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The Changing Spaces of Racialized Contestation in Brampton, Ontario; A Multimedia Analysis

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts degree in Geography

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Abstract

Demographic changes, most notably changes in ethnic composition, can have major implications for the successful functioning of a community. Brampton, Ontario, is an example of one of these changing communities. Using two media sources: one traditional—the local newspaper—and the other emergent—online news—this thesis answers several key questions: is demographic change from a predominantly European-descent population in 1991 to today’s majority ‘visible minority’ population related to changes in the manifestations of racialized incidents in Brampton as reported in *The Brampton Guardian*? Has the emergence of online news impacted the geographic scope and nature of racialized incidents?

Content analysis of one-hundred and twenty-two articles collected from *The Brampton Guardian* from 1991 to 2016 evidences substantial changes in the types of racialized incidents and the spaces in which they manifest in the community. Analysis of the top fifty comments from three distinct online news sites surrounding a viral, racialized incident in Brampton from 2017 demonstrates that online discourse is less geographically circumscribed, less censored and more politically-charged, than discourse in print media.

Keywords

Anti-racism, cultural conflict, cultural racism, print news, online racism, superdiversity

Dedication

To my family, including my parents back home, my two brothers and my wonderful aunts and uncles here in London, it was their unwavering support that helped me through a taxing but rewarding academic career. I am proud to uphold the accepting, inclusive and tolerant principles they instilled in me with this thesis.

To all my friends, from my childhood and lifelong friends in Brampton to the wonderful people I met here at Western, you have all played an integral role by helping me survive, and sometimes escape, the rigours of academic work.

And to the late Ralf Jarchow, who dedicated his life to improving his community, Brampton.

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I would also like to thank Dr. Teresa Abada for the enthusiasm, support and expertise she has offered towards this project. The discussion in her migration seminar course and the knowledge I gained from it was unmatched, I remember always looking forward to the lucrative and rewarding three-hour discussions our small group would have every Wednesday morning. Her passion for migration and integration studies, in many ways, inspired and motivated my pursuit of this project.

I would also like to thank the Brampton Public Library and all the librarians who helped me through the tedious and outdated process of collecting microfilm. My dataset would be non-existent without their assistance.

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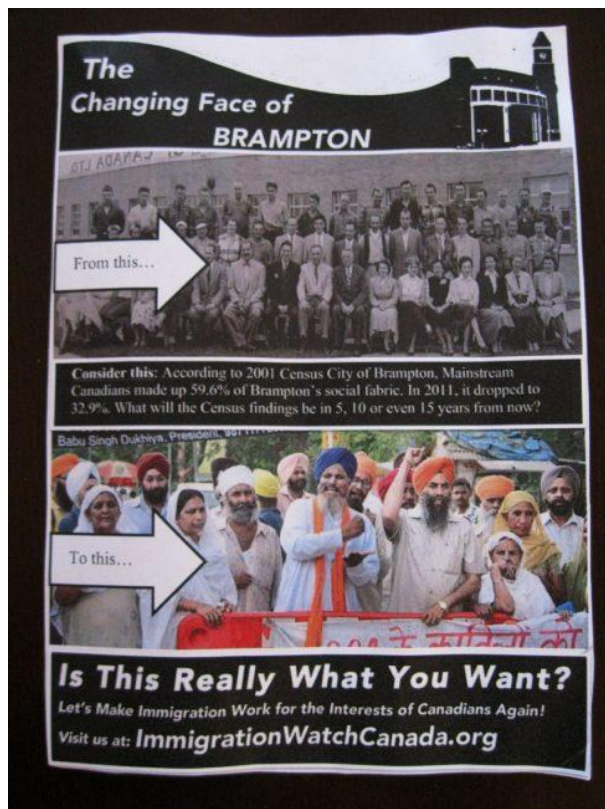
1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Community Profile and Context

In April of 2014, countless anti-immigration flyers were distributed throughout the suburban community of Brampton, Ontario. The flyers were titled, ‘The Changing Face of Brampton’, and warned residents that “mainstream” Canadian’s share of Brampton’s social fabric was rapidly decreasing, as they only made up thirty-three percent of the city’s population in 2011, compared to sixty percent in 2001 (Brampton Guardian, 2014). The flyer juxtaposed a photograph of formally dressed Euro-Canadian, white men with a photograph of protesting Sikhs to monger fear over what a visible-minority, more specifically South Asian, influx means for the city (Brampton Guardian, 2014).

Figure 1.1

Immigration Watch 2014 Flyer (Corbeil, 2014)



The flyer was undoubtedly hateful and racist, it was also a response to a rapidly changing community, evidencing the racist and xenophobic discourses that can emerge in rapidly changing, diverse, multicultural contexts. Additionally, the flyer's insinuation of white-Europeans' indigeneity to Brampton disregards a long history of settler-colonialism and asserts a harmful narrative of white entitlement to the territory. Although Canada has adopted official multiculturalism policies that have removed the entrenchment of racism into government programs and institutions, cultural conflict and racism continue to manifest in communities across the country. As immigration to Canada continues to rise, Canadian communities will be playing an increasingly key role in hosting migrants. Demographic changes, most notably changes in ethnic composition, can have major implications for the successful functioning of a community. Brampton, Ontario, is an example of one of these changing communities that has, unfortunately, a history of cultural conflict and racism, making it a site worthy of academic attention.

Brampton has gone through major demographic change, making it one of the largest immigrant diasporas in Canada and one of the largest South Asian diasporas in the world. As of the 2016 census, sixteen percent of Canada's, and twenty-seven percent of the Greater Toronto Area's South Asian population, lives in Brampton. Additionally, seven percent of Canada's, and nineteen percent of the Greater Toronto Area's Black population lives in Brampton. This city is one of three municipalities in Peel Region, along with the vast rural community of Caledon and the larger city of Mississauga. Brampton is located directly northwest of Toronto, it is bordered by Caledon to the north, Halton Region to the West, the suburb of Vaughn to the east and Mississauga to the south.

Figure 1.2
Brampton and the Greater Toronto Area



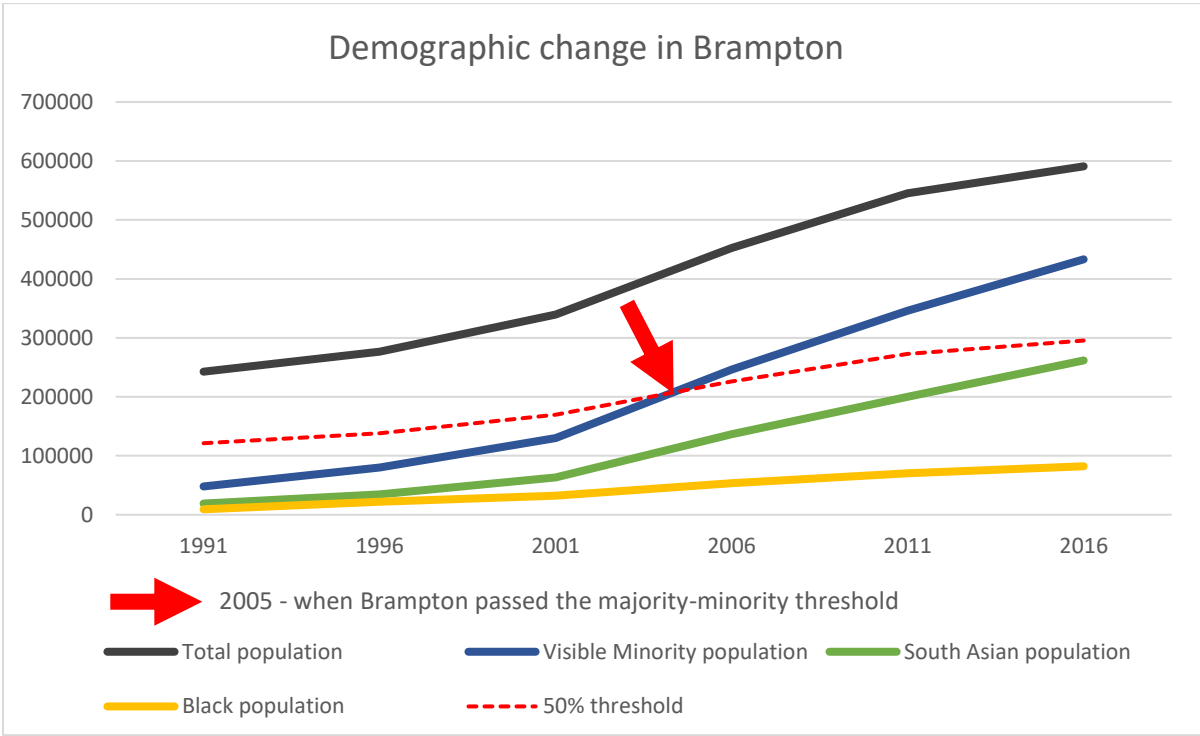
(City of Brampton, 2017).

Although it is just a suburban community often overshadowed by diversity in Toronto, empirically, Brampton has been, and remains to be, an essential community for hosting immigrants and racialized minorities in Canada. Although a significant host community, that should provide insight into questions of diversity, inclusivity, cultural conflict and racism, Brampton has received minimal academic attention, hence this study.

Brampton is one of the most diverse communities in Canada, and just one of the few communities that currently has a majority visible-minority population. Although currently

diverse and multicultural, Brampton was not always that way, as it has undergone major demographic change since 1991. Brampton’s immigrant and racialized groups have grown so rapidly that more than half of the city’s population is composed of visible minorities. In just twenty-five years, Brampton’s demographic makeup went from over eighty-percent Euro-Canadian to over seventy-percent visible minority (Statistics Canada 1993; 2018). The empirical extent of demographic change in Brampton can be seen below (Table 1.1).

Table 1.1
Changes to Brampton’s population and ethnic composition



(Statistics Canada, 1993; 1998; 2003; 2008; 2013; 2018)

The constant immigration, rapid demographic change and increasing racialized minority population in Brampton make it an appropriate location to study manifestations of racism and cultural conflict.

1.2 Research Problem, Questions and Objectives

Significant changes to the size and ethnic composition of a community, like the ones seen in Brampton, come with many consequences regarding the functioning of the community, more specifically regarding relations between and amongst the host and incoming groups. Conflict and tensions are likely to manifest in communities in which rapid demographic transition has occurred. As newcomers migrate and settle into host communities, debate, negotiation and dispute will occur before the community is made inclusive and newcomers are deemed to be successfully integrated. Integration impacts the incoming and host communities drastically, adjustments must be made to the incoming groups culture and lifestyle to integrate into the community just as adjustments must be made to the host community if they are to successfully host the incoming groups (Gordon, 1964). It is the extent of these changes that are negotiated and contested as community's transition demographically. The inevitable debate and negotiation can manifest in countless ways, from legislative changes, to workplace conflict, to racialized violence. It is the task of host societies to ensure the debate and negotiation that occurs is as peaceful and equitable as possible.

Brampton and many other Canadian communities continue to grow with major alterations to their ethnic composition; therefore, the impacts of these changes are essential to investigate. This study will investigate the impacts of the demographic change in Brampton by documenting the cultural conflict and tensions that have arisen while the community has transitioned from a mostly European-descent to visible minority population. More specifically, the cultural conflict and racialized contestation that occurs as a result of these demographic changes will be investigated. For this study, the term *racialized incident* will be used to refer to issues and incidents of cultural conflict, racially motivated occurrences and debates around issues of race,

as reported in *The Brampton Guardian*. To investigate the impacts of rapid demographic change on racialized incidents in the community, the following two research questions and four objectives guide this study:

1) Has change in the manifestation of racialized incidents been concurrent with demographic change in Brampton, from a predominantly European-descent population to a predominantly visible-minority population, as reported in The Brampton Guardian?

Specifically:

i. What is the character and nature of the incidents?

ii. Where are the incidents occurring?

2) Has the emergence of online news impacted the reporting and manifestation of racialized incidents in Brampton? And if so, how so?

Pursuing these two research questions will also fulfill several objectives.

i. Investigate and document the processes and paths of integration to enhance theoretical and empirical understandings of assimilation in ethnoburbs, suburban areas with high ethnic residential and commercial concentration, and superdiverse contexts, locales in which more than half the population is composed of visible minorities (Crul, 2016; Wang and Zhong, 2013).

ii. Respond to calls in geographic literature to probe the qualitative aspects of living and negotiating difference across several locales to enhance understanding of the spatiality of racial hierarchies of power and contemporary experiences of inequality amid diversity (Ray and Preston, 2015, p. 1519).

- iii. Investigate and document how modern digital technologies, most notably the internet and social media, can be sites of cultural production, and how these sites differ from traditional media sources (Rose, 2016). More specifically, how online news sites interpret their audiences and construct their geographies (Gasher and Klein, 2008).*
- iv. Develop place specific understandings of manifestations of racism to develop locally-sensitive anti-racism strategies and policies (Nelson and Dunn, 2017).*

These research questions and objectives were formulated through a review of past literature in relevant fields and other sources that have empirically documented the salience of racialized issues in Brampton. To successfully answer these questions and fulfill the objectives, an analysis at one point in time would not suffice. Historical data documenting racialized incidents from when Brampton's population was predominantly European-descent to recent years was required. Similarly, the appropriate data sources needed to be analyzed in a manner that would be suitable to the research questions. The reviewed literature, data sources, data analysis and answers to the research questions will all be addressed in separate chapters of this thesis.

1.3 Chapter Outlines

This thesis contains five chapters, **Chapter 2** discusses the literature that was reviewed for the purposes of this study. Chapter 2 is divided into several sections, each section highlights relevant literature, theory and findings in a certain field. The first section highlights theoretical and empirical understandings of assimilation and integration in the field of sociology. The dominant theories of classical and segmented assimilation are addressed followed by a discussion of new directions for the field, most notably a need to enhance understandings of integration into unique but increasingly prevalent ethnoburbs or superdiverse communities, like Brampton. Next, the

geographic framework of race and racism is addressed. The third section of this chapter documents what is known about the geography of race and racism in the Canadian context. Existing geographic understandings of the media, including the print and online news are outlined. In addition, literature regarding the emergence of the internet and its impacts on manifestations of racism is discussed. The chapter concludes by situating this study, explaining how it will fit into and contribute to existing academic work.

Chapter 3 addresses the research methods used for this study. The data sources used for this study were *The Brampton Guardian*--the local print newspaper--and three distinct online news sites covering a viral racialized incident in Brampton: *Brampton Focus*, *Now This* and *Rebel Media*. These are discussed along with the reasons they were chosen for this study. Since the data collection and analysis were conducted on two distinct mediums, the print news and online news, the methods chapter is divided into two main sections. The first section discusses the methods of collection and analysis for the print news, including how each news article was identified, located, organized and coded. The second section discusses how the incident and subsequent online news reports and comments on the three sites were identified, collected and coded. Many of the methods used for this study were adapted from previous studies to suit the research questions and contribute to gaps in the literature as effectively as possible.

The results are highlighted in **Chapter 4**. Like the methods chapter, the findings from the print news analysis are highlighted in the first section of Chapter 4, followed by the findings from the online news analysis in the second section. Multiple tables and figures are used to illustrate the key findings from the print news, most notably how the nature, character and geography of racialized incidents have changed in concurrence with demographic change. Tables

are also used to illustrate the key findings from the online news, to highlight the unique discourse that emerges online along with the unique geographic characteristics of online news reporting.

Chapter 5 will conclude the thesis with discussions of the findings and the conclusions that can be drawn from this study. It explicitly answers the research questions and responds to the objectives of the study. The results from the analysis are connected to previous theories and findings in the literature to make meaning of what was found in this study. Similarly, my work is highlighted to demonstrate how and where this study contributes to literature and policy. Lastly, the limitations of the research approach will be addressed and questions for future research are outlined to ensure this work can be applied and improved on in future studies.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

My study investigates discourse in multiple geographic spheres, specifically print and online news media, to enhance our understanding of the role of place and space in the formation, reproduction and resistance of racism. To do so, literature from multiple fields was consulted to frame my research within geography and the social sciences more broadly. Reviewing key pieces on the theories of integration, race and racism, racialization in Canada, the geography of the news and internet along with literature about online racism was very informative in terms of uncovering the epistemologies and methodologies that will be useful for my research.

I begin below by examining the works of sociologists about immigrant integration and assimilation to add to our understanding of how immigrants and minority groups integrate into host societies with my study on Brampton, Ontario. Next, several key theories and concepts from geographic literature on race and racism will be summarized in order to highlight the spatial dimensions of racism and illustrate the role space and place play in producing, perpetuating and resisting racialization and racial inequities. Similarly, the works of geographers who studied the processes of racialization and racism in the Canadian context are reviewed because they have identified key sites of contestation for racialized groups in Canada, providing essential background knowledge for a study on the spatial extent of racism in a Canadian community. The main theories and works within the sub-field of news geography are then reviewed to inform my geographic perspective of the news, which is my primary source of data used in this study. In addition, the salience of online racism (Daniels, 2013; Hughey and Daniels, 2013) made it necessary to consult the work of internet geographers to understand how they conceptualize the internet as a social space and to contextualize my own study of it. Seeing that racism is so prevalent in cyberspace, I also consulted the works of psychologists, sociologists and other

academics to understand the how the unique geography of the internet has helped give rise to compelling but dangerous manifestations of racism. It has been acknowledged that the online world can be a new site of cultural production, but the ways in which this emergent geography can perpetuate and resist racist discourse, as compared to traditional medium, require further examination (Hughes and Daniels, 2013; Rose, 2016). Moreover, by mapping the spatial references in both mediums—newsprint and the internet--my study will offer a novel inquiry into the geographic extent of racialized discourse about Brampton, Ontario, and the role space and place play in perpetuating and challenging such discourse.

2.1 Integration Theory: Assimilation, Ethnoburbs and Superdiversity

One of the main objectives of my study is to identify how communities can be made more inclusive by understanding the role space and place play in reproducing and resisting racism; therefore, it is imperative to examine the ways in which academics measure and understand integration into Canadian communities. Although this study aims to primarily answer geographic questions, sociological literature on immigrant experiences and integration is both an inspiration for, and a theoretical basis of, this study. As noted by Ager and Strang (2008), successful integration can be defined by one's outcomes in four main areas:

achievement and access across the sectors of employment, housing, education and health; assumptions and practice regarding citizenship and rights; processes of social connection within and between groups within the community; and structural barriers to such connection related to language, culture and the local environment. (p. 166)

Ager and Strang develop one of the many conceptualizations of integration while debate within sociology and academia more broadly on this term continues. The theory around integration continues to evolve as our communities diversify ethnically and change economically, politically and socially. Sociologists have not only contended over different models of assimilation but also

over the applicability and legitimacy of assimilation theory in general. In this section, two prominent assimilation theories, *straight-line* and *segmented assimilation*, as laid out in sociological literature (Alba and Nee, 1997; Portes and Zhou, 1993), will be addressed. These theories are crucial to understanding the immigrant experience and are especially relevant in a longitudinal study such as mine. A discussion of *ethnoburbs* and *superdiversity*, and the role they play in integration will follow, because as will be shown, the study site of Brampton, Ontario, has many qualities of a superdiverse ethnoburb, and it is necessary to acknowledge this context as such.

2.1.1 Assimilation Theories

What is perhaps the most fundamental framework surrounding immigrants' and minority groups' integration into a host society are the concepts of *acculturation* and *assimilation*. Milton Gordon (1964), acculturation and assimilation's principal thinker, theorizing in a western, North-American context, asserted that *acculturation* was the first phase in an ethnic groups integration into a host society. As laid out by Alba and Nee (1997), acculturation would involve learning the host society's language and peripheral adjustments to the incoming groups culture, such as minor adaptations to dress, food, recreation along with other areas. Acculturation would exist following arrival but no longer exist after incoming groups would penetrate the institutions and economic, political and social spaces of the host society. *Structural assimilation* would follow acculturation and it is a more complete process of integration (Alba and Nee, 1997; Gordon, 1964). Once immigrant groups gain entrance into the economic, political and social circles of the "core" culture they are said to have been structurally assimilated (Alba and Nee, 1997). The dominant white, European, Christian, English speaking descendants would be the "core" culture in the North American context (Alba and Nee, 1997; Gordon, 1964). Similarly, assimilation involves

more than just a sharing of geography but a greater loss of cultural traits for minority groups and further adoption of the core culture's ways of life (Alba and Nee, 1997; Gordon, 1964). After immigrants and minority groups have integrated into the structures and institutions of the host society, all other forms of integration would ensue (Alba and Nee, 1997; Gordon, 1964).

Acculturation and assimilation are two key concepts that continue to be used in integration research as they can tell researchers a great deal about the inclusion and well-being of immigrant and minority groups in host societies.

Gordon's model laid out different degrees and phases of assimilation and raises several key questions but fails to consider several important factors that could debunk the applicability and consistency of his theory. As laid out by Alba and Nee (1997), *Straight-line assimilation* was a more-dynamic understanding of integration, building off Gordon's conceptualization. Straight-line assimilation asserts that the degree of assimilation progresses as each new generation adjusts to the host society better than the previous one and that upward social mobility will occur (Gans, 1973; Sandberg, 1973). Immigrants would become increasingly integrated economically, politically and socially as the time of exposure to the host-country increases, each new generation should be more assimilated than the previous one under this theory (Alba and Nee, 1997). Straight-line assimilation is a clear theoretical progression from the binary conceptualization of acculturation and assimilation as it illustrates a class-based progression from generation to generation.

Class, which is typically measured using socio-economic status, includes one's income, assets and family status (Scott and Marshall, 2009). Socio-economic status is dictated by many factors, most notably human capital which includes education and qualifications, and social capital, which includes one's interpersonal and community networks (Scott and Marshall, 2009). Under

straight-line assimilation, class was assumed to be positively correlated with the amount of exposure immigrants have to the host-country, although this is often not the case. Generational progression can be seen for immigrant and minority groups but integration into host societies is not always this straight forward. There are many barriers and factors that can hinder successful integration into host societies, these factors are especially salient for those who are visibly different. These many impediments that exist for minority groups have been acknowledged by contemporary scholars and lead them to develop the concept of *segmented assimilation*.

Segmented assimilation theory contends that although assimilation can be a straight-line progression of integration over generations, there are also many other directions assimilation can go, including socio-economic regression or stasis over generations (Portes and Zhou, 1993). The salience of remittances and transnational relationships among first-generation immigrants, language barriers, discrimination and institutional racism are a few of the factors, among others, that can cause recent generations to be worse off than previous ones in the host society (Portes and Zhou, 1993). Recognition of these social factors is essential for fostering successful integration as it places the burden on host societies to make amends rather than the onus solely being on immigrants to assimilate. Segmented assimilation captures the immigrant and minority experience much better than previous assimilation theories and is commonly used in integration studies to this day. Assimilation can occur in many different directions and in many different spaces and places, the incorporation of segmented assimilation into my analysis and discussion will be useful for contextualizing my data and understanding my findings.

2.1.2 The Role of Ethnoburbs and Superdiversity in Integration

Outcomes of immigrant groups are not just determined by age, class, ethnicity and gender, but also geography, where immigrants live and work can determine their well-being in the host

society. Geographic areas with high ethnic concentration are referred to as *ethnic enclaves* and are a major area of study for sociologists and geographers alike because they have major implications for the integration of immigrants and the functioning of the broader society (Li, 1998). Enclaves include high levels of economic and social activity for that ethnic group and are often mistakenly reputed as ghettos, although that is not always the case as settlement in enclaves can be voluntary or involuntary depending on the context (Qadeer, 2004). Similar to but distinct from ethnic enclaves, are ethnic suburbs, or *ethnoburbs* for short. Ethnoburbs by Li's (1998) definition are suburban clusters of ethnic residential areas and businesses in large metropolitan areas and are typically more ethnically diverse than enclaves and lack identifiable boundaries. They also differ from ethnic enclaves as they are not associated with high degrees of poverty and involuntary segregation (Li, 1998). Suburbs have transitioned from homogenous landscapes to highly diverse ones, ethnoburbs clearly exist as geographic spheres in the North American metropolitan areas (Wang and Zhong, 2013). In their study attempting to operationalize ethnoburbs, Wang and Zhong (2013) asserted that a district's visible minority percentage must be fifty or above to be considered an ethnoburb. They also stressed the importance of ethnoburbs and noted that they "provide a social context for significant changes not only in the social and cultural realms but also in the economic and political landscapes" (Wang and Zhong, 2013; p. 29). Although ethnoburbs can provide the opportunities and tools essential for successful integration, there is still data that suggests ethnic concentration can impede economic and social integration, even in the suburbs (Wang and Zhong, 2013). If the existence and intensity of ethnoburbs continue to increase, ethnic relations within them must be examined and understood to foster inclusive and equitable communities.

With immigration to western countries intensifying and changing to target more middle and upper-class economic migrants in recent years, the ethnic makeup of many cities has dramatically changed. In several cities, white, Christian, European people have been the majority group since their colonization of North America, but in many cases, they are no longer a majority, and the visible minorities have become the majority (Crul, 2016). ‘Majority-minority’ cities have altered the process of assimilation, as newcomers are no longer integrating into the majority group but rather into a group of intermingled cultures. The term *super-diversity* was coined by Steve Vertovec (2007, p. 1024) in reference to the increasing diversity in Western European cities, both in terms of size and variety of visible minority groups. Crul (2016) argues that in super-diverse cities, traditional understandings of assimilation are inadequate, as newcomers and their children are not necessarily assimilating into the mainstream, majority group but rather into a combination of minority, ethnic groups. Superdiversity asserts that there is not only a diversification of ethnic groups but diversification within ethnic groups because they are so large (Crul, 2016). Crul demands that new understandings of integration and assimilation must be used and developed when studying cities with superdiversity (Crul, 2016). Seeing that Brampton is a majority-minority city, I plan to keep Crul’s suggestions in mind and further contribute to understandings of integration and assimilation in the context of superdiversity.

2.1.3 The Importance of Integration Theory

The reviewed literature has shown that scholars have yet to agree on a theory regarding integration. Sociology has shown clear progression in assimilation theory, beginning with the basic ideas of acculturation and structural assimilation, moving on to intergenerational conceptualizations of integration such as straight-line assimilation (Gordon, 1994; Alba and Nee,

1997). As the field progressed, factors such as geography, social and human capital were considered when trying to understand integration (Alba and Nee, 1997). Segmented assimilation is the more contemporary and cerebral understanding of integration as it contends recent generations can experience social mobility in many directions rather than assuming upward mobility is inevitable (Portes and Zhou, 1993). Academia must continue to approach questions of integration with a variety of methods in a variety of locales to better understand how different individuals and groups adjust, experience and assimilate to life in new places. Moreover, ethnoburbs are a clearly identifiable phenomenon with major implications for successful integration, therefore activities occurring there must continue to be examined and analyzed. Similarly, super-diverse cities are challenging traditional conceptualizations of integration and assimilation and need to be examined further. Questions of integration and assimilation are typically answered in sociological terms, empirically measuring integration through health and socioeconomic outcomes.

My study will address many of the same questions but from a different perspective. A geographical perspective on integration will examine the role of space and place play in integration, documenting the sites of struggle for immigrants and racialized minorities along the path to integration in the host society. Sociological literature provides the appropriate background knowledge for a study on the spaces and places of racism in an ethnoburb and allows for a nuanced understanding of integration when accompanied with geographic understandings of the spaces and places of race and racism. These aforementioned geographic conceptualizations will be discussed in the two sections immediately below.

2.2 The Geographic Framework of Race and Racism

Throughout history, the concept of ‘race’ has been very powerful and oppressive in regard to constructing identity and difference amongst the world’s populations. Race, as defined in *The Dictionary of Human Geography* (Gregory, 2012, p.615), “is a historical means of social classification that attempts to essentialize political and cultural differences by linking social practices to innate immutable characteristics”. Similarly, racism is the act that links certain behaviors and social characteristics to a ‘race’ and can often involve prejudice, discrimination and unequal treatment directed at people because of their ‘race’, including the belief that some ‘races’ are superior to others (Gregory, 2012). Therefore, racism is a fact whereas ‘race’ is a social construction (Gregory, 2012). Racism has major implications for the functioning of society, it can be constructed, perpetuated and resisted through, in and over space. Space is very crucial to shaping race and racism, therefore geographers are very well suited to engage the concepts.

Audrey Kobayashi and Peter Jackson, two prominent anti-racism geographers, have critically engaged and challenged the concept of race within geography, academia and society at large (Jackson, 1987; Kobayashi, 2007). Not only do they offer a nuanced understanding of race and racism that is useful for this study, they look critically into the geographic dimensions of these oppressive phenomena. Additionally, they make meaningful recommendations regarding how geographers can continue to enhance the study of race and racism in the future. Although these geographers operate in different locales, there are many reoccurring themes amongst their works on race. Kobayashi and Jackson highlight three main themes in their works on Race and Geography, the lack of equitable race research within the discipline (Jackson, 1987; Kobayashi, 2007); the biological fallacy of race (Jackson, 1989; Kobayashi, 2007); and the use of space to

reproduce and resist racism (Jackson, 1987; Kobayashi, 2014). All these themes and their importance to understanding the field of The Geographies of Race will be discussed to identify what my study builds upon and where it is situated in this field of study.

2.2.1 Inequities within Geographic Academia

Recognizing the history of the discipline of geography and its traditions, is imperative to understanding the contemporary ways in which race is viewed and studied within the discipline. Kobayashi and Jackson concisely lay out the history of race within the discipline and highlight how it has been overlooked (Jackson, 1987; Kobayashi, 2007). Only recently has geographic research challenged the idea of race and the practice of racism, historically the discipline has been marked by numerous inequities in race literature, research and teaching (Kobayashi, 2007). Kobayashi and Jackson openly acknowledge these flaws, asserting that it is crucial to understanding the concept of race within the geographic framework (Jackson, 1987; Kobayashi, 2007). Early cartographers often mapped the world in terms of political power and socio-economic superiority, while early human geographers speculated on the role climate and the environment played in accounting for racial hierarchies, further reinforcing racist ideology (Kobayashi, 2007). The course of the history of racial oppression can only begin to be corrected once geographers and academics alike acknowledge their role in the process of racialization (Kobayashi, 2007). Geographic scholars are not separate from social context and cultural systems, they are emerged within them and play a major role in reproducing them.

The other salient inequity identified by Kobayashi and Jackson is the historical lack of critical, post-positivist approaches within the field of race geographies. The lack of critical approaches has prevented the field from disputing the concept of race and understanding the social and geographic processes that produce, reproduce and contest racism. It was only during

the post-structuralist turn of the 1990s that race and racism started being studied within the discipline (Kobayashi, 2014). Traditionally, race and racism were neglected within geography as they were not considered spatial processes (Kobayashi, 2014). Similarly, the hegemony of empiricism, positivism and the belief in a single truth that can be verified through numbers, prevented geographers and other academics from addressing race issues with critical approaches. Purely quantitative approaches did not necessarily deny the existence of racism, they helped identify racialized phenomena such as segregation, ghettoization, income inequalities, frequency of racialized violence and crime along with others but they failed to critically engage the historical contexts and processes that allowed such phenomena to exist (Jackson, 1987). Geography has traditionally been characterized by epistemological and methodological hegemony but now diversified ways of researching and knowing have allowed scholars within the field to critically study race. Acknowledgment of the power dynamics in social relations over space is central to a critical geographic study of race (Kobayashi, 2007). By documenting sites of contestation in Brampton, I will exhibit how these power dynamics have played out over space in a changing community.

2.2.2 Race & Racism: Biological Fallacies

The history of epistemological, methodological and ‘racial’ inequities within geography has prevented geographers from critically engaging and challenging the concept of race. Anti-racism geographers, most notably Kobayashi and Jackson, having acknowledged these inequities, have played a key role in deconstructing the oppressive concept. The traditional view that race is innate to human beings, prevented scholars and society at large from confronting and mending the views, practices and structures that produce and reinforce racism. The idea of social construction is key to human geography, especially when understanding race (Kobayashi, 2007).

It involves the idea that concepts, in this case race, are invented within a societal context and not biologically determined. 'Racialization' is a historical process that refers to the construction of race and the emergence of race in certain economic, political, social and of course, geographic contexts (Gregory, 2012). For example, the history of the Irish in America illustrates how racialization and is a process that is contingent on societal context. Irish immigrants were categorized as 'black' by the dominant society and only became a recognized part of the 'white' race once they achieved economic, social and political power, supporting the idea that race is a social construction (Rattansi, 2007). Social constructs become extremely powerful when they are naturalized in society. When concepts such as race become naturalized, they become deeply engrained into everyday social life and become accepted as truths (Kobayashi, 2007). When discussing contemporary racism and the dangers of naturalizing race, Jackson wrote that,

A characteristic of the new racism is a renewed tendency to naturalize racial distinctions. Social differences are said to originate in biological or inherent cultural factors belonging to the realm of nature and not, therefore, to be changeable through political action or social reform. (Jackson, 1989, p. 178)

The naturalization of racism allows for the persistence of racism and prevents the concept of race from being examined critically. Race is a biological fallacy that leads to the practice of racism, but racism is more than a set of discriminatory beliefs held by a select number of individuals (Jackson, 1989). Racism is deeply rooted in society and is a manifestation of unequal power relations. By acknowledging and examining race as a social construct, Kobayashi and Jackson focus on the processes that shape racial identities and racist ideology, equipping them with the tools to actively resist racism; this is a key starting point for anti-racist geographies and one central to this study. Moreover, by examining race issues in Brampton, as constructed through the media, I will provide further evidence of this social construction.

2.2.3 The Spatial Dimensions of Race and Racism

It has been noted that race is formed within different contexts, therefore space has a key role in constructing, reproducing and challenging race and racism. Racial identities, meanings and inequalities can differ depending on the space they occupy. When discussing the geographic dimensions of racialization, Kobayashi (2007, p. 241) mentions that,

For the geographer, it is axiomatic to claim that all human processes take place in context. They occur within historically produced landscapes; they have spatial extent and distribution. It makes as much sense, therefore, to speak of 'spatialization' as it does racialization. Indeed, the two occur simultaneously. Racialization, therefore, is always a historical geography.

Space can be used to segregate, exclude and empower, the geographic implications of race and racism must not be ignored. As mentioned earlier, the discipline of geography has historically been dominated by white males. The historic exclusion of non-whites from intellectual space is just one of the many ways geography has been used to reinforce ideas of race, preventing resistance to racism (Kobayashi, 2014). Racism manifests itself differently depending on the scale and location as well. On the national scale for example, the way racism plays out can be very dependent on a state's national policies related to race. The way racism is manifested and experienced in one country or geographic region may be very different from that of another country because of difference in institutions and policies (Jackson, 1987).

Jackson asserts that *sites of struggle* are another major geographic characteristic of racism, they are the spaces and places in which racism and racial identities are produced and contested. Sites of struggles are constantly changing and are very context dependent (Jackson, 1987). These sites of struggle can include the workplace, schools, the job market, mass media, internet and political realms along with countless others. Identifying, mapping and understanding the role sites of struggle play in reproducing and resisting racism should be the focus of race geographers

(Jackson, 1987). Geographers should not only be aware that race is socially constructed but acknowledge and study the ways in which different geographies impact racial identities and inequalities. By documenting the spaces and places in which racial identities and inequalities are created, perpetuated and challenged, as evidenced in media coverage, my work will support and build off the assertions made by these geographers, to enhance our understanding of racialization and racism as a spatial process.

2.2.4 Emergent forms of Racism

Jackson and Kobayshi powerfully debunk the myth of race being determined through biology but acknowledging race as a social construction has not ended the existence of racism. As overt, biological racism becomes more taboo and acknowledged as scientifically unfounded, society has allowed racism to exist in more subtle and indirect forms, perhaps making the ideology even harder to address. When referring to the post-civil rights era racial discourse, Piliawsky (1984) notes the shift from overt, individual racism, such as the use of racial slurs or racialized violence to more institutionalized racism, in which the laws and institutions of society perpetuate relatively poor socio-economic outcomes for racialized groups. The shift in racial discourse has not only involved a transition from individual to institutional racism but also a shift from biological to cultural forms of racism (Rattansi, 2007; Rodat, 2017). Although “classical” or “biological” racism still exists in pockets of society, a “neo-racism”, in which one’s culture is essentialized rather than their race, has emerged. The sentiments and actions that use ethno-cultural origin to discriminate, marginalize, segregate and exclude are known as “cultural racism” (Rattansi, 2007; Rodat, 2017). Although there is debate over whether this culturally based discrimination can be referred to as racism, Preister (1997) argues that cultural racism does not differ from racism because racism has always been a categorization and hierarchization

based on cultural differences. Similarly, Fredrickson (2011; 18) would argue that culture can be, “reified and essentialized that it becomes the functional equivalent of the concept of race... A deterministic cultural particularism can have the same effects as a biologically based racism”. Seeing that classical, biological racism and the new, cultural racism provide the same function for the powerful groups in society and impact marginalized groups in similar ways, the word “racism” will be used to refer to both biological and cultural forms of racism. Geographers must address and understand the contemporary forms of racism that exist today if they are to provide meaningful solutions for society. For my research, it is crucial that I critically assess all the data I come across and acknowledge that racism runs much deeper than biological discrimination.

2.2.5 Current Trends in Anti-Racism Geography

Kobayashi and Jackson were key anti-racism geographers but a proper discussion on race within geography would not be complete without mentioning current trends in the field. Anti-racism geographers continue to work in a variety of locales and use a diversity of methods to answer a range of key questions, yet there are still reoccurring themes that have emerged in recent anti-racism studies. Recent studies in anti-racism geography have focused on how neoliberalism has impacted the manifestation and impeded resistance of racism. Similarly, anti-racism geographers have been emphasizing the importance of place and local action in perpetuating and challenging racism. Moreover, issues of environmental racism have recently grabbed the attention of the field.

Racism is deeply rooted in the economic, political and social institutions of the state, and seeing that the structures of contemporary western states are rooted in neoliberalism, anti-racism geographers have argued that contemporary manifestations of racism are influenced by neoliberalism (Nelson and Dunn, 2017). A discourse of post-racial societies has emerged under

neoliberalism, in which race would no longer influence one's outcomes in society and only individuals can be responsible for perpetuating racism, freeing the state and its institutions of culpability for racism (Nelson and Dunn, 2017). Neoliberalism has also reduced the state's ability to address racism as private community groups compete for funding, creating highly competitive local relations, reducing collaboration for anti-racism programs and tactics (Peck and Tickell, 2002). Neoliberalism has greatly reduced local governments ability to respond to racism as it has reduced the state's role in regulating not only economic, but also social relations. Nelson and Dunn (2017) emphasize that the way in which racism is manifested and responded to under neoliberalism is unique and can often have detrimental effects on community relations, and something I will be cognisant of in my analysis.

Although racism exists across all landscapes, Nelson and Dunn (2017) mention that geographers have documented the spatial variability and place-specific nature of racism, arguing for regionally specific anti-racism measures (Bonnett, 2000; Forrest and Dunn 2006; Kobayashi and Peake, 2000). When discussing the local nature of racism and the merit of locally based responses, Nelson and Dunn (2017, pp. 31-32) assert that,

Antiracism governance has tended to have a predilection for state programmes, national laws and corporate targets. The 'local' is therefore a site of anti-racist action where multiple players could potentially contribute, using programmes that are sensitive to the specific manifestations of racism, which are cognizant of the structural underpinnings of racism and which leverage micro-political action.

Racism manifests itself in unique ways and these manifestations are very dependent on the context and locale in which they are occurring, therefore those with local experience and knowledge are best suited to understand racism in their locale and develop appropriate anti-racism measures.

Place does not only impact manifestations of racism but can also impede the development of anti-racism measures. Attachment and pride of one's hometown or place of residence has led to a phenomenon that Nelson (2013) termed 'place defending'. Place defending in this context, is the denial of racism or ethnic tension in one's own locality (Nelson, 2013). Reference is often made to other localities or countries as people assert race relations are much better where they are, as compared to other regions, contributing to the false discourse of post-racial societies (Nelson, 2013). When combined with the political mobilization issues created by the individualistic nature of neoliberalism, place defending can make the development of effective anti-racism measures seem impossible. It is the localized nature of racialization and anti-racism that informed my decision to conduct research within one locality, Brampton, Ontario, which is my primary residence.

As mentioned above, neoliberalism has played a major role in shaping and perpetuating racism in contemporary societies, and this perpetuation of racial inequity is made quite evident through environmental racism. Recent geographic literature has shown that racialized groups and regions of the world have disproportionately less access to valuable resources and are disproportionately more vulnerable to the adverse effects of industry and climate change (Golub et al, 2013; Pulido, 2015; Rhiney, 2015). For example, the structuring of the colonial agrarian economies of the Caribbean has intensified the impacts of natural disasters on livelihoods in the region, yet the economies of the Global North remain relatively resilient (Rhiney, 2015). Similarly, in many cities, the built environment can create barriers to public services and economic benefits for racialized groups (Golub et al, 2013). Geographers emphasize that environments, whether built or natural, can be manipulated to benefit those with power and privilege and subordinate those who are racialized with less economic and political means.

Although I will not be using an environmental racism framework, recent geographic literature has forced me to be cognisant of environmental racism and acknowledge the construction of inequitable landscapes of today's neoliberal society.

2.2.6 The Importance of Anti-Racism Geography

Race and racism were issues not typically studied within geography, but they eventually captured the attention of the discipline after some breakthrough pieces had been written by minority behavioral and radical geographers (Kobayashi, 2014). It was these works that helped create the field of race and anti-racism geographies, a field that Kobayashi and Jackson have described with great articulation, but the field did not stop there. Acknowledging the shift in racialized discourse from biological and individual based racism to more subtle but pervasive forms of cultural and institutionalized racism is essential for race scholars. More recent scholars in the field have emphasized the importance of neoliberalism and its adverse impact on the manifestations and resistance of racism (Nelson and Dunn, 2017). Contemporary anti-racism geographers have argued that racism is often place specific, meaning that locally-based anti-racism measures are often most effective (Bonnett, 2000; Forrest and Dunn 2006; Kobayashi and Peake, 2000, Nelson, 2013). Additionally, recent geographers have advocated for the incorporation of the environmental racism framework, as neoliberalism has allowed environmental inequities to intensify (Golub et al, 2013; Pulido, 2015; Rhiney, 2015). Geographers offer a nuanced, spatially influenced perspective on issues of race and ethnic relations, a perspective I plan on using and expanding upon with my study. As mentioned earlier, the manifestations of racism are geographically contextual, and since I will be conducting my study on a Canadian community, I will be addressing how race and racism play out in Canada during the next section.

2.3 Race and Racism in the Canadian Context

Although it may be known as one of the more accepting and tolerant countries in the world, Canada still has a very dark history of racism and there are still many discriminatory attitudes and practices that persist to this day. Never has there been a more valuable time to study the concept of 'race' and how it plays out in Canada as immigration is at an all-time high and continuing to rise. Starting as early as 2001, eighty-percent of Canada's foreign-born population has identified as a visible minority (Statistics Canada, 2003). A visible minority, as laid out by the Canadian government, is anyone who identifies as not being white in skin-colour, Caucasian in race or of European heritage (Statistics Canada, 2003). Aboriginal peoples are not included in the visible minority census category minority (Statistics Canada, 2003). It can be clearly evidenced throughout history that visible minorities have been and continue to be marginalized in Canada as a result of the historical and ongoing dynamic of Euro-Canadian colonialism and hegemony. Seeing that the visible minority population in Canada continues to rise it will be extremely important to document, examine and understand the processes of 'racialization' in Canada and how these processes perpetuate racist ideologies to impede the inclusion and the successful integration of Canada's diverse immigrant groups. As noted by Kobayashi (2007), racialization is a human-made process, therefore it happens in space; if we want to understand racialization in Canada, we need to understand its geography.

Literature that provided great insight into the geography of race and racism in Canada was reviewed to inform my study. Similarly, suggestions for future studies along with the gaps in the literature were acknowledged. The main findings and themes discussed throughout these articles were the historical exclusion and marginalization of visible minorities in Canadian society (Stasiulis and Jhappan, 1995; Preston and Murnaghan, 2005); the spatialization of racial

inequalities (Preston, Lo and Wang, 2003; Myles and Hou, 2004; Murnaghan and Preston, 2005); along with a discussion of the role various places and spaces can play in perpetuating, resisting and overcoming racism in Canada (Ray and Preston, 2009; 2013; 2015).

2.3.1 Historical Geographies of Exclusion and Marginalization

An informed discussion on race and racism in Canada can only occur with acknowledgement of the country's prejudiced and oppressive past of white-settler colonialism. Canada is often marked as one of the leaders in creating accepting environments for newcomers by developing and entrenching official policies of multiculturalism and diversity but these policies have not, by any means rid the country of its racist past, or sadly, its present. Before Canada adopted multiculturalism as an official policy in 1971, overt institutionalized racism persisted throughout Canada. Government backed racism not only prevented many groups from reaping the same benefits of Canadian society as the Euro-Canadian majority but also excluded many from entering and living in Canada (Hansard, 1971). Canada's early immigration policies were often based on the need for labourers, and immigrants were recruited based on their ability to contribute to the Canadian economy and 'fit in' to Canadian society (Stasiulis and Jhappan, 1995). This criterion was quite racialized as only those from the white, Christian countries of Britain and France were recruited for immigration and those who did not align ethnically were excluded (Razak, 2002). Before multiculturalism was adopted as an official policy, people were denied entrance to Canada based on arbitrary characteristics, most notably skin colour and place of birth, to keep Canada's demographic make-up white, European and Christian (Preston and Murnaghan, 2005). Even more explicit institutionalized racism was evident in the immigration acts of the early twentieth century. The *Chinese Immigration Act* placed disproportionately large taxes on immigrants from China and the *Continuous Journey Stipulation Act of 1908* limited

immigration from India and other South Asian countries (Preston and Murnaghan, 2005). Furthermore, any immigrants that were ‘culturally’ different were not able to maintain their cultural practices in Canada because they were not legally protected until 1971 (Hansard, 1971). Racism was evident throughout Canadian policy as it was a way to geographically exclude newcomers based on certain physical characteristics, most notably skin colour. Institutionalized racism has allowed the white-European majority to dominate the Canadian landscape throughout history. The attitudes and practices that have produced and maintained landscapes of inequality have left Canada’s visible minority population in a subordinate position to this day. This will become evident in the findings of my study as well.

2.3.2 Landscapes of Inequality: Housing and Employment

Although multiculturalism had been entrenched into the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1982, discrimination and racism have persisted throughout Canadian society to perpetuate landscapes of inequality and marginalize visible minorities. These landscapes of inequality and continued marginalization include lack of access to adequate housing, residential segregation, limited access to and even exclusion from meaningful employment leading to poorer socio-economic and health outcomes for visible minority immigrants as compared to their white counterparts and native born, Euro-Canadian population. In the reviewed articles, Murnaghan, Preston and Ray document these housing and employment inequalities and attempt to understand the geographic processes that create and maintain them.

In terms of housing inequalities in Canada, visible minorities face many more barriers as compared to the Euro-Canadian population. These inequalities are very important to examine as housing outcomes are one the main indicators of integration into Canadian society, therefore inclusivity will always be limited if these inequalities persist (Murnaghan and Preston, 2005).

Murnaghan and Preston (2005) note that ethnic density is often associated with increased poverty, the more homogenous and segregated a neighborhood is, the more likely its residents are to be poor. The geographic disparities in housing continue to be a racialized issue as visible minority immigrants are often more segregated from the mainstream population than non-visible minority immigrants, putting them at a greater risk of poverty (Murnaghan and Preston, 2005). Housing inequalities and segregation do not only put visible minorities at a greater risk for poverty but also limit cross-cultural interaction, exacerbating social exclusion in Canada (Ray and Preston, 2005). Although residential segregation can be voluntary in many cases, many immigrants and refugees have reported discrimination in the housing market (Novac et. Al, 2002). Similarly, visible minorities have lower rates of home ownership compared to white-Canadians, suggesting racism is still quite prevalent in the Canadian housing market (Myles and Hou, 2004). These housing inequalities are a cause for concern, especially considering there are various racialized dimensions to them. Further investigation of the social and geographic processes that cause such disparities is necessary if we wish to combat the discriminatory practices that are preventing the successful integration of immigrants and other visible minorities into Canadian society.

The place of immigrants and visible minorities in Canada is also compromised by the inequalities they face in the labour market. Murnaghan and Preston (2005) noted that labour market discrimination has been worsening and more recent immigrants, even though they are mostly business class migrants, are more susceptible to poverty because of their visible minority status. In fact, in the Greater Toronto Area, 21 percent of immigrants arriving prior to 1986 were living below the low-income cut-off whereas almost half of the arrivals after 1986 were (Preston, Lo and Wang, 2003; p. 249). The processes that cause these inequalities are not fully understood

but it is undeniable that ‘race’ plays a role as poverty rates for visible minority households are much higher than households with Canadian-born respondents of European heritage (Murnaghan and Preston, 2005). Income inequalities and poorer economic outcomes for visible minorities and immigrants may also be attributed to barriers such as lack of credential transferability, language skills and proficiency, surname discrimination along with other forms of racial discrimination (Ray and Preston, 2015). These inequalities in the labour market are especially troubling considering Canada’s immigration policy and points system has changed to target immigrants with higher levels of human capital, yet racialized immigrants continue to experience poor economic outcomes, evidencing some of the adverse impacts of being visibly different in Canada (Tannock, 2011). Manifestations of these inequalities must continue to be examined as the immigration system is becoming increasingly skewed towards wealthier immigrants. Income inequalities and labour market discrimination have played major roles in confining the geographies of racialized minorities by preventing social mobility, sustaining their subordinate place within Canadian society.

2.3.3 Sites of Concern: Discrimination and Exclusion

As seen above, past research has done a great deal to address the history of racism in Canada along with its geographic implications. After acknowledging the geographies of exclusion and inequality, Ray and Preston look to better understand the geographic and social processes that go into creating them. Ray and Preston (2013) noted that a researcher’s ability to acknowledge the role of place and space in the construction of everyday racism is crucial to resisting the concept and enhancing inclusion and tolerance in contemporary Canada, and both these geographers have done that in the reviewed papers. Preston and Ray discuss different sites of exclusion and discrimination for Canada’s visible minorities and how experiences of discrimination, hostility,

discomfort and racism vary depending on the geographic context. It is argued that simply mapping ethnic density will not tell the entire story of immigrants' integration, a high concentration of immigrants from a single ethnic group in one area does not necessarily mean they are excluded from the broader host society (Ray and Preston, 2009). Examining the attitudes of immigrants and visible minorities towards sense of belonging and experiences of discrimination across their different geographies is much more telling. To begin with, it is extremely important to note that discrimination is experienced and reported much more frequently in metropolitan areas in Canada as compared to rural, non-metropolitan areas (Ray and Preston, 2013). The increased incidences of these experiences in metropolitan locations justify their focus on urban areas (Ray and Preston, 2013). More specifically, in terms of the neighbourhood, there are many findings that suggest racialized minorities experience exclusion and marginalization to a much higher degree compared to Euro-Canadians. Recent visible minority immigrants have a lower percentage of friends from other ethnicities and overall, interact with a smaller proportion of their neighbours as compared to the Canadian-born and post-war immigrants, who mostly descended from white-European countries (Ray and Preston, 2013). Similarly, visible minority immigrants are much less likely to express strong levels of trust in their neighbours than post-war immigrants are (Ray and Preston, 2013). These findings are very worthy of concern and suggest that race and visible minority status are highly correlated to reduced levels of comfort and sense of integration in one's neighbourhood. The neighbourhood can often be a site of exclusion for racialized minorities, strategies to make them more inclusive must be developed.

Although the home and the neighbourhood are a key aspect of an immigrant's geography, most interaction happens outside the home so it crucial to examine other sites of interaction. Ray

and Preston also examined the workplace because ethnic and racial differences are not only negotiated in the places in which people live but also where they work (Walks and Bourne, 2006). Similarly, most workers are employed somewhere other than where they live, which means that people from different ethno-racial backgrounds are very likely to be interacting in the workplace. (Statistics Canada, 2013). Workplaces in Canada, most notably in the Greater Toronto Area are very diverse and if contact theory were to hold true, the workplace should be a geography that plays a key role in reducing prejudices and incidences of discrimination but in many cases, it is not (Ray and Preston, 2015). Ray and Preston (2015) found that one quarter of all visible minorities in the workplace report discrimination as compared to only seven-percent of white individuals (p. 1512). Particularly Blacks and South Asians, are more likely to report discrimination than Whites (Dion, 2002). It is undeniable that people of colour are more likely to report discrimination in the workplace. The workplace is just one of the many geographies in Canada where visible minorities fall victim to racism (Ray and Preston, 2015). Quantitative studies measuring ethno-racial diversity are clearly neglecting the problem as evidenced across a range of geographies. Diversity in a certain locale does not guarantee a tolerant, inclusive environment but it does create a site for cross-cultural interaction and identity negotiation (Ray and Preston, 2015). Visible minorities experience exclusion and mistreatment in these locales but with deeper examination of how racism is reproduced and resisted in these locales we can work towards building more integrative environments. My analysis will show that Brampton does indeed have a way to go toward achieving such integration.

2.3.4 Potential Sites of Acceptance and Inclusion

It is undeniable that racism exists in Canadian society, immigrants and visible minorities alike are exposed to discrimination and racism in their everyday geographies as evidenced earlier.

These sites of interaction, negotiation and struggle have been the focal point of racism in Canada as racist incidences have been unavoidable in these places and spaces. Nonetheless, these are also geographies where racism must be confronted and resisted. Historically, the aforementioned places and spaces have been sites of exclusion and marginalization, but they offer the potential to be sites of acceptance and inclusion for racialized minorities in Canada as well. On top of their findings regarding the geography of discrimination, marginalization and exclusion, Preston and Ray had several positive findings, suggesting a real potential for more inclusive spaces.

Although immigrants and visible minorities express lower levels of trust and sense of belonging in their neighborhoods as compared to Euro-Canadians, their levels of trust and sense of belonging are still high (Ray and Preston, 2009). A better understanding of the interactions, experiences and processes that create these feelings of trust and inclusion in their host communities is crucial. Similarly, as mentioned by Ray and Preston (2015), the diverse nature of the workplace also gives it potential to be a geography of racist resistance. Diversity and cross-cultural interaction are unavoidable in the workplace, it is a geography that must be targeted, eliminating racial hierarchies and resisting racism in the workplace will have an effect that extends well beyond the workplace (Ray and Preston, 2015). As mentioned in Ray and Preston's paper, Amin (2002) argues that 'micro-publics' such as workplaces, where people have a shared project, can create meaningful interactions that reduce prejudice. If we can better understand the role place plays in creating perceptions of discomfort and exclusion or comfort and inclusion, we can better equip ourselves to design inclusive environments towards combatting an ideology of hate and ignorance. By documenting the spaces and places of racialized conflict in Brampton, this study should assist in the development of anti-racism strategy in Brampton.

2.3.5 Race and Racism in Canada: Next Steps

Geographers of Race and Racism in Canada, Murnaghan, Preston and Ray (Murnaghan and Preston, 2005; Ray and Preston, 2009; 2013; 2015) provided a concise overview of geographic studies on race while adding their own significant findings. The articles were informative in several respects, they articulated the salience of racialization and racism in the Canadian context, they laid out the various racial inequities across space and identified the key places and spaces where racism and discrimination can be practiced, experienced and contested in Canada. Albeit they provide great insight into the geographic dimensions of race and racism in Canada, there is still a great deal to be known. The reviewed pieces have recognized racism as a pervasive issue with many geographic dimensions and implications, but academia will have no impact on these issues unless they engage the processes directly and involve those who are directly impacted by them. Seeing that my study is on a diverse Canadian community, acknowledgment of the findings in these works is essential as I move forward with my own study on the spaces and places of racism in Brampton. To contextualize my study and make sense of the dataset, I must be cognisant of the landscapes of inequality and the sites of discrimination, exclusion, interaction and inclusion in Canada as identified in the reviewed literature. Additionally, these pieces have shown that racism in Canada has its own geography, and so does my main data source, therefore the geographies of the news will be reviewed in the next section.

2.4 The Geography of News; Print and Online

Journalism has a role to report objective truths, it provides influential representations and analysis of society's economic, political and social institutions and relations, and according to Hartley (2008), it is, "the most important textual system in the world" (p. 312). Although Hartley's assertion may be an exaggeration, it is undeniable that news media necessitates

unrelenting academic attention because of its major implications for social relations. Prior to conducting a geographic analysis on the news, it is imperative to acknowledge and understand the geographic implications of news reporting and how the news influences its audience. Geographers, journalism scholars and academics alike have highlighted the many geographic dimensions of the news and have continued to call for further examination of news media to better understand how the news and geography influence one another. Mike Gasher, influenced by media and journalism theorists before him has been a leader in theorizing and documenting the geography of the news. Gasher (2015) asserts that the geography of news is, “the representational space that news organizations construct, and the vantage point from which they report” (p.130).

Although the geographic implications of the news are endless, I have derived three main themes from the literature on news geography to illustrate what geographers already know about the spatiality of the news, and where they think the field must go next to enhance Geography’s already elaborate conceptualization of news media. First, the assertion that the creation, distribution, consumption and interpretation of the news is geographically dependent and subjective will be discussed. Next, the role journalists play in map-making will be visited, followed by a discussion on how globalization and technological advancement have altered geographic conceptions of the news. Literature on the geographies of the news proves relevant to my study as I will be documenting the geographic breadth and representations of the Brampton local newspaper. The Political Economy of the Media will also be discussed because it has major implications on how news is produced, distributed and consumed. Moreover, a study of the evolution of news reports on racialized incidents would not be complete without an examination

of online news, making it essential to review what is known, and yet to be known, about the internet's impacts on the geographies of news.

2.4.1 Newspaper distribution and consumption: geography matters

News is geographically contextual; the relevance of a news story depends on its geographic location and scope, just as the size and composition of a news story's audience is dependent on the extent of the news outlet's location and scope (Gasher, 2015). News stories that are relevant to one geographic region may not be of interest to others and the news stories reported by one outlet in a certain region may not be available on another outlet in a different region. Our access to and interest in news stories is often dependent on where we are situated geographically (Gasher, 2015). Although news is geographically dependent, what we consider to be newsworthy is influenced by much more than the territory we occupy (Gasher, 2015). Social, economic, political, religious, cultural, racial or ethnic memberships can all influence what we deem relevant and interesting (Gasher, 2015). The way in which people access, consume and interpret news stories is influenced by their everyday geographies, running much deeper than just the territory one resides in. For example, someone living in Toronto might receive *The Toronto Star* yet they could consume the majority of their news from the ethnic newspaper handed out at the religious or community centre they attend just as a student from Toronto might have easier access to their university newspaper than they do *The Toronto Star*. Territorial boundaries matter for news distribution and consumption but geographers have also acknowledged that the space one resides in is just one of the many factors influencing news consumption.

2.4.2 The subjectivity of the news

Newspapers are like maps as they are inherently selective and reductive, they cannot include every piece of information, they only display information that is pertinent to the reader. Newspapers cannot be completely objective because journalists and editors must decide on what information will be included and excluded (King, 1996). Journalism, just like cartography, depicts and represents the world from a certain perspective, influencing how people view and navigate the landscapes of their world (Gasher, 2015). Journalism is also ethnocentric as they are typically written by and directed at a certain polity of people, and its representations of the world are centered around one ethno-cultural perspective (Gasher, 2015). Again, news organizations must make important decisions regarding what is newsworthy and how to represent the community they report on, having real and often consequential effects on the relations and functioning of the community (Gasher, 2015). Geographies are imagined, created and reshaped through the news and other media and therefore must not be ignored by academia.

2.4.3 Newspapers as maps

Journalists do more than just merely describe events and incidents in the community, they play a key role in constructing communities, and are map-makers in their own right (Gasher, 2015). As outlined in Gasher's article, "Geographies of the News", the idea of journalists as cartographers, or map-makers stems from Benedict Anderson's (1989) assertion that media creates "imagined communities" (p. 128). It is the job of news organizations to estimate the boundaries, opinions and demographic composition of their audiences if they are to deliver stories and advertisements that are deemed relevant and interesting. The role journalists play as map-makers is best summarized by Gasher (2015, p. 128) when he writes that through compiling news packages,

journalists sketch out the boundaries of their community and make assertions about its core values, record its debates over shifting values, identify the key components of its political, economic and cultural infrastructure, describe its constituents, position this place with respect to its neighbours, highlight other regions with which its constituents have important political, economic and cultural ties, and relegate to the margins great swaths of the rest of the world. This map-making exercise produces centres and margins, peoples and places within the news world's purview and, of course, other peoples and places beyond that news world's boundaries. Not everyone makes it on the news map. (p. 128)

News organizations construct a 'here' and an 'us' and in doing so create imagined communities that become reality, as our knowledge and perception of the material world we occupy is constructed through the news and other mediums of communication (Carey, 1989; Berger and Luckman, 1967). The way in which we relate to one another and perceive the world is partly informed by the news.

2.4.4 The Political Economy of the Media

A discussion of the news media and its geography would be incomplete without highlighting the power relations that shape and control the distribution of information to the public. The corporate consolidation of the news media has resulted in a concentration of ownership and profit driven mass media, which has diminished the diversity and democratic integrity of journalism. This is a result of globalization and the neoliberal conquest, evidenced by the fact that only a handful of media firms own and control the overwhelming majority of media today (Herman and Chomsky, 2002). As stated by Herman and Chomsky (2002), "the media serve, and propagandize on behalf of, the powerful societal interests that control and finance them" (p. xi). Rather than reporting objective truths to inform and empower society, the news media exists to serve corporate interests. This corporate centralization of the media has several other pitfalls, including cutbacks to local journalism and staff reporters towards an increase in wired stories from large corporate news agencies, such as Reuters (Gasher and Klein, 2008). Theory on the political economy of the media does not assert all news information is false or not important, but

urges studies such as this one, to be cognisant of the fact that the news media is not nearly as objective as it should be. Additionally, the impacts of this corporate consolidation on the geography of the news, which includes the geographic breadth and extent of news production, distribution and consumption must be investigated.

2.4.5 The unknown geographies of online news

The geographies of the print news are relatively identifiable and bounded when compared to the geographies of the internet, more specifically, online news. Gasher and Klein's 2008 study, *Mapping the Geography of Online News*, attempted to document and better understand the geographic dimensions of online news and was part of the larger *Geography of News Project*. Gasher and Klein (2008) looked to evidence the internet's role in globalization and in the formation of unbounded media geographies. Gasher and Klein (2008, p. 194) mainly aimed to respond to the following question:

if a newspaper published online is “delivered” everywhere in the wired world, and is thus available to an expanded audience, will that paper's news coverage expand accordingly and include more of its region, its country, the world? If so, which areas—which people, institutions, activities—will be included and which excluded in its new news geography?

Gasher and Klein (2008) performed a content analysis on 3,647 articles from three internationally relevant online newspapers to create maps of the online news world. After coding the articles, the geographic dimensions of online news remained ambiguous, although there were still some significant findings. In terms of where news articles were filed from, news coverage online was almost always local and confined to the newspaper's home country (Gasher and Klein, 2008). After examining the content deeper, Gasher and Klein (2008) found that home countries were cited less within the text of the article, and foreign countries were referred to relatively often. The significant attention foreign countries received from

online newspapers suggests that online news readership may be unbounded, or at least the news networks assume it is (Gasher and Klein, 2008). Online news sites are still trying to imagine their communities and estimate the characteristics of their audience; therefore researchers must continue to study the scope of online news' distribution and consumption (Gasher and Klein, 2008). It is acknowledged that online news sites are still trying to identify and understand their readership, meaning that the geographic boundaries of online news are still unknown (Gasher and Klein, 2008). The literature on the geographies of news, especially online news, have shown that the geographic breadth and implications of the news world remain unclear. By examining reports on specific incident types in a local newspaper and comparing them to online reports of a similar incident in the same locality, my study will provide greater insight into the geographies of the news to answer the questions posed by news geographers before me.

2.5 The Geography of The Internet; Emergent Forms of Racism

A proficient understanding of the places and spaces in which racialized incidents are occurring and an analysis of how the nature and locations have changed from 1991 to the present would not be complete without an examination of the internet and social media. Scholars have identified the salience of racism online yet few studies have engaged this recent phenomenon (Daniels, 2013; Hughey & Daniels, 2013). To understand how racism is practised and experienced online, previous works discussing the geography of the internet more broadly were consulted. It is essential to recognize the broader geographic characteristics and implications of the internet before specifically addressing the specifics of online racism and its many forms.

2.5.1 Defining Cyberspace

Following the introduction of the internet, early internet geographers contended that the online world would be one separate from physical and material landscapes that existed outside of it (Kitchin, 1998). Although more recent geographers have shown this contention to be an inaccurate representation of cyberspace, the truths and merits within these theories should be acknowledged as they address the unique and often unbounded nature of the internet. Morley and Robins (1995) argued that the internet was a brand new, unique social space, in which the relationship between space and time was radically different, making the traditional understanding of geography insignificant (Harvey, 1989). In other words, cyberspace would be a geographic sphere separate from the power relations, structures and boundaries of the material world. Online, space and place would no longer matter. Proponents of this outlook on cyberspace offered many meaningful theories about the online world, especially regarding the idea that cyberspace is a unique social sphere in which interaction and communication can often take shape in forms much different than the material world outside of the internet. Peoples' attitudes and narratives often materialize differently online as the rules of engagement can differ from the norms of face to face, real life interactions, which is imperative to consider when examining discourse online.

Although activity online may be conducted differently, it is still tied to the power structures and landscapes that exist in the material world. Cyberspace is a unique social space that has impacted space-time relations, yet geography and arrangements in the material world remain important. Kitchin (1998) notes that access to cyberspace is unevenly distributed and that relations on the internet are often an extension of power relations in material space. The western world and those with greater economic means are favoured not only in terms of their ease of access to cyberspace but also in terms of quality of internet service (Kitchin, 1998). Where

people are located still matters and internet users are still subject to the laws and norms of their society although they may be able to be temporarily involved in socially deviant behaviours online (Kitchin, 1998). Although the internet may create uniquely bounded social spaces, these social spaces are not placeless, spaceless or separate from grounded reality (Graham, 2013). The internet can be an agent of change but understanding the unique but not separate nature of the internet is crucial to my research.

2.5.2 Geographic studies on the internet

As shown above, earlier geographic studies involved more theoretical work on the internet, more recently, different subfields of geography have engaged with the internet to understand how it has reshaped or reinforced certain structures and phenomena. Geographic work has gone much deeper than just simply documenting the spatial or territorial boundaries of cyberspace, Geographers have studied how the emergence and growth of the internet has changed the ways in which culture and identity are produced, altered social relations while simultaneously reinforcing unequal power structures in the material world. The impacts and geographic implications of the internet will be crucial to acknowledge in my examination and analysis of online discourse.

The way in which culture is created and recreated has been completely altered by the internet. The internet has not only created new forms of cultural practice such as memes, selfies or tweets, for example, but has also transformed how more traditional cultural practices are produced, displayed and experienced (Rose, 2016). Ash, Kitchin, Leszczynski (2018) note that gender geographers doing work online have documented the ways in which the internet has impacted and challenged systems of social reproduction and traditional notions of place-based identity because of the visual nature and unique norms of online communication platforms, enhancing the

potential of its users to overcome the barriers to social equity (Chan, 2008; Larsen et al., 2006; Longhurst, 2013; Valentine and Holloway, 2002). Although the internet in many ways is just an extension of material geographies, Brock (2009) mentions how the internet allows for the creation of a black-identity that contests the hegemonic identity they have been ascribed by society. The works of internet geographers have shown that the production and reproduction of culture, identity and social norms has completely changed as a result of the internet's emergence.

Geographers have also studied how cyberspace can reconfigure social relations, which has been especially concerning to Geographers of Difference. Cyberspace has influenced how people imagine other people and places around the world, altering spatial and geopolitical understandings (Shaw and Warf, 2009). The often anonymous, indirect and abrupt encounters online have impacted how people perceive and interact with others (Bork-Hüffer and Yeoh, 2017). These places of encounter are often conflated with offline spaces, further impacting how people relate to one another (Bork-Hüffer and Yeoh, 2017). These untraditional sites and norms of interaction can create feelings of tolerance and acceptance towards the other but can also exacerbate existing stereotypes and prejudices (Bork-Hüffer and Yeoh, 2017). Similarly, Ash, Kitchin, Leszczynski (2018) note that, "communicating through screens alters the spatial understandings, embodied knowledge, political awareness and social relationships of users" (p. 33). Bernal (2006), when discussing the Eritrean online diaspora, mentions that the internet can be a place for co-ethnics to connect but also can create social fragmentation because of distant, non-personal interactions that can occur there. The internet provides a site of interaction with different rules and boundaries than offline spaces and has therefore had a major impact on how people perceive and interact with one another and can play a key role in constructing, perpetuating and challenging difference.

As mentioned earlier, the internet may be a unique social space, but geographers have documented that unequal power structures are perpetuated in cyberspace and manifested in material space. Economic geographers have noted the unequal distribution and concentration of internet infrastructure, this manifestation can be seen in both digital and material space (Zook, 2005). Graham et al. (2018) discussed major disparities in the geographies of information between the Global-North and Global-South, further reinforcing these landscapes of inequality. Moreover, the emergence of big data and user-generated data has caused more geographic disparities to manifest as those without the proper infrastructure in place cannot contribute to data sets, meaning more technologically advanced areas will reap the benefits of big data while those lagging in advancement will not (Bork-Hüffer and Yeoh, 2017). The internet has altered how culture and social norms are reproduced, dramatically impacted social relations and often has real implications for the material world. The internet is a new geography that can reinforce but also challenge old and often oppressive ideologies and structures, and this holds especially true when it comes to online racism.

2.5.3 The Unique Nature of Online Racism

The internet is a unique social space that has allowed racialized groups an opportunity to connect and negotiate identities but at the same time has exposed internet users to a great deal of racism. Racism, in its many forms, has been prevalent across the internet on various social media sites, discussion forums and many other websites (Daniels, 2013). Keum and Miller (2017) in their study that measures online racism, identify what is already known by academics regarding the uniqueness of online racism. The anonymity of the internet has in many cases, made the internet a “safe haven” for racist speech, causing racism to be very common online (Van Blarcum, 2005). The virtual distance framework developed by Lojeski & Reilly (2008) suggests

that people feel psychologically and emotionally detached from their interactions online, reducing accountability and the influence of social norms, creating an environment for hateful, uncensored speech. Keum and Miller (2017) note that the degree of anonymity varies depending on the platform and people are likely to be less vulgar when posting from a profile or a website where they can be easily identified. As the internet continues to advance, the ways in which internet users practise, comprehend and experience racism will continue to diversify (Back, 2002). Racism online is pervasive, manifesting itself in numerous ways across a variety of sites, calling for further examination to understand where and how the ideology is perpetuated and challenged in cyberspace.

The ubiquity of racism online makes it often seem inescapable. Racism is so prevalent online that internet users are easily and often involuntarily exposed to harmful content (Bonilla and Rosa, 2015). The ubiquitous and unavoidable nature of online racism requires researchers to acknowledge that racism can be experienced by those other than the intended targets (Keum and Miller, 2017). The ability for internet users to share and re-post content means that, a hateful act from a video for example, could be observed and experienced, even though the person had not searched for or intended to view such a video. Similarly, the constant updating of content and the ability to share and re-post content means that encountering racism online is inevitable and perpetual. The cyclical nature of online racism makes the phenomenon more dangerous than racism in material space as racist acts in material space can be addressed and avoided with much greater ease. For example, a racist flyer posted on a bulletin board would be much easier to remove than a racist tweet posted on one's twitter (Keum and Miller, 2017). When discussing the dangers of addressing online racism Keum and Miller (2017, p. 311) mention that,

although offline racism events typically occur at a discrete point in time and are mostly reexperienced through memories and reminders of the event, online racism is not bound to a discrete point in time because the actual events continue to exist online and are available for individuals to relive and reexperience as opposed to remembering it.

Graham (2015) also discusses how the internet has caused debate and contestation surrounding recent racialized incidences, such as police brutality in the United States, to intensify, heightening racialized people's awareness of their place in an oppressive society while simultaneously providing opportunity for racist responses. Past literature has clearly shown that the online world has exacerbated the frequency and intensity of racism in contemporary society. Keum and Miller (2017) developed the Perceived Online Racism Scale and found that exposure to online racism has negative mental health effects for racialized groups. Perhaps more significantly and unlike older studies, they found that vicarious experiences of racism are also significantly related to poor mental health outcomes, calling for further investigation of these incidences (Keum and Miller, 2017).

The study done by Keum and Miller supports the theories of contemporary internet geographers and confirms that although the internet is a unique social space with its own norms, the activities online are still closely tied to grounded reality, having real, measurable impacts on its users. Early internet geographers argued that space and place in the online world would be irrelevant, as cyberspace was a world of its own, detached from grounded reality. Early theories on internet geography were not completely wrong, as past literature has shown that internet users can connect, interact and negotiate identities in ways that differ from the outside world and its inequities. Similarly, the anonymity of the internet and the constant cycle of racist content online has demonstrated that racism is perpetuated, experienced and challenged on cyberspace much differently than in the physical world. Although the internet is a unique social sphere, it is not

detached from grounded reality as access to the internet and experiences of incidences online are still influenced by one's space and place in the world. If we are to understand contemporary culture and ideology, more specifically contemporary racism, we must investigate the role of the internet in shaping such phenomenon. By examining online news reports of a racialized incidents and the subsequent responses, I will illustrate how the internet helps to reinforce but also to challenge racism.

2.6 Discussion: Situating this Study

Much is owed to geographers and social scientists alike for acknowledging the contradictions and dangers of racism, and for producing a great deal of knowledge to equip us with some of the tools to build more inclusive communities and resist the oppressive ideology. With that being said, racism continues to plague contemporary society, indicating that there is more to be known about the dimensions of this oppressive ideology and practice. Ray and Preston (2013) note that a researcher's ability to acknowledge the role of place and space in the construction of everyday racism is crucial to understanding ethnic relations and enhancing social cohesion in contemporary Canada. In addition, Kobayashi (2014) notes that the hegemony of empiricism, positivism and the belief in a single truth that can be verified through numbers, has prevented geographers and other academics from critically addressing race issues, calling for more critical and qualitative approaches. By using print news and social media data to document the spaces and places of racialized incidents in Brampton, I offer a unique geographic perspective on racism to contribute to academia's already extensive knowledge base. My study fits into several different fields to build off the knowledge obtained by scholars before me, to answer the questions they have posed and to fill the existing gaps in the literature. Although my work can

contribute to a multitude of fields, I argue it will contribute most significantly to understandings of immigrant assimilation and integration, anti-racism geography and geographies of the media.

Theories on integration and assimilation have progressed a great deal since Gordon's (1964) acculturation and assimilation framework was introduced, as more cerebral understandings of assimilation have emerged. Sociologists and academics alike have theorized and empirically documented that assimilation is not a straight-forward process, and the manner in which first, second, and later generation immigrants assimilate can vary a great deal (Alba and Nee, 1997). Although countless longitudinal studies have been conducted, by using articles from 1991 to 2016, my study will offer a unique longitudinal perspective and illustrate the issues immigrants and racialized groups have faced during Brampton's recent demographic transformation. By bringing these newsworthy issues to the forefront, I will illustrate how immigrants in Brampton have negotiated their integration into society, and how class and duration of exposure to the host society have influenced what issues are deemed important.

Several calls have also been made to better document and understand the integration implications of ethnoburbs and superdiverse cities. Wang and Zhong (2013), noted that ethnoburbs add a new layer of dynamic social space to the immigrant landscape with major potential for economic, political and social transformation, but the true utility of ethnoburbs needs to be examined further. There are major policy implications for ethnoburbs, and rather than studying specific groups within the ethnoburbs they need to be studied as an entity if ethnic relations and social cohesion within them is to be understood, and this is what my study will do (Wang and Zhong, 2013). Similarly, superdiversity, or majority-minority cities are transforming the ways in which assimilation is understood, calling for more studies in majority-minority cities to better illustrate how the unique demographic and social contexts of super-diverse cities

influence social mobility and integration into the host society (Crul, 2016). Sociological literature points to a gap in knowledge regarding integration and ethnic relations in ethnoburbs and places with superdiversity, a gap I will help to fill with my study on Brampton.

My study will contribute to sociological understandings of integration, but the largest contributions will be to the field of geography. Ray and Preston (2013) argued that understanding the role space and place play in constructing, perpetuating and challenging racism is key to developing cohesive, inclusive societies. It is crucial that geographers do not only acknowledge the historical and social contexts of the discourse they address but understand that they themselves are part of a system that reproduces its power structures, only then can geographers go forward in critically addressing the concept of race to combat racism (Kobayashi, 2014). In the conclusion of their quantitative study on workplace discrimination in Metropolitan Toronto, Ray and Preston (2015) assert that,

additional research probing the qualitative aspects of living and negotiating difference across a number of locales will enhance understanding of the spatiality of racial hierarchies of power and contemporary experiences of inequality amid diversity. (p. 1519)

A longitudinal content analysis of news data in Brampton will allow for documentation of the histories, representations, inequities and experiences of South Asians, Blacks and other minority groups in the Canadian context. Geographers have emphasized the need for more critical, qualitative studies in diverse Canadian communities to better understand the processes that have subordinated immigrants and racialized minorities for years, making my study extremely pertinent.

Geographers have been struggling to grasp the geographic dimensions of the media, as these mediums of communication are constantly evolving. The news has major implications on how

people perceive their world, relate to one another and act in material space, therefore the communities created through the news are extremely worthy of academic attention (Gasher, 2015). New mediated technologies have added to an already extensive list of questions for media geographers, as the geographies of cyberspace remain unknown. Geographic literature has demanded that future research investigate how modern digital technologies, most notably the internet and social media, can be sites of cultural production, and how these sites differ from traditional media sources (Rose, 2016). News geographers are still trying to gauge how online news sites interpret their audiences and construct their geographies. Gasher and Klein (2008) analyzed references to place in thousands of online news articles, yet the geographies of the online news remained ambiguous. By adapting their methods and including an examination of comment sections on Facebook news sites, my study will provide a more concise and nuanced interpretation on the geographies of the online news world. The uniqueness of the internet extends beyond its geographic implications, the ways in which racism is experienced online are extremely diverse and have yet to be understood. Additionally, the frequency and adverse effects of vicarious experiences of racism online point to a need for further academic attention (Keum and Miller, 2017). By analyzing a racialized online news incident, I will contribute to academia's understanding of online racism while simultaneously filling the gaps of knowledge about online geographies.

Within the field of geography, the ways in which we approach and analyze the processes of racialization and de-racialization must continue to diversify if we are to fully understand their geographic extent and implications. Literature has illustrated that manifestations of racism are constantly changing, making it essential to examine the new forms of racist discourse and the new spaces they occupy. Studies on racism must go deeper than just simply identifying and

mapping racialized phenomena, the discourse that perpetuates and challenges racism must be brought to the forefront. Geographers cannot stop once they have identified the spaces and places of racism, they must engage the processes and narratives within those geographies. Collaboration between anti-racism academic fields must continue, and geographers need to play a key role in answering questions about integration. Sociological theories on assimilation and integration will benefit from geographic analyses just as geographic analyses can be strengthened if they include sociological questions of class and social mobility. I hope to make various contributions to geography and sociology, to equip us with the necessary knowledge and tools to challenge the oppressive ideology of racism.

3. RESEARCH METHODS

The data sources and methods used for this study were selected and rationalized through consultation of similar studies and existing literature in the field. The most significant consideration was the applicability of the sources to the research questions. Because my study consisted of two distinct but related components, this methods chapter is split into two main sections. The first section describes how I identified, collected and analyzed print news articles. The second section has a similar structure but includes a description of the methods used for the online news data.

To explain the methodological approach used for print news articles, I will first describe the data source and time frame for which the news articles were collected from. Next, the search protocol used to identify relevant articles along with the actual collection of the articles will be described. I then describe how I analyzed the news articles, namely the categories and codes used to interpret the data. I will conclude the print news section of my methods chapter by describing how the data was counted and transferred into formats that would provide coherent explanations of my findings.

I will explain the methodological approach to the online portion of my research with a similar structure to that of the print news methods. I will first describe the data sources used along with how I discovered that data online. I will then describe how I collected and documented the data. The categories and codes used to interpret the data will be described as they differed from those used for the print news. Lastly, the counting of the data along with the outputs used to make meaning of my online findings will be described at the end of the chapter.

3.1 Methods, Part One; Print Media

3.1.1 Data Source: The Brampton Guardian

Brampton's local newspaper, *The Brampton Guardian* was chosen as the data source for this section as it served as both an appropriate and practical source for obtaining reports of racialized incidents in Brampton. Print news can be easily accessed by the public and therefore can be very influential in formulating public opinion and ideology. Teo (2000) notes that mainstream news is a key instrument for asserting hegemonic viewpoints and that everyday discourses, such as the ones we encounter in the newspaper, can have a major influence on our perceptions and attitudes towards the groups of people being discussed. *The Brampton Guardian* is distributed free of charge within Brampton's city limits and identifies itself as "an award-winning newspaper serving the City of Brampton and a large ex-urban area, northwest of Toronto" (Metroland Media, 2018). "The Brampton Guardian serves the centre of Peel Region, a large market with above-average household income, and is one of Metroland's best-read newspapers" (Metroland Media, 2018). According to Metroland Media (2018), *The Brampton Guardian* circulates approximately 130,000 newspapers for each issue, illustrating that the extent of its readership is quite significant. *The Brampton Guardian* was founded in 1964 and has circulated throughout the city since. All news articles in *The Brampton Guardian* have been archived and stored in the form of microfilm, providing me with the ability to access historic articles to track the reporting of racialized events and issues over time. Although all reports on racialized incidents since 1991 were able to be obtained, it must be noted that a large portion of racialized incidents will be missed, most notably the explicit and implicit acts of racism that can occur in everyday interactions. Noting these omissions, *The Brampton Guardian* was still identified as the optimal source to investigate whether a shift in the nature and location of racialized incidents has been

concurrent with demographic change in Brampton from a predominantly European-descent population in 1991 to today's majority 'visible minority' population because of its extensive and historical documentation of issues in the community.

It was determined that articles from 1991 and to 2016 would be used in the study. The decision to collect articles from 1991 onwards was informed by the typology of residential segregation developed by Johnston et al (2007), and the five-year Canadian census cycle employed by Statistics Canada. The typology asserted that if the majority, or host group, constitute more than eighty-percent of the census tract's population then they are the dominant group, making minority groups unsubstantial. Although this typology was originally developed to measure census tracts, I will be applying it to census subdivisions to understand the demographic change in Brampton as a whole, rather than analyzing its several census tracts separately. As the 1991 census estimates, over eighty-percent of Brampton's population was not a visible minority, and therefore in the first stage of the residential segregation (or integration) process according to Johnson et al (2007). In 1991, no immigrant or visible minority group formed a substantial minority in Brampton. Similarly, "India" did not exist as an option for place of birth on the Canadian census prior to 1991; therefore, it can be assumed there were not enough Indians in Canada to warrant a separate census category, which is notable because people of Indian origin constitute over a third of Brampton's current population (Martin, 2011). The typology developed by Johnson *et al* (2007) combined with census data show that in 1991, Brampton's visible minority population, most notably those from India and South Asia, was unsubstantial. By 2016, Brampton was in the third stage of the ethnic segregation (or integration) process, but on the brink of entering the sixth, as its two largest ethnic groups formed around sixty-percent of the city's population and only one quarter of the city's population was not a

visible minority. By collecting articles from as early as 1991, I could capture a time in which Brampton was still dominated by Euro-Canadians. Collecting articles up to 2016 would sufficiently capture the shift in Brampton's ethnic composition from a predominantly Euro-Canadian population in 1991 to a predominantly visible-minority or majority-minority population in 2016. In other words, starting in 1991 and ending in 2016 illustrates Brampton's sizeable shift from the first to the third stage in Johnson *et al*'s (2007) typology of ethnic residential segregation.

3.1.2 Data Collection

The next step was to determine which news articles, from the thousands that exist between 1991 and 2016, were appropriate for my study. Fortunately, a search engine provided by the Brampton Public Library system, the *Brampton Newspaper Index*, allowed for keyword searches to locate relevant articles, making for a more efficient collection process. Search engines were considered a reliable source because articles explicitly discussing incidents and issues of race, racism, ethnic relations and inclusion in the community were of interest. Barnard (2007) mentioned that search engines may not be reliable for finding articles with implicit discussions of race, such as a murder of people between different races, but for this study, incidents such as those were not deemed relevant because they did not involve explicit discussions of race or racial contestation. Only issues that have been deemed discriminatory or racialized by *the Brampton Guardian* itself were considered relevant; therefore, the search engine would be reliable in turning up appropriate results, if appropriate keywords were used. The keywords used for the search were determined by noting keywords from previous academic studies on discrimination and racism (Bernasconi, 2014; Dion, 2002; Nelson and Dunn, 2017; Preston and Murnaghan,

2005). A thesaurus was also consulted to create a list of synonyms for discrimination and racism just to ensure nothing would be missed in the search. The search words used were as follows:

- * racism
- * discrimination
- * prejudice
- * xenophobia
- * ethnic relations
- * race relations

The ‘fuzzy’ search filter was engaged, this allowed for variations of the search words, such as ‘race’, ‘discriminatory’, ‘prejudiced’ and ‘xenophobic’, among others, to appear in the results. Additionally, the engine would not only search for keywords and similar words in the headline or title of the article but would also search through the tagged subjects for each article. For example, the first search result to appear was “*Kirpan appeal April 2*” and although this article title did not include any of the key words, it still appeared as a search result because ‘*discrimination*’ was one of the tagged subjects, along with four others. After understanding how the search engine worked, I was confident that my chosen keywords would provide me with all the results that were relevant to my research questions, including all articles that were deemed ‘racially’ relevant.

All six of the key words were typed into the search engine and it turned up one-hundred and thirty-eight *Brampton Guardian* articles from January 1st, 1991, to December 31st, 2016. From that total, thirteen had to be eliminated from my analysis because they were not relevant to the study. For example, ‘*discrimination*’ and ‘*prejudice*’ also turned multiple results of articles relating to gender, sexuality and age discrimination issues. Such articles were excluded because they were not relevant to the research question. The search results also turned up two editorials: these articles were also not included in my analysis, although I did read them to provide myself with further contextualization of racialized issues in Brampton and the opinions of the paper’s

journalists. The search results also turned up several articles that were discussing political action or spending on race relations. Although they were not discussing racist incidents, they were still included in my analysis because they offered valuable information regarding how and where issues of race are contested in the community. The sample size of newspaper articles was not chosen, it was determined by the number of available articles within the selected time-frame that were deemed relevant. The final sample size of the newspapers I analysed was one-hundred and twenty-two.

The search engine would only display the name, date and page number of the articles, the full text of the articles was not available online or in electronic format. The articles could only be accessed on microfilm at The Brampton Public Library, Four Corners Branch, located at 65 Queen Street East, Brampton, Ontario. The articles were arranged chronologically and a list of all the articles, which included the title, date and page numbers, was printed off to allow for easier access at the library. Considering the articles were listed in chronological order, they would also be obtained in chronological order. Throughout May and June of 2017, I would go to The Brampton Public Library Four Corners branch to access the microfilm that contained the news articles. The microfilm was stored in a locked cupboard at the library, so a librarian was needed to access the articles. Additionally, I needed guidance from the librarians on how to use the microfilm viewer, especially during my first few sessions of data collection. Each roll of microfilm contained either one or two months worth of newspaper articles from a specific year, so the microfilm roll of January-February 1991 was the first roll I put under the microfilm viewer.

The first article on my list was titled '*Kirpan appeal April 2*' and published on page 14 of the January 25, 1991 edition of *The Brampton Guardian*. I had to scroll through the January-

February 1991 roll of microfilm until I located the specific article. Once the article was located and visible on the screen of the microfilm viewer, it could be printed off at the library to be analyzed later. ‘*Kirpan appeal April 2*’ was the only article I needed from the January-February 1991 roll, so I would then put that roll back in its place and obtain a roll of microfilm for the next set of months I needed. This process continued for the remaining articles for approximately six weeks until all articles from my search results list were obtained. The hard copies of the articles were then filed and stored by year to be read and analyzed.

3.1.3 Content Analysis & Coding Protocol

The obtained newspaper articles were only available on microfilm and not in electronic format; therefore, the text of the articles could not be imported into a textual analysis program such as *Nvivo*. Rather than attempting to scan the printed articles and convert the images into word format, I concluded that conducting my analysis by hand on the hard copies of the articles would be much more reliable and efficient. Content analysis was identified as the most appropriate method of analysis as the goal was to measure, quantify and understand the textual reports of racialized incidents in Brampton. Literature that outlined the methods used in a content analysis and relevant past studies that have used content analysis were consulted to inform my method of analysis to ensure it was done in a replicable and systematic matter. Krippendoff (2004, p. 3) asserted that, “content analysis entails a systematic reading of a body of texts, images, and symbolic matter” to interpret and explain the content in a more clear and coherent manner. Although the context in which the articles were written was considered, my interpretation of the text was literal, reducing subjectivity while enhancing the reliability and generalizability of my analysis. Again, I was not searching for racial undertones, racial codes or misrepresentations in the text but rather the literal reporting of racialized incidents. Although it

could be in other studies, the newspaper was not examined as a site of racism but rather as a data source that documented racialized incidents in the community, making it a relatively objective analysis.

Keeping the research questions in mind, I analyzed the articles with the purpose of deriving general themes relating to the types of incidents being discussed, along with the locations and spaces in which the incidents occurred, and how frequently those identified themes appeared in articles over the years. The analysis was informed by Gasher and Gabriele (2004), in which the *headline, source of the story, geographical origin, general topic* and *story language* (English or French) were recorded for Montreal Gazette hard-copy, print news articles. I made several adaptations to Gasher and Gabriele's coding protocol to enhance the applicability of the codes to my research questions. *Source of story* and *story language* were eliminated as codes because all articles obtained were written in English and none were sourced from other newspapers; they were all original to *The Brampton Guardian*, written by their own journalists. *General topic* was adapted because of all my articles were already under the topics of racism, discrimination, ethnic relations, prejudice, race relations and xenophobia due to my search protocol. Instead, *general topic* was changed to *incident/issue type* to capture what type of racialized incident was being discussed. Additionally, since all the *Brampton Guardian*'s stories were originating in Brampton, *geographic origin* was changed to *geographic focus* to capture the location(s) being covered in the article. The *incident type* and *geographic focus* were recorded for every article.

Geographic Focus

Analysis of the obtained news articles began with a thorough reading of each article. The categorization of the articles and their content began with open coding, followed by multiple rounds of coding until I had reached my final list and tally of categories. The incident type was

often not mentioned explicitly so close attention was vital. Categorizing the locations involved in the reported incidents was straight forward as they were explicitly mentioned in most articles. The locations of the reported incidents were first placed into two possible categories; *broad location* or *specific location* or *no location*. *Broad locations* were free-floating spaces or places with no identifiable address that were mentioned in the articles. These would include, “*schools*”, “*the city*”, “*streets*”, “*in the force*” along with a multitude of other terms used to signify generic, unidentifiable spaces or locations. If newspaper reports used identifiable locations and the exact names of the places in which incidents occurred, they would be categorized as *specific locations*. Examples of specific locations would include “*City Hall*”, “*Brampton Centennial Secondary School*”, “*Peel Police Headquarters*” along with countless others. The broad and specific locations were then combined to add another dimension to the spatial analysis. For example, the count of specific schools—number--was combined with the count of broad schools—number-- to illustrate the frequency of occurrence for racialized incidents in schools: number. The final list of *location types* included *schools, workplaces, political arenas, community centres/parks, the police force, media, residential areas, and the streets/general public spaces*. These criterion for categorizing location were chosen to illustrate how the newspaper represents the spatial manifestations of racism in Brampton. Similarly, it documented if and how the spatial manifestations of racialized incidents changed between 1991 and 2016.

Incident & Issue Type

The most complicated and lengthy portion of my coding process was categorizing the type of incidents or issues being discussed. This took four rounds of categorizing each article into *incident/issue type* until my final list and count of incident types were recorded for all the articles. This was because the incident type was not explicitly stated in most articles. Every fact

and statement from each article had to be considered to determine which category the incident or issue would fall under. To accurately categorize the incidents being discussed, academic and legal dictionaries along with other literature were consulted to distinguish racialized incidents from one another. For example, the Ontario Human Rights Commission's legal dictionary (2018) was consulted to define '*employment discrimination*'. After the first round of coding, the incidents had been divided into nineteen categories, but there were ambiguities amongst and between the categories. Several more rounds of coding continued until there were eleven categories for the 'incident type'. My final set of categories was achieved by the fourth round of coding. By this point, I was confident that all eleven categories were distinguished from one another and that each incident discussed in the news fit into one of the eleven categories. This analysis captured all racialized incidents reported on in *The Brampton Guardian* from 1991 to 2016, it was not limited to 'white on minority' incident as it included all incidents deemed racially relevant. Subjectivity was involved in the categorization of the articles, but the following definitions were used and followed for every article coded to ensure a consistent and rigorous categorization process. The eleven final categories for '*incident type*' are listed below, followed by definitions of the categories and examples to illustrate how the categorization of the incidents/issues were rationalized.

i. Religious Accommodation

Religious accommodation, as outlined by the Ontario Human Rights Commission (2015), involves employers or institutions making exceptions or modifying their rules when a person's or group's religious beliefs conflict with a requirement, qualification or practice and can apply to

areas such as dress codes, break policies, religious leaves and others¹. The news article titled, *Students now wearing Kirpans, trustees told*, April 12, 1991, was categorized as an incident of ‘religious accommodation’. The first two sentences from the article were as follows:

Approximately 30 baptized Sikh students are reportedly wearing 15cm (six-inch) ceremonial daggers – called Kirpans – to peel public schools despite a ban by the Peel Board of Education. Although the board’s weapon policy was struck down by the Ontario Human Rights Commission last year, the Peel board decided Tuesday to continue to appeal that decision.

ii. White Supremacy

White supremacy is defined by Britannica Academic (2018) as,

beliefs and ideas purporting natural superiority of the lighter-skinned, or “white,” human races over other racial groups. In contemporary usage, the term *white supremacist* has been used to describe some groups espousing ultranationalist, racist, or fascist doctrines.

The news article titled, *Ku Klux Klan back in Peel-Halton area*, January 20, 1993, was categorized as an issue of *white supremacy*. The first two sentences from the article were as follows:

The appearance of the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) in Georgetown Saturday is the second time in recent months that the group has made its presence known in this area. In August last year, KKK literature was put on car windshields in Brampton and Mississauga. Peel police received several complaints, but the pamphlets are not considered hate literature so no charges were laid.

iii. Police-Minority Relations

¹ 1. The definitions used for *incident types* came from a variety of sources due to the fact that they were derived from a thematic analysis of the news article, making them unique to this study. Sources that would provide credible and clear definitions to capture the issues being covered in the article would be used. There was not a consistent, single source that defined all terms, therefore multiple sources had to be used.

Police-minority relations have been identified as a salient issue in diverse, changing Canadian communities (Ben Porat, 2007). Ben-Porat (2007) identified three key issues regarding police adaptation to diverse communities: recruitment and training, practices, and community involvement. Therefore, issues involving diversity training, racial profiling, over or under-policing, police-inflicted violence on minority groups, along with others, were classified as incidents or issues of *police-minority relations*. The news article titled, *South Asians claim brutality at police protest*, September 18, 2002, was an example of an article categorized as an incident/issue of *police-minority relations*. The first two sentences from the article are as follows:

Hundreds of members of the South Asian community gathered in protest at Peel police headquarters in Brampton Sunday, accusing some Brampton-area police officers of harassment and racism. “It is not the whole police force,” said Harinder Gahir, lawyer for a Malton man accusing a police officer of assaulting him last month. “We do understand that the majority of police officers are of high integrity”.

iv. Hate crime/speech

Hate crime is defined by Encyclopedia Britannica (2018) as, “harassment, intimidation, or physical violence that is motivated by a bias against characteristics of the victim considered integral to his social identity, such as his race, ethnicity, or religion.” Similarly *hate speech*

is speech or expression that denigrates a person or persons on the basis of (alleged) membership in a social group identified by attributes such as race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, religion, age, physical or mental disability, and others (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2018).

For my analysis, these manifestations of hate were combined into one category of *hate speech/crime*. *Racial graffiti on farm sign*, July 18, 2004, was an example of an article categorized as an incident/issue of *hate speech/crime*. The first three sentences from the article were as follows:

Asha Kooner knows they will come back, and she wonders what they will do to her family next. “What else are they going to do? I don’t know, that’s what scares me,” she says. “I’m not saying they would come here and try to do us any harm... I don’t know.” Racial vandalism has shaken the family of five on Mayfield Road near Chinguacousy Road.

v. Employment discrimination

The Ontario Human Rights Commission (2018) asserts that,

every person has a right to equal treatment with respect to employment without discrimination or harassment because of race, ancestry, place of origin, colour, ethnic origin, citizenship, creed, sex, sexual orientation, gender identity, gender expression, age, record of offences, marital status, family status or disability. The right to equal treatment with respect to employment covers every aspect of the workplace environment and employment relationship, including job applications, recruitment, training, transfers, promotions, apprenticeship terms, dismissal and layoffs. It also covers rate of pay, overtime, hours of work, holidays, benefits, shift work, discipline and performance evaluations.

Therefore, issues in the newspaper that were discussing unequal treatment in workplaces, or action for equal treatment as an incident/issue of *employment discrimination*. *Nurse who can’t speak Hindi, Punjabi denied job interview*, September 14, 2007, was an example of an article classified as an incident/issue of *employment discrimination*. The first two sentences from the article are as follows:

A Brampton woman who applied to be a registered nurse with William Osler Health Centre (WOHC) claims hiring personnel denied her a job interview because she doesn’t speak Hindi or Punjabi. The woman, who asked not to be identified, said a phone call she received from WOHC was quickly dashed, after she told the caller the only language she spoke besides English, is French.

vi. Discrimination in education

Discrimination in education is defined by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, (1960) as,

any distinction, exclusion, limitation or preference which, being based on race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, economic condition

or birth, has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing equality of treatment in education.

Parents call on trustees to end systemic racism at school board, September 3, 2008, was an example of an article categorized as an incident/issue of *discrimination in education*. The first four sentences from the article are as follows:

Catholic school board trustees have been asked to address “anti-black racism” aimed at students by faculty. “You have reason to be concerned, less with your student body and more with your faculty: For in our experience they have been the engineers of this vile conduct,” Vidoll Regisford told trustees at an Aug. 26 public board meeting. Regisford, who came with support from more than a dozen friends and family members, demanded the board to take some action to address incidents of racism in classrooms and establish a better bureaucratic process for dealing with complaints. His delegation to trustees was motivated by an occurrence in his son’s high school last year.

vii. Cultural misappropriation/misrepresentation

Cultural appropriation is defined by Rogers (2006) as,

the use of a culture’s symbols, artifacts, genres, rituals, or technologies by members of another culture, is inescapable when cultures come into contact, including virtual or representational contact. Cultural appropriation is also inescapably intertwined with cultural politics. It is involved in the assimilation and exploitation of marginalized and colonized cultures and in the survival of subordinated cultures and their resistance to dominant cultures.

For my analysis this term will be used to refer to incidents of *cultural misappropriation/misrepresentation*, to capture incidents in which the culture and practices of racialized minority groups were misused or misrepresented. *Blackface vice-principal transferred*, December 11, 2013, was an article categorized as *cultural misappropriation/representation*. The first two sentences from the article are as follows:

The Caledon vice-principal engulfed in a “blackface” controversy for dressing up as Mr. T for Halloween is being transferred to a new school at the end of January. Peel District Schoolboard spokesperson Ryan Reyes said the move was announced at a Dec. 2 board meeting, after officials finished investigating the incident involving Mayfield Secondary School’s Lionel Klotz.

viii. Anti-immigration/xenophobia

Xenophobia is defined as,

the targeting of foreigners and estranged citizens for stigmatization, discrimination, and scapegoating within nation-states. Xenophobic hostility and violence arise in multicultural contexts in which established constructs of national identity are in crisis (Harrison, 2012).

Articles discussing anti-immigration demonstrations and policies were also included to create the category of *anti-immigration/xenophobia*. *New flyer, similar racist message*, March 18, 2015, was an article categorized as an incident/issue of *anti-immigration/xenophobia*. The first two sentences from the article are as follows:

A third anti-immigrant flyer has surfaced in Brampton, after two similar leaflets were circulated last year. This past weekend an unidentified group distributed the flyers to approximately 1,000 homes in the downtown area of Main Street and Wellington Street West, an anonymous resident informed *The Guardian*.

ix. Segregation/division

Racial segregation is defined as

the practice of restricting people to certain circumscribed areas of residence or to separate institutions (e.g., schools, churches) and facilities (parks, playgrounds, restaurants, restrooms) on the basis of race or alleged race (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2018).

Since segregation is not explicitly institutionalized in Canada, this term was adopted to include events, functions or spaces that were segregated or divided to formulate the category of incident/issue of *segregation/division*. The article *'Blacks only' prom angers Brampton Centennial students*, June 24, 1993, was categorized as an incident/issue of *segregation/division*.

The first two sentences from the article are as follows:

Students of all backgrounds at Brampton Centennial Secondary School were “angry” and “disappointed” that a classmate has organized a “blacks-only” prom this Saturday night. While less than 200 graduating students from Centennial be donning their tuxedos and dresses for tonight’s (Thursday) official prom, others from across Peel and Metro are boycotting the event at their schools and are instead heading to their own blacks-only prom.

x. Anti-racism

Anti-racism is defined as:

some form of focused and sustained action, that involves a mix of peoples and groups (i.e. they come from different cultures, faiths, speak diverse languages, etc. in short, intercultural, interfaith, multi-lingual, inter-class, and inter-abled) with the intent to change a system or an institutional policy, practice, or procedure which has racist effects (Anti-Racism Digital Library, 2000).

Therefore, events or initiatives opposing racism and promoting diversity and inclusion were considered to fall under this category. *North Park students doing their part to curb racism*, December 30, 1993, was an example of an article categorized as an incident/issue of *anti-racism*. The first two sentences from the article are as follows:

Tolerance is key to understanding and getting to know one another. So say a growing number of students at North Park Secondary school, who are intent on breaking down the cultural and ethical barriers that can often lead, and contribute, to racism.

xi. Legislation/spending on ethnic relations

Legislation/spending on ethnic relations was a category developed to capture debates, initiatives, legislation or spending on ethnic/race relations within formal political arenas. This was distinct from the previous category *anti-racism* as that was meant to capture less-formal, public demonstrations and initiatives promoting diversity and tolerance, whereas this was meant to capture how ethnic/race relations were debated and perceived within the formal political, legislative arenas such as the municipal government. The *article Begley questions city's spending on race relations*, March 29, 1991, was categorized as an incident/issue of *legislation/spending on ethnic relations*. The first two sentences from the article are as follows:

Brampton shouldn't be spending tax dollars on a race relations committee the city doesn't need, says Councillor Rhoda Begley. During Monday's budget deliberations, Begley failed to overturn a \$15,000 allocation to the city's new race relations committee.

All articles were categorized as one of these eleven incident/issue types. Although there were several articles that could have fit into multiple categories, thorough reading of the articles was done to establish the dominant incident/issue and theme being discussed. Incident and issues were placed into categories that best represent the events being discussed. For example, *Principal alleges systemic discrimination at school board*, February 18, 2011, could have been categorized as *discrimination in education* but it was categorized as *employment discrimination* instead because the focus was on hiring equity within the school board, rather than the inequities in educational experiences and outcomes. The type of incident/issue being discussed in the articles were categorized for a second time to ensure it was done correctly and all categories were free from ambiguities and omissions.

The year in which each article was published was noted to illustrate how the locations, spaces and types of racialized incidents and issues have changed between 1991 and 2016. Once all articles were coded and placed into their appropriate categories, each category was then counted based on how frequently it appeared, to better illustrate which spaces, locations and incident types were common. By noting the year of the reports, I could derive themes regarding which incidents and spaces were more common during certain time periods and which ones were not. Graphs, maps and pie charts will be used in the analysis chapter to highlight the incidents being reported, locations and spaces involved, and how they have changed in relation to demographic change in Brampton. The data collection and analysis of the print news only went as far as 2016, because in 2017, *The Brampton Guardian* began to only distribute print editions of their newspaper once a week, noting a decreasing significance of print news and an increased readership of their online news, directing me to conduct an online analysis for 2017.

3.2. Methods Part Two: The Online News World

Although the internet has existed for several decades, it is still a relatively new domain, and academics are still trying to grasp exactly how this new geographic sphere impacts society. News geographers have struggled to delineate the geographic extent and scope of online news (Gasher and Gabriele, 2004; Gasher and Klein, 2008). Similarly, the ways in which racialized discourse is manifested, perpetuated and resisted online have not been fully documented (Keum and Miller, 2016). News consumption is increasingly occurring online, and contemporary racism is frequently observed, experienced and understood through the internet (Daniels, 2013). Therefore, by analyzing a prominent racialized online news story and the subsequent comments on three *Facebook* news sites, I could provide insight into online news geography and online racism. Selecting a data source that garnered significant attention from the public and had a lucrative set of discourse was essential. In this section, I discuss the data sources and the reasons they were selected along with a description of the method of analysis for the online sources of data.

Reports and discussions of an incident can be so ubiquitous and elusive that selecting a proper sample and method of analysis can be quite difficult (Daniels, 2013). Rose (2016, p. 344) noted that for geographers engaging digital cultural objects, it is important that, “new methods engage with both the scale and the distribution of contemporary cultural production”. Similarly, inquiry into internet content must be specifically digital in that researchers must consider the criteria, routes and processes that make the content visible and popular online (Rose, 2016). Keeping these demands and my research question in mind, I could not randomly select any racialized incident in Brampton that had attention online: it was about examining an incident that had large scale exposure and vast distribution. Additionally, selecting an incident that was shared and

discussed across multiple platforms would provide greater insight to the geographies of the internet and online racialized discourse.

3.2.1 Data source: Online News

After constant browsing of discussions about racism in Brampton on the internet and social media, I decided that the ‘*Jagmeet Singh heckler incident*’ would be an ideal case study <https://www.bramptonfocus.ca/canada-ready-jagmeet/>. This incident involved a member of the public interrupting and aggressively interrogating Jagmeet Singh at a leadership campaign rally at a recreation centre in Brampton on September 6, 2017. Jagmeet Singh was campaigning to become the leader of the Federal New Democrats, a race he would go on to win. At this rally, he was interrupted and interrogated by a member of the public on his allegiances to ‘Sharia Law’ and ‘The Muslim Brotherhood’. This incident was deemed racist across a variety of social media platforms as Jagmeet was targeted because of the colour of his skin and his outward expression of his religious and cultural identity, most notably his beard and turban. This incident was not only chosen because of its racialized characteristics but also because it happened in Brampton. I came across it in real time and it garnered significant attention across a variety of online news and social media platforms. Similarly, the extent to which this incident went viral and was being shared, viewed and discussed across multiple online news and social media platforms, made it necessary in my mind, for scholarly attention. No incident in Brampton has garnered as much online attention as this one, making it arguably the most suitable source of discourse for racialized incidents in Brampton on the internet. This online study investigated the reporting on racialized incidents for 2017 because the print news study only went as far as 2016.

By examining *Brampton Focus*’s original report and online post of the incident, I could then follow the chronology of the incident online, to see what other sites and people have shared and

discussed the incident. The original video had a link to a post by *Now This* Media on the same incident which was the most viral posting of the incident with over 50 million views (Now This, 2017). The post by *Now This* was the most viewed and shared posting of the incident, meaning it likely had the largest impact on public opinion and discourse surrounding the incident. Through constant browsing of their posts, it was determined that *Now This* reports from a liberal, left of centre on political spectrum perspective as they explicitly state their targeting of millennials (ages 18-34) and tend to focus and report on stories that would appeal to a left-wing, progressive audience (Now This, 2018). Seeing that neither of the two previous sites reported from a right-wing, conservative perspective, it was decided that a less mainstream, right-wing news site should be consulted to allow for a more complete sampling of the discourse surrounding this issue. Through research and engagement with online news, it was determined that *Rebel Media* would be a suitable source for alternative, right-wing viewpoints on the '*Jagmeet Singh heckler incident*', especially considering their frequent use of xenophobic and often Islamophobic narratives. *The Rebel Media*'s constant support of conservative politicians and reports promoting far right-wing politics in Canada, it was determined that *the Rebel Media* was an appropriate data source for alternative, right wing discourse. Each of the three news outlets had *Facebook* news reports and responses to the incident. Therefore, the data source for this study was composed of news report on the incident along with the comments on each site's *Facebook* posts of the news story.

3.2.2 Data collection

Although the *Brampton Focus* and *Now This* had more than fifty comments, *Rebel Media*, at the time of collection, only had fifty comments on their *Facebook* news page, therefore, the top fifty comments from each of the three sites would be collected. The decision to only collect and

analyze the top fifty comments was based off the fact that the *Rebel Media* post only had fifty comments, by only using fifty on the other two sites I was able to create a consistent sample size across the data sources. Comments are ranked based off how many likes, reactions and responses they have, the higher the comment is ranked, the higher it appears on the user's feed. By focusing on the top fifty comments, I would capture the comments that are at the top of users' feeds and, therefore, read most frequently. Inquiry into internet content must be specifically digital and by collecting my data this way, I was doing so in a specifically digital manner (Rose, 2016). Instead of bookmarking the webpage, I decided to copy and paste the comments on to a word document, in the order they appeared on the *Facebook* comment bars. This ensured that the data would not be deleted or lost, as posts can often be taken down or edited on the internet. This also allowed coding to be done by hand, with a similar method of analysis to that of the print news.

3.2.3 Data Analysis; Content and origin of the comments

Prior to analyzing the responses and comments to the news posts of the incident, the incident, or news story itself, as reported in each of the three *Facebook* news sites, was analyzed according to the coding protocol used for the print news analysis. Unlike the print news, online news reports allowed for comments and responses to the incident, these comments and responses then became racialized incidents in themselves and were therefore analyzed as such. It is the forum for comments and discussion about news reports that is unique to the online news world. Consequently, the comments and responses to the incident were the focus of my online analysis. The comments were analyzed in isolation from one another and were coded based on whether they included supportive statements of Jagmeet Singh, supportive statements of the heckler, statements condemning Jagmeet Singh or statements condemning the heckler.

I also coded for the use of geographic references, explicit racism and vulgarity in the comments. Commenters profiles were also examined, if public, to gauge the geographic extent of each site's news consumption. For example, several commenters on the *Brampton Focus* post identified 'Brampton' as their place of residence. These criteria were used in the analysis with the intention of illustrating the ways in which racialized incidents are contested in online spaces, to better understand the role social media and online news play in perpetuating but also resisting racism in contemporary society. The coding protocol and criteria will be explained in greater detail below.

The first round of coding involved noting whether the content of each comment was supportive of Jagmeet Singh's response, condemning Jagmeet Singh's response, supportive of the heckler's response or condemning the heckler's response. An example of a comment supporting Jagmeet's response is, "[sic] That man has an unnatural level of patience, always good to be reminded that still exist in humanity dude is awesome" (Now This, 2017). An example of a comment coded as a condemnation of Jagmeet's response is:

[sic] Jaheet never once let her speak. He just mindlessly chanted about love acceptance and inclusiveness like your typical anti-free speech college prof. Better to let everyone think she is just a bigot than having to try and answer some legitimate questions on why he supports Sharia and Islamic critical legislation. (Rebel Media, 2017)

An example of a response coded as supportive of the Heckler's actions is: "[sic] she has every right to ask any question that concerns her he never answered her question and like she said the media pick up in the middle of the interview 100% she has the right unless he is special" (Rebel Media, 2017). An example of a statement coded as condemning the Heckler's actions is: "She says to back off and she thinks she has every right to invade someone's space the way she's doing it! Omg 😡!!! [sic] Fuxking racist fuck!!!" (Now This, 2017). If a comment was either

supportive of Jagmeet or condemning the heckler it would then be placed into the broader category of 'supportive' because it would be challenging the heckler's discriminatory and racially motivated actions. If a comment was condemning Jagmeet's actions or supporting the heckler's, it would be placed into the broader category of 'negative' as it would be supporting racially motivated, discriminatory actions and discourses perpetuated by the heckler. This was done to illustrate the extent to which racially motivated, discriminatory discourses are furthered or challenged online. Therefore, comments fell into one of three categories: 'supportive', 'negative', or 'no opinion'.

The next round of coding tracked vulgar content. Comments that contained insults, profanity, obscenities or any other vulgar content were counted. I would also keep track of any comments that were explicitly racist. This was done to illustrate how the language used online differs from that in print news, as several scholars had found that the anonymity and virtual distance of the online world creates a greater likelihood of such language being used (Van Blarcum, 2005; Lojeski & Reilly, 2008). This categorization was done separately from three categories mentioned in the paragraph above, therefore vulgar or racist comments could also fall under the categories of positive, negative or no opinion.

To understand the significance, or lack of significance, of location and place, of this incident to the online community, a content analysis of the comments was conducted to determine and document the geographic references within the text of each of the top fifty comments. The Jagmeet Singh Heckler Incident occurred at a specific location in Brampton, this method of analysis documented the significance of the location to the online community and how the online community interprets the geographic significance of the incident. Each of the three sites had comments that varied in terms of the frequency of geographic references and variety of locations

referred to. The counts displayed on the graph include any comment that referred to some type of place or locations. An example of a geographic references coded as a *Brampton* geographic reference is, “Clearly being in Brampton some residents still don’t seem to understand the difference between Sikhs and Muslims”. An example of a comment coded as a *Canada* geographic reference is, “Political bulls**t everywhere same discrimination even here in Canada!!! So sad for this beautiful country though...” Comments that also included references to locations in Canada outside of Brampton were included in this code. An example of a comment coded as an *international* geographic references is,

[sic] Omg I live in south eastern USA and I know so much about Sikhs and they are great. I think one of the USA white supremest escaped from here and sadly came to you guys. I wish we could prat the racism out of people! Waheguru.

Coding the comments in this manner allowed for an understanding of how the online community defines the geographic significance of this issue. Is this incident related to an issue specific to Brampton, other Canadian communities, the country as a whole or an international issue? Examining discussions of place, and the frequency of different places being discussed in the comments illustrates the importance of place, and the geographic significance of the incident.

The above coding method would help document the geographic significance of the incident but it would not be enough to document the geographic breadth and extent of the news reports. By documenting where each comment came from, I could delineate the geographic extent of each news site’s readership, viewership or consumption. The commenters profiles, if public, were examined to determine where commenters were from. Not all users’ profiles identified places of residence and some did not allow public access, but for the ones that did, I would note the cities or towns that users identified to be their place of residence. These identified locations

would then be placed into three broader categories: Brampton, Canada (outside Brampton), or International. This was done to examine the extent to which online news sites' audiences and geographies are circumscribed. This analysis would illustrate the geographic significance of the incident along with the geographic extent of the online news consumption. This method of analysis, along with the ones mentioned above were used for the top 50 comments on all 3 *Facebook* news sites and lead to an interesting set of findings.

Like the analysis of the print news, the data will be counted to uncover emergent themes and document the frequency of certain content appearing in the comments. These findings will be displayed and then explained through graphs. The findings relating to the location and geographic references of the commenters will be displayed using pie charts. These graphs and charts will allow for a coherent explanation of the data and what it means regarding the research questions. The graphs and charts created through my methodological approach will be included and explained in the next chapter. Now that the data sources and methods of collection and analysis have been explained, the next chapter aims to articulate what was discovered using those sources and methods.

4. RESULTS

4.1. Introduction

After collecting, categorizing, counting and analyzing the diverse dataset, many findings emerged. Rather than analyzing and explaining every piece of data, this section will document and discuss the findings that are most relevant to the research questions. To replicate the chronology of the research questions and methods chapter, the findings from the print news analysis will be discussed first. I will begin with the final counts for the categories of *incident/issue type* and *geographic focus*, which includes; *spaces of contestation*, *specific locations* and *broad locations*. The counts for the *incident/issue types* and *spaces of contestation* will be displayed on bar graphs. The counts for the *broad and specific locations* of the *geographic focus* category will be displayed pie charts to illustrate the significance and extent of broad locations relative to specific location reference in the news. Each specific location will then be displayed on a road map of Brampton, to identify where incidents are occurring in the city. The focus of my research was not only to document where issues of race are being contested and what the nature of those incidents are, but also how the manifestations of racialized incidents have changed in relation to change in Brampton's ethnic composition; therefore, documentation and explanation of how racialized incidents have changed over time, both in nature and location, will be central to this chapter. The analysis of racialized incidents will be broken down into two time periods or stages in Brampton's demographic history: one prior to Brampton being a "majority-minority city", and the other after it passed that threshold. A majority-minority city is one in which there is no majority group and most of the city is composed of visible minority groups (Crul, 2016). Although, divided into two distinct time periods, 1991 to 2004, and 2005 to 2016, it is important to acknowledge that Brampton's

demographic transition was not abrupt but rather a progression over many years to a superdiverse, majority-minority population. Before outlining the findings, it must be noted that the demographic makeup of Brampton within the two established time periods were not static and can be broken down even further into additional phases of demographic transition. The 2005 threshold is not used to portray an abrupt transformation but rather to contribute to minimal understandings of integration and community relations in superdiverse communities as compared to communities that dominated by in ethnic group. The graphs and maps included in this section will include counts on the nature of the incidents before and after Brampton became a majority-minority city. These findings will contribute to Vertovec's (2007) theory of *superdiversity*, in which he and others (Crul, 2016; Maly, 2016) argue that incoming groups integrate into the host-society much differently in majority-minority cities. The maps included below will contribute to understandings of the *Geographies of the News*. As outlined by Gasher (2015), geographers of the news are concerned with, "the representational space that news organizations construct, and the vantage point from which they report" (p.130). The geographic focus of each article will be mapped to determine the geographic significance and extent of the news reports on racialized incidents in Brampton. I will begin below with the *incident/issue types*, followed by *geographic focus* and its subcategories.

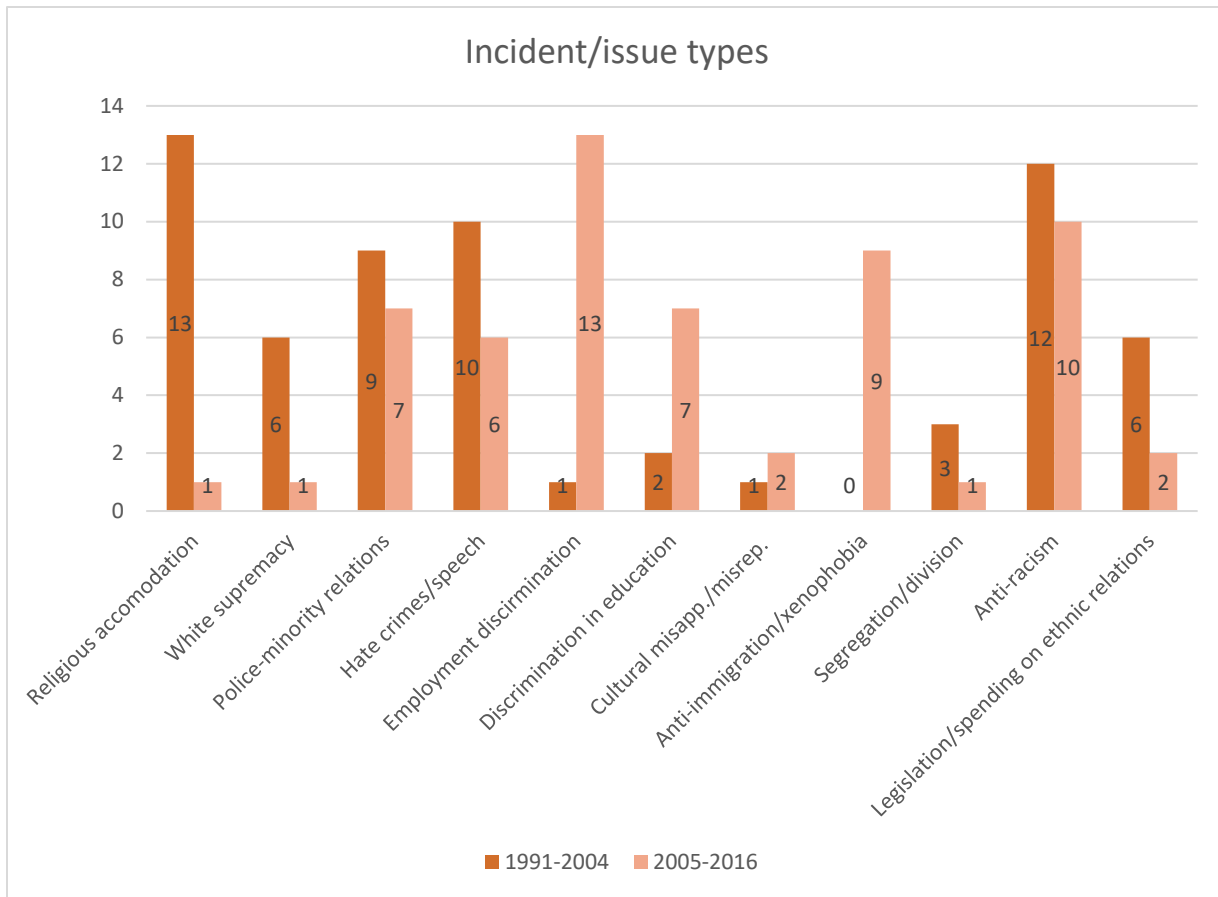
4.2 Print News Results

4.2.1 Incident/issue types

All one-hundred and twenty-two *Brampton Guardian* newspaper articles used in the content analysis were categorized based on what type of incident or issue was being discussed in the text of the article. As mentioned in the methods chapter, several rounds of coding were conducted, leading to a final list of codes representing the type of incident or issue in the news. The final list

contained eleven different codes for incident/issue type and each article from the data set was placed into one of the eleven categories. The graph below represents how frequently articles fell into each of the categories, demonstrating how common certain types of racialized incidents were in Brampton. The graph also contains two bars of frequency for each category, the left bars represent the frequency of occurrence between 1991 and 2004 (before Brampton became a majority-minority city), and the right bars represent the frequency of occurrence from 2005 to 2016 (after Brampton passed the majority-minority threshold). Again, this chart will not include a tally of all racialized incidents in the community, but only those deemed newsworthy by *The Brampton Guardian* in the selected time frame. Additionally, the analysis captured all racialized incidents reported on in *The Brampton Guardian* from 1991 to 2016, it was not limited to ‘white on minority’ incidents as it included all incidents deemed racially relevant.

Table 4.1
Types of Racialized Incidents in Brampton; 1991-2016



(Stuart McHenry, 2018)

As seen above, there are incidents or issues that appear in the *Brampton Guardian* much more regularly than others. Incidents or issues of *anti-racism* were reported on most frequently in the *Brampton Guardian* as there was twenty-two reports of *anti-racism* occurrences between 1991 and 2016, and the numbers of reports were similar before and after the majority-minority threshold was reached in Brampton at twelve before and ten after. Reports on incidents and issues regarding *police-minority relations* were the second most frequent, along with *hate crimes/speech*. Between 1991 and 2016, the number of reports on police-minority relations was similar before and after the majority-minority was reached, as there were nine before and seven

after. Incidents or issues of *hate crimes or hate speech* appeared sixteen times in the *Brampton Guardian* between 1991 and 2016. Ten of those sixteen occurred prior to Brampton reaching the minority-majority threshold and the remaining six occurred from 2005 onwards. It is important to note that *anti-racism* and *police-minority relations*, two of the three most common types of racialized incidents reported on in the *Brampton Guardian*, were not significantly impacted by demographic change, that is, the frequency of news reports on incidents and issues of that nature was not significantly different when comparing the counts from before Brampton passed the majority-minority threshold to afterwards. Reasons for the high frequency and consistency over the study period of these issues are not fully known but possible explanations can be offered. Simply put, articles reporting on incidents and issues of *anti-racism* may have been common and unaffected by demographic change because in a changing community where issues of race are constantly contested, there will likely always be displays of solidarity and anti-racism, displays of anti-racism will exist so long as racism remains to exist. Additionally, the frequent and consistent reporting of anti-racism may be an attempt by journalists to construct Brampton as an accepting and inclusive community. The frequent and consistent reporting on *police-minority relations* is likely due to the fact that historically, police-minority relations have been an issue in Canadian communities and has not yet been rectified. *Hate crimes and hate speech* on the other hand, and their higher frequency prior to 2005, can be related to the shift away from blatant forms of racism, towards more subtle forms of racism, such as cultural or institutional racism (Rattansi, 2007; Rodat, 2017). There are no clear answers as to why these types of incidents and issues were the most common in Brampton, but the explanations above provide plausible explanations for the findings. Further research will be needed for a deeper interpretation of these findings.

What is perhaps most interesting from the counts derived from coding for incident/issue type is the fact that certain types of incidents were drastically more frequent on only one side of the majority-minority threshold. Some incidents almost exclusively occurred prior to Brampton reaching the fifty-percent visible minority threshold while others were almost exclusively occurring only after that threshold was surpassed. *Religious accommodation* had the fourth most number of reports, with fourteen total reports, yet thirteen of those fourteen reports were prior to 2005. The frequency of reports on religious accommodation prior to 2005 is due to the significance of the debate in the 1990s about allowing Sikh religious articles, such as the Kirpan and Turban in public institutions. These debates and issues were not significant in the more recent, majority-minority years according to the data set, which might be due to the fact that most issues of religious accommodation in Brampton were contested and sorted out in the earlier years of Sikh integration into the community. It is also important to note that incidents and issues of *white supremacy* had frequent reports prior to 2005 but were insignificant from 2005 onwards. There were seven reports on incidents or issues of white supremacy and six of them occurred prior to Brampton reaching the majority-minority threshold. The lack of incidents or issues of white supremacy from 2005 onwards might be due to the emergence of more subtle forms of racism, allowing white supremacy to manifest itself as xenophobia or other forms of cultural racism, instead of the more explicit, biological forms of racism that existed in earlier decades. Incidents and issues of *legislation or spending on ethnic relations* were also more significant prior to 2005 with six of the eight reports occurring prior to Brampton surpassing the majority-minority threshold. An explanation for these trends is that in recent years debate, inquiry and spending into ethnic and race relations is no longer questioned or challenged because it is accepted as an essential task of politicians and governments to address these types of issues in

multicultural societies. Incidents and issues of religious accommodation, white supremacy and legislation/spending on ethnic relations were only significant enough to make the local news when Brampton lacked a majority visible-minority population and was still dominated by European-descent, non-visible minority ethnic groups.

There were also three types of incidents and issues that occurred much more frequently from 2005 onwards, once Brampton became a majority-minority city. Incidents and issues of *employment discrimination* or equity were reported on fourteen times, but thirteen of those fourteen reports were after 2004, showing that employment discrimination was much more of a public and significant issue in Brampton after the majority-minority threshold was passed. Similarly, reports on incidents and issues of *discrimination in education* were much more frequent from 2005 onwards as seven of the nine reports occurred after 2004. The increased levels of integration and upward social mobility of minority groups, most notably the South Asian community, could account for the emergence of reports on incidents and issues of employment and education discrimination, as these marginalized groups have enhanced socioeconomic status and more social capital to advocate on these issues in a superdiverse Brampton. Similarly, the increased ethnic capital of the South Asian community, that comes from the establishment, growth and maintenance of strong community networks and resources in Brampton, has given that group the means and sense of belonging that allows them to defend their community and achieve better outcomes and standards in the host society (Abada and Tenkorang, 2009). Additionally, reports on incidents of *anti-immigration or xenophobia* only occurred after Brampton surpassed the majority-minority threshold as zero of the nine articles reporting on incidents of anti-immigration and xenophobia were in *The Brampton Guardian* prior to 2005. The emergence of anti-immigration or xenophobia can be explained by the

increased presence of minority groups and the fact that the once-dominant, Euro-Canadian group has become a minority in Brampton, threatening the power of the once-dominant group.

Xenophobic sentiments often emerge in superdiverse contexts (Bernasconi, 2014). Data shows that incidents and issues of employment discrimination, discrimination in education and anti-immigration/xenophobia were not significant enough to make the local news until Brampton had reached the majority-minority threshold in its population.

The other two categories of *cultural misappropriation/misrepresentation* and *segregation/division* were not overly significant in terms of frequency of reports but were created because the incidents in those categories required their own category as they would not be appropriate or relevant to the other nine categories. Perhaps, Canada's progress in the areas of cultural awareness and multiculturalism can account for the lack of reports on incidents of cultural misappropriation/misrepresentation and segregation/division. The diversity, variation and interesting trends seen across the categories for the types of incidents and issues continued for the categorization of the *spaces of contestation*, which will be documented in the next section.

4.2.2 Geographic focus

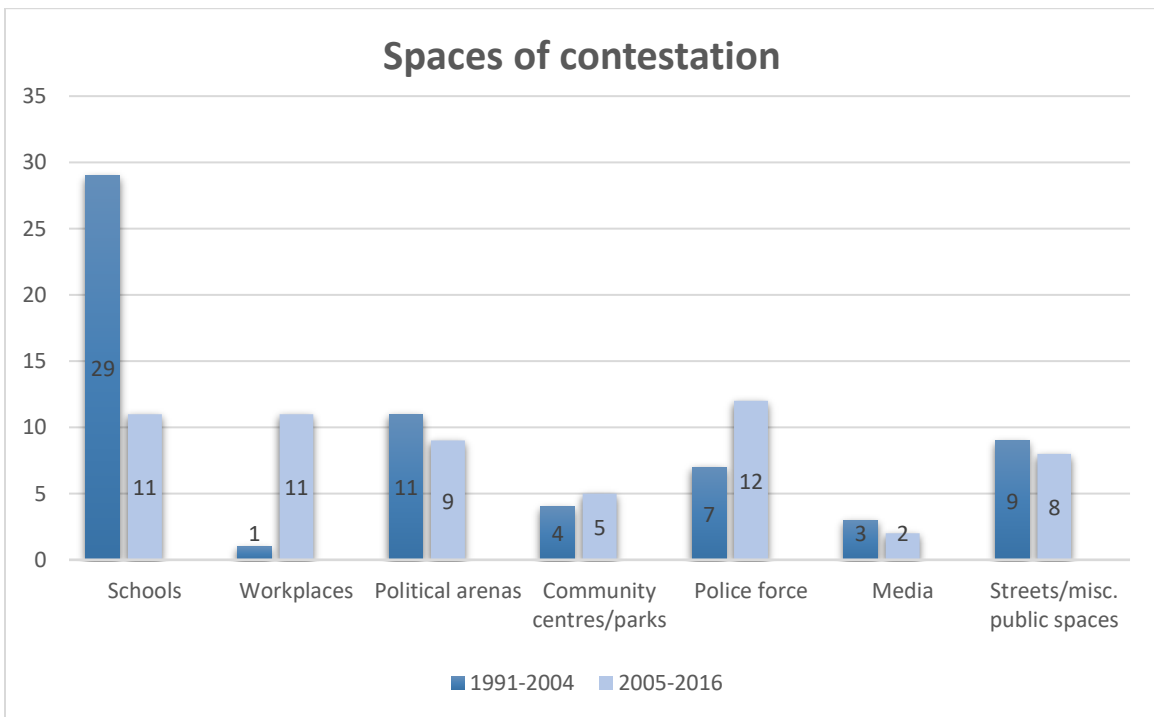
As mentioned in the methods chapter and outlined in the research questions, the purpose of this project was not only to document what types of racialized incidents have been reported on but to also acknowledge and understand the spaces and places in which the incidents have occurred. First, the general spaces will be documented through a bar graph and explained, these are labelled the *spaces of contestation*. After the spaces of contestation have been documented and explained, they will then be broken down into the broad and specific locations. The extent of broad locational references will be illustrated on pie charts and the specific locations will be

placed on to road maps of Brampton. These charts will illustrate the geographic extent of the news reports on racialized incidents in *The Brampton Guardian*.

i. spaces of contestation

For this section, the general spaces of racialized contestation in Brampton will be documented to understand the realms of society that tend to play host to racialized incidents. Like the section above, the counts of articles belonging into each category will be documented on a bar graph then explained afterwards. Each category will have two bars on the graph, the left bar will represent the number of reports on incidents occurring in that space between 1991 and 2004 and the right bar will represent the number of occurrences from 2005 to 2016, after Brampton passed the majority-minority threshold.

Table 4.2
Spaces of Racialized Contestation in Brampton; 1991-2016



(Stuart McHenry, 2018)

As seen in the graph above, there is substantial variety in the spaces that host incidents and issues of racialized contestation. There are also differences regarding the timing of incidents occurring in those spaces as some spaces hosted racialized incidents more frequently prior to 2005 while others hosted more frequently from 2005 onwards. This graph explains the spatial dimensions of racialized incidents in Brampton and more interestingly, how those spatial dimensions have changed in relation to demographic change. The seven categories, as laid out in the methods chapter, will be discussed in terms of how frequently racialized incidents occurred within them, both before and after Brampton passed the majority-minority threshold in 2005.

To begin with, the frequency of incidents occurring in *schools* is quite notable as the number of reports regarding incidents and issues in schools out numbers any of the other six categories, by a great deal. Twenty-nine of the forty reports regarding incidents in schools occurred before 2005. The prominence of debate regarding whether *Kirpans* could be worn in public schools accounts for this large number of reports before 2005. Regardless of the reasons for the high frequency of occurrence of incidents in schools, schools were undoubtedly the most prominent space of racialized contestation in Brampton, according to *the Brampton Guardian*, although they were much more prominent prior to Brampton becoming a majority-minority city. *Political arenas* had the second most number of reports with a total of twenty news articles citing incidents that occurred in political arenas. The frequency of occurrence of incidents in political arenas was relatively stable between 1991 and 2016 as there was a similar amount of reports before and after Brampton became a majority minority city. Eleven reports occurred before 2005 and nine occurred from 2005 onwards. Several explanations for the prominence of schools and political arenas exist and will be discussed later in this section.

After schools and political arenas, the *police force*, *streets/miscellaneous public space* and *workplaces* were the next most prominent spaces of racialized contestation. *The Brampton Guardian* had nineteen reports on issues or incidents occurring within the police force between 1991 and 2016. Seven of the reports occurred prior to 2005 while twelve occurred from 2005 onwards suggesting that the police force was more of an emerging space of contestation, and more significant after Brampton became a majority-minority city. Streets and miscellaneous public spaces was the fourth most prominent category with seventeen reports. This does not indicate that specific realm of society is more likely to host racialized incidents but rather that several incidents occur in general, less-identifiable public spaces, rather than specific institutions like schools or the police force. Nine of the seventeen reports on incidents in these types of spaces occurred prior to 2005. Workplaces were another emerging space of contestation, as eleven of the twelve reports on incidents or issues in the workplace occurred after Brampton became a majority-minority city in 2005. This conforms to what was found with incident type as issues or incidents regarding *employment discrimination or equity* were also emergent as they all occurred from 2005 onwards.

The two categories for spaces of contestation that have yet to be mentioned are *community centres/parks* and *media*. Reports on incidents in these spaces were much less common than the other five spaces but they were still important to document. There were nine total reports on incidents occurring in community centres/parks and four of those nine occurred before 2005. The least common space of contestation was the media with five total reports, three of the five reports occurred before 2005. It is important to note that *The Brampton Guardian* was not being examined as a space of contestation, only *The Brampton Guardian* reports of racialized incidents and issues in the media were included in this count.

There are several potential explanations for the frequency of reports on certain spaces of contestation. The high frequency of reports on incidents in schools, political arenas and the police force is likely due to the fact they are some of society's most highly scrutinized public institutions. Also, workplaces and the streets or miscellaneous public spaces, like schools, are two of the main spaces in which issues of identity and difference are contested because of frequent contact with other ethnic and social groups. Community centres, parks and the media appear to be spaces in which issues of race are rarely contested according to the news and reports may be uncommon because of reporting bias. Further research is required for more coherent and empirically based answers to the question of why certain spaces are more frequently reported on than others.

The spaces of contestation discussed in this section were counted from the references made to locations in the selected news articles. The categories discussed were created by combining the broad and specific locations mentioned in the articles. For example, some mentioned "schools" as sites of contestation where other articles mentioned specific schools such as "Brampton Centennial Secondary School". Now that the spaces of contestation have been documented, the next sections will discuss those spaces in greater detail, documenting the broad and specific locations amongst them.

ii. Broad and Specific locations

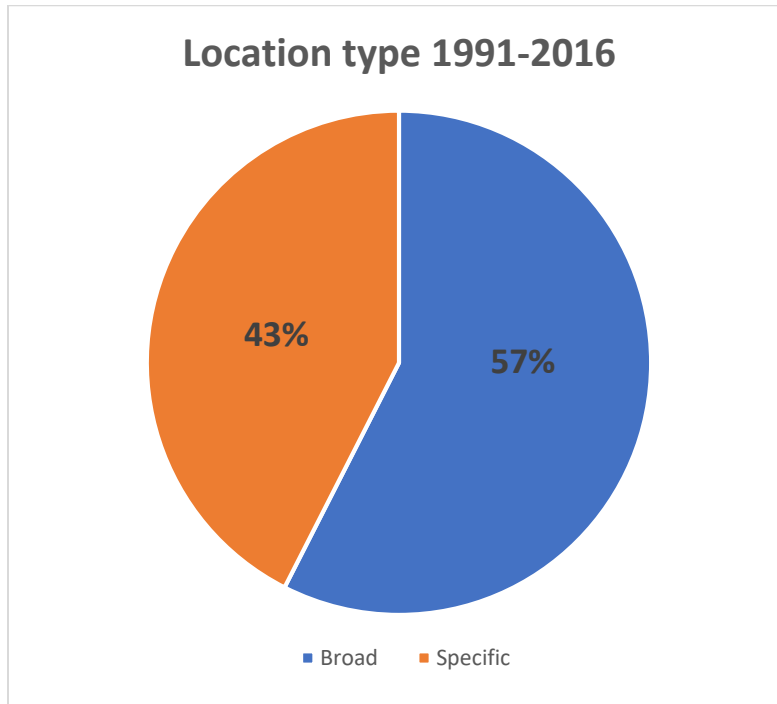
The newspaper can play a significant role in how people perceive, navigate and experience their communities; therefore, it was important to document where racialized incidents are occurring. Documenting the specific locations allowed for conclusions to be drawn about the geographic extent of racialized incidents, more specifically the locations in which incidents have occurred. An issue with the news reports is that many of them do not refer to specific,

identifiable locations but instead use broad, free-floating terminology to refer to sites of contestation. First, the extent to which broad, free-floating and unidentifiable locations were cited in the articles relative to the specific location usage will be documented through pie charts. The specific and identifiable locations referred to in all the *Brampton Guardian* articles that were analyzed will be displayed on a road map on Brampton. Like previous sections, the data will be divided up into articles between 1991 and 2004 and then from 2005 to 2016 to illustrate how the locations of racialized incidents differ before and after Brampton became a majority-minority city.

Broad locational references can make incidents seem like they can be occurring anywhere and everywhere and were therefore, crucial to document. In this section, the frequency and types of broad locational references will be discussed and like previous sections, data from 1991 to 2005 will be compared to data from 2005 to 2016. The chart below will document the number of articles with broad locational references versus articles with specific locational references.

Table 4.3

Locational References for Racialized Incidents in Brampton Guardian; 1991-2016



(Stuart McHenry 2018)

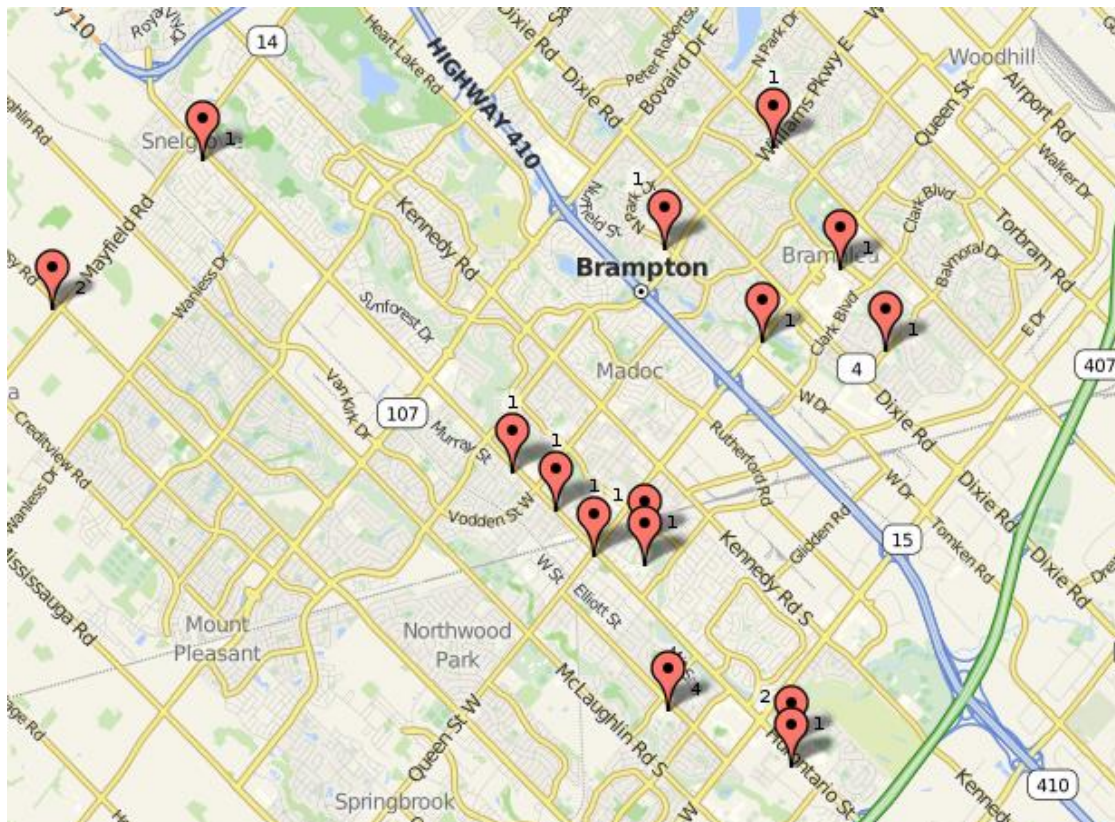
Of the one-hundred and twenty-two articles used for analysis, only fifty-two, or forty-three percent of the articles mentioned specific locations in which the incidents being discussed occurred. The remaining seventy, or fifty-seven percent of articles were referring to broad or unidentifiable locations hosting racialized incidents, well over half of the articles or incidents could not be mapped or located within Brampton, meaning the geography of racialized contestation is still quite ambiguous. These ambiguous, broad locations included terminology such as Brampton, GTA, Peel, Police Force, Schools and others. These ambiguities can make it difficult to identify where racialized contestation is occurring, impacting how these issues are addressed and how consumers of the news perceive, experience and navigate their communities.

Although the newspaper articles did cite broad locations frequently, there was still many specific locations mentioned in the reports on racialized incidents. To better illustrate the geographic extent of racialized incidents in Brampton, the two maps in this section will document the exact locations in which racialized incidents occurred, according to *the Brampton Guardian*. The first map will show the locations of incidents from articles before 2005 and the second map will show locations from incidents reported on from 2005 onwards. The findings displayed on the maps will then be discussed.

Below (Figure 4.1) is the map of locations in which racialized incidents occurred, as reported in the Brampton Guardian from 1991-2004. The red icons identify locations of racialized incidents and the numbers beside the icon indicate the number of reports on that location.

Figure 4.1

Map of Racialized Incidents in Brampton; 1991-2004



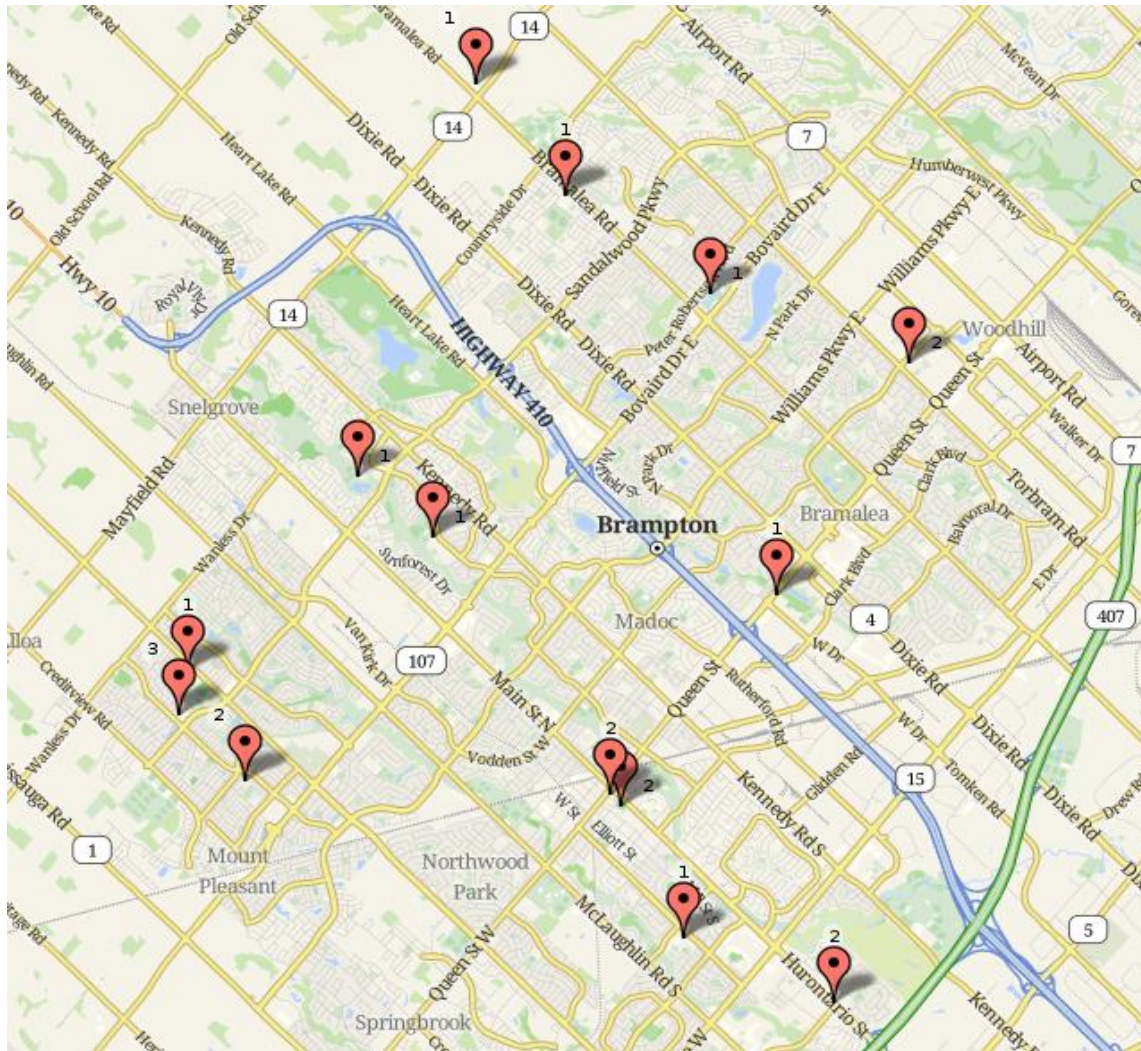
(Stuart McHenry, © Zee Maps, 2018)

As seen on this map, there is no distinguishable pattern as to where reported racialized incidents occurred in Brampton between 1991 and 2004. There is not one specific area of the city that is substantially more susceptible to racialized incidents than the other as the occurrence of incidents is relatively random and geographically dispersed. One trend on the map could be the higher rate of occurrence closer to downtown or central Brampton. This is likely due to higher population densities and a larger number of institutions being located close to the centre of Brampton rather than the outskirts of the city. It is notable that *Brampton Centennial Secondary School* had the highest number of reports on racialized incidents occurring. The *Peel District School Board Central* offices had three reports referring to incidents there, making it the second most frequently reported on specific location between 1991 and 2004. The *Peel District School Board Central* offices are not seen on the map because they are in Mississauga, the largest municipality in Peel Region. *North Park Secondary School*, the *Peel Police Headquarters* and an address in the *Mayfield and Chinguacousy Road* area also appeared multiple times on the map. The incidents reported on prior to Brampton becoming a majority-minority city were relatively diverse and dispersed, occurring in a variety of public spaces across the city.

The map of the location of incidents reported on in the Brampton Guardian from 2005 to 2016 is shown below (Figure 4.2). The red icons identify locations of racialized incidents and the numbers beside the icon indicate the number of reports on that location.

Figure 4.2

Map of Racialized Incidents in Brampton; 2005-2016



(Stuart McHenry, © Zee Maps, 2018)

Like the 1991 to 2004 map, the geography of racialized incidents in Brampton is diverse and dispersed. There is not one specific area of the city that is substantially more susceptible to racialized incidents, although frequency of occurrence is higher towards central or downtown Brampton. *Queens Park* and *St. Edmund Campion Secondary School* were the most frequently mapped locations as each location was reported on in three separate articles about racialized incidents. *Gage Park*, *Brampton Guardian Angels Catholic School*, *the Brampton Courthouse*,

City Hall and *Mississauga Valley Park* also had multiple reports of incidents occurring at those locations. The map of incidents from 2005 to 2016 shows that the locations have changed since Brampton became a majority city but does not display any identifiable patterns representing how the manifestations of incidents have been impacted by demographic change.

Both the maps included in this section provide insight into where reported racialized incidents are occurring in Brampton and where they are not, which will hopefully allow for these issues to be identified and addressed more effectively. These maps included all locations that could be mapped, because names, locations or identifiable addresses were provided in the articles, but many articles used broad terminology to refer to the locations of incidents being discussed.

This section of the analysis has addressed the first two of the three research questions and has documented the types of racialized incidents that have occurred in Brampton and the various places and spaces in which they have occurred. By organizing each section of the print news analysis into pre and post minority-majority demographic composition, this section has shown how the geography and nature of racialized incidents have been impacted by demographic change in Brampton. Some incidents are easily identifiable while others may be tougher to categorize and locate geographically. One certainty the data provides is that the nature and location of racialized incidents in Brampton are constantly changing. Not only have the spaces of racialized incidents changed, the spaces in which the incidents are reported on have also changed. In 2017, *The Brampton Guardian* began to only distribute their print news once a week, therefore it was determined that to accurately analyze and understand news reports on racialized incidents in 2017, my analysis needed to be conducted online. The online portion of the data analysis will be documented and discussed in the next section and second portion of my analysis chapter.

4.3 Online News Results

4.3.1 The Jagmeet Singh Heckler Incident

To reach an adequate understanding of how news reports and discourse surrounding racialized incidents has changed from 1991 to 2017, an examination of online news reports of racialized incidents and the subsequent discussion online is necessary. As evidenced by *The Brampton Guardian*'s switch to once-a-week distribution of their print newspaper in 2017, reports and discussions of incidents and issues in the community are increasingly occurring online (Metroland Media, 2017). As mentioned in the methods chapter, the ubiquitous and elusive nature of internet content makes data selection and collection a challenging task. The Jagmeet Singh Heckler Incident was selected because it was an appropriate, timely and very significant racialized incident with a large and fruitful dataset of discussion surrounding it online. The fact that the incident involved discrimination against a South Asian man in Brampton made it even more relevant to the research questions. For consistency, this incident was analyzed according to the same criteria and categories used for the print news analysis, this was the first step in the online analysis. The incident was characterized and found to be an issue of *hate-crime/speech* as she was attacking him verbally over his support for an anti-hate speech bill. The space of contestation was *community centre/parks* as the original online report cited the incident occurred at *Professors Lake Community Center* and was therefore considered a *specific*, not *broad* location. The comments surrounding the incident on each of the three Facebook news sites were central to the analysis. Each comment was coded based on whether it had supportive or negative content, vulgar content or racist content. The geographic origin and references, if available, were documented for each comment to illustrate the geographic breadth and significance of the online news reports of the incident. This section on the analysis chapter will

begin by documenting the frequency of supportive, negative, vulgar and racist language within top fifty comments from the original report posted by each of the three sites; *Brampton Focus*, *Now This* and *Rebel Media*. Next, the geographic references and locations of the top fifty comments from each site will be documented and explained. Lastly, the impacts of online news on the experience, geography and reporting of racialized incidents will be analyzed.

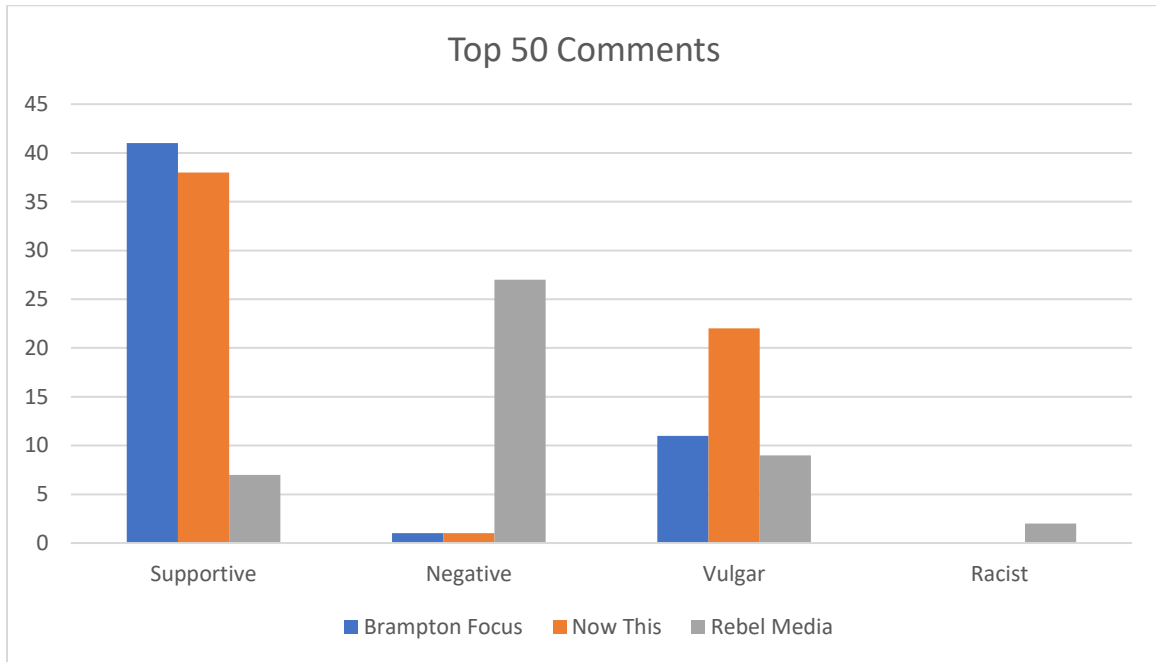
4.3.2 Content of the Comments

The first and original post of the video containing footage of an Islamophobic protestor heckling Jagmeet Singh at an NDP leadership rally in Brampton on September 6, 2017, came from a local online news network called *Brampton Focus*. *Brampton Focus* has an active *Facebook* news page, the video was posted on their *Facebook* page, which allowed for a great deal of exposure and reaction. The video posted on the *Brampton Focus* *Facebook* page had seven-hundred and thirty-eight thousand views, four-thousand and one-hundred shares in October 2017. The *Brampton Focus* post included a link to the post by *Now This Media*, the most viral and popular posting of the incident. The video posted by *Now This* had approximately forty-six million views, and one-hundred and forty-one thousand shares, when the data was collected in October 2017. The last post-examined was from *The Rebel Media* as it allowed for alternative, right-wing viewpoints on the incidents to be included in the analysis. The *Rebel Media* post had sixty-eight shares when the data was collected in October 2017.

The Jagmeet Singh Heckler incident was quite significant to the online community, as the video was shared across a variety of online news sites, creating a great deal of reaction and discussion surrounding the incident. Rather than just analyzing the report on the incident itself, I analyzed the top fifty comments on each site responding the incident, as these forums for reaction, discussion and opinion to the incident are unique to the online news. A content analysis

was conducted on the top fifty comments to understand and document the opinions surrounding the incident and the type of language used online. More specifically, the content analysis investigated whether the online community was generally supportive or critical of Jagmeet's response. Similarly, I wanted to understand the extent to which the heckler's actions were supported or condemned by the online community. Literature had also suggested that the anonymity of the internet allows for more vulgar and sometimes racist language to be used more frequently (Van Blarcum, 2005). The graph below documents the top fifty comments from each of the three sites used in the analysis. The counts of frequency for supportive comments includes comments with content that either supported Jagmeet's actions or criticized the heckler's actions. The counts of frequency for negative comments includes comments with content that either criticized Jagmeet's actions or supported the heckler's actions. The counts of frequency for vulgar and racist comments includes comments with content that was either inflammatory, vulgar or explicitly racist. The final counts of frequency for each category are shown in the graph below.

Table 4.4
Language Usage in Facebook Comments



(Stuart McHenry, 2018)

The graph shows noticeable variety in the content of the comments across the three sites. The comments on the *Brampton Focus* and *Now This* pages were mostly supportive, as forty-one and thirty-eight of their top fifty comments were supportive of Jagmeet’s actions, while each site only had one negative comment. *The Rebel Media* page was the opposite, as most of their comments were negative and only a few were supportive. Twenty-seven of the top fifty comments were critiquing Jagmeet or supporting the heckler while only seven comments supported Jagmeet or criticized the heckler. These findings conform to the dispositions of each website as *Brampton Focus* and *Now This* report from a more-liberal, left-of-centre perspective and would be more likely to support Jagmeet’s tolerance where *The Rebel Media* reports from an alternative, right-wing viewpoint and would be more likely to criticize Jagmeet.

There was also significant variety amongst the three sites when it came to vulgar and racist content in the top fifty comments. There were eleven comments on the *Brampton Focus* post that had vulgar content, that is content that included profanity, insults or inappropriate language. The comments on the *Now This* page used vulgar content in the comments most frequently, as almost half, or twenty-two of the comments had vulgar content. Neither the *Brampton Focus* nor *Now This* posts had any comments with content that was explicitly racist. Although the *Rebel Media* only had nine comments with vulgarity, it was the only site with explicitly racist comments as two of the top fifty comments were categorized as explicitly racist. The Jagmeet Singh Heckler incident was racially and religiously charged and contentious, leading to a multitude of opinions surrounding the incident. Similarly, the emotionally charged nature of the incident can account for the passion and frequent use of vulgarity found in the comments. Out of one-hundred and fifty comments, only two were explicitly racist, this finding was significant as literature suggested racism can be salient online. These findings were very interesting; some conformed to theories and findings in previous literature while others completely contradicted previous literature, potential explanations for these results will be addressed in the discussion chapter. There is still much to be learned about the internet as a unique social space. Scholars are not only struggling to grasp the internet as a unique social space but are also attempting to understand the geographic characteristics, implications and extent of the internet, more specifically the online news world. The next section of this chapter will attempt to document and explain the geography of the online news world.

4.3.3 Geography of the comments

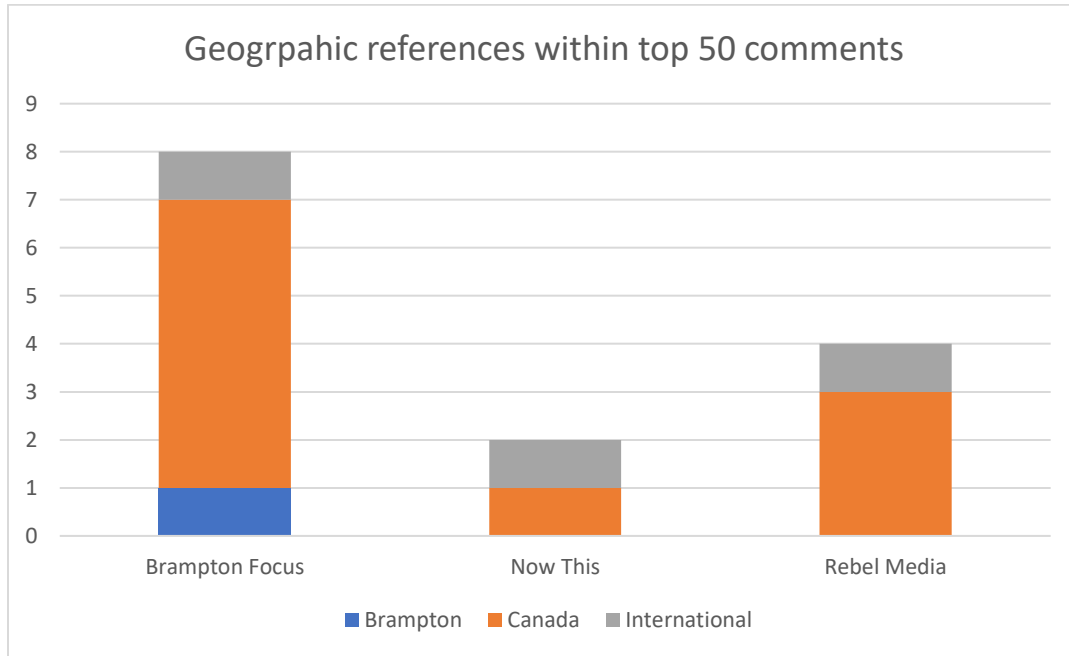
Unlike print newspapers, online news reports can be unbounded in terms of distribution and consumption, making it extremely challenging to document and understand their geographic

breadth and extent. Some scholars have theorized that the internet will lead to irrelevance of place and geographic boundaries while others argue that the geographies of the internet remain highly circumscribed (Harvey, 1989; Morley and Robins, 1995; Kitchin, 1998; Graham; 2013). By looking into three distinct online news reports on three distinct online news sites, and the subsequent comments, on a specific racialized incident in a specific location, I provided further insight into the geographic breadth and extent of the online news world. My content analysis of the comments documents the importance of place and location in the discussion surrounding the incident. Similarly, by documenting the identified locations of the commenters, my analysis provides insight in to the geographic breadth of online news consumption. First, I will document the geographic references within the top fifty comments from each site to illustrate the importance of place in online news reports. Next, I will document the locations of the top fifty commenters from each site to illustrate the extent to which online news consumption is circumscribed. This analysis will provide clearer insight into the geographies of the online news world.

To understand the significance, or lack of significance, of location and place, of this incident to the online community, a content analysis of the comments was conducted to determine and document the geographic references within the text of each of the top fifty comments. The Jagmeet Singh Heckler Incident occurred at a specific location in Brampton, this analysis documents the significance of that location to the online community and how the online community interprets the geographic significance of the incident. Each of the three sites had comments that varied in terms of the frequency of geographic references and variety of locations referred to. The counts displayed on the graph include any comment from the top fifty that

referred to some type of place or location, and how frequently the different types of locations were referred to.

Table 4.5
Geographic References in Facebook Comments



(Stuart McHenry, 2018)

The two main characteristics of this graph will be analyzed. First, the overall frequency of geographic references within the top fifty comments will be discussed and compared from site to site. Next, the several types of references will be discussed and compared from site to site, relating back to the overall question regarding the geographic significance of the incident in the reports. Eight of the top fifty comments from the *Brampton Focus* post had geographic references, while the *Now This* post only had two and the *Rebel Media* post had four. Overall, there was not a significant amount of comments referring to places or locations, suggesting that the location of the incident was insignificant to the online community. Discussions of location or place were most frequent on the *Brampton Focus* post, which makes sense as their followership

is likely more localized, connected and familiar with the location in which the incident occurred. *The Rebel Media* post had the second most discussions of location or place, which is likely due to their mostly Canadian scope, enhancing followers concerns of such an incident occurring in a Canadian context. Lastly, *Now This* had the fewest discussions of location or place, which is likely due to their international following and lack of awareness and connection to the location of the incident.

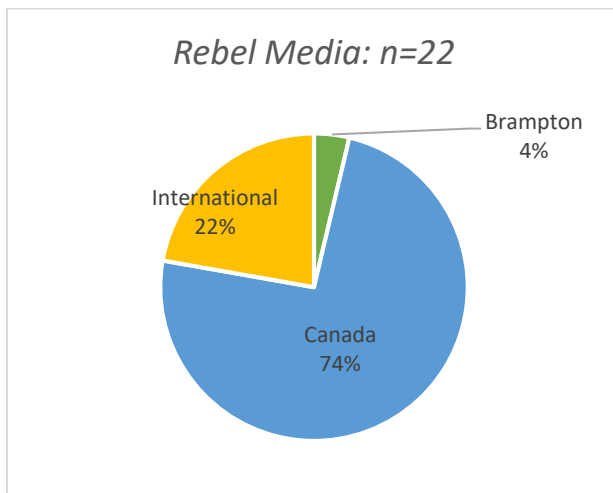
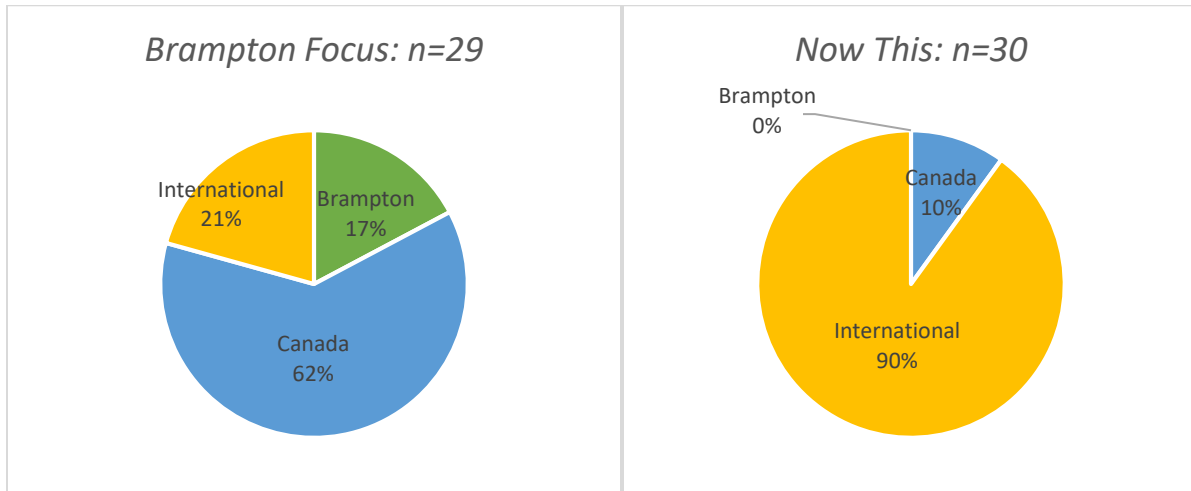
Another important feature of the graph is the variety of types of locations referred to in the geographic references. *Brampton Focus* was the only site with a comment mentioning Brampton, which speaks to their followers' connections and familiarity with Brampton and their concern over incidents occurring there. Most of the references referred to Canada or other Canadian locations which shows that most commenters have defined the incident as a Canadian issue, rather than a localized one. The same can be said for *the Rebel Media* commenters as most of their references were to Canada or other Canadian communities. Lastly, of the two geographic references in the top fifty comments on the *Now This* post, one was a *Canada* reference and the other was *International*, which shows that the location of the incident was rather irrelevant to the broader community on the *Now This* page. Overall, it can be said that this incident became placeless when shared and discussed online and the broader and less local the news outlet became, the less place seemed to matter.

On top of just documenting the importance of place in the comments, I documented the location of each commenter to illustrate the geographic extent of each news site's readership, viewership or news consumption. This method of analysis would help determine if online news' geographies are circumscribed to the same extent of those for the print news. Only those commenters that identified a place of residence could be included in the analysis, as some of the

commenters did not identify their place of residence publicly, although most did identify place of residence on their public profiles. The pie charts below document the locations of the commenters and like the categorization of geographic references, the commenter's locations were divided into three categories. *Brampton* captured any commenter who identified their place of residence as "Brampton", *Canada* for anyone who identified a Canadian town or city other than Brampton as their place of residence and *International* for anyone who identified a place of residence outside of Canada. The final counts for the three categories for each of the three sites are displayed on the pie charts below.

Tables 4.6,7,8

Geographic Origin of Facebook Comments



(Stuart McHenry, 2018)

As shown in the charts above, each site has distinct audiences and different geographies of readership or viewership. *Brampton Focus* had the most geographically localized audience as five of their top fifty commenters identified Brampton as their place of residence and seventy-seven percent of the identified commenters were from Canada. Only six of the top fifty commenters identified an International place of residence. According to the top fifty comments, *Now This* had the least localized and most international audience as there were zero commenters from Brampton and only three from within Canada. Twenty-seven of the thirty identified places

of residence were international cities or towns, showing *Now This* reports and caters to a much broader, more international audience. Lastly, the *Rebel Media*, according to the top fifty comments, had a domestic, but not necessarily a local audience. Twenty-one of the twenty-two identified places of residence were within Canada but only one of those was Brampton. Only one commenter was from outside Canada. The locations of the commenters show that *Rebel Media* reports and caters to a broader Canadian audience and is neither local or international in its readership or viewership. Documenting the identified locations of each commenter allowed my analysis to gauge the geographic breadth and extent of each sites news post and provided unique insight into the geographies of the online news world.

4.3.4 Social and Geographic Implications of Online News

Online news sites report on stories in a very distinct manner and often have much different audiences than those of the print newspapers. Not only do online news sites report on issues and stories differently, they also have the unique ability to provide forums for discussion, allowing readers and viewers to actively engage with, and respond to the report. In the case of the Jagmeet Singh Heckler incident, the post, in many ways, became an incident of racial contestation in itself, rather than a just a report on a racialized incident that had occurred in Brampton. In this case, the comment section on each site was a space of contestation in which issues of race were debated, challenged and perpetuated. The online news world is also unique as it allows for more opinionated and unfiltered discussion on incidents and issues; strong opinions and the use of vulgar, unfiltered language were common. The magnitude of the incident and the salience of debate and opinion surrounding it means that internet users can experience racism or solidarity with ease. The unique manifestations of racial contestation online are reshaping the ways in which people experience, perpetuate and challenge racism in society. To fully understand the

social implications of the online news, the responses and reactions to the reports must be analyzed as this is often where issues are discussed, challenged or perpetuated, analysis of the news report alone will not suffice.

News geographers are still struggling to grasp the geographies of the online news world, this analysis helped in clearing up some of those ambiguities. More specifically, news geographers have been working to document and determine the extent to which online news geographies are circumscribed. This analysis illustrated that although online news geographies remain circumscribed to a certain extent, the significance of place and geographic boundaries are less significant online. The location of the commenters from the three sites showed that news consumption is relatively circumscribed as local or domestic news sites cater to confined local or domestic audiences while international news sites tend to be broader in their appeal and less circumscribed in terms of their audience. By documenting the geographic references in the text, it was shown that place was irrelevant in the online reaction to the incident. The incident became placeless, and the internet, rather than the actual location of the incident, was the space of contestation. The internet has drastically altered the ways in which news is produced, consumed and reacted to, geographers must continue to address online news reports and the subsequent responses to them if they want to understand the geography of news in today's society. The findings from this study have shown that racialized incidents have not only changed in nature and location in material space but manifest in unique ways as a result of the online news world. The implications, meanings and conclusions that can be drawn of these findings will be discussed in the concluding chapter.

5. CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

As Canadian communities continue to receive migrants and change demographically at a rapid rate, it is essential to document and understand how communities respond to these changes. This study focused specifically on the community of Brampton, Ontario, as it has gone through substantial demographic change since 1991 and continues to be home to a sizeable portion of Canada's racialized communities, most notably the South Asian and Black communities. By collecting printed newspaper reports on racialized incidents from 1991 to 2016, I was able to track how manifestations of racialized incidents have changed over Brampton's transition from a predominantly European-descent population to a predominantly visible-minority population. Additionally, by conducting the second portion of my research using online data, I was able to capture how reports and discussions surrounding racialized incidents manifest in this emergent medium, as news consumption and important social debate increasingly occurs online. This section will close the thesis by responding to the two overarching research questions, outline the main objectives and contributions to existing literature and policy, discuss the main limitations of the approach used, and outline suggestions and questions for future research.

5.1. Summary and explanation of key findings

This study sought to answer two research questions:

1) Has change in the manifestation of racialized incidents been concurrent with demographic change in Brampton, from a predominantly European-descent population to predominantly visible minority population, as reported in The Brampton Guardian?

Specifically:

i. What is the character and nature of the incidents?

ii. Where are the incidents occurring?

2) Has the emergence of online news impacted the reporting and manifestation of racialized incidents in Brampton? If so, how?

The first question examined newspaper reports on racialized incidents in Brampton to determine how the nature and locations of racialized incidents have changed between 1991, when Brampton had a predominantly European-descent population, and 2016, when Brampton had a predominantly visible-minority population. The second question examined a major racialized incident in Brampton that was shared online to uncover how the emergence of online news has impacted the reporting, manifestation and community responses to racialized incidents in Brampton. The findings suggest significant changes to the manifestations of racialized incidents in Brampton as the city transitioned into a predominantly visible minority population. This section will answer the first question by interpreting the key findings to provide explanations for the prevalence or lack of various incident and location types at certain phases in Brampton's demographic transition. The second question will be answered by interpreting the key findings from the online news analysis and highlighting the social and geographic impacts of the emergence of online news. The questions will be addressed in order below.

1) Has change in the manifestation of racialized incidents been concurrent with demographic change in Brampton, from a predominantly European-descent population to predominantly visible minority population, as reported in The Brampton Guardian?

Specifically:

i. What is the character and nature of the incidents?

The manifestation of racialized incidents has changed in concurrence with demographic change in Brampton. More specifically, the nature and character of racialized incidents prior to Brampton becoming a majority-minority city are substantially different when compared to the nature and character of incidents after Brampton passed that threshold in 2005. In terms of the frequency of occurrence, there was no substantial increase or decrease in the number of reports on racialized incidents when comparing the pre and post-majority minority phases as the average number of reports per year from 1991 to 2004 was very similar to the average number of reports from 2005 to 2016. Brampton's population has increased significantly with no increase in the frequency of reports on racialized incidents. Although there were no increases in the number of reports, demographic change significantly impacted the nature and character of racialized incidents that manifested in Brampton.

The first key finding regarding the nature of the incidents or issues was related to *religious accommodation* and the high frequency of reports between 1991 and 2004 and the absence of reports from 2005 to 2016. There were thirteen reports before Brampton reached the majority-minority threshold and only one report after Brampton passed the threshold. The significance of religious accommodation as an issue of contestation prior to 2005 can be explained through the sociological integration framework of *acculturation* and *structural assimilation* (Alba and Nee, 1997; Gordon 1964). The *acculturation* stage of integration involves peripheral adjustments to the incoming and host groups culture, which would be followed by *structural assimilation*, the more complete process of integration, as the incoming groups gain entrance into the social, economic and political spheres of the host society (Alba and Nee, 1997; Gordon 1964). Rather than a complete surrendering of cultural traits, the host society adjusted their laws and norms to allow for the structural assimilation of the South Asian community, more specifically, the

allowance of the Kirpan and Turban in Brampton's public institutions. Incidents of religious accommodation were no longer significant after 2004 because structural assimilation had already occurred for the South Asian community, and issues such as the wearing of religious symbols in public institutions were not contested in the community to the extent they were in the earlier years of integration.

The next important finding regarding incident or issue type was the prevalence of *white supremacy* incidents prior to Brampton becoming a majority-minority city, and the lack of incidents afterwards. Related to these findings was the fact that reports on *xenophobia* were non-existent prior to 2005 and frequent from 2005 onwards. There were six reports about incidents of white-supremacy between 1991 and 2004 and one from 2005 to 2016. Incidents of xenophobia were reported zero times between 1991 and 2004 and nine times between 2005 and 2016. This shift from manifestations of white supremacy to manifestations of xenophobia in the community can be explained by the general societal shift in racial discourse, from classical or biological racism to a neo-racism, specifically '*cultural racism*', in which a group's culture rather than race is essentialized (Rattansi, 2007; Rodat, 2017). The higher frequency of *hate crimes and hate speech* prior to 2005 also concurs with this theory. As more explicit, biological racism became increasingly taboo, negative prejudices towards immigrant and racialized groups manifested as xenophobia rather than blatant white supremacy.

Another set of notable findings from the print news analysis, which helps to answer the first question, was the lack of reports on incidents of *employment discrimination and discrimination in education* between 1991 and 2004 and the high frequency of reports from 2005 to 2016. These findings suggest that those types of issues and incidents were only relevant after Brampton surpassed the majority-minority threshold. There are several discoveries in the reviewed

literature that can explain these findings. The first potential explanation for these findings is the continuing shift from individual racism, such as the use of racial slurs or violence towards more institutionalized racism, in which the laws and institutions of society perpetuate relatively poor socio-economic outcomes for racialized groups (Bonilla-Silva, 2003; Piliawsky, 1984). The shift towards a manifestation of racial inequalities in Brampton's institutions, such as the education system and the job market, conforms to the shift towards institutionalized racism as identified in the literature (Bonilla-Silva, 2003; Piliawsky, 1984). The emergence of reports on incidents and issues of employment discrimination and discrimination in education can also be explained through the theory of *straight-line assimilation* and the concept of *upward social mobility*, as the human and social capital of Brampton's immigrant and racialized groups, more specifically the South Asian community, have increased by generation. Straight-line assimilation asserts that the degree of assimilation progresses as each new generation adjusts to the host society better than the previous one and that upward social mobility will occur (Alba and Nee, 1997; Gordon, 1964). Immigrants would become increasingly integrated economically, politically and socially as the time of exposure to the host-country increases, each new generation should be more assimilated than the previous one under this theory (Alba and Nee, 1997; Gordon, 1964). Similarly, ethnic group networking would produce social capital by enabling immigrant families to receive support and guidance from other families in achieving community standards (Zhou & Bankston, 1994). The emergence and increased significance of employment and education discrimination issues in the news, most involving South Asian victims, suggest that South Asian community has an enhanced ability to advocate for education and employment equity, both informally and through the courts because of upward social mobility and increased human and social capital. As time of exposure to the host society increased, South Asians continued to grow

and strengthen their ethnic base and capital in Brampton, providing them with the economic and social means to push for and achieve better standards for their community (Abada and Tenkorang, 2009). The findings suggest that as incoming groups become more established in the host community, the issues that emerge can be significantly different than the ones that emerge in the early years of settlement. The ways in which the South Asian, and other racialized communities in Brampton, establish, maintain, expand and use their ethnic capital, and how the degree of ethnic capital impacts the incidents that manifest in the community must continue to be examined. Additionally, the importance of ethnic capital in improving outcomes in the host society must be acknowledged so that the structures and practices in the host community can be designed to stimulate the growth of ethnic capital and promote successful integration.

The last notable finding regarding the changes to the nature and character of racialized incidents in Brampton is the higher occurrence of reports on incidents or issues regarding *legislation or spending on ethnic relations* between 1991 and 2004 and the rarity of reports from 2005 to 2016. A possible explanation for this trend is that in recent years, debate, inquiry and spending into ethnic and race relations is no longer questioned or challenged because it is accepted as an essential task of politicians and governments to address these types of issues in Canadian society. This can be evidenced through the establishment and continuation of diversity, inclusion, equity, ethnic or race relations committees and bodies in all levels of government in Canada in more recent years. The City of Brampton established an Inclusion and Equity Committee in 2015 (City of Brampton, 2018).

There were also a few incident types that were not significantly impacted by demographic change. Reports on incidents or issues regarding *cultural misappropriation or misrepresentation* and *segregation or division* had similar frequency both before and after Brampton's population

surpassed the majority-minority threshold in 2005. These findings suggest that issues like these have similar likelihoods of emerging in both superdiverse and non-superdiverse contexts.

Although there were no major changes to the frequency of racialized incidents as Brampton transitioned from a mostly European-descent population to a mostly visible minority population, it can still be said that this demographic change had a major impact on the nature and character of racialized incidents that manifested in the community. Incidents and issues of religious accommodation, white supremacy and police minority relations were frequent before Brampton's population surpassed the majority-minority threshold whereas incidents of xenophobia, employment discrimination and discrimination in education were only common when Brampton was a superdiverse city. These findings have provided a clear answer to part of the first question as they have shown that changes to the nature and character of racialized incidents have been concurrent with demographic change in Brampton. To address the second portion of the first research question, the changes to the spaces and locations of racialized incidents during Brampton's demographic transition will be highlighted and explained.

1) Has change in the manifestation of racialized incidents been concurrent with demographic change in Brampton, from a predominantly European-descent population to predominantly visible minority population?

Specifically,

ii. Where are the incidents occurring?

The first research question was designed to not only investigate how the nature and character of racialized incidents have changed but also investigate where the incidents are occurring and how the spaces and locations of the incidents have changed in concurrence with demographic

change. Changes in the locations and spaces of racialized incidents have changed in concurrence with demographic change in Brampton, that is, the spaces and places in which racialized incidents occurred between 1991 and 2004 are different than the spaces and places where such incidents occurred between 2005 and 2016. The geography of racialized incidents in Brampton was substantially different with a superdiverse, majority-minority population than it was as a mostly European-descent population. First, the key findings regarding the changes to the general spaces of contestation will be highlighted and explained followed by an explanation of the specific and broad location findings and their geographic implications.

The first significant finding regarding the spaces of contestation was the frequency of schools being reported on as a space of contestation, especially between 1991 and 2004. Schools were the most cited space of contestation, by a great deal. Schools were still cited frequently after Brampton became a majority-minority city, but reports were more than twice as frequent prior to 2005, which is mostly related to the significance of the debate in the 1990s regarding whether the Kirpan could be worn in public schools. The constant reporting of incidents and issues in schools can be related to several factors. Literature notes that schools are a common *site of struggle*, as they are often diverse environments where issues of culture, race and identity are negotiated and contested (Chick, 2002; Eggermont, 2001). The high frequency of reports on incidents and issues in schools can also be related to reporting bias, as they are a space of high importance to the community, making them more likely to be publicized. Most people in the community, whether they be students, parents or other community members have a stake in the schools and education system, causing schools to be a highly scrutinized public institution. This is not to say that schools are not a frequent space of contestation, but their public significance is likely to lead to a

reporting bias in which they may be reported on more than other, less publicly-significant institutions.

When analyzing the spaces of contestation, this study also found that *workplaces* and the *police force* were an emerging space of contestation as they were frequently reported on from 2005 onwards. The emergence of workplaces as a space of contestation is likely explained by increasing diversity in the workplace. Ray and Preston (2015) examined the workplace because ethnic and racial differences are often contested there. Similarly, most workers are employed somewhere other than where they live, which means that people from different ethno-racial backgrounds are very likely to be interacting in the workplace (Ray and Preston, 2015). Workplaces in Canada, most notably in the Greater Toronto Area, are very diverse and if *contact theory* were to hold true, the workplace should be a geography that plays a key role in reducing prejudices and incidences of discrimination but in many cases, it is not (Ray and Preston, 2015). Ray and Preston (2015, p. 1512) found that one quarter of all visible minorities in the workplace report discrimination as compared to only seven-percent of white individuals. Increasing diversity in Brampton's population would likely mean increasing diversity in the workplace, which explains the increased reports of racialized incidents in the workplace. The police force was also an emerging space of contestation, which is likely related to the increased scrutiny of police forces and the heightened awareness of the inequities that exist in the policing of communities. Issues of carding, racial profiling and police violence garnered more attention in recent years which explains the emergence of the police force as a space of contestation.

The significance of schools prior to 2005 and the emergence of workplaces and the police force from 2005 onwards were the most significant changes to the spaces of contestation in Brampton. *Political arenas* and the *streets or miscellaneous public space* also hosted racialized

incidents significantly over the study period, although their frequency was not significantly impacted by demographic change. The media and community centres or parks also hosted some racialized incidents, although they were not reported on frequently. In response to the first question, changes in the spaces of contestation were concurrent with demographic change, although not as salient as the changes seen with the types of incident and issues in Brampton.

In terms of the geography of racialized incidents in Brampton, the newspaper articles were not only coded for space of contestation but also categorized based on whether the location cited in each article was *broad*, in that the terminology used to identify the location was ambiguous and did not refer to a specific address, or *specific*, in which an identifiable address or location was mentioned. The analysis found that changes to the locations of racialized incidents were concurrent with demographic change, as the maps of racialized incidents from 1991 to 2004 is vastly different than the map of racialized incidents from 2005 to 2016. The analysis also found that most of locations cited in the articles were broad, or free-floating locations. These findings do not suggest that racism does not occur at specific, identifiable locations but they urge anti-racism scholars to be cognisant of these challenges when studying and addressing racism.

2) Has the emergence of online news impacted the reporting and manifestation of racialized incidents in Brampton?

This study also provided a clear response to the second research question as it investigated the geographic and social impacts of the online news, specifically regarding a prominent racialized incident in Brampton involving a Sikh politician, Jagmeet Singh, dealing with an Islamophobic heckler at a rally in Brampton. The reporting and manifestations of racialized incidents have changed in concurrence with demographic change, but these manifestations have changed even more significantly with the emergence of online news. By 2017, *The Brampton Guardian*

reduced its distribution to one edition per week, citing an increasing readership of their online news (Metroland Media, 2017). The emergence of online news has drastically impacted how racialized incidents are reported on and responded to. More notably, manifestations of racialized incidents have changed significantly because of online news as the news posts and corresponding comment sections can become the sites of contestation. The analysis of the Jagmeet Singh heckler incident revealed a great deal about the effects of online news. The unique qualities of the online news, such as its ability to foster unfiltered discussion will be outlined. Similarly, the ubiquity of racialized discourse has impacted how racism is experienced, perpetuated and challenged. Additionally, the geographic analysis of the incident found that *scale-jumping* occurred (Nicholls, 2007), completely altering the traditional geographic conceptions of news reporting and consumption.

The analysis found a great deal of opinionated and unfiltered language in the comment sections on the three online news sites, which has several implications for how news is reported and consumed. *The Brampton Focus* and *Now This* posts had comments that were mostly positive or supportive of Jagmeet Singh while the *Rebel Media* had comments that were mostly negative or critical of Jagmeet. There were a multitude of opinions that surrounded the racialized incident and these comments themselves became the incident in many ways, as they were contesting and debating racialized issues. The findings conform to Lojeski and Reilly's (2008) *virtual distance framework*, which asserts that detachment from online interactions reduces accountability and allows for uncensored and sometimes hateful speech. The analysis also supports Bork-Hüffer and Yeoh's (2017) assertion that the conflation of offline and online spaces and the abrupt, anonymous and indirect encounters are altering social relations. Existing stereotypes and prejudices or feelings of tolerance and acceptance can be developed through

these untraditional norms of interaction in these untraditional social spaces (Bork-Hüffer and Yeoh, 2017). Furthermore, the ubiquitous and unavoidable nature of online racism, like the incident analyzed in this study, means that racism can be experienced by those other than the intended targets, making the phenomenon harder to address (Keum and Miller, 2017). The constant posting, sharing and commenting on the incident allowed internet users to easily and even accidentally, experience hostility and hate, but also support and solidarity.

This study did not only investigate the social implications of the online news, but as a geographic analysis, investigated the geographic implications of online news reports to help reach some interesting conclusions. Previous geographic literature has recognized the phenomenon of scale-jumping of events, incidents and issues, and it was evident scale-jumping took place with the Jagmeet Singh incident as well (Nicholls, 2007). By widening the scale of certain events, scale-jumping allows incidents and issues to become larger than their material geography, garnering disproportionately large amounts of public attention (Nicholls, 2007). The Jagmeet Singh heckler incident originally had to do with an incident at an event that would tend to be irrelevant outside of the national, or even local, context in which it occurred, but the ability for the content to be shared and discussed so rapidly online, allowed it to jump scales from a local or national, to internationally relevant and viral incident. The lack of geographic references in the comments showed that place and location were irrelevant in the discussion surrounding the incident. Similarly, most commenters on all the sites were from outside of Brampton, suggesting the incident was not only relevant beyond the local context but independent of it. The online news world had caused a specific racialized incident at a specific location in Brampton to become unbounded and internationally significant, which shows that cyberspace is altering geopolitical understanding and influencing how people imagine other people and places around

the world (Shaw and Warf, 2009). In answering the second research question, the analysis found that the emergence of online news has impacted the reporting and manifestations of racialized incidents, as it allowed a national, or arguably local incident to expand its geographic breadth and scale-jump to become an internationally relevant incident. As evidenced through the Jagmeet Singh heckler incident, online news has altered traditional understandings of a news story's appeal, distribution and consumption and requires further attention from geographers.

The research questions sought to investigate how manifestations of racialized incidents and issues have been impacted by a rapidly changing population in Brampton, from a predominantly European-descent population to a predominantly visible-minority population. Not only have the locations and types of incidents changed over the phases of demographic transition but the reports themselves have changed. This change in reporting involves an increased significance of online news reporting and a decreased significance of location and place in the reported incidents. Although many of the changes identified may be specific to the Brampton context, the answers to the research questions should be considered when preparing for rapid demographic change in other communities and developing effective anti-racism strategies.

5.2 Research objectives and contributions

By addressing the two overarching research questions, this study fulfilled its four main objectives. Several key contributions to existing literature across multiple fields of study and policy were made by fulfilling these objectives. This study was in many ways, inspired by integration literature in the field of sociology, and fulfilled its objective to enhance empirical and theoretical understandings of integration by investigating and documenting integration in superdiverse communities. Although inspired by sociological literature, geography was central to

this study, making it critical to contribute to the field of geography. The objective to respond to calls in geographic literature to investigate how race, identity and difference are contested across several locales to enhance empirical and theoretical understanding of racial hierarchies, power and inequalities in contemporary Canadian society was fulfilled by documenting how cultural conflict and racism manifest in the diverse community of Brampton (Kobayashi, 2014; Ray and Preston 2015). This study also fulfilled its objective to investigate and document the unique geographic and social implications of modern digital technologies, most notably how the internet, social media and online news, can be sites of cultural production, and how these sites differ from traditional media sources. Additionally, by conducting a place specific analysis of the manifestations of racialized incidents in Brampton, this study will contribute to the development of anti-racism, equity and inclusion policy in Brampton and other localities facing similar challenges. The fulfillment of each objective will be discussed, along with the contributions made to relevant literature and policy.

i. Investigate and document the processes and paths of integration to enhance theoretical and empirical understandings of assimilation in ethnoburbs and superdiverse contexts (Crul, 2016; Wang and Zhong, 2013).

The study of integration in the field of sociology has been dominated by different theories of assimilation, most notably a shift from classical understandings of assimilation to the more nuanced theory of segmented assimilation. Countless sociologists have theorized and documented the relationship that race, ethnicity, class, gender, and other identifiers have with integration into a host society, but few have investigated the relationship between geography and integration. This study has not only enhanced the existing empirical and theoretical perspectives

of assimilation and integration but has investigated how traditional understandings of integration can be altered in ethnoburbs or superdiverse contexts. Regarding pre-existing understandings in the field, I was able to document the processes and paths of integration to enhance theoretical and empirical understandings of assimilation. By using articles from 1991 to 2016, my study offers a unique longitudinal perspective and illustrates the issues immigrants and racialized groups have faced during Brampton's transformative years. By bringing these newsworthy issues to the forefront, I illustrated how immigrants in Brampton have negotiated their integration into the community, and how class and duration of exposure to the host society have influenced what issues are deemed important. In terms of identifying and filling gaps in the literature, I have responded to calls in sociological literature to document and explain processes of integration in unique, but increasingly prevalent superdiverse contexts (Crul, 2016; Wang and Zhong, 2013). By documenting the manifestation of racialized incidents, as reported in the news, before and after Brampton passed the fifty-percent visible minority threshold, my study illustrates how sites and issues of contestation differ pre and post superdiversity. Integration occurs in different spaces and in distinct ways depending on the degree of diversity in a city, as evidenced by my study of Brampton. As more communities in Canada and around the world become superdiverse, it will be important to acknowledge the findings from this study to design superdiverse communities in a way that will promote successful integration.

ii. Respond to calls in geographic literature to probe the qualitative aspects of living and negotiating difference across several locales to enhance understanding of the spatiality of racial hierarchies of power and contemporary experiences of inequality amid diversity. (Ray and Preston, 2015, p. 1519).

Although contributions were made to the field of sociology, this study's main contributions were to the discipline of geography. The first major geographic objective was to contribute to the subfield of anti-racism geographies or the geographies of race. Two prominent Canadian anti-racism geographers, Ray and Preston (2015, p. 1519), had urged future research to, "probe the qualitative aspects of living and negotiating difference across a number of locales to enhance understanding of the spatiality of racial hierarchies of power and contemporary experiences of inequality amid diversity". A longitudinal content analysis of news data in Brampton allowed for a deeper examination of the histories, representations, inequities and experiences of South Asians, the Black community and other minority groups in the Canadian context. The news reports on racialized incidents enhanced understandings of the spatiality of racial inequities in Brampton, by specifically looking at the places and spaces in which racialized groups must negotiate and advocate for equal access and treatment across Brampton's public and private spaces. The analysis mapped and explained the spatiality of racial hierarchies of power and contemporary experiences of inequality amid diversity in Brampton. The geographies of concern, which included sites of discrimination and exclusion and the potential sites of acceptance and inclusion were highlighted by this study, with hopes to better focus anti-racism, equity and inclusion efforts in the future.

iii. Investigate and document how modern digital technologies, most notably the internet and social media, can be sites of cultural production, and how these sites differ from traditional media sources (Rose, 2016). More specifically, how online news sites interpret their audiences and construct their geographies (Gasher and Klein, 2008).

Although this was a study on reports of racialized incidents, the examination of incidents through the mediums of the print news and online news contributed understandings of the

geography of the media, more specifically, news and internet geographies. Although not novel, the findings from the geographic analysis of the print news will enhance understandings of the role the news can play in constructing communities, including the delineation of geographic boundaries and the discretion to deem the incidents that are newsworthy within those boundaries. Moreover, by mapping racialized incidents as reported in the news, the analysis enhances understandings of journalists as mapmakers.

The most significant contribution to the geographies of the news were the novel findings regarding the geographic breadth, extent and implication of online news reports. There were calls in geographic literature to investigate how modern digital technologies, most notably the internet and social media, can be sites of cultural production, and how these sites differ from traditional media sources (Rose, 2016; Adams, 2017). More specifically, investigation of how online news sites interpret their audiences and construct their geographies was needed (Gasher and Klein, 2008). The online news analysis found that online news sites can provide forums for discussion, allowing readers and viewers to actively engage with, and respond to the reports. The findings also showed that the online news world is unique because it allows for more opinionated and unfiltered discussion on incidents and issues; strong opinions and the use of vulgar, unfiltered language were common. The magnitude of the incident and the salience of debate and opinion surrounding it means that racism or solidarity can be accidentally and easily experienced online. The unique manifestations of racial contestation online are reshaping the ways in which people experience, perpetuate and challenge racism in society. The analysis illustrated that although online news geographies remain circumscribed to a certain extent, the significance of place and geographic boundaries are less significant online. The location of the commenters from the three sites showed that news consumption is relatively circumscribed as local or domestic news sites

cater to confined local or domestic audiences while international news sites tend to be broader in their appeal and less circumscribed in terms of their audience. By documenting the geographic references in the text, it was shown that place was irrelevant in the online reaction to the incident. Moreover, the incident became placeless, and the internet, rather than the actual location of the incident, was the space of contestation, as scale-jumping had occurred with the examined incident. This study documented some of the major geographic effects of online news, more specifically the geography of how news is produced, consumed and reacted to, and in doing so, made significant contributions to internet geographies and geographic understandings of online news.

iv. Develop place specific understandings of manifestations of racism to develop locally-sensitive anti-racism strategies and policies (Nelson and Dunn, 2017).

This study has also contributed to the field of anti-racism geography by documenting place-specific manifestations of racism and racialized incidents. Place specific understandings of racism, like the ones developed in this study, have historically, been lacking in anti-racism research and policy, although they are crucial to developing and implementing effective anti-racism governance (Nelson and Dunn, 2017). Multiple local stakeholders should contribute to anti-racist action. Anti-racist action should occur within the local context; strategies, policies and programmes must acknowledge the unique, locally-contextual politics and manifestations of racism (Nelson and Dunn, 2017). The place specific-analysis and documentation of racism in the local context of Brampton enhances understanding of the unique local manifestations of racism and will help guide the development and implementation of anti-racism strategies that are sensitive to Brampton's local context. This study simultaneously contributes to the expanding

field of anti-racism geography while also documenting the knowledge necessary for effective anti-racism governance in Brampton.

By answering the two research questions, this study has fulfilled its objectives and contributed to several academic fields, most notably sociology and geography. The methods and findings from this study have enhanced empirical and theoretical understandings of integration in superdiverse contexts. Geographic analysis of the print and online news contributed to the field of media geography and helped answer some previously unanswered questions about the geographic implications of online news. By documenting spatial manifestations of racialized incidents in Brampton, the role of space and place in perpetuating and challenging racism have been acknowledged while the localized understandings of racism and racialized issues should allow for more effective anti-racism governance. Although multiple contributions were made, there were many objectives this study could not accomplish because of the limitations in the research approach. These limitations will be discussed in the next section.

5.3 Limitations of this study

Despite these modest contributions, the data sources and method of analysis created potential for several omissions from the findings and contributions of the research. First, the limitations of using the local newspaper, *The Brampton Guardian*, as a primary data source will be discussed. Next, the drawbacks of the print news method of analysis will be addressed. A discussion of the limitations of the online data sources and method of analysis will follow. After identifying the limitations of the research, recommendations about how the limitations and drawbacks can be rectified in future studies will be discussed. The thesis will conclude with recommendations highlighting research questions and initiatives that would be valuable in the future.

Although the Brampton Guardian was identified as the optimal data source to track racialized incidents in Brampton from 1991 to 2016, it could not provide all information pertinent to the research questions. The most obvious limitation of using the local print news, is related to the issue of reporting bias. Only incidents and issues that were deemed newsworthy by the journalists and editors of *The Brampton Guardian* made it into the dataset. This creates a potential for several important incidents, that were not able to make it to the local news, to be missed in this study. Additionally, ideological biases could play a role in what incidents were included in the news and influence how those incidents are reported on. *The Brampton Guardian* is unlikely to provide complete and unbiased documentation of racialized incidents in Brampton, surely, countless incidents and opinions were missed by using this as the main data source. A large portion of everyday racialized incidents, such as the explicit and implicit acts of racism in daily interactions were missed by this study. The Political Economy of the Media is also very relevant when discussing the issue of reporting bias. Seeing that *The Brampton Guardian* is owned by *Metroland Media*, a large news media corporation, the reporting on racialized incidents in Brampton is not completely objective but rather influenced by corporate interests, which should have a major impact on the nature and frequency of reporting on racialized incidents in Brampton. The corporatization and centralization of the local news reduces the objectivity, credibility and legitimacy of the reports and must be acknowledged as a major limitation of this study. In future studies this can be rectified by sampling from multiple newspapers, perhaps a local South Asian newspaper could be consulted and compared to *The Brampton Guardian* to illustrate what types of incidents were missed by each source, allowing for more holistic sampling. Similarly, questionnaires, interviews and crime data could be included for a more complete data set to capture a larger percentage of racialized incidents in

Brampton. By relying solely on news reports, voices and opinions from the racialized groups and victims of racism are left out of the data set. Discussions must be had with the victims and perpetrators of these racialized incidents to fully understand the processes that perpetuate and challenge these inequities in society. All things considered, *The Brampton Guardian* was the most appropriate data source to answer the research question, but to strengthen and build off the findings from this study, a greater diversity in data sources will be necessary.

Certain limitations were also recognized with the method of analysis for print news. Many scholars have noted racist tendencies in news reporting and the use of certain discursive tactics that perpetuate racial stereotypes. By analyzing the content of the news articles more literally than critically, many of the racial undertones from the reports could have been missed. The newspaper can also be examined as a site of racism and racialized incidents, but in this study, it was not. A more critical discourse analysis could have taken place as my method of literal analysis created potential for several omissions. Another notable limitation from the method of analysis was the binary classification of incidents before Brampton became superdiverse and after it became superdiverse. This classification allowed for some skewing of the data. For example, religious accommodation was frequent prior to 2005 according to the graphs which suggests that those types of incidents were occurring in all the years leading up to 2005 when really the overwhelming majority of reports were before 1995. This method of classification was done to contribute to the minimal empirical understandings of integration in superdiverse contexts, but it needs to be noted that the classification can be misleading without including the actual dates of each incident. The consolidation of data must occur to create meaning for the findings but perhaps the categorization could be less severe in future studies if found to be too misleading in this study. Again, although these limitations are evident, the most appropriate way

to answer the research questions were through the methods of analysis and organization of the data that were used.

Several of the limitations discussed in previous literature about conducting research online were present during this research process. Prior to identifying and selecting the Jagmeet Singh incident, much time was spent on trying to locate and identify relevant data to use online. The ubiquitous and elusive nature of content on the internet can make it very challenging to select a proper data source and sample, these same challenges occurred with the project. Although identified as the most optimal data sources, examining a single incident across three sites had its limitations. First, by only examining three sites, discourse surrounding the incident online was certainly missed. Also, by examining the top fifty rated comments from each site, perhaps the most cruel, negative and racist comments were missed. Similarly, the reporting style of *Brampton Focus* and *Now This* and the content of the comments illustrated that the two sites appealed to a more left-leaning, progressive audience, meaning that the hateful discourse that is said to be salient online was not present on these two sites. In future studies, the sample size of comments and news sites could be expanded to better capture the discourse on the internet that surrounds racialized incidents. Lastly, Gasher and Gabriele's (2004) analysis used print news reports and online news reports from the same news outlets, allowing for direct comparison between the print and online news, where this analysis compared the Brampton Guardian to three distinct online news platforms. This method of analysis did not allow for direct comparison between print and online news and more specifically, direct comparison of print and online reports of the same incident. Where possible, future research could attempt to do more direct comparisons between online and print news reports to control for the multiple variables at play, including the biases of the news outlets and differences in the audiences and incidents being

reported on. The data sources and methods of analysis were used to inquire about the unique geography of the online news, but much larger sampling and research will be required to for a more thorough understanding of the social and geographic implications of the online news world.

5.4 Future research questions

Due to the several limitations of the research process and results, there remain multiple avenues for research in the future. Future research should account for the omissions from this project and build off the findings from the analysis. To account for reporting bias, several research questions could be added or pursued in the future. One potential question for future research is:

How do reports on racialized incidents in the mainstream local newspaper compare to reports on racialized incidents in non-mainstream newspapers targeted towards certain minority communities? More specifically, how do the maps of racialized incidents from the mainstream news compare to the maps created from the non-mainstream news reports?

In the context of this project, examining reports on racialized incidents from a Brampton South Asian newspaper would help create a more inclusive sample and would account for some of the prominent incidents that were not reported on in *The Brampton Guardian*. Using multiple newspapers in future studies would allow for more diverse documentation of racialized incidents while also highlighting biases in each news outlet. Another aspect could be added to the research question and it would be adjusted to say:

How do newspaper reports on racialized incidents compare to crime statistics on racialized incidents in the community?

Adding crime statistics into the data set would further diversify the documentation of racialized incidents, allowing for a more complete sampling, improving the reliability of the findings and the research as a whole. Pursuing these research questions would contribute to integration, anti-racism and geographies of the news literature.

Another omission from this project was the lack of voices and opinions included in the data set. By using names mentioned in the articles, such as the key players cited in the racialized incidents, several interviewees could be identified and then interviewed about their opinions on the news reports. A potential research question is:

How do the Brampton Guardian's representations of ethnic relations in the community compare to the perceptions community members have of ethnic relations in the community?

A thematic analysis could be conducted on the newspaper and interview data to identify the extent of the newspaper's misrepresentations and how they compare to experiences and sentiments regarding issues of race in the community. A subsequent question could be:

How do the spaces of racialized incidents identified in the Brampton Guardian compare to the spaces of racialized incidents identified by community members?

It would be interesting and essential to consult community members to acknowledge the key spaces and places in which issues of race are contested. Additionally, engaging community members, more specifically victims of racism, would be helpful in developing effective anti-racism strategies, as they would have knowledge on the social and spatial processes that have sustained and resisted racism in Brampton.

This study found a great deal of interesting information about the online news world but many questions about the internet and the role it plays in perpetuating and challenging racism remained

unanswered. Identifying useful and relevant data in a rigorous manner for the online analysis was a major challenge of this study. In future studies, interviews with youth and frequent internet users could be very useful in identifying lucrative data sources for racialized incidents online. Not only are youth frequent internet users but schools were also cited as the most frequent space of contestation in the research, suggesting that youth are some of, if not the most actively involved groups in incidents and issues of race and identity negotiation. Consulting youth about their experiences of racism and racialized incidents online would likely lead researchers into some of the most lucrative discussions of race online. A potential research question could be:

What are the mediums and sites that youth have cited as having frequent discussions of race and identity issues? What types of incidents and issues are being discussed on these sites?

Rather than tirelessly searching for data sources online, youth and those frequently involved in discussions of race online could be used as consultants to properly inform and guide researchers about the issues online. The experiences youth have online with racism and racialized incidents could be compared to their experiences in material space, which could help in understanding contemporary manifestations of racism. It would be interesting to ask youth how their experiences of racism online differ from their experiences of racism with their peers in school and in extra-curricular activities. *Do they feel more vulnerable to racism in material space or online? How does the discourse that perpetuates and challenges racism in material space differ from such discourse online?* The frequent mentions of schools and involvement of youth in *The Brampton Guardian* articles in this study has shown that youth in Brampton frequently experience, perpetuate and resist acts of racism in the community, so I would like to investigate their geographies and social tendencies to really understand how racism manifests in

the community. Involving youth in future research projects will be essential to developing effective anti-racism strategies and building an inclusive and equitable Brampton.

This study has systematically examined the manifestation of racialized incidents in Brampton over the past twenty-seven years as it has transitioned from a predominantly European-descent population in 1991 to the predominantly visible-minority population of today. The study has documented the issues that have been contested and locations that those issues have and continue to be contested at. The knowledge it has provided about the social and geographic processes that create, sustain and resist discrimination, racism and inequities in Brampton must be considered in the development and implementation of anti-racism governance in Brampton. To say this study has provided all knowledge necessary to defeat racism and inequities in Brampton would be false, the findings and conclusions from this study must be critically assessed and taken as valuable insight rather than a matter of fact. Future studies must work to build off the knowledge created from this study and address the knowledge gaps this study was not able to fill. Lastly, it is essential that all the knowledge created from academic work of this nature be applied to our communities to ensure they are as inclusive and as equitable as possible. If Canada is to honour its commitment to Multiculturalism as an official policy, these efforts towards inclusion and equity are essential, otherwise, marginal groups will continue to be prevented from achieving an equal and fair quality of life in our society and host populations will continue to perpetuate hateful and racist discourses, like the xenophobic flyers that plagued Brampton in 2014.

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Appendix A

List of newspaper articles in dataset from *The Brampton Guardian*

Article title	Date	Page #
Kirpan appeal April 2	25 Jan 1991	14
Parents question choice of counsel	10 Mar 1991	1,2
Begley questions city's spending on race relations	29 Mar 1991	1
Kirpan appeal begins	3 Apr 1991	1
High school group "moves" against racism	3 Apr 1991	4
Employment equity forum hosted by PMC	3 Apr 1991	6
Court dismisses Peel Board of Education's appeal of kirpan ruling	5 Apr 1991	3,7
Consultants hired to advise city's race relations committee	10 Apr 1991	3
Students now wearing kirpans, trustee told	12 Apr 1991	1,11
Kirpan hearing set for Aug 12	2 Jun 1991	5
Kirpan appeal begins Monday	9 Aug 1991	1
Kirpan appeal denied	14 Aug 1991	1,2
Board's expenses \$313,000: in kirpan case	20 Sep 1991	2
No racists here, says local Reform party	1 Mar 1992	1
Politicians debate the need for city's race relations group	13 Mar 1992	1
Ex-police officers an important link: between cops, youth	8 Jul 1992	3
Human relations focus of council: building bridges	29 Jul 1992	2
Ku Klux Klan back in Peel-Halton area	20 Jan 1993	1
Cops to search for KKK's link to Brampton: Klan using local post office box	5 Feb 1993	1
North Peel students present strong anti-racism message: International Week	26 Mar 1993	1
Blacks only prom angers Brampton Centennial students	24 Jun 1993	1,3
Race relations group examines prom	15 Jul 1993	3
Peel cops participate in racism survey	2 Sep 1993	1
Peel officer co-edited book on police and race relations: Supt. Chris O'Toole retiring after 33 yrs	16 Sep 1993	5
Report on blacks-only prom is close to being finalized	4 Nov 1993	5
North Park students doing their part to curb racism	30 Dec 1993	7
Charges against board unresolved	3 Feb 1994	1
Students target of hate group forum told	21 Apr 1994	1,3
City legions split on turban issue: Bramalea backs ban, Brampton votes against	12 Jun 1994	3
Racism is prevalent in Peel public schools, school trustee told	19 Oct 1994	5
Media misrepresented blacks: Arnold Minors charges	15 Feb 1995	1
Speaker to discuss hate on the Internet	27 Oct 1995	2
Devil's Night vandals leave residents fuming	1 Nov 1995	3
Crimes of hate up 130% in region	12 Apr 1996	1,3
Apologize ... or else: says MPP	17 Jul 1996	1

Teacher denies racism allegations: made by B'nai Brith Canada	18 Dec 1996	1
Teacher fired over racist allegations	28 Feb 1997	1,6
Peel police earn gold in race relations	2 Apr 1997	3
Group demanding inquiry into shooting of black men: director of education Braithwaite on committee	4 Jun 1997	2
Poster contest for students	12 Oct 1997	7
Contest open to students	15 Oct 1997	5
New member chosen to race relations committee	22 Apr 1998	1
Hate/bias-motivated crime declines according to stats	2 May 2000	1
Alliance offended with racism label	19 Nov 2000	9
Chief gets award from PMC	24 Jan 2001	1
Forum tries to keep Martin Luther King's dream alive	25 Feb 2001	3
Fighting racism brings students together	25 Mar 2001	1
Malhi urges citizens to avoid violence	23 Sep 2001	1
Tolerance is the key-word at MCB meeting	9 Jan 2002	7
History can change the present	27 Feb 2002	6
Since Sept 11, hate crimes on the rise	10 Apr 2002	1
Expert says more Columbine-like events are possible: speaker tells conference there's a "poisonous social atmosphere"	26 Apr 2002	14
Culture clash at heart of flick	21 Jun 2002	13
South Asians claim brutality at police protest	18 Sep 2002	3
Equality is the goal of North Park program	6 Dec 2002	1
Black History Makers are honoured: local event celebrates Black History Month	14 Feb 2003	3
Students told knowledge, perseverance are keys to success	21 Feb 2003	7
Separate board OKs kirpans	25 Apr 2003	3
Brampton is hosting diversity training for police	23 May 2003	8
Rappers Harpoon Missile tackling the tough issues of war, prejudice and chaos	18 Jun 2003	12
Anti-racism is message from Peel police	1 Oct 2003	2
Racial graffiti on farm sign	18 Jul 2004	1
Neighbours supporting victims of hate crime	23 Jul 2004	10
Famous faces at Race against Racism	3 Jun 2005	11
Hundreds join in Race Against Racism	15 Jun 2005	8
Catholic board agrees to anti-racism training	12 Oct 2005	1
Sikh barred entry at Legion Branch 609	18 Nov 2005	3
E-mail might have started in Peel	27 Nov 2005	1
Diversity in education was the topic of town-hall style meeting	14 Dec 2005	2
Chief made news at beginning and end of '05	11 Jan 2006	2
Five officers disciplined: offensive e-mail circulated	3 May 2006	1
Anti-racism strategy a step towards equity	2 Mar 2007	21
Students learning about social conscience	25 Apr 2007	10
Nurse who can't speak Hindi, Punjabi denied job interview	14 Sep 2007	3
Controversial Peel Region teacher loses his teaching license for political beliefs	16 Nov 2007	8

Students learn to work in harmony to change the world, themselves	29 Feb 2008	14
Brampton author releases book on cultural injustice	28 Mar 2008	15
Local politicians vote against immigration changes	18 Apr 2008	8
Parent calls on trustees to end systemic racism at school board	2 Sep 2008	12
Complaint prompts high school to kill "Mockingbird"	19 Aug 2009	4
United Achievers mark 25 years	21 Aug 2009	18
Four students charged after 350 teens gather for fight	2 Oct 2009	1
School board settles racism complaint	18 Nov 2009	20
Racism complaint should concern all parents: Dad	11 Dec 2009	5
Local teen activist wins lieutenant-governor's salute	15 Jan 2010	6
Officials mould a model for recruiting diverse school staff	24 Feb 2010	16
Lawyers win discrimination case against Peel Law Association	8 Dec 2010	3
Principal alleges systemic discrimination at school board	18 Feb 2011	5
Peel cops accused of racial profiling	24 Aug 2011	1
Costume triggers Mayfield investigation	6 Nov 2011	1
\$125M racial profiling class-action lawsuit filed against Peel Police	27 Nov 2011	5
Teen's video causes a stir	18 Apr 2012	11
US attack leaves local Sikhs shaken	8 Aug 2012	1
Board settles human rights complaint	21 Nov 2012	1
Appeal court reinstates finding of discrimination	19 Jun 2013	5
School board issues progress report on hiring equity effort	21 Jun 2013	7
Blackface vice principal transferred	11 Dec 2013	1
Peel cop files rights complaints	29 Jan 2014	1
Tour for Humanity rolls into Peel	28 Mar 2014	3
Anti-immigration group draws fire from community leaders	30 Apr 2014	1
Wynne condemns hateful flyer	30 Apr 2014	1
Hate crime increasing in Peel, police report says	9 May 2014	7
Race relations group says flyer stoking immigration fear	16 May 2014	15
Students respond to "racist" flyer	28 May 2014	3
Another racist flyer lands in Brampton	8 Aug 2014	6
Residents protest against anti-immigration flyer	13 Aug 2014	3
New flyer, similar racist message	18 Mar 2015	3
Mayor calls flyers "attack on city's strength"	20 Mar 2015	12
Singh calls on province to stop carding	3 Jun 2015	7
Peel police discrimination case seeks definition of minority	10 Jun 2015	1
Racing against racism	9 Jul 2015	27
Public meeting on controversial "street checks" set for Brampton	21 Aug 2015	13
What are your rights if stopped in a police "street check"?	3 Sep 2015	5
"Serious concerns" prompt mayors to call for suspension of police street checks	25 Sep 2015	1
Board's vote to ban carding has no power over police	1 Oct 2015	4
Ontario introduces regulations to ban random police street checks	30 Oct 2015	4

Peel police officer tells tribunal of "humiliating" and "embarrassing" treatment by peers	11 Nov 2015	7
Police Board picks new boss in aftermath of carding debate	4 Feb 2016	1
Community gathers to reject racism	9 Jun 2016	43
Police chief calls comments false and inflammatory	17 Jun 2016	3
Peel's top cop and police union with Police board, letter shows	23 Jun 2016	12
Senior police officers want board chair to step down	30 Jun 2016	4

Appendix B

List of online news sites in dataset

Is Canada Ready for Jagmeet, *Brampton Focus* - <https://www.bramptonfocus.ca/canada-ready-jagmeet/>

Is Canada Ready for Jagmeet, *Brampton Focus* (Facebook) <https://www.facebook.com/BramptonFocus/videos/1483482065054159/>

Sikh Politician Gets Verbally Attacked and Handles Gracefully, *Now This* - <https://www.facebook.com/NowThisNews/videos/1696778060353677/>

Jagmeet Singh “heckler” condemned by Media Party: What really happened? *Rebel Media*. https://www.therebel.media/jagmeet_singh_heckler_condemned_by_media_party_what_really_happened

Jagmeet Singh “heckler” condemned by Media Party: What really happened? *Rebel Media* (Facebook) https://www.facebook.com/pg/jointherebel/posts/?ref=page_internal

Curriculum Vitae

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Post-secondary Education and Degrees: University of Western Ontario
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University of Western Ontario
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2016-2018 M.A.

Honours and Awards: Geography Award for Academic Excellence
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The E.G Pleva Fellowship Award
2016/2017

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