Interracial Unions with White Partners and Racial Profiling: Experiences and perspectives

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Abstract

Over the past decade racial profiling has received much scholarly and public attention. Our study explores the awareness, perspectives and experiences of the individuals in interracial unions with White partners. We found most White partners' awareness and objection to racial profiling arose from vicarious experiences with racialized partners who are subjected to everyday racism including racial profiling. White women, in general, exhibited a fairly high degree of anxiety about their partners being racially profiled. Women 'of colour' exhibited varied levels of awareness and experience with racial profiling. Most men 'of colour' in our study experienced racial profiling, but two provisionally accommodated themselves to the practice. Our study indicates few couples felt they were racially profiled because of their mixed union though couples with young Black men and White women were the exception. All couples experienced overt and covert forms of discrimination and some felt their hypervisibility as interracial couples opened them to consistent regulatory surveillance. We describe the latter as a process of 'repressive tolerance' and offer thoughts on future study. This research suggests racial profiling and repressive tolerance have points of convergence in how interracial couples make sense of law enforcement and their place in Canadian society.

Introduction

Racial profiling in Canada has received considerable public attention over the past decade. The term describes a practice of applying criminal stereotypes to negatively racialized[i] groups by police agencies and society (Harris 2003; Tanovich 2006). It is a means of effectively controlling and regulating those marginalized populations. On one end the concept is narrowly defined to encapsulate forms of racial stereotyping that law enforcement/security forces use as a routine practice for criminal suspicion (e.g., drug trafficking = young Black and Latino men; drug courier = Black and Latino women; drunk = "Indians"; terrorist = Arab males). On the other end of the continuum, the term reflects Eurocentric societal assumptions about the criminal propensity of entire ethno-racial groups (Welch 2007; Kitossa

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2005; Gabbidon 2003). Regardless of whether the definition describes law enforcement specifically or popular cultural stereotypes, racial profiling is a new name for a long established practice in which racial stereotypes are vital components of 'criminal' suspicion and the "discovery" of crime among racially devalued groups (Coke 2003; Willis-Esquida 2007).

Though contested by academics (Gabor 2004; Melchers, 2003), lawyers (Gold 2003) and many law enforcement personnel and administrators (see Glover 2007), the existence of racial profiling is considered incontrovertible by most academics (James 2008; Wortley and Tanner 2005), human rights groups (Ontario Human Rights Commission 2005), African Canadian communities (Brown 2004; Smith 2004), and a few intrepid police chiefs (Closs 2005; Stamper 2005). Racial profiling research arose, most notably, from the complaints and concerns of African Americans and African Canadians that they are over-policed. In response, law enforcers and politicians have claimed that over-policing was 'good' policing since African Americans and African Canadians tended to "commit more crime". While there is no evidence to substantiate a statistically significant race effect in offending when class is 'controlled' and the anti-working class bias of the criminal law is recognized (Harcourt 2006; Covington 1995), it has been suggested that racial discrimination, leading to higher arrest and incarceration rates, fulfills its own prophecy in producing the appearance of a statistically significant racial difference in offending (Harris 2003; Hudson 1993). Consequently, issues of systemic and personal discrimination lie at the heart of the debate over racial profiling.

In seeking to comprehend the contextual dynamics of racial profiling, research is evolving from statistical measures to include qualitative data gathering (Batton and Kladeck 2004; Meehan and Ponder 2002). The narratives of affected individuals, communities[ii], and even police officers are now being considered. This qualitative data from affected individuals and communities does not fully consider the experiences and perspectives of those in interracial unions. It is the aim of this study to open up reflection on their experiences, perceptions and what they may offer the sociological literature on racial profiling, anti-racism and families.

Thus far the bulk of racial profiling research is predicated on the perceived racial variance between police and driver rather than the gender and racial variance between driver and passenger(s) and police officer(s). There is, therefore, little contemporary research that considers whether and how the ruling relations of class, gender and race might intersect with institutionalized racism, the war on crime/drugs and other contextual factors such as the places and spaces where interracial couples might be. This omission is surprising given the fluid history of dejure and defacto anti-miscegenation in North America and the obvious role police played in assuring the effectiveness of either overt or covert forms of prohibition. Indeed, between Seattle's former Chief of Police, Norm Stamper, describing White officers "…hassling …white women in the company of black men" (2005: 102) and Alan Gartner's observation in 1964 that "[t]here are many reports that the police…are more likely to stop and question mixed couples than all white or all Negro [ones]" (cited in Cray 1972: 24), little research attention has been paid to this dynamic. Inquiry of this nature may paint a more complex picture of the factors that lead to racial profiling; such as the fact that regulating the sexuality of White women and controlling the bodies of men 'of colour' who partner with them may be more widespread and hidden than heretofore imagined. Just as likely though, women 'of colour' who partner with White men, depending on space, place and the group interactions in question are likely to receive a wide range of discriminatory responses inclusive of racial profiling. For example, the stereotype of (poor) Aboriginal and African Canadian women as prostitutes may lead in some urban places and spaces for those women and their White male partners to be imagined as prostitute and John.

No doubt the much ballyhooed census data on the increasing numbers of interracial couples may appear to suggest this is not a fruitful research concern. Yet, in the absence of quantitative data and the more nuanced picture provided by qualitative inquiry we may never know of the frequency or the nature of police interaction with mixed race couples.

Our pilot study suggests that young Black men and White women report being racially profiled as a couple and so it is likely the age of couples and the historic patterns of defacto prohibition may be factors in their experience. However, indicative of the experience of young Black men/White women unions, a substantial number of our research sample contend racial profiling is much broader than its manifestation in law enforcement. Rather, in the case of interracial couples, racial profiling is a manifestation of a 'repressive' regime of discrimination, surveillance and regulation thinly obfuscated by the multiculturalist discourse of 'tolerance'. In addition, the multicultural discourse of 'tolerance' conceals a wide range of repressive regulatory tactics deployed by a broad range of communities. In effect, this research suggests racial profiling and repressive tolerance have points of convergence in how interracial couples make sense of law enforcement and their place in Canadian society.

Interracial coupling: A short social history

In Canada, and for that matter the Caribbean and elsewhere in North and South America, there is a long-standing history of interracial coupling. The history of their moral and social regulation is almost as long (Dua 1999; Perry 2001; Thompson 2009; Valverde 1991). From the very inception of conquering indigenous peoples and the enslaving of Africans, European males took partners from these populations by force, necessity, and sometimes affection without duress (though in case of the latter it is questionable whether indigenous and African women confronted by a violently patriarchal and foreign regime were in fact making 'free' choices). During the mercantile and early colonial period in British and French pre-Confederation Canada, interracial relationships between European male fur traders and First Nation women were encouraged by trading companies and colonial administrations for economic and political purposes (Perry 2001). With White settler colonialism and the introduction of White women into the Americas, the rise of chattel slavery, the passage of anti-miscegenation laws and the nation building project in North America, attitudes and policies on race mixing underwent uneven renovations between the mid-17th on into the mid-20th Century. As miscegenation became linked to the nation building project and maintaining the perceived moral and physical superiority of the 'Anglo-Nordic race', regulating interracial unions became paramount in the context of increasing the racial, economic, patriarchal and political power of White settlers. This history was not uniform and had regional valences to be sure.

Debra Thompson (2009), points out the law and the state played key roles in the aggrandizement of White capitalist and patriarchal power. She notes that anti-miscegenation laws in US and the Indian Act in Canada provided not only the means to create and maintain racial boundaries, but also to "govern and regulate the intimate spheres." (Thompson 357:2009). Both methods of governance were enacted to ensure property ownership and economic responsibilities were linked to a racialized national project of whiteness, masculinity and citizenship (365). In this context, the sexual regulation of White women was paramount, as was White men's access to the bodies of women 'of colour' and the sexual regulation of men 'of colour'. White women's sexuality became channelled toward reproduction and ideas of White womanhood were deployed to reproduce White patriarchal settler colonial norms (see Davis 1983; Dua 1999; Hooks 1981). This meant the surveillance and regulation of White women to ensure they would not procreate or engage in sexual relations with men 'of colour', although White

men's sexual access to women 'of colour', especially women of African descent (Davis 1983), was unfettered. In fact, given the centrality of the Black rapist mythology (Backhouse, 1991: 98; Davis 1983: 172) and Victorian ideology of pure White womanhood, Thompson points out that some of the harshest penalties for interracial mixing were directed to unions with White women and Black men (Thompson 2009: 364). These methods of policing interracial sexuality point to how the law and the state produced and regulated gender, race and heteronormative boundaries.

Currently, there are no legal prohibitions against race mixing, but there remains deep aversion in various communities though their reasons are not all the same nor on the same plane of significance. Despite latent opposition, recent data from Statistics Canada indicates the numbers of interracial unions are increasing and that within this increase White women and men 'of colour' are the leading edge of these numbers (Statistics Canada 2008: 16). Great care, however, must be taken not to conclude this is evidence of greater acceptance of these unions. Indeed, the increase in interracial unions is in absolute terms and there is no evidence the increase is statistically significant relative to the overall national population. Significantly, given what is known about the new or enlightened racism, few have conducted qualitative studies that elicit the experiences and stories of these couples.

Interracial coupling and multiculturalism

At present the rise in interracial coupling sits in the foreground of increasing rates of immigration and urbanization. With the increasing urbanization of Canada, cities will become dynamic locales for the development of cross-race interpersonal relationships. The results of the 2006 Census show that: in Quebec "Blacks" and Arabs are the largest "visible minority" groups; "visible minorities" in Canada surpassed the 5 million mark; more than half of all "visible minorities" live in Ontario; 3 in 10 "visible minorities" were born in Canada; and "visible minorities" were younger than the total population (Statistics Canada 2008). In Canada's major cities, therefore, one will find any number of the more than 200 ethno-racial groups. Throughout this immigration led demographic change the majority of Canadians will remain endogamous: some 13% or 3.1 million Canadians even express antipathy toward the prospect of marrying someone from another race and many White people are hesitant to have "visible minorities" marry into their families (Foster 2008:137).

At the same time also, enclave communities reflect a thinly veiled hostility toward interracial coupling found in mainstream society. Yet, the very forces that are making for interracial conflict are themselves spurring the numerical expansion of interracial unions. In fact, as interracial unions have grown over the past decade Whites have largely led this trend: 85% of the partners in interracial unions are European Canadians (Larose 2008). Following European Canadians, Japanese, Latinos, and African Canadians, respectively, are most likely to engage in interracial unions. Given that reports indicate interracial unions have grown by 35% between 2001 and 2006 (Milan and Hamm 2004), outstripping all other unions by 5 times (Statistics Canada 2008), even those who balk at the prospect of themselves intermarrying are likely to have relatives who have. Importantly, interracial couples are more likely to have tertiary education suggesting colleges and universities are spaces beyond parental and enclave community regulation. Thus growing urbanization and growing racial diversity, while representing factors for racial conflict, are also the context in which cross-racial alliances are more likely to occur.

Even with the increasing numbers, interracial unions are still a minority of all intimate unions in Canada, the US and elsewhere in the Americas. While their statistical percentage of all unions is small – 3.2% in Canada[iii] versus 2.2% in the US (Milan and Hamm, 2004) – their symbolic importance as a perceived measure of integration (Zebronski 1999: 123) and multiculturalism (Milan and Hamm 2004)

far outweigh their number. Yet, interracial unions stand in an ambivalent societal location. On one hand their existence is trumpeted as evidence Canadian society has passed the litmus test for public 'tolerance' and that integration policies are successfully reducing racial antagonism. On the other hand these unions are discomforting for many in the communities from which the partners are drawn (Deliovsky 2010). To explain this paradox we have borrowed Herbert Marcuse's (1965) phraseology of "repressive tolerance". Our usage of Marcuse's terminology has nothing of his complex and counter-intuitive theory on political liberation. Rather, we suggest that despite the very public celebration of the increase in interracial unions repressive tolerance aptly describes a lived contradiction in the public and private lives of Canadians. If we are to make sense of the experiences and perceptions of partners in interracial unions, we need to theorize how they are situated in the nation's imaginary.

As we use it, the concept of repressive tolerance reflects Erica Chito Childs' observation that despite the increase in the interracial unions opposition remains and is encoded in colour blind language (2004). Our usage of this concept in part draws on Rima Berms-McGown's observation that while 'tolerance' is not without merit, in the context of a deeper form of multiculturalism it is less than desirable. She contends multiculturalism has a self-reinforcing discursive and practical power reality that: a) creates a differentiated hidden/unnamed centre ("we") and a visible/named periphery ("you"); b) assumes an air of White self-congratulatory moral superiority in "putting-up-with" with the Others racial 'difference'; and c) implies a recognition of the racial Other that is conditional upon their appropriate performance of implied behaviours (Berms-McGown 2007:9). We agree that multiculturalism presents a paradox in its lived reality. At a symbolic level, the discourse promotes practices of ethno-racial group maintenance and celebration of difference that easily transit into group siloing. Simultaneously at the level of political culture, multiculturalism aims toward producing a unified social domain wherein group plurality and social intercourse maintains the status quo of capitalism, patriarchy and White supremacy (Bannerji 2000). The aim of the latter is to pacify and wield the difference of the racial Other into a workably pluralistic ethno-racial democracy in which group boundaries are porous, never solidifying into enmity since the principles of equality, fairness and opportunity applies to all ethno-racial groups.

We suggest that while Berms-McGown critique apprehends the paradoxical nature of multiculturalism, her account would not have full application to the experience of interracial unions. The reason is that the 'host'/'Other' and us/them Manichaeism extends beyond whiteness to include the ways in which racially marginalized communities enact repressive strategies aiming to enforce their particular group boundaries. Repressive tolerance assumes that all ethno-racial groups are perceived to benefit from 'tolerance' and are themselves committed to it as a fundamental principle. The irony is that the us/them phenomenon becomes generalized throughout the society as ethno-racial groups struggle to maintain their distinctiveness while celebrating each others' difference. The reality is that the institutionalization of pluralistic ethno-racial social intercourse has the effect of *legitimating* personal intimacy between ethno-racial group members who take this principle at face value. Just because the political culture may legitimate the possibility of cross-racial intimacy it does not mean that ethno-racial groups want to normalize such unions. Moreover, ethno-racial group members/families frequently operationalize covert and overt repressive practices. Existentially, for all groups concerned, interracial unions stand as signs of the transgression of group boundaries and norms. Thus, interracial couples are, in effect, evidence that the identities central to imagined communities (see Anderson 2006) can both melt and slip away into new and (temporarily) uncontrolled formations.

In going beyond the White/Other dialectic, we can account for the examples of a Greek father who hired hit-men to kill his daughter's African Canadian fiancée (Deliovsky 2010), White relatives

who burnt a cross on the lawn of their extended family member married to an African Canadian man (CBC News 2010) and a South Asian father who killed his daughter for dating a young White man (Bains 2005). That repressive tolerance is practiced by all ethno-racial groups in Canada does not, however, suggest its meaning is uniform for all groups nor does it reinforce power equally. Conceivably, the history of White settler colonialism, the democratization of whiteness and the whitening of the vertical mosaic grants repressive tolerance, as practiced by any White ethno-racial group, the capacity to reproduce and deepen White power; hence, the significance of interracial couples, particularly Black men/White women as an important sample in racial profiling research. What is significant here is that because White supremacy *is* the dominant supremacy, repressive tolerance will bear heavily on negatively racialized groups with a longer history of defamation in the Eurocentric cultural imaginary. If the thesis of repressive tolerance seems counter to reality, we suggest it is because in the wider political culture interracial couples are a litmus test for ethno-racial pluralism. Moreover, because interracial couples have not been asked about their experiences in the context of multiculturalism's paradox there is little understanding of the meaning they give to racial profiling and instances of repressive tolerance.

Sample, methodology and theoretical framework

As researchers move to develop new methodologies that apprehend the nuances of racial profiling, it will be important to examine its effects on victim populations. Moreover, under the condition of repressive tolerance, racial profiling may further add to the stresses experienced by interracial couples. This research on racial profiling is a nascent attempt to account for the awareness, perspectives and experiences of the individuals in interracial unions with White partners. It is also an exploration into how gender, race and other social inequities inform these perspectives and experiences and how particular combinations of interracial couples may report similar or differing experiences with racial profiling. In the summer of 2009, we conducted in-depth qualitative interviews with 10 heterosexual interracial couples in three southern Ontario cities. We used purposive sampling to locate a diverse range of interracial couples[iv]. For each couple we required one partner to be of European descent. The latter was important for this pilot study for three reasons. First, given the purpose of racial profiling is to aggrandize White supremacy, we imagined a greater probability of finding couples who experienced racial profiling in cases where the woman was White and their partners' men 'of colour'. Second, and here the Hawthorn effect must be fully considered, polls have found 68% of White Torontonians believe the police are biased against "racial minorities" (Wortley 2008) and in the US 81% of White peoples said they disapproved of racial profiling (Gross 2007: 52). Finally, we imagined that by virtue of their participation in an interracial union White interracial partners may be more likely to have high degrees of racial literacy and genuinely oppose racial profiling. Among the White participants we wanted both men and women. While we did not imagine White partners would experience racial profiling, given our discussion of the gendered nature of repressive tolerance that White women would more likely be in situations to witness racial profiling. Among the participants 'of colour' we sought men and women from one of the Statistics Canada census group, for example: Black, Aboriginal[v], Chinese, South East Asian, Latin American, Arab etc. The couples' ages range from 19 to 73. The objective for this broad range was to capture longitudinal distinctions in how couples experienced racial profiling. We sought interviewees from diverse socio-economic backgrounds and educational levels.

The interviews were transcribed, coded and contextually analyzed to arrive at the following themes: a) men 'of colour' and critical engagement with racial profiling; b) men 'of colour' and provisional concurrence; c) perspectives and experiences of White males; d) perspectives and experiences of women 'of colour'; e) perspectives and experiences of White women. The analysis was grounded in critical race and feminist theory. Both formulations use narrative as a tool to uncover systems of racial and gender power and inequity. They offer a critique of contemporary social structures through historically grounded analyses of society and the law and they hold that gender does not act independently of race and class. These theories contextualize oppressive relations and appreciate their multi-dimensionality in creating marginalization and privilege. This multifaceted theoretical orientation is important because it allows us to apprehend that within interracial unions with White partners are lived experiences, world views and social positions that are simultaneously dominant and oppositional. Indeed, in terms of class, gender, race, colonialism and imperialism the partners in these relationships embody different social and historical trajectories.

Men 'of colour' and critical engagement with racial profiling

Among the research participants the news media played an important role in shaping their understanding of racial profiling. This should not be surprising since some 95% of the public's information on any aspect of the criminal legal system and its processes is derived from the news media (Visano 1998). For some participants, though, the media's pedagogic function was less so educative than providing a vocabulary with which to name their experience. In other words they did not learn from the news media what their experience, and in some cases their parental socialization, had not already taught them – that as negatively racialized persons they may be treated with suspicion. This was the case for the Cambodian and all African Canadian males in our study.

Roger, the most senior of our research participants, for instance pointed out he first became aware of the term racial profiling and particularly "driving while black" through reading about the Kingston racial profiling study (Wortley 2005). News of Wortley's study resonates with Roger because he experienced racial profiling while working in New Brunswick in the mid-1980s – he was stopped and questioned under the pretext of mistaken identity. His other most salient experience came in 2005 when he and Diane, his partner, were to fly out of Buffalo airport to a southern destination. He recounts:

> I was the only Black man in the shuttle bus at customs and the only Black man getting on the plane at Buffalo Airport. Both times, they zeroed on me alone of all the other passengers. It was very uncomfortable. It didn't seem random to me.

The two other African Canadian males, Wayne and Albert, equally pointed to the pedagogical function of the news media to alert them to the term racial profiling. But, importantly, being Canadian born and their parents recounting experiences that were not dissimilar to that described by Roger, they had the benefit of their parents' and community providing "race-proofing" education (see Fordham 1988). As described by Fordham in the US context, race-proofing is where African American parents socialize their children to anticipate, indentify and respond to potential situations of individual and systemic racism.

In Wayne's case, this task was undertaken by his father who recounted experiences of job discrimination and the many times he was stopped by the police. Wayne's father drives high end cars

and based on his experience of being stopped frequently warned him to expect to be stopped also. He recalls "[m]y dad told us a lot about the discrimination he encountered in Jamaica and Canada and I think he did this to show us that although things like racial profiling exist it should not suppress you completely". In spite of his father's encouragement that educational and economic success is the antidote to racism, Wayne was paradoxically cautioned that material success might inspire White envy. Consistent with this, Wayne noted that in a number of the instances he was stopped he was asked: "whose car is this and what do you do?" Confronted with such questions Wayne contends, "[the police] see a Black person driving a nice car and maybe they get jealous". The frequency with which Wayne has been subject to pretext drug stops and searches served to normalize racial profiling as a part of his social experience. Nevertheless, he is frustrated at the routineness with which he and his eldest brother are stopped and their vehicles searched for drugs in what the police describe as "routine checks". Dismayed that his class privilege is a stimulus rather than a break on the criminalization of blackness, Wayne reports:

> I have no record. I have never been to jail. I only have one speeding ticket and that was like 2 years ago. I go to university. I'm going to go to med school…you wonder sometimes what else is there to do so you won't be judged by your colour.

Albert shares Wayne's conclusion that racial profiling is not about crime control but rather about the regulation of African Canadians. Coming from a middle class and professional background in which his parents confronted workplace racism, he contends that "racial profiling has its roots in fear. It's also based on a stereotype. For instance, a Black guy can't drive a six figure car without being a drug dealer". Albert did not describe any instance for which he was stopped and searched for drugs. When he was 12 years old, however, he and a friend were questioned by the police while they were at a bus stop. His friend was taken to the police station for being "mouthy". When Wayne described the incident to his parents: "they looked at each other and nodded their heads, 'oh ok', it was like they knew what happened but I had no idea". Although his parents did not name it racial profiling, Albert realized that blackness was a stimulus for police attention.

Throughout his adolescent life, Albert was reminded by his parents to behave in a manner that was beyond reproach, especially with White girls. The explicit message was that he was already criminalized by his race and so it would take little for him to be subject to undue surveillance and punishment for a sexual offence. His parents' chief concern was less about his being stopped by police and more about the regulation of African Canadian male sexuality. The implied message was that dating White girls had risks. While Albert did not take the myth of the Black rapist too seriously, he was forced to rethink the merits of his parents' wisdom on a visit to a city in Michigan. He describes that while he and his partner Amelia were in a shopping mall looking for a parking spot, they were flashed by a cruiser requiring them to stop. Albert describes his epiphany of feeling sick in his stomach when he said to himself: "Oh my God. I think they pulled me over because I have her in the car". Albert is convinced that while racial profiling exists, he is unwilling to judge all police officers by the conduct of a few. Nonetheless, he is concerned that racial profiling prevents police from seeing African Canadians as people first and criminals second. For Albert the key issue is, "how can [the police] build partnerships with people who [they] are…branding as criminals?"

Ang, one of the two Asian Canadians in the study, also regarded the term 'racial profiling' as a discourse that allowed him to name his experiences. He describes coming from a poor Cambodian immigrant family that struggled with social exclusion and lacking the Canadian interpersonal networks

that would advance their social integration. Unlike Wayne and Albert, however, who were middle class and emanated from an African diasporic culture that long developed race proofing as a response to White supremacy, Ang was not provided an a *priori* critical race vocabulary. This absence, however, did not detract from the fact that the term 'racial profiling' described experiences with law enforcement to which he says "I am immune… I am, just like, 'this is normal'". While the term 'racial profiling' was relatively new to him, Ang pointed out that he has been treated unfairly by the police and others in the criminal legal system because of his race.

Ang's first encounter with the police is possibly the worst of all kinds for any child, not least a young immigrant child of 10. He did not consider this first encounter with the police an example of racial profiling in the strict sense that we describe above. He did, however, believe the profile of the poor immigrant Asian male youth as "up to no good" was the reason why he was treated so harshly. He recounts being surprised by two police officers as he and a friend were playing with matches in a school yard near their home. Hand cuffing the boys, the officers placed the 10 year olds in the cruiser despite protests from a number of Cambodian adults. Petrified that the police were going to kill them, Ang was no more relieved when the police drove them to a creek only to backhand them in the head and give them a stern warning not to play with matches. "From then on" Ang states, "I never viewed cops as law abiding citizens".

When he began high school, Ang became labeled a gang member by the police and later placed on a gang registry. Ang believes his troubles with the law not only derive from minor illicit activities but also from the fact that racial profiling played an important part in his various apprehensions. What frustrates Ang and his partner Vesna, however, is not only the frequency with which they have been stopped, but that the police approach their vehicle with guns drawn merely to check their identification. They are also upset that because Ang's whereabouts and that of his friends are under surveillance, this has given undercover police occasion to enter their home – on at least two occasions without warrant. Crucially, Ang argues that despite getting involved in what he describes as "shady business in the past" it does not alter that his experiences "involve racial profiling from the get-go". For Ang, as he says, "the reality of…racial profiling" begins with stereotype that poor Asian kids are up to no good.

Whereas the foregoing men had direct experiences with law enforcement that they placed in the domain of racial profiling, Joseph, a Pakistani man, recounted no instance in which he felt subjected to racial profiling. An extensive traveler, Joseph does not class the few times he was questioned by airport security in Canada and abroad as fitting within the frame of racial profiling. Despite the fact Joseph has not perceived being a victim of racial profiling, he is both aware of and strongly opposed to the practice. Like the other men 'of colour' above, Joseph finds no justification for racial profiling. In point of fact, he denounced the practice as unfair and unworkable. With the exception of Roger, he and the others noted above contend that racial profiling subsidizes the reduced detection of European Canadians males who sell drugs and engage in other illicit activities.

Men 'of colour' and provisional concurrence

Jason and Gamal's perceptions and accounts of their experiences with racial profiling struck a sharply discordant note from the other men 'of colour'. Neither of them denied the existence of racial profiling but rather assented to the practice. This was not a blanket and uncritical assent, though. Both men articulated clear rationales for their position and stipulated that their due process rights ought to limit dehumanizing searches. Both also believed the right to be released, if their detention was found to be

unlawful (*habeas corpus*), would logically and rationally prevail. This strategic submission to the loss of civil liberties we call 'provisional concurrence'.

While both men consented to racial profiling and believed others in their community should also, they articulated two precise rationales for advocating compliance. First, they posited that regardless of the discriminatory nature of racial profiling, it had the benefit of removing from their communities and society individuals allegedly involved in wrongdoing. Second, though logically at odds with the foregoing, they believed racist stereotypes of their respective community would be tempered by the rational observation that while some in their communities engage in illicit conduct, most do not. As a consequence of these rationales, they were personally willing to be subjected to racial profiling – with the proviso that they be treated with dignity, respect and released if no evidence is found to warrant their detention.

There is an important distinction in how Gamal and Jason came to provisionally concur with racial profiling. For Gamal, the issue is that as an immigrant compliance with perceived Canadian norms demonstrates his allegiance to his new home country. For Jason, on the other hand, the concern is to express Canadianness by rejecting the stereotype of Asian 'clannishness'. As an immigrant from Morocco, Gamal freely admits everyday racism may be directed at him. Yet, without denying racism he admits he may simply be missing the cues. Partially for this reason racial profiling is an academic matter largely discussed in the news media. He says, "With the police it has never happened to me. In Canada, I have never been stopped or asked to prove who I am". Even if he is stopped on the basis of a racial profile, Gamal believes this would be a minor inconvenience relative to his experience with police officers in Morocco. There, he points out, police do not stop individuals because of their colour. Rather, due to curfews and state crack-downs on dissent police power can be arbitrary, brutal and corrupt. Relative to Morocco, then, Gamal is relieved that in Canada he may walk freely without being conscious of having identification on him, though he does not.

Interestingly, Gamal contends for him racial profiling is a minor inconvenience. He believes, however, Canadian born Muslim youth are not likely to see things his way: "I do not expect a Canadian Muslim who is born here to respond to things like racial profiling like I would. We share the same religion, to some extent, but we do not share the same experiences in other areas of life". Gamal's central point and concern is that racial profiling is a double-edged sword – it may appease the public and serve the state's national security interests, but the homogenization of the Arabs as a terrorists will breed resentment at home and abroad. With measures such as racial profiling he adds, "The West is sowing seeds of hatred in these kids". Canadian born Muslim youth are not likely to make comparisons with policing in Morocco and elsewhere in the Islamic world. Gamal is concerned that racial profiling will send the message they are not accepted as Canadians.

For his part, Jason welcomes racial profiling as a test of his uprightness as a law-abiding citizen but also he advocates the application of the practice more broadly to other Asian males. He purports this broad application will have the inclusive effect of reducing crime while compliance will, overtime, reduce the need for racial profiling by winnowing out Asians who commit offences. Jason held the optimistic outlook that racial profiling will run its course and reason will prevail over moral panic about the racial Other. He argued that racial profiling is justifiable and workable because, although it is based on stereotype, it must have some basis in fact. Jason reasons that because some members of negatively racialized groups engage in illicit activities, this on probability is just cause for the use of racial profiles. Using 'terrorism' as an example, he contends by way of an actuarial assumption:

> So let's say nuclear weapons, or terrorism or things like that are involved in a situation and…there is a greater percentage of people in that group who would let's say bring a bomb… and [commit] a terrorist act. Wouldn't you strengthen the border, and pay particular close attention to the people with those connections? It would make sense to me.

In taking this position, however, Jason does not exclude himself from falling under suspicion if it is believed that, for example, some Chinese males are drug dealers. In this instance, he places higher priority on the enforcement of law rather than the substantial loss of civil liberty that an entire group would suffer. He states,

> If there are people of my age or my race that were coming over with drugs and this would be affecting our youth or my children, yes I don't mind; absolutely pull those guys over, because they shouldn't be doing that.

His chief caveat though, is that like Gamal, his person and *habeas corpus* rights are respected.

The perspectives and experience of White males

As we expected, we did not have any White men that experienced racial profiling in Canada or elsewhere in their travels. They were not, however, uniform in their views on racial profiling and racial discrimination. Two of the three men, Andrew and Goran, were not only aware of racial profiling but maintained it is was unworkable, ineffective, racist and an unjustified abrogation of the civil liberties of marginalized groups. Like the men 'of colour' who were critical of racial profiling, Andrew and Goran argued that White men are the beneficiaries of white skinned privilege and this reduces their surveillance burden. For example, pointing to themselves as beneficiaries of this privilege, they noted their partners, Anne and Nira and the communities of which they are a part, have fallen under the gaze of White suspicion.

Andrew in particular, agreeing with Nira's contention that racial profiling constitutes a mode of power that personally and socially disables its targets, noted that "Middle Eastern men have joined Black, Aboriginal men and others as a kind of a main target" for racial profiling. He was concerned that the same principle that justifies racial profiling and its abrogation of civil liberties is based on a similar logic that sees the West "going into a country and killing half a million people… it isn't worth it". On grounds of its futility in Western led wars in Muslim countries abroad, Andrew was not hopeful for the prospects of racial profiling at home. Goran like Andrew concludes that racial profiling is not only civilly and morally wrong, he felt it adds to social conflict because "it will turn people against one another. They will have no social solidarity with one another".

John's perspective on racial profiling differed markedly from Andrew and Goran's views. His views closely approximated Jason's actuarial assumption. A key distinction for John, however, was that racial profiling should be based on crime rates and 'crime mapping'. In taking an actuarial approach, John suggested targeted policing would apply to a particular urban geography and criminal profile in which race and dress styles are criteria for suspicion. Assuming the effectiveness of 'crime mapping', John believed racial profiling would be one tool, among others, at the disposal of law enforcement in the fight against crime. John's one caveat, though, is that racial profiling does not justify police brutality, such as with the beating of Rodney King by LAPD officers.

While all three men consistently demonstrated competence in their articulation of racial literacy,

their perspectives on racial profiling revealed an important distinction in their understanding of how racism works. The potential of John's racial literacy was undermined by his uncritical acceptance that criminal and racial profiles can be delinked and that the latter does not saturate the former. His account shared much in common with Jason and Gamal and largely rested on the assumptions that racial profiling has a logical terminus and it does not justify institutional abuses of authority. For their part, Andrew and Goran shared much in common with men 'of colour' who critically rejected racial profiling. The level of their racial literacy was such that they contended racial profiling would not only lead to counter-intuitive consequences, but also provide a justification for the police to practice racial discrimination in the guise of law enforcement.

The perspectives and experiences of women 'of colour'

Among women 'of colour', awareness, perceptions and experience differed markedly. Although neither of the women had any harrowing experiences with law enforcement as described by some of the men 'of colour', two of the three described experiences that fit the criteria for racial profiling. For all three women, the media was their chief source of awareness rather than parents who attempted to 'race proof' them. Anne for example, a Canadian born woman of Caribbean heritage, had at least two experiences that might qualify as "shopping while Black". Interestingly she did not append the label of racial profiling to these experiences. Importantly, she noted her parents did not raise her or her sisters with a race-proofing discourse that might have enabled a more cogent discourse on racism.

Nira, a woman of Turkish heritage, who lived in Germany before taking up residency in Canada and is now a PhD candidate, had little reluctance to define her experience at Munich airport as an instance of racial profiling. Here the crucial issue is how the comparative privilege conferred on Andrew and her daughter illuminated her differential treatment:

> In terms of racial profiling after September 11, I experience this every time at the airport as a woman. One time, we stopped over in Munich when we were going to Turkey. They did not even look at Andrew and my daughter's which were Canadian passports. The guy looked at my passport, every page and looks up… tries to see if it is fake. That is racial profiling.

Nira extends racial profiling to a broader range of social experiences than law enforcement. For her racial profiling is a production of "larger social perceptions". She contends that while racial stereotypes contain a kernel of truth, it "gets out of hand and becomes the whole picture telling us what a group of people are like". For Nira, law enforcement cannot be founded on half-truths. Instead, she sees in racial profiling a tool of racial domination that enables the majoritarian culture of whiteness to use stereotypes and discrimination as weapons to "put the person who is profiled into the position of being disempowered and disabled. They can't do anything about it".

Jennifer, a woman of South East Asian descent, reported no experience with racial profiling. She did report, however, that while travelling in the wake of the 2001 asymmetrical attacks in the US, her brother was frequently subjected to searches at airports. Beyond this, she describes experiences of feeling racially Othered in her home city and middle class neighbourhood; both of which are overwhelmingly White though there is increasing demographic change. In response to being mistaken for her children's nanny and to signal she is not out of place, she is conscious about using middle class styles of dress that would modulate her racial difference.

Perspectives and experiences of White women

Of all the participants in this study, White women shared a striking number of characteristics in common even when they're perspectives and experiences differed. The first of these commonalities relate to 'colour blind' ideology and how their experiences as partners and parents in an interracial family contradicted this view. Colour blind ideology can be understood as the belief that race is no longer a salient issue because post-civil rights progress renders racism a thing of the past (Sweeney, 2008). For most of the women, as a consequence of their vicarious experience with racism directed at their partners and children, 'colour blindness' gave way to France Winddance Twine calls "racial literacy" (2004). The women who demonstrated a complex and critical appraisal of racial profiling also narrate an evolution of consciousness paralleling their attainment of higher education. Finally, the partners of the men of 'colour' who provisionally accommodated themselves or were not concerned about being racially profiled demonstrated the highest level of anxiety about the impact of racial profiling on their partners and children.

For the White women who became aware of racial profiling, or, were able to name it when witnessing it, this was an act of becoming consciously aware of and naming racism, White privilege and the experience of repressive tolerance. An aspect of this consciousness meant becoming aware of and questioning 'colour blind' ideology or rejecting it altogether so that White privilege could be challenged. To be sure, not all of the White women in our sample fully transitioned into this on-going stance of awareness. Here, Diane is a stand-out. Despite contradictory evidence, she held onto the mystique of colour blindness and in the process undermined Roger's accounts of racism and racial profiling saying that he was "sometimes overly sensitive".

Elise's socialization stood in stark contrast to that of Diane's. She was raised to believe in social and racial equality. But, her family's negative reaction to her marrying Jason because of his Asian heritage revealed to her that 'colour blindness' was a myth. Now estranged from her father and brother, she is also doubtful of continued contact with her sister because of her proclivity for using racial slurs, Elise points out her parents promoted a rhetoric of tolerance for others but "[it] turned out they did not actually mean it". Also, expressions of negative societal reaction to her union attuned her to the ways in which racial profiling constitutes a form of White privilege that is subsidized by a preoccupation with the criminalization of the Other. Elise reasoned this was not only unfair and unjust, but also that the exemption of White people from suspicion undermined more effective public safety measures such as random searches.

 Despite Elise taking a different position on racial profiling to her partner Jason, she understands that what we term 'provisional accommodation' is a survival technique for him. And, while she believes he is eminently capable of handling himself in a situation of racial profiling she does not believe he would be so sanguine if his children were subject to the same behaviour. For her part, should her children be subject to racial profiling, she remarks "that would make me very angry".

Like Elise, Amelia was raised with the discourse of colour blindness. Her family, however, raised no serious objections to her relationship with Albert. In fact, her father, an Italian immigrant who experienced significant discrimination as a youth in Northern Ontario, more than tolerated Albert, he fully embraced him. Having initially accepted the discourse of 'colour blindness', vicariously experiencing racial profiling and now confronting issues having to do with navigating the racial identity of their son, Amelia is open to exploring issues of racism and whiteness: "I am just beginning to become aware of racism. And, it does kind of scare me".

Elizabeth shares in common with Elise a partner who provisionally welcomes racial profiling. Elizabeth, however, does not share Gamal's sanguine view on racial profiling. She points to three central reasons why this is the case. First of these is her appreciation that Gamal's identity as a new immigrant does not predispose him to make the same civil liberty claims as someone born in Canada. Elizabeth's concern for Gamal centers on the experience of Maher Arar who was subjected to 'extraordinary rendition' by the US with the consent of CSIS. Though they have yet to cross into the US together she imagines that if they do and are detained in ways that appear consistent with racial profiling she says that "I would not be as patient as him. I could imagine us doing a border crossing and my getting very angry and upset quite quickly and him not".

Elizabeth was concerned, in part, around how gender and masculinity might be articulated in racial profiling. Citing the movie "Crash", where White police officers dehumanized an African American man by fondling his wife, tempting him to offer some resistance, she theorized that racial profiling might enable White men to regulate the sexuality of White women and men 'of colour'. While Gamal had no tales to tell of racial profiling, Elizabeth's prior marriage to a Nigerian man and having two children with him radically shaped her awareness and perspective of racial profiling. She describes, while with her former partner, being stopped, their identity checked, and sent on their way without being ticketed on a number of occasions. She is particularly concerned that her teenage son's experience with being racially profiled in school continues with police and airport security who label him as a drug trafficker.

Like Elizabeth, Deborah is concerned for her partner; particularly where international travel is concerned. For his part, Joseph's concern was initially stimulated by the post September 2001 moral panic; but with time and having travelled to the US without incident his personal concerns have waned. Rather than direct experience, the Western reaction to the asymmetrical attacks on the US and the Arar case are Deborah's points of reference. She remains concerned for Joseph, in part because of his Pakistani heritage and also because of her professional experience with the courts and the police: "I am concerned in Canada for how he may be treated by the cops. I just know too many cops who are morons". More prosaically, she points out that whereas she and other White women in the women's assault movement have and continue to critically confront their "invisible knapsacks of white privilege", she believes the courts, Crown and the police are demonstrably resistant to anti-racist and diversity education and training that may eliminate or reduce the use of racial profiling. Her concerns, however, are not only professional and for Joseph but also for her youngest son, who she describes as both "the darker skinned" "and also…the mouthiest…" of her children.

As opposed to other women in our sample (excluding Diane) who were raised with the rhetoric of "colour blindness", Vesna and Dina received subtle and overt messages from their families and communities which disparaged interracial unions and criminalized people 'of colour'. For example, upon learning of Vesna's pregnancy her father replied "you are carrying a monkey in your stomach…I am never going to talk to you again if you have this baby". His central rationalization rested on the proposition that "Cambodians are worse than Black people" and hence more criminogenic. Because in Vesna's experience repressive tolerance and the criminalization of Asians were closely linked, she believed racial profiling was but one manifestation of a wider pattern of discrimination she encountered because of her participation in an interracial union.

Unlike Vesna, Dina had the benefit of some family members coming around to accept Jason though they were vehemently opposed at the start. That said, she remains estranged from her father who insisted that "you are going to marry…a Serbian man. That is the way it is, the way it was, and the way it should be". Dina does not, however, connect her experience with repressive tolerance to the discourse

and practice of racial profiling. Her conception of racial profiling is, instead greatly informed by her experience as a criminology student and her own experience with being with Wayne when he was racially profiled by campus police. In our sample, racial literacy or the absence thereof seemed to determine White women's understanding of racial profiling and not whether their spouses described being racially profiled.

Conclusion

Gender and race, but class in more subtle ways, played defining roles in the participants' perceptions and experiences of racial profiling. These perceptions and experiences were in no way racially uniform. For example, there was provisional concurrence with racial profiling from one White, one Asian and one Arabic male. In none of these cases though was racial profiling condoned *cart blanche*. These participants emphasized that due process rights must be strictly adhered to and that actuarial assumptions and 'crime mapping' would enable criminal profiling to trump racial profiling. Interestingly, the majority of the White men in this study concurred with the men 'of colour' who opposed racial profiling on two important points: racial profiling was perceived as a racial subsidy for White men and that it provoked racial antagonism. Whereas all the White men were aware of how racism impacted their partners, none experienced the phenomenon of what Deliovsky calls "stigma transference" (2002), which is the spoiling of the White partner's social identity because of their intimate association with a negatively racialized individual (Goffman 1963). On the other hand for White women with men 'of colour' stigma transference is a racially gendered directive to regulate their sexuality in service of whiteness and patriarchy (Deliovsky 2010).

Among our participants, educationally accomplished White women seemed cognizant of the duality of White privilege and racial oppression and how their choice of racial partner compounded gender oppression by casting them out of the White "fold". Their narratives suggest there are multiple reasons for their awareness. In part, for those with a strong anti-oppression discourse, they were able to make parallels between gender and racial oppression. In many instances, witnessing their partners' being racially profiled or discriminated against made them thoughtful about what their partners or children may experience. In addition to stigma transference, those White women exposed to post-secondary education and anti-oppression workshops had a language that enabled a critique of the implications of racial profiling for themselves, their families and society.

A question arises as to why women 'of colour' in our sample had the little to say about explicit experiences with racial profiling. There are a variety of reasons for this. First, this is a pilot study and the sample is small. Second, we did not have poor and working class women in our sample. This is important given the criminalization of poverty. And, third, criminality in the public imagination is associated with men 'of colour' thus criminalizing stereotypes for women 'of colour' is more contingent on context, space and place. Hence, on their own, women 'of colour' might attract some degree of suspicion but depending on space and place, not on the order of danger and threat that surrounds the bodies of some men 'of colour'. In our study, the African-Canadian men and the Cambodian-Canadian man had the most consistent and stark experiences with racial profiling. For Wayne and Albert racial profiling was experienced irrespective of class. And, taking Rogers experience into account, it appears the more youthful our African Canadian sample was the more likely racial surveillance will occur. In view of the way that slavery has built a normative anti-African racial bias into the law, this experience suggests the long standing history of the criminalization of African men bears upon these contemporary experiences. With respect to Ang the image of Asian males as perpetual

'foreigners', aiming to take the jobs of White Canadians, and heavily involved in gangs and marijuana grow ops are the background factors through which to understand his experience.

Among our 10 participant couples, two couples felt singled out by law enforcement and security guards *because* they were an interracial couple. Key to this is that these couples were composed of young Black men and White women. Being targeted as a couple, however, was not a salient feature of their narratives. Rather, the major concern is that the male partners were persistent targets of racial profiling, racial discrimination and repressive tolerance.

Beyond racial profiling, however, all participants described one instance or another of repressive tolerance. The salient feature here is that White women who entered their unions with notions of racelessness developed discursive awareness of racism and White privilege. Very troubling, is that the young women of Eastern European heritage were the recipients of threats and punitive sanctions from their families and community. Our study indicates that while White participants articulated awareness of racism and racial profiling, and most opposed it, their level of consciousness and critical analysis varied. Some believed they would have demonstrated this critical awareness even if they were not with partners 'of colour'. Yet, most held beliefs of 'colour blindness' before entering into their unions and were disabused of this notion only as they were witness to incontrovertible instances of racism and racial profiling. All the partners in our study related instances in which family members or others in society expressed mild disapproval, threatened physical violence and discriminated against them. Most couples, however, seemed unable to resolve the contradiction between multiculturalism and the reality of their experiences.

The results of this study suggest the need for a larger participant pool that would include a broader range of interracial combinations, both with and without White partners. Future study should critically explore the narratives of men 'of colour' who provisionally accommodate themselves to both the discourse and practice of racial profiling. Further study will appreciate that while racial profiling is salient for some individuals other forms of discrimination more profoundly affects the couples' everyday lives. Additionally, further study should lead to deeper examination of how the experiences of interracial couples are at odds with the notion that their unions are evidence of the triumph of multiculturalism. Our data suggests that beyond racial profiling our analysis would benefit from examining and giving priority to the issue of repressive tolerance in the everyday lives of interracial couples.

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[i]   **End Notes**

[i] Racialization as defined by Miles properly describes being raced as a continuous process. The problem, however, is that being raced has differential and contingent terminals if one is the racial Other as opposed to the Occidental norm. Thus, racialization assumes a radical relativity that undermines whatever meaningful descriptive power the term may have. To leave racialization at the level of generic description reifies the universalism of whiteness as a default racial category. Thus, to ensure whiteness is not obfuscated the concept of racialization requires the prefix of "negative" or "positive" so that the provisional terminus and its attendant conditions of advantage and disadvantage can be named.

[ii]   Both quantitative and human survey qualitative data are based on the same factor: opinions and perceptions of a purposive audience. Hence, neither is more legitimate than the other. Those who repudiate the existence of racial profiling, however, contend qualitative racial profiling data are no more than "anecdotes" (Gold 2003; Melchers 2003). As such, "anecdotes" cannot approach the measure of science: that which is empirically verifiable as objectively real. So in attacking the evidentiary basis for racial profiling research – the narratives of those victimized by official stereotype, Alan Gold for example arrives at the conclusion that "anecdotes in bulk" (397) "violate…the most basic rules of scientific investigation"

(399). Yet, the same researchers who repudiate qualitative racial profiling data as mere "anecdote" are perfectly willing to presume purpose victimology anecdotes are scientific pronouncements on the reality of crime (see Gabor 2004).

[iii]   This number includes couples from "visible minority" groups as well as couples who are from "non-visible minority" groups and "visible minority" groups.

[iv]   All participants are Canadian citizens: 1. Chinese/Filipino man and English/German woman; 2. Bulgarian man and African Caribbean woman; 3. Scottish/English man and Turkish woman; 4. Pakistani man and Polish-Jewish woman; 5. English man and Indian woman; 6. Moroccan man and English woman; 7. Trinidadian man and English/French woman 8. Jamaican man and Italian woman; 9. Jamaican/Syrian man and Serbian Canadian woman; 10. Cambodian male and Croatian woman.

[v]   We arranged to interview two Aboriginal/White couples, but at the last minute these interviews fell through.

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