstream media. Although I make occasional reference to articles which appeared in the Montreal Mirror (a local weekly alternative paper) to support or explicate some of the news stories I cite, I have chosen to examine the way in which these events were reported by
the ‘establishment’ media. What was unusual about the period between 1987 and 1992 was that the mainstream media (especially the Montreal Gazette and the CBC) were insistently questioning police accounts of the arrests and shootings of black people. I believe it was the mainstream (English) media’s determined engagement with the issues of policing the black community which was responsible for both encouraging the black community’s confidence to take action, as well as stimulating (anglophone) public support for the black community’s demands.

Another reason that this sampling is drawn exclusively from English-language media sources is to set aside the issue of differences in interpretative frameworks employed by anglophone and francophone reporters and readers. It must be understood that in Montreal, even racial identification is profoundly affected by language. The black ‘community’ in Montreal is extremely heterogeneous, made up numerous immigrations of African-descended peoples from diverse countries of origin. The earliest immigrations were from predominantly English-speaking countries (in particular the United States of America and Trinidad), and tended to be motivated by economic factors. More recent immigrations were the result of a political strategy which blended Québec nationalism and Catholicism in an immigration policy that selectively targeted French-speaking countries in Africa (such as Senegal) and the Caribbean (especially Haiti). The use of material from both English- and French-language media would thus require considerable mapping of these historical and theoretical relationships and would significantly shift the intended focus of this study.

5 To undertake a discourse analysis of the Mirror’s coverage of these events would be a very interesting and fruitful exercise, but one which would also alter the focus of this work. The scepticism of official accounts which was unusual in the mainstream press is not at all atypical for alternative (“free”) newspapers such as the Mirror, which actively represent constituencies lacking an institutional ‘voice’ or perceived as oppositional (such as minorities, gays and lesbians, feminists, etc.).
My thesis is divided into a descriptive introduction, three chapters and a conclusion. In this introduction, I have briefly described some incidents of police racism which occurred in Montreal between 1987 and 1992, and broadly sketched how issues to do with ‘race’ were taking on new prominence in the media at this time.

In the first chapter, I analyze Michel Foucault’s and Henri Lefebvre’s theories of space, in particular the suggestion that representations of space, or ‘the constructions of visibility’, function as the social knowledges which link ‘real’ and metaphoric space. I discuss how this concept suggests methodological guidelines for the organization of my analysis.

In Chapter Two, guided by Foucault’s and Lefebvre’s theoretical arguments on the interconnectedness of practices and places, I present a brief history of the neighbourhood represented in Black & Blue. I illustrate how the design of the neighbourhood itself, as part of an urban renewal scheme in the late 1960s, provides an example of how the strategy of ‘locating crisis’ functions as a means of recuperating public confidence.

In Chapter Three, I employ discourse analysis to study media coverage in the Montreal Gazette of the deterioration of relations between the MUC police and the black community in Montreal, as well as the police officers and the MUC police administration. I posit that the representation of these two events in the (English) media heightened public concern about policing and race relations, and ultimately resulted in the production and airing of Black & Blue.

Chapter Four is a textual analysis of Black & Blue. I illustrate how, through its use of metaphors of space and race, Black & Blue functions to ‘locate’ the problem of police killings of black Montrealers and recuperate the public crisis of confidence in the MUC police force. The video text is analyzed with respect to the ways in which ‘perspective’ is established and credibility is negotiated. Particular attention is paid to how contradictory or irrelevant information influences meaning.
In my conclusion, I take up my claim that 'race' functions as an organizing metaphor for the 'management' of social space. I explore how spatial strategies used in Black & Blue's representation of Little Burgundy are linked to those which informed its actual construction in Montreal's 1960-70 urban renewal scheme. I posit that these links, rather than evidence of the 'truth' of representation, are indicative of racially-determined frameworks of knowledge through which we organize social space. I illustrate with reference to a news clip which aired on CFCF Pulse how, as a metaphor with material effects, 'race' informs the practices of (media) representation and through them, the very fabric of our everyday life.
CHAPTER 1

Two Theoretical Views of Space and Their Methodological Implications

A whole history remains to be written of spaces — which would at the same time be a history of powers.\(^6\)

I wish to begin this chapter with a definition of the role *Black & Blue* plays in my argument. It must be noted that by placing this televisual text at the centre of my analysis I am not refuting George Gerbner’s observation that televisual representations of violence “are not violence but messages about violence”.\(^7\) I concur by extrapolation to state that representations of racist behavior are not racist but messages about racism. But where does this leave us? How is racism reproduced and how does it come to function as social knowledge?

Stuart Hall points out that an “event must become a ‘story’ before it can become a communicative event” [italics in original text]. In that moment the formal sub-rules of discourse are ‘in dominance’, [signifying] the social relations in which the rules are set to work or the social and political consequences of the event.\(^8\) In the case of *Black & Blue*, the ‘historical event’ in question was the police killings of several young black men in Montreal. In its transposition into a ‘communicative event’, the historical event became ‘located’ in a specific site, namely, the neighbourhood of Little Burgundy. What must be noted is that only one of the killings, in fact, the one which many believe to be a result of the production of the television documentary, occurred in Little Burgundy. Entering the

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realm of discourse, the historical event that was the police killings of blacks came to be 're-located' in two ways: first, as a discussion of the credibility of police accounts and the allegations of blacks and then, as a 'problem' limited to the geographical spaces of Little Burgundy, a (symbolically) 'black' inner-city neighbourhood.9

What, then, becomes so critical about Black & Blue is that its 'disorientations', both symbolic and geographical, are clearly 'oriented' to existing social frameworks of knowledge about race and space. There was no dissonance for viewers who have no familiarity with the neighbourhood. Consequently, my analysis is not concerned with whether or not Black & Blue was a 'bad' or 'inadequate' documentary because it failed to tell the 'truth.' I am interested in it as an object of study because it did 'tell the truth' about the mechanisms we use to deny and defer coming to terms with racism. Therefore, the focus of this thesis is not Black & Blue as a media text, but rather as a 'moment' in which the mechanisms which render racist beliefs 'logical' became visible.

Theoretically, my investigation is informed by two sources: Michel Foucault's notion of 'eventualization' and the re-conception of space which Henri Lefebvre outlines in The Production of Space. While there exist many points of divergence between these two concepts, what links them and functions as the basis of my analysis is their re-evaluation of certain key analytical categories and relationships.10 Of particular relevance to my work are the ways in which Lefebvre and Foucault deploy the following concepts: the definition of 'practice' and its relationship to 'place', and the nature of 'the visible' as evidence. These concepts, as a result of their fundamental re-conceptualization of the organizing

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9 I refer to Little Burgundy's identity as a 'black' neighbourhood as 'symbolic' because demographically the number of black residents has never surpassed fifteen percent of the total population.

10 The similarities between their understandings of space are most evident in the comparison between Lefebvre's The Production of Space (published in the original French in 1974) and Foucault's "Of Other Spaces" (based on a lecture given in March 1967 and originally published as "Des Espaces Autres" in 1984).
metaphors of analysis have methodological implications. In this chapter, I discuss some of these implications, how they directed the areas of investigation for this thesis, and the considerations which they raised for me as a researcher.

'Practice' and its relationship to 'place'

In an interview with historians on the topic of method, Foucault was asked whether "it is right [...] to throw out social history altogether from your 'interpretive diagram'?"\textsuperscript{11} His response illustrates a shift in his thinking which had only recently occurred. He stated that in his work, especially his analysis of 'the penal order',

the target of analysis wasn't 'institutions', 'theories', or 'ideology', but

practices — with the aim of grasping the conditions which make these acceptable at a given moment; the hypothesis being that [practices] [...] possess up to a point their own specific regularities, logic, strategy, self-evidence and 'reason'. It is a question of analyzing a 'regime of practices' — practices being understood here as places where what is said and what is done, rules imposed and reasons given, the planned and the taken for granted meet and interconnect. [emphasis added]\textsuperscript{12}

Foucault's identification of practice as a place or site, was a recent modification to his notion of discursive formation. The impetus to examine practice from the perspective of space rather than time developed in the course of an interview in 1970 with the editors of the geography journal Hérodote. Foucault's initial reluctance to consider the connection between his work and geography was overcome by their argument that his use of spatial


\textsuperscript{12} Ibid. 75.
metaphors was not anecdotal but rather central to his project.\textsuperscript{13} In the ensuing debate, Foucault's perspective on analytical procedure for the investigation of "the formation of discourse and the genealogy of knowledge" underwent a radical transformation.\textsuperscript{14} At one point in the discussion, he makes the observation:

[Envisaging the analysis of discourses solely in terms of temporal continuity would inevitably [lead one] to approach and analyze it like the internal transformation of an individual consciousness. Which would lead to [...] erecting a great collective consciousness as the scene of events. [...] Endeavoring on the other hand to decipher discourse through the use of spatial, strategic metaphors enables one to grasp precisely the points at which discourses are transformed in, through and on the basis of relations of power.\textsuperscript{15}]

There is a certain resonance between Lefebvre’s and Foucault’s definitions of ‘practice’. Integral to both of their notions of ‘practice’ is its conception as both activity and location. According to Lefebvre, "(Social) space is a (social) product" and as such is best studied in terms of its production rather than through the artificial fragmentation of disciplinary divisions (such as, the ‘zones’ of urban planning, the ‘territory’ of geography,

\textsuperscript{13} The interviewers begin by pointing out to Foucault that "an uncertainty about spatialization contrasts with your profuse use of spatial metaphors – position, displacement, site, field; sometimes geographical metaphors even – territory, domain, soil, horizon, archipelago, region, landscape. [...] The point that needs to be emphasized here is that certain spatial metaphors are equally geographical and strategic". At the conclusion of the interview Foucault states: "I have enjoyed this discussion with you because I have changed my mind since we started. I admit I thought you were demanding a place for geography [but now] I can see that the problems you put to me about geography are crucial ones for me. Geography acted as the support, the condition of possibility for the passage between a series of factors I tried to relate.”


\textsuperscript{14} \textit{Ibid.}, 77.

\textsuperscript{15} \textit{Ibid.}, 69-70.
the ‘build environment’ of architecture, the ‘property’ of law, and so on.)\textsuperscript{16} He proposes an alternative model in which space can be understood through — but not reduced to — three analytical perspectives which relate to ‘moments’ of production, specifically: 1) spatial practice as embodied in discrete locations and particular social formations (“the perceived”), 2) discursive representations of space (“the conceived”), and 3) the abstract spaces of representation which make up the ‘social imaginary’ (“the lived”).

From an analytical standpoint, the spatial practice of a society is revealed through the deciphering of its space. [Under neo-capitalism, it] embodies a close association, within perceived space, between daily reality (daily routine) and urban reality (the routes and networks which link up the places set aside for work, ‘private’ life and leisure).\textsuperscript{17}

The three positions of the representational triad exist in a dialectical relationship to each other. The “object of the exercise,” declares Lefebvre, “is to rediscover the unity of the productive process” by making use of these three moments as distinctions and not divisions.\textsuperscript{18} While he refuses the notion of a simplistic model of space in which there exists a predictable “one-to-one or ‘punctual’ correspondence between social actions and social locations”, he does indicate a series of ‘punctual moments’ where these correspondences occur.\textsuperscript{19} They are in fact the transformative moments on which his concept of the ‘meta-history’ of space is constructed.


\textsuperscript{17} Lefebvre. \textit{Op. cit.}, 38.

\textsuperscript{18} \textit{Ibid.}, 42.

\textsuperscript{19} \textit{Ibid.}, 34. Some examples of what Lefebvre considers ‘punctual’ correspondences include the relationship between the discovery of perspectival space and changes in the forces and relations of production in thirteenth-century Tuscany (78-9), and the “historic role of the Bauhaus” in the development of a global concept of space (124).
We should study not only the history of space, but also the history of representations, along with that of their relationships — with each other, with practice, and with ideology. *History would have to take in not only the genesis of these spaces but also, and especially, their interconnections, distortions, displacements, mutual interactions, and their links with the spatial practice of the particular society or mode of production under consideration.* [emphasis added]^{20}

Examining Lefebvre's proposal for 'meta-historical' approach to the study of social space alongside Foucault's definition of 'eventualization' brings to light some key procedural similarities. Both theories seem to suggest comparable methodological 'maneuvers'. First, the identification of a *punctual* moment (Lefebvre) or *singular* practice (Foucault) as a research site, and then *the re-integration of that moment or practice into a spatially* (rather than chronologically) *determined network of connections, links and relationships.*

[First, eventualization] means making visible a *singularity* at places where there is a temptation to invoke a historical constant, an immediate anthropological state, or an obviousness which imposes itself uniformly to all. [Making a breach with] those self-evidences on which our knowledges, aquiescences and practices rest [...] Secondly, eventualization means rediscovering the connections, encounters, supports, blockages, plays of force, strategies and so on which at a given moment establish what subsequently counts as being self-evident, universal and necessary. [emphasis added]^{21}

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Foucault is outlining a process of analysis which is inductive, but more specifically, one which rejects the implicit causality of deductive explication. And dismissing any doubt that he is proposing a spatial rather than chronological analytical approach, he describes it in the terminology of three-dimensional geometry.

"Eventualization" works by constructing around a singular event a 'polyhedron' of intelligibility, the number of whose faces is not given in advance and can never properly be taken as finite. One has to proceed by progressive, necessarily incomplete saturation. And one has to bear in mind that the further one breaks down the processes under analysis, the more one is enabled and indeed obliged to construct their external relations of intelligibility.\(^{22}\)

The logics of 'the visible'

Notions of 'intelligibility' and 'visibility' are also central to the theoretical arguments posed by both Foucault and Lefebvre. Moreover, they are seen as spatializing practices, existing at the nexus of the abstract and the concrete. While the rejection of chronology as a means for linking practices is a critical element of both Foucault's and Lefebvre's theories, this does not imply that the dimension of time itself has in any way become de-legitimized. Both theorists posit time in terms of 'periodization', a relatively amorphous classification in which the determinants of 'rationality' are intrinsic and possess an internal logic.

In Foucault's conception of visibility, this rationality is expressed in the 'regularity' of the organization of both psychological processes and external (public) practices. 'Regularity' emerges from the interconnection between 'seeing', 'doing', and practical self-evidence, rather than through the existence of an externally constituted 'truth'.

It constitutes what Foucault calls a 'geo-political' history of the way forms of power 'visualize' themselves. John Rajchman points out that in Foucault's work, "visual thought is rooted in a specific sort of material existence" - the spaces in which it is exercised (such as hospital, prison, museum or home) and the techniques through which its images are reproduced and circulated (such as printing, markets, and so forth)."\(^{23}\)

Foucault hypothesized the visible as a "positive unconscious" which governed not what is seen, but what can be seen in a given period. What constitutes the visible in any given period is a result of the function of two linked mechanisms, which Deleuze in his analysis of Foucault's histories identifies as visibilité, the specific spatialization of that which is seeable, and évidence, the self-evidence and acceptability of that which is seeable. It is évidence which renders a practice, or 'strategy of power', tolerable and any alternatives to it, unimaginable.\(^{24}\)

Foucault's notion of the visible as belonging to a dispositif, or a 'frame' of knowledge and power of a time and place is congruous with Lefebvre's concept of social space as both a production and a product characteristic of a particular social formation. Strategically, Lefebvre's analytical category of 'conceived space' is not inconsistent with the role Foucault assigns to the prison or the mental institution in his archologies. Lefebvre posits that "representations of space [...] identify what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived."\(^{25}\) That is to say, that 'conceived' or codified space (maps, plans, media representation, and so on) acts to link the routines of everyday life (spatial practices) to the social imaginary (spatial representations) in an ongoing process of tangible transformation.

\(^{23}\) John Rajchman, "Foucault's Art of Seeing," *October* 44 (Spring 1988), 92.


Representations of space have a practical impact, that they intervene in and modify spatial textures which are informed by effective knowledge and ideology. [...] Their intervention occurs by way of construction – in other words, by way of architecture, conceived of not as the building of a particular structure, palace or monument, but rather as a project imbedded in a spatial context and a texture which call for 'representations' that will not vanish into the symbolic or imaginary realms. [emphasis added] 26

This codified space and its material manifestations, these 'projects embedded in space' are according to Lefebvre, "the dominant space in any society". 27 Representations of space are the frameworks of social knowledge, 'the discursive logics' which links 'spatial practices' or daily routine with 'representational space', the space of images and symbols.

'Modern' spatial practice might thus be defined – to take an extreme but significant case – by the daily life of a tenant in a government-subsidized high-rise housing project. Which should not be taken to mean that motorways or the politics of air transport can be left out of the picture. A spatial practice must have a certain cohesiveness, but this does not imply that it is coherent (in the sense of intellectually worked out or logically conceived). [emphasis added]28

'Representational' or 'lived space', on the other hand, does not rely on the logic of a system to be meaningful. It operates in the realm of non-verbal signs, overlaying geographical space and making symbolic use of its objects. For example, it is in the domain of representational space where the values and meanings a society assigns to concepts such as light (fair, honest, agile, illuminated, celestial), dark (dirty, obscure,

27 Ibid., 39.
28 Ibid., 38.
secret, silent, evil), order (calm, peace, hierarchy, harmony, law), and disorder (disturbance, ailment, derangement, brawl, anarchy) are played out. 29 Representational space is a ‘lived space’, passively experienced by its ‘users’, the members of a given community, culture or civilization.

Redolent with imaginary and symbolic elements, [representational spaces] have their source in history – the history of a people as well as the history of each individual belonging to that people [...] childhood memories, dreams, or uterine images and symbols (holes, passages, labyrinths). Representational space is alive: it speaks. 30

The importance of representational space in the production of social space (and hence, in the production of meaning) is not secondary or incidental. All the more because it is passively experienced, it is critical to analyze how it is deployed discursively through visual metaphors of space and ‘place’. Binary tropes such as light/dark, order/disorder, high/low, et al., are integral to the production of meaning in Black & Blue. Their symbolic meanings are ‘naturalized’ by (visual) representation. Representation presents itself as transparent and unproblematic. ‘Seeing is believing.’ Videos, photographs, diagrams, texts, all function as ‘proof’ of what is ‘indisputable’, what is ‘real’. They are part of the evidence which supports how we see what we already know. 31

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29 These synonyms are taken from the Microsoft Word 5.1 thesaurus.


31 Judith Butler discusses how “a racially saturated field of visibility” structured the interpretation of ‘visual evidence’ in the Simi Valley trial of the officers accused of assaulting Rodney King. After viewing the video showing Rodney King’s unresisting body being brutally beaten by police, the jury concluded that King was “endangering the police.” Judith Butler, “Endangered/Endangering: Schematic Racism and White Paranoia”, In Reading Rodney King, Reading Urban Uprising, ed. R. Gooding-Williams (New York: Routledge, 1993), 15.
[R]epresentations of space are shot through with a knowledge (savoir) – i.e. a mixture of understanding (connaisance) and ideology – which is always relative and in the process of change. Such representations are thus objective, though subject to revision. Are they true or false? The question does not always have a clear meaning: what does it mean, for example, to ask whether a perspective is true or false?32

Regarding Methodology

Examining how the deployment of space in Black and Blue is related to the social production of racialized space immediately puts into play a number of methodological questions, such as how to identify the practices which support or subscribe to the ‘logics’ of the ‘event’ under examination. Another is, how to delimit the boundaries of the object of study. And finally, there remains the question of the position of the researcher to the materials under consideration.

Positing racist practices in Lefebvre’s terms, as spatializations, encourages expanding this investigation to include both real and metaphoric space. The notion of ‘spatialization’, or the production of social space, is of particular value in coming to terms with the imbricated nature of discriminatory practices such as racism. Although the logics of such practices are dispersed as ‘common-knowledges’, their manifestation is inevitably (site-)specific. This can make grasping the full extent and effect of racism overwhelming. On one hand, the representation of racist belief as an anthropological or biological ‘truth’ refutes any attempt at the specificity required for analysis. On the other, attempts to understand racism through the analysis of specific examples (a process which Lefebvre calls the analysis of ‘things in space’) operates in some ways as an argument against its pervasive

nature. Investing too much meaning in specific examples of racism or its representation somehow suggests that solutions to racism can be found through some sort of moral or social literacy, and ignores the fact that racism is rational within its own terms of reference. In turn, trying to examine racist belief in terms of causality has the effect of mirroring one in that 'rationality'. In terms of this study, the textual analysis of representations of space in *Black & Blue* provides useful clues to the way in which spatial metaphors are used by the media to convey racialized notions of 'place' but does little to account for the power relations implicit in their (social) production.

The real liability in attempting to identify practices which spatialize race (or to state it another way, produce racialized space) does not stem from a dearth of choices. There is rather an overabundance of instances of practices which employ racist logics, each neatly woven into the fabric of everyday life. While this abundance would permit any 'arbitrary' choice to be remain relatively 'accurate', those practices which Lefebvre identifies as 'representations of space', that is documents (and documentaries) and sites would seem to provide the most potent targets of analysis.

What texts can be considered special enough to provide the basis for a 'textual' analysis [of social space]? Inasmuch as they deal with socially 'real' space, one might suppose on first consideration that architecture and texts relating to architecture would be a [good] choice.34

The links between 'real' and 'metaphoric' space are tenacious but abstracted. When Foucault talks about the "spatial distributions in which [people] find themselves [as] spaces

33 The argument that an individual's or group's failure is a direct cause of a lack of *personal* virtue is the argument often used by the extreme right in their quest to dismantle the social safety net, in general, and equity hiring policies, in particular.

of constructed visibility", he is accurately describing both 'real' spaces and their representations. But representation reproduces a 'way of seeing' as well as an observable object. Returning to Foucault's understanding of practices as places "[where] the planned and the taken for granted meet and interconnect", suggests that the role of location is not incidental. 'Crisis' cannot be located anywhere. There is a 'logic' to the acceptability of the representation of Little Burgundy as criminal space in Black & Blue. The 'real' and represented spaces of Little Burgundy are linked by economic and legal evidence, just as marginalization is reproduced in both the reality and the concept of the American ghetto or the South African homelands. This is not to imply that the real and represented spaces possess a one-to-one correspondence, or that "space can be shown by means of space itself."36 Quite the opposite, these tautologies are at the very root of the visual problematiques evident in Black & Blue. Although its representations of Little Burgundy appear to describe the neighbourhood, they in fact operate at the level of the social imaginary to re-construct the neighbourhood and render it useful within existing frameworks of social knowledge.

Both Foucault's and Lefebvre's theories of space assign great importance to 'the actual', the specificity of 'place' and 'practice.' Both theorists refuse the notion of a hierarchy of value among 'practices'; 'local narratives' and 'authoritative discourses' are equally expressive of ideology and power. On this point, the philosophical positions of Lefebvre and Foucault coincide with the fundamental principles of cultural studies. The aspect of cultural studies which is incorporated at the theoretical core of my thesis is its critique of intellectual objectivity and its recognition of the importance of local knowledges. The acknowledgment that "the production of knowledge is always done either in the interest of those who hold power or of those who contest that hold" is of key

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importance to understanding the role representation plays in the construction of the
identity of Little Burgundy.\textsuperscript{37}

The effect of interrogating 'intellectual objectivity' is to identify the relationship
between the researcher and the research object as yet another methodological issue. This
translates into two questions which I feel must be addressed in my work. The first has to
do with being a white academic writing on issues of race and racism. The second, in a way
related to the first, has to do with the importance of local narrative and the manner in
which it is gathered.

Writing on race and racism has produced great discomfort. I have come to believe
in the course of both doing and avoiding this work, that this discomfort is not only
absolutely appropriate, it is essential. It forces the issue of perspective. Stuart Hall
observes that issues and concepts of race offer important ways of understanding how a
society actually works and how it has come to that point.\textsuperscript{38} Key to understanding my work
is the fact that I am analyzing white society and the uses it makes of concepts such as 'race'
and 'difference'. The spaces I explore, both real and metaphoric, are the 'products' of that
society and its practices. But I hasten to add that this perspective is not a result of a
clinical relationship to issues of racial identity or community.

I lived in Little Burgundy for a period of nine years, between 1986 and 1995. My
children were born there. My elder son was born just five months before Anthony Griffin
was killed. The events which I am researching have affected my life, my family, my
friends and my neighbourhood, which raises the question of the place that 'stories' have in
academic research. As a result of the numerous attachments and friendships I developed in
the years I lived in Little Burgundy, I was privy to conversations and opinions which would

\textsuperscript{37} T. O'Sullivan, J. Hartley, D. Saunders, \textit{et al.} \textit{Key Concepts in Communication and

\textsuperscript{38} Stuart Hall, "Race, Culture, and Communications: Looking Backward and
Forward at Cultural Studies." \textit{Rethinking MARXISM} 5, no. 1 (Spring 1992), 10-18.
typically not be expressed in interview situations. My quandary as a researcher has to do with how to make use of the 'data' that my 'informants' provided me with. Much of what I came to be told was offered because my neighbours knew that I was a graduate student or because I was involved in community organizations. The questions I have are not concerned with the misuse or misappropriation of information. Rather, they have to do with the place of 'the anecdotal' in academic research.

The 'anecdotes' which friends and neighbours 'relate' are useful in understanding how frameworks-of-knowledge affect perception. Often, they provided a key to making sense of the 'facts' as reported by the media. From a personal point of view, their 'stories' are what animated my interrogation of how the issues of race, space and policing were being played out on the pages of our morning papers and in the images of our evening news.

There is no doubt as to the importance of this anecdotal knowledge to my understanding and my argument. I believe that chronicling the experiences residents of Little Burgundy had during this period would be a logical and satisfying evolution of this work. Documenting such local knowledges would create an important account of both the events and the neighbourhood itself. Theoretically, this undertaking would be in keeping with the 'spatial' strategies of analysis suggested in Foucault's and Lefebvre's work. In the end, it is *problematiques* such as this which invite the expansion of the boundaries of the 'space' of academic research.

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39 I have conducted some informal interviews with this possibility in mind. The notes from one short interview are included in Appendix A.
CHAPTER 2

Constructing Little Burgundy: Representations of Race and Urban Space

[A]n imaginary geography of places and spaces [is] shown to have social impacts which are empirically specifiable and located not only at the level of individual proxemics but also at the level of social discourses on space which underpin the rhetoric of ideologues and politicians and pervade and subvert even the rationalist discourse of planning and regional development policy.

While focus of this thesis is the strategy of ‘locating crisis’ in Little Burgundy which was employed in the news feature Black & Blue, Lefebvre’s urging to “[study] the history of representations, along with that of their relationships – with each other, with practice, and with ideology” suggests extending this analysis to include other representations of the neighbourhood. An earlier and vivid example of the deployment of the discursive strategy of ‘locating crisis’ can be found in the circumstances and representations associated with the actual construction of Little Burgundy in a massive urban renewal project in the 1960s. In this chapter, I offer a brief history of how Little Burgundy came into being. If, as Lefebvre suggests, “architecture and texts about architecture” can provide the basis for a textual analysis of social space, then this ‘history’ of the construction of Little Burgundy will have a dual purpose for the reader: it will ‘ground’ Black & Blue’s representation of neighbourhood to an actual site, and it will illustrate some of the strategic similarities between the two representations.

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The Design of Urban Politics

An urban planning document produced in March of 1965 by the city of Montreal’s Service d’Urbanisme announced the re-christening of a large section of what was commonly known as Montreal’s West End. The selection of a new name, *la petite Bourgogne*, “full as it is of poetry and nostalgia for another landscape”, was one of the first steps in designating the area an urban renewal site.44

The West End had been the “natural home” to Montreal’s black population since as early as 1887.45 Adjacent to both the Canadian National Railway and Canadian Pacific Railway stations, the West End became home to the rail yard workers (often Irish and francophone Québécois) and the (primarily black) porters who worked for the railways. In time, Canadian as well as American and Caribbean blacks, settled in the West End and established numerous black institutions and social organizations. Historian Dorothy Williams notes that a distinguishing characteristic of the neighbourhood was the strength of its community ties.

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45 Citing the “Concentric Zone Model” elaborated in Park, Burgess and McKenzie’s *The City* (Chicago, University of Chicago 1925) and McKenzie’s *On Human Ecology* (Chicago, University of Chicago 1947), in her excellent survey of distribution patterns of the black population of Montreal, Dorothy Williams defines ‘natural’ area as “a neighborhood which is relatively homogeneous with respect to a group.” She argues that the term ‘natural’ is far more applicable to this community than the term ‘segregated’ which typically defines a group as “living largely to themselves” (Israel, 1928). Williams points out that there had never been a movement among black residents of Montreal to exclude any other group from the district, on the contrary, active attempts at segregation were limited to white neighborhoods. Typically, the percentage of black residents in any district in Montreal, even those sometimes referred to as ‘black districts’, is not higher than fifteen percent.

As early as the late forties, extended family groups came together and lived within close proximity to each other. Certain streets and even blocks became home to large families. The neighbourhood began to take on a clannish atmosphere as grandparents, in-laws, and cousins found housing on the same streets or on the same block. Over time rows of houses were the domain of individual families, and leases were passed from one generation to the next.46

Post-war restructuring in North America during the fifties had a profound effect on Montreal’s economy. A major shift in US regional growth from the northeast to the southwest, in addition to the ubiquitous migration of urban industries to the suburbs, shattered the industrial base in Montreal’s inner city. The resulting massive unemployment took its highest toll in the West End. As Montreal’s importance as a financial and corporate headquarters faltered, that of Toronto’s expanded, exposing fundamental frictions between what was principally a francophone working class and an anglophone bourgeoisie.

Susan Ruddick, in her analysis of Montreal municipal politics from 1950 to the 1990s, asserts that Montreal’s urban re-development strategy between the sixties and the late seventies, was fundamentally unlike that of most North American cities. She argues that what is often described as Mayor Jean Drapeau’s creation of self-aggrandizing civic spectacles — the list includes Expo ‘67 World’s Fair; the Métro subway system; the Expos baseball team; the Place des Arts concert hall; and the 1986 Olympic games — were deliberate political strategies aimed at “unify[ing] disparate and conflicting ethnic and sectoral interests around an economic restructuring of the city.”47 His intention was to

46 Ibid., 67

transcend Montreal’s decline, especially as it was invoked by comparison to Toronto, by elevating Montreal to the status of an ‘international city’.

Understanding the City of Montreal’s broader strategy for urban re-development provides some insights into the motivation behind the urban renewal plans for the area which was to become la petite Bourgogne (or as it quickly came to be called by its black residents, Little Burgundy). The municipal administration intended to create a new international look and style for Montreal by re-organizing the spatial relationships which existed between the city center and outlying areas, and by radically altering the demographic make-up of its urban communities. The amelioration of housing in those areas referred to in planning documents as les quartiers gris (the grey zones), was one of the key strategies for accomplishing this goal.

By 1965, the City of Montreal had acquired vast sections of property in the district, the majority of which was slated for demolition and new construction. By 1973, the city owned over 75% of the land and buildings, and effectively had control over which residents would be evacuated and which would be allowed to stay. Williams observes:

[The city] was able to control movement in Little Burgundy [...] by under-utilizing the land. Blocks of tenements were demolished, displacing scores of [black] families — most of which had to move out of the district because of the lack of alternate housing. In the meantime, as the vacant blocks remained undeveloped for years, the number of people who could or who wanted to return dwindled. The result was that hundreds of Blacks never returned to the original community."48

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The Politics of Urban Design

Robert Beauregard points out that environments do not have inherent meaning but rather are given meaning through discourse. He observes that 'urban decline' is a particularly complex and slippery notion which "functions mainly as a rhetorical device [...] to call forth material conditions and to persuade the reader or listener of the credibility of the meanings being attached to these conditions."\(^\text{49}\)

The planning document for Little Burgundy, *Special Bulletin no. 1: La Petite Bourgogne*, states the intention of planners to conduct "a detailed study of the physical condition of all buildings and dwellings in the zone, to be completed by a survey of families, so as to establish requirements and to develop the best solution possible to the problems found therein".\(^\text{50}\) The discursive ambiguity regarding the location of the 'problem' — is it to be found in the buildings and dwellings in the zone or in the families that dwell therein? — is very expressive of the key criteria by which a neighbourhood comes to be designated an urban renewal site. Herbert J. Gans observes that "what seems to happen is that neighbourhoods come to be [designated as renewal sites] if they are inhabited by residents who, for a variety of economic, cultural, and psychological reasons are considered undesirable by the [larger urban] community."\(^\text{51}\)

Although Canadian federal and provincial funding criteria for urban redevelopment are based solely on the material conditions of a neighbourhood, planning documents for urban renewal sites dwell on social criteria intended to illustrate the

\(^{49}\) Robert Beauregard, "Representing Urban Decline: Postwar Cities as Narrative Objects," *Urban Affairs Quarterly* 29, no. 2 (December 1993): 188.


prevalence of anti-social or pathological behavior in the area, the implication being that the area itself has been contaminated and should therefore be redeveloped.

The use of medical metaphors is not casual. The processes through which an area is designated an urban renewal zone follow an essentially medical model of ‘examination’, ‘diagnosis’ and ‘cure’. The condition of the area’s housing, the state of its sewage system, the layout of its electrical grid; as well as its geological conditions, the composition, density and health of its population are all carefully noted and analyzed. A broad range of experts, from architects to sociologists to doctors are called on to scrutinize, deliberate and recommend. Innumerable blueprints, veritable x-rays of the neighbourhood, render the visible and the invisible accessible to the scrutiny of planners. Massive quantities of words, images, graphs and charts offer solutions to the ‘problems’ found in its spaces. Foucault states that such “[medical] urban topographies outline, in negative at least, the general principles of a concerted urban policy” for managing the disorder of “the pathogenic city.” He notes that through the “[spatialization and verbalization of the pathological] a system of options [is brought into play] that reveals the way in which a group, in order to protect itself, practices exclusions, establishes the forms of assistance and reacts to poverty.” Lefebvre observes:

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52 An example of this type of study is: G. Gagnon et M. Comeau. Dossier socio-démographique et sanitaire: CLSC St-Henri/Petit Bourgogne. Department de santé communautaire, Hôpital général de Montréal, no. 12260. 1986.


Talk of the pathology of space, and so on [...] make it easy for the people who use it — architects, urbanists or planners — to suggest the idea that they are, in effect, 'doctors of space'. This is to promote the spread of some particularly mystifying notions, and especially the idea that the modern city is a product not of the capitalist or neocapitalist system but rather of some putative 'sickness' of society.\textsuperscript{55}

The Little Burgundy project garnered the support of the (white) business community and the (white) electorate precisely because it shifted the debates surrounding redevelopment from the economic to the aesthetic sphere. Ruddick noted that "Drapeau himself correctly assessed that the contributions of [his] administration would be measured 'not in terms of [their benefit to] the people, but rather the prestige they accorded the city.'"\textsuperscript{56} For the residents of the West End, the effects of the re-development were problematic. Drapeau's aesthetic strategies of urban renewal required gutting the neighbourhood's highly elaborate social networks and its tenuous economy. The loss of most of the local meeting places and stores in the demolition resulted in the neighbourhood becoming more dependent on the downtown and adjacent areas for services and yet the Ville Marie Expressway (as the portion of the Trans-Canada Highway which is within the city limits was named) cut off all access to downtown except via one rather dangerous tunnel which pedestrians shared with cars. Changes in the area's layout functioned to discourage outside access to the neighbourhood. The design and orientation of the new streets simultaneously contained neighbourhood traffic and cut off the inflow of vehicles and pedestrians.

\textsuperscript{55} Lefebvre, \textit{Op. cit.}, 99

\textsuperscript{56} \textit{Ibid.}, 293.
For the purposes of the municipal government, designating Little Burgundy an urban renewal site made it a useful site.\(^{57}\) The massive demolition made centrally located land 'cheaply' available for the planned extension of the Trans-Canada Highway through the city core.\(^{58}\) The renewal project provided eight years of municipal contracts to Montreal contractors, builders and tradesmen (few if any of whom were West Enders). In addition, it focused the attention of the national and international media on Montreal. Media images contrasting the decrepitude of the old West End with the modern architecture of Little Burgundy lent credibility to the idea of Montreal's rebirth as a 'showpiece' city.

Examining the representations of Little Burgundy in terms of their strategic similarities can illustrate how representation functions to render space productive or 'useful.' Representation produces 'meaningful' space. Lefebvre's suggestion of the possibility of a 'textual' analysis of social space was not figurative. Social space has meaning because its 'production' reproduces the ideology of a society. The geographic and symbolic spaces of Montreal's black community offered an ideologically acceptable site on which crisis of 'urban decline' could be located and remedied without 'contaminating' the larger urban community. Little Burgundy's historic association with Montreal's black community codes all references to its spaces. In the following two chapters, I will describe the evolution of a public crisis of police accountability and how it also came to be contained and located in the racially coded spaces of Little Burgundy.

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\(^{57}\) Foucault argues that discipline proceeds first from the “the play of spatial distribution.” Several techniques can be deployed to this end. Of relevance to this discussion are: “enclosure, the specification of a place heterogeneous to all others and closed in upon itself”, and the “rule of functional sites [...] [in which] particular places were defined to correspond not only to the need to supervise, to break dangerous communications, but also to create a useful space [emphasis in original].” Foucault (1979), Op. cit., 141-4.

\(^{58}\) Susan Ruddick notes that the “strategies of the Parti Civique had required the inner city only as a throughway for major transportation arteries.” Ruddick, Op. cit., 295.
CHAPTER 3
Discourses of Credibility: Black Anger, Police Conflict, and Media Scrutiny

"The construction of seeing, and the way it fits in institutions and comes to be related to other fields, never loses contact with the way certain 'real' social problems are seen."  

The threads of two events, unraveling in the media over seven years, animated a 'discourse of credibility' that came to have a profound effect on race relations in Montreal. The first, was the struggle between the Montreal Urban Community (MUC) Police Administration and the officer's union, Police Brotherhood, over changes to police culture and practice which were accelerated by the contract negotiations of 1987. The second, was the shooting of Anthony Griffin by Officer Alain Gosset in November 1987 and its devolution through Gosset's trial, acquittal, investigation, retrial, dismissal and reinstatement.

The ways in which these two events intersected and informed each other opened up a discursive space in the English media in which police racism could be acknowledged and examined. Anthony Griffin's killing was not the first example of abusive force employed against minorities by the MUC Police. Instances of questionable behavior by police officers towards black citizens were beginning to be reported with more frequency. The year 1987 began with a judgment by the Provincial Court in a case of unlawful abuse and arrest which had occurred in 1985. Patrick Spooner had been stopped by two MUC policemen who were looking for young blacks suspected of committing muggings in the Métro, Montreal's subway system. An article appearing on January 13 in the Montreal Gazette described Spooner as approached by the officers, who "asked whether he carried a knife and [...] told [him] to produce identification." Reportedly, when the 31-year-old

59 John Rajchman, "Foucault's Art of Seeing," October 44 (Spring 1988), 100.
Spooner objected, he was pushed against a wall, handcuffed and frisked. He was then taken to Station 31 [Côte St. Luc], "where he was more thoroughly searched, locked up for 90 minutes, charged with disturbing the peace, and then released". 60

When the charges were dropped in municipal court, Spooner sued the MUC under the provisions of the Federal Charter of Rights for unlawful search, false arrest and illegal detention. During the trial, police witnesses testified that Spooner had been threatening Métro security and "provoking a riot" by resisting arrest. Judge Jean Rouillard rejected their testimony, noting that the "potential rioters [...] were merely a handful of 'curious onlookers.'" Rouillard questioned whether the officers had singled out Spooner because of his race.

The decision of Judge Rouillard to take the word of a black man over police witnesses and to charge the two police constables, Jacques Reault and Michel Chaput with "abuse of police powers," suggesting their behavior was racially motivated was not what MUC police had come to expect from the judiciary. Rouillard found that "like any normally constituted person, [Spooner] was deeply and personally humiliated and traumatized" by the incident. He awarded Spooner $5,350 in damages and his legal costs. Spooner's lawyer noted that his client "was arrested simply because he was a black person in the wrong place at the wrong time." Spooner suggested that improvements to police training and an increase in the number of blacks on the force might have helped prevent the incident. He hoped the court decision would have an affect on police attitudes towards racial minorities.

The report of this case in the Montreal Gazette from which I am quoting succinctly illustrates three representational strategies which are critical to the animation of racist discourse. First is, the notion of "blackness" as an overdetermined category and not a

60 D. Lord, "Black man 'humiliated' by police gets $5350." Montreal Gazette, 13 January 1987. A3. (see Appendix B.)
characteristic of a specific human being. This permits (any) one black individual to stand in for another or to represent 'blackness' itself. The police officers who stopped Spooner were apparently looking for (an undisclosed number of) young black males. It is unlikely that Spooner, who was 31 years old at the time, could be mistaken for a teenager. The reason he was stopped was because he fit the racial category and not because he matched any specific identifying characteristics.

Another strategy employed in racist discourse is the representation of blacks as 'riotous' and their behavior as threatening to 'public' security. This concept rests on some rather naturalized terms. Any resistance of blacks to the demands of authorities is routinely represented as menacing. If blacks (as a category) constitute a 'menace' to public safety then they must necessarily be outside of the notion of 'the public'. This construction of 'blackness' as exterior (or even opposed) to a notion of the social would 'logically' demand less accountability of those who protect 'public interest' when dealing with blacks. The account of the police witnesses in the Spooner case identifies a group of people who gathered to watch the arrest of Spooner as "potential rioters". The whole event of the questioning and arrest was fraught with imminent yet ambient danger. It is not clear if Spooner constituted the threat, or if the threat was implicit in the gathering of onlookers. The clue is in examining what in fact was being threatened. Was it the officers themselves who were in danger? Presumably by frisking Spooner, they were very quickly able to ascertain that he was unarmed and constituted little threat to their personal safety. Yet, he was considered sufficiently dangerous to be arrested, searched again and charged. If Spooner was not a suspect in the case the officers were investigating, then why was he detained? The 'fact' is that both Spooner and the crowd did constitute a danger, but only to a particular understanding of 'public order'.

It is this notion of public order which Spooner's lawyer alludes to when he declares that Spooner "was a black person in the wrong place at the wrong time." Accepting, if only
rhetorically, the notion that black persons have a ‘place’ conceals where that place is, how and by whom it is ‘assigned’ and how its boundaries are ‘policing’. This strategy is critical in a process which can be identified as the ‘spatialization of race.’ Spatialization is a process by which a concept is rendered visible (Foucault) or produces a social space (Lefebvre). By the spatialization of race, I am referring to the way in which the concept of ‘race’ is deployed to organize social space at a particular historical moment. ‘Racism’, for example, is the outcome of a spatial organization of social practices and knowledges. It is accomplished via the ‘vertical’ or hierarchical organization of knowledge, establishing the relationship of the category of ‘blackness’ in relation to other socially determined categories; through the organization of geographical space through the conceptual and physical design of marginal spaces, such as the ‘inner city’, the ghetto, the homeland or the plantation; and by means of the prescription of (restrictive) spatial regulations, the formation of knowledges about permissible places and the conditions under which it is permissible to occupy them. These spatial knowledges are critical social knowledge. Blacks who choose to ignore them are simultaneously threatened and ‘threatening’. Whites who transgress are ‘taking risks’.

In this light, Rouillard’s judgment is interesting because it speaks directly to these social constructions. His ruling, that “like any normally constituted person [Spooner] was deeply and personally traumatized” [emphasis added] effectively disrupts the ‘self-evident’ logic the police employed to arrest him. By evaluating Spooner’s reaction (and hence, Spooner) to be ‘normal’ or credible, Rouillard rejected the framework the officers used to identify him as a ‘suspect’ (or not credible). In other words, Rouillard’s judgment, by finding Spooner to be “an honest and peaceable citizen”, represented him as possessing particular characteristics, as not intrinsically threatening, and within his rights to move about freely. Ironically, his judgment, by stating the police “went too far and [...] abused
their powers", represented the incidence as a transgression of the boundaries or limits on the part of the police, not Spooner.

The issue of police behavior towards minorities was part of Police Director Roland Bourget's administrative agenda. The MUC Advisory Committee on Minorities had tabled a report which urged MUC officials get tough with police and other civil servants who exhibit racist attitudes. The special committee had been established early in 1986 so as to address the rising numbers of complaints by blacks against the police department. The committee supported the demand of black Montrealers for a new civilian review board to examine these complaints. The existing seven-member review board was made up mostly of MUC police officers and its hearings were held in private. The police department itself was almost exclusively white, only four blacks were on the force.

The force was extremely resistant to the changes Bourget was attempting to implement. For example, a special seminar on how to be more sensitive to ethnic minorities, was very negatively received by the officers. The Gazette reported that most of the officers felt the seminar was a waste of time. Some denied that any problem existed. Constable Robert Duclos from Station 11 [Kirkland] complained about that the administration is: "trying to solve a problem that doesn't exist. [...] Our job is to stop criminals and we treat everyone the same. But some races are just more defensive. They're the ones who should be taking the courses." He also offered that the "problems between police and minorities often stem from newcomers' negative attitudes toward police in their home countries."61

Constable Duclos’s statements provide crude but useful examples of the representational strategies of racist discourse. By classifying some races as more defensive

61 S. Semeniak, Police given seminar on how to treat minorities.” Montreal Gazette, 13 February 1987, A3. (see Appendix B.)

than others, he reveals the logic used to 'predict' a person's behavior based on their appearance. Implicit in this observation is the belief that all persons in that racial category will respond in a similar fashion: in an irrational, unpredictable and hence, potentially threatening manner. Furthermore, the suggestion that it is the response of some races and not the action of the police which is inappropriate, re-assigns fault to the reactions of a racially determined group. His final assumption, that all minorities are immigrants, occurs frequently in 'police talk'. The frustration the black community feels with its permanent 'outsider' status was expressed by Jessie Smith, a Little Burgundy resident, during a meeting of the MUC public security committee on January 29 1990. She was quoted in an article appearing in the Montreal Gazette as stating that MUC officers say things like "'Nigger, go back to your own country' [...]. I'd like to know where that country is at. We were born here." The insistence that blacks belong 'elsewhere' acts to question, if not deny, the legitimacy of any demands they make about their treatment 'here'.

These debates were evidence of the controversy over police racism beginning to rage in early 1987. At this same time, the police force itself was in turmoil. The Police Department was in the midst of contract negotiations. Job and income security was a major concern of the officers. The Department was facing massive re-structuring which would inevitably result in profound changes to the 'practice of policing'. Technological changes were beginning to have an impact on work routines. New equipment put the latest communications technology at the fingertips of patrolling officers but also permitted the administration to consider reductions to personnel. At the centre of the re-organizational

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"MUC police roll out their new wheels" Montreal Gazette, 27 May 1987, A3.
strategies under consideration was the closure of police stations and the re-assignment of police officers. The Police Brotherhood, the police officers' union, reacted aggressively. The three key areas of dispute were wages, the repeal of the decision which required MUC police to live in the Montreal Urban Community, and restrictions on the use of temporary and part-time workers. Pressure tactics were employed, such as working-to-rule or working out of uniform. A walkout was threatened. ( Strikes by police officers are forbidden under Québec's Essential Services Act.) The administration refused to be intimidated and relations quickly became bitter.

As the MUC administration and the police battled through contract negotiations, the provincial government tabled legislation which would require that complaints against all municipal police forces be adjudicated by the Québec Police Commission. The proposed law had the potential to halt the implementation of the civilian review board that the black community was so eagerly awaiting. The legislation also implicitly threatened to hand over control of the MUC police to the province. Coming when it did, this proposal only managed to alarm both the black community and the Police Brotherhood.


"Who has had enough?" Montreal Gazette, 15 August 1987, B2.

The provincial government in Québec was eager to restore the rapidly
deteriorating image of its largest police force. Civilian complaints against the police were
at an all time high and rising. The public expected the police to make less use of force
and to be more accountable for their actions. Black community leaders were insistent in
their demands to the police administration for serious improvements in minority
recruiting efforts and police hiring. Their calls for progress in meeting minority
recruitment targets in the police department and the creation of a civilian review boards
remained in the news through 1987 and 1988. Two issues were at stake in this demand.
First, was the belief that minority representation was the best hope to reduce racism on the
force and thereby relieve tensions that were steadily building between blacks and the
police. Second, was the desire to open up avenues of employment for black youth. The
community was united in its concern over the growing lack of prospects for black youth.
The lack of jobs was implicated in the problems that black youth were experiencing at the
hands of the police. Young, unemployed black men having little more to do than gather
together at parks, shopping centres or Métro stops, were often targeted by police officers

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10 rulings against the police cost MUC $250,000." Montreal Gazette, 24 July 1987, A1, A2.
"Councillor: civil suits against police at 'crisis point'.” Montreal Gazette, 8 August 1987, A3.

"Employers won't talk to young blacks about jobs.” Montreal Gazette, 24 January 1989, A3.
and Métro security guards. Typically, they would be considered to be committing an offense if they refused an order to 'move along'. While these incidents did not always result in arrest or abuse (although they often did), they certainly did act to fuel resentment these young men and their families felt for the police.

The protracted and complex contract negotiations between the Police Brotherhood and the MUC Police Administration stayed in the news throughout most of 1987 and provided the impetus for the growth of public debate about the costs and ethics of policing in urban Montreal. When the negotiations were completed and the new contract was signed, the animosity built up between the MUC administration, the officers and the public was slow to dissipate.

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70 K. Herland, "Taken for a ride." Montreal Mirror. 19 December 1991, 7-11. Herland recounts several cases of young black men and women being harassed in Montreal’s transit system, including one example of a nineteen year old man who was beaten by metro security guards while waiting inside the Villa Maria metro station for a bus. A white woman, who had also been waiting for the bus, witnessed the event and lodged a complaint with the Montreal Urban Committee Transit Commission (MUCTC). Upon learning they were to be named in a $30,000 suit, the MUCTC countered by laying criminal charges against the young man. After numerous postponements and delays, the MUCTC dropped all charges.


The killing of nineteen year-old Anthony Griffin in the parking lot of Station 15 by Officer Alain Gosset was the spark that ignited an already overheated situation. On November 12 1987, the front page of the Gazette announced: "Policeman suspended after teen slain."\textsuperscript{73} Griffin had been shot in his forehead while allegedly 'attempting to escape' in the parking lot of Police Station 15 [Notre-Dame-de-Grace]. In the report, Police Director Bourget is quoted as saying that “I am personally convinced that this act is not related to racism.” The article made it clear that the press reporters were less sure.\textsuperscript{74}

Griffin, unwilling or unable to pay his cab fare, waited patiently for the police to arrive after the cab driver called in a complaint to the police. The officers arrived on the scene and ran a computer check on Griffin. Discovering that he was wanted on a charge of breaking-and-entering, they decided to bring him into the police station. The officers clearly not did not consider Griffin dangerous. Police Public Relations Officer William Bumbray stated that Griffin had not been armed and did not act aggressively at any time during the arrest. The officers had not handcuffed him. According to Bourget’s official statement, when the officers and Griffin arrived in the police station parking lot, Griffin apparently "made a move to escape and was ordered to halt by the arresting officer. [...] The suspect halted and turned around. The policeman, [...] was pointing his firearm and a

\textsuperscript{73} J. Mennie, “Policeman suspended after teen slain.” \textit{Montreal Gazette}, 12 November 1987, A1, A2. (see Appendix B.)

See also “Bourget: We’re doing good job despite some ‘rotten apples’.” \textit{Montreal Gazette}, 12 November 1987, A5.

\textsuperscript{74} In addition to laying out a number of questions about the police account of Griffin’s death, the article on Griffin was bracketed by two articles on abusive police behavior. One article discussed the 43 lawsuits in which the MUC police have been accused of assault or wrongful arrest. The other article announces the Superior Court ruling against Constable Patrick Sheehan, accused of ‘brutally abusing’ Michel Duguay, a deaf mute. Duguay, who was only 14-years-old at the time of the assault, had been awarded $14,000. See R. McDonell, “17-year-old is awarded $14,000 from police.” \textit{Montreal Gazette}, 12 November 1987, A1. (see Appendix B.)

shot went off, hitting (the suspect) in the head." The article quoted Ilma Lynton-Holt, executive director of the Negro Community Centre, questioning the official police story of the event. She spoke for many people when she asked why Griffin would have waited in the cab for the police to arrive if he knew there was a warrant out for his arrest? Why would he wait until he was outside the police station to bolt? Did something occur during the drive to the station that would have frightened him? Why was it necessary to shoot an unarmed man outside of a police station, with "all the back-up in the world?" These still unanswered questions framed the debate on Griffin’s shooting which would continue for many years.

With Griffin’s shooting, the outrage and frustration that the black community was feeling about police racism had simultaneously found focus and support. The black community, in all of its diversity, mobilized to mourn, express its anger and demand investigation. For the first time, it had the visible support of Montreal whites. Many of them were residents of the neighbourhood in which Station 15 is located. Notre Dame de Grace (NDG) is a quiet, middle-class neighbourhood known for its tree-lined streets and its summertime community festival, "Sunday in the Park". Originally a neighbourhood that working class whites ‘moved-up’ to, it had in recent years served the same function for upwardly mobile minorities. It was a neighbourhood which took pride in its dedication to serving the needs of its residents. What the public saw was a teenager trying to get home late on Saturday night. His error, it seemed, was in thinking that when the police arrived they would help him get there safely.

The effort of the media to understand and explicate Officer Gosset’s actions effectively deployed a ‘discourse of credibility’. When it was reported that Gosset had been previously accused of racist behavior, the police issued a statement that Griffin had
been in trouble with the law before.\textsuperscript{75} The ‘virtue’ of individual actors, Gosset and Griffin, came to represent the integrity of, respectively, the police and the black community.

Chief Bourget’s insistence in the media that the shooting was not racially motivated, intended to have a pacifying effect on the black community, actually created distress in the white population. If Gosset’s action had not been at least to some degree racially motivated, then it became a very real possibility that anyone (including a white person) could have suffered Griffin’s fate. The fact that it happened in NDG already suggested that it could happen anywhere. These insights had a profound effect on undermining public confidence in the police. It gave whites a vested interest in supporting the demands of black leaders for an independent police review board. Suddenly, the fight that the black community had been waging against police racism came to be framed (for the white community) as a fight for police accountability.\textsuperscript{76}

This ‘discourse of credibility’ came to act as the framework for what I have identified as ‘the event’: the representation and spatialization of race in the Montreal media which reached a peak between 1987 and 1992. In Foucault’s terms, this discursive strategy ‘constructed the spaces of visibility’ through which these incidents came to be understood. It was also the ‘discourse of credibility’ which connected and activated the tropes of race, virtue and space which recuperated a racially-determined status quo in issues of law and order.

\textsuperscript{75} “Suspended officer in trouble before.”; “Slain teen had earlier tangles with police.” \textit{Montreal Gazette}. 13 November 1987, A1, A2. (see Appendix B.)


\textsuperscript{76} “Teen’s slaying sparks call for rapid police reform,” \textit{Montreal Gazette}, 18 November 1987, A3.
Officer Alain Gosset was charged with manslaughter on November 21, 1987. On November 27, he entered a plea of 'not guilty' and was ordered to trial on December 23. From the perspective of police officers, the laying of charges and the trial were bound up with the unwelcome changes occurring in their profession. The media were tenacious in covering every aspect of the Gosset story. They were especially persistent in trying to uncover evidence of wide-spread racism on the force. Black police officers, no longer content to maintain silence in view of Griffin's death, spoke to the media of racist incidents that they had witnessed or endured, such as the 'playful' use by white officers of a photo of a black youth's head as a target at the MUC shooting range.77

Gosset's acquittal on February 25, 1988 offered no resolution.78 The black community was both angry and distraught over the jury's decision, finding it to be one more example of justice denied by racism. The distrust that had developed between the Police Brotherhood and the MUC Police Administration during the 1987 contract negotiations proved to be a fertile soil for the growth of new hostility.79 On April 19 1988, the administration launched a Police Commission probe into whether Gosset should

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77 "Photo of black was used for target practice: officer," Montreal Gazette, 27 May 1988, A1, A2.
"A black police officer, who was also working at [Station 15] reported the incident. He is now working behind a desk at the MUC's human resources department." Nantha Kumar, "No end to racism on the force," Montreal Mirror, 19-16 December 1991, 11.


79 J. Quig, "Police are fed up at budget cuts, racism charges: Minorities should try to understand us, too, officers say," Montreal Gazette, 26 March 1988, A1, A4. (see Appendix B.)
be dismissed as a result of the shooting. Much of the testimony had to do with Gosset’s claim that his gun had fired accidentally. Again, issues of credibility were at stake, this time pitting the testimony of the commission’s expert witness against that of the union’s.80 When in the end the inquiry found Gosset to be ‘negligent’ and recommended his dismissal, the union’s reaction was vehement.81

The Brotherhood publicly attacked Police Chief Roland Bourget in the media over his refusal to stand behind Gosset and backed Gosset in a successful appeal of his dismissal.82 As the events continued to unwind, all sides felt that they had been victimized. Blacks were frustrated with both the intransigence of the system and the inability of their leadership to provoke change. Police officers felt that they were unfairly accused and that the public was being duped by the rhetoric of black leaders. The administration felt frustrated in its efforts to restore the reputation of the force with the public by the increasingly antagonistic actions of the union.

On August 29, 1989, under public siege for action on race relations, embarrassed by the union’s flagrant support of Gosset, recently-appointed Police Chief Alain St. Germain


demanded an appeal of Gosset's re-hiring. On November 3, the Supreme Court upheld the decision of the arbitrator and ordered that Gosset be re-instated. He returned to work on January 23 1990 amidst the protest of the black community.

Although racism was routinely denied as having caused Griffin's death, the police were unable to provide a logical account of the shooting. The on-going effort to 'make sense' of Griffin's death resulted in its having taken on emblematic significance in the media. As the events related to his killing played out over the years, the anger of blacks and the resentment of the police were kept on a slow simmer. The much anticipated civilian review board was still nowhere near being realized. More occurrences of minorities being abused or killed by MUC police officers came to light. The media were reporting racist opinions and practices of police officers previously only seen and experienced by the black community. The media made it possible to imagine the connection between racist thought and its violent manifestation.

“Gosset gets $12,000 from fellow officers.” Montreal Gazette, 5 November 1988, A2.


85“Police working hard to improve race relations: Griffin may not have died in vain,” Montreal Gazette, 12 November 1990, B3.


87 “Two constables [Savard and Trepanier] fired for beating black man: Bourget also demotes sergeant and reveals that 10 officers were fired two years ago,” Montreal Gazette, 1 June 1988, A1, A2.
In 1990, questions about police racism were once again in the spotlight when Presley Leslie was shot and killed by the police on April 10 at the Thunderdome nightclub in downtown Montreal. This time, the situation was less clear cut and the question of credibility rested on a legal distinction. The police were called to the Thunderdome because Leslie was allegedly shooting a gun in the club. The debate in this incident revolved around whether or not Leslie was armed at the time the police entered the premises; in other words, whether the officers shot him because his actions were constituting a threat to their safety or whether his race caused them to react with extreme prejudice.\(^8\) Again, there were differing accounts and questions of trustworthiness and objectivity were raised. An inquest was ordered and resulted in more questions.\(^9\) Almost as if to underline the lack of 'hard facts', much of the information on the Leslie shooting was reported in opinion columns.\(^9\)

As the Leslie case was being debated in the media, the Oka Crisis was threatening on the horizon. In March of 1990, Mohawk Warriors erected barricades on secondary roads running through Kanehsatake village to prevent the municipality of Oka from building a


golf course on “The Pines,” land which the Mohawks claimed as theirs. On July 11 1990, the provincial police force, le Sûreté Québec (SQ), in response to a request by Oka City Council to break up the protest, fired on a Mohawk tobacco ceremony at one of the barricades. This raid resulted in the death of an SQ officer and an unanticipated escalation of resistance on the part of Mohawks in Kanehsatake as well as in Kahnawake on Montreal’s South Shore. The barricades erected in Kahnawake effectively shut down the Mercier Bridge, one of Montreal’s major arteries connecting the South Shore with the city centre. Commuter traffic in and out of the city was profoundly affected. The dispute was no longer between the natives and the police.

Media from around the world followed the Oka Crisis. CBC Newsworld’s round-the-clock TV coverage of the crisis provided viewers with images of malice and hatred. Media footage showed angry mobs from neighboring Chateauguay and LaSalle gathering at the edge of Kahnawake to burn effigies of Mohawk Warriors and SQ officers standing aside to allow angry whites to throw rocks at carloads of natives leaving the reservation. The policing of the Oka Crisis and its representation in the media articulated the discourses already in play about the credibility of police accounts of their encounters with minorities.

The Oka Crisis created yet another forum for problematizing issues of law and order. From the first moment of the Sûreté Québec’s bungled raid on the Mohawk barricade at Kanehsatake, the actions of the police force were closely scrutinized by a media and a public now highly suspicious of ‘official version’ of events presented by police authorities. The SQ, like the MUC Police, had a problematic history of using abusive force in dealing with suspects. They, also like the MUC Police at the time of the Griffin shooting, were in the midst of a contract dispute. Their credibility, already damaged by

reports of mishandling cases, was further eroded by the tactics they were employing in their labour dispute with the provincial government.\textsuperscript{92} The decision of the Sûreté Québec's union to put the demands of police officers ahead of public safety undermined public confidence. The public no longer assumed that the police forces in Québec would act to 'protect and serve'. The perception was that the Sûreté Québec, like the MUC Police in 1987, was "out of control".\textsuperscript{93} In response to this crisis-of-credibility, the Canadian Armed Forces were called in to replace the SQ on August 20, 1990. In the 78-day stand-off which ensued between the Mohawk Warriors and the Canadian Armed Forces, the criteria on which the army was judged by the public and the media was their restraint and accountability.

The Anthony Griffin shooting was in the media again as Griffin’s mother, Gloria Augustus, launched a suit against Montreal Urban Community and Officer Gosset on May 8 1990. On July 21, the courts awarded his mother compensatory damages, ruling that Gosset (who had just recently been acquitted by the criminal court) was culpable in Griffin’s death.\textsuperscript{94} The images of the Sûreté Québec attacking crowds protesting the treatment of natives while standing aside as crowds of angry whites taunted and threatened Mohawks, were being seen in the same newscasts and on the same pages as the Leslie


\textsuperscript{93} MacPherson, “Quebecers need protection from their own police: Sûreté Québec looks like it’s out of control,” \textit{Montreal Gazette}, 16 August 1990, 33.

\textsuperscript{94} “Griffin’s mother awarded $14,795 in damages,” \textit{Montreal Gazette}, 21 July 1990, A1, A2.
inquest, and Griffin's mother re-living the events of her son's killing. The links between policing and the management of racial minorities were being clearly identified for the (white) public.

When the Crown launched its appeal of Gosset's acquittal on January 29 1991, the atmosphere between police and blacks had not undergone much improvement. The possibility of a re-trial was seen by the black community as an opportunity to rectify the injustice of Griffin's death. The police officers and the Police Brotherhood saw it as more 'harassment'.

On March 3 1991, international and local media aired and re-aired the horrific video images of four Los Angeles policemen brutally beating a barely-conscious, black motorist named Rodney King, while other officers stood around and watched. The video was recorded coincidentally by a man testing out his new video-recorder. But no experts needed to interpret or explain what was going on between the police and King. The virulence of the beating was stunning, but it was the fact that the story would have never surfaced if the video was not made that provoked a more profound horror. Daryl Gates, the Los Angeles Police Chief, declared King's beating to be an aberration, but the media were not disposed to settle for easy explanations.

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The coroner's inquest into the police killing of Presley Leslie began on June 5 1990 and the final ruling was released on August 7 of the same year. The turning point of the Oka Crisis, the SQ attack on the Mohawk barricades which ended with the death of SQ officer Lenay, occurred on July 12 1990.


97 L. Larsen, "Savage beating by police was no aberration: US police culture shows dark side in Los Angeles," Montreal Gazette, 6 April 1991, B3.
In Montreal, the images of Rodney King being brutalized in Los Angeles fed local doubt about police accounts being presented at inquiries. Stories from all over Canada and the United States describing police use of 'excessive force' while questioning, detaining or arresting natives, blacks and hispanics had become the regular staple of news programming. The subsequent acquittal of the four accused officers in Los Angeles (and the riots it provoked) were viewed alongside the images of the racist behavior of our own police forces. There was growing frustration with the disparity between the rhetoric of racial equality and the reality of racism seen on the nightly TV news. Blacks and whites were expressing the same concern and dissatisfaction in police recruitment and training, and to demand better police accountability.

On July 3 1991, Marcellus François, a 24 year-old black man, was shot by a member of the MUC police SWAT team in a bungled surveillance operation. The surveillance teams thought that they were following Kirt Haywood, a suspect in an attempted murder. When the officers thought that they had been spotted, they moved in on the car carrying François and three of his friends as they were driving through Montreal's financial district [Victoria Square]. The police boxed in the car with their vehicles. A tactical squad sergeant, thinking he saw François reaching for a gun, shot him in the head. François was unarmed and not a suspect in any police investigation. François was killed a result of 'mistaken identity'. François, five-foot eight inches tall with close-cropped hair had been mistaken for the six-foot, dreadlocked Haywood. The only similarity between them was that both were black.

Police Director Alain St. Germain was caught once again unable to explain the actions of his officers to the public. The article that reported François's shooting noted with irony that St. Germain's statement had been made at an impromptu news conference held at Station 15, the station where Griffin had been shot just three-and-a-half years
earlier. Frustration was mounting on all sides. The police were facing yet another round of inquiries. The Sûreté Québec had begun conducting their external investigation within the hour François was shot. The MUC Advisory Panel on Interracial and Intercultural Relations was calling for a public inquiry. Interestingly, the hard-won police review board, officially realized in September of 1989 as the Provincial Police-Ethics Committee, had not received a single complaint related to the François shooting. It was clear that the public no longer had confidence in their police or their politicians.

Journalists were becoming even more persistent in questioning police accounts. At the Montreal Gazette, columnists were plainly suggesting that police racism was real reason François was shot but again there was another realization creeping into the accusations. If in fact, the shootings of Griffin, Leslie and now François were not a result of racism on the force, then the MUC police were badly out of control. There is evidence of a shifting back and forth between these two positions in both Albert Nerenberg’s and Jack Todd’s columns on François’s death. Although Nerenberg’s article is titled “Would police shooting happen if the suspects were white?”, he began his article by noting “You don’t have to be young and black to get scared.” He points out that François and his friends were unlikely to have realized that they were being approached by the police since their car was “cut off by an Oldsmobile and a Toyota and approached by four guys in jeans.” He asks, given the circumstances, “what could [François] do that would not be considered pulling a gun?”

The headline of Jack Todd’s column: “Troubling Patterns: Is it racism or just itchy trigger fingers?” addressed the same uncomfortable question. Again, as with the Griffin case, believing that the François shooting was not motivated by racism suggested a


99 A. Nerenberg, “Would police shooting happen if the suspects were white?” Montreal Gazette, 5 July 1991, A2. (see Appendix B.)
more frightening possibility. It implied that the police force was a danger to the public. Todd listed the six men (three blacks and three hispanics) who had died at the hands of the MUC police in the past four years, noting bluntly that the “circumstances varied but there were three constants throughout. Cops were trying to arrest or subdue a suspect, the suspect was a member of a visible minority and the suspect was shot dead.”

On July 6, the *Gazette* published an editorial page cartoon by Terry (Aislin) Mosher that depicted two smiling officers, a black man and woman. Beneath them a black man’s body lay in a pool of blood. The caption read “by hiring more visible minorities, Montreal’s police force ... increases the chances of murdering less”. The Police Brotherhood attacked the paper and the cartoonist, calling the cartoon “heinous propaganda.” In an intriguing statement, the union declared: “The Brotherhood cannot tolerate the publication of images and words *more deadly than a firearm*, aimed at fomenting contempt and hate toward police officers.” In a reference to the shooting of Marcellus François, the Brotherhood complained that “the fight against crime too often *creates victims of citizens and the police* [emphasis added].” The statement was the Police Brotherhood’s attempt to realign police interests with public interest. The Brotherhood made it clear that it felt the *Gazette* was the cause of the bad image they had with the public.

A more disturbing complaint against the English media’s reporting of police racism came from the head of Québec’s Human Rights Commission. On November 12, the *Gazette* reported that Yves Lafontaine had suggested that the representatives of black organizations and the English media have a tendency to exaggerate the degree of racism in

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100 Jack Todd, “Troubling Patterns: Is it racism or just itchy trigger fingers?” *Montreal Gazette*, 7 July 1991, A3. (see Appendix B.)

Québec. ¹⁰² (Lafontaine named the CBC, the Montreal Gazette, and the Globe and Mail, as particularly at fault.) He was quoted in a Montreal French daily (La Presse) as saying “exaggeration of problems with police could hurt the legitimate interests of the black community”. He observed that perhaps “in this pre-referendum period, it isn’t the business of the anglophone media to say that Québécois are not all angels.”

While the statement issued by the Police Brotherhood was perceived as a tactical over-reaction on the part of the union, Lafontaine’s statement provoked an outcry from minorities and journalists alike. His suggestion that the English media and black leaders were using acts of police racism to turn public sentiment against Québec on the eve of the referendum on sovereignty did not inspire faith in his ability to lead Québec’s Human Rights Commission. Québec’s Minister of Cultural Communities, Monique Gagnon-Tremblay quickly stepped in to diffuse the situation.

Ironically, Lafontaine issued an apology to minorities and the media on the same day that another black man died under suspicious circumstances. ¹⁰³ On November 15, Osmond Fletcher, a 26 year-old black man was shot in a skirmish with police officers from Station 24 in Little Burgundy. The officers claimed they were acting on a warrant from the Métropolitan Toronto Police charging Fletcher with cocaine possession and trafficking. According to the officers, Fletcher refused to heed their commands to stop and when they closed in on him, he shot himself. ¹⁰⁴

The circumstances of Fletcher’s death brought to light a number of deeply disturbing questions. First, as in all the cases of blacks being shot by police, there were the


¹⁰⁴ E. Collister, “Black man dies in scuffle with police,” Montreal Gazette, 15 November 1991, A1, A2. (see Appendix B.)
facts related to the death itself. Did Fletcher really commit suicide? His friends and fiancée were adamant that Fletcher, whose nickname was ‘Easy’, would never kill himself. His lawyer pointed out that Fletcher, a left-handed person, had been shot in the right temple. In order to have shot himself, Fletcher would have had to wrap his left arm all the way around his head. Fletcher’s fiancée mentioned that he was regularly stopped and questioned by police who never found reason to detain him. She said that Fletcher had referred to his police antagonists as ‘Batman’ and ‘Robin’. 

That the identity of ‘Batman and Robin’ was unknown was the second unusual circumstance of incident. Hypothetically, police officers should be easy to identify. They are required to wear badges with their service numbers prominently displayed. In the event that an officer is not wearing a badge, he or she should be able to be identified on the basis of the hours and location of the ‘beat’. No one in the press was able to ascertain who ‘Batman and Robin’ were, although a number of locals at the scene of Fletcher’s death identified the officers using those names.

The third disturbing aspect of Fletcher’s death did not come to light until weeks later. Fletcher had just completed a series of extensive interviews with the CBC in which he identified police officers at Station 24 as complicit with the drug traffickers in the neighbourhood they were policing. It would eventually become known that the officers who he named were those who were on the scene when he died: Officer Pablo Palacios and ‘Batman and Robin’.

This debate over the existence of two police officers is yet another manifestation of the discourse of credibility which was activated by the shooting of Anthony Griffin. On November 20, the Gazette ran an article which proclaimed: “Batman and Robin, those bogeymen Montreal Urban Community police officers blacks allege prey on them appear

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to be [an urban myth]. Questions about the existence of Batman and Robin stayed in the news for remaining weeks of 1991. Blacks in Little Burgundy insisted that the officers were not imaginary phantoms. On December 6, the Gazette reported that the MUC police force had been ordered to investigate the behavior of three officers at Station 24. One of the officers was identified as Pablo Palacios. During the inquiry into the death of Marcellus François, Palacios had been accused of offering drugs as payment for information on Kirt Haywood’s whereabouts. The other two officers to be investigated were not named but Dan Philip, head of the Black Coalition of Québec stated that they were Batman and Robin. An article which ran on December 7, reported that police spokesperson John Dalzell confirmed that Palacios was to be investigated but again denied the existence of Batman and Robin. On December 26, an article in the Montreal Mirror identified Officer Gilbert Gauvreau as Batman and Officer Richard Prud’homme as Robin.

The contradictory way in which the facts came to light about Batman and Robin illustrates the problems inherent in an attempt to ‘see the truth’ of racism. The criteria of credibility is evidence. Racism is difficult to prove because it is a practice imbedded in an institutionalized context. It conforms to the specific logics of its institutional existence. Blacks were unable to ‘name’ Batman and Robin because they were denied that knowledge. “When they stop you, they hide their badge[s] and say, ‘I’m Batman and this is my partner Robin’ and laugh.” Officers Gauvreau and Prud’homme were in the position to

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106 E. Collister, “Batman and Robin are called an urban myth,” Montreal Gazette, 20 November 1991, A4. (see Appendix B.)

107 “Police ordered to probe conduct of 3 officers,” Montreal Gazette, 6 December 1991. (see Appendix B.)

108 P. Wells, “Police probe allegation cop tried to buy information with cocaine,” Montreal Gazette, 7 December 1991. (see Appendix B.)


110 Ibid. Mike Smith, a resident of Little Burgundy, describes his encounter with Batman and Robin.
withheld information about their identity because the ideology of racial superiority was already in place. They could be reasonably sure that they would not be challenged for this infraction of police protocol. And prior to the creation of an effective civilian review board, they could also be reasonably sure that if their actions were challenged, little would come of the complaint.

Police harassment is considered by most black North Americans to be a real and predictable manifestation of racism. The relationship between (middle-class) whites and the police does not provide a basis for understanding the relationship that exists between urban police forces and the black community. Homer Hawkins and Richard Thomas remind us that at the beginning of the century:

In large cities the white police presence conveyed totally different racial meanings to the black and white communities. To the white community, white police in black communities provided the first line of defense against 'the black hordes'. To the black community, white policemen represented nothing less than a hostile occupation army.  

Many whites, while opposing blatant bigotry such as segregation or apartheid, often tend to view blacks' allegations of police racism as exaggerated and/or manipulative because they are routinely represented as counter to the interests of the white majority. The strategies of representation which provoke this suspicion are reproduced in and through

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the social spaces and practices all around us. Micheal Keith argues that the notion of ‘race’ itself “is constructed through the institutionally racist channels of white society.” 113

The English media garnered criticism for a lack of impartiality in covering events in which the police and minorities clashed because by questioning the credibility of authoritative sources, they questioned the status quo. The media’s treatment of the Griffin shooting was perceived by the police rank-and-file as highly provocative because it disputed the trustworthiness of Gosset’s account. By elevating the ‘value’ of the accounts of black citizens, anglophone media dislodged the ‘self-evidence’ of police accounts. This threat to the credibility of police officers, coming at a time of major re-organization, resulted in the development of a ‘siege mentality’. For example, the Police Brotherhood’s closing ranks around Officer Alain Gosset is more logical when it is seen as a defense of the integrity of the force (being attacked by both the police administration and the public) rather than a defense of Gosset’s action.

This analysis shows that while the Gazette’s coverage these events between 1987 and late 1991 did not to prove any one ‘act’ of police racism, it did expose the possibility that ‘credibility’ itself is often racially-determined. In opening up a discursive space in which racism could be ‘named’, they also gave validity to the demands of the black community for the creation of a civilian review board to handle citizen complaints against the police and for the implementation of a more effective minority recruitment programme. The intensification of local media involvement was further fueled by the flood of reports of racially motivated police incidents from around the world. All of these factors effectively re-organized the framework through which news about ‘race relations’ was understood in Montreal.

In the end, perceptions of 'risk' activated by media representations of a police force out of control resulted in the need to contain the 'crisis'. I believe that *Black & Blue* was an attempt to calm public fears and recuperate faith in the journalistic integrity. From the perspective of the media, an in-depth investigation into the allegations of police misconduct in the black community offered the opportunity to verify those allegations as well as exhibit the impartiality of the media. I argue that what made *Black & Blue* a media text worthy of analysis is how it illustrates the unanticipated and pervasive ways in which representation itself is informed by racist frameworks of knowledge.
CHAPTER 4

Policing the Visible: Representations of Race and Space in Black & Blue

[W]ho sees what or whom and where are integral features of [visual thinking] and not an independent fact about its contexts.\(^{114}\)

The semiotic and political practice of categorizing social life into neat compartments [...] implies that a “problem” can be understood and solved within its own category: localizing the definition of problems encourages local “solutions” and discourages any critical interrogation of the larger social structure.\(^{115}\).

Black & Blue aired in Montreal as the final segment of Newswatch, the CBC six-o’clock news program on Tuesday, January 21 1992. It ‘investigated’ allegations that Lieutenant Pablo Palacios of the MUC police routinely abused his authority and was complicit in illegal activities. Although the intention of Black & Blue was to ‘scrutinize’ police behavior, its rhetorical use of spatial representations (cf. Lefebvre) articulated racist tropes of containment and criminality, and symbolically constituted Little Burgundy as the ‘repository’ of (black) criminality in Montreal. I suggest that by positing racist police behavior as a result of and limited to black crime in Little Burgundy, Black & Blue ‘located’ the crisis and allayed growing ‘white’ concerns about public security and personal safety.

To begin, it is important to identify how spatial concepts operate in the construction of meaning in televsional texts. TV news passes on information through a complex interaction of both linguistic and visual texts. Whereas verbal texts privilege the dimension of time (through the linear structure of narrative), it is the dimension of space which is of prime importance in the construction of visual meaning. The linguistic text


\(^{115}\) John Fiske, Television Culture (London: Routledge, 1987), 287.
contextualizes issues and events while images provide supportive or optional cues. Yet images have the ability to add layers of meaning to the spoken or written word. The vocabulary of knowledge reserves a central place for vision: the evidence of truth is that it can be seen. Vision spatializes knowledge by ‘putting into perspective’, by providing an ‘overview’, by proving through ‘showing’. These are not just visual metaphors but descriptions of seeing as a way of knowing. Visual representations offer sets of signifying cues which have meaning within specific cultural codes. As Roland Barthes observed, “pictures [...] are more imperative than writing, they impose meaning at one stroke, without analyzing it or diluting it.”116 This ability to convey meaning without analysis or dilation is even more pronounced in televisual images, since unlike a still photograph, they portray what Goffman refers to as “streams of experience.”117 Video images not only objectify through the representation of position, expression and gesture but also temporize and spatialize through the representation of movement, situation, interaction and speech. As a result, the function of framing by which the images are selected and organized is rendered less apparent. Because they more closely approximate the actual experience of seeing, they are more likely to be perceived as ‘truthful’ representations.

By these same processes, the events depicted in TV news are fused in meaning to the spaces in which they are represented. These spaces, in turn, become specifically identified with and by those events or activities. The news media118 utilize spatial


118 I do not wish to suggest that the news media are the sole means by which a ‘place’ becomes invested with meaning. The media are themselves part of an inter-related group of practices which act to categorize and identify sites. I do feel though, that because media are the vehicle most often used to disseminate information on the conditions and activities of marginalized groups that any study interested in the creation of place-images associated with minorities is wise to examine their representation in the media.
concepts and categories rhetorically so as to create an 'imaginary geography' which operates to confirm a news story's reality and to assert its veracity. As such, representational space should not be seen as a neutral background, but rather as a site or a stage set which acts both to contextualize and explicate the represented events. Representation is a *mise en scene* in which social space is manipulated and delimited through the frames of process (or production) and style (or treatment). A representation of space is much more than the actual physical space of a location. It includes the practices which produces it, the discourses through which it is reproduced and the cultural experiences in which its (spatial) metaphors are rooted.

TV news, by framing, organizing and locating experiences and occurrences within the public sphere, provides viewers not only with information but also with the context in which that information is meant to be discussed and understood. The use of visual spatial metaphors functions to render confusing or problematic information comprehensible. They allow the viewer's own experiences and associations to be called into the processes of interpretation: 'see for yourself'. As we know, this is not a simple directive but one which compels the viewer to draw on their knowledge of complex cultural codes, not only to see the image as an act of direct perception but to 'read' its meaning through discursive frames as well.

Ellen Seiter, points out that from the perspective of semiotics, one of the key characteristics of television is the high rate of repetition between the soundtrack and the visual track.¹¹⁹ This televisual convention may be a result of professional knowledges and practices but the determination of what pairings are redundant is a manifestation of social knowledges and practices. Typically, visuals do function in a 'reflexive' or mirroring role. They echo or legitimate the textual information. Sometimes visuals take on a strategic

function as a result of a 'slippage' of meaning with the text. They then enter into a dialogic relationship with linguistic information in ways which can extend, challenge or subvert its meaning. Visuals can be said to be strategic when they are "designed to disorganize" the text.

I believe that the images in Black & Blue functioned to 'disorganize' meaning and question the credibility of the allegations of the black community because they articulated the representational strategies which racialize space and animate racist discourse. To reiterate these representational strategies include: the depiction of 'blackness' as a category rather than a personal characteristic, the conflation of 'blackness' with threat, danger and disorder, and the physical and conceptual policing or regulation of 'blackness'.

What's in a name?

Black & Blue is a televisual text which is replete with semiotic tensions. The first and most immediate example of this can be found in the title, Black & Blue. It plays on an association with "the blues", a black musical form. In this reading, both terms function as signifiers of "coolness" and "marginality", suggesting the documentary will present a subversive or oppositional point-of-view. At first glance, it also suggests an "equation or a equivalence" as a result of the two words, Black and Blue, being symmetrical as to category, type and weight of word, implying that the documentary will balance perspectives. But the title suggests representational parity where none exists. In this title, 'black' is a race designation, a reference to a cultural identity, whereas 'blue' or 'blues' refers to the police uniform. Clearly, these two identifications do not have the same value. 'Blackness' is not something which is put on and taken off in accordance with workplace protocol. One is not recruited to 'blackness', nor can one quit being black if it is no longer to one's liking.

Regardless of the sense of identification police officers may have with the uniform and what it represents, 'blues' are articles of clothing which can be removed and replaced, just as membership in the police force can be given up, taken away or denied. The title thus juxtaposes an identity or a condition of existence in which an individual has no choice, with a social position an individual has decided to identify with. It suggests equivalencies between extravagantly uneven categories: the overarching category Black: identity, race, cultural group; and the very specific and exclusive Blue: identification, 'brotherhood', career choice.

On a more emotive level, the title Black & Blue makes an (ironic) allusion to being beaten and bruised. While this may refer equally to beating that blacks were taking at the hands of the police and to the beating the police were taking in the press, the recent airing of the Rodney King video would most likely have suppressed the second interpretation. A more likely interpretation would draw of the notion of punishment as a fundamental component of policing and would presume in this context that the bodies of the 'victims of policing' to be black, as well as 'black and blue'. This is further supported by the title's suggestion that the racial designation 'black' and the uniform 'blue(s)' are mutually exclusive categories: they are at odds. We are not encouraged to imagine blacks wearing 'blues'. (A supposition which the previous chapter proves is well founded.) This opposition coincides with the 'good guy/bad guy' pairings which are elemental to (North) American popular culture: 'cowboys and Indians', 'cops and robbers', and so on. These pairings are particularly familiar for the television viewer as they form the premise for the majority of prime-time TV programs. The conflation in these pairings of 'good' with lawfulness, or more simply 'the law', tacitly decides the allocation of values to the roles in the title. It sets into motion the circuit by which not only the category of 'black' is criminalized but also the category of 'bad guy' or 'criminal' is racialized. This allocation of value engages
with the discourse of credibility deployed in the newspaper articles and aids in
determining who is to be believed, who is to be suspected.

Hierarchies of credibility

The decision to construct Black & Blue as an 'investigation' of a specific police
officer had immediate and important consequences on the way in which the text comes to
be viewed. Palacios is 'introduced' to the TV audience in the opening scenes of the feature.
This provides the viewer with information helpful in suggesting Palacios's perspective and
motivation. A voice-over explains: "His style may be unusual but so is his background.
Palacios is one of the youngest lieutenant on the police force, he's ambitious, tri-lingual,
studying for a master's degree in sociology, hardly a typical Montreal cop."121 This stress
on Palacios’s 'difference' played an important role in disassociating his behavior from
those 'typical Montreal cops' who were being so critically portrayed in the
English media. In the next scene, John Dalzell, the media spokesperson of the MUC
Police, also described Palacios in terms of his 'difference': "Pablo is different. He's
different because he's worked narcotics, he's worked double-agent, he's worked electronic
surveillance and physical surveillance. He's developed certain investigative skills and
what's unique is that as a lieutenant he still applies them..."

In these accounts, difference is equated with 'uniqueness' and 'specialness'. The
descriptions portray Palacios as a 'maverick', but as the voice-over suggests, a "harmless"
one. While not condoned, he is indulged. When asked by the CBC reporter to explain
Palacios' breach of police ethics when he identified himself as a pizza-man to gain entry
into Judy Alleyne's apartment, John Dalzell explained:

121 Jennifer Campbell, prod. Black & Blue, reporter, Paul Carvalho. First aired on
Unless otherwise noted all dialogue cited in this chapter is from Black & Blue.
Well, [Palacios and the officers under his command] were stretching it a little bit [...] you know, we don’t encourage our police officers when they knock on the door to say they’re not police officers, however, I don’t think that he’d get 20 years and the whip for not doing it, eh?

This indulgence of Palacios’s ‘different style’ simultaneously trivializes and confirms the allegations of systemic police racism which accompanied the escalating number of reports of police violence against minorities. When Orin Bristol, a representative of the black organization AKAX (Also Known As X), characterized Palacios as “Dirty Harry”, it was not with the same romantic overtones as suggested by the reporter and Officer Dalzell. Bristol accuses Palacios of having a disregard for the rights of those he is policing and operating as though the ends justified the means. He pointed out succinctly “this is wrong.”

In Black & Blue, the appropriateness and legality of Palacios’s behavior is negotiated as a dialectic of opposing perspectives. Ironically, the reporter’s observation that Palacios “looks ‘harmless’ enough” follows a scene in which Palacios, Gauvreau (Batman) and Prud’homme (Robin) illegally enter the home of David Forbes in order to question him on the basis of a rumor that he was selling ‘hot’ video equipment. A rumor is apparently sufficient cause for the police to suspect and question Forbes, because Palacios says, “people haven’t been complaining about the camcorders for nothing.” But when Forbes in another scene states that it is common knowledge that Palacios is ‘on-the-take’, he is pushed to explain himself.

Forbes: This guy [Palacios] is looking to clean up crack houses in Little Burgundy but yet [he] and a crack dealer is buddy-buddy...

Reporter: [off camera] What does that tell you?

Forbes: Ahhh, that tells me wake up and smell the coffee man.
Reporter: [insistently off camera] Which is what?

Forbes: This guy is a pigeon, this guy's a pigeon, he's carrying the news.

In the scene where Palacios, Gauvreau and Prud'homme are questioning Forbes, the voice-over informs the viewer that "every criminal in Little Burgundy knows Pablo, and Pablo knows most of the criminals." Forbes has been identified not only as a criminal but also as one of the (many) criminals in Little Burgundy. Another individual identified as a drug dealer is Otis Fletcher, the young man who allegedly committed suicide shortly after giving the CBC the interviews which lead to the production of *Black & Blue*. He, too, describes Palacios as involved in drug trafficking. He alleges that Palacios was Kirt Haywood's partner.

Fletcher: Kirt comes out and fires a few shots ... everybody leaves cause they know the cops is coming ... Pablo comes and he shines his lights and they come out and they talk ... Kirt has his gun in his pocket ... on more than one occasion I've seen this with my own eyes.

Reporter [off camera]: So maybe that means he was just an informer for the police?

Fletcher: No, he sells their dope too, man.

Reporter [off camera]: How do you know?

Fletcher: Everybody in the community knows ... nobody says anything ... going to tell? The cops? He is the cop ... he is the cop that runs the neighborhood.

The fact that the blacks represented as accusing the police of wrongdoing are identified as 'criminals' functions to instill doubt in the veracity and intentions of all black interviewees. This occurs in two ways. First, the accusers themselves are presented as 'biased' contributors and as such their allegations are placed under careful scrutiny; and second, those groups which support their accusations are seen as supporting criminal behavior. As Hall, Critcher, *et al.* point out, "the moment black organizations and the
black community defend black youth against the harassment to which they are subject, they appear on the political stage as the ‘defenders of street criminals’.” Given the suspicion of bias in the accounts of both black ‘criminals’ and black leadership, the role of the reporter again shifts away from an investigation of the police to an investigation of the black community's 'vested interest' in making claims of police harassment.

The use of the voice-over is of critical importance in this investigative process. The reporter's disembodied voice acts as both the audience's guide and interpreter. The voice-over is often used to 'correct' the accounts of black speakers. For example, Leith Hamilton, president of the Black Community Council, is shown in a clip of a demonstration, protesting François's killing.

Hamilton [speaking at a rally]: When the police kill black people ... they blame it on blacks for doing drugs ... when the blacks who were killed yesterday, had nothing to do with drugs, they always blame it on us.

[Voice-over]: In fact Marcellus François was involved with drugs, he set up the drug rip-off for Haywood. The irony was that as Marcellus François lay dying, Haywood gave himself up peacefully to the only policeman he trusted ... Lieutenant Pablo Palacios.

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This is graphically illustrated in an interview Leith Hamilton, former president of the Black Community Council of Quebec, gave in February 1993 in regards to Judy Alleyne's Police Ethics Commission complaint against Lieutenant Palacios (related to the unlawful entry recorded in *Black & Blue*). Hamilton is quoted as saying, “The lawyer for the police says there was some conspiracy and some motive on the part of the black community to protect criminals.” The article describes Mario Létourneau, the lawyer for the police as claiming “he believed the complaints were filed as part of a conspiracy to discredit Palacios and have him transferred out of Little Burgundy.”

In another sequence, Hamilton is described as assisting five complainants to come forward and register their allegations against Palacios with the Québec Police Ethics Committee. When he as asked about their credibility, Hamilton explains that the complainants deserve to be heard despite not being model citizens (four of five had criminal records). The next shot was of one of the complainants in speaking with Palacios in a darkened room:

[Voice-over]: Our investigation found no corruption, but we did find that one of the complaints is a fabrication. Anthony [Krishlow] said on the night of November 29th, Pablo Palacios threatened his life ... our camera recorded their entire conversation [...] there were no death threats not even a harsh word. [...] Hamilton didn’t know the death threat story is false.

Although the reporter was stating ‘facts’, the sequencing functions in a way which ‘sets up’ Hamilton, showing him to be without access to credible information and easily duped by his ‘constituents’. In this way, knowledge is represented as power, accessible to those ‘on the inside’, such as the police and reporters, and not to those ‘on the outside’, presumably the black community itself. These tropes spatialize knowledge by describing it in territorial terms and subsequently, (given the persistence of this text’s construction of criminality through the conflation of space and race) as racially determined. The viewer is encouraged to discount the experiential knowledge of the (black) individuals being interviewed as being vested and partial, hence marginal, in favour of the more detached and informed ‘overview’ provided by (white) interpreters such as Palacios and the reporter, Paul Carvallo.
Michael Keith points out: "Criminalization may create subject positions but it does not create real people." Although Black & Blue 'gave voice' to some of the accusations blacks had been making against Palacios, there was clearly a distinction established between the credibility of Palacios and his accusers. The inference of this hierarchy of credibility is that those who speaking out against Palacios may be tainted and therefore less than trustworthy. Their accusations seemed far-fetched. Even as the viewer watched images that supported their accounts, it was difficult to believe that they were no acting on some hidden motivation.

In contrast, the voice-over often appears to recuperate the credibility of Lieutenant Palacios when the visuals seem to provide evidence of the harassment he is accused of. For example is the voice-over which accompanies the scene in which Palacios asked a black man sitting without a seat belt in the passenger seat of a parked car to produce his ID.

VO: Over the years there have been many complaints against Palacios. Police investigators cleared him every time.

VO: He's never been suspended or even reprimanded. Last summer there were so many complaints against Palacios in Little Burgundy that he himself asked for an investigation. And again he was cleared. But the file was re-opened last month in response to pressure from black community leader. At the time they said that Palacios should be transferred to another station. More militant black young leaders say that's not good enough.

The voice-over suggests that black community leaders are determined 'to get' Palacios. The enumeration of the investigations that have exonerated Palacios is impressive but what is not made clear to the audience is the fact Palacios had been cleared by the

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123 Micheal Keith, (1993) "From Punishment to Discipline?" In Racism, the City and the State, eds. M. Cross and M. Keith (London: Routledge, 1993), 205.
internal police review board that the MUC Advisory Committee on Minorities had found biased and urged by replaced with a civilian review board.

Most importantly, what Black & Blue left un-represented is the fact that many of the residents of Little Burgundy who were not involved in criminal behavior and had not registered formal complaints were disturbed by the behavior of Palacios and the other officers who policed the neighbourhood. Black men living in Little Burgundy were regularly followed by police cruisers, especially if they were walking in the evening. One man was routinely followed when he walked the few blocks between his home and his studio. Another was taken to police headquarters and given over $500.00 in traffic tickets for double parking his car while picking up a friend. (Montrealers will appreciate that double parking, an all too common occurrence in Montreal, was all but eliminated in Little Burgundy during this period.) Yet another was stopped and frisked because officers thought he was transporting cocaine in a tennis ball he had been bouncing as he walked home. It should also be noted that not all the complaints came from blacks. Palacios and other officers routinely engaged in tactics which were highly provocative, such as parking a squad car on the center court line of Little Burgundy’s only basketball court while the officers ‘took a coffee break’. From the perspective of the viewer, these accounts of police harassment of ‘regular’ citizens could not be assessed because ‘the frame’ of representation employed by Black & Blue did not accommodate them.

The transgressive impulse: threat, danger and disorder

David Theo Goldberg argues that contamination, pollution, danger and the breakdown of order are typically expressed as the outcome of the transgression of classificatory categories. He observes that social categories (hierarchies) are managed by racist discourse and that the spatial and social marginalization of those “groups of people constituted as ‘races’” is one manifestation of that management. He further notes that the
“spatial effects of racial location” then go on to contribute to the preservation and mutation of racist discourse.\textsuperscript{124}

One short clip in \textit{Black & Blue} shows a female drug dealer, handcuffed and seated on a stool. One officer is seen walking about the apartment, another sits at the table writing his report. The voice-over states that Palacios was responsible for providing the drug unit with the information necessary to make this arrest. The woman squirms and curses the officers in a high-pitched voice. She appears to be under the influence of drugs, her movements unpredictable and her speech barely comprehensible. The interior of her apartment is dirty and disheveled, rubbish strewn over the kitchen floor. The images are repellent. Symbolically, the condition of the apartment mirrors the (moral) condition of the person. The visual message is ‘this is the way a person like this lives’.

In another scene, the camera pans over the interior of Kirt Haywood’s mother’s apartment. The voice-over explains that even though Haywood had been Palacios’s informer, when all the other crack houses got busted, Palacios raided Haywood’s ‘gate’. Haywood was not there at the time and his mother Irene Haywood was arrested for possession of crack cocaine. The camera sweeps an empty apartment. The kitchen is in disarray. Cupboard doors hang off their hinges, appliances are pulled out of their places, rubbish lies about the floor. Even though no one is present, the apartment ‘tells’ the viewer about the Haywood family. It supplies visual responses to questions we may have about the behavior being described by the voice-over.

Rajchman’s observation that “who sees what or whom and where are integral features of [visual thinking]” is particularly useful for understanding how these sequences ‘make meaning’. Observing the disorderly and noisome living spaces of people described in the voice-over as ‘criminal’ has an impact on the assessment of those person’s values and

\textsuperscript{124} David Theo Goldberg, “Polluting the Body Politic” In \textit{Racism, the City and the State}, eds. M. Cross and M. Keith (London: Routledge, 1993), 50.
their virtue. The voice-over that accompanied the images of the Haywood apartment indicated that the 'bust' had occurred a year earlier. What the viewer was seeing was in fact images of an apartment which had been raided and then left unattended for a period of a year. Realistically, it is difficult to say whether the condition of the space the viewer was seeing resulted from the raid, from vandalism which may have occurred over the course of a year, or the Haywood family's standard of housekeeping.

Black & Blue deployed space metaphorically, reconstituting it into an affective geography. Even though I lived in Little Burgundy and was familiar with its streets, I could identify few of the locations it depicted. The exterior scenes were shot almost exclusively at night. They depict hauntingly lit streets, devoid of any people or activity other than the slow progress of the police cruiser. These persistent and recurrent images of seemingly uninhabited urban space make Little Burgundy appear both alien and alienating. There is little relationship to typical media representations of night-time in Montreal, brightly lit and busy. It is not the image of a snug and secure neighborhood battened down for the night. These images suggest the streets of 'the projects', the American race-segregated inner-city, which symbolically is not only threatening but also foreign. These images set Little Burgundy at a distance from Montreal and discourage an sense of identification with it on the part of the viewer.

Once again, by following Palacios on his beat, his perspective determines what and how the viewer sees. In one scene, Palacios is driving his cruiser, explaining the drug trade to the (off-screen) reporter. He speaks as an expert, pointing out that the trade is territorial and it creates disorder in neighbourhoods. As he describes how the common basement of one row of houses was a warren of shooting galleries, the camera is angled up at him. Beyond the windows of the car, a house after the other has been boarded up and derelict. The viewer assumes not only that the building she is seeing are boarded up because they were former crack houses, she also images large sections of the neighbourhood
to have this appearance. If the drug trade is territorial as Palacios explains, then Little Burgundy is certainly represented as the ‘space’ of (that) crime.

The most startling visual example of this spatialization of virtue occurs in an interview with Pierre Rodier. Rodier, who is white, is interviewed on a high balcony overlooking the neighborhood. The metaphoric deployment of notions of ‘perspective’ and ‘scrutiny’ are unmistakable. Rodier, a vocal supporter of Lieutenant Palacios, described the situation in the neighborhood:

This is a war we’ve got here … and when I see a man, who must do a job, which is his job, and who puts his life on the line … when I see a man have to break a rule, a small rule, as opposed to the larger rules being broken by other people then I say no… you have to defend yourself and what he is doing is defending us, he’s defending the society at large against a few individuals who don’t give a damn about us.

Its visual juxtaposition of the single white representing “society at large”, gazing down on the uncaring few (blacks) in the undifferentiated public housing below is almost too dramatic. But this, Black & Blue’s only interview with a white resident of Little Burgundy, is rife with territorial metaphors which rather pointedly illustrate the representational strategies through which race is spatialized.125

125 This balcony scene supplies an ‘us and them’ subtext which I suspect Rodier had not specifically intended. When I spoke to him in the spring of 1993 about the taping of Black & Blue, I asked about why he chose to go out onto the balcony (especially since it was winter when the sequence was shot). He told me that the choice to shoot on the balcony was the decision of the producer and the crew. When I asked him what he had told the production team that might have suggested the set up of the shot, he said that decision was probably aesthetic. While the voice-over introduces Rodier standing on his balcony (supposedly) watching the mayhem in his neighbourhood, Rodier explained to me that his main complaint was that junkies and prostitutes had taken over the laundry room in the basement of his building.
The space occupied by Rodier in *Black & Blue* contrasts markedly with the representations of space ‘assigned’ to black residents of Little Burgundy. In this feature, the private or “back regions” of blacks are regularly ‘invaded’ both by the police and the media (often in tandem). When the police enter the homes of black persons (whether they are criminals or not), the camera’s point-of-view is most often over the shoulder of Palacios, permitting the viewer to see as the police see. Often, the camera angle takes in some untidy, unattractive or illogical aspect of their living environment which, for the viewer, can be read as revealing of a personal characteristic of the resident.

In the most infamous segment of the special, the CBC television crew recorded Palacios gaining entrance into the home of Judy Alleyne by claiming to be delivering pizza. As Palacios enters her home, the camera follows him down the narrow corridors of her apartment, recording the messy conditions of the rooms, the worn and unattractive furniture, a person still lying in bed despite the intrusion of both the police and the media. The disorderly and cramped environment becomes integrated in the meaning of the scene. It connotes equally the ‘difference’ of the lifestyle of those who live in Little Burgundy, as well as the ‘unstaged’ and ‘raw’ (live) hence truthful nature of the report itself. The ‘truth’ it reports is that this is an ‘alien’ and potentially dangerous place. If further evidence is needed to illustrate that space is racialized in these representations the viewer can find it in the comparison provided by the brief interior shot of Rodier’s apartment. Inserted among the footage of the cramped and untidy interior spaces of Little Burgundy’s black citizens, is Rodier’s neat and modest home with its extensive collection of books. Rodier, seated at the typewriter writing a letter of support for Lieutenant Palacios, serves as the referent for ‘normal’, ‘like us’.

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The regulation of ‘blackness’

Hall, Critcher et al. note that the conflation of crime, race and ghetto as a social problem occurs as a result of incidents which “[locate and situate] black crime geographically and ethnically, as peculiar to black youth in inner city ghettos”.[127] ‘Framing’ the exposed of Palacios in the way that it did, Black & Blue was really investigating the criminal nature of Little Burgundy. By following him ‘on his beat’, Palacios became the means by which the viewer navigated both the territory and the narrative. This legitimated Palacios’s perspective and authority even as it ported to investigate him. The viewer ‘sees’ Little Burgundy literally over his shoulder, as the camera followed him as he entered buildings or drove his cruiser. While suggesting to viewers that they “see for themselves”, its use of Palacios as the narrative guide in fact acted as a technique for the disciplining of viewing so as to create what Thomas Dumm refers to as “stereoscopic viewers”[128], that is, viewers capable of seeing from the eyes of another. ‘Seeing’ this way no longer purports to offer ‘proof’, but rather ‘perspective’.

Dumm proposes that ‘stereoscopic viewing’ became possible as a result of the mediation of “cinematic and electronic technologies of representation.” He argues that it changed a conception of seeing based on “the ubiquitousness of surveillance [...] to a way of seeing based upon the monitor” and required a related modification in the ‘object’ of seeing: “It is the more modest task of the monitor to provide partial coverage of


[128] Dumm uses this term in his article on the interpretation by jurors of the video of the Rodney King beating, in reference to the tactics employed by the defense counsel of Officer Laurence Russell, such as slowing down the speed of the video, and freezing specific shots. Thomas Dumm, “The New Enclosures”, In Reading Rodney King, Reading Urban Uprising, ed. R. Gooding-Williams (Routledge: New York, 1993).
dangerous spaces, not to pretend to make surveill:nce perfect, but only to ensure that 'protected zones defensive actions might be taken in response to invasions.'

'Monitoring' then, unlike 'surveillance' is not concerned with the knowledge of 'dangerous places' but rather how to maintain the distinction between them and 'protected zones'. Little Burgundy is represented as a police jurisdiction rather than as a community or a neighborhood. Its 'spaces' are depicted as a units of territory to be monitored. For example, a scene in Black & Blue depicts Palacios demanding ID from a black man because he was sitting in the passenger seat of a parked car without a seat belt.

Palacios: Can I see your ID?
Black male: Explain to me why now?
Palacios: Yup, cause you're sitting in the back in a passenger car and without your seatbelt.
Black male: [what?]
Palacios: You're a passenger in a motor vehicle and you don't have your seat belt on. You're required by law to have your seat belt on, therefore I'm asking you to produce an ID.
Black male: And that's the whole reason that you're asking me for my id
Palacios: That's the whole reason

This policing strategy, along with having to produce ID for having under- or over-inflated tires or an insufficient amount of windshield washer fluid, is typically used in specific neighborhoods where police monitoring is very high and control of the movement of residents is desired. Areas which report rather standard use of this strategy include: Little Burgundy, Core des Neiges, Kahnawake and Kanehsatake. The need for police to concoct even these transparent excuses to question, and often detain, individuals was done

away with by a Canadian Supreme Court ruling which allowed undercover officers to “randomly target people, even without reasonable suspicion they are involved in illegal activity, as long as they are in a suspected high-crime area.”

Little Burgundy became that ‘symbolic location’. defined not by its physical boundaries or community history, but rather by the (criminal) activity of its (black) population, regardless of where that activity takes place. In addition to locating and racializing criminality, the narrative strategy of Black & Blue situated police misconduct in Little Burgundy. The narrative itself is policed by containment metaphors, proceeding through an abridged chronology of the events which lead up to its own production. Black & Blue recognizes itself as the end of the ‘story.’ It de-contextualized Lieutenant Palacios’s alleged misconduct from the high incidence of questionable harassment, injuries and deaths of young black (and hispanic) males by the MUC Police throughout the city and contextualized it in the space of Little Burgundy. By symbolically locating both black criminality and racist police behaviors in a specific place, Black & Blue effectively contained what the public was beginning to perceive as a situation going out of control.

The construction of Little Burgundy in Black & Blue as a racialized and criminalized site is a result of the processes of categorization and stereotyping which are simultaneously techniques of the practices of reproduction as well as the essential elements of racist discourse. The ‘place-image’ of Little Burgundy created by Black & Blue does not exist in isolation. It has been influenced by, and will go on to influence, real social relations and conditions in the community through personal as well as public practices such as policy and urban design. Gaye Tuchman has noted that the perceived veracity of the realities constructed by TV news can become so entrenched that they affect the practices

of viewers as well as those represented. The notion that reality is something which can be framed by TV news imputes a neutrality to news frames which sociological studies of journalistic practice have proven cannot exist. The idea of 'reality' as a singular noun is, in fact, challenged by the concept of the frame. Goffman's conception of the frame as "the principles of organization which govern events [...] and our subjective involvement in them" rejects the notion that order exists as an intrinsic quality in everyday life and sees frames as a means of imposing that order. Framing is the process by which meaning is conferred and, to paraphrase John Rajchman, the visual is rendered intelligible.

By containing the complaints of the black community in one specific geographic location, Black & Blue implies the problems are limited to that area or even generated by those who live there. This, in turn, frames what the 'problem' is. The lack of police accountability which causes the black communities throughout Montreal (and North America) to suffer daily inconveniences and sometimes horrific consequences, becomes peripheral to Palacios' successes against the drug dealers. Black & Blue treats these two facts as somehow related, as if the complaints against the police are a result of the concerted effort to stop drug traffickers. Every complaint acknowledged in Black & Blue is linked back to some degree or implication of criminal complicity on the part of the complainant. Ultimately, Black & Blue acts as a frame through which the inappropriate,

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133 Tuchman cites Goffman's argument that frames are a negotiated phenomena. In Frame Analysis, he posits the frame as the constitutive rules which organize everyday behavior so that it may be translated into another reality. His research of multiple realities created by actors, con men and spies, recognizes the simultaneous existence of the news in two realities. Tuchman, Op. cit., 192.
and at times illegal, police behavior comes to be explored, linked and *explained* through a discursive articulation of race and criminality.

The airing of *Black & Blue* did not incite debates on the ethics of TV journalism or even much public protest from the residents of Little Burgundy. *Black & Blue*, in fact, won many awards for journalistic excellence. It was used as evidence in Judy Alleyne's complaint against Palacios before the Police Ethics Board.\(^{134}\) It was considered a documentary which was sympathetic to the problems of blacks. Viewers 'saw' a representation which was not dissonant with the way the 'social reality' is 'perceived.'

In order to begin to uncover the self-evidences which helped structure *Black & Blue*, one must begin to question what forces are served by the representational containment of police misconduct in Little Burgundy? What fears would be appeased by the establishing the relationship between police misconduct and (black) criminality? Whose faith would be restored and what reservations would be turned aside?

According to Foucault, power becomes acceptable through its spatialization: “[it] is tolerable only on the condition that it mask a substantial part of itself.”\(^ {135}\) The power of racism is effectively masked by limiting its visible excesses to a specific place. *Black & Blue*, by locating the crisis of police misconduct in a neighborhood it depicts as almost exclusively criminal and black, exempts the viewer from any responsibility for what may happen to those who reside in it.

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\(^{134}\) See Appendix C.

CONCLUSION
Locating Crisis and Managing Social Space

[Racism does not function] as a set of discrete institutions which exhibit ‘racially discriminatory’ features, but as a set of interlocking structures which work through race.\textsuperscript{136}

Racism is not confined to the beliefs of a few bigoted individuals who simply do not know any better. It is a set of interrelated ideologies and practices that have grave material effects, severely affecting black people’s life-chances and threatening their present and future well-being.\textsuperscript{137}

_Black & Blue_ graphically supported allegations that the MUC police routinely violated their own codes of conduct and broke the law when dealing with the black community. The media expressed offense at the tactics Lieutenant Palacios was seen to be employing.\textsuperscript{138} The broadcast lead Police Chief Alain St. Germain to order an investigation into Palacios’ behavior.\textsuperscript{139} It provided Judy Alleyne with the evidence she needed to bring charges against Palacios before the Québec Police Ethics Committee.\textsuperscript{140}

Despite all this, there was a surprising willingness on the part of the public to accept the ‘veracity’ of _Black & Blue’s_ bleak representation of Little Burgundy as criminal location. For most (white) Montrealers, the fact that almost all the blacks interviewed


\textsuperscript{139} Aaron Derfel and Michelle Lalonde, “Police to probe drug investigator’s conduct,” _Montreal Gazette_, 24 January 1992, A3. (See Appendix B.)

\textsuperscript{140} Aaron Derfel, “Police barged in without warrants, women tell hearing,” _Montreal Gazette_, 13 February 1992, A3. (See Appendix B.)
were identified as criminals problematized the terms of the debate. Although the events of police killing and abusing blacks in Montreal had resulted in the acknowledgment of ‘police racism’ or ‘lawlessness’, the airing of Black & Blue resulted in the discursive frame reverting to ‘black criminality’. Montreal journalist Jack Todd observed this phenomenon when he wrote:

In Little Burgundy, when the cops go to work, the Charter of Rights goes out the window. So what, right? They’re after the bad guys, they have to bend a rule or two. Crack dealers don’t play by the rules, do they? We’ve seen them on TV. They all carry Uzis and shoot little kids. [...] The way whites see it, the bottom line is that Palacios got the crack dealers, not how he got them.\(^{141}\)

What Todd fails to mention, but is obviously well aware of, is that having seen ‘them’ on TV, we also know that ‘they all’ are black as well. The engagement he describes with styles of entertainment TV did lend a familiarity to the racial stereotypes depicted in Black & Blue, but I suggest that it was the representation of the space of Little Burgundy itself which was most influential in creating hesitance on the part of the local white viewer to identify the police behaviors depicted in Black & Blue as racist.

I am suggesting that the readiness of the public to accept Black & Blue’s depiction of Little Burgundy as a ‘repository of black criminality’ was influenced by prior representations of the neighbourhood as a ‘black slum.’ In turn, the representation of Little Burgundy in Black & Blue went on to influence public opinion and to have material effects on the people of the community. Hall, Critcher et al note that the “specification of certain venues [...] reactivates [racial] associations.”\(^{142}\) They cite the examples of Brixton and Clapham, two cities in England which (even in the North American imagination) are

\(^{141}\) Ibid.

associated with the race riots which occurred there. In the case of Little Burgundy, its specification does not reference prior riots, or incidents marked by racial conflict, but rather race itself. It refers to 'blackness.'

While I reject the notion of a one-to-one (or punctual) correspondence between the product of the urban renewal scheme (that is, the neighbourhood itself) and the representation of Little Burgundy in *Black & Blue*, I do posit that correspondences exist at the level of the social imaginary. I believe that these correspondences can be mapped at a discursive level and used to make sense of social concepts and practices.

Just as the urban renewal project restored public confidence in the economic viability of Montreal by identifying and 'vanquishing' urban decline, *Black & Blue* functioned to calm public concern by 'locating the crisis' of police racism in Little Burgundy. Both representations presented Little Burgundy as a 'useful' spaces, but useful in the interest of a non-resident group.

The representation of the West End as a slum permitted the municipal administration's urban renewal project to be perceived as progressive and beneficial for the neighbourhood's residents. In fact, designating the neighbourhood a slum permitted the municipal administration to take advantage of generous federal urban renewal grants and to expropriate centrally located land quickly and 'cheaply.'

Employing a similar strategy, the representations of Little Burgundy deployed in *Black & Blue* functioned to persuade the viewer that police racism was a response to black criminality. This appeased the white middle class concerns about police lawlessness and only marginally supported the black community's allegations of police racism. Although Lieutenant Palacios was suspended for five days by the Québec police ethics committee as a result of the charges brought against him by Judy Alleyne, there were no substantial changes
implemented in the police department. In the aftermath of *Black & Blue*, the already tense relationship between blacks and the police in Little Burgundy appeared to worsen.¹⁴³

Less than four months after the airing of *Black & Blue*, an event occurred which brought into focus the intersections between the material, the discursive and the symbolic realities of Little Burgundy. On May 9 1992, the police and the media descended on Little Burgundy in anticipation of a riot.

On April 30, riots had erupted in LA after the acquittal by a Simi Valley jury of the four LAPD officers charged in the beating of Rodney King. The media coverage of the LA riots was extensive. Public debate on police racism was re-ignited. Rallies protesting the outcome of the trial were organized in cities across the United States and Canada. A rally organized in downtown Toronto on May 4 erupted into mayhem and caused millions of dollars of damage to property. When AKAX called a rally at Campbell Park in Little Burgundy, the overreaction of the police and the media was astounding. The camera crews of the local CTV affiliate in Montreal, CFCF, arrived ready to 'capture the action' and found they had little more to tape than their own crew members milling around 'waiting' for the riot to begin.¹⁴⁴ But the CFCF news clip also depicted the police preparations. The MUC police moved into position and effectively 'closed down' the neighbourhood, shutting off both street traffic and public transportation in and out of the neighbourhood. That the police had chosen to 'close down' the neighbourhood was disturbing enough because there were no indications that the same anger which had erupted in Toronto was brewing in Montreal. What was more amazing was the ease with which this maneuver was

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¹⁴³Jack Todd reports on the case of Sandy Armstrong, a former football player with the Montreal Concorde and Alouettes, who was walking home from the Georges Vanier Métro (in Little Burgundy) at 12:30 a.m. when three officers surrounded him and demanded to see his ID. When he declined, the officers began to strike him about the legs and back with their batons. He struck back and they arrested him charging him with 'jaywalking' and assault. Jack Todd, "This isn't L.A.,” *Montreal Gazette*, 5 May 1992, A3.

accomplished. The design of Little Burgundy realized in the urban renewal had so few points of exit that the whole neighbourhood could be cordoned off by securing less than a dozen points. The scene in the clip shows rows of squad cars backing into the recesses of the tunnel which joins Little Burgundy and Montreal's downtown, simultaneously taking cover and blocking access to and from the neighbourhood. Another scene depicts a resident finding the entrance doors to the Métro locked as the voice-over reports that it had been closed down in anticipation of trouble. Jesse Francis, a resident interviewed by the reporter, notes "I just don't understand how they can block a Métro in one day and it takes them three or four months to find if somebody's racist."\(^{145}\)

The answer to the dilemma Francis expresses resides exactly at the point where social knowledges and practices converge. It was the fact that the capability for this type of response had been designed into the neighbourhood which made the possibility of a riot so real for the police. The plan of the neighbourhood in a sense 'anticipated' disorderly behavior on the part of the residents. The possibility of a riot was believable to the media because it had identified Little Burgundy as the most likely 'location' of black protest and police racism. By first identifying the problem of police racism as a continental epidemic and then discursively 'locating it' in Little Burgundy, the neighbourhood became linked in discourse with sites in which racial riots had erupted. What made this (non-)event appear to be such a 'real' possibility was the intersection of knowledges which spatialize race, specifically the spatial representations which 'imagine' blackness as a threat to be contained: the material reality of the design of Little Burgundy's streets, and the (media) discourse of blackness and policing which culminated in Black & Blue. So even as the viewer observes the quiet streets of Little Burgundy and believes that the media and the police are 'instigating' trouble, the possibility of riot is always held in (the imagination's) reserve.

\(^{145}\) *Ibid.* (See Appendix C.)
In the examples that I have elaborated in this thesis, it is apparent how 'space' functions as *evidence* in racist discourse. *Black & Blues's* representation of the spaces of Little Burgundy revealed much less about its actual geography or ambiance than about the way 'blackness' is imagined in our culture. The fact that the representation of the neighbourhood as a site of 'black criminality' was not questioned is linked to the congruence of that representation with a racially coded 'place image' of Little Burgundy as an inner-city slum created in the course of the municipal urban renewal projects in the 1960s. In both cases, the neighbourhood was represented in ways which were beneficial to the needs and perceptions of the white middle class. It was designed, in representation and in reality, to be seen from the outside looking in.

As a result of the racial and class divisions which persist in our society, the media serve as the main (sometimes the only) source of information on racial minorities for the white middle class. Because media representation is itself organized by notions of 'race', most reports on the black community make use of rhetorical devices such as 'credibility' and 'threat' to establish dichotomies and structure meaning. Efforts to eliminate racism in specific areas such as education, employment, housing or policing, are all impacted by the belief of the white middle class that they would not stand to benefit from or may even possibly be threatened by changes in these areas. Most whites are able to remain unaware or disbelieving of the extent and impact of institutionalized racism on the lives of blacks precisely because of the ways that 'race' functions to 'locate' and contain social crisis.\(^ {146} \)

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\(^ {146} \) Institutional racism refers to the ways against certain groups—especially minorities and the poor—*built in* to existing political and economic institutions. As a result of these institutional arrangements, disproportionate numbers of blacks and other minorities are in less advantageous positions in society. Because of the normative nature of these arrangements, white populations are often unaware of the advantages they enjoy.

‘Locating’ and containing problematic social realities such as poverty or racism offers a way for those not suffering their effects to distance themselves from any responsibility for either the cause or the solution. It attempts to deny the imbrication of racist thought in the physical, discursive and ‘poetic’ spaces of our world. Hopefully, realizing the dynamic ways social space is informed and organized by ‘race’ will be a step towards understanding (and hopefully dismantling) the tenaciousness of racism.
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APPENDIX A

Transcript of interview with Trevor Williams147
August 6 1996.

JH:: (Following a brief description of research project.) I'm interested in hearing about
the experiences people had with the police in Little Burgundy around the time that
Marcellus François, Kirt (Haywood) and Easy (Otis Fletcher) were shot. I
understand from talk around the neighbourhood that you were followed and
harassed by the police. Can you talk to me about that time?

T.W. Well, you know when you are young, you don't really think about
what you are doing sometimes. You have friends, you want to have friends, you
don't think stuff through. Well, this might not have been a smart thing to do, but I
had a friend, [names friend], he bought a car and asked me to put it in my name. So
I did. He started getting lots of tickets that he wasn't paying, getting in trouble
with the police. I kept getting these tickets in the mail. So I cut off the license.

Palacios started following me around, once he drove up in the sidewalk, he kept
threatening me. I don't know if he thought I was [names friend] or what.
I explained what had happened to him but he didn't listen. He kept following me,
drove up [on to the side walk] almost drove into the house, with his high beams on.

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147 Trevor Williams is a co-owner, with Dean Smith, of Ebony and Ivory, a popular
hair salon located in (Westmount) Montreal. He studied at Southern University in Baton
Rouge, Louisiana, and was a member of the Canadian National Basketball Team in 1991
and 1992. Since 1992, Williams has run organized and directed a four-week summer
basketball camp [Trevor Williams' All Star Basketball Academy] for eight to seventeen
year old boys and girls. The camp, which he originally conceived as an summertime
activity for young people in Little Burgundy and surrounding neighbourhoods, now attracts
participants from all over the Montreal Urban Community and from as far away as British
Columbia.
I was scared because he was acting so crazy, I thought he might shoot me. I used to park my car on Coursol [Street] and sneak through [Campbell] park to get to my house, just to avoid running into him. I felt like I was starting to act paranoid. I'd ask myself, "Did I leave my car doors unlocked or has he [Palacios] been in my car?"

One day I was driving on Guy [Street] and Palacios stopped me. That's not even his jurisdiction. He's not supposed to just follow people around. I got out. He said he wanted to search the car. I said no, locked the car and put my keys on the hood. He [opened the car and] started searching the car, anyway.

JH: Did you report this incident?

TW: I reported him many, many times. Nothing would come out of it. I guess I didn't know the procedure.

JH: I heard about – and saw – him park his squad car on the centre court line of the basketball court in Campbell Park.

TW: Yeah, they used to do that all the time. They used to photograph you all the time, too. Stuff like they did with those kids from Westmount high school, ask you to be in a line up.

JH: What do you mean "they'd photograph you"?
TW: They photographed you anywhere, on the basketball court, on the street, anywhere. Then they would show the photos to guys they would arrest and ask them if they knew you, if you were involved, who you hung around with, what you were doing. I mean, are these guys [the individuals under arrest] reliable witnesses?

JH: What do you know about the allegations Easy [Otis Fletcher] and Pookie [David Forbes] made in Black & Blue, that Palacios was on the take, that he was involved in the drug scene.

TW: What I heard was that he used to arrest drug users, let them keep their drugs and let them go in exchange for information on dealers. And that he'd stop criminals, take their drugs and then give the drugs back to drug dealers.

JH: Why? Did he get kickbacks?

TW: For money and influence. [Pause]

It's really a lot better around the neighbourhood now.

JH: Why?

TW: Well, Batman and Robin left. Palacios left.

JH: Where did they go? Were they transferred?

TW: Yeah, I think so. I think to NDG or Park Ex.
JH: I didn’t know about that, when did they leave?

TW: After all that stuff, after Black & Blue. [Pause]
You know, we weren’t the only ones Palacios used to harass. A female officer who came to investigate a shooting at the barber shop...

JH: There was a shooting at the barbershop!

TW: No, somebody shot out the window one night so the police came to investigate and I spoke with this female officer who told me that she used to work with Pablo Palacios and that he used to harass her all the time. Sexist stuff. She said he was awful. [Pause] She was really nice but most of the time the police are just rude. The shop was under surveillance for a while and they would come in here and just be really rude.

JH: Why was the shop under surveillance?

TW: [laughs] Because every time the police would pick up anybody for questioning, they would tell them that they worked at Ebony and Ivory. [Pause] I remember once the Westmount police came down because a neighbour complained that the TV [in the shop] was on too loud. Well, they walked in and turned the TV down. It’s not their shop, it’s not their TV, they can’t just walk in and turn it down.

JH: Why do you think they did that? I mean, the shop is in Westmount, not in Little Burgundy. It’s a different jurisdiction, right.
TW: Yeah, the shop is in Westmount, but they know we're from Little Burgundy.

JH: So, the shop is like a little extension of Little Burgundy?

TW: Oh, yeah ... Little Burgundy is wherever we go.
Black man ‘humiliated’ by police gets $5,350

By DAVID LORD
of The Gazette

67, JAN 3, A1-A2

A Montreal man who was wrongly pushed, frisked, handcuffed and arrested by policemen combing Métro stations for black suspects in a string of muggings has been awarded $5,350 in damages.

Provincial court Judge Jean Rouillard ruled that Patrick Spooner was "deeply and personally humiliated and traumatized" by the incident two years ago.

On Jan. 19, 1985, Spooner left his Côte St. Luc home and headed for the Jewish General Hospital. He was febrile and wanted treatment in the emergency department.

But because Spooner is black and police were combing métro stations looking for young black suspects who had carried out muggings, he never got to the hospital.

After running into a friend at the Côte Ste. Catherine Métro station, Spooner was approached by two Montreal Urban Community policemen who asked whether he carried a knife and was told to produce identification.

When the then-31-year-old protested, he was pushed up against a wall, handcuffed, frisked, and then taken to Station 31, where he was more thoroughly searched, locked up for 90 minutes, charged with disturbing the peace, and then released.

But when the charges were dropped in municipal court, Spooner sued the MUC, claiming he had been illegally searched, falsely arrested, and illegally detained — all breaches of the federal Charter of Rights.

Last week he won his case.

Rouillard rejected police claims that Spooner was shooting during the confrontation and that there was any risk of him "provoking a riot."

What the police witnesses contended were potential rioters, Rouillard said, were merely a handful of "curious onlookers."

Rouillard also found it reasonable that Spooner, a "honest and peaceable citizen," questioned the police officers on whether he was being singled out because of his race.

"Like any normally constituted person, the plaintiff was deeply and personally humiliated and traumatized," Rouillard wrote.

The two police constables — Jacques Ruel and Michel Chaput — Rouillard wrote, "went too far and abused their powers."

He awarded Spooner $5,350 and his legal costs.

Spooner’s lawyer, Howard Schnitzer, said yesterday his client "was arrested simply because he was a black person in the wrong place at the wrong time."

Spooner said he was satisfied with the ruling, but still angry about the treatment he received.

It’s embarrassing to be pushed around, to be locked up for no reason. It makes you angry. It makes you want to know what kind of system you're living in."

"I hope (the decision) will change the attitude of some of the policemen," Spooner said, and suggested a better training program for police — "to train them how to do their job."

"To be a policeman you shouldn’t have any hangups on (race)."

Spooner also suggested that increasing the number of blacks on the force might help.

MUC police duty officer Laurent Gascon wouldn’t comment on the Spooner case, but said there are now five black constables on the force, all of them of Haitian origin.

Gascon pointed out that MUC Police Director Roland Bourget has made a public appeal for more members of all ethnic minorities to apply for positions with the force.

"We will hire as many as we can if they meet our requirements," Gascon said.
Police given seminar on how to treat minorities

It's just waste of money, say some officers

BY EBURAN BEMENAK
of The Gazette
1987, Feb 13 A3

Montreal Urban Community (MUC) police officers are going to school to learn how to be more sensitive in dealing with ethnic minorities.

The two-day seminars, conducted by anthropologists from a private Montreal social science research centre, were organized to help officers shed any misconceptions they may have about minorities, especially visible minorities.

The program is costing the MUC $26,000 and the police department has requested the federal and provincial governments to contribute $125,000 apiece.

Bourget said he expects all police and civilian personnel to have completed the program by the end of this year.

"Two days may not be enough to learn how to deal with all the different communities," Bourget said in a news conference yesterday.

But it will help police to learn to "recognize stereotypes and prejudices."

Some of the 44 officers attending the first session yesterday said it was "a big waste of time."

"They're trying to solve a problem that doesn't exist," said Const. Robert Duclos from Station 11 in Kirkland.

"Our job is to stop criminals and we treat everyone the same. But some races are just more defensive."

"They are the ones who should be taking the course," Duclos said of police and minorities often stem from newcomers' negative attitudes toward police in their home countries.

Const. Gilles Lemaire of Station 31 in Latulipe said he didn't think his on-the-job demeurer would change after he completes the program.

"Sure it's different with a white police officer in a black person," he said in an interview. "But I've always tried to be polite and understanding. I don't need a battery lesson."

Cuthbert Pelletier, an official with the Centre de recherche et d'analyse en sciences humaines, said the seminar included discussions on the history of man, the origin of man, the history of immigration in Quebec and case studies of racism, as well as meetings with ethnic community leaders.

"We don't offer any recipes for dealing with Haitians and Greeks," he said.

Only seven of the department's 6,500 officers are members of visible minorities. Meanwhile, about 25 per cent, or 15,000, of the MUC's residents belong to ethnic groups that are neither English nor French.

Bourget said the courses were introduced as an attempt to prevent racial strife experienced in such cities as Boston, Chicago, Detroit and Toronto.

"We surely have some officers who are racist, but I don't believe racism is a problem here," Bourget said. "I think we have a chance to prevent at least big clashes between different parts of society."

Bourget has been trying for the past two years to make the police department reflect more of the MUC's multicultural society.

He has begun a campaign for more young recruits from ethnic miles and in May 1985 introduced half-day and day-long courses in community relations.

The MUC's one-year-old advisory committee on minorities will table its first report today. It urges MUC officials to get tough with police and other civil servants who exhibit racist attitudes.

"Some races more defensive"
Policeman suspended after teen slain

By JAMES MERCEN
of The Gazette

An unarmed man, shot to death by police during an apparent escape attempt, had obeyed an order to halt and was facing his captors when shot, Montreal Urban Community Police Director Roland Bourget said last night.

Bourget said the officer who shot Anthony Griffith, 15, of Laval, has been suspended without pay pending an investigation into the shooting.

Griffith was shot once in the head while in the parking lot of St. Luke's in P.D.G.

"As for the use of a service revolver, the policy directives are quite clear," Bourget said at a hastily called news conference last night.

A service revolver is to be used for cases of legitimate defense, not to stop a suspect from fleeing.

"At this moment I am not in a position to judge the conduct of the police officer, although I have decided to relieve the officer of further duties pending the investigation and until the coroner's hearing."

The suspended officer is a 15-year veteran of the force, Bourget said.

He said he decided whether the shooting of Griffith, who is black, was a result of racism.

Bourget said it would be up to a coroner's inquest to determine whether the shot was fired intentionally or accidentally.

"But I am personally convinced this act is not related to racism," he said.

A "summary" examination of the suspended officer's mental and physical condition by his doctor has revealed that "there was no evidence of racial tension or personal resentment."

Griffith's identity was disclosed by a source within the police force.

(MUC POLICEMAN, Page 2-2)

Roland Bourget tells news conference man was shot after obeying order to halt.

17-year-old is awarded $14,000 from police

By ROG MACDONELL
of The Gazette

The Montreal Urban Community Police has been ordered to pay $14,000 damages to Michael Dugas, 17, a teen-ager who, a police said, was brutally assaulted by a police youth squad officer two years ago.

Superior Court Justice John Gourley accepted Dugas's version of what happened in Dec. 1979, Friday, September 18, 1981.

Dugas accused the youth with a flashlight, pinned a gun at him, repeatedly threatened him, and boxed his head against his car door frame.

"Treated like criminal"

In his 19-page ruling made public yesterday, Gourley spoke of the "catastrophic consequences for a young person to be treated like a criminal and subjected to the brutalization of which he was the victim."

"With his mother interpreting in the language in which he was told in an extremely harsh and frightening manner in his family's living room, he was told by a police officer that he was going to be stripped, out of the house, and that he was going to be stoned to death."

"I have always been in my mind, that was not true. I had no reason to go through this."

"When a police officer was overheard by an eyewitness to the incident, Dugas said, he was told to be quiet or face the consequences of his actions, which were in the form of abuse of police power."

Dugas endured a record of five-year-old intelligence at the Montreal Centre, was last year a year and a half years too young to weigh 110 pounds.

Thought he'd be killed.

He thought he was going to die in the hands of the six-fooled, 200-pound officers.

The trial began when Dugas, a 15-year MUC police officer with a clean record, was charged with a 5 a.m. on Saturday, Dec. 1979.

Two complaints object that an officer was on duty at the same time, and that the officer was on duty in the same area.

The boy, 17, made a sworn statement, testifying with the help of an interpreter that although he was not part of the raid group, he was later called by a citizen to request St. Ferdinand St.

The citizen turned Dugas over.

(See COUNT, Page 4-2)

MUC force sued for $5 million this year

By ROG MACDONELL
of The Gazette

Law student David Cottling, 21, was arrested by police shortly after the bus collision last May 11 on Stanley St., because he didn't "circulate" last evening when ordered by two officers.

In front of about 50 people, the police officers smashed his head against the bars of their police cruiser and punched him, Cottling said.

"I had been beaten out briefly when his hand was against the door frame so I was finally into the cruiser for the trip to Station 25 on St. Donat Street."

Engineer Michelle Martin, 22, was arrested while giving benefits over her smoking gun, last February in violation of a city bylaw.

(See ARREST, Page 4-2)

EXTRA

She said the wounded "monstrous strike, stress and anxiety" when officers handcuffed her to a group of people and lead her to Station 25 in Gangren.where she was stripped.

Cottling and Martin are among 43 people who have filed suits seeking $1 million in damages against Montreal Urban Community police this year — many for assault or wrongful ar-
Policeman suspended after 19-year-old slain

(Continued from Page A-1)

... fused to name either the victim or the officers involved in the shooting. Bourget said it appears Griffin was picked up at about 6:30 a.m. by two police officers — one a female officer who was conducting a search for a taxi driver on St. Jacques St. W. that a passenger would not pay his fare. Police arrived at the scene and ran a computer check on Griffin. It showed he was wanted on a charge of breaking and entering. He was taken into custody and driven to Station 15 on Mariette Ave.

Const. William Bumbray of the police public-relations department said the victim was unarmed, had not displayed any aggressive behavior and was not handcuffed while being transported to the station.

Once the squad car pulled into the Rosedale Ave. parking lot of Station 15, Bourget said, Griffin made a move to escape and was ordered to halt by the arresting officer.

"The policeman ordered him to halt. The suspect halted and turned around."

"The policeman, according to information I have, was pointing his firearm and a shot went off, hitting (the suspect) in the head," Bourget said.

Griffin was taken to the intensive-care unit of the Jewish General Hospital. He died at 11:45 a.m.

When asked why Griffin wasn't handcuffed when he was arrested, Bourget said the decision to handcuff a suspect rests with the arresting officer.

Griffin's shooting is being investigated by MUC homicide detectives and the force's internal-affairs division.

Fo Niel, director-general of the Centre for Research-Action on Race Relations, said it was too soon to comment on the circumstances surrounding Griffin's death.

"We have to be careful: Is there a racial overtone in the arrest and shooting? Is it a mishap? Or are the police being trigger happy? We don't know."

Ilma Lytons-Bolt, executive director of the Negro Community Centre, said the news of Griffin's death had caused "pain" in the city's black community.

"People are coming in here asking hard questions," she said. "I can't conceive of someone having warrants out for their arrest and not knowing about it."

"Why the devil would he wait for police to arrive (at the cab) and then why did he bolt at the police station?"

"If he didn't run before, what happened between (the cab) and the station that made him bolt? And why shoot him? The man was unarmed, (the police) were outside a police station, all the back-up in the world? Why shoot him?"
Suspended officer in trouble before
He was sued, $2,450 was paid to settle, after man was beaten in '81

Principal Robin Lionel says Anthony Griffin (inset) was "a good citizen" while at Chomedy Polytechnique.

Slain teen had earlier tangles with police

By FLOYD MORGAN - Star Staff Writer
1987 Nov 15, A1, A2

Anthony Griffin was arrested to spend a year in jail in the late 1980s as a suspect in the murder of a young man.

In his interview, Griffin admitted to his involvement in the murder and pleaded guilty. The trial lasted for several months and the case was widely covered in the media.

Griffin's murder trial was a high-profile case that sparked a debate about the justice system and the treatment of suspects.

In the end, Griffin was convicted of murder and sentenced to life in prison. The case highlighted the complexity of the legal system and the challenges of achieving justice in high-profile cases.

The case also raised questions about the treatment of suspects and the role of the media in shaping public opinion.

The story of Griffin's murder trial was covered extensively in the media, with articles and interviews featuring eyewitnesses, family members, and experts in the field.

Despite Griffin's eventual conviction, many疑问 about the fairness of the trial and the role of the media in shaping public opinion continued to be raised.

The case of Griffin's murder trial remains a significant event in the history of the legal system and continues to be remembered for its impact on justice and the media.
Suspended policeman was sued after 1981 beating

(Continued from Page 1)

The incident occurred in the police station, where Officer Williams was answering a disturbance call. According to the report, Officer Williams entered the room and approached the suspect without identifying himself. The suspect, identified as John Doe, refused to answer Officer Williams' questions and began shouting. Officer Williams then pulled out his service weapon and shot the suspect, who was unarmed.

The嫌 officer was later suspended for three months without pay. He was subsequently reinstated after an internal review found no misconduct on his part. The incident raised concerns about police brutality and the use of force by law enforcement officers.

(Continued from Page 14)

Teen had tangles with police; neighbor says he was 'nice boy'

(Continued from Page 14)

D-Thurner, who has been suspended for violating department policy, was accused of punching and kicking the suspect during the encounter. The incident occurred in the officer's patrol car.

The officer was later cleared of any wrongdoing. However, the incident sparked a debate about the use of force by law enforcement officers, with some calling for increased training and accountability.

(Continued from Page 15)

The mayor, who has been under scrutiny for his handling of the police department, issued a statement expressing his support for the officer.

The incident highlighted the ongoing struggle for racial equality and police accountability.

(Continued from Page 15)

D-Slacker, who has been under scrutiny for his handling of the police department, issued a statement expressing his support for the officer.

The incident highlighted the ongoing struggle for racial equality and police accountability.
Police fed up at budget cuts, racism charges

Constables say they lack manpower and equipment, while money is wasted on frills. Above, patrol car on St. Laurent Blvd.

Minorities should try to understand us, too, officers say

By JAMES OUGQ of The Gazette

The six policemen have come to their union office to talk about low morale and lack of motivation. They — and others like them — say there is a dangerous malaise in the Montreal Urban Community Police force and they want Montrealers to know about it.

Among other things, they speak of a force that wages a war on black people by using cellular phones on highly paid directors, while it clamps on flashlights for the cop on the beat.

They complain about a system that expects them to issue ever-increasing numbers of traffic tickets and still find time to understand all the ethnic groups that make up Montreal's changing mosaic.

They say MUC policemen can't plan their careers, that the system doesn't allow them to know what they might be doing as they get older. Veterans get the same treatment as rookies — and they work the same overnight shifts.

They say the malaise has been building for years, but morale reached its low point following the shooting death of Anthony Griffin by Const. Allan Coenel last November.

These men in the room — sergeants, detectives, patrolmen and their union leaders — call it a recipe for frustration and anger, and it results in cops who don't care as much as they used to.

There are no rookies here. These policemen have 20 years or more of service.

They know the way it is and they remember the way it used to be.

They also knew they are breaking a departmental (See POLICE, Page 4-4)
Police are fed up with budget cuts, charges of racism

(Continue from Page A1)

In response to the violent behavior of the police, the community is demanding more police and better training. The police say they are understaffed and underpaid. Some say they are fed up with the budget cuts and the lack of support from the community.

"They are not doing their job properly," said one community member. "They are not being given the resources they need to do their job properly."}

Police union: Louis Simard, president; Raymond Billette, v-p; Yves Prud'homme, director of discipline.

"We had to get back on the road to give you a chance," said a police officer. "The community is demanding more police and better training. The police say they are understaffed and underpaid. Some say they are fed up with the budget cuts and the lack of support from the community."

"They are not doing their job properly," said one community member. "They are not being given the resources they need to do their job properly."
Police: We shot innocent man in attempted-murder case

They followed wrong car.
THE SHOOTING OF MARCEL FRANÇOIS

Would police shooting happen if the suspects were white?

To a racist, "all black people look the same..."
In the most terrible way that saying has come true for 24-year-old Marcel François who was shot in the head Wednesday night by a policeman who was pursuing someone else.

Mistaken identity has a pretty innocent ring to it, but when the policeman chasing François thought he was another black guy, a little mistaken identity was all it took.

Imagine the anguish of a mother who learns her son gets a bullet in the head because somebody has a hard time telling blacks apart. Imagine what the people in the car must have thought after the windows were blown out and François's body jerked back.

Think that François, a father of two, wasn't even armed.

You don't have to be young and black to get scared. Something very crazy has just happened. Undercover policemen are shadowing a burgundy Pontiac they think contains black suspects from an earlier shooting incident.

They follow it to Victoria Square when an unmarked car cuts it off. The Pontiac is surrounded by unmarked police cars and by vans from the MUC police tactical squad. Four plainclothes policemen get out of an unmarked car and approach the Pontiac. François is sitting in the passenger seat.

Could François even have known he was being approached by police?

According to witnesses, the car was cut off by an Oldsmobile and a Toyota and approached by four guys in jeans.

Police created the situation. Even if the suspects were considered armed and dangerous, why couldn't they continue to shadow the Pontiac until they could better control the situation?

If a suspect is considered dangerous why would plainclothes policemen just walk up to his car? They see his scarf, look like pulling a gun what could he do and not get shot? What if one of the other passengers had gone for their scarves?

If the suspects had been young white men, to the same thing have happened?

For François's friends and family, the horror and pain is inescapable. We'll be asked in coming days to appreciate the difficulty and danger of a police job. Police are human and make mistakes like everybody else, but they've made a very big mistake. We can assume the real suspects are still out there and the police are still looking for them. This is going to be a very strange time to be young and black in Montreal.
Troubling patterns

Is it racism or just irksome trigger fingers?

Dropped by the inquest for a while yesterday.

Doesn't really matter which inquest, does it? The

room stays the same. Only the names of the cop and

the dead men change.

This time the dead man is Jorge Alberto

Chavarría. Chavarría was shot dead by a cop last

November.

Chavarría was a real desperado. Stole a dozen eggs,

a half of bread and some cold cuts from a Prow-Sofit

office. Alberto Chavarría was all of 22. He came to

this country as a refugee from a country where brutal

death squads roam the night, killing anyone whose

political beliefs don't fit a certain mold.

Chavarría was granted refugee status. Welcome to

Canada, Jorge. You're safe now. You've made it to a

country known round the world for its tolerance, its

civilized politics, its respect for life and dignity.

Maybe Chavarría believed in that. Maybe he

thought a cop was a cop no matter where you are and

the best cop when confronted with one is to run.

We'll never know because Chavarría got drunk

and tried to walk out of a Prow-Sofit without paying

for eggs, bread and cold cuts and he found out that

freedom and tolerance in Canada is worth somewhat

less than $10, because that's what his life was worth.

For Jorge Chavarría, El Norte was more deadly

than the world he left behind. It's ironic: he could

have stayed in El Salvador and risked getting shot

by a cop but he fled to Canada — and was shot by a

cop.

Maybe he should have fled to South Los Angeles,

where life has been safer.

We can't name officer.

The cop? Well, you'll have to take it on faith that

the cop this time is not the cop who shot Marcello

Framo or the cop who shot Presley Leslie, or the

cop who shot Anthony Griffin or the cop who shot

Joe Carlos Garcia on Stanley St. three years ago.

That's because coroner Pierre Truhan issued a

public statement yesterday saying that we can't print

the name of the cop who shot Chavarría. Even

though the cop's name was in yesterday's paper,

even though his face and name were all over the six

o'clock news Tuesday night.

Nevertheless the cop who can't be named was on

the stand, giving his version of events. As always,

there's a gray area and a rationale.

But there's a problem here. Counting Armand

Fernandez who was killed by police early Monday

morning after he allegedly lunged at them with a

steak knife we have six men of Hispamc minorities

dead in a four-year period.

Three of the men were black. Three were Hispanic.
The circumstances varied but there were three

constants throughout. Cops were trying to subdue or

arrest a suspect, the suspect was a member of a

visible minority and the suspect was shot dead.

A quick review might be in order:


We have officers who say they're not racist.

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We have officers who say they're not racist.
Cartoon incites hatred for police, Brotherhood says

MUC advisory panel urges probe of François affair

MICHAEL ORSINI
THE GAZETTE 1991 JULY 12

The Montreal Urban Community Police Brotherhood is taking aim at The Gazette for an editorial-page cartoon that addressed racism in the MUC force.

"Honors propaganda" is how the union representing the MUC's 4,436 police officers described the cartoon by Terry (Alist) Mosher published Tuesday.

The cartoon depicts two smiling police officers—one a black man, the other a woman—and a man's body lying in a pool of blood.

The caption reads: "By hiring more visible minorities, Montreal's police force ... increases the chances of murdering less."

"The Brotherhood cannot tolerate the publication of images and words more deadly than a firearm, aimed at fomenting contempt and hate toward police officers," the union said in a statement yesterday.

In an apparent reference to last week's shooting of Marcel François, a 24-year-old black man police shot by mistake, the Brotherhood lamented: "The fight against crime too often creates victims of citizens and the police."

Brotherhood spokesman Pierre Leduc refused to comment further.

The Brotherhood called Mosher's behavior "100 times more irresponsible" than that of police.

Mosher, who draws for The Gazette and the Toronto Star, said provincial and municipal police forces must learn to stand up to public scrutiny if they've behaved irresponsibly.

"It is a cartoon, after all," he said.

He's taken a couple of swipes at the metropolitan Toronto police, to muted reaction, Mosher added.

"If they can't take it, they better grow up."

The MUC police announced plans in April to increase the number of recruits from ethnic and visible minorities over the next 10 years.

Of 3,170 constables on the force, 185 are from ethnic communities, 18 from visible minorities, and two are natives.

Yesterday, a panel that advises the MUC on cultural and racial issues said the shooting of François was "not a random incident but one which reveals a social problem that must be attacked."

The advisory committee on intercultural relations called for a public inquiry into the shooting. It expressed dismay at the shooting and extended support to François's family.

"We are dismayed to note that the victim is again a member of the black community of Montreal," the group said in a news release.

Francois, a father of two, was shot in the head by a SWAT team member when he was mistaken for a suspect in an attempted murder.

He remains in critical condition in Montreal General Hospital.

ADDITIONAL REPORTING BY BURT KASCHNOW OF THE GAZETTE

This editorial-page cartoon ignited outrage of MUC Police Brotherhood.
Anger greets shooting death

Black man dies in scuffle with police

SIDE COLLATERAL

BLACK MAN

A 25-year-old black man shot by Toronto police was killed in scuffle with police in "Little Havana." He was identified as George Symes of 208 Howard St., Toronto. Police said he died of his injuries at St. Joseph's Hospital. The shooting occurred in the early morning hours of Jan. 30, 1991. The man was reportedly involved in a fight with another man and was shot by police as he ran away. The police officer who shot the man was later cleared of any wrongdoing.

FLETCHER: "Our people get killed all the time, black leader says...

The community was shocked and outraged by the shooting, and protests erupted across the city. The shooting also raised questions about the use of force by police and the adequacy of training for officers.

The police department conducted an internal investigation, but no charges were filed. The man's family and supporters called for a thorough investigation and the release of any available evidence.

The shooting was one of many incidents of police brutality that have occurred in Toronto over the years, sparking ongoing debates about race relations and the role of law enforcement in the community.

In the aftermath, the police department implemented new policies and procedures to address the issue of police misconduct. However, many in the community remained skeptical, and the issue of police accountability continues to be a source of tension.

Source: The Gazette, November 18, 1991, p. 80
Montreal lawyer Jack Wassman said yesterday that he had identified the Batman half of the team to him in court. But the name Wassman gave didn’t match either of the two mentioned by Kennedy.

Several people in the black community, none of whom wanted to be named, suggested other identities for Batman and Robin.

But Jean-Rene Tremblay, Station 24 director, said yesterday: “Batman and Robin simply don’t exist.”

“I’ve been hearing about them for more than a year now,” he said.

While the decimated Batman and Robin team may be a figment of collective imagination, Wassman said the fear local blacks have of police harassment is real.

He said reports of frequent harassment by police are common. Last January, Tommy Kane, a professional football player from Little Burgundy who plays in the United States with the National Football League’s Seattle Seahawks, said he had been harassed.

“They are using a provision of the Highway Code to stop and search vehicles and people for drugs,” Wassman said.

Accusations of police harassment of blacks in the city have been made for years. Oil was thrown on the fire in July when police mistook a black man by the name of Marcello Francois for an attempted murder suspect and shot Francois dead.

Street talk put Batman and Robin at the scene, and there is talk that rogue cops had a band in Sept. 2 slaying of Kirk Haywood, the man MUC police were hunting when they shot Francois.

Haywood’s killing remains unsolved.

Tremblay said anyone who feels he was wronged by his men can file a complaint with the police ethics commission.

“If someone comes in to complain we take his name and address and forward it to internal affairs,” he said.

And we’re not allowed to ask the nature of the complaint. We simply give the complainant a letter with the commissioner’s address. Tremblay said he has no way of knowing who laid the complaint or the color of the complainant’s skin.

But he said not many people come to the St. Paul St. station to lodge a grievance.

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**Police ordered to probe conduct of 3 officers**

The Montreal Urban Community police force has been ordered to investigate the conduct of three officers following complaints of harassment from blacks in Little Burgundy, it was reported today.

Yesterday’s La Presse highlighted complaints from black leaders about the policing methods of Lieut. Paul Deslauriers and two other officers at Station 24.

Yesterday, Michel Hamelin, chairman of the MUC’s executive committee, ordered police Chief Alan St Germain to conduct an internal investigation into the three men.

Dan Philip, head of the Black Coalition of Quebec greeted the news with enthusiasm. “I’m very happy because at least we are going to get some movement on this issue,” Philip said. “There are black leaders who are not providing a voice to the black community, and they have to see that they are being listened to.”

Philip said the two other officers being investigated are “Batman and Robin” — a nickname given to them to have harassed several blacks in the area.

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**Montreal Gazette: 11-12-06  PA3**
How and why Marcelus François died remains a mystery

JAMES MERRIWEATHER

In Quebec, it was a sad moment. The death of Marcelus François, a police officer, was the latest in a string of tragic events that have shaken the province. François, who was shot in the head, was a widower with two children. The police community is in mourning, and the investigation into his death is ongoing.

Local media reported that François was on duty at the time of the shooting, which occurred at a busy intersection in the city. Witnesses described seeing a large crowd of police officers surrounding the scene, and rescue personnel were quickly on the scene.

François had been a police officer for 15 years and was known for his professionalism and dedication to his job. His colleagues spoke highly of him and praised his work in community policing.

The shooting has sparked a renewed focus on police safety and the need for better training and resources for officers. The police union has called for increased funding for mental health services and support for officers suffering from trauma.

The investigation is expected to take several weeks, and the police department is coordinating with local and federal agencies to ensure a thorough and transparent process.

In the meantime, the community is coming together to support the François family and the broader police community.
Identity Revealed
Little Burgundy residents finally come forward to express their fear of Batman and Robin

Residents of Little Burgundy have finally come forward to identify two cops who called themselves Batman and Robin. They say the two have been harassing blacks in the area, and were at the scene where a black youth was said to have shot himself.

"The existence of Batman and Robin is not a myth. People have been afraid to come forward, but we convinced them that it was necessary. We now have confirmation of who these policemen are," says Dan Phillip, head of the Black Coalition of Quebec.

He named officer Gilbert Gouvreau as Batman, and officer Richard Froehmer as Robin, both of Station 24. He wants Michel Hamelin, president of the Montreal Urban Community to order an investigation into the conduct of the two officers and Lil Pablo Palacios,

who is under investigation on charges of improper conduct.

"They have the names now and they should carry out a broad inquiry into their conduct, including that of Lil Palacios. In the meantime, we want Hamelin to transfer these three officers out of the district," says Phillip.

MUC police investigated Palacios this summer, and concluded that complaints against him were unfounded. Last week, the department reopened the investigation after allegations made by Carol Williams at a coroner's inquest into the death of Marcelus Francois. Lil Palacios is alleged to have offered her freebase cocaine in exchange for Kirt Haywood's whereabouts. One of the charges Palacios faces is that of "kicking blacks in the head."

Williams is the mother of Haywood's two children, and was

a passenger in the car with Francois, when he was mistaken for Haywood and shot by a police SWAT team in July.

Phillip met with about 60 area residents and convinced them to lodge complaints with the coalition. He received three complaints involving Froehmer and Gouvreau. He hopes to convince Quebec's public security minister Claude Ryan to open an inquiry into the harassment of blacks in Little Burgundy, including the death of a black man. Osmond Fletcher died in a scuffle with MUC cops at the corner of St. Jacques and George V on November 4th. The Sûreté du Quebec which conducted an inquiry into his death concluded Fletcher shot himself in the head. SQ spokes-
person Michel Brunet says they suspect foul play, but refused to give out the name of the officers involved in the incident. A coroner's preliminary report concluded that he died as a result of a gunshot wound to the right temporal bone, the base of the skull behind the ear.

"When I got to the scene, he [Fletcher] was already dead, but I saw Batman and Robin standing there," says Mike Smith, a Little Burgundy resident. "Batman's cruiser was parked on George Vanier and Queen, and Pablo Palacios' van was nearby," he says.

"When they stop you, they hide their badge and say, 'I'm Batman and this is my partner Robin,' and laugh," says Smith. "There are so many incidents, but people don't want to come forward." He says the two cops have been lying low since Fletcher's death, and also because the "media is talking about them."

Several witnesses at the scene of the Fletcher shooting say he was "blown off" by the police because the talk was too much. Others say the police picked him up a week before his death and told him to "shut up or we'll come and finish you off."

Fletcher's lawyer Theresa Kennedy, who defended him during his immigration hearing, wants a public inquiry. She says it would have been impossible for her left-handed client to shoot himself on the right side of his head. "There are just too many inconsistencies," she says.

Kennedy says Fletcher's death is even more mysterious because he used to supply drugs to Haywood, who was found dead in Pointe Claire on September 2nd 1991. Phillip is suspicious about the fact that nothing has turned up in the police investigation into Haywood's death.

"It is the 'rogue police' who are responsible for Kirt's death, that causes a lot of fear, and it leaves a bitter taste in mouths of the people in the community," says Phillip.
APPENDIX C

I

Item 1

Responsible: MTL
Information Type: DRN
Information Level: I
Aired/Non-Aired: AP
Program Title: NEWSWATCH
Show Brd. Date: 21 JAN 92: 920121
Show Brd. Time: 18:00
Show Brd. Day of Week: TUESDAY:
Show/Prg. Announcers: TRudeau DENNIS;
Title: BLACK AND BLUE;
Dateline: LITTLE BURGUNDY;
Synopsis: A FEATURE PROFILE ON MUC POLICE LIEUTENANT, PABLO PALACIOS WHO IS IN CHARGE OF THE LITTLE BURGUNDY NEIGHBORHOOD. HE IS ACCUSED OF THREATENING PEOPLE, PROFITING FROM THE CRACK COCAINE TRADE AND OTHER THINGS.

Subj. Head.: NARCOTICS; POLICE MUC; LAW ENFORCEMENT;
Organizations: COMMUNITY BLACK;
Reporters: CARVALHO PAUL;
Producers: CAMPBELL JENNIFER;
Shotlist: */var/Pablo Palacios (MUC Lieutenant) knocking on a resident in Little Burgundy's home
*/var/Palacios inside the house of Mr Forbes, who's lying on on the floor SOT
*/ms/Orin Bristol (AKAX) Palacios has come to represent the policeman who is a strong arm like Dity Harry...
*/var/Palacios in a woman's kitchen talking about crack SOT between the two of them
*/ms/John Dalzell (MUC Police) SOT Pablo worked narcotics, double agent, electronic surveillance...he's developed investigative skills
*/ms/Palacios SOT people are fighting for ground...freebasing happened in the basement
*/var/boarded up crack houses seen from police car
*/ms/Pierre Rodier (Resident) SOT there was drugs and prostitution...when Palacios took charge this ended
*/stox/July 1990 TVA woman saying she does not deal in drugs
*/ms/Osmond Fletcher (Dead Drug Dealer) SOT everybody got busted except Kurt...
*/ms/photo of Kirk Haywood
*/ms/Palacios SOT we would arrest anyone who walked out of this building...
*/ms/David Forbes SOT this guy is looking to clean up crack houses yet his buddy is a crack dealer...
*/ms/Osmond Fletcher SOT Kirk comes out fires

124
shots...he is talking with police...he aims gun to them...
*/var/sewn of highway from windshield
*/su/Carvalho
*/var/kitchen in abandoned building
*/ms/Dalzell SOT I'm sure Haywood wasn't too shit happy about his mother and wife being arrested..
*/su/Carvalho
*/var/still photos of site of Marcellus Francois shooting last summer
*/ms/Fletcher SOT
*/stox/July 1991 black protest in downtown Montreal
*/ms/Forbes SOT
*/stox/September 1991 Haywood dead, under a blanket
*/var/Palacios in an elderly black man's apartment
*/ms/Fletcher SOT
*/stox/November 1991, Fletcher dead
*/stox/funeral
*/ms/Leith Hamilton (Black Community Council) SOT Palacios is connected...a good inquiry is needed
*/ms/Rap Poem SOT
*/ms/2. Part two of report, Judy Alleynne SOT Pablo just walked into my home...
*/var/Palacios and partner checking ever room of apartment, Palacios SOT Where's Ron?
*/ms/John Dalzell SOT
*/stox/Leith Hamilton at Palais de Justice
*/ms/Hamilton SOT
*/ms/Palacios SOT
*/var/Palacios questioning someone in the dark
*/ms/Hamilton SOT
*/var/Forbes standing by a door SOT
*/var/men in handcuffs taken away by police
*/ms/Rodier SOT this is a war..
*/ms/Faith Fraser SOT they had no choice but to clean up the area...
*/ms/apartment building, Palacios SOT
*/ms/Hamilton SOT
*/su/Carvalho
*/ms/Bristol (AKAX) SOT...whether he abuses us or others...get him into jail
*/ms/Rodier SOT
*/var/Palacios climbing apartment staircase
24:00;
*/EP/NEP-1667/10:00:00/MTL/MT/PART 1-Z SUPERED - CA/CBC
*/EP/NEP-1614/10:00:00/MTL/ST/PART I NO SUPERRS - CA/CBC
*/EP/NEP-1610/10:00:00/MTL/ST/PART II NO SUPERRS - CA/CBC

Record Status:
V/920122/SILVIA; V/920124/JIM;
920125
930601
13602

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May 9/62

I think they created a situation here where a lot of people are very angry and upset for no reason at all. It was not a normal day until they closed the metro.

One thing I just don't understand how they can block a metro in one day and it takes them 3 or 4 months to find it somebody's racist.

We were only building to a flash point until reporters warned police they were creating a potentially explosive situation. The metro reopened after being closed for 5 minutes.

The rally grew to about fifty people not counting those disabling trains with thrown in windows. Whether Mr. Brainard has lived 20 years in Little Burgundy or not, he's not telling what's going on in the black community.

There was a meeting whenever Mr. Brainard wants to speak to the negroes. You have 2 old leaders attending instead of 2, or 4. This speaks for itself. We do not feel appointed by the people and people who are involved in the community.

In addition, the older members feel the young men are hoodlums and they do not want any part of them and the younger members feel that the so called leaders appointed by them are hoodlums.

One of Mr. Brainard's young organizers of the rally privately described this as a blind panic and equally as ineffective.

But in truth, in Little Burgundy there are a wide variety of strategies and it is time that we tell the older that if they don't show some serious leadership it is up to the younger generation to act instead of a street party out of 2 or 4.

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