SESSION I

Identity, Cultural Hybridity and Belonging
Session Chair: Charles Greenberg, Capilano University

Aneesha Grewal "The Secrets of the Surrey Girl and the Surrey Jack: Settler-Hybrid Identities and the Creation of Stereotypes of South Asian Youths in Surrey, B.C."

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ANEESHA GREWAL

THE SECRETS OF THE SURREY GIRL AND THE SURREY JACK: AN ARCHIVAL STUDY OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF STEREOTYPES OF SOUTH ASIAN YOUTH IN SURREY, B.C., CANADA FROM 1990 TO 2008

ABSTRACT

Surrey, a municipality in British Columbia, is stereotyped as the "ghetto": where many low-income people reside, where gang activity exists, and where the racialized South Asian community has flourished. South Asians are an ethnic group comprising of peoples from India, Bangladesh, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. The South Asian community began settlement on the Turtle Island in late 1800s to early 1900s, finding work as labourers in the growing industrial sector. Through the different waves of settlement, the South Asian community grew in BC. Through rearing children in a *South Asian* household in the *colonial Western* state, a hybrid identity was created in the children of South Asian immigrants. The implications of this hybrid identity included experiencing the social norms and expectations of both cultures simultaneously. This is a dreadful position because in order to survive in the Western world obedience sometimes means sacrificing the racialized-culture's values and norms, leaving youths in a very confusing position. Furthermore, this hybrid identity exists with and within the experience of being a visible minority which includes feelings of not belonging as well as facing racism, sexism, and classism associated with colonial ideals. Through the hybrid-identity and visible-minority experience, stereotypes emerged about the racialized and sexualized beings in the space, as usually happens in colonial states. In this paper I will deconstruct the "Surrey Girl" and "Surrey Jack" stereotypes of South Asians, or in other words, the characterization by the colonial framework of racialized beings as uncivilized, and sexualized beings as promiscuous and dirty.

My mother, Rewa Grewal, was born in Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh, India and my father, Harinder Singh Grewal, was born in New Delhi, India. My parents are both Punjabi. My Papa arrived on the lands of the Ktunaxa, Metis, Tsuu T'ina, and Niitsítapi (colonially known as Calgary) in the mid-1980s, and my Mama arrived in the early 1990s. I was born almost five years later on the same lands, moving to Musqueam, Squamish, and Tsleil-Waututh lands at eight months old before settling on Semiahmoo, Katzie, Kwikwetlem, Kwantlen, Qayqat, Musqueam, and Tsawwassen lands (colonially known as Surrey). Here, I experienced joys and traumas and learned at a young age that my place in society as a brown queer femme (in this paper, "femme" is used interchangeably with "woman," while "masc" is used to identify masculine subjects, also known as "men") was defined by societal norms derivative of the settler-colonial state I was living in, and that I would have to find my own identity in these constructs. Growing up in Surrey, I, along with many other second-generation South Asian

(second-gen S.A.) immigrants who make up 54% of Surrey's population, faced a particular stereotype of South Asian feminine youth called the "Surrey Girl," while South Asian masculine youth faced the "Surrey Jack" stereotype. Both these stereotypes are negative; the Surrey Jack is seen as a criminal—unintelligent, and out of control—while the Surrey Girl is considered amoral, unintelligent, and also out of control. In order to identify the implications of race-based stereotypes on the identity formation of second-gen S.A. youth, newspaper clippings from the Surrey Archives were analyzed to see what narrative of the South Asian community was being created in Surrey's media.

For an individual, identity has two parts: personal identity and social identity ("Identity," 2019). Personal identity refers to an individual's "need for uniqueness," while social identity refers to "membership in various groups—familial, ethnic, occupational…" ("Identity," 2019, n.p.). Identifying with a group "help[s] people define themselves in the eyes of both others and themselves" ("Identity," 2019, n.p.). According to Erik Erikson's theory of developmental stages, identity formation is especially important for youth, because "during adolescence," individuals experience "physical growth, sexual maturation, and impending career choices" ("Identity," 2019, n.p.). Second-gen S.A. youth form their social group identity, specifically their ethnic social group identity, through cultural hybridization.

Cultural hybridity is defined by "the effort to maintain a sense of balance among practices, values, and customs of two or more different cultures," which then "constructs a new identity that reflects a dual sense of being" (Albert & Páez, 2012, p. 522). In "ethno-racially diverse youth," cultural hybridity "is fluid, flexible, multidimensional and used strategically and deliberately…to achieve particular goals in specific situations" (Sundar, 2008, p. 255). Second-gen S.A. youth are examples of cultural hybrids because their identities are influenced by South Asian culture and Western/Canadian culture. Findings from Purnima Sundar's (2008) study on cultural hybridity in second-generation South Asian-Canadian immigrant youth suggest that identity formation was navigated through "emphasizing South Asian characteristics and behaviours" or "foregrounding attributes considered to be more Canadian" so that youth could "make deliberate, strategic choices about how to express their identities in ways that help them achieve material/economic goals or emotional/psychological goals" (p. 265). Cultural hybridity has advantages and disadvantages depending on the individual's "identity capital" gained through social interaction (Sundar, 2008). Identity capital refers to the various resources such as "tangible assets [like] wealth and education, as well as intangible or psychological resources [like] self-reflection and evaluation" that make it either easier or harder for individuals to navigate social interactions (Sundar, 2008, p. 269). According to Goodenow and Espin (1993) and Lew, Rhianon, Papouchis, and Ritzler (1998), if cultural hybrids "are able to successfully integrate aspects of both mainstream society and the culture of origin," they acquire more identity capital in a social interaction (as cited in Sundar, 2008, p. 255). However, if cultural hybrids lose or do not gain identity capital in a social interaction, they can acquire "adjustment and mental health problems arising from feeling 'neither here nor there,' or too 'in-between' cultures," suggest Kanno (2000) and Rodriguez, Ramirez, and Korman (1999) (as cited in Sundar, 2008, p. 255). Decisions to "brown it up" or "bring the brown down" help second-gen S.A. youth "attain... specific goals or manag[e] the challenges of living in a multicultural Canadian context" (Sundar, 2008, p. 270). The more identity capital an individual has, the more likely

their subsequent social interactions will be successful, resulting in further acquisition of identity capital (Sundar, 2008).

Stereotypes affect social interactions because they affect the potential acquisition of identity capital. Negative stereotypes and failure to perform behaviour that reinforces positive stereotypes can decrease identity capital. Stereotypes are "a generalization about a group of people in which identical characteristics are assigned to virtually all members of [a] group, regardless of actual variation among the members" (Aronson, Wilson, Fehr, & Akert, 2013, p. 379). Stereotypes function in order to "maximize…cognitive time and energy" by developing "shortcuts and adopt[ing] certain heuristics in [the] attempt to understand other people" (Aronson et al., 2013, p. 379-380). When a stereotype does not consider "individual differences" and homogenizes and over-generalizes groups of people, "it is maladaptive and unfair, and can lead to discrimination" (Aronson et al., 2013, p. 380).

One of the most prevalent ways stereotypes are formed is through the media's portrayal of different groups—via television, radio, internet, newspapers, etc. It is important to study the way media constructs stereotypes because "mainstream mass media have historically marginalized, trivialized, demeaned, and underrepresented minority groups" (Ramasubramanian & Murphy, 2014, p. 385). This is significant because media is the "primary, if not only, source of social and interactive information about various groups in society" (Ramasubramanian & Murphy, 2014, p. 385).

Media, specifically the newspaper, has played a role in Canada's colonization efforts, as "the medium of print is strongly associated with the politics of imperialism and colonialism" (Nesbitt-Larking, as cited in Anderson & Robertson, 2011, p. 3). When "the mainstream positions itself as the rightful owner of Aboriginal lands" in newspapers, settler colonialism is perpetuated (Anderson and Robertson, 2011, p. 3). It is important to name Surrey as a settler-colonial city because "by interrogating the settler city as a foundational essentialism of settler colonialism itself…a more nuanced and relational understanding of the processes and structures that have reproduced it"—in this case, the processes and structures of archiving history in Surrey— can be developed (Tomiak, 2016, p. 10). Settler colonialism is the "specific formation of colonialism in which people come to a land inhabited by (Indigenous) people and declare that land to be their new home" (Row & Tuck, 2017, p. 4). The mainstream media of colonized lands depicts European-colonizers/white settlers to be the justified owners of the land and through this ideology displace Indigenous ownership of land while also "Othering" histories that are not European. The "Other" is a social position categorized through Eurocentrism which posits that the European way of life—including its politics, education, medicine, law, and justice—is superior to all others (Smith, 2012). Racial identities that are not European are relegated to the category of "the Other," which is posited as inferior. When a social group is considered inferior, this justifies the superior group's control of and intervention into the inferior group's way of life while simultaneously solidifying this superior group's ideologies and identities as the standard and/or default of the culture. Furthermore, the notion is that if the inferior group were to adopt the superior groups' qualities or ways of life, they would be better off, and their communities would be left alone by the superior group.

In this paper, I provide examples of how Surrey is positioned as a settler-colonial city. I then argue that the Surrey Archives is an institution that perpetuates settler colonialism in the way it constructs the history of the South Asian community in Surrey, specifically through

newspaper clippings archived in the Reference File titled "Indo Canadian Communities Before 2009," in the "1990's" and "2000-2008" folders. Additionally, I argue that this archival material perpetuates stereotypes of South Asians as out-of-control and deviant through the sensationalism of violence in Surrey's South Asian community, especially from 1990 to 2008. This sensationalism affects the identity formation of Surrey's South Asian youth because it creates negative stereotypes of Surrey's South Asian community which with second-gen S.A. identify. Lastly, I argue that this construction is purposeful within ongoing settler colonialism, as it creates an inferior Other that needs to be controlled in order to be better off, thereby justifying state intervention and control of the South Asian community in Surrey.

METHOD

Materials

Materials were acquired through three government-funded institutions, one federal and two municipal. First, at the federal level, population and mother-tongue language distribution data in Surrey was provided by the Statistics Canada Census of 2016. Second, at the municipal level, the floor plan of the Exhibitions section at the Museum of Surrey was observed. Third, also at the municipal level, reference materials from the Surrey Archives were analyzed. At the Surrey Archives, the Reference Files included "about 500 files in total, consisting of newspaper clippings and other reference materials on local topics such as bridges, parks, pioneer families and railways." Newspaper clippings from the Reference File "Indo Canadian" were used. Specifically, data was collected from the time periods 1990–1999 and 2000–2008; this information was found in the "Indo Canadian Communities Before 2009" file—one folder labeled "1990's" and one folder labeled "2000-2008."

Procedure

The total number of newspaper clippings archived in the "1990's" and "2000-2008" folders was counted. Then, each article ("article" is used interchangeably with "newspaper clipping") was categorized by subject matter. To calculate the percentage of articles based on a particular subject, the total number of articles in each subject matter was divided by the total number of articles in that respective folder. This was done in order to measure the central tendency of the subject matter in these folders. Next, the subjects that were most often mentioned were categorized by theme. This was done by calculating the percentage of the themes mentioned in each subject. Sometimes there was more than one theme per newspaper clipping. The most-mentioned themes were considered as the narratives created through these archival materials. After finding the most-mentioned narratives, an analysis of each narrative was performed in the context of the narrative's function.

RESULTS

2016 Census Data: Surrey, British Columbia, Canada

According to Statistics Canada, on the lands of the Semiahmoo, Katzie, Kwikwetlem, Kwantlen, Qayqayt, Musqueam, and Tsawwassen First Nations (or what is colonially known as Surrey), 48.9% spoke the official languages, which were English and French; 24.9% spoke Indo-Aryan languages which included Bengali, Gujrati, Hindi, Kashmiri, Konkani, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya (Odia), Punjabi (Panjabi), Sindhi, Sinhala (Sinhalese), and Urdu; 0.34% spoke Dravidian

languages such as Kannada, Malayalam, Tamil, Telugu, and Dravidian languages not included elsewhere; and 0.02% spoke Indigenous languages, which included Algonquian languages, Cree-Montagnais languages, Ojibway-Potawatomi languages, Athabaskan languages, Inuit languages, Tahltan languages, Michif, Salish languages, Siouan languages, Tsimshian languages, Wakashan languages, and other Indigenous languages not otherwise specified (Statistics Canada, 2017).

Museum of Surrey

The exhibits were located on the second floor of the Museum of Surrey, and were comprised of the "Textile Studio," the "Hooser Library," a room for "Textile Programs," the "Surrey Stories Gallery," and the "Indigenous Hall" ("Sitemap," n.d.). Most of the surface area of the second floor was taken up by the latter two exhibits. The "Surrey Stories Gallery" in particular was centered and took up most of the space on the second floor ("Sitemap," n.d.).

The Surrey Archives

Within the "Indo Canadian Communities Before 2009" Reference File, in the "1990's" folder a total of 31 newspaper clippings were archived, and in the "2000-2008" folder a total of 50 newspaper clippings were archived. Most clippings in both folders had been printed in the *Surrey/North Delta Leader*. Below, the subject and thematic results of an analysis of both folders are described—first the results of the "1990's" folder and then the results of the "2000-2008" folder.

In the "1990's" folder, subjects involving violence were the most-mentioned. Almost all of the clippings described the January 11, 1997 altercation at the Guru Nanak Sikh Gurdwara (G.N.S.G.). More than half of the themes relating to violence demonstrated the sensationalism of violence in the community and exemplified Surrey's operation as a settler-colonial city. A quarter of the themes discussed police intervention in the community, while 11% discussed the negative repercussions of the homogenization of all South Asians as Sikhs. Lastly, 6% of clippings mentioned unity in the Sikh community and the escape from prison of a person accused in the Air India bombings, respectively.

The second-most-mentioned subject in the "1990's" folder was the financial cost to the City of Surrey directly associated with the South Asian community. Of the themes emerging from this subject, 80% were associated with policing costs—specifically related to the altercation at the G.N.S.G. as well as policing the Communities Against Racism and Extremism Rally in September 1998 and policing the Miri Piri parades in August 1999; lost business associated with celebrations at the Dasmesh Darbar Gurdwara was also mentioned.

In the "2000-2008" folder, the most-mentioned subject matter included violence in and toward the community, issues in the community and community forums about these issues, and cultural celebrations. The second-most-mentioned subject was gender inequality and women's oppression, and the third-most-mentioned subject involved Sikh-centered terrorism and extremism. Subjects involving violence, community forums, and gender inequality were further discussed.

The most-mentioned theme related to the subject of violence in the "2000-2008" folder was violence toward the community and its members, specifically toward elderly South Asian mascs and the Newton *Masjid-at-Taqwa*. The second-most-mentioned theme was the deaths of South Asian community members. Under the heading of subject matter relating to issues in

the South Asian community, most clippings were about forums held in the Lower Mainland regarding issues of drugs, violence, gangs, and prostitution. Gender equality and women's oppression was the next category of subject matter to be thematically analyzed. Under this heading, most clippings involved gendered cultural celebrations, followed by a fundraiser for resources for femme abuse victims, and lastly the struggle for gender inequality in South Asian culture.

DISCUSSION

2016 Census Data: Surrey, British Columbia, Canada

The language distribution in Surrey is indicative of settler colonialism because it shows how Indigenous existence was erased. In Surrey, only 0.02% of people still spoke Indigenous languages as their mother-tongue, while 25.24% spoke South Asian languages and 48.9% spoke the official languages of English and/or French (Statistics Canada, 2017). This is an alarming disparity based on the history of these lands, where Indigenous populations numbering two million and above thrived and flourished since the brave muskrat dived deep into this planet's waters to collect Earth and create the land as it is known on the back of the Turtle, millennia ago (Travato & Aylsworth, 2018; "The Story of Turtle Island," 2016).

Museum of Surrey

The Museum of Surrey was a visual metaphor for settler colonialism because of the way it centered European history while Othering Indigenous and non-Indigenous racialized communities' histories. The Museum of Surrey is a fairly contemporary structure; it opened in 2019 and is funded mostly by the City of Surrey. The central area of the second floor depicted the "Surrey Stories Gallery," which highlighted the histories of European "pioneers" of certain institutions in Surrey, including medical services, policing, and media (i.e., newspapers). The "Indigenous Hall" gave a brief history of the Kwantlen, Katzie, and Semiahmoo Nations and depicted "artifacts" of the Kwantlen Peoples such as ancient tools. This paints the history of the Kwantlen, Katzie, and Semiahmoo Peoples as in the past and not living today, thereby justifying the place of settlers at the center of Surrey's history. In the corner beside the entrance of the exhibits on the second floor, a very brief history of a single-ethnicity-at-a-time in Surrey is displayed, Othering non-Indigenous racialized cultures by placing their histories on the outskirts of the "Surrey Stories" exhibit.

Surrey Archives: Reference File "Indo Canadians before 2009" to "1990's" Folder

The Surrey Archives are almost fully funded by the municipal government and exemplify how narratives are created which are then used to create stereotypes of groups of people. The role of the City of Surrey as a settler-colonial city is demonstrated within the "1990's" folder through newspaper clippings whose content normalized the European occupation of Indigenous lands that are now called Surrey. Furthermore, by centering the history of the area's South Asian community on violence and the costs associated with policing events held by the South Asian community, word choices and imagery created the narrative that the South Asian community was out of control and a burden to the City of Surrey.

Settler Colonialism

Settler colonialism in Surrey was demonstrated within the newspaper clippings about violence through discussions on police intervention and control, the pacification of the white settler community in the wake of this violence, and the law's precedence over religious symbols. An example of white settler-colonial attitudes is found in the article "OPINION: Let's not put religion before legislation"; in it, Brian Pynn, an editor of the *Surrey Leader,* mentioned his "Anglo-forefathers who tamed the western frontier," demonstrating the idea that white settlers were justified in their beliefs that they were the rightful owners of these lands (Walia, Pynn & Virani, 1997, p. A13).

Normalizing intervention in communities by police—an extension of the colonial institution of justice in Canada—is an example of settler colonialism and the subject positions it creates (i.e., which groups are normalized as having power and authority). In the article "Newton Sikh temple will stay closed until settlement is reached," police justified the shut down and occupation of the G.N.S.G. "because there could be 'renewed violence' that would put the community at risk" if the police were not there (Sinoski, 1997, n.p.). Additionally, in "Bloody clash bars worshippers," a police spokesperson said the Gurdwara would continue to be surveilled and patrolled because "the two sides have thus far refused to meet" and thus there was still a potential for violence (Dillon, 1997a, p. A3). Here, police intervention in the South Asian community was justified because the community was posited as being in need of intervention as they posed a threat to themselves and the larger Surrey community. Imagery, for example, an image with the caption: "A man, bloodied in the riot...cries out for assistance" in "CULTURE SHOCK" (Carlson, 1997a, p. A8), highlighted a racialized community as down or inferior, reaching out for assistance from the superior, colonial state. Through the discussion about the kirpan as a weapon or a religious symbol in "Law murky over kirpans" (Carlson, 1997b, p. A9), superior and inferior positions of power were exemplified through the Othering of non-Christian (non-European) religious symbols and the superior group assertion of control over racialized religions' religious symbols.

Settler colonialism was also perpetuated in these newspaper clippings through the descriptions of the pacification of the white settler community after the altercation at the GNS Gurdwara. White settlers were positioned at the center of society as the narrative of the clippings suggested that they were the ones to be pacified, with one article stating: "The weekend's violence cut deeply into the level of tolerance of an ethnic group long viewed with discomfort…" (Holota, 1997, p. A12). The power imbalance of "tolerance" suggests that there is a superior group that tolerates (i.e., white settlers) and an inferior group to be tolerated (i.e., South Asians). For example, "One…Caucasian man, upon hearing about the violence for the first time, said, 'See? We've got to start getting those people out of here'" (Carlson, 1997a, p. A8). Here, "we" are the white settlers who are entitled to choose whom to "get…out of here" (Carlson, 1997a, p. A8). In "The Guru's Door IS Open," the author stated that "Welcome, welcome" and "Do you need any help?" were "the most immediate greetings two Caucasian visitors receive upon entering the back of [G.N.S.G.]," demonstrating that the Gurdwara was a place that treated white folks generously and need not be feared (Carlson, 1997c, p. A15). The word choice in the title of "Law and order followed by open minds" likewise sought to pacify fears that the South Asian community was out of control by assuring readers that Sikhs were kind to Caucasians and that law and order was being "followed" (Holota, 1997, p. A12).

Sensationalism of Violence

Sensationalism, or the "use of sensational material or language, or a sensationalistic style" is used in "literature or the media…to provoke public interest or excitement" ("Sensationalism," n.d., para. 2). Sensationalism in the news is used to "sell" stories so that news outlets can "attract audiences and/or to make profit" (Arbaoui, Swert, & Brug, 2016, p. 2). Sensationalism can be problematic when it creates narratives that function through stereotyping groups of people. The archived "1990's" newspaper clippings at the Surrey Archives sensationalized the G.N.S.G. altercation through the word choices, imagery, and narratives deployed therein.

Word choices used to describe the altercation such as "bloody, sword-swinging clash" (Dillon, 1997a, p. A3), "bloody brawl" (Sinoski, 1997, n.p.), "bloody violence" (Belluk & Carlson, 1997, p. A9), "bloody Jan. 11 temple riot," "temple fiasco" (Dillon, 1997b, n.p.), "bloodshed and war" ("Breaking Point," 1997, p. 11), "fighting and spilling blood" (Walia, Pynn & Virani, 1997, p. A13), "people spill[ing] bloody and screaming" from the Gurdwara (Belluk, 1997, p. A3), and "victims [being] carried bloodsoaked from the chaos" (Holota, 1997, p. A12) created imagery that sensationalized the violence in the articles.

In an article titled "Law and order followed by open minds," people in the altercation are described as "extremists perpetuating the violence" and the altercation is sensationally narrated as though it were a violent battle in this author's favourite adventure novel: "It was a chilling scene bordering the surreal. Turbaned figures brandishing long swords in temple melee, western-dressed victims carried bloodsoaked from the chaos, uniformed police and riot squads grappling for control" (Holota, 1997, p. A12). In the article "Bloody clash bars worshippers," a police spokesperson is quoted as saying this situation was "unprecedented," that "the government of Canada [has never] been in this type of position before," and that the police "have no reason to believe that there would not be violence if [the police] turn the building over to the (temple) executive…" (Dillon, 1997a, p. A3). This elicited the idea that police intervention was needed and that there would be chaos without it. This same notion is also demonstrated in "Temple opening 'a very good day for Sikh man and woman,'" where it was stated that "despite the peaceful resolution, temple executive members from the two factions refused to meet face-to-face during their negotiations. And police are still searching for the person responsible for firing a bullet into the home of the temple vice-president" (Dillon & Diakiw, 1997, p. A14). In the article "Violence was a long time brewing," the authors sensationalize the altercation by trivializing the start of the conflict as "a relatively simple request" that ended in "bloody violence" (Belluk & Carlson, 1997, p. A9). Furthermore, this "bloody violence" is suggested to be "long…brewing" which connotes that it is was a developing problem, even though the timeline provided in the clipping only extends back four months before the altercation (Belluk & Carlson, 1997, p. A9). The article "BREAKING POINT" (1997) described the G.N.S. Gurdwara as "a symbol of bloodshed and war between two factions fighting for control" maintained by "Sikh militants," a situation that "caused fear among Surrey and Delta citizens, who worry the violence will only escalate"; thus, the article implied serious violence by invoking the specter of religious extremism. The sensationalism of a divided community and the negative repercussions this could have on youth was exemplified through imagery in "Confusion the mood at schools," where two masculine teens, one white and one brown, were displayed with their heads positioned face to face on opposing sides, connoting opposing views and or cultures (Diakiw & Belluk, 1997, p. A8).

Nirmal Singh Gill

Nirmal Singh Gill was a South Asian elder who was Punjabi, Sikh, and a caretaker of the Guru Nanak Sikh Gurdwara. In January of 1998, Nirmal Singh Gill was beaten to death by five white men while opening the G.N.S.G. for morning prayers, one of these men being a self-professed white supremacist named Nathan LeBlanc ("Crown seeks life," 1999). It is especially important to note that, even though most archived articles with information on the history of "Indo Canadians Before 2009" in the "1990's" folder involved the altercation at the Guru Nanak Sikh Gurdwara, there was absolutely no mention of the violent and racist murder of Nirmal Singh Gill to be found at the Surrey Archives.

Surrey Archives: Reference File "Indo Canadians before 2009" to "2000 – 2008" Folder

Sixty-eight percent of the newspaper clippings in the "2000-2008" folder involved themes that depicted the South Asian community as out of control and backwards. In this paper, articles related to forums on the issues of the community and gender inequality will be discussed because they provide insight into the Surrey Girl stereotype.

Violence against and within the South Asian Community

The articles on this subject created a narrative that the South Asian community was stricken with inevitable and never-ending violence, particularly via word choices used in the titles and in the body of the articles. For example, in "Forum tackles South Asian issues," it is stated that "social problems...are in their infancy now" (Joseph, 2003, n.p.). These social problems are enumerated as "drugs, violence, gangs, impaired driving, prostitution, crime, sexual assault, and gender inequality" (Reynolds, 2003, p. A3). Despite the fact that one of the articles included the word "solutions" in the title, the body of the article highlighted "violent local crimes [that] involve[d] Indo-Canadians ma[king] headlines across the Lower Mainland" (Reynolds, 2003, p. A3). A front-page headline in the *Surrey Leader* on June 19, 2002 stated, "'WHAT IS TAKING PLACE...ALMOST DEFIES LOGIC,'" quoting Wally Oppal, the "first Indo-Canadian judge to be appointed to the high court" (Ferguson, 2002, p. 1). The title and body of the article created a narrative of helplessness and confusion about issues in the community, making it easier to justify intervention from sources outside the community (Ferguson, 2002, p. 1). If solutions are created through logic, and the problem defies logic, then how can there be solutions? In "'WHAT IS HAPPENING...ALMOST DEFIES LOGIC,'" a narrative of a racialized and Othered community that needed state intervention was established through the statement that, after a forum on crimes in the South Asian community, "While participants agreed about the severity of the problem, solutions were less easy to identify, beyond a general commitment to better coordinate future community and police crime-fighting efforts" (Ferguson, 2002, p. 1).

Gender Inequality

The articles on this subject were narrated in a way that perpetuated the stereotype of South Asian femmes as victims of a backwards culture in need of rescue. The gendered celebration of Lohri was discussed in "Sisters reach out to brothers in campaign to stop violence," which highlighted the "Save Our Daughters" campaign formed "in the wake of several high profile murders of Indo-Canadian women" and stated that "the[se] tragedies have force[d] the South Asian community to confront their cultural attitudes toward women" (Babic, n.d., n.p.). Using

the words “Sisters reach out...” in the title connoted a subject identity in need of help, maintaining the stereotype of South Asian femmes as victims of a backwards culture (Babic, n.d.). The title of the article “Gender equality still sought” indicated that South Asian women were “still” in need (Singh, 2008), while the title of the article “Support for abused women…” explicitly identified the stereotype of a South Asian femme as a victim, especially of “spousal abuse” (“Support,” 2007). In conclusion, these word choices paint the South Asian femme as in need of help from outside of their cultural community because their out-of-control cultural community placed them in the role of a victim.

CONCLUSION

By choosing to archive certain newspaper clippings that highlighted violence in a backwards and out-of-control community, the Surrey Archives’ reference materials on the history of South Asians created an “Other.” This “Other” is demonstrated through the construction of the “Surrey Girl” and the “Surrey Jack.” Since the Surrey Girls and the Surrey Jacks are part of an out-of-control community, the settler-colonial city’s authority figures center themselves as the ones to intervene. For youth who are stereotyped as Surrey Girls or Surrey Jacks, this stereotyping serves to lower their identity capital because their identity does not help them effectively maneuver social situations. In terms of identity formation, South Asian mascs represented as violent or as extremists are stereotyped as criminals, murderers, and/or gang members, creating the identity of the “Surrey Jack.” South Asian femmes represented as victims of abuse are then stereotyped as needing to be saved, as perpetual victims who are also amoral because they are, after all, part of a backwards culture. Both stereotypes serve as a function of the settler-colonial city, which normalizes itself as the center or standard for culture in Surrey and the larger Canadian context. The Other created through settler colonialism functions as a site of inferiority where an inferior group can be continuously controlled, patrolled, and intervened on based on the narrative that this is needed to better the Othered community as well as the settler-colonial state.

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