

# Fields of white: Critical social and spatial analysis in prairie geography

Lindsay V. Herman

Department of Geography and Planning, University of Saskatchewan

*In the Canadian prairies, where histories of colonization, European settlement and agrarian accomplishment dictate much of the region's cultural narrative, the normalization of whiteness may easily operate without acknowledgement or criticism. By contrast, anti-racist geography calls for the recognition of whiteness as the norm upon which non-white communities are marginalized and oppressed. Here, whiteness studies enable an evaluation of the colonization and racialization of non-white communities, and the manner through which this process reduces their access to opportunities and services. While whiteness studies in geography are growing in popularity across North America, the Canadian prairies offer a unique social, spatial and economic landscape, wherein lower concentrations of visible ethnic minority communities lead to the erasure of these group experiences in social and spatial evaluation. As non-white experiences are not monolithic, this discussion briefly examines the past and present experiences of Chinese-Canadian communities, living with whiteness as a norm. Through an evaluation of whiteness that incorporates both social exclusion theory and applies a lens of civil risk, this article calls for the necessity of critical, anti-racist geographic applications where many may least expect them—the prairies.*

Keywords: racism, civil risk, equality, prairie whiteness, Chinese-Canadian

## Introduction

Across the various subfields of geographic thought, the presence of critical social analysis in the form of anti-racist scholarship is increasingly influencing the manner through which social and spatial relationships are interpreted. Within the Canadian prairies, a series of marginalized groups exist, whereby intersecting experiences of 'race', 'gender', 'ability', sexual orientation and age further influence one's access to social and spatial opportunity. The experiences of these communities are spatially located, and whilst originating from a series of group histories (many of which host painful oppressions), diverge into socially constructed and situational relevance. This experience of group 'otherness' is developed through a series of functions, includ-

ing the social production of a normative group, and its power in defining rights of access and equality (Kobayashi and Ray 2000; Guess 2006). The lens through which geographers interpret the nature of social relationships is fundamental to the means whereby their spatial ramifications are understood. Subsequently, recognizing the continued nuances of these varied experiences within physical spaces, social life and institutional structures is key to fully interpreting the design and accessibility of urban prairie spaces. The following discussion highlights the importance of critical race analysis within what Noivo (1998) describes as a 'Euro-ethnic' landscape, and in the absence of large census metropolitan areas (CMAs) that traditionally receive the majority of Canada's non-white 'arrivant' communi-

This is an open access article under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution License, which permits use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

Correspondence to: Robert Baidoc, Department of Geography, Lakehead University, 955 Oliver Road, Thunder Bay, ON P7B 5E1 Email: rbaidoc@lakeheadu.ca

ties (Byrd 2014, 175). (Note: the term ‘arrivant’, popularized by American Indigenous studies and postcolonial researcher Jodi Byrd, is used here to distinguish the difference between both white and non-white immigrant communities to Canada, as well as between non-white Indigenous and immigrant communities). Beginning with a more thorough understanding of the nature of prairie ‘whiteness’, and further exploring the means through which equal opportunity and access are conceptualized, this discussion enables an evaluation of prairie Chinese-Canadian communities whereby it becomes clear that without a critical analysis of past and future social geographic work, the prairie cities of tomorrow will continue to foster unchecked oppressive landscapes for those outside of the constructed norm.

Despite the prevalence and intricacy of marginalized groups across the prairies, the following article will explore in more detail the manifestation of whiteness in prairie geography, and its implication for the ways in which prairie physical and social spaces are interpreted and experienced by non-white arrivant groups. Though this discussion seeks to emphasize the spatial and social impacts of whiteness upon the non-white arrivant demographic, it in no way aims to overlook or undermine the exceptional damage these geographies of oppression have placed upon Canada’s Indigenous communities (Kobayashi and Ray 2000). It is critical to recognize that the notion of whiteness as a cultural norm in the Canadian prairies is largely the result of decades of violent and oppressive colonization of Indigenous peoples, erasing both a dynamic past as well as modern rights to land and self-governance (Frideres 1985; Ponting 1998). The compounding ill effects of this colonialism, and its swift construction of whiteness as a Canadian norm have orchestrated extensive social and spatial harm to these communities (Frideres 1999; McLean 2013). Though the following discussion seeks to provide a critical analysis of the social and spatial relationships between non-white arrivants and the white settler narrative in Saskatchewan, it is important to note that several of the dynamics and societal norms discussed here remain grounded in historic and modern paradigms of colonialism and white ethnocentrism (Ponting 1998). However, fundamental to this analysis is the recognition that although the ill effects of whiteness harm both non-white arrivants and Indigenous communities, treating these experiences as parallel overlooks the past, current and future impacts of colonialism, Indigenous rights to land, the role of arrivant communities in continued colonial paradigms and inter-group racism. Regardless of the focus of this article, readers are encouraged to critically evaluate the influence of whiteness on a broad variety of groups, recognizing that the social and political environments from which these dynamics emerge are unique temporally, socially and spatially.

### **The significance of prairie whiteness**

An anti-racist approach to geography requires in many ways an interpretation of both the dominant group, here defined through whiteness, and the racialized other (Li 1998a, 1999a; Guess 2006). Unlike outdated approaches to race and ethnicity

that characterize phenotypic and genetic indicators as meaningful social and economic determinants, the following discussion utilizes social constructivism, a leading paradigm in anti-racist scholarship (Berger and Luckmann 1966; Jackson 1998; Guess 2006). Here, race and ethnicity are understood as the product of power dynamics between differing groups, whereby only those characteristics given social, economic and spatial meaning are subsequently associated as indicators of a particular group (Li 1999b). In effect, though biologically irrelevant, race and ethnicity maintain social meaning and are in this way very real characteristics of constructed social groups (Durkheim 1966). Despite extensive scholarship on the production and implications of race and ethnicity, only more recently has the study of whiteness itself as the norm upon which outside races and ethnicities are compared, received due geographic and sociological analysis (Bonnet 1997, 2000; Jackson 1998; Kobayashi and Peake 2000; Guess 2006; Baldwin 2012). It is important to note that while ethnic minority groups are often distinguished primarily on arbitrary physical characteristics, whiteness extends beyond skin tone, highlighting a racist ideology through which non-white communities are characterized as different and often subordinate to the conceptualized white norm (Dwyer and Jones 2000; Kobayashi and Peake 2000; Baldwin 2012).

In the context of the Canadian prairies, a critical evaluation of the function of whiteness as a norm is fundamental to interpreting the exclusion processes that operate through a distinction between the white and non-white binary. Beginning with the early and continual erasure of Indigenous histories and rights to land, this paradigm has further expanded to impact arrivant groups of non-Euro-ethnic decent. Social exclusion theory, a theoretical perspective gaining increasing relevance in the studies of spatial disadvantage, poverty and institutional access, provides a functional framework through which to interpret this dynamic (Church et al. 2000; Body-Gendrot 2002; Fangen 2010; Lucas 2012). Here, social exclusion is defined by Levitas et al. (2007, 9) as: “...the lack or denial of resources, rights, goods and services, and the ability to participate in the normal relationships and activities, available to the majority of people in a society, whether in economic, social, cultural or political arenas. It affects both the quality of life of individuals and the equity and cohesion of society as a whole.” This analytical tool supports the critical evaluation of either the individual or group experiencing social exclusion, as well as the broader normative society within which these individuals reside (Wang et al. 2012). In effect, social exclusion as a theoretical perspective works in tandem with whiteness scholarship, enabling an evaluation of the dominant group in society for its function in the exclusion of ‘colonized and racialized others’ (Byrd 2014, 176). In the Canadian prairies, this evaluation requires an understanding of the production of whiteness as a norm, conceptualizing how this phenomenon continues to play an operative role in the spatial and social exclusion of non-white arrivants, and evaluating the manner through which spatial distribution and historic trends have worked to exclude these communities from the cultural prairie narrative.

## The construction of whiteness in the Canadian prairies

The significance of prairie geographies of whiteness stem from both a more local history of settlement, colonialism and immigrant group narratives, as well as the global production of white privilege and normalization. Though ‘geographies of whiteness’—physical spaces that are structured or function through inherent notions and norms of whiteness—are growing increasingly familiar in the geographic field, localized histories and futurities remain key to a functional interpretation of their impact on diverse and spatially located groups (Bonnet 1997; Vanderbeck 2006; Baldwin 2012). For this reason, an analysis of prairie whiteness is an important and lacking addition to existing anti-racist scholarship. While much literature on Canadian pluralism emphasizes the urban spatialities of large CMAs (i.e., Vancouver, Toronto and Montreal), or of the nation as a whole, critical evaluation of whiteness and pluralism in small to mid-size prairie cities remains minimal (Bolaria and Li 1985; Anderson 1991; Henry and Tator 2006; Qadeer and Agrawal 2011; Burayidi 2015). Here, the reduced presence of non-white arrivants and less obvious forms of spatial segregation (i.e., fewer visible ethnic enclaves) fosters an ‘out of sight, out of mind’ dynamic that further validates the unchallenged notion of prairie whiteness. In contrast, this phenomenon, like all spatial trends, is rooted in both past and present social, political and institutional behaviour.

### Settlement history and the prairie normative

A brief examination of Canada’s colonialism, immigration patterns and legislation aids interpretation of the normalized whiteness of the prairies. Early settler communities in central Canada were more likely to populate in rural areas, particularly those coming from countries deemed valuable for their comparable agrarian climates. The colonization of the prairies that followed the arrival of these early groups established a region populated largely by settlers from European countries such as Germany, Ukraine and Poland, and the subsequent spatial segregation of existing Indigenous communities (Frideres 1985; Kalbach and Kalbach 1999). While a detailed history of European settlement across the prairies is outside the scope of this discussion, what remains of relevance to these patterns is the manner through which the prairie narrative was quick to ignore existing Indigenous communities, and to overcome cultural and ethnic distinctions between settling groups. Despite the clustering of like-immigrant communities across the prairies, ethnic distinctions between these groups entailed primarily unidirectional processes of language and cultural adaptations, and have been largely erased within an encompassing narrative of whiteness (Waters 1990; Noivo 1998). While modern white prairie dwellers may compare subtle differences in holiday traditions, cultural practices and family lineage, the narrative of whiteness enables these individuals the privilege of choosing which ethnic characteristics they desire to retain or value, and introduces little to no limitation to their inclusion within Canada’s dominant society (Waters 1990; Chappell et al. 2008).

By contrast, the settlement history of non-Euro ethnic Canadians demonstrates a far less fluid process of inclusion. Due to the overt discriminatory nature of Canada’s immigration legislation, the majority of non-Euro-ethnic immigrants arrived in Canada following the introduction of the 1967 Universal Points System (Bolaria and Li 1985). Though the histories of non-white immigrants in Canada pre-date many European groups, their narratives were diminished by political and social pressures and overt discrimination that led to the numerical restriction and spatial segregation of these groups. An examination of the Chinese-Canadian community helps inform this perspective. For example, after years of enforcing an increasing head tax on incoming Chinese migrants, the Canadian government introduced the Chinese Immigration Act in 1923 that completely banned the inflow of Chinese immigrants until its repeal following World War II (Bolaria and Li 1985; Li 1998b). Not only have such overt racisms harmed the social and economic status of visible minority groups such as the Chinese across Canada, but they have also helped to establish the belief that all non-white, non-Indigenous residents are recent immigrants to Canada. Where notions of property ownership and rights of belonging are used as the foundation for several Canadian civil rights, the perpetual nature through which whiteness paints non-white arrivants as foreign challenges their equal access to opportunity, services and economic success (Kobayashi and Ray 2000). For this reason, several scholars have noted their use of the term ‘Chinese-Canadian’ to define both recent Chinese immigrants and generations-old Canadians, as these individuals are largely treated equally by the remainder of Canadian society (Li 1998a). Here, whiteness enables the formation of a normalized group, and puts into question the social, political and economic legitimacy of those outside of it. These processes are amplified in the Canadian prairies, where the colonial narrative of agrarian development, struggle and prosperity excludes later arriving non-white immigrants.

## The social and spatial exclusion of visible ethnic minority groups

### Civil risk and equal rights

Since the introduction of Canada’s Universal Points Systems, and a series of nationwide initiatives to value mulled notions of multiculturalism and cultural pluralism, the face of racism towards non-white arrivants has begun to change (Li 1999a). While overt legislations such as the Chinese Immigration Act remain painful artifacts of Canada’s past, their lasting impacts and intersecting modern expressions of covert discrimination remain very real components of non-white arrivant life in the Canadian prairies (Bolaria and Li 1985; Zong and Perry 2011; Wang et al. 2012). The continued discrimination experienced by visible minority Canadians is complex, and intersects in nuanced ways with gender, sexual orientation, age and country of origin. As scholars have noted, the experiences of colonized and racialized communities in North America differ dramatically, largely due to their seeming similarities or departures from perceptions of

normative and idealized whiteness, as well as one's status as either a 'foreigner' or 'insider' to Canadian society (Waters 1990; Kim 1999). Phenomena such as inter-group racism, political focal points and international relations further complicate the experiences of non-white Canadians.

In an attempt to move beyond the whiteness binary of Canadian race and ethnic relations, this discussion recognizes the inappropriateness of treating all visible minority groups and their experiences as an equal polarity upon which whiteness is continually conceptualized. Though racism and discrimination are fundamental concepts of Canadian social and spatial relations, their nuances may be more appropriately interpreted through a theoretical lens that recognizes diversity in history, experience and access to services (Kim 1999). As an alternative to interpreting non-white experiences as monolithic, particularly between Indigenous and arrivant communities, Kobayashi and Ray's (2000) 'civil risk' helps to reorient the discussion away from formal equality principles that assume equal access is synonymous with equal opportunity and outcome. Here, civil risk allows for an examination of social conditions, whereby the "failure of human rights, brought about by institutional means...creat[es] disadvantages for marginalized social groups" (Kobayashi and Ray 2000, 402). Through this lens, Kobayashi and Ray call for social justice and scholarship motivated by individual and group risk, rather than perceived equal rights.

As anti-racist scholarship recognizes, one's experience with marginalization, here premised on non-white group membership, stands to dictate one's access to social, economic and political opportunity. This social truth contradicts popular Canadian 'rights' arguments founded upon conceptions of equality in terms of both opportunity and outcome. Where notions of multiculturalism and democracy stand to overlook the continued implications of racism on non-white lives, the Canadian narrative dictates a dismissal of the continued implications of whiteness (Henry and Tator 2006). By contrast, recognizing and critiquing whiteness as a norm enables an acknowledgement of the continued systemic oppressions faced by non-whites, particularly when visible minority groups, despite having obtained equal formal civil rights, continue to experience exclusion, discrimination and poverty (Kobayashi and Ray 2000). Once again, social exclusion theory may be applied to interpret how a failure to critique whiteness in social and spatial realms contributes to the disadvantage of non-white groups. As Kobayashi and Ray note, pluralist notions of justice remain at the core of mediating shared spaces, requiring that difference must be recognized and critically evaluated (2000, 414). In the Canadian prairies, this conversation begins with an acknowledgement of prairie whiteness, and its ability to overlook the injustices experienced by Indigenous and non-white arrivant groups.

### **Covert racism and modern non-white disadvantage**

While the legislative and overt expressions of racism that characterized the earlier half of the twentieth century began to diminish, and World War II taught many nations the dangers of

racialized discrimination, changes in the Canadian paradigm fostered a series of more covert expressions of racism (Bolaria and Li 1985). As discussed above, the realities of modern non-white Canadians vary in accordance to unique historical and modern experiences with discrimination, their level of perceived difference from normative whiteness and their subsequent civil risk. Despite this, an evaluation of the experience of Chinese-Canadians, in line with the aforementioned examples, highlights the dangers of whiteness for non-white arrivant prairie communities, spurring from an erased historical context as well as modern systems of white privilege.

Early institutional and overt racisms, in the form of legislative restrictions on immigration, employment and political activity of the Chinese community severely impeded the group's integration into early settler Canadian society (Li 1998a; Zong and Perry 2011). With initial waves of Chinese immigrants arriving largely in response to labour shortages surrounding the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, early anti-Chinese legislation was released to coincide with the completion of this project (Li 1998a). In addition to the aforementioned Chinese Immigration Act, these early communities were restricted from participating in a large majority of profitable economic ventures, resulting in a concentration of Chinese owned groceries, laundries and restaurants, and their subsequent poverty (Bolaria and Li 1985; Li 1998a). In addition to forced economic insularity, social discrimination towards Chinese-Canadian arrivants pushed early communities into spatial isolation, largely as a defence mechanism against the pervasive violence of Canadian whiteness. Despite entering Canada during a time of mass immigration and cultural diversity, a Eurocentric system of privilege and rights of access were already in place. While many Chinese-Canadians first arrived in Saskatchewan in an attempt to escape the discrimination and oppression they faced along Canada's west coast, existing prairie whiteness fostered a landscape no more welcoming. Here, in addition to continued social and economic segregation, Chinese arrivants faced further discriminatory legislation that would remove provincial and federal voting rights, and prohibit the employment of Caucasian women in Chinese owned businesses (Dawson 1991; Backhouse 1994). An application of social exclusion theory enables an understanding of the subsequent retention of Chinese cultural and language characteristics, not as inherent qualities of this group, but as the result of white ethnocentrism and paralleled non-white discrimination. In effect, cultural isolation and a reliance on internal group support systems have fostered Chinese-Canadian social and spatial segregation from dominant Canadian society, in both historic and modern contexts (Lee 1987; Chau and Lai 2011).

Despite a history of racialization of the Chinese-Canadian community that was initiated during a time where overt discrimination was normalized at both individual and governmental levels, its legacy has remained with the Chinese-Canadian community for generations to follow. Continued social, economic and political ramifications of this early discrimination, in addition to the erasure of Chinese-Canadian heritage from many Canadian—and particularly prairie—narratives enables this continued exclusion to appear as an inherent cultural characteristic of the

Chinese-Canadian community, as opposed to the result of normalized whiteness. Unfortunately, those who remain most distant from dominant cultural norms are often most distant from society's affluence and social services (Lee 1987). Language and cultural 'otherness' of Chinese-Canadians, especially within the group's older generations, have proven to exist at the cost of health, wellbeing, economic opportunity and social inclusion (Lee 1987; Butler et al. 1998; Lai 2004; Chappell et al. 2008; Hwang 2008; Chau and Lai 2011; Wang et al. 2012). In examining access to service provision and programming catered to Saskatchewan's Chinese-Canadian community, recognizing the group's isolation from various opportunities as a result of prairie whiteness, and not merely group preference or culture, is fundamental. Anti-racist scholarship enables a respect for the history, present and future of non-white arrivant groups, such as the Chinese-Canadian community, as well as an effective evaluation of their presence in social, physical and institutional spaces.

For geographers, a failure to recognize the manner through which prairie whiteness has, and continues to, impact the lives of visible ethnic minority groups stands to reduce the quality of scholarship in many ways. Firstly, without examining whiteness as a norm, geographers may fail to recognize the production of social and spatial ethnic communities as a defense mechanism against the discriminatory behaviours of the broader society (Anderson 1991). Further, geographers may over estimate the capacity of these communities to care for their more vulnerable members, interpreting the absence of non-white arrivants from health, financial and housing institutions as a sign of self sufficiency as opposed to an indicator of exclusion (Lee 1987; Chau and Lai 2011). Particularly in the prairie context, where ethnic enclaves are often less dramatic or established, the tendency to assume that non-white arrivant Canadians have the resources within their cultural communities to ensure the health and wellbeing of their residents exists at the detriment of these individuals. In other instances, geographers may be inclined to see the lack of large ethnic communities in prairie cities as an indicator of cultural assimilation and the reduction of a white/non-white binary. Here, without an appropriate understanding of non-white civil risk, geographers may further assume that equal access and opportunity to spatial and social initiatives will be equally beneficial to diverse residents of a community (Kobayashi and Ray 2000). Alternatively, recognizing that prairie whiteness stands to normalize and prioritize those who speak English or French as a first language, practice western religions, have Euro-ethnic names, and maintain physical indicators of group inclusivity (i.e., Euro-ethnic phenotypic characteristics) highlights the accompanying disadvantage for those who do not. If left unchecked, a failure to acknowledge the characteristics of whiteness as contributors to the exclusion of Canada's racialized and colonized communities may remain one of the largest detriments of prairie geography.

## Conclusion

Prairie geographers, in their evaluation, interpretation and production of space, must work to acknowledge the function of whiteness as a norm from which social and spatial situations are understood and acted upon. Whiteness impacts many strands of geographic research, and subsequently the lives of colonized and racialized individuals who stand to benefit from the product of these works. Without a critical awareness of whiteness as a norm, the exclusion of non-white communities from spaces, social organizations and institutions may appear as inherent or natural qualities of these groups. By contrast, applied lenses of social exclusion theory and civil risk enable geographers to identify the manner through which the activities, characteristics, and values of normalized whiteness function in the denial of opportunity to non-whites. While evaluations of whiteness grow in popularity across much of the field of geography, unique attention must be paid to the implications of prairie whiteness, where a colonial cultural narrative of agrarian and European history goes largely unchecked, impacting both the realities for Indigenous communities and non-white arrivants, as well as the dynamics within and between these groups. Geographers must recognize that the absence of well established non-white arrivant communities in many Canadian prairie cities may not be an indicator of equal opportunity or 'colour blindness', but instead of historic discriminatory legislation and of continued group marginalization that is overlooked due to less obvious spatial indicators. In the planning and development of prairie communities, critical anti-racist evaluation enables both questions of rights and ownership to land and space, while further empowering the development of institutional initiatives and social outreach programs through which geographers must acknowledge the continuing danger of an unchecked white narrative, and its capacity to disadvantage both colonized and racialized community members. To truly benefit the spaces of the prairies as a whole, anti-racism in geography must remain at the forefront of existing and upcoming scholarly and applied initiatives.

## References

- Anderson, K. J. 1991. *Vancouver's Chinatown: Racial discourse in Canada, 1875–1980*. Montreal, QC and Kingston, ON: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Baldwin, A. 2012. Whiteness and futurity: Towards a research agenda. *Progress in Human Geography* 36(2): 172–187.
- Backhouse, C. 1994. White female help and Chinese-Canadian employers: Race, class, gender and law in the case of Yee Clun, 1924. *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 26(3): 34–53.
- Berger, P. L., and T. Luckmann. 1966. *The social construction of reality*. New York, NY: Anchor Books Doubleday.
- Body-Gendrot, S. 2002. Living apart or together with our differences?: French cities at a crossroads. *Ethnicities* 2(3): 367–385.
- Bolaria, B. S., and P. S. Li. 1985. *Racial oppression in Canada*. Toronto, ON: Garamond Press.
- Bonnett, A. 1997. Geography, 'race' and whiteness: Invisible traditions

- and current challenges. *Area* 29(3): 193–199.
- . 2000. *White identities: Historical and international perspectives*. Harlow, UK: Prentice Hall.
- Burayidi, M. A. 2015. Cities and the diversity agenda in planning. In *Cities and the politics of difference: Multiculturalism and diversity in urban planning*, ed. M. A. Burayidi. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 3–27.
- Butler, R. N., M. I. Lewis, and T. Sutherland. 1998. *Aging and mental health: Positive psychosocial and biomedical approaches*. 5th ed. Needham Heights, MA: Allyn and Bacon.
- Byrd, J. A. 2014. Arriving on a different shore: US empire at its horizons. *College Literature* 41(1): 174–181.
- Chappell, N. L., L. McDonald, and M. J. Stones. 2008. *Aging in contemporary Canada*. 2nd ed. Toronto, ON: Pearson Prentice Hall.
- Chau, S., and D. W. L. Lai. 2011. The size of an ethno-cultural community as a social determinant of health for Chinese seniors. *Journal of Immigrant and Minority Health* 13(6): 1090–1098.
- Church, A., M. Frost, and K. Sullivan. 2000. Transport and social exclusion in London. *Transport Policy* 7(3): 195–205.
- Dawson, J. B. 1991. *Moon cakes in Gold Mountain: From China to the Canadian plains*. Calgary, AB: Brush Education.
- Durkheim, E. 1966. *The rules of sociological method*. New York, NY: Free Press.
- Dwyer, O. J., and J. P. Jones III. 2000. White socio-spatial epistemology. *Social & Cultural Geography* 1(2): 209–222.
- Fangen, K. 2010. Social exclusion and inclusion of young immigrants: Presentation of an analytical framework. *Young* 18(2): 133–156.
- Frideres, J. 1985. Native people. In *Racial oppression in Canada*, ed. S. Bolaria. Toronto, ON: Garamond Press, 33–60.
- . 1999. Altered states: Federal policy and Aboriginal peoples. In *Race and ethnic relations in Canada*, ed. P. S. Li. Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 116–147.
- Guess, T. J. 2006. The social construction of whiteness: Racism by intent, racism by consequence. *Critical Sociology* 32(4): 649–673.
- Henry, F. 2006. *The colour of democracy: Racism in Canadian society*. Toronto, ON: Thomson Nelson.
- Hwang, E. 2008. Exploring aging-in-place among Chinese and Korean seniors in British Columbia, Canada. *Ageing International* 32(3): 205–218.
- Jackson, P. 1998. Constructions of ‘whiteness’ in the geographical imagination. *Area* 30(2): 99–106.
- Kalbach, M. A., and W. E. Kalbach. 1999. Demographic overview of ethnic origin groups in Canada. In *Race and ethnic relations in Canada*, ed. P. S. Li. Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 21–54.
- Kim, C. J. 1999. The racial triangulation of Asian Americans. *Politics & Society* 27(1): 105–138.
- Kobayashi, A., and L. Peake. 2000. Racism out of place: Thoughts on whiteness and an antiracist geography in the new millennium. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 90(2): 392–403.
- Kobayashi, A., and B. Ray. 2000. Civil risk and landscapes of marginality in Canada: A pluralist approach to social justice. *The Canadian Geographer* 44(4): 401–417.
- Lai, D. W. L. 2004. Impact of culture on depressive symptoms of elderly Chinese immigrants. *The Canadian Journal of Psychiatry* 49(12): 820–827.
- Lee, J.-J. 1987. Asian American elderly. *Journal of Gerontological Social Work* 9(4): 103–116.
- Levitas, R., C. Pantazis, E. Fahmy, D. Gordon, E. Lloyd, and D. Patsios. 2007. *The multi-dimensional analysis of social exclusion*. Bristol, UK: University of Bristol. <http://roar.uel.ac.uk/1781/1/multidimensional.pdf>.
- Li, P. S. 1998a. The market value and social value of race. In *Racism and social inequality in Canada: Concepts, controversies, & strategies of resistance*, ed. V. Satzewich. Toronto, ON: Thompson Educational Publishing, 115–130.
- . 1998b. *The Chinese in Canada*. 2nd ed. Toronto, ON: Oxford University Press.
- . 1999a. The multiculturalism debate. In *Race and ethnic relations in Canada*, ed. P. S. Li. Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 148–177.
- . 1999b. Race and ethnicity. In *Race and ethnic relations in Canada*. 2nd ed., ed. P. S. Li. Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 3–20.
- Lucas, K. 2012. Transport and social exclusion: Where are we now? *Transport Policy*, 20: 105–113.
- McLean, S. 2013. The whiteness of green: Racialization and environmental education. *The Canadian Geographer* 57(3): 354–362.
- Noivo, E. 1998. Neither ‘ethnic heroes’ nor ‘racial villains’: Inter-minority group racism. In *Racism and social inequality in Canada: Concepts, controversies & strategies of resistance*, ed. V. Satzewich. Toronto, ON: Thompson Educational Publishing, 123–142.
- Ponting, R. J. 1998. Racism and stereotyping of First Nations. In *Racism and social inequality in Canada: Concepts, controversies, & strategies of resistance*, ed. V. Satzewich. Toronto, ON: Thompson Educational Publishing, 269–298.
- Qadeer, M. A., and S. K. Agrawal. 2011. The practice of multicultural planning in American and Canadian cities. *Canadian Journal of Urban Research* 20(1): 132–156.
- Vanderbeck, R. M. 2006. Vermont and the imaginative geographies of American whiteness. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 96(3): 641–659.
- Wang, Y., L. Zong, and H. Li. 2012. Barriers to social integration for Chinese immigrants in Canada, then and now: A comparison. *Journal of Chinese Overseas* 8(2): 205–231.
- Waters, M. C. 1990. *Ethnic options: Choosing identities in America*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Zong, L., and B. Perry. 2011. Chinese immigrants in Canada and social injustice: From overt to covert racial discrimination. In *Diversity, crime and justice in Canada*, ed. B. Perry. Toronto, ON: Oxford University Press, 106–124.