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

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A Thesis

in

The Department

of

Communication Studies

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Magisteriate of Arts (Media Studies) at
Concordia University
Montréal, Québec, Canada

August 1996

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ISBN 0-612-18397-1

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ABSTRACT

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Janin Hadlaw, M.A.

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

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

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank my neighbours in Little Burgundy for their friendship and for the wonderful years we spent together 'stoop-sitting', debating, and watching our children and gardens grow. The community which we built together will always be my standard for 'the good life.'

I would like to thank the academic community at Concordia University. Above all, many thanks are owed to Dr. Lorna Roth, who supervised and encouraged me with generosity and wit. I am also indebted to Dr. Kim Sawchuk for her unfailing support and to Dr. Martin Allor for his 'grace under pressure.' Thanks as well as to Dr. William Buxton, for offering unexpected encouragement and interest when I was beginning to think about 'space.' I am equally grateful to my fellow students, especially Jennifer de Freitas, Jacob Balkan, and Steven Purvis, who listened to my ideas and told me of theirs.

Thanks to Alan Itakura for his loyal friendship and dedicated 'technical support.'

And finally, a 'gazillion' thanks to Jozef and Aleksander Hadlaw-Murray whose cheerfulness, hugs and kisses really do make everything better, and to Robert Holland Murray in loving gratitude for his unshakable faith in me and this work.

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INTRODUCTION

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

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

The Gosset story continued to play out in Montreal. Juxtaposed with these stories, the local media ran reports on police racism and the death of black suspects in Toronto,

race riots in Nova Scotia, and killings of black youth in the United States.[1]

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

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

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

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[1] "Toronto blacks angered by killing of crippled man [Donaldson]," *Montreal Gazette*, 12 August 1988, B1.
"Racial brawl at Nova Scotian school stirs up long-hidden tensions," *Montreal Gazette*, 11 January 1989, A9.
"7,500 clash with NY police in march against [black youth's killing and] race violence," *Montreal Gazette*, 1 September 1989, A2.

their rejection of the plausibility of police explanations of the killings of Griffin and François. The English media (especially the *Montreal Gazette*, the *Mirror* and the CBC) were especially diligent in 'following-up' police accounts of the incidents and seeking information from the families of the victims and members of the black community. The news environment had become saturated with stories on race relations. Less violent but equally disturbing stories of police racism were being featured as 'human interest stories.'[2] In unprecedented number, black Montrealer's accounts of harassment were being investigated by the mainstream media. Stories on employment equity, multiculturalism and mixed-race families were all 'making the news.' This intense media interest created a forum for the concerns of black citizens and contributed to a perceptible increase in white middle-class knowledge and support of blacks' complaints against the police. For example, whereas previously police officers were rarely scrutinized while questioning or arresting black suspects, it was not unusual during this period to see whites stopping to 'witness' an arrest procedure.[3]

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

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[2] "Youth [Jeffrey Markowicz] finds [Montreal] police are not color blind." (1991, July 16) The Montreal Gazette. B3.

[3] In the summer of 1991, I stopped in Westmount Park at the sight of a group of about a dozen people watching two police officers question a black teenager about the theft of a bicycle. When I inquired as to what everyone was looking at, I was told by one of the bystanders that he was just watching to make sure that "the kid doesn't get the death penalty if he stole that bike." I observed similar responses all over Montreal during this time. A small group of women and children gathered to silently watch two officers requesting identification from two young black men at the corner of Atwater Avenue and St. Jacques Street. One of the (white) mothers later told me that she felt stopping to watch was "the responsible thing to do".

information about the activities of three officers. The video also documented his death. Fletcher was killed during a police chase shortly after giving the interview to the CBC. The police officers who had been chasing him claimed he had committed suicide. The news footage of the crime scene, as well as at-the-scene interviews with both the police and bystanders were incorporated into *Black & Blue.*

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

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[4] Hall, Critcher, *et al.* posit that the conflation of crime, race and ghetto as a social problem occurs as a result of incidents which "[*locate and situate*] *black crime geographically* [emphasis added] and ethnically, as peculiar to black youth in inner city ghettos." Extending this concept, I suggest that there exists an urge to locate 'blackness' and all of its symbolic associations which results from a perception of 'race' itself as a social problem and its appearance in social discourse as implicitly threatening.
S. Hall, C. Critcher, T. Jefferson, J. Clarke,. and B. Roberts, *Policing the Crisis: Mugging the State and Law and Order,* (London: Macmillan, 1979), 329.

Research design and method

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

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

This period provides a quantity of material to study and compare. I have chosen to limit my analysis to a series of newspaper articles appearing in the *Montreal Gazette* between January 1987 and January 1992, the CBC (Montreal) news feature *Black & Blue*, and a short clip which appeared on a local news show, CFCF Pulse, on May 9, 1992. The *Gazette*, CFCF and the Montreal office of the CBC, can all be defined as local mainstream media. Although I make occasional reference to articles which appeared in the *Montreal Mirror* (a local weekly alternative paper) to support or explicate some of the news stories I cite, I have chosen to examine the way in which these events were reported by

the 'establishment' media.[5] What was unusual about the period between 1987 and 1992 was that the *mainstream* media (especially the *Montreal Gazette* and the CBC) were insistently questioning police accounts of the arrests and shootings of black people. I believe it was the mainstream (English) media's determined engagement with the issues of policing the black community which was responsible for both encouraging the black community's confidence to take action, as well as stimulating (anglophone) public support for the black community's demands.

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

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[5] To undertake a discourse analysis of the *Mirror's* coverage of these events would be a very interesting and fruitful exercise, but one which would also alter the focus of this work. The scepticism of official accounts which was unusual in the mainstream press is not at all atypical for alternative ("free") newspapers such as the *Mirror*, which actively represent constituencies lacking an institutional 'voice' or perceived as oppositional (such as minorities, gays and lesbians, feminists, etc.).

My thesis is divided into a descriptive introduction, three chapters and a conclusion. In this introduction, I have briefly described some incidents of police racism which occurred in Montreal between 1987 and 1992, and broadly sketched how issues to do with 'race' were taking on new prominence in the media at this time.

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

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

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

Chapter Four is a textual analysis of *Black & Blue*. I illustrate how, through its use of metaphors of space and race, *Black & Blue* functions to 'locate' the problem of police killings of black Montrealers and recuperate the public crisis of confidence in the MUC police force. The video text is analyzed with respect to the ways in which 'perspective' is established and credibility is negotiated. Particular attention is paid to how contradictory or irrelevant information influences meaning.

In my conclusion, I take up my claim that 'race' functions as an organizing metaphor for the 'management' of social space. I explore how spatial strategies used in *Black & Blue*'s representation of Little Burgundy are linked to those which informed its actual construction in Montreal's 1960 - 70 urban renewal scheme. I posit that these links, rather than evidence of the 'truth' of representation, are indicative of racially-determined frameworks of knowledge through which we organize social space. I illustrate with reference to a news clip which aired on CFCF Pulse how, as a metaphor with material effects, 'race' informs the practices of (media) representation and through them, the very fabric of our everyday life.

CHAPTER 1

Two Theoretical Views of Space and Their Methodological Implications

> A whole history remains to be written of *spaces* –
> which would at the same time be a history of *powers*.[6]

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

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

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[6] Michel Foucault, "Eye of Power," *Power/Knowledge, Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972 - 1977*, ed. Colin Gordon. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1988), 149.

[7] G. Gerbner, *et al, Violence in TV Drama : A Study of Trends and Symbolic Functions*, (Philadelphia: The Annenberg School, University of Pennsylvania, 1970).

[8] Stuart Hall, "Encoding/decoding" in *Culture, Media, Language*, eds. Stuart Hall, Dorothy Hobson, Andrew Lowe and Paul Willis (London: Hutchinson, 1991), 129.

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

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

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

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

[10] The similarities between their understandings of space are most evident in the comparison between Lefebvre's *The Production of Space* (published in the original French in 1974) and Foucault's "Of Other Spaces" (based on a lecture given in March 1967 and originally published as "Des Espaces Autres" in 1984).

metaphors of analysis have methodological implications. In this chapter, I discuss some of these implications, how they directed the areas of investigation for this thesis, and the considerations which they raised for me as a researcher.

'Practice' and its relationship to 'place'

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

> the target of analysis wasn't 'institutions', 'theories', or 'ideology', but *practices — with the aim of grasping the conditions which make these acceptable at a given moment*; the hypothesis being that [practices] [...] possess up to a point their own specific regularities, logic, strategy, self-evidence and 'reason'. It is a question of analyzing a 'regime of practices' — *practices being understood here as places* where what is said and what is done, rules imposed and reasons given, the planned and the taken for granted meet and interconnect. [emphasis added][12]

Foucault's identification of practice *as a place or site*, was a recent modification to his notion of discursive formation. The impetus to examine practice from the perspective of space rather than time developed in the course of an interview in 1976 with the editors of the geography journal *Hérodote*. Foucault's initial reluctance to consider the connection between his work and geography was overcome by their argument that his use of spatial

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[11] Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon and Peter Miller, eds., *The Foucault Effect, Studies in Governmentality*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 73.

[12] *Ibid.* 75.

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

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

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

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[13] The interviewers begin by pointing out to Foucault that "an uncertainty about spatialization contrasts with your profuse use of spatial metaphors – position, displacement, site, field; sometimes geographical metaphors even – territory, domain, soil, horizon, archipelago, region, landscape. [...] The point that needs to be emphasized here is that certain spatial metaphors are equally geographical and strategic". At the conclusion of the interview Foucault states: "I have enjoyed this discussion with you because I have changed my mind since we started. I admit I thought you were demanding a place for geography [but now] I can see that the problems you put to me about geography are crucial ones for me. Geography acted as the support, the condition of possibility for the passage between a series of factors I tried to relate."
Michel Foucault, "Questions on Geography". *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977*, ed. Colin Gordon (New York: Pantheon, 1980), 63-77.

[14] *Ibid.*, 77.

[15] *Ibid.*, 69-70.

the 'build environment' of architecture, the 'property' of law, and so on.)[16] He proposes an alternative model in which space can be understood through — but not reduced to — three analytical perspectives which relate to 'moments' of production, specifically: 1) spatial practice as embodied in discrete locations and particular social formations ("the perceived"), 2) discursive representations of space ("the conceived"), and 3) the abstract spaces of representation which make up the 'social imaginary' ("the lived").

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

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

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[16] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space,* trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith. (Oxford and Cambridge: Blackwell, 1991), 30.

[17] Lefebvre. *Op. cit.*, 38.

[18] *Ibid.*, 42.

[19] *Ibid.*, 34. Some examples of what Lefebvre considers 'punctual' correspondences include the relationship between the discovery of perspectival space and changes in the forces and relations of production in thirteenth-century Tuscany (78-9), and the "'historic' role of the Bauhaus" in the development of a global concept of space (124).

> We should study not only the history of space, but also the history of representations, along with that of their relationships – with each other, with practice, and with ideology. *History would have to take in not only the genesis of these spaces but also, and especially, their interconnections, distortions, displacements, mutual interactions, and their links with the spatial practice of the particular society* or mode of production under consideration. [emphasis added][20]

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

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

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[20] Lefebvre, *Op. cit.*, 42.

[21] Burchell, *Op. cit.*, 76.

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

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

The logics of 'the visible'

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

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

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[22] Burchell, *Op. cit.*, 77.

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

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

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

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[23] John Rajchman, "Foucault's Art of Seeing," *October 44* (Spring 1988), 92.

[24] Gilles Deleuze, *Foucault*, (London: Athlone Press, 1988), 47-69.

[25] Lefebvre. *Op. cit.*, 38.

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

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

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

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

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[26] Lefebvre. *Op. cit.*, 42.

[27] *Ibid.*, 39.

[28] *Ibid.*, 38.

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

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

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

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

[30] Lefebvre. *Op. cit.,* 41-2.

[31] Judith Butler discusses how "a racially saturated field of visibility" structured the interpretation of 'visual evidence' in the Simi Valley trial of the officers accused of assaulting Rodney King. After viewing the video showing Rodney King's unresisting body being brutally beaten by police, the jury concluded that King was "endangering the police." Judith Butler, "Endangered/Endangering: Schematic Racism and White Paranoia". In *Reading Rodney King, Reading Urban Uprising,* ed. R. Gooding-Williams (New York: Routledge, 1993), 15.

> [R]epresentations of space are shot through with a knowledge (*savoir*) – i.e. a mixture of understanding (*connaisance*) and ideology – which is always relative and in the process of change. Such representations are thus objective, though subject to revision. Are they true or false? The question does not always have a clear meaning: what does it mean, for example, to ask whether a perspective is true or false?[32]

Regarding Methodology

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

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

[32] Lefebvre. *Op. cit.*, 41.

nature.[33] Investing too much meaning in specific examples of racism or its representation somehow suggests that solutions to racism can be found through some sort of moral or social literacy, and ignores the fact that racism *is* rational within its own terms of reference. In turn, trying to examine racist belief in terms of causality has the effect of miring one in that 'rationality'. In terms of this study, the textual analysis of representations of space in *Black & Blue* provides useful clues to the way in which spatial metaphors are used by the media to convey racialized notions of 'place' but does little to account for the power relations implicit in their (social) production.

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

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

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

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

[34] Lefebvre *Op. cit.*, 15.

of constructed visibility",[35] he is accurately describing both 'real' spaces and their representations. But representation reproduces a 'way of seeing' as well as an observable object. Returning to Foucault's understanding of practices as *places* "[where] the planned and the taken for granted meet and interconnect", suggests that the role of location is not incidental. 'Crisis' cannot be located anywhere. There is a 'logic' to the acceptability of the representation of Little Burgundy as criminal space in *Black & Blue*. The 'real' and represented spaces of Little Burgundy are linked by economic and legal *évidence*, just as marginalization is reproduced in both the reality and the concept of the American ghetto or the South African homelands. This is not to imply that the real and represented spaces possess a one-to-one correspondence, or that "space can be shown by means of space itself."[36] Quite the opposite, these tautologies are at the very root of the visual *problematiques* evident in *Black & Blue*. Although its representations of Little Burgundy appear to *describe* the neighbourhood, they in fact operate at the level of the social imaginary to *re-construct* the neighbourhood and render it useful within existing frameworks of social knowledge.

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

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[35] John Rajchman, "Foucault's Art of Seeing," *October* 44 (Spring 1988): 100.

[36] Lefebvre, *Op. cit.*, 96.

importance to understanding the role representation plays in the construction of the identity of Little Burgundy.[37]

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

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

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

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[37] T. O'Sullivan, J. Hartley, D. Saunders, *et al. Key Concepts in Communication and Cultural Studies.* (London: Routledge, 1994), 71.

[38] Stuart Hall, "Race, Culture, and Communications: Looking Backward and Forward at Cultural Studies." *Rethinking MARXISM* 5, no. 1 (Spring 1992), 10-18.

typically not be expressed in interview situations. My quandary as a researcher has to do with how to make use of the 'data' that my 'informants' provided me with. Much of what I came to be told was offered *because* my neighbours knew that I was a graduate student or because I was involved in community organizations. The questions I have are not concerned with the misuse or misappropriation of information. Rather, they have to do with the place of 'the anecdotal' in academic research.

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

There is no doubt as to the importance of this anecdotal knowledge to my understanding and my argument. I believe that chronicling the experiences residents of Little Burgundy had during this period would be a logical and satisfying evolution of this work.[39] Documenting such local knowledges would create an important account of both the events and the neighbourhood itself. Theoretically, this undertaking would be in keeping with the 'spatial' strategies of analysis suggested in Foucault's and Lefebvre's work. In the end, it is *problematiques* such as this which invite the expansion of the boundaries of the 'space' of academic research.

[39] I have conducted some infomal interviews with this possibility in mind. The notes from one short interview are included in Appendix A.

CHAPTER 2

Constructing Little Burgundy: Representations of Race and Urban Space

> [A]n imaginary geography of places and spaces [is] shown to have social impacts which are empirically specifiable and located not only at the level of individual proxemics[40] but also at the level of social discourses on space which underpin the rhetoric of ideologues and politicians and pervade and subvert even the rationalist discourse of planning and regional development policy. [41]

While focus of this thesis is the strategy of 'locating crisis' in Little Burgundy which was employed in the news feature *Black & Blue*, Lefebvre's urging to "[study] the history of representations, along with that of their relationships – with each other, with practice, and with ideology" suggests extending this analysis to include other representations of the neighbourhood.[42] An earlier and vivid example of the deployment of the discursive strategy of 'locating crisis' can be found in the circumstances and representations associated with the actual construction of Little Burgundy in a massive urban renewal project in the 1960s. In this chapter, I offer a brief history of how Little Burgundy came into being. If, as Lefebvre suggests, "architecture and texts about architecture" can provide the basis for a textual analysis of social space, then this 'history' of the construction of Little Burgundy will have a dual purpose for the reader: it will 'ground' *Black & Blue*'s representation of neighbourhood to an actual site, and it will illustrate some of the strategic similarities between the two representations.[43]

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[40] E.T. Hall coined this term and defines it as "the interrelated observations and theories of man's use of space as a specialized elaboration of culture."
E.T. Hall, *The Hidden Dimension,* (Anchor Books: New York, 1969), 1.

[41] Rob Shields, *Places on the Margin, Alternative Geographies of Modernity,* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), 6.

[42] Lefebvre, *Op. cit.,* 42.

[43] Lefebvre, *Op. cit.,* 15.

The Design of Urban Politics

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

The West End had been the "natural home" to Montreal's black population since as early as 1887.[45] Adjacent to both the Canadian National Railway and Canadian Pacific Railway stations, the West End became home to the rail yard workers (often Irish and francophone Québeçois) and the (primarily black) porters who worked for the railways. In time, Canadian as well as American and Caribbean blacks, settled in the West End and established numerous black institutions and social organizations. Historian Dorothy Williams notes that a distinguishing characteristic of the neighbourhood was the strength of its community ties.

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[44] Service d'Urbanisme, Ville de Montréal. *Petit Bourgogne: Bulletin spécial no 1.* #03503 (1965) 3.

[45] Citing the "Concentric Zone Model" elaborated in Park, Burgess and McKenzie's The City (Chicago, University of Chicago 1925) and McKenzie's On Human Ecology (Chicago, University of Chicago 1968), in her excellent survey of distribution patterns of the black population of Montreal, Dorothy Williams defines 'natural' area as "a neighborhood which is relatively homogeneous with respect to a group." She argues that the term 'natural' is far more applicable to this community than the term 'segregated' which typically defines a group as "living largely to themselves" (Israel, 1928). Williams points out that there had never been a movement among black residents of Montreal to exclude any other group from the district, on the contrary, active attempts at segregation were limited to white neighborhoods. Typically, the percentage of black residents in any district in Montreal, even those sometimes referred to as 'black districts', is not higher than fifteen percent.

Dorothy W. Williams, *Blacks in Montreal 1628 - 1986: An Urban Demography* (Montréal, Les Éditions Yvon Blais, 1989), 25.

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

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

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

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[46] *Ibid.*, 67

[47] Susan Ruddick, "The Montreal Citizens' Movement: The Realpolitik of the 1990's." *Fire in the Hearth: The Radical Politics of Place in America*, ed. Mike Davis *et al.* (London: Verso, 1990), 292.

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

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

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

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

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[48] Williams, *Op. Cite.*, 72.

The Politics of Urban Design

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

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

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

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

[50] Service d'Urbanisme, *Op. Cite.*, 3.

[51] Herbert J. Gans, *People, Plans and Poli ies: Essays on Poverty, Racism, and Other National Problems*, (Columbia University Press Russell Sage Foundation: New York, 1991) 195.

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

The use of medical metaphors is not casual. The processes through which an area is designated an urban renewal zone follow an essentially medical model of 'examination', 'diagnosis' and 'cure'. The condition of the area's housing, the state of its sewage system, the layout of its electrical grid; as well as its geological conditions, the composition, density and health of its population are all carefully noted and analyzed.[52] A broad range of experts, from architects to sociologists to doctors are called on to scrutinize, deliberate and recommend. Innumerable blueprints, veritable x-rays of the neighbourhood, render the visible and the invisible accessible to the scrutiny of planners. Massive quantities of words, images, graphs and charts offer solutions to the 'problems' found in its spaces. Foucault states that such "[medical] urban topographies outline, in negative at least, the general principles of a concerted urban policy" for managing the disorder of "the pathogenic city."[53] He notes that through the "[spatialization and verbalization of the pathological] a system of options [is brought into play] that reveals the way in which a group, in order to protect itself, practices exclusions, establishes the forms of assistance and reacts to poverty."[54] Lefebvre observes:

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

[53] Michel.Foucault, *Power/Knowledge, Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972 - 1977,* Ed. Colin Gordon (New York: Pantheon Books, 1988), 175.
Foucault proposes that the image of the "plague-stricken town, traversed throughout with hierarchy, surveillance, observation, writing[...]is the utopia of the perfectly governed city." Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison,* Trans. Alan Sheridan. (New York: Vintage, 1979), 198.

[54] Michel Foucault, *The Birth of the Clinic, An Archaelogy of Medical Perception,* Trans. A.M. Sheridan Smith (Vintage Books: New York, 1994) xi, 16.

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

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

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[55] Lefebvre, *Op. cit.*, 99

[56] *Ibid.*, 293.

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

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

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

[58] Susan Ruddick notes that the "strategies of the Parti Civique had required the inner city only as a throughway for major transportation arteries."
Ruddick, *Op. cit.*, 295.

CHAPTER 3

Discourses of Credibility: Black Anger, Police Conflict, and Media Scrutiny

> [T]he construction of seeing, and the way it fits in institutions and comes to be related to other fields, never loses contact with the way certain 'real' social problems are seen. [59]

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

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

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[59] John Rajchman, "Foucault's Art of Seeing," *October* 44 (Spring 1988), 100.

Spooner objected, he was pushed against a wall, handcuffed and frisked. He was then taken to Station 31 [Côte St. Luc], "where he was more thoroughly searched, locked up for 90 minutes, charged with disturbing the peace, and then released".[60]

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

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

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

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[60] D. Lord, "Black man 'humiliated' by police gets $5350." *Montreal Gazette*, 13 January 1987, A3. (see Appendix B.)

characteristic of a specific human being. This permits (any) one black individual to stand in for another or to represent 'blackness' itself. The police officers who stopped Spooner were apparently looking for (an undisclosed number of) *young* black males. It is unlikely that Spooner, who was 31 years old at the time, could be mistaken for a teenager. The reason he was stopped was because he fit the racial category and not because he matched any specific identifying characteristics.

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

It is this notion of public order which Spooner's lawyer alludes to when he declares that Spooner "was a black person in the wrong place at the wrong time." Accepting, if only

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

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

their powers", represented the incidence as a transgression of the boundaries or limits on the part of the *police*, not Spooner.

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

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

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

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[61] S. Semeniak, Police given seminar on how to treat minorities." *Montreal Gazette*, 13 February 1987, A3. (see Appendix B.)
"Create civilian review board to review complaints against police: report." *Montreal Gazette*, 12 May 1987, A1.

than others, he reveals the logic used to 'predict' a person's behavior based on their appearance. Implicit in this observation is the belief that *all* persons in that racial category will respond in a similar fashion: in an irrational, unpredictable and hence, potentially threatening manner. Furthermore, the suggestion that it is the response of *some races* and not the action of the police which is inappropriate, re-assigns fault to the reactions of a racially determined group. His final assumption, that all minorities are immigrants, occurs frequently in 'police talk'. The frustration the black community feels with its permanent 'outsider' status was expressed by Jessie Smith, a Little Burgundy resident, during a meeting of the MUC public security committee on January 29 1990. She was quoted in an article appearing in the *Montreal Gazette* as stating that MUC officers say things like "'Nigger, go back to your own country' [...]. I'd like to know where that country is at. We were born here."[62] The insistence that blacks belong 'elsewhere' acts to question, if not deny, the legitimacy of any demands they make about their treatment 'here'.

These debates were evidence of the controversy over police racism beginning to rage in early 1987. At this same time, the police force itself was in turmoil. The Police Department was in the midst of contract negotiations. Job and income security was a major concern of the officers. The Department was facing massive re-structuring which would inevitably result in profound changes to the 'practice of policing'. Technological changes were beginning to have an impact on work routines.[63] New equipment put the latest communications technology at the fingertips of patrolling officers but also permitted the administration to consider reductions to personnel. At the centre of the re-organizational

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[62] L. Harris, "Police department racist, say members of black community." *Montreal Gazette*, 13 February 1987, A3.

[63] "Coroner call for 2-man patrols." *Montreal Gazette*, 7 May 1987, A3.
"MUC police roll out their new wheels" *Montreal Gazette*, 27 May 1987, A3.

strategies under consideration was the closure of police stations and the re-assignment of police officers.[64] The Police Brotherhood, the police officers' union, reacted aggressively.[65] The three key areas of dispute were wages, the repeal of the decision which required MUC police to live in the Montreal Urban Community, and restrictions on the use of temporary and part-time workers. Pressure tactics were employed, such as working-to-rule or working out of uniform. A walkout was threatened. (Strikes by police officers are forbidden under Québec's Essential Services Act.) The administration refused to be intimidated and relations quickly became bitter.[66]

As the MUC administration and the police battled through contract negotiations, the provincial government tabled legislation which would require that complaints against all municipal police forces be adjudicated by the Québec Police Commission. The proposed law had the potential to halt the implementation of the civilian review board that the black community was so eagerly awaiting.[67] The legislation also implicitly threatened to hand over control of the MUC police to the province. Coming when it did, this proposal only managed to alarm both the black community and the Police Brotherhood.

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[64] "Police shuffle plan sent for study." *Montreal Gazette*, 3 April 1987, A3.
"Police chief wants to shut Station 25." *Montreal Gazette*, 29 April 1987, A3.

[65] "Public safe if police walk off: MUC." *Montreal Gazette*, 8 August 1987, A1.
"Police pressure tactics next week if there's no contract." *Montreal Gazette*, 14 August 1987, A1.

[66] "Lack of policing endangered city councillor says." *Montreal Gazette*, 17 July 1987, B2.
"Council declares it can intervene in police dispute." *Montreal Gazette*, 15 August 1987, A3.
"Who has had enough?" *Montreal Gazette*, 15 August 1987, B2.

[67] "Quebec plan threatens police board: councillor." *Montreal Gazette*, 19 June 1987, A1.
"Let Montrealers do it." *Montreal Gazette*, 20 June 1987, B2.

The provincial government in Québec was eager to restore the rapidly deteriorating image of its largest police force. Civilian complaints against the police were at an all time high and rising.[68] The public expected the police to make less use of force and to be more accountable for their actions. Black community leaders were insistent in their demands to the police administration for serious improvements in minority recruiting efforts and police hiring. Their calls for progress in meeting minority recruitment targets in the police department and the creation of a civilian review boards remained in the news through 1987 and 1988. Two issues were at stake in this demand. First, was the belief that minority representation was the best hope to reduce racism on the force and thereby relieve tensions that were steadily building between blacks and the police. Second, was the desire to open up avenues of employment for black youth.[69] The community was united in its concern over the growing lack of prospects for black youth. The lack of jobs was implicated in the problems that black youth were experiencing at the hands of the police. Young, unemployed black men having little more to do than gather together at parks, shopping centres or Métro stops, were often targeted by police officers

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[68] "Police knuckles rapped after 300 complaints." *Montreal Gazette*, 6 March 1987, A3.

"10 rulings against the police cost MUC $250,000." *Montreal Gazette*, 24 July 1987, A1, A2.

"20 civil suits filed in 1987 against MUC police." *Montreal Gazette*, 7 August 1987, A1, A2.

"Councillor: civil suits against police at 'crisis point'." *Montreal Gazette*, 8 August 1987, A3.

"$19,350 suit charges police with brutality." *Montreal Gazette*, 9 September 1987, A1, A2.

"Speed police reform." *Montreal Gazette*, 10 September 1987, B2.

[69] "Lack of black-run businesses cited as problem for community." *Montreal Gazette*, 3 May 1988, F1.

"Employers won't talk to young blacks about jobs." *Montreal Gazette*, 24 January 1989, A3.

and Métro security guards.[70] Typically, they would be considered to be committing an offense if they refused an order to 'move along'. While these incidents did not always result in arrest or abuse (although they often did), they certainly did act to fuel resentment these young men and their families felt for the police.

The protracted and complex contract negotiations between the Police Brotherhood and the MUC Police Administration stayed in the news throughout most of 1987 and provided the impetus for the growth of public debate about the costs and ethics of policing in urban Montreal.[71] When the negotiations were completed and the new contract was signed, the animosity built up between the MUC administration, the officers and the public was slow to dissipate.[72]

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

[71] "Policing the police." *The Montreal Gazette,* 24 February 1987, B2.
"Police race relations record attacked." *Montreal Gazette,* 12 May 1987, A3.
"Civilian eye on police." *Montreal Gazette,* 14 May 1987, B2.
"End police smugness." *Montreal Gazette,* 5 September 1987, B2.
"Crack down on police brutality." *Montreal Gazette,* 8 October 1987, B2.
"Not only the police need soul searching: apparent police bigotry often arises from 'citizens peculiar reaction'." *Montreal Gazette,* 24 November 1987, B3.
"Canadians silently perpetuate racism." *Montreal Gazette,* 7 September 1988, B3.

[72] "Tentative contract ends threat of police protest." *Montreal Gazette,* 20 August 1987, A1.
"Police brotherhood OKs new contract with MUC." *The Montreal Gazette,* 27 August 1987, A3.
"Committee to study how to distribute MUC police." *Montreal Gazette,* 2 September 1987, A3.

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

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

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[73] J. Mennie, "Policeman suspended after teen slain." *Montreal Gazette*, 12 November 1987, A1, A2. (see Appendix B.)

See also "Bourget: We're doing good job despite some 'rotten apples'." *Montreal Gazette*, 12 November 1987, A5.

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

R. McDonell, "MUC force sued for $5 million this year." *Montreal Gazette*, 12 November 1987, A1, A5.

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

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

The effort of the media to understand and explicate Officer Gosset's actions effectively deployed a 'discourse of credibility'. When it was reported that Gosset had been previously accused of racist behavior, the police issued a statement that Griffin had

been in trouble with the law before.[75] The 'virtue' of individual actors, Gosset and Griffin, came to represent the integrity of, respectively, the police and the black community.

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

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

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[75] "Suspended officer in trouble before."; "Slain teen had earlier tangles with police." *Montreal Gazette*. 13 November 1987, A1, A2. (see Appendix B.)
"Make this a turning point," [Editorial] *Montreal Gazette*, 13 November 1987, B2.
Also, "I gave reporter racism rumor on Gosset: retired officer [Rouleau]," *Montreal Gazette*, 4 May 1988, A3.

[76] "Teen's slaying sparks call for rapid police reform," *Montreal Gazette*, 18 November 1987, A3.

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

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

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[77] "Photo of black was used for target practice: officer," *Montreal Gazette*, 27 May 1988, A1, A2.

See also, "Black MUC officer ostracized, friends say," *Montreal Gazette*, 18 August 1988, A1, A2.

"Investigate reprisal against black officer: civil rights group," *Montreal Gazette*, 19 August 1988, B3.

"A black police officer, who was also working at [Station 15] reported the incident. He is now working behind a desk at the MUC's human resources department." Nantha Kumar, "No end to racism on the force," *Montreal Mirror*, 19-16 December 1991, 11.

[78] R. Laurent, and R. McDonnell, "Gosset: I'm sorry black teenager died," *Montreal Gazette*, 25 February 1988, A1, A2.

"Slain youth's grieving mother asks whether police are above the law," *Montreal Gazette*, 25 February 1988, A1.

[79] J. Quig, "Police are fed up at budget cuts, racism charges: Minorities should try to understand us, too, officers say," *Montreal Gazette*, 26 March 1988, A1, A4. (see Appendix B.)

be dismissed as a result of the shooting. Much of the testimony had to do with Gosset's claim that his gun had fired accidentally. Again, issues of credibility were at stake, this time pitting the testimony of the commission's expert witness against that of the union's.[80] When in the end the inquiry found Gosset to be 'negligent' and recommended his dismissal, the union's reaction was vehement.[81]

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

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

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[80] "Gosset's gun couldn't fire accidentally, inquiry hears," *Montreal Gazette*, 23 April 1988, A1.
"Gosset's gun could have fired accidentally: expert," *Montreal Gazette*, 5 May 1988, A3.
"Black youth can't trust police, inquiry told." *Montreal Gazette*, 5 May 1988, B2.

[81] J. Mennie, "Gosset fired from MUC police force: police union bitterly denounces Bourget's decision, claims chief pressured," *Montreal Gazette*, 9 July 1988, A1, A4.
J. Bagnell, "Chief Bourget: the force is with him – mostly," *Montreal Gazette*, 9 July 1988, A1, A4.
L. Morton, "Station 15 officers denounce dismissal as 'a lot of politics'," *Montreal Gazette*, 9 July 1988, A4.
E. Collister, "Police losing faith in Bourget union says," *Montreal Gazette*, 6 August 1988, A1, A2.

[82] "Gosset starts final appeal to regain MUC police job" *Montreal Gazette*, 5 November 1988, A3.

demanded an appeal of Gosset's re-hiring.[83] On November 3, the Supreme Court upheld the decision of the arbitrator and ordered that Gosset be re-instated. He returned to work on January 23 1990 amid the protest of the black community.[84]

Although racism was routinely denied as having caused Griffin's death, the police were unable to provide a logical account of the shooting. The on-going effort to 'make sense' of Griffin's death resulted in its having taken on emblematic significance in the media.[85] As the events related to his killing played out over the years, the anger of blacks and the resentment of the police were kept on a slow simmer. The much anticipated civilian review board was still nowhere near being realized.[86] More occurrences of minorities being abused or killed by MUC police officers came to light.[87] The media were reporting racist opinions and practices of police officers previously only seen and experienced by the black community. The media made it possible to imagine the connection between racist thought and its violent manifestation.

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[83] "Gosset got 90% of pay after slaying: police union," *Montreal Gazette*, 1 March 1988, A1.
"Gosset legal fees being guaranteed by police union," *Montreal Gazette*, 14 July 1988, A3.
"Policemen's big brother: MUC officers come first for union boss Prud'homme," *Montreal Gazette*, 15 October 1988, A5.
"Gosset gets $12,000 from fellow officers." *Montreal Gazette*, 5 November 1988, A2.
E. Thompson, "Police Chief wants appeal of Gosset's reinstatement," (1989, August 29) *The Montreal Gazette*, 29 August 1989, A1.

[84] "Black community angry as Gosset returns to job," *Montreal Gazette*, 23 January 1989, A1, A2.

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

[86] "Stop dithering on police reform: nine years is too long to wait for complaints board," [Editorial] *Montreal Gazette*, 20 February 1990, B2.

[87] "Two constables [Savard and Trepanier] fired for beating black man: Bourget also demotes sergeant and reveals that 10 officers were fired two years ago," *Montreal Gazette*, 1 June 1988, A1, A2.
"Witnesses raise questions after man [Jose Carlos Garcia] shot dead by officer," *Montreal Gazette*, 4 January 1989, A1, A2.

In 1990, questions about police racism were once again in the spotlight when Presley Leslie was shot and killed by the police on April 10 at the Thunderdome nightclub in downtown Montreal. This time, the situation was less clear cut and the question of credibility rested on a legal distinction. The police were called to the Thunderdome because Leslie was allegedly shooting a gun in the club. The debate in this incident revolved around whether or not Leslie was armed at the time the police entered the premises; in other words, whether the officers shot him because *his actions* were constituting a threat to their safety or whether *his race* caused them to react with extreme prejudice.[88] Again, there were differing accounts and questions of trustworthiness and objectivity were raised. An inquest was ordered and resulted in more questions.[89] Almost as if to underline the lack of 'hard facts', much of the information on the Leslie shooting was reported in opinion columns.[90]

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

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[88] "Man [Presley Leslie] killed by police no threat: witness," *Montreal Gazette*, 10 April 1990, A1, A2.
"Shooting victim [Presley Leslie] fired at police: club owner," *Montreal Gazette*, 11 April 1990, A1, A2.

[89] "Slain man avoided trouble, aunt says: but court records show more than a dozen convictions," *The Montreal Gazette*, 13 April 1990, A3.
"Inquest ordered into Thunderdome shooting death [of Leslie Presley]," *Montreal Gazette*, 13 April 1990, A3.
"I shot Leslie four times, policeman says," *Montreal Gazette*, 6 June, 1990. A3.

[90] Jack Todd, "Another death: Police version of shooting doesn't match witnesses'," *Montreal Gazette*, 10 April 1990, A3.
Jack Todd, "Whom to Believe? It's hard to be sure when police stonewall," *Montreal Gazette*, 11 April 1990, A3.
Jack Todd, "Inquest antics: testimony raises more questions than answers," *Montreal Gazette*, 6 June 1990, A3.
Jack Todd, "Death scene: there's no mystery in where the pistol fell," *Montreal Gazette*, 7 June 1990, A3.

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

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

The Oka Crisis created yet another forum for problematizing issues of law and order. From the first moment of the *Sûreté Québec*'s bungled raid on the Mohawk barricade at Kanehsatake, the actions of the police force were closely scrutinized by a media and a public now highly suspicious of 'official version' of events presented by police authorities. The *SQ*, like the MUC Police, had a problematic history of using abusive force in dealing with suspects.[91] They, also like the MUC Police at the time of the Griffin shooting, were in the midst of a contract dispute. Their credibility, already damaged by

[91] "Complaints made to provincial commission about police operations doubled in 1989," *Montreal Gazette*, 23 June 1990, A6.

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

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

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[92] "Public inquiry to probe the death of native woman [Minnie Sutherland] in Hull," *Montreal Gazette*, 14 January 1990, A5.
"Inquiry to study police handling of abuse case [Gasper Mogyorossy and his wife Anna Csalo]," *Montreal Gazette*, 8 March 1990, A4. "Quebec police threaten boycott of St.-Jean Baptiste celebrations," *Globe and Mail*, 1 May 1990, A4.
"SQ union's tactics to reap gore: no contract dispute is worth highway deaths" [Editorial] *Montreal Gazette*, 22 June 1990, B2.
"Most disapprove of Surété's tactics: poll." *Montreal Gazette*, 15 July 1990, A6.

[93] MacPherson, "Quebecers need protection from their own police: Surété Quebec looks like it's out of control," *Montreal Gazette*, 16 August 1990, 33.

[94] "Griffin's mother awarded $14,795 in damages," *Montreal Gazette*, 21 July 1990, A1, A2.

inquest, and Griffin's mother re-living the events of her son's killing.[95] The links between policing and the management of racial minorities were being clearly identified for the (white) public.

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

On March 3 1991, international and local media aired and re-aired the horrific video images of four Los Angeles policemen brutally beating a barely-conscious, black motorist named Rodney King, while other officers stood around and watched.[96] The video was recorded coincidentally by a man testing out his new video-recorder. But no experts needed to interpret or explain what was going on between the police and King. The virulence of the beating was stunning, but it was the fact that the story would have never surfaced if the video was not made that provoked a more profound horror. Daryl Gates, the Los Angeles Police Chief, declared King's beating to be an aberration, but the media were not disposed to settle for easy explanations.[97]

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[95] "Surété director apologizes: 'police needed patience' at ridge protest." *Montreal Gazette*, 14 August 1990, A1, A2.

MacPherson, "Police turn blind eye to mob violence: no excuse possible for attack by whites," *Montreal Gazette*, 14 August 1990, B3.

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

[96] "Video shows L.A. police beating motorist," [*LA Daily News*] *Montreal Gazette*, 6 March 1991, F8.

"At least 4 L.A.. officers indicted in beating incident," [*LA Times*] *Montreal Gazette*, 15 March 1991, A6.

[97] L. Larsen, "Savage beating by police was no aberration: US police culture shows dark side in Los Angeles," *Montreal Gazette*, 6 April 1991, B3.

In Montreal, the images of Rodney King being brutalized in Los Angeles fed local doubt about police accounts being presented at inquiries. Stories from all over Canada and the United States describing police use of 'excessive force' while questioning, detaining or arresting natives, blacks and hispanics had become the regular staple of news programming. The subsequent acquittal of the four accused officers in Los Angeles (and the riots it provoked) were viewed alongside the images of the racist behavior of our own police forces. There was growing frustration with the disparity between the rhetoric of racial equality and the reality of racism seen on the nightly TV news. Blacks and whites were expressing the same concern and dissatisfaction in police recruitment and training, and to demand better police accountability.

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

Police Director Alain St. Germain was caught once again unable to explain the actions of his officers to the public. The article that reported François's shooting noted with irony that St. Germain's statement had been made at an impromptu news conference held at Station 15, the station where Griffin had been shot just three-and-a-half years

earlier.[98] Frustration was mounting on all sides. The police were facing yet another round of inquiries. The *Sûreté Québec* had begun conducting their external investigation within the hour François was shot. The MUC Advisory Panel on Interracial and Intercultural Relations was calling for a public inquiry. Interestingly, the hard-won police review board, officially realized in September of 1989 as the Provincial Police-Ethics Committee, had not received a single complaint related to the François shooting. It was clear that the public no longer had confidence in their police or their politicians.

Journalists were becoming even more persistant in questioning police accounts. At the *Montreal Gazette*, columnists were plainly suggesting that police racism was real reason François was shot but again there was another realization creeping into the accusations. If in fact, the shootings of Griffin, Leslie and now François were not a result of racism on the force, then the MUC police were badly out of control. There is evidence of a shifting back and forth between these two positions in both Albert Nerenberg's and Jack Todd's columns on François's death. Although Nerenberg's article is titled "Would police shooting happen if the suspects were white?", he began his article by noting "You don't have to be young and black to get scared."[99] He points out that François and his friends were unlikely to have realized that they were being approached by the police since their car was "cut off by an Oldsmobile and a Toyota and approached by four guys in jeans." He asks, given the circumstances, "what could [François] do that would not be considered pulling a gun?"

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

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[98] B. Kasowski and M. Lalonde, "Police: we shot innocent man," *Montreal Gazette*, 5 July 1991, B3. (see Appendix B.)

[99] A. Nerenberg, "Would police shooting happen if the suspects were white?" *Montreal Gazette*, 5 July 1991, A2. (see Appendix B.)

more frightening possibility. It implied that the police force was a danger to the public. Todd listed the six men (three blacks and three hispanics) who had died at the hands of the MUC police in the past four years, noting bluntly that the "circumstances varied but there were three constants throughout. Cops were trying to arrest or subdue a suspect, the suspect was a member of a visible minority and the suspect was shot dead[100]."

On July 6, the *Gazette* published an editorial page cartoon by Terry (Aislin) Mosher that depicted two smiling officers, a black man and woman. Beneath them a black man's body lay in a pool of blood. The caption read "by hiring more visible minorities, Montreal's police force ... increases the chances of murdering less". The Police Brotherhood attacked the paper and the cartoonist, calling the cartoon "heinous propaganda."[101] In an intriguing statement, the union declared: "The Brotherhood cannot tolerate the publication of images and words *more deadly than a firearm*, aimed at fomenting contempt and hate toward police officers." In a reference to the shooting of Marcellus François, the Brotherhood complained that "the fight against crime too often *creates victims of citizens and the police* [emphasis added]." The statement was the Police Brotherhood's attempt to realign police interests with public interest. The Brotherhood made it clear that it felt the *Gazette* was the cause of the bad image they had with the public.

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

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

[101] M. Orsini, "Cartoon incites hatred for police, Brotherhood says," *Montreal Gazette*, 12 July 1991, A5 (see Appendix F)

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

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

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

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

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[102] M. Lalonde, "Rights chief should resign, angry minorities say," *Montreal Gazette*, 12 July 1991, A1, A2.

[103] M. Lalonde, "I sorry, Lafontaine tells minority groups," *Montreal Gazette*, 15 November 1991, A3.

[104] E. Collister, "Black man dies in scuffle with police," *Montreal Gazette*, 15 November 1991, A1, A2. (see Appendix B.)

facts related to the death itself. Did Fletcher really commit suicide? His friends and fiancee were adamant that Fletcher, whose nickname was 'Easy', would never kill himself. His lawyer pointed out that Fletcher, a left-handed person, had been shot in the right temple. In order to have shot himself, Fletcher would have had to wrap his left arm all the way around his head. Fletcher's fiancee mentioned that he was regularly stopped and questioned by police who never found reason to detain him. She said that Fletcher had referred to his police antagonists as 'Batman' and 'Robin'. [105]

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

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

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

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[105] M. Lamey, "Shooting victim would have never taken own life, lawyer says," *Montreal Gazette*, 17 November 1991, A3.

to be [an urban] myth".[106] Questions about the existence of Batman and Robin stayed in the news for remaining weeks of 1991. Blacks in Little Burgundy insisted that the officers were not imaginary phantoms. On December 6, the Gazette reported that the MUC police force had been ordered to investigate the behavior of three officers at Station 24.[107] One of the officers was identified as Pablo Palacios. During the inquiry into the death of Marcellus François, Palacios had been accused of offering drugs as payment for information on Kirt Haywood's whereabouts. The other two officers to be investigated were not named but Dan Philip, head of the Black Coalition of Québec stated that they were Batman and Robin. An article which ran on December 7, reported that police spokesperson John Dalzell confirmed that Palacios was to be investigated but again denied the existence of Batman and Robin.[108] On December 26, an article in the *Montreal Mirror* identified Officer Gilbert Gauvreau as Batman and Officer Richard Prud'homme as Robin.[109]

The contradictory way in which the facts came to light about Batman and Robin illustrates the problems inherent in an attempt to 'see the truth' of racism. The criteria of credibility is evidence. Racism is difficult to prove because it is a practice imbedded in an institutionalized context. It conforms to the specific logics of its institutional existence. Blacks were unable to 'name' Batman and Robin because they were denied that knowledge. "When they stop you, they hide their badge[s] and say, 'I'm Batman and this is my partner Robin' and laugh."[110] Officers Gauvreau and Prud'homme were in the position to

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

[107] "Police ordered to probe conduct of 3 officers," *Montreal Gazette*, 6 December 1991. (see Appendix B.)

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

[109] N. Kumar, "Identity revealed," *Montreal Mirror*, 19 December 1991, 8-9. (see Appendix B.)

[110] *Ibid.* Mike Smith, a resident of Little Burgundy, describes his encounter with Batman and Robin.

withhold information about their identity because the ideology of racial superiority was already in place. They could be reasonably sure that they would not be challenged for this infraction of police protocol. And prior to the creation of an effective civilian review board, they could also be reasonably sure that if their actions were challenged, little would come of the complaint.

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

> In large cities the white police presence conveyed totally different racial meanings to the black and white communities. To the white community, white police in black communities provided the first line of defense against 'the black hordes'. To the black community, white policemen represented nothing less than a hostile occupation army. [111]

Many whites, while opposing blatant bigotry such as segregation or apartheid, often tend to view blacks' allegations of police racism as exaggerated and/or manipulative because they are routinely represented as counter to the interests of the white majority.[112] The strategies of representation which provoke this suspicion are reproduced in and through

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[111] H. Hawkins and R. Thomas, "White Policing of Black Populations: A History of Race and Social Control in America." In *Out of Order? Policing Black People*, eds. E. Cashmore and E. McLaughlin (London and New York: Routledge, 1991), 65.

[112] David Sears, "Symbolic Racism." In *Eliminating Racism, Profiles in Controversy*, eds. P.A. Katz and D.A. Taylor (New York: Plenum Press, 1988)

the social spaces and practices all around us. Micheal Keith argues that the notion of 'race' itself "is constructed through the institutionally racist channels of white society." [113]

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

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

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[113] Micheal Keith, "From Punishment to Discipline?" In *Racism, the City and the State*, eds. M. Cross and M. Keith (London: Routledge, 1993), 200-202.

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

CHAPTER 4

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

> [W]ho sees what or whom and *where* are integral features of [visual thinking] and not an independent fact about its contexts.[114]

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

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

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

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[114] John Rajchman, "Foucault's Art of Seeing," *October* 44 (1988): 92.

[115] John Fiske, *Television Culture* (London: Routledge, 1987), 287.

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

By these same processes, the events depicted in TV news are fused in meaning to the spaces in which they are represented. These spaces, in turn, become specifically identified with and by those events or activities. The news media[118] utilize spatial

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[116] Roland Barthes, "Myth Today," in *Mythologies*, (Noonday Press: New York, 1972).

[117] Cited in Gaye Tuchman, *Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality* (New York: The Free Press, 1978), 192.

[118] I do not wish to suggest that the news media are the sole means by which a 'place' becomes invested with meaning. The media are themselves part of an inter-related group of practices which act to categorize and identify sites. I do feel though, that because media are the vehicle most often used to disseminate information on the conditions and activities of marginalized groups that any study interested in the creation of place-images associated with minorities is wise to examine their representation in the media.

concepts and categories rhetorically so as to create an 'imaginary geography' which operates to confirm a news story's reality and to assert its veracity. As such, representational space should not be seen as a neutral background, but rather as a *site* or a stage set which acts both to contextualize and explicate the represented events. Representation is a *mise en scene* in which social space is manipulated and delimited through the frames of process (or production) and style (or treatment). A representation of space is much more than the actual physical space of a location. It includes the practices which produces it, the discourses through which it is reproduced and the cultural experiences in which its (spatial) metaphors are rooted.

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

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

[119] Ellen Seiter, "Semiotics, Structuralism, and Television," In *Channels of Discourse, Reassembled,* ed. Robert C. Allen (University of North Carolina Press: Chapel Hill, 1992), 43.

function as a result of a 'slippage' of meaning with the text. They then enter into a dialogic relationship with linguistic information in ways which can extend, challenge or subvert its meaning. Visuals can be said to be strategic when they are "designed to disorganize" [120] the text.

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

What's in a name?

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

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[120] *Oxford English Dictionary of Current English* (London: Oxford University Press, 1989), 743.

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

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

with the discourse of credibility deployed in the newspaper articles and aids in determining who is to be believed, who is to be suspected.

Hierarchies of credibility

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

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

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[121] Jennifer Campbell, prod. *Black & Blue,* reporter, Paul Carvalho. First aired on *Newswatch,* CBC, Montreal, 21 January 1992.
Unless otherwise noted all dialogue cited in this chapter is from *Black & Blue.*

> Well, [Palacios and the officers under his command] were stretching it a little bit [...] you know, we don't encourage our police officers when they knock on the door to say they're not police officers, however, I don't think that he'd get 20 years and the whip for not doing it, eh?

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

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

> Forbes: This guy [Palacios] is looking to clean up crack houses in Little Burgundy but yet [he] and a crack dealer is buddy-buddy ...
>
> Reporter: [off camera] What does that tell you?
>
> Forbes: Ahhh, that tells me wake up and smell the coffee man.

Reporter: [insistently off camera] Which is what?

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

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

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

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

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

Reporter [off camera]: How do you know?

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

The fact that the blacks represented as accusing the police of wrongdoing are identified as 'criminals' functions to instill doubt in the veracity and intentions of all black interviewees. This occurs in two ways. First, the accusers themselves are presented as 'biased' contributors and as such their allegations are placed under careful scrutiny; and second, those groups which support their accusations are seen as supporting criminal behavior. As Hall, Critcher, *et al.* point out, "the moment black organizations and the

black community defend black youth against the harassment to which they are subject, they appear on the political stage as the 'defenders of street criminals'."[122] Given the suspicion of bias in the accounts of both black 'criminals' and black leadership, the role of the reporter again shifts away from an investigation of the police to an investigation of the black community's 'vested interest' in making claims of police harassment.

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

> Hamilton [speaking at a rally]: When the police kill black people ... they blame it on blacks for doing drugs ... when the blacks who were killed yesterday, had nothing to do with drugs, they always blame it on us.
>
> [Voice-over]: In fact Marcellus François was involved with drugs, he set up the drug rip-off for Haywood. The irony was that as Marcellus François lay dying, Haywood gave himself up peacefully to the only policeman he trusted ... Lieutenant Pablo Palacios.

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[122] S. Hall, C. Critcher, T. Jefferson, J. Clarke and B. Roberts, *Policing the Crisis: Mugging the State and Law and Order*, (London: Macmillan, 1979), 396.

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

Aron Derfel, "Police aren't target of a smear plot: Hamilton," *Montreal Gazette*, 20 February 1993, A3.

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

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

Although the reporter was stating 'facts', the sequencing functions in a way which 'sets up' Hamilton, showing him to be without access to credible information and easily duped by his 'constituents'. In this way, knowledge *is* represented as power, accessible to those 'on the inside', such as the police and reporters, and not to those 'on the outside', presumably the black community itself. These tropes spatialize knowledge by describing it in territorial terms and subsequently, (given the persistence of this text's construction of criminality through the conflation of space and race) as racially determined. The viewer is encouraged to discount the experiential knowledge of the (black) individuals being interviewed as being vested and partial, hence marginal, in favour of the more detached and informed 'overview' provided by (white) interpreters such as Palacios and the reporter, Paul Carvallo.

Michael Keith points out: "Criminalization may create subject positions but it does not create real people."[123] Although *Black & Blue* 'gave voice' to some of the accusations blacks had been making against Palacios, there was clearly a distinction established between the credibility of Palacios and his accusers. The inference of this hierarchy of credibility is that those who speaking out against Palacios may be tainted and therefore less than trustworthy. Their accusations seemed far-fetched. Even as the viewer watched images that supported their accounts, it was difficult to believe that they were no acting on some hidden motivation.

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

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

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

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[123] Micheal Keith, (1993) "From Punishment to Discipline?" In *Racism, the City and the State*, eds. M. Cross and M. Keith (London: Routledge, 1993), 205.

internal police review board that the MUC Advisory Committee on Minorities had found biased and urged by replaced with a civilian review board.

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

The transgressive impulse: threat, danger and disorder

David Theo Goldberg argues that contamination, pollution, danger and the breakdown of order are typically expressed as the outcome of the transgression of classificatory categories. He observes that social categories (hierarchies) are managed by racist discourse and that the spatial and social marginalization of those "groups of people constituted as 'races' " is one manifestation of that management. He further notes that the

"spatial effects of racial location" then go on to contribute to the preservation and mutation of racist discourse.[124]

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

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

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

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[124] David Theo Goldberg, "Polluting the Body Politic" In *Racism, the City and the State*, eds. M. Cross and M. Keith (London: Routledge, 1993), 50.

their virtue. The voice-over that accompanied the images of the Haywood apartment indicated that the 'bust' had occurred a year earlier. What the viewer was seeing was in fact images of an apartment which had been raided and then left untended for a period of a year. Realistically, it is difficult to say whether the condition of the space the viewer was seeing resulted from the raid, from vandalism which may have occurred over the course of a year, or the Haywood family's standard of housekeeping.

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

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

to have this appearance. If the drug trade is territorial as Palacios explains, then Little Burgundy is certainly represented as the 'space' of (that) crime.

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

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

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

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[125] This balcony scene supplies an 'us and them' subtext which I suspect Rodier had not specifically intended. When I spoke to him in the spring of 1993 about the taping of *Black & Blue*, I asked about why he chose to go out onto the balcony (especially since it was winter when the sequence was shot). He told me that the choice to shoot on the balcony was the decision of the producer and the crew. When I asked him what he had told the production team that might have suggested the set up of the shot, he said that decision was probably aesthetic. While the voice-over introduces Rodier standing on his balcony (supposedly) watching the mayhem in his neighbourhood, Rodier explained to me that his main complaint was that junkies and prostitutes had taken over the laundry room in the basement of his building.

The space occupied by Rodier in *Black & Blue* contrasts markedly with the representations of space 'assigned' to black residents of Little Burgundy. In this feature, the private or "back regions" of blacks are regularly 'invaded' both by the police and the media (often in tandem).[126] When the police enter the homes of black persons (whether they are criminals or not), the camera's point-of-view is most often over the shoulder of Palacios, permitting the viewer to see as the police see. Often, the camera angle takes in some untidy, unattractive or illogical aspect of their living environment which, for the viewer, can be read as revealing of a personal characteristic of the resident.

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

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[126] Goffman, *Op. Cite.* 36.

The regulation of 'blackness'

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

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

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[127] S. Hall, C. Critcher, T. Jefferson, J. Clarke and B. Roberts, *Policing the Crisis: Mugging the State and Law and Order,* (London: Macmillan, 1979), 329.

[128] Dumm uses this term in his article on the interpretation by jurors of the video of the Rodney King beating, in reference to the tactics employed by the defense counsel of Officer Laurence Russell, such as slowing down the speed of the video, and freezing specific shots. Thomas Dumm, "The New Enclosures", In *Reading Rodney King, Reading Urban Uprising,* ed. R. Gooding-Williams (Routledge: New York, 1993).

dangerous spaces, not to pretend to make surveillance perfect, but only to ensure that in protected zones defensive actions might be taken in response to invasions."[129]

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

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

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

[129] Dumm, *Op. cit.*, 186.

away with by a Canadian Supreme Court ruling which allowed undercover officers to "randomly target people, even without reasonable suspicion they are involved in illegal activity, *as long as they are in a suspected high-crime area.*"[130]

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

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

[130] Stephen Bindman, "Top court makes it easier for police fighting dealers." *Montreal Gazette*, 1 March 1991, A6. (See Appendix B.)

of viewers *as well as those represented.*[131] The notion that reality is something which can be framed by TV news imputes a neutrality to news frames which sociological studies of journalistic practice have proven cannot exist.[132] The idea of 'reality' as a singular noun is, in fact, challenged by the concept of the frame. Goffman's conception of the frame as "the principles of organization which govern events [...] and our subjective involvement in them" rejects the notion that order exists as an intrinsic quality in everyday life and sees frames as a means of imposing that order.[133] Framing is the process by which meaning is conferred and, to paraphrase John Rajchman, the visual is rendered intelligible.

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

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[131] Gaye Tuchman states that "making news is the act of constructing reality itself rather than a picture of reality." Gaye Tuchman, *Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality*, (New York: The Free Pr··s, 1978), 12.

[132] See Goffman 1974, Tuchman 1978, Erics··, *et al.* 1987, 1991.

[133] Tuchman cites Goffman's argument that frames are a negotiated phenomena. In *Frame Analysis*, he posits the frame as the constitutive rules which organize everyday behavior so that it may be translated into another reality. His research of multiple realities created by actors, con men and spies, recognizes the simultaneous existence of the news in two realities.
Tuchman, Op. cit., 192.

and at times illegal, police behavior comes to be explored, linked and *explained* through a discursive articulation of race and criminality.

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

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

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

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[134] See Appendix C.

[135] Michel Foucault, *The History of Human Sexuality*, vol. 1: *An Introduction*, Trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Vintage, 1988), 86.

CONCLUSION

Locating Crisis and Managing Social Space

> [Racism does not function] as a set of discrete institutions which exhibit 'racially discriminatory' features, but as a set of interlocking structures which *work through race.*[136]

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

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

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

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[136] Stuart Hall, Chas Critcher, *et al.*, *Policing the Crisis: Mugging the State, and Law and Order*, (London: Macmillan, 1978), 389.

[137] Peter Jackson, ed. *Race and Racism: Essays in Social Geography.* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1987), 3.

[138] Jack Todd, "Freedom at Risk," *Montreal Gazette*, 23 January 1992, A3. (See Appendix B.)

[139] Aaron Derfel and Michelle Lalonde, "Police to probe drug investigator's conduct," *Montreal Gazette*, 24 January 1992, A3. (See Appendix B.)

[140] Aaron Derfel, "Police barged in without warrants, women tell hearing," *Montreal Gazette*, 13 February 1992, A3. (See Appendix B.)

were identified as criminals problematized the terms of the debate. Although the *events* of police killing and abusing blacks in Montreal had resulted in the acknowledgment of 'police racism' or 'lawlessness', the airing of *Black & Blue* resulted in the discursive frame reverting to 'black criminality'. Montreal journalist Jack Todd observed this phenomenon when he wrote:

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

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

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

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[141] *Ibid.*

[142] Hall, Critcher, *et al.*, *Op. cit.*, 329.

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

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

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

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

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

implemented in the police department. In the aftermath of *Black & Blue*, the already tense relationship between blacks and the police in Little Burgundy appeared to worsen.[143]

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

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

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

[144] "Campbell Park," *Pulse News*, CFCF, Montreal, 9 May 1992.

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

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

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[145] *Ibid.*, (See Appendix C.)

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

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

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[146] Institutional racism' refers to the bias against certain groups – especially minorities and the poor – *built in* to existing political and economic institutions. As a result of these institutional arrangements, disproportionate numbers of blacks and other minorities are in less advantageous positions in society. Because of the normative nature of these arrangements, white populations are often unaware of the advantages they enjoy. David Sears, "Symbolic Racism," In *Eliminating Racism, Profiles in Controversy,* Eds. P.A. Katz and D.A. Taylor (New York: Plenum Press, 1988.)

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

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APPENDIX A

Transcript of interview with Trevor Williams[147]
August 6 1996.

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

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

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

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147 Trevor Williams is a co-owner, with Dean Smith, of *Ebony and Ivory*, a popular hair salon located in (Westmount) Montreal. He studied at Southern University in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, and was a member of the Canadian National Basketball Team in 1991 and 1992. Since 1992, Williams has run organized and directed a four-week summer basketball camp [Trevor Williams' All Star Basketball Academy] for eight to seventeen year old boys and girls. The camp, which he originally conceived as an summertime activity for young people in Little Burgundy and surrounding neighbourhoods, now attracts participants from all over the Montreal Urban Community and from as far away as British Columbia.

I was scared because he was acting so crazy, I thought he might shoot me. I used to park my car on Coursol [Street] and sneak through [Campbell] park to get to my house, just to avoid running into him. I felt like I was starting to act paranoid. I'd ask myself, "Did I leave my car doors unlocked or has he [Palacios] been in my car?

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

JH: Did you report this incident?

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

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

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

JH: What do you mean "they'd photograph you"?

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

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

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

JH.: Why? Did he get kickbacks?

TW: For money *and* influence. [Pause]
It's really a lot better around the neighbourhood now.

JH: Why?

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

JH: Where did they go? Were they transferred?

TW: Yeah, I think so. I think to NDG or Park Ex.

JH: I didn't know about that, when did they leave?

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

JH: There was a shooting at the barbershop!

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

JH: Why was the shop under surveillance?

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

JH: Why do you think they did that? I mean, the shop is in Westmount, not in Little Burgundy. It's a different jurisdiction, right.

TW: Yeah, the shop is in Westmount, but they know we're from Little Burgundy.

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

TW: Oh, yeah ... Little Burgundy is wherever we go.

Black man 'humiliated' by police gets $5,350

By DAVID LORD
of The Gazette

67 JAN 13 A1,A2

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

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

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

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

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

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

But when the charges were

(See BLACK, Page A-2)

Black man 'humiliated' by police gets $5,350

(Continued from Page A-1)

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

Last week he won his case.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"We will hire as many as we can if they meet our requirements," Gascon said.

Police given seminar on how to treat minorities

It's just waste of money, say some officers

By SUSAN SEMENAK
of The Gazette
1987 · Feb 13 A3

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

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

The program is costing the MUC $225,000 and the police department has requested the federal and provincial governments to contribute $150,000 apiece.

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

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

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

Some of the 60 officers attending the first session yesterday said it was just a big waste of time.

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

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

"They are the ones who should be taking the courses."

Duclos said the problems between police and minorities often stem from newcomers' negative attitudes toward police in their home countries.

Const. Gilles Lemay of Station 21 in LaSalle said he didn't think his on-the-job demeanor would change after he completes the program.

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

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

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

Only seven of the department's 4,500 officers are members of visible minorities. Manwhile, about 25 per cent, or 650,000, of the MUC's residents belong to ethnic groups that are neither English nor French.

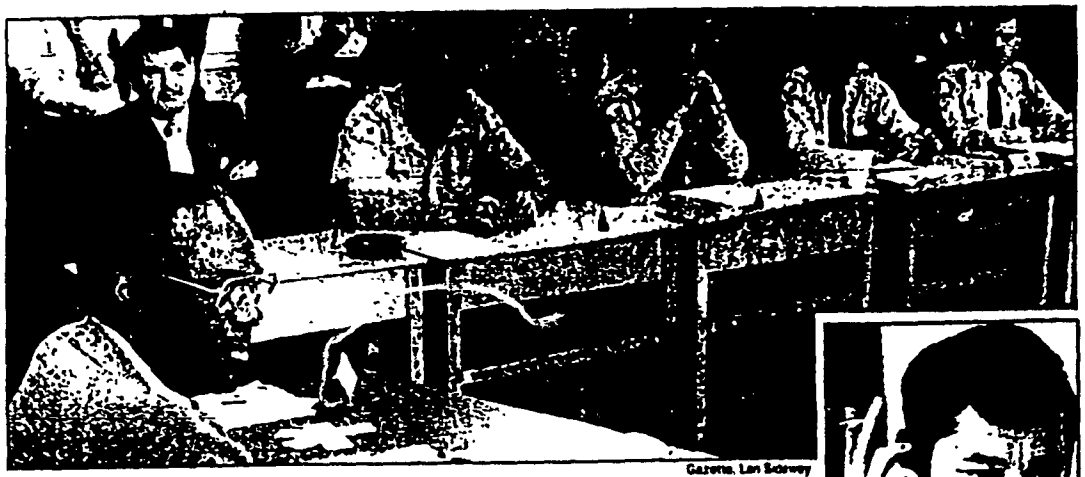
Bourget said the courses were introduced as an attempt to prevent racial strife experienced in such cities as Boston, Chicago, Detroit and Toronto.

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

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

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

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



Gazette, Len Delaney

Seminars include case studies of racism, meetings with ethnic community leaders.

ROBERT DUCLOS
"Some races more defensive"

Policeman suspended after teen slain

By JAMES MENNIE
of The Gazette

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

Bourget said the officer who shot Anthony Griffin, 19, of Laval, has been suspended without pay pending an investigation into the shooting.

Griffin was shot once in the head while in the parking lot of Station 15 in N.D.G.

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

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

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

The suspended officer is a 16-year veteran of the force, Bourget said.

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

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

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

A "summary" examination of the suspended officer's dossier and conversations with his co-workers has revealed that "the same incident would have happened if the person was Asian, black or white," Bourget said.

"I am sure that (ethnic communities) are mature enough to tell the difference between an incident related to racism and one that is not."

Ironically, Griffin was shot outside of a police station that is the site of race-relations courses for MUC police officers.

Griffin's identity was disclosed by a morgue official after police,

(See POLICEMAN, Page A-2)

Gazette, David Mahoney

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

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

By ROD MACDONELL
of The Gazette

The Montreal Urban Community has been ordered to pay $14,000 damages to Michael Dugnay, 17, a deaf-mute who, a judge said, was brutally abused by a police youth squad officer two years ago.

Superior Court Justice John Gomery accepted Dugnay's version of what happened in Const. Patrick Sheehan's cruiser on Jan. 2, 1985:

Sheehan struck the youth with a flashlight, pointed a gun at him, nearly suffocated him, handcuffed him and banged his head against the car door frame.

'Treated like criminal'

In his 19-page ruling made public yesterday, Gomery spoke of the "catastrophic consequence for a young person to be treated like a criminal and physically abused."

With his mother interpreting in sign language, Dugnay said in an interview at his family's Point St. Charles apartment that he is awakened by nightmares of the beating. "I always have it on my mind, what they did to me. I had no reason to go through this."

Dugnay, considered a student of above-average intelligence at the Mackay Centre, was then 14 years old, stood five feet two and weighed 110 pounds.

Thought he'd be killed

He thought he was going to die at the hands of the six-foot, 200-pound Sheehan.

The trouble began when Sheehan, a 23-year MUC police veteran with a clean record, was flagged down around 5 p.m. by an elderly couple at the St. Henri Métro station. They complained that a gang of boys was disturbing the peace outside.

The boy, deaf and mute since birth, testified with the help of an interpreter that although he was not part of the rowdy group, he fled and was collared by a citizen on nearby St. Ferdinand St.

The citizen turned Dugnay over

(See COURT, Page A-6)

MUC force sued for $5 million this year

By ROD MACDONELL
of The Gazette

Law student David Cowling, 21, was arrested by police shortly after the bars closed last May 31 on Stanley St. because he didn't "circulate" fast enough when ordered by two officers.

In front of about 60 people, the police officers slammed his head against the trunk of their police cruiser and punched him, Cowling said.

EXTRA

He said he was knocked out briefly when his head banged against the door frame as he was bundled into the cruiser for the trip to Station 25 on de Maisonneuve Blvd.

Engineer Michelle Marchiall, 28, was arrested while posting handbills about her missing cat, last February in violation of a city bylaw.

She said she suffered "unnecessary strain, stress and anxiety" when officers handcuffed her in front of a small group of people and took her to Station 22 in Outremont where she was fingerprinted.

Cowling and Marchiall are among 43 people who have filed suits seeking $3 million in damages against Montreal Urban Community police this year — many for assault or wrongful ar-

(See ANGRY, Page A-6)

Policeman suspended after 19-year-old slain

(Continued from Page A-1)

fused to name either the victim or the officers involved in the shooting.

Bourget said it appears Griffin was picked up by two police officers — one a female officer with "a few months' experience" — at about 7 a.m. following a complaint from a taxi driver on St. Jacques St. W. that a passenger would not pay his fare.

Police arrived at the scene and ran a computer check on Griffin. It showed he was wanted on a charge of breaking and entering. He was taken into custody and driven to Station 15 on Mariette Ave.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"People are coming in here asking hard questions," she said.

"I can't conceive of someone having warrants out (for) their arrest and not knowing about it.

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

"If he didn't run before, what happened between (the cab) and the station that made him bolt? And why shoot him? The man was unarmed, (the officers were) outside of a police station, all the back-up in the world? Why shoot him?"

Suspended officer in trouble before

He was sued, $2,450 was paid to settle, after man was beaten in '81

Gazette, Todd Church

Principal Robin Hooley-Ray says Anthony Griffin (inset) was "a good citizen" while at Chomedey Polyvalent.

Slain teen had earlier tangles with police

By ELOISE MORIN
and JAMES MENNIE
of The Gazette

1987 Nov 13 A1, A2

Anthony Griffin was destined to spend a good part of his life in the hands of the justice system, his legal-aid lawyer said yesterday.

Manlio Del Negro said in an interview that he had represented Griffin since September 1986, when the teenager pleaded guilty to four charges of theft of less than $1,000.

He was sentenced to one day in jail and one year's probation.

Griffin had been scheduled to go to court Nov. 3 for his preliminary hearing on a break-and-enter charge, but failed to do so.

However, people who knew Griffin while he still lived with his parents in Laval described a young man who seemed unlikely to end up in trouble with the law.

Robin Hooley-Ray, principal of Chomedey Polyvalent High School, recalled Griffin as "a good citizen," even though he quit school in March 1986.

"He never came to my attention because of learning or behavioral problems," he said.

Del Negro said Griffin never contacted him after the scheduled preliminary hearing. He last spoke to the teenager several weeks ago.

He learned Griffin, 18, was dead by reading yesterday's papers.

"I don't feel very good about it," he said. "I don't have all the facts, but you're never happy when you hear something like that happening to someone that young."

The lawyer said he didn't know Griffin's address, but believed he was living in Notre Dame de Grâce with friends. The address he gave the courts was his mother's home in Laval.

Last January, Griffin was sentenced to 10 days in Bordeaux jail and put on another year's probation after pleading guilty to charges of breaking and entering and obstructing a peace officer.

"I could tell he was going to be with us for a good long while," Del Negro said.

Although it was a condition of Griffin's probation that he live with his mother, Gloria Augustus, Del Negro said Griffin broke the conditions, ending up in court again, because he didn't like his mother and he had trouble accepting his stepfather. Del Negro's efforts to reconcile the family were fruitless, he said.

Del Negro said he wasn't surprised to hear Griffin had tried to flee Station 15 after his arrest Wednesday.

"They didn't like being in jail," he said.

He said Griffin was an athletic type who liked to wear sporty clothes and hang out with other young blacks.

Del Negro said Griffin wasn't violent, but he was already well-versed in living off the avails of crime and did not have any intention of finding a job.

"A lot of kids that age they don't have jobs, they don't have many resources," he said.

"His mother wanted to help him, but he refused. She was unable to influence him."

Del Negro said Griffin's family had not contacted him.

He said Griffin was sent last summer to a rehabilitation centre in New York and last year he spent some time in Miami.

The lawyer said the New York centre even paid Griffin's outstanding fine of $75 for breach of parole so he could come back to Montreal and make a clean start.

Principal Hooley-Ray said Griffin quit school "within a whisker of completing his secondary

(See TEEN, Page A-6)

The Montreal police officer who shot and killed a black teenager Wednesday had been involved in beating another black man in 1981 and allegedly calling him a "nigger-lover."

The officer, Const. Allan Gosset, was sued by the Quebec Human Rights Commission for $8,100 over the 1981 incident.

The Montreal Urban Community settled the case out of court for $2,450.

Gosset has been suspended without pay pending an investigation into Wednesday's shooting of Anthony Griffin, 18, of Laval. The unarmed youth was shot once in the head while in the parking lot of the MUC police's Station 15 in N.D.G.

Coroner orders inquiry

Police had been called after a complaint from a taxi driver that a customer wouldn't pay his fare. They took Griffin into custody after a computer check showed he was wanted on a charge of breaking and entering.

The province's chief coroner yesterday ordered an inquiry into the circumstances surrounding Griffin's death.

Griffin's mother has hired Montreal civil lawyer Reevin Pearl to handle a lawsuit she will file against Gosset and the MUC over the teenager's killing.

Pearl said public statements made by MUC Police Director Roland Bourget on the shooting already amount to an admission of wrongdoing.

But Pearl said that what he finds most troubling in Bourget's statement Wednesday that racism was not behind Griffin's killing and that anyone could have been on the receiving end of the bullet.

"Bourget acknowledged that the problem exists across the board," the lawyer said.

Bourget said yesterday that the 1981 incident had no bearing on Wednesday's shooting.

'May be coincidence'

He repeated his contention that the shooting was not racially motivated and said it "may be a coincidence" that both incidents involved blacks.

"I cannot believe — maybe I'm naive — that the police will shoot someone because they're black," Bourget said at a news conference.

In the 1981 case, the suit filed by the Quebec Human Rights Commission claimed that the victim, Daniel Ochere of Verdun, lost his eyesight for five weeks and suffered a broken nose after the beating.

The suit claimed that Ochere, 26 at the time, was hit with a flashlight in the stomach, legs and shoulder by Gosset and Const. Monique Tremblay. It said Ochere

(See SUSPENDED, Page A-6)

• *Bourget told all, just not enough: Fetter. Page A-3*

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Suspended policeman was sued after 1981 beating

(Continued from Page A-1)

was momentarily knocked out.

Otchere also complained to the MUC's police complaints review board — which rejected the case, as it does most citizen complaints.

And he filed a complaint with the Quebec Police Commission, which reprimanded Gosset for using excessive force but recommended no disciplinary action.

"It was borderline," said Bourget, who made the 1981 case public after learning about it yesterday.

The police commission file says Otchere was stopped in his car by Gosset and another officer on Clark St. after he let off a friend who had helped him move some furniture.

According to the commission file, Otchere said the police asked him for identification and, for no apparent reason, began beating him up.

Otchere claims Gosset said to him: "If you don't get out of the car, damn nigger, I'll hit you in the eye."

Otchere was arrested and kept in a cell overnight at Station 33 before being released. A doctor later found that Otchere had suffered bruises and a broken nose.

Denise Gauthier, Otchere's estranged wife, last night described the years following her ex-husband's altercation with Gosset as a "living hell."

She said Otchere, who comes from Ghana and has a master's degree in business administration, works for an insurance company and teaches at Concordia University part time.

Gauthier, 43, said the 1981 beating occurred after "two officers in a patrol car approached my husband and requested identification, which my husband provided."

"He asked the police what he had done and was told to shut up. One officer went off in the direction of his cruiser with my husband's papers, but turned around before he reached the car and came back, told my husband to turn off the motor and leave the car door shut."

'Tried to open door'

"The officer was speaking in French and my husband had trouble understanding, so he tried to open the door.

"That's when they grabbed him and another police car arrived. A female police officer took her long flashlight and smashed it into my husband's face, breaking his nose and his jaw. He also almost lost an eye.

"Then they took him out of the car and threw him on the ground and beat him. It was awful."

A friend telephoned Gauthier and told her Otchere was in prison and had been beaten by the police.

DENISE GAUTHIER

Spouse's life made "living hell"

Gauthier said she went to Station 33 and was told she couldn't see Otchere and that he would be in court the next morning.

At about 4 a.m., she was told he had been taken to St. Luc Hospital. At the hospital, she was told he had been taken to Bordeaux jail.

"My husband had refused to sign a paper admitting him to the hospital because he believed that by signing he was admitting guilt."

Bourget said yesterday that, while some police officers may be racist, there is a "perception of racism" toward the entire police department.

Bourget said the anglophone media — he singled out *The Gazette* and the CBC — had overdramatized the problem by focusing on the issue of police brutality.

Leaders of Montreal's black community last night urged angry young people to "exercise restraint" in the wake of Wednesday's killing.

Ronald Rock, executive director of the Black Community Council of Quebec, said black Montrealers have reacted to Griffin's death "with feelings of sorrow, of grief and of loss."

Rock said young blacks are particularly troubled and upset.

At a news conference, representatives of black church and social organizations appealed to Quebec to launch a public inquiry to answer "the hard and troubling questions" surrounding the shooting.

In Quebec City yesterday, Justice Minister Herbert Marx said he has asked the Crown to "follow the dossier very closely and take whatever measures are necessary."

The minister said the question of whether the incident had racist overtones is "a legal question that's going to be treated as every other incident of this nature."

Rock said, "The fact that the young man is black begs the question of whether the spectre of racism was a primary contributing factor in this deplorable killing.

..."The only person who can answer that question is Anthony Griffin. Unfortunately, his voice has been stilled."

In the past nine months, Rock said, about 45 cases of racial discrimination or harassment have been brought to the council's attention. Not all have involved the police department.

"For years, we have trying to bring attention to the beatings, brutality, wrongful arrest and other forms of abuse to say it must be stopped before it was too late," Rock said.

Rock said members of the black community won't be satisfied until the police officer "has been charged with the full weight of the law" and until they know what happened between Griffin's arrest — apparently after he failed to pay the taxi fare — and his arrival at the police station.

"Why was the gun aimed at the head of the youth at 15 feet, when the regulation stipulates that the gun should never have left his holster, unless to protect the life of an officer or that of a citizen?" he asked.

At another news conference yesterday, the director of a research centre serving Montreal's Haitian, Caribbean and African communities said he finds it shocking that such an incident can happen in 1987.

Rift said to be growing

Frantz Voltaire said that, despite repeated warnings, authorities have long ignored the growing rift between the city's black community and the police, both in the MUC force and Metro security.

"Police have simply refused to accept that there is a malaise," Voltaire said.

• Arthur Blum and Benjamin Tottelbaum of the Canadian Institute for Minority Rights said the problem with the police extends beyond the black community to all ethnic and minority groups.

The institute, a non-profit organization set up last year as a citizens' forum on human rights, has called for a full judicial investigation into the incident and into the MUC police force's race-relations policy.

Blum said Montreal is 25 to 35 years behind other major cities in North America in recognizing the need to adapt its police force to deal with a multi-ethnic, multi-cultural population.

Jean Corbeil, mayor of Anjou and chairman of the MUC public security committee, said the MUC will meet with leaders of ethnic groups in the next few weeks to discuss Wednesday's shooting.

The suspended officer did not answer his doorbell last night.

Hélène Latulippe, 60, the concierge at the LaSalle apartment building where Gosset lives, described the officer as a model tenant and a man of few words.

"As far as I'm concerned and from what the other tenants say, he's a very good tenant," said Latulippe, who has been the building's concierge since last May.

She said Gosset lives alone, and she has never seen him accompanied by a woman or friends when he enters or leaves the building.

"The tenants like the fact that they have a police officer in the building," Latulippe said.

She was dismayed when she learned it was Gosset who had shot Griffin. "That's so hard to believe," she said.

Latulippe said she had never heard Gosset utter any racial comment and was surprised to learn he had been involved in the racial incident with Otchere.

Gazette reporters Ingrid Peritz, Peggy Curran and Elinor Moore

The Montreal Gazette 1987 Nov 13 A2

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

(Continued from Page A-1)

of crime and did not have any intention of finding a job.

"A lot of kids that age they don't have jobs, they don't have many resources," he said. "His mother wanted to help him, but he refused."

The lawyer said the New York rehabilitation centre paid Griffin's outstanding fine of $75 for breach of parole so he could come back to Montreal and make a clean start.

Principal Henley-Ray said Griffin quit school "within a whisker of completing his Secondary V.... All he needed was an English course or a history course."

He said Griffin had spoken to him by telephone a few weeks ago and asked how to complete the courses necessary to earn his high school leaving certificate.

The principal recommended a local alternative education program or adult education courses. But Henley-Ray said he did not know whether Griffin had followed his advice.

Guidance counsellor Natalie Sterer-Felt said that, while a student, Griffin had expressed an interest in joining the armed forces or a career in technology

LORRAINE JEBARA

"Everybody liked Anthony"

iety about how he was doing," she said. "He was very concerned about what he was going to do with his life. He couldn't sit still for very long."

Lorraine Jebara, who lives across the street from Griffin's parents, described the teenager as "quiet and reserved."

"There were never any problems, never any quarrels. That's why I'm so shocked," she said.

"Everybody liked Anthony. He wasn't a cheeky kid. He never answered back. He was a nice boy."

Michael Wright, 19, knew Griffin for five years and played with him on the same football team.

"He wasn't a tough guy," Wright said. "When we played football he'd worry about getting his uniform dirty."

Wright said he never had any indication his friend had been in trouble with the law. "He would be the last guy I would have thought that could happen to," he said.

Judy Wright, Michael's mother, said Griffin was a "very good kid ... raised by a very strict family."

"What I can't understand is why he tried to break free (from the police)," she said.

"That didn't sound like him. When they yelled for him to stop and he did — that sounded like Anthony."

Police fed up at budget cuts, racism charges

Gazette, Len Sidaway

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

Minorities should try to understand us, too, officers say

1988 March 26 A1 A4

By JAMES OUIQ
of The Gazette

The six policemen have come to their union office to talk about low morale and lack of motivation.

They — and others like them — say there is a dangerous malaise in the Montreal Urban Community Police force and they want Montrealers to know about it.

Among other things, they speak of a force that lavishes cellular phones on highly paid directors, while it skimps on flashlights for the cop on the beat.

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

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

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

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

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

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

They also know they are breaking a departmental

(See POLICE, Page A-4)

Police are fed up with budget cuts, charges of racism

(Continued from Page A-1)

rgle by speaking out. That's why *The Gazette* is not publishing their names.

(MUC Police Director Roland Bourget refused to comment on the matters raised by the officers. A police spokesman added that no one else was authorized to speak on these matters.)

"Too many policemen are talking about their retirement plans," said one of the sergeants. "They should be talking about their work."

A detective recalled arresting two men who beat up a woman in a dépanneur holdup.

"We saw them on the store video hitting her over the head with the butt of the gun."

The men were arrested. Ordinarily, with crimes involving violence, the police would have completed their investigation and the suspects would have been held in custody until they appeared in court.

"But completing the investigation would have involved overtime and that wasn't allowed," said the discouraged detective. "As a result, the suspects were released on their own recognizance. All they had to do was promise to show up in court."

The cop didn't think people charged with such a violent crime should ever be freed before they appeared in court.

"I lost a hell of a lot of motivation that day," he said.

"But stuff like that happens every day. I could tell you worse stories than that. Stories the man in the street wouldn't believe. We prefer to put dépanneur owners in bullet-proof cages rather than hire more policemen to protect them."

They say detectives wait months — even years — for such things as new flashlights, while officers' cars get wired with car-telephone systems that cost almost $5,000.

"We save on sirens, flashers and flashlights and then we name five new directors at $55,000 a year each," says a sergeant. He was referring to appointments made recently by Police Chief Roland Bourget as part of a reorganization of the force's hierarchy.

"And that doesn't include the car they are supplied with to get between home and the office. Free gas as well. I know one director who has a 1988 Monte Carlo — with a big motor, too.

"The public doesn't want more directors. They want to see real policemen standing on their corner."

These men say criminals are getting away because police are being ordered to concentrate on writing more tickets for traffic violations.

Not getting help

"We've become revenue-producers for the politicians," complained one West Island patrolman. "They've turned me into a tax collector."

Race — and charges that they are racist — is one of their most acute concerns.

Montreal cops say they aren't getting the help they need to understand Montreal's black community.

They also believe blacks — and other minorities — aren't getting the help they need to understand Quebec society and its police.

EXTRA

"I've had Haitian mothers call and ask me to come and beat up their sons who were getting out of line. They said police did that back home," said one man.

"Nobody helped us prepare for these people.

"Hell, they didn't even help me learn how to type — despite all the reports I have to write. And the reports explaining why you wrote the report."

Police feel the pressure is all on them with respect to race relations.

"It seems we are expected to do all the adapting. We're supposed to understand Jamaicans, and it would be nice if we could speak a little Créole, too.

"Well, what about them learning something about *our* ways and customs. Police feel the minorities should have to adapt, too."

The rank and file men in the room said that following the killing of Anthony Griffin by Const. Gosset in the parking lot of Station 15 in Notre Dame de Grâce last year, some policemen were told to look the other way if they saw blacks breaking the law.

"There was a demonstration by blacks in NDG last Saturday, and we were told not to do anything at all — even if they broke some windows.

"They even closed Station 15. That's the first time I've heard of a police station being closed because the cops were afraid of trouble.

'Too much politics'

"We were under a regime of terror during that demonstration."

"Our members were told 'don't risk your job — don't arrest blacks,'" said Yves Prud'Homme, the MUC Police Brotherhood's director of discipline. "There is too much emotion.

"And too much politics," says Brotherhood vice-president Raymond Billette. "The politicians need to find real solutions — not quick solutions designed to please certain groups."

Unless things change, the policemen said they will just collect their paycheques and back away from anything that could get them into trouble.

They said cops don't get into trouble when they don't do anything.

"There is a great lack of sensitivity vis-à-vis human relations in the administration of our service," said Georges Painchaud, director of technical services for the Police Brotherhood.

"What we have now is management by fear. Our 4,400 members feel rejected by the community they serve. They feel ill when they walk on the street. Their families feel it, too."

"We need help *before* the sad event," said vice-president Billette.

"As a policeman, I'm a social worker. Not just a repressor. A policeman isn't some machine you kick into action. This is not a production line.

"Montreal has changed — and police need help to understand it. Help us understand our new minorities. I'm not a racist, but maybe I haven't had a chance to learn about them on my own yet."

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

Billette believes police are more misunderstood by their bosses today than they have ever been in the 24 years since he joined the force.

"This department knows nothing of human relations at a time when society is more and more aware of the need for better understanding in this area."

The policemen said that much needs to be done.

"When the Expos want to fill the Stadium, they get out and spread the word about the team," said one of the men. "Well, let's spread the word about us.

"Let's have Open House days at the police stations and invite the minorities to come and meet us," says one detective-sergeant.

"Le, them see what we are really like. And let us find out about them."

These policemen — and the union that represents them — believe they are working for bosses who aren't willing to defend them in a society that is too anxious to blame them.

"We're dead meat if we make a mistake," said one of the six.

They feel trapped in a war where both sides — their bosses and the public — are shooting at them.

"We're damned if we do and damned if we don't," said one man.

The other five agreed.

• • •

"I came in here 23 years ago wanting to catch all the thieves in town," said a burly sergeant. "But the only thing that counts now is the number of tickets I give out."

The men said their work is evaluated once a year — and nothing counts more than the number of tickets they issue.

"If we don't write enough tickets, we don't get a little star on our report card," said one man, his voice shaking with anger. "They treat us like little children."

They speak of competition in police stations to see which shift gives out the most tickets.

"The lieutenants complain if their shift doesn't write as many tickets as the next fellow's. If one shift averages 388 tickets a day, you are pushed to do as well," the officer said.

"I know one fellow who was told he would be moved out of the Traffic Division if he didn't write 20 tickets a day. He was averaging 15 at the time."

Young cops are usually more eager to please and they usually write more tickets, he said.

"The lieutenant will say 'your young partner gave out 10 tickets today and you only gave out four. How come?'

"They often team us with young cops so we'll write more tickets. Cops are competing against each other in the same car."

The men said this kind of pressure means they might give a motorist as many as four tickets at a time — one for speeding, one for not signing his licence, one for not wearing his seat belt, one for not being able to show proof of insurance.

'Give out more tickets'

"You nab a sucker and get your ticket average up. Then you can relax and have a good lunch."

One officer remembers being called to a west end home where several thousand dollars of household equipment had been stolen.

"It was a major loss for the people and they really needed a little of our time that day. They needed some sympathy from their policemen. But we couldn't afford any time for them because on paper there's no difference between a $300 theft and one for $4,000.

"We had to get back on the road to give out more tickets."

"You know where that kind of impersonal service gets us?" asked a detective. "It gets us citizens who don't care.

"You call them up and say, 'Madame, I've found your stolen TV,' and she says, 'Keep it. I don't want it. The insurance company gave me a new one.'"

They said they neglect crime prevention in favor of the almighty traffic violation.

"Take some time to show police presence in an area that has been hit hard by armed robbery, for instance, and you'll be asked why you didn't give out any tickets during that time."

They complained that they are being robbed of initiative and motivation.

"Motivation hasn't lost, it's taken away," says one man.

"There is no room for initiative anymore," says another. "The policeman has a valise full of rules and procedures that tell him all the things he can't do without getting into terrible trouble. He's treated like a robot.

"He's like the Pamplex guy, the door-to-door salesman who used to come to the door with his valise full of wares. The policeman's valise is full of negatives. Full of things he mustn't do."

They said the public isn't getting the police service they deserve.

One man said West Island citizens are getting less police service than they did before amalgamation of the island's police departments in 1972.

"There used to be 11 cars patrolling the West Island. Now it's four cars."

"You mean four cars on Christmas and New Year's Day," said one of the other men. "Those days are two of the busiest for police."

"You're right. Usually it's just three."

Police: We shot innocent man

They followed wrong car in attempted-murder case

BART KASOWSKI
and MICHELLE LALONDE
THE GAZETTE

1991 July 5
A1, A2

Police admit they shot and critically wounded an innocent man after cutting off a car near Victoria Square Wednesday night

Alain St. Germain, chief of Montreal Urban Community police, told reporters yesterday that the shooting of Marcel François, 24, was the result of a bungled surveillance operation

Believing they were trailing a suspect in a recent attempted murder case, police forced a car containing François and three others to stop at McGill and St Antoine Sts, St Germain said.

Witnesses said François appeared to be reaching for a gun when he was shot in the head by a tactical squad sergeant

"I am informed that the person in the hospital is not one of the suspects," St Germain said yesterday "The three people who were released and the one in the hospital were not the persons we were looking for"

St Germain also said yesterday that no gun was found in the car or on any of the passengers.

At the time of the incident, police would not explain the shooting or the operation.

François was in critical and unstable condition at the Montreal General Hospital last night after an operation to remove bullet fragments, hospital spokesman Juan Lamontagne said.

The Special Weapons and Tactics team sergeant with about 10 years of experience who shot François has been pulled off street duty and given desk work, St Germain said. "I feel very bad, very bad about this

PLEASE SEE **MISTAKE**, PAGE **A2**

MISTAKE *You never know what to say, except that these things should never happen: police chief*

1991 July 5

CONTINUED FROM PAGE A1

unfortunate incident," he said, when asked what he would tell François's mother. "You never know what to say, except that these things should never happen"

The shooting is being investigated by the Sûreté du Québec and St. Germain said he has requested an additional internal administrative inquiry into the incident. He said the internal report would be completed before Aug. 15.

Sûreté investigator Georges Cormier began looking into the shooting when he was reached at 8:20 p.m. Wednesday, less than one hour after François was shot, a Sûreté spokesman said

"Even if he's not dead right now, he's in bad shape," St. Germain said. "So the Sûreté was immediately asked to investigate the incident, as per law."

Cormier was unavailable for comment yesterday.

At an impromptu news conference held just after a police ceremony promoting the recruitment of minority officers, St Germain said police are not bracing for an angry black reaction to the shooting.

"I think the black community will wait for the results of the inquiry," St. Germain said. "They probably feel like I do, very embarrassed about the incident.

"I don't anticipate any fireworks."

Yesterday's news conference was held at Station 15, just feet from the police parking lot where Constable Allan Gosset shot and killed an unarmed black teenager, Anthony Griffin, in November 1987.

When St. Germain said the black community should "believe in the honesty of the MUC police," he was heckled by two black men claiming to be reporters for a paper called the Weekend Post.

"We don't believe that any more," said one of the men. They would not give their names

St. Germain said police from Station 43 believed François was a suspect in an attempted murder reported on Tuesday and were trailing him and three others driving a red Pontiac through downtown streets just before the shooting.

"The officer in charge thought he had been identified by the suspects and decided to arrest the suspects," St Germain said. "He thought they had been spotted."

The Pontiac was cut off by two unmarked police cars and two Chevrolet vans carrying members of the tactical team at the corner of St Antoine and McGill Sts., witnesses said.

They said two or three shots rang out shortly after the car was stopped at 7.25 p.m. and François slumped back in the front passenger seat after being hit in the head.

"One shot fired by the SWAT officer hit the man sitting in the car," St. Germain said

Investigators at Station 43 had been looking for two suspects in an attempted murder case since early Tuesday. A man had been shot and slashed with a knife on Park Ave. and a witness to the incident had given police names of two suspects, said Station 43 director Michel Beaudin

Because the suspects had records, the victim and his companion were able to identify them from pictures in police files, Beaudin said.

A surveillance team was sent to a house in St Henri where the suspects were known to spend time.

"In the afternoon, we asked the surveillance team to call for backup and make an arrest immediately if the suspects returned to the house," Beaudin said.

At about 5.15 p m., two women and two men arrived in a car and entered the house The surveillance [illegible] believed that one of the [illegible] matched a file photo and [illegible] for backup from the tactical squad, Beaudin said

"We had requested a SWAT team because we believed the suspects we were looking for had criminal records," Beaudin said. "They were known for being violent and using firearms."

Beaudin said the backup tactical team arrived after the four had left in the car The surveillance team followed the car until the unmarked cars and the SWAT team vans caught up with the car near Victoria Square.

Beaudin said he did not know whether the [illegible] team ran a [illegible] on the Pontiac to find out whether it was registered in the name of one of the suspects

"That would have been absolutely useless because many times they use stolen cars," he said

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THE SHOOTING OF MARCEL FRANÇOIS

Would police shooting happen if the suspects were white?

To a racist "all black people look the same."

In the most terrible way that saying has come true for 24-year-old Marcel François who was shot in the head Wednesday night by a policeman who was pursuing someone else.

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

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

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

You don't have to be young and black to get

ALBERT NERENBERG

scared.

Something very crazy has just happened.

Undercover policemen are shadowing a burgundy Pontiac they think contains black suspects from an earlier shooting incident.

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

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

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

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

■ If a suspect is considered dangerous why would plainclothes policemen just walk up to his car?

■ Seeing that François was inside a car what could do that would not be considered pulling a gun? If doing his seatbelt looked like pulling a gun what could he do and not get shot? What if one of other passengers had gone for their seatbelt?

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

For François's friends and family the horror and pain is incalculable. We'll be asked in coming day appreciate the difficulty and danger of a policem job. Police are human and make mistakes like ev body else, but they have made a very big mistake.

We can assume the real suspects are still out t and the police are still looking for them. This is g to be a very strange time to be young and blac Montreal.

JACK TODD

Troubling patterns

Is it racism or just itchy trigger fingers?

Dropped by the inquest for a while yesterday

Doesn't really matter which inquest, does it? The room stays the same. Only the names of the cops and the dead men change.

This time the dead man is Jorge Alberto Chavarria. Chavarria was shot dead by a cop last November.

Chavarria was a real desperado. Stole a dozen eggs, a loaf of bread and some cold cuts from a Provi-Soir.

Jorge Alberto Chavarria was all of 22. He came to this country as a refugee from a country where brutal death squads roam the night, killing anyone whose politics don't fit a certain mold.

Chavarria was granted refugee status. Welcome to Canada, Jorge. You're safe now. You've made it to a country known round the world for its tolerance, its civilized politics, its respect for life and dignity.

Maybe Chavarria believed all that. Maybe he thought a cop is a cop no matter where you are and the best policy when confronted with one is to run.

We'll never know, because Chavarria got drunk and tried to walk out of a Provi Soir without paying for eggs, bread and cold cuts and he found out that freedom and tolerance in Canada is worth somewhat less than $10, because that's what his life was worth.

For Jorge Chavarria, El Norte was more deadly than the world he left behind. It's ironic: he could have stayed in El Salvador and risked getting shot by a cop but he fled to Canada — and was shot by a cop.

Maybe he should have fled to South Los Angeles. Might have been safer.

We can't name officer

The cop? Well, you'll have to take it on faith that the cop this time is not the cop who shot Marcellus François, or the cop who shot Presley Leslie, or the cop who shot Anthony Griffin, or the cop who shot Jose Carlos Garcia on Stanley St. three years ago.

That's because coroner Pierre Trahan issued a publication ban yesterday, saying that we can't print the name of the cop who shot Chavarria. Even though the cop's name was in yesterday's paper. Even though his face and name were all over the six o'clock news Tuesday night.

So yesterday the cop-who-can't-be-named was on the stand, giving his version of events. As always, there's a gray area and a rationale.

But there's a problem here. Counting Armand Fernandez, who was killed by police early Monday morning after he allegedly lunged at them with a steak knife, we have six men of visible minorities dead in a four-year period.

Three of the men were black. Three were Hispanic.

The circumstances varied but there was three constants throughout. Cops were trying to subdue or arrest a suspect, the suspect was a member of a visible minority and the suspect was shot dead.

A quick review might be in order.

■ Anthony Griffin, black. Alleged crime: Trying to skip out on a cab fare. Unarmed. Shot in the top of the head while trying to flee. Const. Alan Gossett.

■ Presley Leslie, black. Alleged crime: Firing shots inside a crowded nightclub. Witnesses differ on whether or not Leslie had a gun in his hand at the moment he was killed by a hail of police bullets.

Had the wrong man

■ Marcellus François, black. Alleged crime: None. Unarmed. Shot by SWAT team Sgt. Michel Tremblay. Police had the wrong man.

■ Jose Carlos Garcia, Hispanic. Alleged crime: Brandishing a pistol on St. Catherine St. Fired a shot and wounded a police officer before he was shot and killed by Const. Pierre Roberge.

■ Jorge Alberto Chavarria, Hispanic. Alleged crime: Stealing eggs, bread and cold cuts. The now nameless policeman claims Chavarria had a knife. The Provi-Soir clerk didn't see a knife and a witness who drove by the scene shortly before Chavarria was shot told the coroner's inquest that he saw one man with a gun — and another man with his hands in the air.

■ Armand Fernandez, Hispanic. Alleged crime: Car theft and you name it. A sheet as long as *War and Peace* mostly for minor offences such as possession of hashish. Shot by police after a downtown demolition derby Monday. Armed with a steak knife.

Coincidence? Accident? Bad luck? Or is there a pattern here — a pattern which indicates an unacceptable willingness to fire a weapon when the man in the sights is black or Hispanic?

Are officers making the wrong choices for the wrong reasons? Do we have to go all the way back to their training at the police academy in Nicolet to learn why cops are shooting first and asking questions later?

Maybe we should throw in the 15-year-old black kid whose crime last week was getting hassled by three middle-aged white racists at a Metro station.

When a cop intervened, he held a pistol to the kid's neck, prompting police chief Alain St. Germain to wonder why his officer would go automatically to the black youth rather than the white men when he was called to the scene.

It's the right question. I hope St. Germain gets an answer.

MONTREAL

Cartoon incites hatred for police, Brotherhood says

MUC advisory panel urges probe of François affair

MICHAEL ORSINI 1991 July 12
THE GAZETTE

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

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

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

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

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

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

Brotherhood spokesman Pierre Leduc refused to comment further.

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

Mosher replied: "Well, I never shot anybody."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

He remains in critical condition in Montreal General Hospital.

ADDITIONAL REPORTING BY BART KASOWSKI OF THE GAZETTE

This editorial-page cartoon ignited outrage of MUC Police Brotherhood.

MONTREAL
The Gazette
SINCE 1778
FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 1991 C09

Anger greets shooting death

GAZETTE: GORDON BECK

Police say Osmond Seymore Fletcher shot himself in the head yesterday as they confronted him in Little Burgundy.

Black man dies in scuffle with police

EDDIE COLLISTER
THE GAZETTE

A 26-year-old black man wanted by Toronto police on cocaine charges died in a scuffle with Montreal urban community police in Little Burgundy yesterday.

Police said Osmond Seymore Fletcher, nicknamed Easy, shot himself in the head. Angry blacks who later converged on the scene in Georges Vanier and St. Jacques Sts. claimed it was murder, but witnesses reported seeing the shooting.

Fletcher is the fourth young black man to have died in a run-in with MUC police in the last four years.

The Sureté du Québec, which was called in to investigate, said it seized a handgun belonging to the victim.

After interviewing MUC police and other witnesses, the Sureté gave this account:

Patrolmen from MUC Station 24 spotted Fletcher and tried to stop him around 11 a.m.

They were acting on a warrant from the Metropolitan Toronto police charging Fletcher with cocaine trafficking, possession and failure to appear in court. The Sureté said they had a picture of Fletcher. (Toronto police would not comment on the case last night.)

According to the Sureté, Fletcher refused to stop, fled on foot and twice tried to commandeer moving cars by pointing a gun at the drivers. In both cases, the drivers raced off.

As police closed in on him, Fletcher pointed the gun at himself several times, the Sureté said.

One of the officers tried to subdue him; they fell to the ground and that's when Fletcher apparently turned the gun on himself and pulled the trigger.

But some blacks who gathered at the spot insisted Fletcher would not have committed suicide.

One woman, believed to be Fletcher's girlfriend, knelt across police at mid-day, crying.

Philip Thomas, 40, who witnessed the end of the chase from across the street, said: "I didn't see him carrying

ESTAIT DE FLETCHER PAGE A2

■ Old fears surface, Nuremberg PAGE A2
■ Human-rights head apologizes PAGE A3
■ Delay judgment day, Todd PAGE A3

FLETCHER *Our people get killed all the time, black leader says*

CONTINUED FROM PAGE A1

a weapon. I just saw a policeman hit him with a staff."

While the chase was on, "they were telling him to stop, but he wouldn't stop," Thomas said.

The police officers were chasing him and after they caught him they jumped him."

Thomas said he didn't notice if the man police were chasing was black or white.

"I heard the shot. I was right here," he said, here being across the intersection from the place where Fletcher died.

Lt. Lalonde, 40, also said Fletcher had ignored police orders to stop.

The police officers had their guns drawn but he just ignored them as he kept walking, he said.

Lalonde said this happened on Dominion St., four blocks to the south.

Trying to shoulder past a worried-looking police officer at the scene, one man observed: "Every time they (police) chase a black man he gets killed.

It's cold-blooded murder," he said, refusing to give reporters his name.

"No way man," the man said when told of the police claim the man under the dirty-gray woollen blanket had taken his own life. "Easy would never do that."

A young woman, tears streaming down her cheeks, shouted abuse at police as she, too, tried to break through to identify her dead friend.

"You're all f--- liars," she screamed. "You shot him."

A friend pulled her away. Reporters who tried to interview her were shoved away by her friend.

"Don't you have any damn heart?" the friend shouted at reporters.

Fletcher took his own life.

"We are having a credibility situation here," Philip said.

"Once people on a large scale start questioning the police's version of events, then we are in trouble."

Philip and Hamilton both criticized the head of the Quebec Human Rights Commission, Tyler Lalonde, who earlier this week accused minority groups of dramatizing events they perceive as racial.

"It's hard to get the kinds of solutions that we need when you see the response of the human rights director," Hamilton said.

Until there's some leadership from people willing to accept there's a problem, things like this will happen all the time.

Dan Philip, president of the Black Coalition of Quebec, and Leith Hamilton, a former director of Little Burgundy's Negro Com-

People here don't believe the system works," Hamilton said.

MONTREAL

Batman and Robin are called an urban myth

Bogeymen cops feared by blacks don't exist: director of Station 24

EDDIE COLLISTER
THE GAZETTE

Batman and Robin, those bogeymen Montreal Urban Community police officers blacks allege prey on them, appear to be a myth.

A *Gazette* investigation indicates they are a composite of law enforcement officers in MUC police Station 24 district — covering Point St. Charles, Little Burgundy and parts of St. Henri.

Defence lawyer Thérèse Kennedy has said it was Batman and Robin who chased Osmond Fletcher last Thursday.

Fletcher, 26, who was wanted on a Toronto warrant charging him with drug trafficking, died in the chase; shot in the head. Police say he killed himself.

Kennedy, the Jamaica born fugitive's lawyer, identified Batman and Robin as MUC patrolmen whose family names begin with the letters B and R.

The day of Fletcher's death, a man pointed out two other officers, detectives attached to Station 24, as the duo.

"There's Batman and Robin right over there," he said, pointing the detectives out for a reporter.

Montreal lawyer Jack Waissman said a black client recently identified the Batman half of the team to him in court.

But the name Waissman gave didn't match either of the two mentioned by Kennedy.

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

But Jean-René Tremblay, Station 24 director said yesterday: "Batman and Robin simply don't exist."

"I've been hearing about them for more than a year now."

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

He said reports of frequent harassment by police are common.

Last January, Tommy Kane, a professional football player from Little Burgundy who plays in the United States with the National Football League's Seattle Seahawks, said he had been harassed.

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

"Complain of unreasonable search and they hold you for identification. This is against the spirit of the law. Police arrest and charge you, or they leave you alone," Waissman added.

The lawyer said this is eroding the credibility of the Montreal force.

But Tremblay said he meets community leaders often and they agree with the methods his men use.

The station director refused to discuss specific cases, such as the incident involving Kane, although he did say the patrolmen who stopped the car in which Kane was riding had acted properly.

"The ordinary citizen backs what we're trying to do," Tremblay said. "The only complaints we hear come from those we arrest."

Tremblay said he first started hearing about Batman and Robin a little more than a year ago when a harassment complaint was brought against some of his officers.

"That complaint was investigated and no charges were brought against the men," he said.

"Those who laid the complaint apparently gave a different account of what occurred to investigators," he said.

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

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

Haywood's killing remains unsolved.

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

"When someone comes in to complain we take his name and address and forward it to internal affairs," he said.

"We're not allowed to ask the nature of the complaint. We simply give the complainant a letter with the commission's address."

Tremblay said he has no way of knowing who laid the complaint or the color of the complainant's skin.

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

MONTREAL GAZETTE: 91.12.06 P.A3

Police ordered to probe conduct of 3 officers

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

Yesterday's La Presse highlighted complaints from black leaders about the policing methods of Lt. Pablo Palacios and two other officers at Station 24.

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

Dan Philip, head of the Black Coalition of Quebec greeted the news with enthusiasm. "I'm very happy because at least we are going to get some movement on this issue," Philip said. "These people in Little Burgundy have been complaining seriously and they have to see that they are being listened to."

Philip said the two other officers being investigated are "Batman and Robin" — a nicknamed duo rumored to have harassed several blacks in the area.

How and why Marcellus François died remains a mystery

JAMES MENNIE
THE GAZETTE

"In Quebec coroner's inquests are held for three reasons: to try to establish the circumstances surrounding a violent death, to formulate recommendations to keep such incidents from recurring and to inform the public.

Last Thursday, the inquest into the death of 24-year-old Marcellus François, fatally shot July 3 during a bungled Montreal Urban Community police operation that mistook him for an attempted murder suspect, ended after 21 days of hearings.

Forty-six witnesses testified and more than 100 exhibits were entered into evidence before coroner Harvey Yarosky.

There is no doubt that this public inquiry has accomplished the last two parts of its mandate. Yarosky now must write a report containing recommendations on how police can avoid the staggering number of blunders that led to François's being shot. And the inquest — while sparsely attended by the general public — has been given massive news coverage in the local and occasionally the national media.

No answer

But the fundamental question of how and why François was shot appears to remain unanswered.

Do you believe Sgt. Michel Tremblay, the SWAT team sergeant who testified that a poorly executed attempt to cut off the car carrying François resulted in his having to a verge from his team's unmarked van twice shout a warning and then instinctively pull the trigger of his M-16 when he saw François reach for what he thought was a weapon?

Or do you believe witnesses like Carol Williams, a passenger in the car, who testified she heard no warning and that the shot was fired from inside the van? What about

Marcellus François: Shot by police as they hunted another man.

Richard Bélair, driver of Tremblay's police van, who made no mention of a warning in his testimony?

Do you accept the testimony of the ballistics expert and the pathologist who testified that François was struck by a single bullet, that it entered through the windshield of the car and that the passenger window beside him was struck by a fragment from the same slug?

Or do you wonder about the testimony of two passers-by who thought they heard two shots? One testified to seeing what appeared to be a puff of smoke between François's car and a second unmarked police car before the SWAT van had come to a stop.

All 12 police officers who testified to being at the scene when the shot was fired said they were too busy moving into position or taking cover to see it happen.

Asked after the inquest if he thought certain police had lied while on the stand, Jean-Paul Braun, the lawyer representing François's common-law wife and two children, only smiled.

"I think, as many other people do, that some of the truth was not revealed and that some witnesses knew more than what they said ... (With) police officers' notes disappearing before testimony, obviously we can be convinced of that fact."

The fact that François and Kirt Haywood, the attempted murder suspect he was mistaken for, are both black has increased tensions between the MUC's virtually all-white, francophone police force and west-end Montreal's largely anglophone black community.

NEWS ANALYSIS

Suspicions confirmed

Testimony at the inquest showed how the investigation of the attempted murder of a drug pusher on Park Ave. blossomed, in the space of 35 hours, into a SWAT team raid on a St. Henri address, and when no suspect was found, into a surveillance stakeout.

That the officers on that stakeout mistook François (short-haired, 5 feet 7 inches tall and weighing 130 pounds) for Haywood (braids down to his knees, 5 feet 11 inches tall and weighing 160 pounds) seemed to confirm the suspicion among members of Montreal's black community that when police notice them at all, it is as criminal suspects, all of whom look alike.

But no one — regardless of color — who sat through the testimony could not be shaken by the evidence of police bungling that led to the François shooting.

The detective sergeant in charge of the investigation — one of three who handled the file in the space of 24 hours — was not present during the surveillance operation that mistakenly followed François. He kept in touch by telephone.

Surveillance police assigned to track Haywood and a second suspect during the day shift testified they were given color mug shots of both men.

However, the evening shift said they were supplied with a photocopy of a black-and-white fax of different mug shots so poor in quality that the long-haired Haywood appeared to have a collar-length haircut.

During the inquest, the surveillance officer who had the most opportunities to look at François was never more than "75 per cent" certain of the man's identity. When this was mentioned in radio transmissions between surveillance police, the sergeant in charge of the squad observed: "We'll jump them and then we'll find out."

But what made the police testimony particularly chilling was that most of the officers said they were acting within the confines of departmental policy and that they'd do the same tomorrow.

Apparently, some shivers were also felt at police headquarters on Bonsecours St., because on Nov. 7 — after 3 days of testimony — the MUC police department quietly issued a series of directives that seem to be specifically aimed at the problems raised during the inquiry.

Interestingly, the police director in charge of the SWAT section testified he was not consulted before the changes were decided upon.

Blunder not noticed

Testimony from police involved in the operation also showed that even after the fatal shot had been fired no one thought a blunder had been made.

As François lay bleeding in the front of the seat of the Pontiac, an argument occurred between Pablo Palacios, a police lieutenant who had dealt with Haywood in the past and took charge of the shooting scene in the seconds after the incident, and the surveillance sergeant over the identity of the person who had just been shot.

Michel Tremblay: Said he fired "instinctively" when François moved.

The presence of Palacios at the scene so quickly after the shot was examined by the inquest. Indeed, testimony given concerning his relationship with Haywood made headlines on its own.

A former undercover agent in the narcotics section, Palacios detailed to Yarosky how he had used Haywood as an informer and how he tried to find Haywood after he was identified July 2 as an attempted-murder suspect.

During two days of testimony, Palacios said he became aware of the SWAT operation only after two squad cars in his precinct — District 24 — were put on standby as Tremblay's team closed in on the car carrying François.

Palacios testified that as other calls began to pile up for his squad cars, he drove off to find the surveillance operation and was passed by the car carrying François.

Williams, a passenger in the car who testified she heard no warning before the shot was fired at François, identified herself as the mother of Haywood's three children.

Williams said she didn't like Palacios and that the lieutenant was always trying to discover Haywood's whereabouts. She testified that she had heard that Palacios was "paying 10 rocks" to find out their new address.

Asked what she meant by "rocks," Williams replied free-base cocaine, but she was not questioned on where she got her information.

When Yarosky began the inquest he explained his mandate and pointed out that "I'm not here to please anyone." Now the reason for Yarosky's warning is clear.

The François inquest is not likely to please members of Montreal's black community seeking an examination of racism on the MUC police force. This is because the inquiry addressed only what some called racist terms used in radio communications.

Nor is it likely to please any police officer seeking vindication for the actions that led to François's being shot. This is because the inquest uncovered a series of blunders so staggering they would be laughable had not someone died.

And it probably won't please anyone hoping to find out just what happened at the corner of Victoria Square and St. Antoine St. at 7:19 p.m. on July 3.

'Can't change the past'

Perhaps Yarosky already realizes what he's up against.

As the inquest was winding down, he looked at François's mother, who had sat through nearly every minute of the proceedings. He complimented her on her dignified bearing while she listened to witnesses re-enact the shooting of her son. Then he added:

"We can't change the past, we can only work with the present and the future. I can only hope that your son did not die in vain."

Police probe allegation cop tried to buy information with cocaine

PAUL WELLS
The Gazette

Montreal Urban Community police will reopen an internal investigation into the conduct of Lt. Pablo Palacios, police spokesman John Dalzell said yesterday.

Palacios, an officer at Station 24 in Little Burgundy, was the subject of an internal investigation this summer. The probe arose from a complaint of improper behavior, said Dalzell, director of communications for the MUC police.

That investigation was finalized several weeks ago, and the allegations were not substantiated, Dalzell said in an interview.

Similar allegations in articles in Wednesday's and Thursday's editions of La Presse caused MUC police director Alain St. Germain to order the investigation reopened, Dalzell said.

The articles dealt with the testimony of Carol Williams at the inquest into Marcellus François's death. Williams was a passenger in the car carrying François 24 when he was mistakenly shot by MUC police in July.

Williams is the mother of the children of Kirt Haywood, the man for whom police mistook François. The inquest has heard Haywood described as a police informant.

Haywood suspected of attempted murder, turned himself in three days after the François shooting. He was freed on bail but was shot to death on Sept. 2. His slaying remains unsolved.

At the coroner's inquest, Williams said she had heard that in the past, Palacios had gone so far as to offer "10 rocks" for help in finding Haywood after he changed his address.

Asked what "rocks" meant, Williams said free-base cocaine. She was not asked where she got her information.

Only Palacios is being investigated, Dalzell said. La Presse had reported that Michel Hamelin, president of the MUC executive committee, also asked for investigations into the behavior of two other police officers, supposedly the rough-riding duo nicknamed "Batman and Robin" by Little Burgundy residents.

There's no way to investigate the two other officers because Leith Hamilton, director of the Black Community Council of Quebec, couldn't come up with their names, Dalzell said.

He added that the police will ignore calls by Hamilton and Dan Philip, head of the Black Coalition of Quebec, to have Palacios, "Batman" and "Robin" transferred pending the outcome of any investigation.

"All the evidence we have is that we are dealing with officers who are doing their job," Dalzell said.

"The whole principle of innocent until proven guilty also applies to police officers."

Palacios: Sought Haywood.

RACE/ *by Nantha Kumar*

THE MONTREAL MIRROR
1991 December 19

Identity Revealed

Little Burgundy residents finally come forward to express their fear of Batman and Robin

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

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

He named officer Gilbert Gauvreau as Batman, and officer Richard Prud'Homme as Robin, both of Station 24. He wants Michel Hamelin, president of the Montreal Urban Community to order an investigation into the conduct of the two officers and Lt Pablo Palacios, who is under investigation on charges of improper conduct.

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

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

Williams is the mother of Haywood's two children, and was a passenger in the car with François, when he was mistaken for Haywood and shot by a police SWAT team in July.

Philip met with about 60 area residents and convinced them to lodge complaints with the coalition. He received three complaints involving Prud'Homme and Gauvreau. He hopes to convince Quebec's public security minister Claude Ryan to open an inquiry into the harassment of blacks in Little Burgundy, including the death of a black man Osmond Fletcher died in a scuffle with MUC cops at the corner of St Jacques and George Vanier on November 14th The Sûreté du Québec which conducted an inquiry into his death concluded Fletcher shot himself in the head. SQ spokesperson Michel Brunet says they suspect no foul play, but refused to give out the name of the officers involved in the incident A coroner's preliminary report concluded that he died as a result of a gunshot wound to the right temporal bone, the base of the skull behind the ear

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

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

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

"The existence of Batman and Robin is not a myth. We now have confirmation of who these policemen are"

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

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

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

APPENDIX C

Item 1

Responsible:	MTL
Information Type:	DRN
Information Level:	I
Aired/Non-Aired:	AP
Program Title:	NEWSWATCH
Show Brd. Date:	21 JAN 92: 920121
Show Brd. Time:	18:00
Show Brd. Day of Week:	TUESDAY:
Show/Prg. Announcers:	TRUDEAU DENNIS;
Title:	BLACK AND BLUE;
Dateline:	LITTLE BURGUNDY;
Synopsis:	A FEATURE PROFILE ON MUC POLICE LIEUTENANT, PABLO PALACIOS WHO IS IN CHARGE OF THE LITTLE BURGUNDY NEIGHBORHOOD. HE IS ACCUSED OF THREATENING PEOPLE, PROFITING FROM THE CRACK COCAINE TRADE AND OTHER THINGS.
Subj. Head.:	NARCOTICS; POLICE MUC; LAW ENFORCEMENT;
Organizations:	COMMUNITY BLACK;
Reporters:	CARVALHO PAUL;
Producers:	CAMPBELL JENNIFER;
Shotlist:	*/var/Pablo Palacios (MUC Lieutenant) knocking on a resident in Little Burgundy's home */var/Palacios inside the house of Mr Forbes, who's lying on on the floor SOT */ms/Orin Bristol (AKAX) Palacios has come to represent the policeman who is a strong arm like Dity Harry... */var/Palacios in a woman's kitchen talking about crack SOT between the two of them */ms/John Dalzell (MUC Police) SOT Pablo worked narcotics, double agent, electronic surveillance...he's developed investigative skills */ms/Palacios SOT people are fighting for ground...freebasing happened in the basement */var/boarded up crack houses seen from police car */ms/Pierre Rodier (Resident) SOT there was drugs and prostitution...when Palacios took charge this ended */stox/July 1990 TVA woman saying she does not deal in drugs */ms/Osmond Fletcher (Dead Drug Dealer) SOT everybody got busted except Kurt... */ms/photo of Kirk Haywood */ms/Palacios SOT we would arrest anyone who walked out of this building... */ms/David Forbes SOT this guy is looking to clean up crack houses yet his buddy is a crack dealer... */ms/Osmond Fletcher SOT Kirk comes out fires

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

Length: 24:00;

Holdings Info: */EP/NEP-1667/10:00:00/MTL/MT/PART 1-2 SUPERED - CA/CBC
*/EP/NEP-1614/10:00:00/MTL/ST/PART I NO SUPERS - CA/CBC
*/EP/NEP-1610/10:00:00/MTL/ST/PART II NO SUPERS - CA/CBC

Record Status: U/920122/SILVIA; V/920124/JIM;

Date of Birth (Record): 920125

Date of Last Update: 930601

Key Number: 13602

4/

May 9/92

[illegible].000 [illegible] 92 15:07 CAMPBELL PARK

[illegible]

[illegible] BLACK COMMUNITY RALLY IN MONTREAL THIS AFTERNOON FAILED TO ATTRACT BIG CROWDS. [illegible] LITTLE MORE THAN 50 PEOPLE TURNED OUT FOR THE GATHERING IN LITTLE BURGUNDY, WHI[illegible] WAS ORGANIZED BY A GROUP REPRESENTING YOUNG MONTREAL BLACKS. BUT BOB BENEDETTI [illegible] THERE WAS A POTENTIAL FOR TROUBLE.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] PEOPLE IN PARK, POLICE BLOCKING THE FORT STREET TUNNEL, METRO GEORGE[illegible] VANIER CLOSED, RALLY.

[illegible]

[illegible] "PULSE NEWS LITTLE BURGUNDY."

[illegible] little burgundy@:00

[illegible] FRANCIS

[illegible] prince MERRIMAN@

[illegible] ariel DELUZ/a.k.a.x.@

[illegible] bob BENEDETTI@

BLACK DEMO

[illegible] ON AGAIN OFF AGAIN RALLY WAS SLOW STARTING. IN FACT THERE WAS MORE MEDIA [illegible] THAN PARTICIPANTS. IT WAS MORE LIKE A PICNIC IN CAMPBELL PARK UNTIL WORD GOT AROU[illegible] THAT POLICE HAD BLOCKED THE FORT STREET TUNNEL AND CLOSED THE GEORGE VANIER [illegible] STATION SERVING LITTLE BURGUNDY.

[illegible]

I think they created a situation here where a lot of people are very angry and u[illegible] for no reason at all. it was just a normal day until they closed the metro.

[illegible]

[illegible] francis I just dont understand how they can block a metro in one day and [illegible] takes them 3 or 4 months to find if somebody's racist.

ANGER WAS CLEARLY BUILDING TO A FLASH POINT UNTIL REPORTERS WARNED POLICE THEY W[illegible] CREATING A POTENTIALLY EXPLOSIVE SITUATION. THE METRO REOPENED AFTER BEING [illegible] CLOSED FOR 57 MINUTES.

MEANWHILE THE RALLY GREW TO ABOUT FIFTY PEOPLE NOT COUNTING THOSE LISTENING THRO[illegible] [illegible] WINDOWS. PRINCE MERRIMAN HAS LIVED 20 YEARS IN LITTLE BURGUND[illegible] [illegible] THERE IS NO REAL LEADERSHIP IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY.

[illegible]

Prince Merriman: Whenever Mr. Bourassa wants to speak to the negroes you have 2 d[illegible] [illegible] leaders attending instead of 2, 3 or 4. This speaks for itself. we do need l[illegible] [illegible] appointed by the people and people who are involved in the community.

[illegible]

the elder member[illegible] feel the youngsters are hoodlums and they do not want any part [illegible] them and the younger members feel that the so called leaders appointed by th[illegible] [illegible] are lookin out for themselves.

MEMBERS OF [illegible] THE YOUNG ORGANIZERS OF THE RALLY PRIVATELY DESCRIBE THE [illegible] [illegible] LEADERS AS THE 3 BLIND MICE AND EQUALLY AS EFFECTIVE

[illegible]

ariel deluz a.k.a.X.: there are a wide variety of strategies and it is time [illegible] [illegible] now that we tell the elders that if they don't show some serious leadership [illegible] that we can provide rational leadership.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] MUCH OF A RALLY ACTUALLY LITTLE MORE THAN A STREET PARTY BUT [illegible] [illegible] THAT THERE'S A GROWING AND RESTLESS ELEMENT PRIMARILY YOUNG WITH[illegible] THE BLACK COMMUNITY THAT FEELS THE SO CALLED ESTABLISHED LEADERS AREN'T MOVIN[illegible] [illegible] QUICKLY ENOUGH. BOB BENEDETTI PULSE NEWS LITTLE BURGUNDY))