

Criminalization/Racialization of Poverty

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Then ... and now...



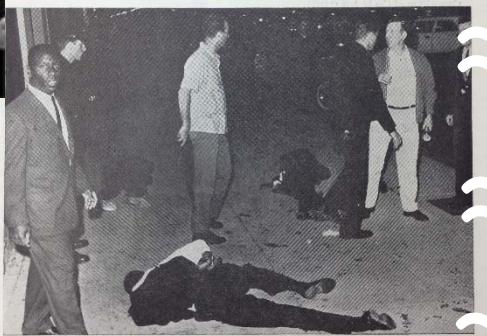
EXTRA!
No One Is Safe
"Police Brutality is Rampant in Every Negro Community"

Thur., May 25,
8p.m.
Fillmore Aud.
1805 Geary Blvd.
S.F. Calif.

THE BLACK ART ALLIANCE PRESENTS
A BENEFIT FOR THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF-DEFENSE

Speakers
HUEY P. NEWTON
Minister of Defense for B.P.P.S.D.
LeRoi Jones
Stokely Carmichael

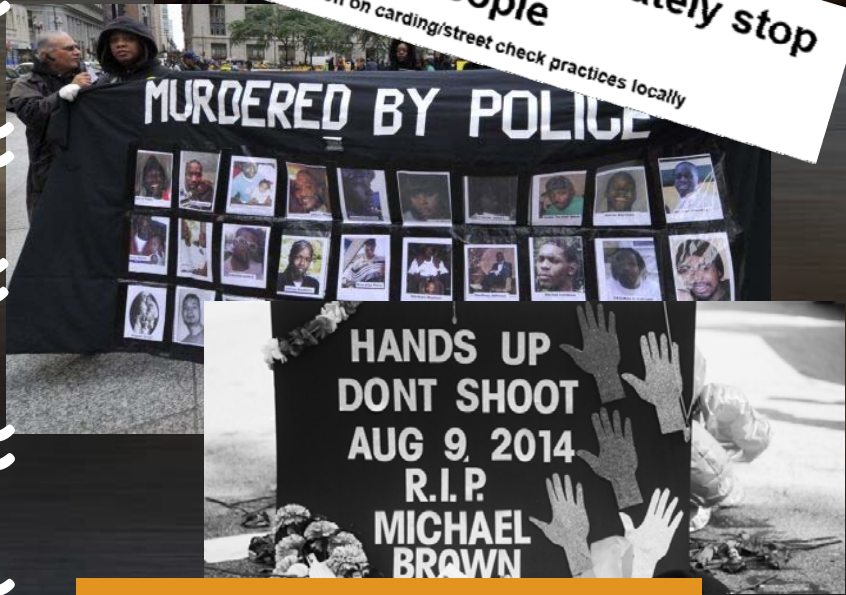
PLUS BLACK MUSIC AND DRAMA



THIS IS NOT ALGERIA! THIS IS NOT NAZI GERMANY! THIS IS AMERICA!
President's Civil Rights Commission Report
"The Commission is concerned about the number of unconstitutional and criminal acts committed by agents of American Justice who are sworn to uphold the law and to apply it impartially. Perhaps the most flagrant of the acts is the illegal use of violence. Indeed, a comprehensive review of available evidence indicates that Police Brutality is still a serious and continuing problem."



Hamilton police disproportionately stop and question black people
Hamilton Police provided information on carding/street check practices locally



ISLAMOPHOBIA
ISLAMOPHILIA

Racial Profiling → Carding → Street checks → Community engagement stops

Snapshot of Racialized Poverty in Canada

Racialized Canadians have a greater risk of living in poverty

- Racialized communities face high levels of poverty. The 2006 Census showed that the overall poverty rate in Canada was 11%. But for racialized persons it was 22%,.

Worsening outcomes

- Poverty in racialized communities is a growing problem. For example, in Toronto, the number of racialized families living in poverty increased 362% between 1980 and 2000, far greater than their population growth of 219%.

More women than men live in poverty

- Racialized women living in poverty outnumbered men by a factor of 52% to 48%.

Many are children

- The population of racialized persons living in poverty is young. Almost half (46%) are less than 25 years old. 27% were less than 15 years old. 19% were 15 to 24 years old.

(National Council on Welfare, 2009):

http://www.esdc.gc.ca/eng/communities/reports/poverty_profile/snapshot.pdf

Snapshot of Racialized Poverty in Canada

Many are immigrants

- The majority of racialized persons (66%) living in poverty were immigrants.
- Persons from racialized groups made up 54% of all immigrants in Canada. However, they made up 71% of all immigrants living in poverty.
- For racialized persons, almost three in four poor immigrants were born in Asia and the Middle East.

Many are recent immigrants

- Almost two-thirds (61%) of the racialized immigrants living in poverty came to Canada in the previous ten years, between 1996 and 2006. Among these, seven out of ten arrived in the previous five years, 2001 to 2006.

(National Council on Welfare, 2009):

http://www.esdc.gc.ca/eng/communities/reports/poverty_profile/snapshot.pdf

Criminalizing Race

- There is an over-representation of people of colour in the criminal justice system. For Canadians of African descent, the rate is three times higher than for white Canadians (Farha, McKay, Neven, & Porter, 2009).
- As well, “black males are more likely to be stopped, detained, and imprisoned upon conviction” (Commission on Systemic Racism in the Ontario Criminal Justice System, 1995).
- Systemic racism, over-policing, and racial profiling within law enforcement and judicial systems is common among “ethno-racial groups” (Interim Report of the Commission on Systemic Racism in the Ontario Criminal Justice System, 1994; Jiwani, 2002; Ontario Human Rights Commission, 2003; Wortly, 2004).



Criminalizing Race

- As of August 2010, there were 512 women serving federal sentences in Canada, of these, 34% (174 women) were Indigenous (Bingham & Sutton, 2012, p.5).
- Black women in Ontario specifically are admitted to prison at a rate that is 7 times the admittance rate for white women (Reece, 2010).
- The rates of admissions for black women in Ontario prisons is also increasing (Reece, 2010).



Criminalizing Poverty/Race



Rexdale Detention Center



Toronto Ontario Works Office

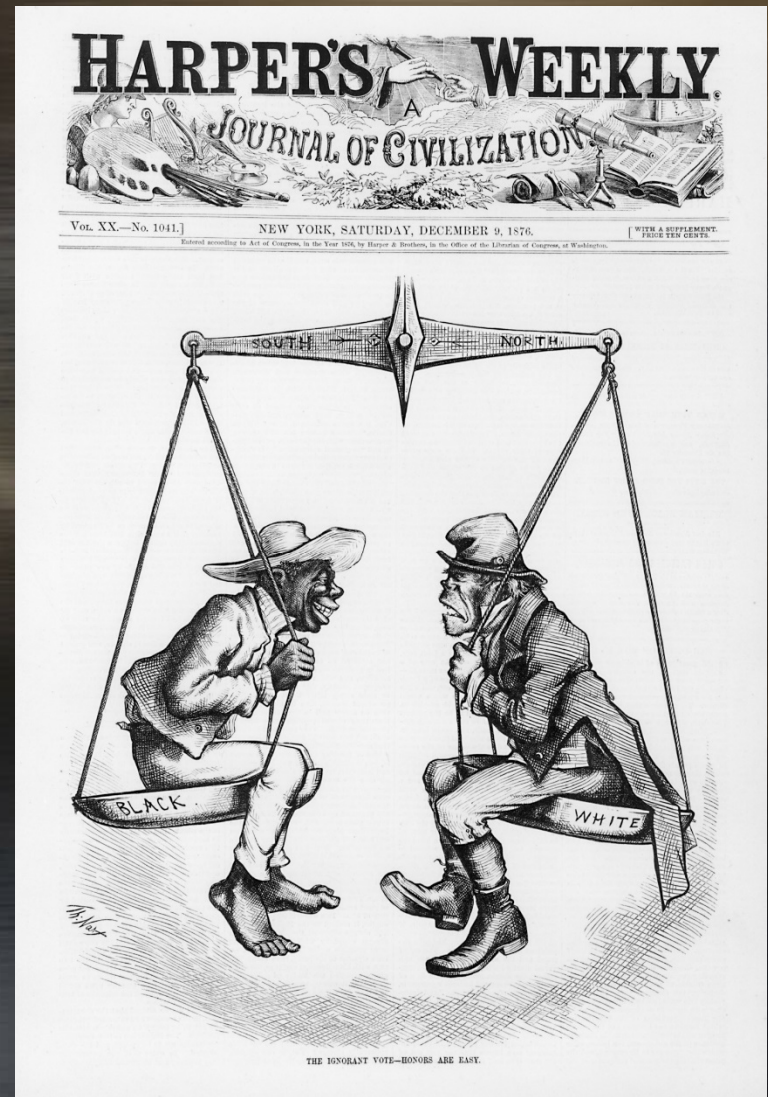
In the name of “fraud protection”, people of colour, and others in need of support are treated in dehumanized ways and face surveillance and scrutiny that constructs them as criminals, required to provide dozens of documents on command, and reestablish that they are in need or risk of being taken off of support (Mirchandani & Chan , 2007).

Dehumanization and human hierarchy

In order for exploitation, slavery, indentureship, the colonization of lands, the upheaval of governments, and the imposition of religion to occur, a group had to be differentiated, subordinated into a general type, seen through a lens of difference, as an inferior group, in need of Western civility, democracy, psychiatry, capitalism, Christianity, worthy of violence, and reasoned out of humanity through Darwinian and Malthusian rhetoric.

Technologies of dehumanization become embedded in language, carried in discourse, trope and embedded in policy and law.

(Fanon, 1965, Said, 1978, Memmi, 1965, Césaire, 1955; Spivak, 1988; Prakash, 1994; Joseph, 2015)



Undesirability and eugenics

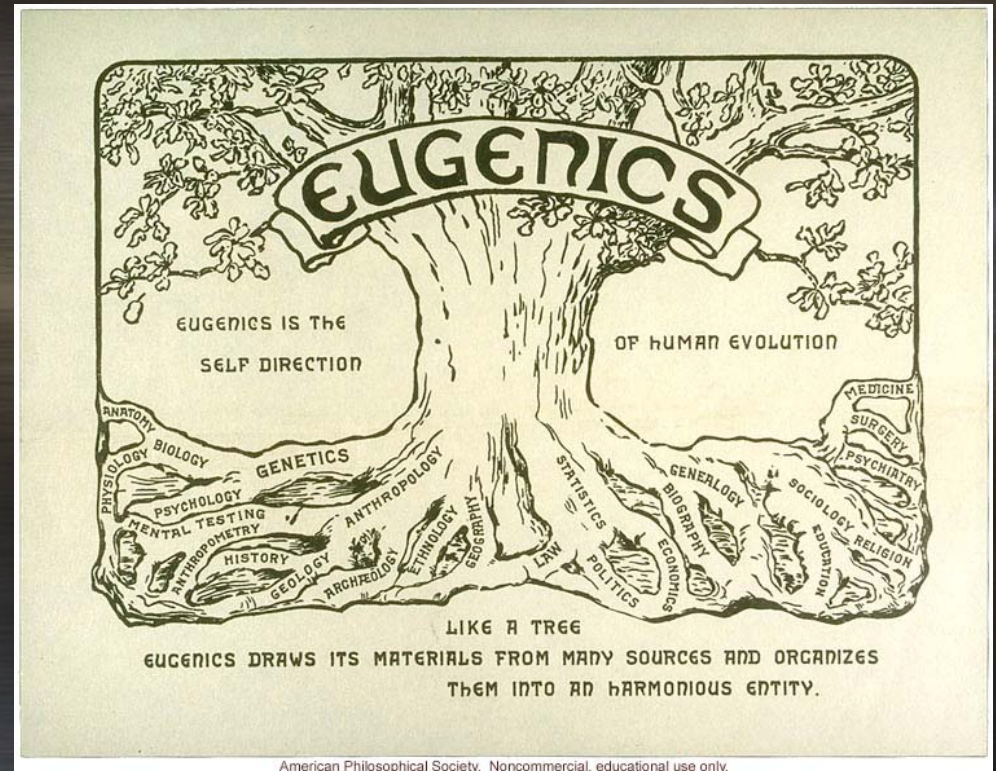
Eugenics “the study of the agencies under social control that may improve or impair the racial qualities of future generations”

(Francis Galton, *Inquiries into Human Faculty and Its Development*, 1907, p.17 cited in Dowbiggin, 1997).

Eugenicists argue that “the sterilization and institutionalization of the mentally disabled as well as laws restricting immigration and marriage would improve public health.”

(Dowbiggin, 1997, p. vi).

In 1910, the House of Commons debates revealed that early 20th century psychiatry propounded the belief that persons with mental disabilities were *undesirable immigrants* because they were by nature *degenerates, dangerous and dishonest in disposition* (Chadha, 2008).



Prohibited classes

PROHIBITED CLASSES.

Prohibited classes of immigrants.

3. No immigrant, passenger, or other person, unless he is a Canadian citizen, or has Canadian domicile, shall be permitted to land in Canada, or in case of having landed in or entered Canada shall be permitted to remain therein, who belongs to any of the following classes, hereinafter called "prohibited classes", —

Persons mentally defective.

(a) idiots, imbeciles, feeble-minded persons, epileptics, insane persons, and persons who have been insane within five years previous;

Diseased persons.

(b) persons afflicted with any loathsome disease, or with a disease which is contagious or infectious, or which may become dangerous to the public health, whether such persons intend to settle in Canada or only to pass through Canada in transit to some other country: Provided that if such disease is one which is curable within a reasonably short time, such persons may, subject to the regulations in that behalf, if any, be permitted to remain on board ship if hospital facilities do not exist on shore, or to leave ship for medical treatment;

Persons physically defective.

(c) immigrants who are dumb, blind, or otherwise physically defective, unless in the opinion of a Board of Inquiry or officer acting as such they have sufficient money, or have such profession, occupation, trade, employment or other legitimate

208

mate

mate mode of earning a living that they are not liable to become a public charge or unless they belong to a family accompanying them or already in Canada and which gives security satisfactory to the Minister against such immigrants becoming a public charge;

(d) persons who have been convicted of any crime involving Criminals moral turpitude;

(e) prostitutes and women and girls coming to Canada for any immoral purpose and pimps or persons living on the avails of prostitution; Prostitutes and pimps.

(f) persons who procure or attempt to bring into Canada prostitutes or women or girls for the purpose of prostitution or other immoral purpose; Procurers.

(g) professional beggars or vagrants, or persons likely to become a public charge; Beggars and vagrants.

(h) immigrants to whom money has been given or loaned by any charitable organization for the purpose of enabling them to qualify for landing in Canada under this Act, or whose passage to Canada has been paid wholly or in part by any charitable organization, or out of public moneys, unless it is shown that the authority in writing of the Superintendent of Immigration, or in case of persons coming from Europe, the authority in writing of the assistant Superintendent of Immigration for Canada, in London, has been obtained for the landing in Canada of such persons, and that such authority has been acted upon within a period of sixty days thereafter; Charity immigrants.

(i) persons who do not fulfil, meet or comply with the conditions and requirements of any regulations which for the time being are in force and applicable to such persons under sections 37 or 38 of this Act. Persons not complying with regulations.

Under the section 3 of the Immigration Act of 1910, the “prohibited classes” are identified in the following order: “Persons mentally defective”, “Diseased persons”, “Persons physically defective”, “Criminals”, “Prostitutes or pimps”, “Procurers”, “Beggars and vagrants”, “Charity immigrants” and “Persons not complying with regulations”.

Immigrant ≈ race ≈ criminal ≈ defective ≈ poor ≈ burden

Dr. Helen MacMurchy was Ontario's leading public health expert in 1914 and "inspector of the feeble minded" from 1906-1916 (McLaren, 1990). In her role as first chief of the Division of Maternal and Child Welfare in 1920 she sought to effect public health needs in the areas of infant mortality, maternal mortality and feeblemindedness" (McLaren, 1990, p. 30).

Her 1920 account, *The Almosts: A Study of the Feeble-Minded* promoted eugenic ideas that advocated for segregation and sterilization to eliminate the feeble-minded, their economic costs and their criminal threat to society (McLaren, 1990).

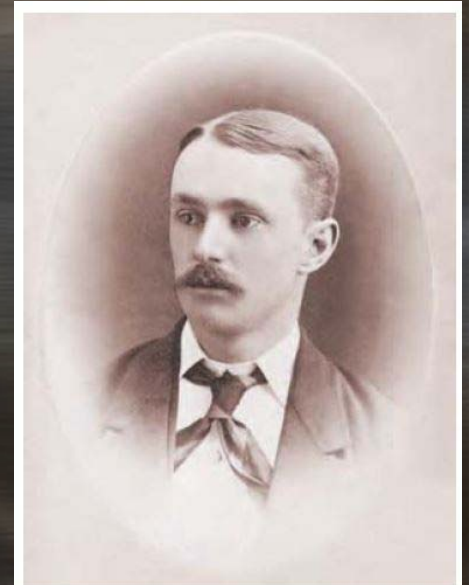
MacMurchy declared at a conference in 1914 that "the problem of defective children could only be solved if special education and medical inspection were complemented by restriction of immigration" (McLaren, 1990, p.46).



C.K. Clarke

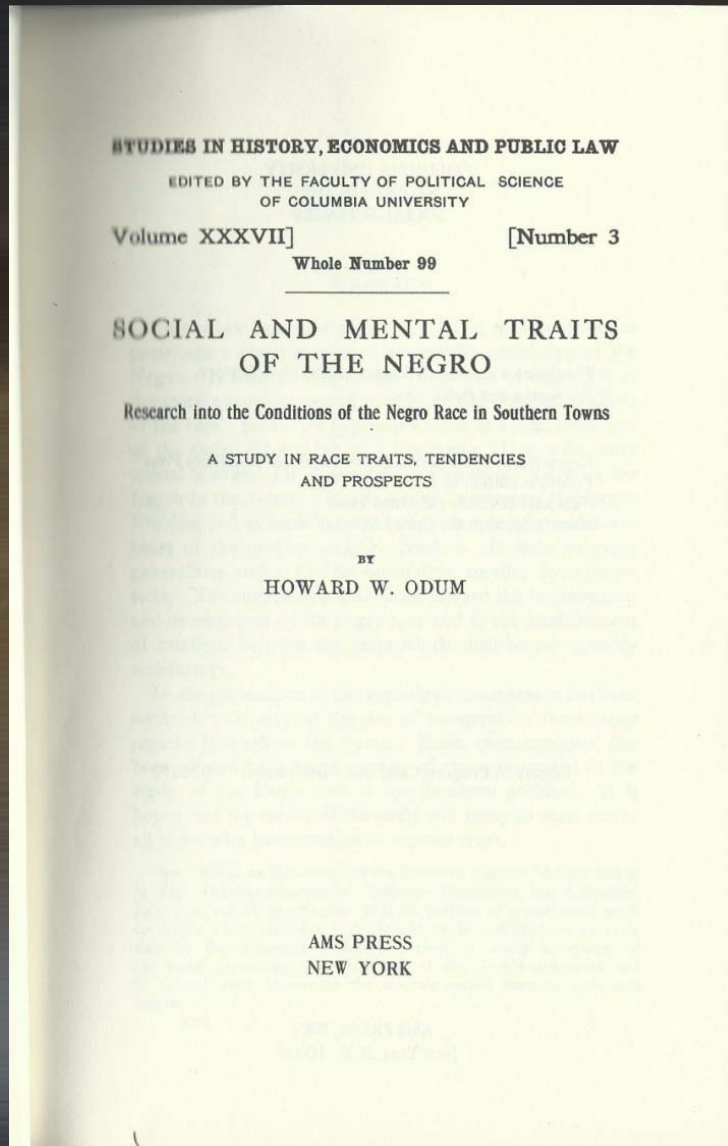
- Charles Kirk Clarke (after which the former Clarke Institute of Psychiatry in Toronto is named, now CAMH) “was arguably the most famous psychiatrist Canada has ever produced” (Dowbiggin, 1997, p. 17).
- Clarke recommended a far more rigid system of immigration inspection as well as a deportation policy for “the indigent classes of immigrants who show marked evidence of mental disease or defect, or criminal tendency” (Dowbiggin, 1997, p.142).
- In 1906, “the Canadian government had made deportations legal for the first time. Immigrants who within two years of their arrival in Canada ended up in a publicly funded charitable institution...were eligible for deportation” Clarke wanted this to be extended. In 1910, the law was amended from 2 years to 5 years with the help of Clarke’s advocacy.
- To this day, immigrants are ineligible for social assistance (including disability support program) income for the duration of their sponsorship which can be up to 10 years.

<http://www.mcass.gov.on.ca/documents/en/mcass/social/directives/ow/0311.pdf>



Charles Clarke in 1876 as a Toronto medical student, serving as a Clinical Assistant (extern) at Queen Street from 1874-78 and Assistant Physician, 1878-80. Studio *carte de visite* by Notman & Fraser. CAMH Archives, Clarke Family fonds, 9-19.

Howard W. Odum



The Faculty of Political Science at Columbia University edited a book as part of a series on “Studies in History, Economics and Public Law” by Professor Howard W. Odum in 1910. Professor Odum served as Assistant Director of Research for President Herbert Hoover's Research Committee on Social Trends and was President of the American Sociological Association in 1930. His work had a great influence and reflected the research trajectories within his field.

The subject of his research is described as having a tendency towards criminality, to addictions, to not wanting to work and “mental defect oftener takes the form of idiocy, and all acute psychoses like mania issue sooner in imbecility” (Odum, 1910, p. 169).

Early Racial Profiling

FCE/IB.

DEPARTMENT OF
THE SUPERINTENDENT OF IMMIGRATION
OTTAWA

ADDRESS:
THE SUPERINTENDENT OF IMMIGRATION
OTTAWA
822813 Imm.

IN YOUR REPLY REFER TO NO. 822813 Imm.

KINDLY DO NOT WRITE OF MORE THAN
ONE SUBJECT IN ANY ONE LETTER

Ottawa, 22nd January, 1915.

RECD. & ACKD.
JAN 23 1915

Sir,

I notice in the press summary of the annual report of the Provincial Police issued by your Department recently, that the statement is made that the Provincial Police rounded up and handed over to the Federal Government for deportation 1138 "hoboes".

This Department is I suppose the one to which all these vagrants and tramps were reported, and the fact of such a large number being apprehended within the Province in one year would seem to indicate that there is some lack of proper supervision of the Border entry ports. I should like very much to have some further information about these 1138 souls, and as I presume that some statistics must have been kept in your Department showing who they were and where they came from and where they were apprehended, you can possibly supply me with such further information as will enable me to find out the weak spots in our Border inspection work.

I shall be very glad to have this information at as early a date as possible.

Your obedient servant,

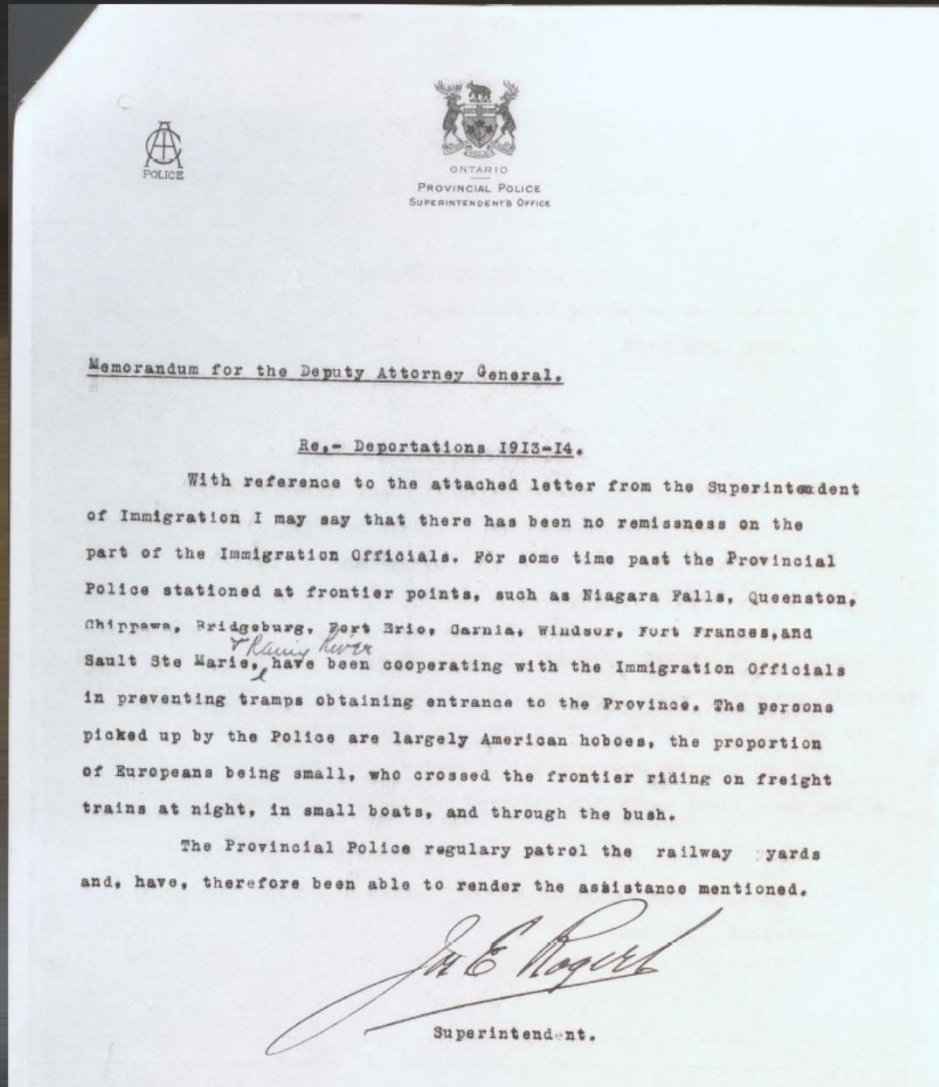
W. D. Scott

Superintendent of Immigration.

J. R. Cartwright, Esq., K.C.,
Deputy Attorney General,
Toronto, Ont.

Archival correspondence from 1915 from the office of the Attorney General of Ontario revealed that an inquiry was initiated by a W.D. Scott, Esq. (The Superintendent of Immigration at the time) to query the deportation of 1135 "Hobos, tramps, undesirable aliens" from November 1913-October 1914 by provincial police.

Early Racial Profiling



The Superintendent of provincial police also reports that there is no remissness on the part of the Immigration Officials (which was W.D. Scott's original concern) and explains that the police have been cooperating with Immigration Officials in preventing tramps from entering the province who are **“largely American hoboos, the proportion of Europeans being small...on freight trains at night, in small boats, and through the bush”**.

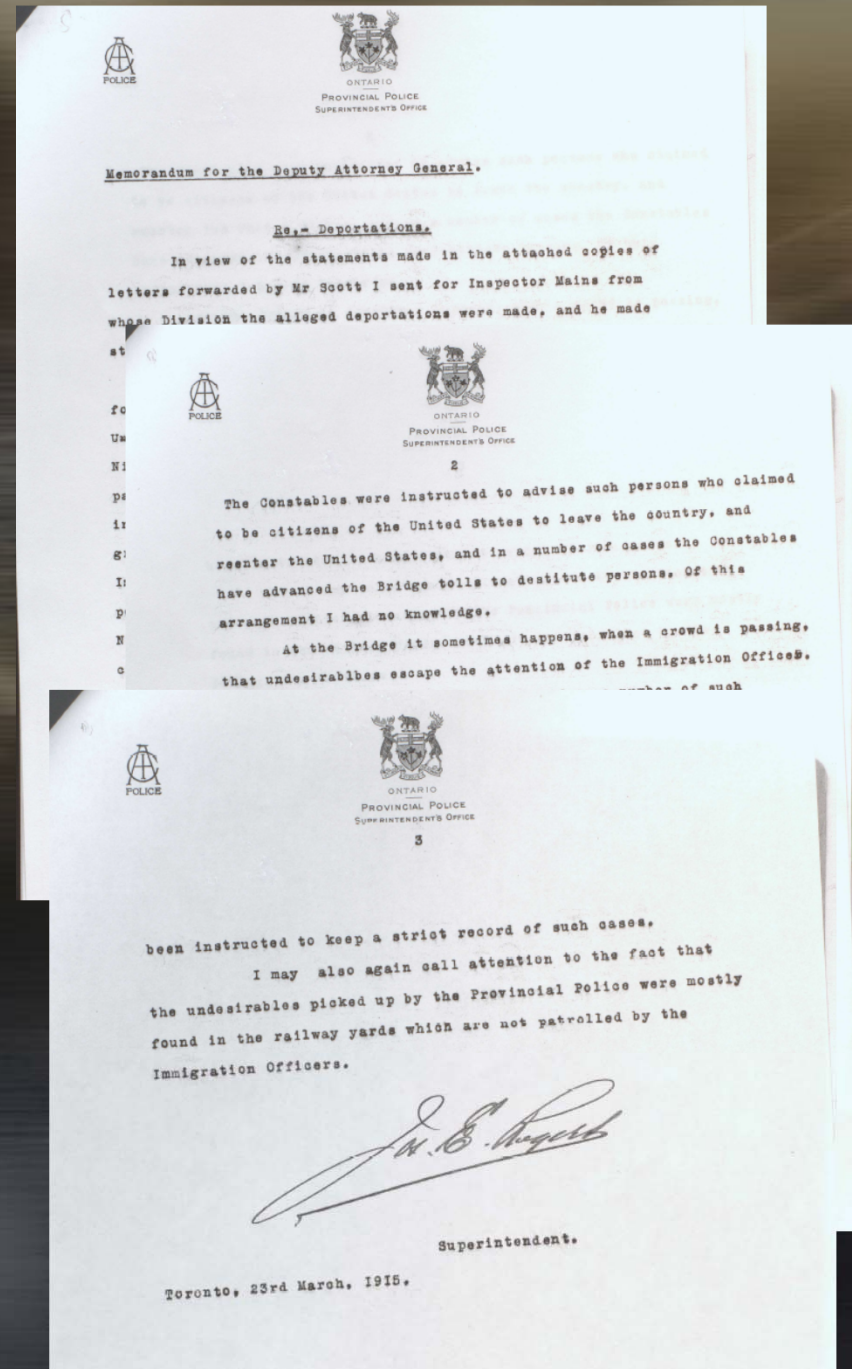
Early Racial Profiling

After persistence, the Superintendent of Police shares with him an explanation stating:

that Police have “long been rounding up and deporting undesirables until U.S. ports began refusing to take undesirables back in ports other than Niagara falls”.

The superintendent explains that “Inspector Mains came to the conclusion that it was no use filling the country goals with these men, and putting the Province to the cost of their maintenance. For the protection of the Province, Inspector Mains “devised a scheme to rid us of this element”.

The plan involved finding and handing over undesirables to immigration officials for deportation that “escape the attention of immigration officials” at the bridge (where there are immigration officials) and railway yards (where no immigration officials patrol).



Police racially profiling African Americans In Canada in 1915

The term “hoboe” was used to describe migrant workers, and the word “tramp” was a term used to describe a ranking beneath hoboe for someone who “worked only when made to”(Lieberman, 2008).

It may be important to note that the first *great migration* (a movement of millions of African American’s to the North after the emancipation proclamation) in the United States began in 1910 and between 1910 and 1930 the “African-American population increased by about 40% in the Northern states” including the cities of “Detroit, Chicago, Cleveland and New York City” seeking employment and safety (Penny Liberty, 2012).



Immigrant ≈ race ≈ criminal ≈ defective ≈ poor ≈ burden

The attachment of race to criminality to poverty and systems of dehumanization are/were forged together through the confluence of colonial and imperial projects of nation building and eugenics.

These ideas now manifest themselves as colonial tropes, and figurative language that reproduces historical form of racialized violence within policy and law and practice while denying its historically established intent/project.

“The pauper and slave subject were central to the formation of early liberalism and white bourgeois power, yet the history of social welfare has little to say about racial thinking” (O’Connell, 2010, p. 40)



CECIL JOHN RHODES

"THE MORE OF THE WORLD WE INHABIT
THE BETTER IT IS FOR THE HUMAN
RACE"

The Centre for Addiction and Mental Health in Toronto's College street location has recently undergone renovations. This was formerly the site of the Clarke Institute of Psychiatry. In the opening foyer sits this plaque "in honor of Dr. C.K. Clarke":

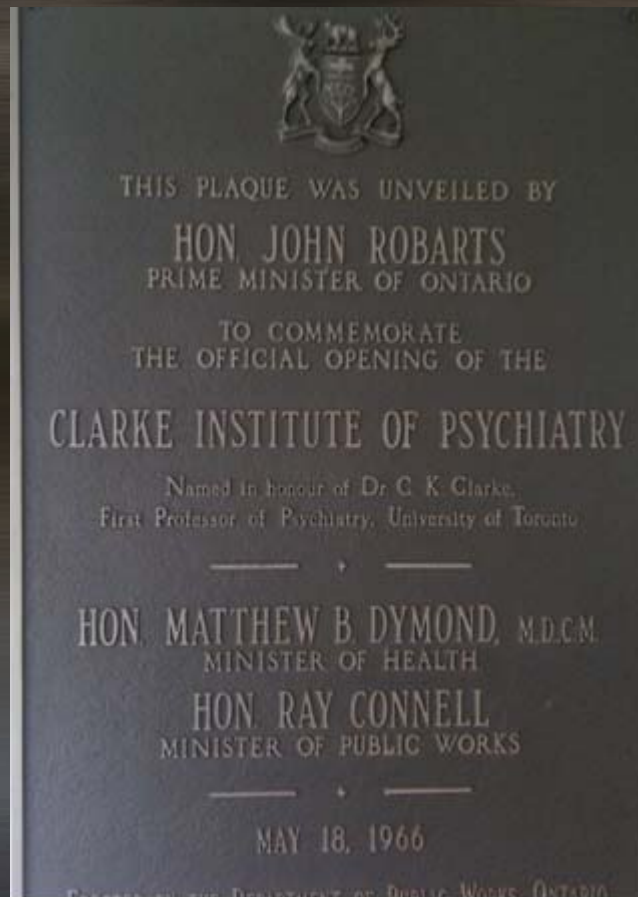


Photo Taken June 13, 2011