"An Inclusive Society in Harmony." Bus Advertisement in Hong Kong, Central, January 2010 (Elvin Wyly). The Race Discrimination Ordinance (HDO) was enacted in July, 2008 "to protect people against discrimination, harassment, and vilification on the ground of their race. ... With the RDO in place, people of different races can live and work as one community, which in turn will enrich Hong Kong's culture and enhance its competitiveness in the international arena." Equal Opportunities Commission (2009). *Race Discrimination Ordinance and I.* Hong Kong: Equal Opportunities Commission, available at http://www.eoc.org.hk

Race, Ethnicity, and Identity in the City
Urban Studies 200, *Cities*
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> "...the city concentrates diversity...marginalized people have come into representation and are making claims on the city..." [1]

> "...despite the historical differences between race relations in Canada and race relations in the United States, Canadians and Americans are roughly similar in their attitudes and behavior toward racial minorities. In both countries, blatant racism is marginal and the social distance between racial minorities and other groups is diminishing. The incidence of anti-Semitic attitudes and behavior is about the same in each country, and so is the incidence of discrimination in

[1] Saskia Sassen (1994). *Cities in a Global Economy*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press. Quotes from pp. 11-12.

> employment. A majority of both Canadians and Americans feel that minorities are responsible for their own inequality, that discrimination is not a major cause of inequality, and that government should not intervene to ensure equality."[2]
>
> "In this shrunken and interdependent world, social movements of all sorts assume a progressively universal character and recruit their supporters and adversaries among peoples near and far, irrespective of national boundaries. The implications of this trend are of special significance to the United States since ... virtually every minority group in the world has its representatives among our population. Our domestic and our foreign policies are thus closely bound up one with the other." [3]

Several centuries ago, various currents of exploration, migration, urbanization, and globalization began to reshape social identities in profound ways -- particularly in relation to ideas of race and ethnicity. Today, the expansion of transnational networks of trade, investment, migration, travel, and communication seem to have created a dynamic mixing of cultures and identities across the globe, with more and more people adopting mobile, cosmopolitan identities as "citizens of the world."[4] For many of these citizens of the world,

> "...boundaries of ethnicity, nationality, race, and religion are of secondary importance at best. Implicitly, citizens of the world reject the insider-as-insighter doctrine, where members of a group claim a monopoly of knowledge unavailable to 'outsiders.'"[5]

From this perspective, the growing diversity of so many of the world's largest cities represents the leading edge of a new, "post-racial" global identity that will transcend the old divisions among groups identified and categorized according to where they were born or what they look like. In a mobile, interconnected world of giant cities, aren't we all just citizens of the world, no matter who we are?

Perhaps. But even as a cosmopolitan world identity has become more common for some people in recent years, we have seen the dramatic resurgence of

> "...powerful, some say primordial, forces antagonistic to global identity. Novelist and essayist V.S. Naipaul once said that patriotic feelings for region, caste, and clan were disruptive, lesser loyalties. Winner of the 2006 Nobel Prize for Literature, Orhan Pamuk, a native of Istanbul, Turkey, put it this way in *Snow*...:

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[2] Jeffrey G. Reitz and Raymond Breton (1998). "Prejudice and Discrimination in Canada and the United States: A Comparison." In Vic Satzewich, editor, *Racism and Social Inequality in Canada: Concepts, Controversies, and Strategies of Resistance*. Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing, 47-68, quote from p. 65

[3] Louis Wirth (1981). "The Problem of Minority Groups." In *On Cities and Social Life: Selected Papers*. Chicago: University of Chicago, Midway Reprint, 244-269, quote from p. 245. Originally published in Ralph Linton, editor (1945). *The Science of Man in the World Crisis*. New York: Columbia University Press, 347-372.

[4] E. Barbara Phillips (2010). *City Lights: Urban-Suburban Life in the Global Society, Third Edition.* New York: Oxford University Press, p. 301.

[5] Phillips, *City Lights, Third Edition*, p. 301.

> 'any citizen of an oppressive and aggressively nationalistic country' will understand 'the magical unity conjured by the word *we*.'"[6]

There are just too many people in the world, and too many *different* people, for the word "we" to conjure unity among all. And so "the flames of 'lesser loyalties' have burned bright in recent years," and sometimes the fires threaten to overwhelm even those places with the new cosmopolitan citizens of the world. Racial, ethnic, religious, and kin-based associations, often bound up with place-based narratives of *Gemeinschaft*-like traditional communities, persist in the face of globalizing processes. In many cases, these local movements derive their strength directly from the sense of threat and loss that many people feel when confronted with new transnational flows and connections. Local resistance to the dislocations of globalization can help to protect valuable and viable experiences of city and neighborhood life. But it is also true that "a search for community can be the flip side of hatred for outsiders."[7]

How are we to make sense of these transformations of identity? Today, we'll consider the implications of race and ethnicity for identity in an urbanizing world. We'll begin with a few simple definitions. Then we'll consider the complex history and current contestation of these definitions. Next, we'll examine how collecting information about race and ethnicity allows us to see how cities concentrate diversity -- but can also reinforce historically-entrenched differences and inequalities. Finally, we'll take a closer look at several urban case studies of racial and ethnic identities.

Defining Race, Ethnicity, and Minority

To understand the complexity of contemporary identities in an urban world, we first need to carefully define several key concepts. We'll begin with brief definitions of three concepts -- race, ethnicity, and minority -- as they are understood in dominant, mainstream discussions of social science and public policy. Then we'll consider several critical perspectives that have challenged and destabilized these concepts and definitions.

Race: *a system of social classification that identifies members of a group who are seen as having specific physical traits that set them off as different.*

The simplest way of defining **race** is "members of a group who see themselves -- and whom others see -- as having specific physical traits that set them off as different."[8] The concept of race operates as a means of "social classification and differentiation that attempts to essentialize political and cultural differences by linking physical traits (i.e., skin, blood, genes) ... to innate, immutable characteristics."[9] Race

[6] Phillips, *City Lights, Third Edition*, p. 301.
[7] Phillips, *City Lights*, 229.
[8] Phillips, *City Lights*, 231.
[9] Jake Kosek (2009). "Race." In Derek Gregory, Ron Johnston, Geraldine Pratt, Michael J. Watts, and Sarah Whatmore, eds., *The Dictionary of Human Geography, Fifth Edition*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 615-617, quote from p. 615.

is thus based on the notion of *essentialism*; it

> "presumes that characteristics (tendencies, behaviors, dispositions, interests) of an individual can be projected to understandings of essential traits of a population or that the presumed traits of a population can be discerned through the characteristics of an individual."[10]

Ethnicity "is seen as both a way in which individuals define their personal identity and a type of social stratification that emerges when people form groups based on their real or perceived origins."[11] Ethnicity is fundamentally about a shared sense of history and experience, a "consciousness of kind."[12]

Ethnicity: *the shared identity of people who form groups based on a common history, experience, ancestry, and/or origins.*

Minority: *a group separated from others in a society, and subjected to differential and unequal treatment by a dominant, majority group that enjoys greater status, power, or privilege.*

Minority, in contemporary usage, dates to the middle years of the twentieth century. The sociologist Louis Wirth offered the clearest definition in 1945:

> "We may define a minority as a group of people who, because of their physical or cultural characteristics, are singled out from the others in the society in which they live for differential and unequal treatment and who therefore regard themselves as objects of collective discrimination. The existence of a minority in a society implies the existence of a corresponding dominant group enjoying higher social status and greater privileges."

Contested Definitions

These definitions are either ordinary and straightforward, or frustrating and incomplete, depending on your perspective. The foundations of these definitions have been shaken in recent years, destabilized both by empirical events and by scholarly reconsiderations of taken-for-granted assumptions. Three changes have been most significant: the reality of "race" has been called into question, concepts of ethnicity have been used as less controversial alternatives to race, and the idea of "minority" has been redefined, especially in diverse, immigrant-rich cities.

[10] Kosek, "Race," p. 615.
[11] Daniel Hiebert (2000). "Ethnicity." In R.J. Johnston, Derek Gregory, Geraldine Pratt, and Michael Watts, editors. *The Dictionary of Human Geography*. Oxford: Blackwell, 235-238, quote from p. 235.
[12] Phillips, *City Lights*, 233.

Physical characteristics provide no meaningful scientific basis for racial distinctions: variations within racial groups equal or exceed differences between racial categories. For many social scientists, therefore, race is not a valid scientific concept. Yet it is undeniable that the assumptions of racial difference remain dominant and pervasive in many societies. ***Race*** *is a social construction, but* ***racism*** *is a material fact.*

Racism: *any act, intentional or not, that links tendencies, behaviors, or social outcomes to an individual or community based on innate, physical characteristics associated with racial categories.*
Racialization: *the process by which individuals, groups, and institutions interact in ways that create and sustain understandings of racial difference.*

Questioning the Reality of Race

First, the "reality" of race has been called into question. There is widespread consensus across the social sciences and humanities that physical characteristics can provide no meaningful scientific basis for racial distinctions or racial classifications. "The belief that human beings can be readily divided into a series of discrete races is now widely regarded as fallacious."[13] This is not to say that genetic and physical differences do not exist. But their linkage to prevailing understandings of fixed racial categories is extremely problematic and unreliable. In a landmark policy statement, the American Anthropological Association concluded that

"...probably the clearest data on human variation come from genetic studies. Genetic data do show differences between groups, and these can potentially trace an individual's likely geographic origin. This can be helpful in such applications as health screening. Nevertheless, the data also show that any two individuals within a particular population are as different genetically as any two people selected from any two populations in the world."[14]

Most scholars today are extremely suspicious of the idea that racial categories or identities have any external reality. But **racism** and **racialization** are very real indeed. Racism is "any act that links tendencies, affinities, behaviors, or characteristics to an individual or community based on innate, indelible, or physiological characteristics, intended or not."[15] Racialization is the process by which

[13] Peter A. Jackson (2000). "Race." In R.J. Johnston, Derek Gregory, Geraldine Pratt, and Michael Watts, editors. *The Dictionary of Human Geography*. Oxford: Blackwell, 669.
[14] American Anthropological Association (1997). Response to OMB Directive 15. September 8. Available at http://www.ameraanthassn.org./ombnews.htm, cited in Margo Anderson and Stephen E. Fienberg (2000). "Race and Ethnicity and the Controversy over the U.S. Census." *Current Sociology* 48(3), 87-110.
[15] Jake Kosek (2009). "Racism." In Derek Gregory, Ron Johnston, Geraldine Pratt, Michael J. Watts, and Sarah Whatmore, eds., *The Dictionary of Human Geography, Fifth Edition*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 617-618, quote from p. 617.

individuals, groups, and institutions interact in ways that create and sustain understandings of racial difference. These understandings can and do change, sometimes dramatically, over the course of just a few generations. Racial categories and hierarchies are always under construction and reconstruction. For many scholars, "race" has evolved from a noun to a verb, emphasizing process rather than taxonomy.

Classifications of Race. Plaque outside the botanical laboratory of Carl Von Linné (Carolus Linnaeus), Stockholm, Sweden, September 2009 (Elvin Wyly). The modern idea of race was "most forcefully advanced through the claim that it is a demonstrable scientific concept," and thus it developed in tandem with "natural history." The Swedish botanist Carolus Linnaeus (1707-1778), generally regarded as the "founder of modern scientific systems of classification," proposed that humanity could be divided into four broad categories on the basis of distinctive characteristics directly related to skin color. Linneaus' ideas were carried further by influential naturalists and anthropologists in the nineteenth century, until Charles Darwin's theories of natural selection and 'survival of the fittest' were applied to humanity by Francis Galton (1822-1911), Darwin's half-cousin. Galton proposed a science of eugenics, "to encourage socially engineered heredity as a means of improving the human race." Jake Kosek (2009). "Race." In Derek Gregory, Ron Johnston, Geraldine Pratt, Michael J. Watts, and Sarah Whatmore, eds., *The Dictionary of Human Geography, Fifth Edition.* Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 615-617, quotes from p. 615, 616.

The contemporary emphasis on racialization as a process is an explicit challenge to the legacy of five hundred years of history, geopolitics, and science. The concept of race was systematically developed, refined, and deployed with the rise of European colonialism and the making of the western capitalist world from the sixteenth century onward. Racial identities certainly existed prior to the colonial era. But

> "Most scholars agree that earlier forms of social differentiation and hierarchy were different from modern ideas of race. In the ancient world, for instance, the Greeks distinguished between the 'civilized' and 'barbarous,' the Romans between freedom and slavery, and the Christians between the savage and the saved. But in all these cases difference was not fixed: barbarians could become 'civilized' in Greek cities, Roman slaves were not determined by inherited traits, and Christians were offered the possibility of salvation through conversion."[16]

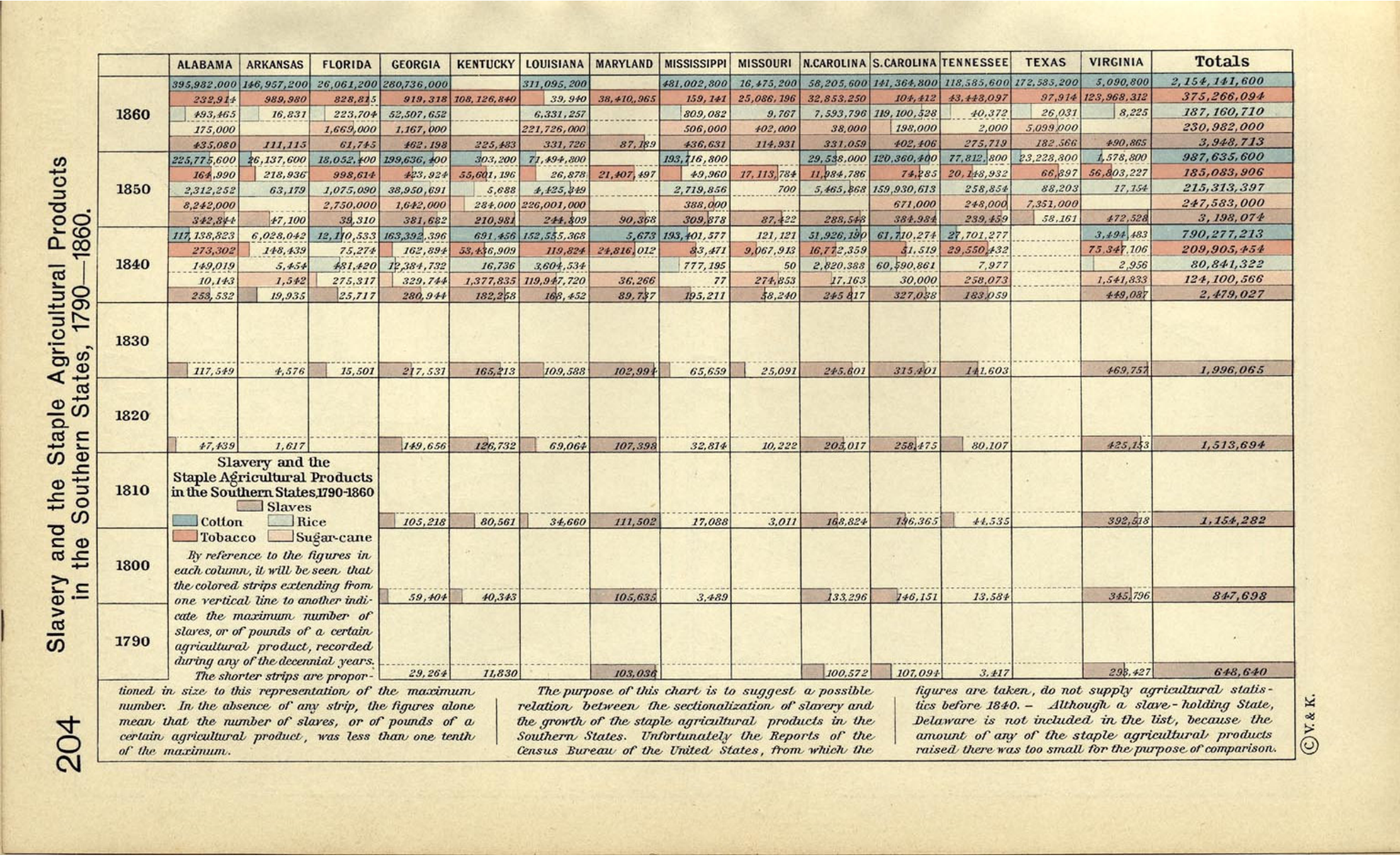
Racial hierarchies became a justification for slavery and colonialism. Classifications of race helped to constitute modernity itself.

Things changed with the exploration and conquests of the Portuguese, the Spanish, and other European powers beginning near the end of the fifteenth century. Race became constitutive of modernity. A doctrine of "blood purity" governed the Spanish Empire's treatment of various indigenous populations in the Americas, and established a precedent for the hierarchical classifications that would flourish with all the scientific innovations of the European Renaissance and the Enlightenment. Racial taxonomy became a key justification for slavery and colonialism, even as the methodology of racial classification became an important medium for the advancement of scientific knowledge. The critical race theorist Cornel West puts it best:

> "the authority of science, undergirded by a modern philosophical discourse guided by Greek ocular metaphors and Cartesian notions, promotes and encourages the activities of observing, comparing, measuring and ordering the physical characteristics of human bodies. ... The creative fusion of scientific investigation, Cartesian epistemology and classical ideas produced forms of rationality, scientificity and objectivity that ... prohibited the intelligibility and legitimacy of the idea of black equality in beauty, culture, and intellectual capacity. In fact, to 'think' such an idea was to be deemed irrational, barbaric or mad."[17]

[16] Kosek (2009), "Race," p. 615.
[17] Cornel West (1999). "Race and Modernity." In *The Cornel West Reader*. New York: Basic Civitas Books, 55-86, quote from p. 71. West's essay includes a collection of virulently racist quotes from prominent Enlightenment figures, including Voltaire, Hume, Jefferson, and Kant.

Global Colonial Racial Imaginaries. *Source:* William Shepherd (1911). *Historical Atlas.* New York: Henry Holt and Company. Public domain image, courtesy of the Perry-Castañeda Map Library, University of Texas Libraries.



Measurement and Meaning: Counting Commodities, Counting Human Bodies. Racial classifications were central to the rise of European colonialism, and the rise of slavery. In a school atlas from the United States in the early twentieth century, slaves in the Southern States were counted alongside commodities: 3,948,713 slaves, 230,982,000 pounds of sugar cane, 2,154,141,600 pounds of cotton, and so on. *Source:* William Shepherd (1911). *Historical Atlas.* New York: Henry Holt and Company. Public domain image, courtesy of the Perry-Castañeda Map Library, University of Texas Libraries.

[Previous pages] **Slavery, Colonialism, and Modernity.** "Scientific" ideas of race were crucial in debates over the morality of Europeans' expansion of slavery beginning in the sixteenth century. In the peak years of the global slave economy between 1710 and 1810, more than ten million slaves were taken from Africa to the Americas. In the eighteenth century, Britain began to integrate slave trading with other commodities in a lucrative "triangular" trade. In England, ships were filled with cloth, iron, and other goods, and sent to Africa to be traded for slaves. The same ships then brought the slaves to the Caribbean Islands. There the ships were loaded with molasses, and sent either to the North American colonies or directly back to England, where the molasses was distilled to rum and the circuit began again.

Considering the Ambiguities of Ethnicity

The second area of debate involves the contingent meanings of ethnicity. Ethnicity

> "is one of the most difficult concepts in the social sciences to define: researchers disagree on the meaning of the term; social groups differ in their expressions of ethnicity; and some theorists challenge the credibility of the concept in the first place."[18]

Geographer Daniel Hiebert notes that the term's usage as a noun first "occurred in the early 1940s, when researchers sought to find a replacement for the word 'race' once it had become associated with the genocidal policies of the Nazi party."[19] As a result, "ethnicity" is often used interchangeably with "race." As scholars raise critical questions about the validity of the concept of race, one consequence is an increasing use of "ethnicity" as a simple and presumably less controversial alternative; yet in many cases the same essentialist notions of physical racial difference are still at work.

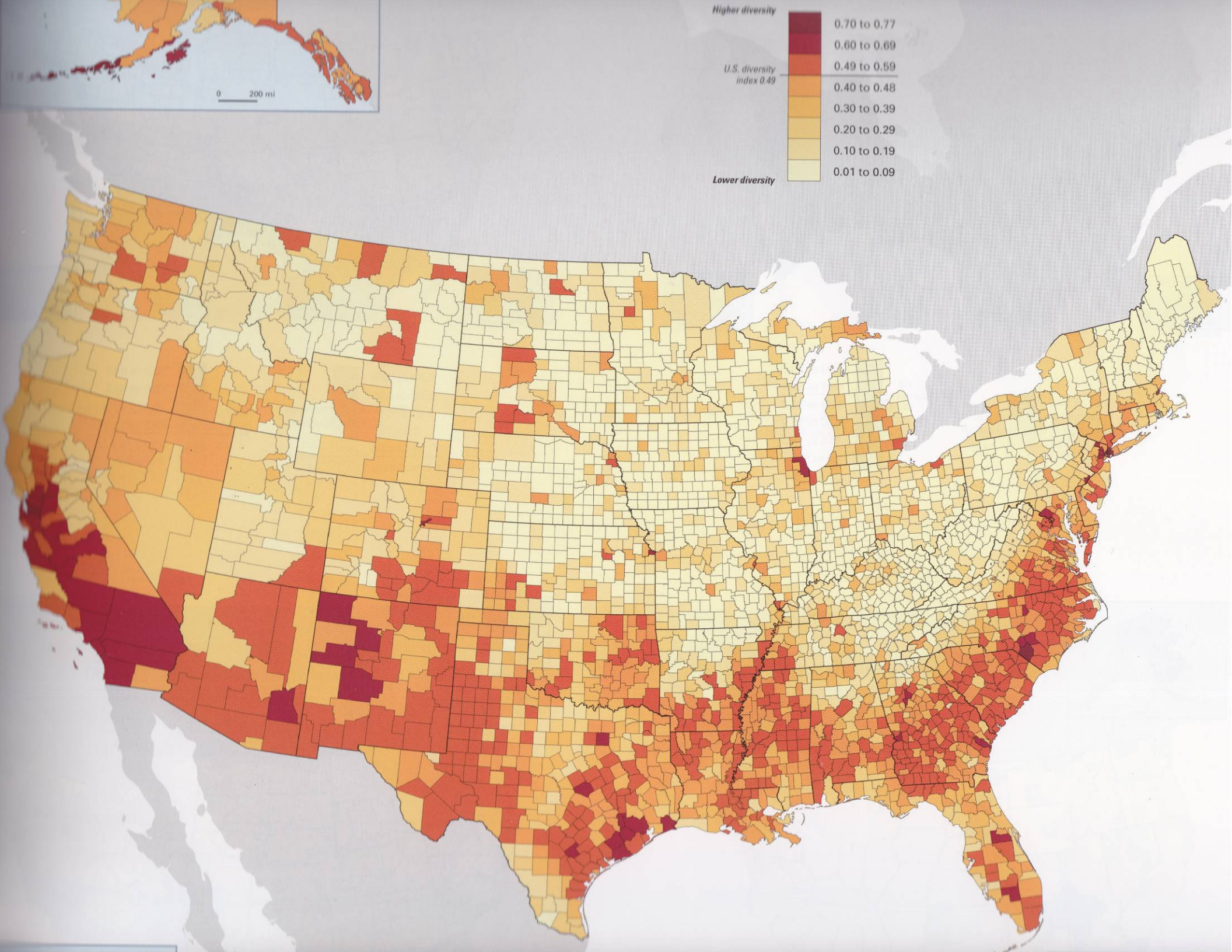
The construction of ethnicity is a process of self-definition. Racialization is an imposed category.

Despite these problems, ethnicity remains an important part of social and cultural identity. Scholars may not agree on the meaning or rational basis of the concept, but individuals and groups engage in a wide variety of practices based on beliefs about shared ancestry, culture, history, and origin. These practices inevitably involve both inclusionary and exclusionary moves, and help to create boundaries of identification between "us" and "them." The construction of ethnicity, however, is a process of self-definition, while "racialization is always an imposed category."[20]

'Minority' is Becoming 'Majority'

The third major area of contestation involves the meaning of "minority." Note that Louis Wirth's definition above makes no mention whatsoever of numbers or proportion: what matters is differential treatment, discrimination, and inequalities of power and privilege. Even so, popular discussions of "minority" usually assume that this means a numerically smaller group. As a consequence, the rapid growth of "minority" populations that has made them numerically

[18] Hiebert, "Ethnicity," p. 235.
[19] Hiebert, "Ethnicity," p. 235.
[20] Hiebert, "Ethnicity," p. 235.


Higher diversity
0.70 to 0.77
0.60 to 0.69
0.49 to 0.59
U.S. diversity index 0.49
0.40 to 0.48
0.30 to 0.39
0.20 to 0.29
0.10 to 0.19
0.01 to 0.09
Lower diversity
0
200 mi

[Previous page] **Racial-Ethnic Diversity and the Rise of "Majority-Minority" Cities in the United States**. Immigration and racial/ethnic differences in fertility rates suggest that "minorities" will comprise more than 50 percent of the U.S. population by the year 2050. (In this analysis, minorities are defined as African Americans, Hispanics, American Indians, Asians, Pacific Islanders, and people of mixed race.) This map shows a "diversity index" measuring the probability that any two randomly selected people in a county will be of different races (or that one will be Hispanic and the other non-Hispanic). While several of the nation's largest cities are now majority-minority or close to the 50-percent mark, the most important patterns are regional -- reflecting the rural, agricultural legacy of slavery along the Mississippi and the piedmont zones once called the "Black Belt," and the Hispanic/Latino legacy of territories in the Southwest that were once part of the Spanish Empire. Unfortunately, projections like these involve risky assumptions about the meanings of such categories, identities, and labels two generations into the future. *Source:* U.S. Bureau of the Census (2007). *Census Atlas of the United States.* Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Commerce, p. 31. Public domain image.

dominant in certain places has drawn widespread attention. The central cities of Toronto, New York, Los Angeles, Miami, and several other large cities in North America are already "minority-majority," and many other places are well on their way. "Majority-Minority" projections are sometimes used to exacerbate fears among the "dominant, majority" group. Long-term projections, moreover, rely on the deeply problematic assumption that today's racial and ethnic categories will have the same social meanings a generation or two into the future.

Mapping Race and Ethnicity in the City

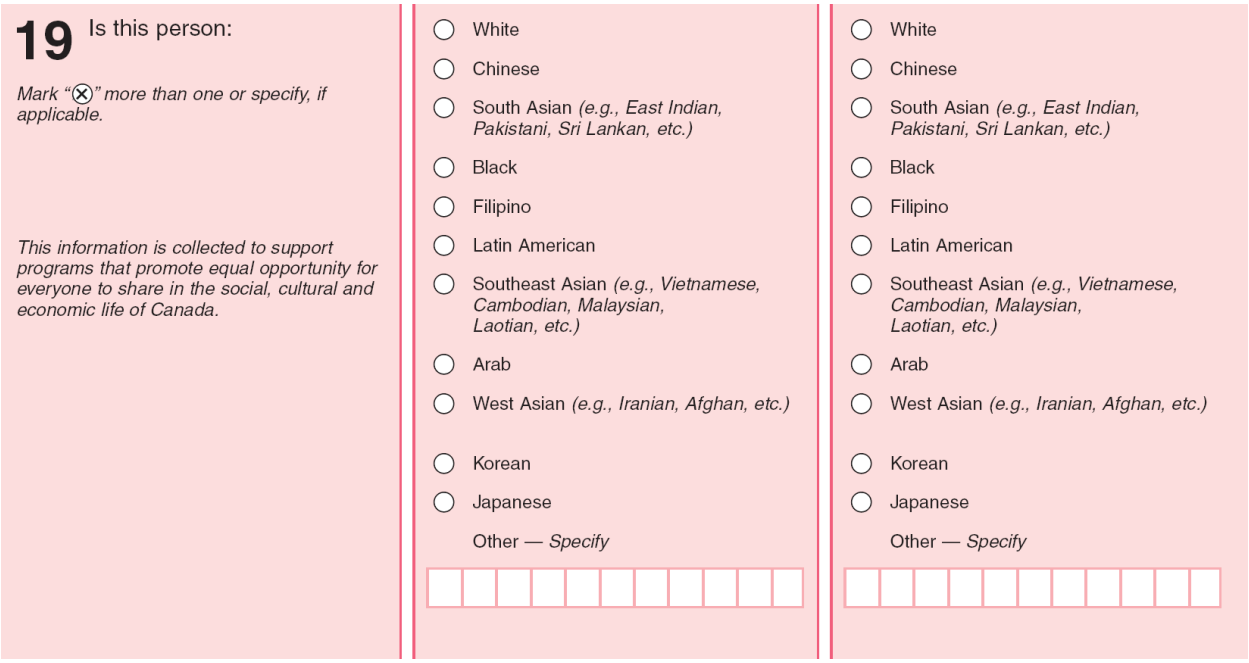
Despite the de-stabilization of simple, taken-for-granted definitions and assumptions, race and ethnicity remain central to an understanding of how cities concentrate difference and diversity. To study this process, urbanists make extensive use of information collected by many governments on race and ethnicity.

In Canada, recipients of the "long form" for the 2006 Census[21] were asked a question on visible minority status, information "collected to support programs that promote equal opportunity for everyone to share in the social, cultural, and economic life of Canada." The question is:

> "Is this person: White, Chinese, South Asian (e.g., East Indian, Pakistani, Sri Lankan, etc.), Black, Fillipino, Latin American, Southeast Asian (e.g., Vietnamese, Cambodian, Malaysian, Laotian, etc.), Arab, West Asian (e.g., Iranian, Afghan, etc.), Korean, Japanese, Other -- Specify."[22]

A separate question on the long form asks, "To which ethnic or cultural group(s) did this person's ancestors belong?" People are allowed to choose as many groups as they wish, and the very first term suggested as an example is "Canadian."

[21] To save resources, many national governments conduct a "short form" including a small number of questions that staff try to ask of every person in the population. A subset of the population, a sample, are presented with a "long form" that asks much more detailed questions. In Canada, the Census includes racial and ethnic information only in the long form; in the United States, race and ethnicity are included on both short and long forms. A variety of statistical procedures are used to infer how the sample respondents reflect the characteristics of the entire population.
[22] Statistics Canada (2006). *Long-Form Census Questionnaire, 2006 Census of Canada*. Ottawa: Statistics Canada, available at http://www.statcan.ca

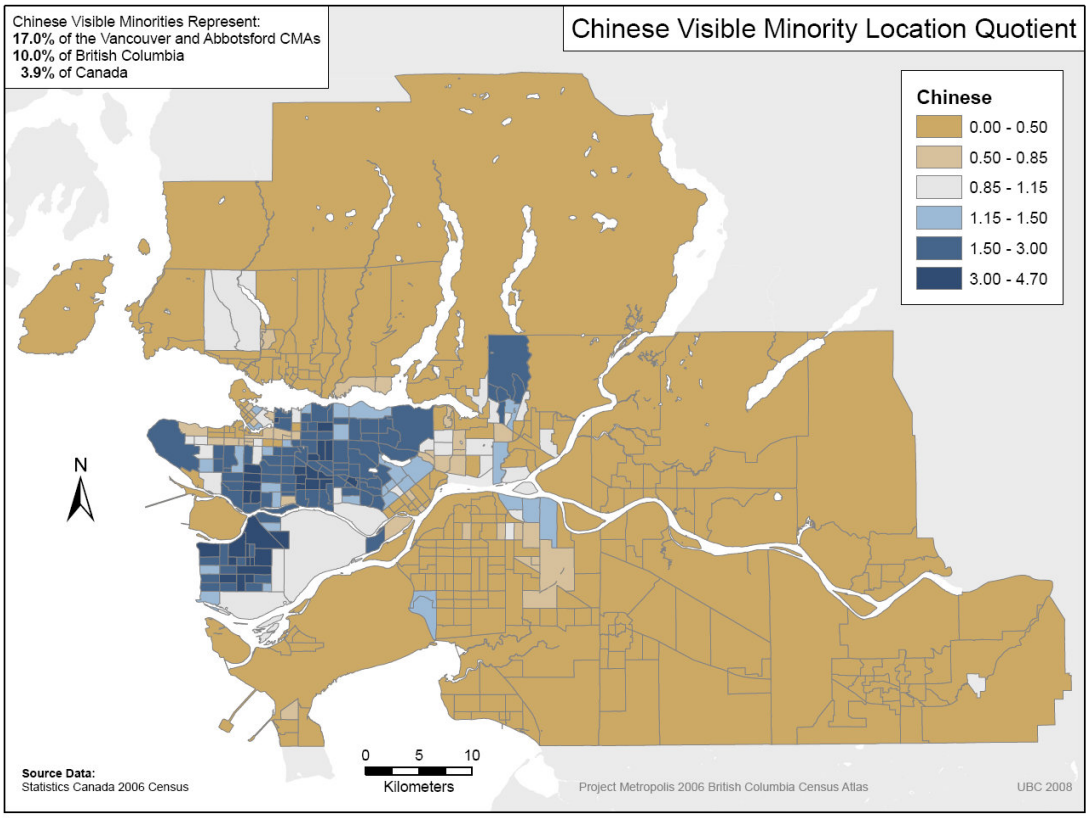


Visible Minority Question, 2006 Census of Canada. *Source:* Statistics Canada (2006). *2006 Long-Form Questionnaire*. Ottawa: Statistics Canada. Reproduced here under fair use / fair dealing provisions.

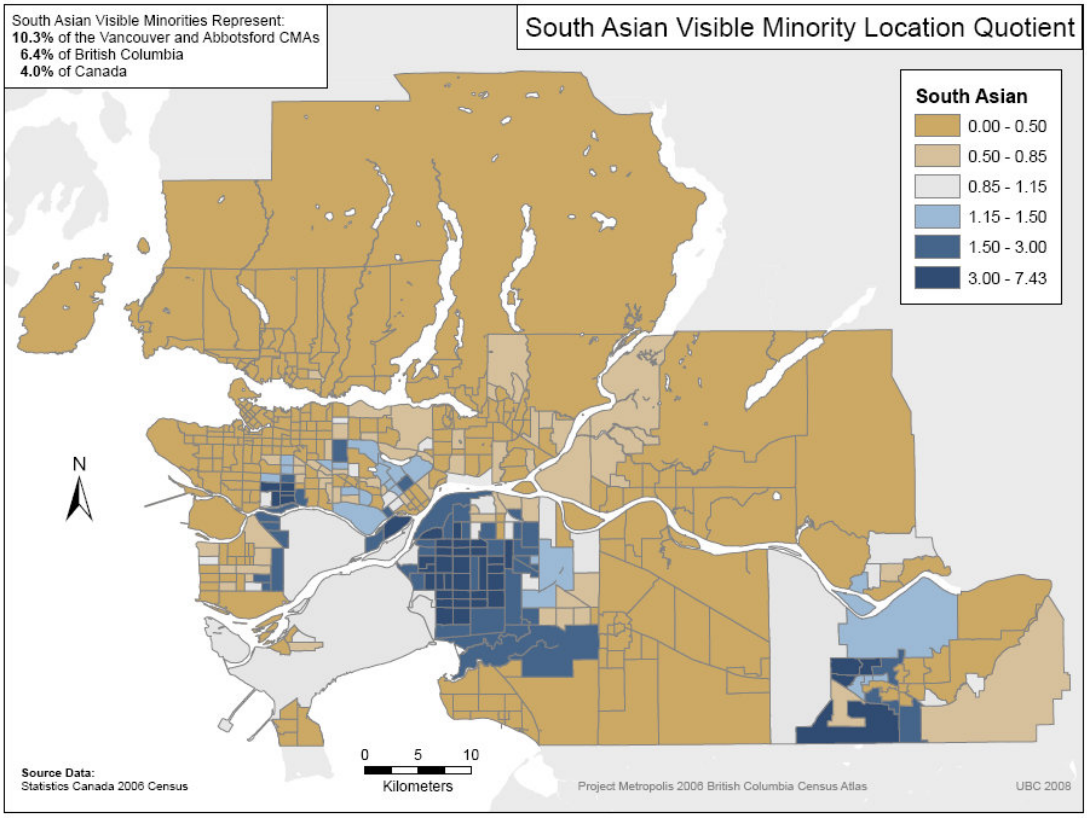
In the United States, the debate over racial classification after the establishment of a task force at the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) in 1994 eventually culminated in major changes to the racial statistical procedures used throughout the federal government. Beginning with the 2000 Census, respondents are allowed to "mark one or more" on a question that asks, "What is this person's race?" Options include "White; Black, African Am., or Negro; American Indian or Alaska Native (Print name of enrolled or principal tribe); Asian Indian, Japanese, Native Hawaiian, Chinese, Korean, Guamanian or Chamorro, Filipino, Vietnamese, Samoan, Other Asian or Other Pacific Islander (Print race); or Some other race (Print race). Respondents are also asked "Is this person Spanish/Hispanic/Latino?," with a further request to specify one (and only one) Spanish/Hispanic/Latino group.[23]

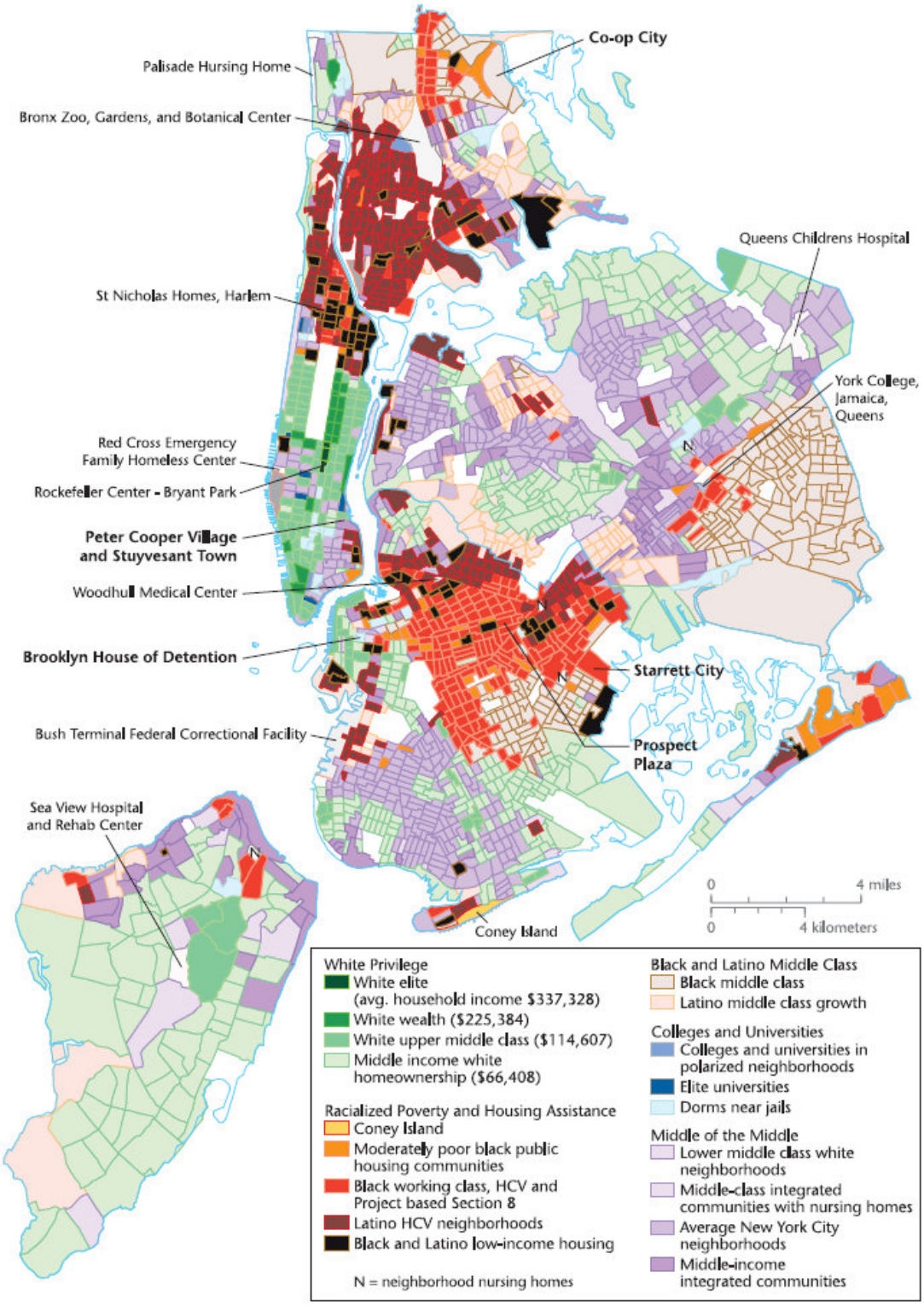
These statistical enterprises provide valuable descriptive information. In Canada, for example, more than five million individuals identified themselves as visible minorities, defined by the Employment Equity Act as "persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour." The national visible minority population increased from 1.1 million in 1981 (4.7 percent of the total population) to 3.2 million in 1996 (11.2 percent), to almost 4 million in 2001 (13.4 percent), 5.07 million in 2006 (16.2 percent). Combined, Chinese, South Asians, and Blacks account for almost two-thirds of the visible minority proportion: Chinese account for the largest proportion of the visible minority population in British Columbia (44 percent); South Asians account for at least one quarter of the visible minority proportion in Ontario, Newfoundland and Labrador, and British Columbia; and Blacks were the largest share of the visible minority population in Nova Scotia (57 percent) and New

[23] Elizabeth M. Grieco and Rachel C. Cassidy (2001). *Overview of Race and Hispanic Origin*. Census 2000 Brief. C2KBR/01-1. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Commerce.



Mapping Visible Minorities in the Vancouver Metropolitan Area, 2006. Source: Daniel Hiebert (2008). *Metropolis Project 2006 Census Atlas*. Vancouver, BC: Department of Geography, University of British Columbia.





Mapping Racial Segregation and Housing in New York City. Source: Elvin Wyly and James DeFilippis (2010). "Mapping Public Housing: The Case of New York City." *City & Community* 9(1), 61-86, figure from p. 76. Reproduced here under fair use / fair dealing provisions.

Brunswick (41 percent). Visible minorities account for almost precisely 37 percent of the total population of Toronto and Vancouver.[24]

Similarly, in the United States, these statistics tell us that 6.8 million people chose to identify themselves as two or more races in 2000 -- but this figure represents only 2.4 percent of the total population, a proportion that was far less than many expected. By comparison, 12.3 percent identified themselves as African American only, and 12.5 percent as Hispanic or Latino.[25]

These kinds of statistics are also the foundation for a stream of research that goes back more than half a century: the literature on **urban racial segregation**. This area of research involves using maps and various kinds of statistics to document the changing spatial distribution of different racial and/or ethnic groups. As in the case of immigrant spatial assimilation, the conventional assumption has been that a high degree of separation and segregation is bad – especially if there are convincing reasons to believe that the observed patterns are not the product of free choices made by racial or ethnic minorities. In the late 1950s, social scientists developed a statistical measure called the **index of dissimilarity**, which expressed the percentage of people who would have to move amongst neighborhoods in a city in order to achieve a perfectly integrated distribution. In 1960, in a set of more than 200 large U.S. cities, the average index of dissimilarity comparing Whites and Blacks was 86.2, meaning that 86 people out of every 100 would have to move in order to achieve an integrated distribution.[26] Overall, the index of dissimilarity has decreased since the 1970s; the index was 73.9 between Whites and Blacks in 1980, and it declined to 65.1 in 2000.[27] But it remains substantially higher in many big cities, and it indicates that in U.S. cities, racial difference is still closely bound up with spatial separation.

The index of dissimilarity: a measure that expresses the percentage of city residents who would have to move to a different neighborhood to achieve a perfectly integrated distribution between two racial/ethnic groups.

For large U.S. cities as a group, 65 percent of all residents would have to move to a different neighborhood to achieve a perfectly integrated distribution between Whites and African Americans.

There have been thousands of studies of various aspects of urban racial segregation in cities anywhere data on race and ethnicity are available. Years ago, undertaking segregation studies was very difficult, and required considerable work by hand to compile the relevant statistical measures. Today, parts of the process can be automated, and much quicker. In the United

[24] Statistics Canada (2003). *Canada's Ethnocultural Portrait: The Changing Mosaic*. Catalogue No. 96F0030XIE2001008. Ottawa: Statistics Canada, p. 7, 8, 18.
[25] Keep in mind that persons identifying themselves as Hispanic or Latino may be of any race. Figures cited come from Grieco and Cassidy, Overview, p. 3.
[26] From data developed by the Taubers, cited in Macionis and Parrillo, *Cities and Urban Life*, p. 313.
[27] Macionis and Parrillo, p. 314.

States, researchers at the Lewis Mumford Center analyzed the entire dataset of neighborhood racial-ethnic population statistics for the 2000 Census and made available the dissimilarity index results for all cities and suburbs across the nation.

But in recent years the heavy use of racial-ethnic statistics has also attracted severe criticism. Many critics suggest that the brutal simplifications of census categories ignore the diversity of contemporary social identities and experiences. Others argue that continuing to collect information on racial and ethnic categories simply perpetuates divisions and inequalities. But if we eliminate the collection of information on race and ethnicity, this does not mean that racism, discrimination, or inequality will suddenly disappear. For several years, Statistics Canada undertook a specialized national Ethnic Diversity Survey, which included this important question: "In the past 5 years, do you feel that you have experienced discrimination or been treated unfairly by others in Canada because of your ethnicity, race, skin colour, language, accent, or religion?"[28] More than one third (35.9 percent) of all visible minorities reported experiencing discrimination, compared to 10.6 percent of White, non-visible minority Canadians. Visible minority groups also have higher poverty rates, and lower incomes, compared to White, non-minority Canadians. While there are many reasons for such differences, discrimination certainly plays some role. Nevertheless,

> "the broader Canadian population remains skeptical of the significance of racial discrimination in affecting minorities, and there is a prevailing view that racism is marginal in Canada."[29]

Perhaps cognizant of this skepticism, Canada's Minister of Industry, Tony Clement, issued orders in the spring of 2010 requiring Statistics Canada to change its data collection practices. The long form of the Census was made optional, seriously undermining the reliability of its detailed social, economic, and housing information. Several of Statistics Canada's specialized surveys -- including the Ethnic Diversity Survey -- were discontinued entirely. Regardless of how pervasive discrimination is in Canadian cities and suburbs, the elimination of data measuring the problem ensures that the issue will receive less careful study or discussion.

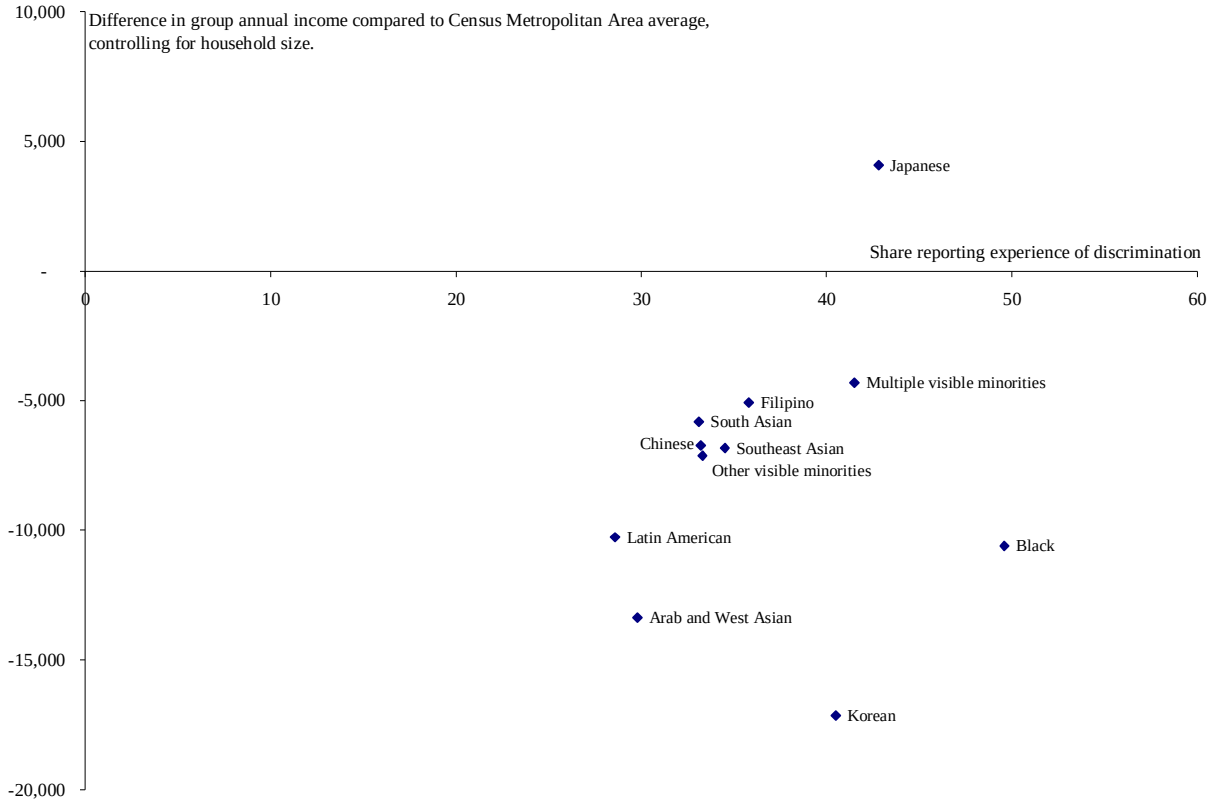
The dilemma of racial and ethnic statistics: collecting racial/ethnic data reproduces identities and divisions, but without the data it is impossible to document inequality, discrimination, and injustice.

The critical race theorist David Theo Goldberg laments, "we're damned if we do and damned if we don't."

Collecting information on racial and ethnic categories may perpetuate identities of difference. But eliminating such data practices will not automatically eliminate the realities of racism and discrimination. In the short term, destroying the data will

[28] For recent immigrants, the question was worded to replace the 5-year period with "since arriving in Canada."
[29] Jeffrey G. Reitz and Rupa Banerjee (2007). "Racial Inequality, Social Cohesion, and Policy Issues in Canada." In Keith Bunting, Thomas J. Courchene, and L. Leslie Seidle, eds., *Belonging? Diversity, Recognition, and Shared Citizenship in Canada.* Montreal: Institute for Research on Public Policy, p. 11.

simply make it difficult to document inequalities and challenge injustice in the courts and other public institutions. This **dilemma of racial and ethnic statistics** is summarized by David Goldberg as "we're damned if we do and damned if we don't." Racial and ethnic statistics do sustain ongoing divisions in how we think about differences. But if we don't have these statistics, we can't identify problems and monitor changes in society.



Experiences of Discrimination among Visible Minorities in Canadian Cities. Data Source: Statistics Canada (2002). *Ethnic Diversity Survey.* Ottawa: Statistics Canada. Adapted and modified from data reported in Jeffrey G. Reitz and Rupa Banerjee (2007). "Racial Inequality, Social Cohesion, and Policy Issues in Canada." In Keith Bunting, Thomas J. Courchene, and L. Leslie Seidle, eds., *Belonging? Diversity, Recognition, and Shared Citizenship in Canada.* Montreal: Institute for Research on Public Policy, p. 5.

Case Studies of Race, Ethnicity, and Identity in the City

We can discern several fascinating developments in urban research as analysts have drawn on multi-faceted perspectives on race, ethnicity, and identity.

First, there is intense debate over the meaning of observed patterns of ethnic or racial concentration in particular urban neighborhoods. Kay Anderson, for example, authored one of the most influential urban ethno-cultural works of recent years, *Vancouver's Chinatown: Racial Discourse in Canada, 1875-1980.*[30] For Anderson, 'Chinatown' and 'Chinese' were categories

[30] Kay Anderson (1991). *Vancouver's Chinatown: Racial Discourse in Canada, 1875-1980.* Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.

constructed by European Canadians, and imposed through racist law and social practices in ways that reinforced an identity of others and outsiders. But the historian Wing Chung Ng, reads the evidence in a very different way. Although he agrees that the study of these racist practices is indeed important, he is concerned that the approach reveals more about European Canadians than the Chinese.

> "Canadian scholars have developed a long tradition of studying the 'Orientals' in their country so as to shed light on the history of Anglo-Canadian racism, especially in British Columbia." Unfortunately, "in such studies Chinese people are often portrayed as no more than hapless victims of racial prejudice and discrimination, and Chinese identity is seen as a matter of external imposition."[31]

Ng's rich empirical account emphasizes self-definition, while also holding important lessons for how we view race and ethnicity through the lens of contemporary immigration.

Recent developments in the study of race and ethnicity in the city:

1. New considerations of the meaning of observed patterns of segregation and separation.

2. More refined analysis of the indirect, implicit forms of discrimination that have (mostly) replaced explicit discrimination and bigotry.

3. A new focus on the construction and perpetuation of whiteness and white privilege.

"Our project need not be either emigration or immigration history, viewing the subjects against some supposedly authentic 'Chinese' 'Canadian,' or any other norms. Migration and settlement constitute an arena of identity construction in and of themselves, and the complex historical and cultural processes therein deserve to be unveiled on their own terms."[32]

The key point is that documenting where different individuals and groups live cannot, by itself, reveal the urban processes responsible for the observed patterns. The new scholarship on race, ethnicity, and identity has exposed the limitations of a tradition that relied heavily on mapping and measuring the categories provided by the census and other official sources of data. These studies were important, and they remain useful; but they are limited if they fail to analyze *the meanings of the categories imposed on the data*.

This point is emphasized in other research on the distinctive features of Canadian racial and ethnic relations. Among the most important treatments is Katharyne Mitchell's careful analysis of Canada's official policies and practices of

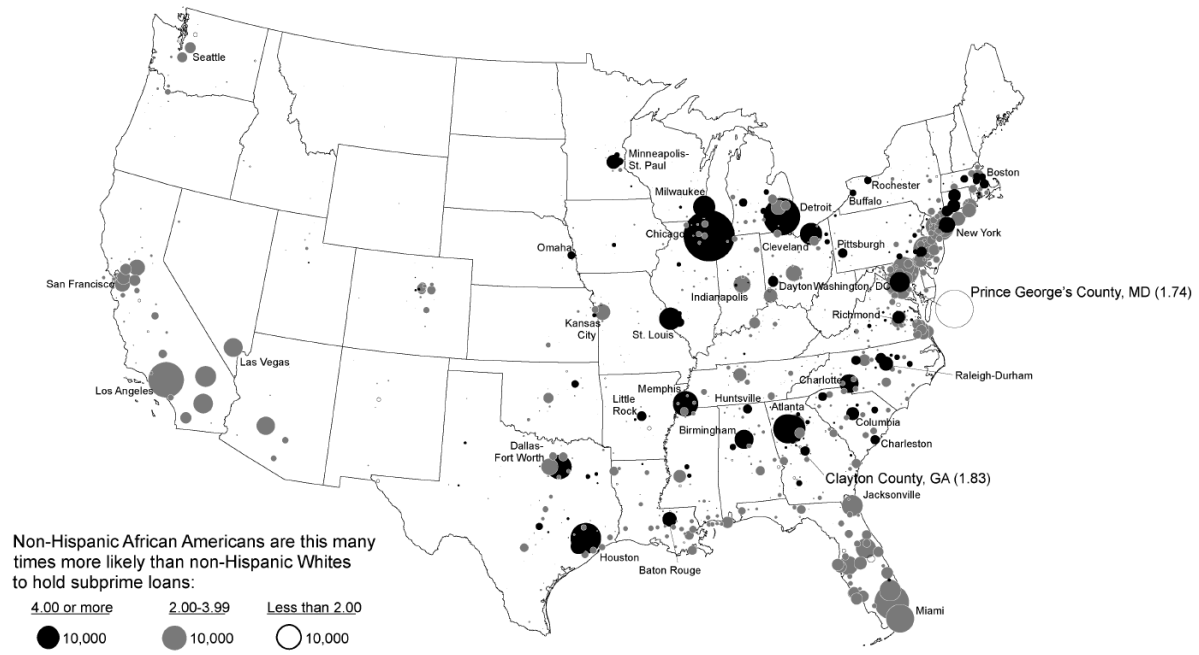
[31] Wing Chung Ng (1999). *The Chinese in Vancouver: The Pursuit of Identity and Power*. Vancouver: The University of British Columbia Press, p. 6.
[32] Ng, *Chinese*, p. 8.

> "the liberal doctrine of multiculturalism. Multiculturalism, which was heralded as Canada's answer to the flawed and tired American melting pot metaphor, appeared to many as the only possible solution for a diverse society with an indigenous population, two European colonizers, and a burgeoning community of non-European immigrants."[33]

Unfortunately, Mitchell suggests, many of the hopeful possibilities of a commitment to multiculturalism have been lost, because the concept has "been politically appropriated by individuals and institutions to facilitate international investment and capitalist development in Vancouver."[34] Racism, deeply embedded in the history of Canada as in so many other nations, came to be seen as a barrier to increased capitalist development in places (like Vancouver) tied into increasingly diverse and transnational global circuits. Multiculturalism thus became an instrument for local, dominant-majority elites to discredit any individuals and groups who questioned the priorities of an aggressive development agenda. Criticism of the priorities of development and growth could be attacked and discredited as reactionary and racially discriminatory.

Second, there have been major advances in documenting indirect, implicit forms of discrimination. Recall that the definition of racism specifies that intent does not matter: unequal outcomes, or essentialist assumptions, are sufficient to verify the problem of racism. To be sure, it is a major sign of progress in those societies where explicit racial hierarchies of unequal treatment have been eliminated. Yet even in those places where dominant-majority members have no ill will, severe racial inequalities often persist. There is a vast body of evidence in urban studies that document the subtle, hidden, and pervasive forms of racial inequalities in housing markets, access to educational opportunities, policing practices, criminal sentencing outcomes, job markets ... the list goes on.

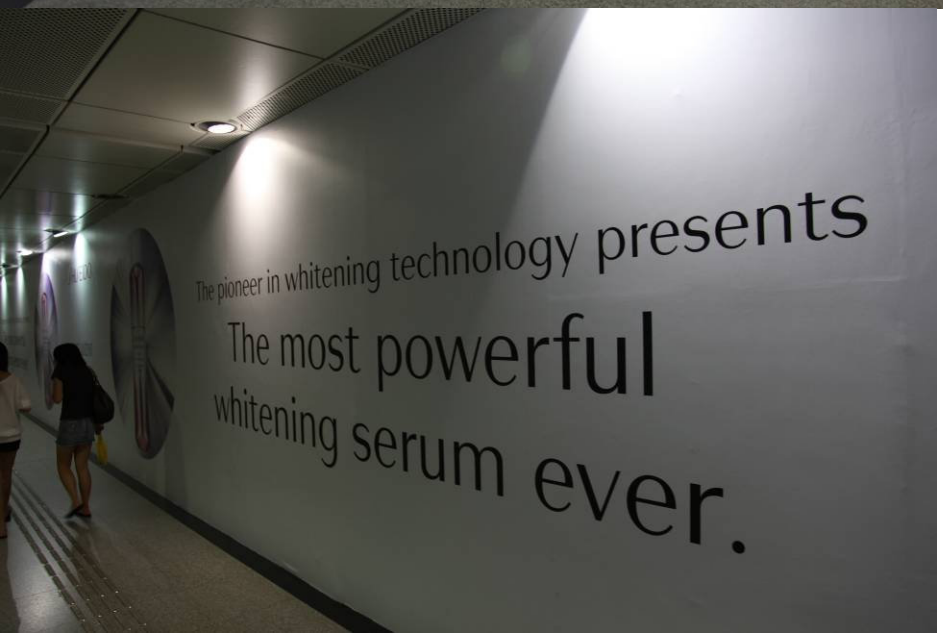
[33] Katharyne Mitchell (1993). "Multiculturalism, Or The United Colors of Capitalism?" *Antipode* 25(4), 263-294, quote from p. 265.
[34] Michell, "Multiculturalism," p. 265.



Racism in Home Mortgage Credit in U.S. Cities. Subprime mortgage lending created the worst global financial crisis since the Great Depression of the 1930s. In 2007 and 2008, troubles in subprime loans nearly destroyed America's financial system, and triggered worldwide panic in the financial markets. Subprime credit -- high-cost, high-risk loans made mostly to low-income people with poor credit -- is deeply racialized. But even after accounting for income, loan amount, and a variety of other borrower characteristics, African Americans are many more times more likely than otherwise identically qualified Non-Hispanic Whites to wind up with risky subprime loans. Circle sizes are scaled proportional to the number of conventional subprime mortgage originations to African Americans in each metropolitan county. Source: Joseph Darden and Elvin Wyly (2010). "Cartographic Editorial: Mapping the Racial/Ethnic Topography of Subprime Inequality in Urban America." *Urban Geography* 31(4), 425-433, map from p. 428. Reproduced here under fair use / fair dealing provisions.

Third, the analysis of racial and ethnic difference has reversed the traditional analytical focus on numerically or politically marginalized "minorities." One of the most important developments in the interdisciplinary urban study of racial and ethnic identity over the last decade has been the emergence of a field called "Whiteness studies."[35] Whiteness studies have shown how the category "White" has been constructed and contested over time, and that today's apparent common-sense understandings of whiteness are a) quite different from those prevailing only a few generations ago, and b) unstable and in the process of perpetual negotiation and reconstruction.

[35] For a representative contribution to this literature, see Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color*.



"The Most Powerful Whitening Serum Ever." Singapore Subway, January 2010 (Elvin Wyly). In the dynamic, fast-growing consumer economies of large cities across Asia, White Privilege is now big business. "With rising incomes, more Asians are using products to lighten their skin. Swayed by advertising, TV and movies featuring glamorous models with creamy complexions, Asians are purchasing skin lightening products in ever-greater quantities." An industry survey estimated that the share of women using skin-lightening products was 45 percent in Hong Kong, 41 percent in Malaysia, 50 percent in the Philippines, and 60 percent in Thailand and India. Deirdre Bird, Helen Caldwell, and Mark DeFanti (2010). "The Quest for Beauty: Asia's Fascination with Pale Skin." In Rodney A. Oglesby, H. Paul LeBlanc, III, and Marjorie G. Adams, eds., *Business Research Yearbook, Global Business Perspectives*, Vol. XVII, No. 1. Beltsville, MD: International Graphics, 26-32, quote from p. 27.

Whiteness studies provides a shocking view of what one analyst calls the "Fabrication of Race." The efforts to classify human populations, and to define a standard by which "others" would be measured, reached a zenith with the creation of a category for the so-called "Caucasian" race. The German zoologist and anthropologist Johann Fredrich Blumenbach, in a dissertation on comparative anatomy in 1775, included this entry:

> "Caucasian Variety. I have taken the name of this variety from Mount Caucasus, both because its neighborhood, and especially the southern slope, produces the most beautiful race of men, I mean the Georgian; and because all the physiological reasons converge to this, that in that region, if anywhere, it seems we ought with greatest probability to place the autochthones of mankind...That stock displays ... the most beautiful form of the skull, from which, as from a mean and primeval type, the others diverge...Besides, it is white in color, which we may fairly assume to be the primitive color of mankind since...it is very easy to degenerate into brown, but very much more difficult for dark to become white."[36]

White privilege is the premium of wealth and power enjoyed by members of a dominant White group in any society where racial or ethnic "others" face discrimination, whether intentional or not.

Sustaining white privilege requires no animosity, or intentionally racist attitudes: all that is required is an established history of racial inequality that allows most Whites today to escape the historically entrenched experience of poverty, violence, and other social problems.

Contemporary whiteness studies emphasize the construction of **white privilege**. White privilege is the premium of wealth and power enjoyed by members of a dominant White group in any society where racial or ethnic "others" face discrimination, *whether intentional or not.* Sustaining white privilege requires no animosity, or intentionally racist attitudes: all that is required is an established history of racial inequality that allows most Whites today to escape the historically entrenched experience of poverty, violence, and other social problems.

Of course, even in the wealthiest Western societies, not all Whites escape poverty. One stream of the whiteness studies literature focuses explicitly on the relations between race and class, and sheds new light on one of the major streams of rural-to-urban migration in the United States in the twentieth century. For many years, sociologists and anthropologists documented

[36] Matthew Fry Jacobsen elsewhere observes that "The idea of a 'Caucasian race' represents whiteness ratcheted up to a new epistemological realm of certainty. If the idea of 'white persons' has become so naturalized that we still speak of 'whites' as if this grouping refers to a natural fact beyond dispute, then the idea 'Caucasian' naturalizes both the grouping and the authority by which that grouping is comprehended." Matthew Frye Jacobsen (1998). *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. Blumenbach quote on p. 1, Jacobsen's remark from p. 94

the migration of poor whites who were forced to leave Appalachia when shifts in energy sources and widespread mechanization eroded job opportunities in the coal-mining industry. In a single decade, the 1950s, one of eight Appalachians left the region -- a magnitude approaching three-quarters of the total immigration to the United States during that time period. Between 1950 and 1970, net migration amounted to an outflow of more than 3.3 million people.[37] Arriving in big cities, mostly in the heavily industrialized North, these migrants faced hostility and discrimination from "white ethnics" in established communities, and often wound up segregated into run-down inner-city neighborhoods (two prominent examples included Chicago's Uptown and Cincinnati's Over-the-Rhine). Urban Appalachians faced severe poverty and exclusion, and their whiteness stands as a direct contradiction to popular understandings of race, as well as contemporary scholarship on whiteness studies.

> "There is a growing need for developing our understanding of how the construction of whiteness varies across lines of class, gender, and sexuality and how these constructions vary according to the politics of place and region,"

write Matt Wray and Annalee Newitz in an interdisciplinary collection, *White Trash*.

> "In a country so steeped in the myth of classnessness, in a culture where we are often at a loss to explain or understand poverty, the white trash stereotype serves as a useful way of blaming the poor for being poor."[38]

Conclusions

Cities concentrate diversity. Urbanization highlights the possibilities of diversity, discovery, and difference -- but also the risks of division and discrimination. In the past generation, racial categories and identities have become more unstable and contested. Yet the historical legacy of racial hierarchies cannot be erased so quickly, and identities of race and ethnicity are often bound up with class inequalities and other enduring divisions. Racial discrimination, therefore, can persist while hidden behind justifications of concern for all the non-racial disparate impacts of varied employment and educational outcomes, disparities in income, wealth, and poverty, neighborhood variations in property values, etc. Under conditions of increasing inequalities in

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[37] Jerome Pickard (1981). "Appalachia's Decade of Change: A Decade of Immigration." *Appalachia* 15(1), 24-28.

[38] Analee Newitz and Matt Wray (1997). "Introduction." In Matt Wray and Annalee Newitz, editors, *White Trash: Race and Class in America*. New York: Routledge, 1-12, quotes, respectively, from p. 2, p. 1. Wray and Newitz date the earliest possible origins of the term to black slaves referring contemptuously to white servants in the early nineteenth century, although "there is some reason to doubt these accounts." But the term and its stereotypes stuck after the activities of the U.S. Eugenics Office between 1880 and 1920. See also Constance Penley's contribution to the volume, which she begins by saying "something about the benefits to one's theoretical formation that can accrue from growing up white trash...it was precisely my white trash upbringing that gave me the conceptual tools" that she needs for her intellectual project. "A southern white child is required to learn that white trash folks are the lowest of the low because socially and economically they have sunk so far that they might as well be black. As such, they are seen to have lost all self-respect. So it is particularly unseemly when they appear to shamelessly flaunt their trashiness, which, after all, is nothing but an aggressive in-your-face reminder of stark class differences, a fierce [challenge] to anyone trying to maintain a belief in an America whose only class demarcations are the seemingly obvious ones of race." Constance Penley (1997). "Crackers and Whackers: The White Trashing of Porn." In Matt Wray and Analee Newitz, editors, *White Trash: Race and Class in America*. New York: Routledge, 89-112, quotes from p. 89, 90.

social class, racism can become both more subtle and more rigidly self-justifying for those invested in particular stereotypes. As more members of racial and ethnic minorities gain certain types of power in some cities and some political positions, the challenge is to understand the persistence of White privilege while working towards the "post-racial" world of equality that still remains just beyond reach.

Does Race Matter? In October, 2010, a young business professor achieved a surprise victory in a mayoral election that saw the highest voter turnout in three decades. Naheed Nenshi's victory was widely covered in the press as a remarkable feat of electoral mobilization -- Nenshi's supporters were particularly enthusiastic in their use of social-networking tools -- as well as a notable indicator of racial and ethnic diversity. Press coverage noted headlines like "Canada's First Muslim Mayor Elected," and "Calgary's first visible minority mayor," and the conservative *National Post* carried a front-page headline offering to explain "Why Race Doesn't Matter in Calgary." The next day, one of the letters to the editor offered an alternative spin on the news: "The most significant demonstration of the open-mindedness of Calgarians was not that we elected as mayor a non-White Ismaili Muslim, but that we voted for someone who was born in Toronto!" Peter G. Keith (2010). "The True Surprise in Calgary." *National Post*, October 22, Letters, p. A13. Also see Kelly Cryderman et al. (2010). "Canada's First Muslim Mayor Elected." *Vancouver Sun*, October 20, B2. Kevin Libin (2010). "Why Race Doesn't Matter in Calgary." *National Post*, October 20, A1, A6. Photograph licensed under Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 2.0 License, via Wikimedia Commons.