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Sojourners: Undergraduate Journal of Sociology is a peer- and faculty- reviewed journal published annually by the Sociology Students' Association of the University of British Columbia. Our mandate is to provide a venue for the publication of outstanding undergraduate writing. Submissions are accepted in the fall of each year. Information regarding submissions, journal sales, and more is available on our website. For more detailed information about manuscript submission, please contact us.

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THE UBC SOCIOLOGY STUDENTS' ASSOCIATION, which continues to see the value in providing undergraduate students with an opportunity to refine and showcase academic work, as both authors and associate editors.

UBC's Point Grey (Vancouver) campus is located on the traditional, ancestral, and unceded territories of the xʷməθkʷəy̓əm (Musqueam) First Nations. While we are grateful for both the opportunity to publish this journal, we recognize the ongoing injustices caused by the continued occupation and reflect on much of our team's presence as visitors and settlers on this land.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LETTER FROM THE EDITORS-IN-CHIEF

Dear Readers,

Given the current socio-political climate, we know that representation is more crucial than ever. Sojourners Volume 9 reflects academic and emotional work by a group of undergraduate writers and editors who are passionate about applying their knowledge to the real world. The articles in this volume cover an array of topics that truly highlight the necessity of a sociological lens in our world today. Altogether, our papers bring the personal back into the political, and illustrate how sociological theories can be put into practice.

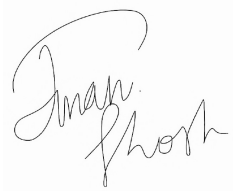
We are extremely proud to publish a collection of articles in this volume which showcase what Sojourners stands for: relevant, critical, and exemplary undergraduate writing. Opening the journal are the winners of the second annual Francesco Duina scholarship, Slobin and DeGuevara, who centre Black intersectional feminist scholarship to conduct a discourse analysis of the media coverage following Beyonce's release of 'Formation.' This is the second year this prestigious $300 scholarship exclusive to Sojourners has been awarded to authors nominated for their published papers, and they will receive a certificate recognizing their outstanding achievement.

The other papers in our volume also aim to interrogate taken-for-granted power dynamics, and challenge dominant perspectives. Hewaidi undertakes an ethnographic examination of her experience as a young Muslim woman, by openly practising Islam on a Canadian campus that prides itself in its inclusivity and multiculturalism. By highlighting Indigenous scholars and their voices, Haaf demonstrates how we can work towards decolonization through indigenous language sovereignty. Tsang breaks down how the mass media of the 'Heart Attack Grill' is used as a satirical tool to mock the obesity crisis in Las Vegas. Closer to home, Lichtenwald analyses the news framing of victims/survivors in a post-Jian Ghomeshi trial, providing insight into discussions of sexual assault and rape culture. Julia Tikhonova considers how intersex youth are (mis)represented in the media, through a literary analysis of a movie and a novel. Finally, Smallenberg and Wentworth make relevant contributions in the family studies field by examining relational stability, and proposing new millennial cohabitation theories.

We have had the privilege of working with an impressive and diverse group of associate editors this year. They have been invaluable to the publishing process, and we are sincerely grateful for all their dedication and hard work!

Finally, a huge thank you to every single person who made this publication successful, as well as you, reader, for continuing to support our undergraduate journal. As Editors-in-Chief, we are proud of continuing the Sojourners legacy and we hope you enjoy Volume 9 as much as we did in putting it together!

Sincerely,



Anupa (Iman) Ghosh
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FRANCESCO DUINA SCHOLARSHIP AWARD WINNER

"Ok Ladies, Now Let's Get In Formation": A Media Discourse Analysis Of Beyoncé's 'Formation'

Authors: Madison Slobin and Reba DeGuevara
Editor: Elida Ibrahim
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Abstract: This co-written paper is a joint venture that works to expose negative discourses mobilized against Black female celebrities through an analysis of how the mainstream media utilizes racist and heterosecist lenses to portray these subjects. We rely on the work of Black feminist thinkers, in order to answer our research question: is Beyoncé exempt from discourses that position Black women as deviant and de-valued? We examined how the media reacted to Beyoncé's audio-visual release, 'Formation', and her performance of the song at the 2016 Super Bowl, through a content analysis of news articles. Our findings demonstrate that dominant media discourses situate Beyoncé as the 'angry Black woman' archetype, thus disproving the rhetoric that Beyoncé is exempt from discourses that position Black women as deviant, which reflects larger gendered and racialized tensions in America.

Introduction

This paper is an analysis of Beyoncé's single, 'Formation', and the media's reaction to the release of this track alongside the music video and Super Bowl halftime performance. Beyoncé is a globally well-known superstar and one of the most profitable and marketable artists in the music industry (Knight, 2015). Forbes magazine has consistently placed Beyoncé on their list of top grossing musicians and in 2014 declared her to be "the world's most powerful celebrity" (Knight, 2015). Our paper engages directly with this rhetoric that understands Beyoncé as a ground-breaking figure for other Black women in mainstream entertainment. On these grounds, we situate Beyoncé as negotiating a contradictory position, where

she is both affected by dominant media discourses, while simultaneously continuing to be regarded as the exception to Black female oppression. In other words, her stardom generally transcends her race and gender. It is within this framework that we focus our paper on how mainstream media reported on the release of Beyoncé's latest song 'Formation' and the events that occurred alongside the release (taking place between February 6-7 in 2016): the music video accompanying the track, and her performance of the song at the Super Bowl halftime show. Our primary research question asks: is Beyoncé exempt from discourses that position Black women as deviant and de-valued? We begin our paper by situating ourselves in relation to the topic of the Black, female celebrity and outline why we found this topic to be both relevant and significant. We also explain our reasoning for choosing to write this paper together instead of as individuals. We then engage with wider Black Feminist thought to ground our analysis. Furthermore, we discuss the concept of 'celebrity' in the context of activism and the media, and highlight how Beyoncé specifically fits into these theoretical frameworks. Following this background information, we use an intersectional feminist lens to delve into our media discourse analysis. We conclude by discussing the significance of our findings and how they potentially impact or shift the conversation surrounding Beyoncé's personage in the media, in addition to the way the concept of Black female celebrity is understood more generally. The media analysis demonstrates that dominant media discourses situate Beyoncé as the 'angry Black woman' archetype, thus disproving the rhetoric that Beyoncé is exempt from discourses that position Black women as deviant.

Starting Where We Stand

This paper is a joint venture that works to expose racist discourses mobilized against Black female celebrities. It is also an exercise in solidarity and allyship, both between the authors of this paper, as well as between the authors and movements centred around the fight for racial justice. As co-writers, we want to highlight how, through academic collaboration, we can exemplify and produce collective knowledge that helps facilitate support between various communities. As feminists from different disciplines and backgrounds who engage in social justice and disrupt gendered

hegemonic practices, we find it necessary and relevant to situate ourselves in relationship to one another and the topic of this paper. Reba DeGuevara is a First Nations woman from the Okanagan, and Madison Slobin is a Queer Jewish settler woman, both living on unceded Coast Salish territory in Vancouver. Our subjectivities affect the way we understand racism and heterosexism in the context of Beyoncé's 'Formation' and Black politics as a whole.

We take up the principle outlined in "(Un)doing Academic Practice: Notes from a feminist geography workshop" (Feminist Geography Group, 2010) that collaborative scholars should not make attempts to identify separate individual academic voices in their writing. This allows us to pursue our intentions and shift "away from dominant academic conventions" that attribute "authorship to individuals" (p. 436). A co-created paper allows for a process of accountability as the two authors can check and balance one another by bringing a multiplicity of perspective to the writing. Furthermore, our collaborative framework is inspired by Holmes & Hunt's (2015) discussion of a politics of accountability. Like Holmes & Hunt (2015), "our friendship developed through undertaking collaborative action to foster cross-cultural conversation about colonialism, violence, gender and space, rather than just acknowledging these shared interests on an intellectual level" (p. 161). Additionally, Holmes and Hunt (2015) draw on the term 'allyship' to describe a process "[that requires] accountability on the part of members of the dominant group" and that "is not predicated on reciprocity by those who are marginalized" (p. 162). This paper discusses realities that Black women must negotiate, but it is written by two people who do not live such realities. As opposed to undertaking an analysis of Beyoncé's 'Formation' itself, we chose to explore how the media vilifies Black women in an act of attempted 'allyship'. Though we will not be explicitly discussing colonialism in our paper, we wish to highlight how similar to decolonization, resistance and resilience must be acknowledged within both daily acts of embodying and living anti-oppression, as well as in more public demonstrations of Black power. This type of public demonstration of Black power is precisely what we argue Beyoncé enacts in her release of 'Formation'.

Intersectionality and Black Feminist Thought

Black feminist thought has been in existence as long as Black women themselves. However, in more recent decades, academia has begun to do the work to recognize the importance of Black feminist scholarship within wider disciplines as well as within Women's Studies Faculties. We undertook a broad analysis of Black feminist thought to explore how Black women are stereotyped in order to help us answer whether Beyoncé is exempt from these processes or included in them.

The term 'intersectionality' is vital to discussions about contemporary feminism. A term coined by Kimberle Crenshaw, it is used to discuss the ways that "race and gender intersect in shaping structural, political, and representational aspects of violence against women of color" (p. 1244). Crenshaw (1991) employs the term 'intersectionality' to illustrate how, "although racism and sexism readily intersect in the lives of real people," these forms of oppression are rarely incorporated into "feminist and antiracist practices" (p. 1242). Crenshaw's framework for highlighting the effects of gendered racism has become foundational to understanding how many forms of oppression are structured and experienced differently according to each individual's lived reality. Within our analysis, intersectionality was vital to uncovering the various ways Beyoncé was racialized, gendered, and sexualized by the media. To properly conduct research grounded in Black Feminist thought, an understanding of how Black women experience intersecting oppressions is necessary.

Higginbotham (1992) further takes up 'intersectionality' and the lived experiences of Black women as she formulates the term 'metalanguage' to articulate and "expose the role of race as metalanguage" (p. 252). This perspective "calls attention to [race's] powerful, all encompassing effect on the construction and representation of other social and power relations, namely, gender, class, and sexuality" (Higginbotham, 1992, p. 252). Higginbotham views race as a social construction and an ideology that not only affects people's day to day lives, but "serves as a 'global sign', a 'metalanguage'" that discursively constructs everything as acceptable or deviant through processes of racialization (p. 270). The concept of 'metalanguage' is one we will return to throughout our

paper in order to employ Higginbotham's (1992) critique of "'neutral' words and forms" (p. 256). Our forthcoming media analysis will therefore demonstrate how all language is utilized to facilitate biases, and within the context of Beyoncé's 'Formation', reifies detrimental racial stereotypes that further stigmatize Black women.

Patricia Hill Collins (1990) addresses the way that dominant representations of Black women work to justify their maltreatment and continued oppression. She points out that "portraying the African-American woman as stereotypical mammies, matriarchs, welfare recipients, and hot mammies has been essential to the political economy of domination fostering Black women's oppression" (Collins, 1990, p. 67). She goes on to explain how "the authority to define these symbols is a major instrument of power" (Collins, 1990, p. 68). Thus, critical engagement with dominant representations of Black women has been a major theme of Black feminist thought. The sensationalization and othering of Black women through representation has ensured their political subordination and allowed existing racialized power structures to be maintained. We draw primarily on the 'matriarch' stereotype in our analysis of how Beyoncé's 'Formation' was represented by the mainstream media.

Hobson ties the subordination of the Black body to "a history of enslavement, colonial conquest and ethnographic exhibition-[that] variously labeled the black female body 'grotesque,' 'strange,' 'unfeminine,' 'lascivious,' and 'obscene'" (2003, p. 87). The 'monstrous' bodies of Black women were contrasted with the 'pretty' and 'feminine' bodies of White women. Thus, "black women artists, in particular, who wish to gesture toward an aesthetic of the black female body find themselves in need of an oppositional stance" (Hobson, 2003, p. 89). This concept helps us understand and explain the resistance in Beyoncé's 'Formation' (a song that overtly references Black beauty and strength) as well as Beyoncé's portfolio as an artist more generally.

Celebrity Activism and the Mainstream Media

In our paper, we specifically engage with the concepts of celebrity, gender, and race. We would like to briefly outline how these concepts are mobilized within the general context of main-

stream media and Beyoncé's relationship to them. Thrall and colleagues (2008) describe how "groups turn to celebrities because they have great power to garner attention from the news media" (p. 363). Beyoncé's immense popularity increases her ability to garner attention and advocate on behalf of social movements. Meyer (1995) expands on this concept and states: "the presence of a media-certified celebrity makes an event inherently newsworthy" (p. 185). However, the involvement of celebrities in wider political and social movements can also be problematic as their 'standing' or perceived ability to properly represent certain groups may be put into question. He examines some of the issues related to 'standing' and determines that the tendency for celebrities to overshadow movements for which they are trying to advocate is more likely to take place if the spokesperson does not have "organic roots in the movements for which they speak" (p. 187). Meyer (1995) also highlights how celebrities tend to "depoliticize movement discourse through their involvement" (p. 188). Thus, the attention that celebrities can bring to movements that seek mainstream attention may be nullified when the celebrity co-opts the movement and its aims.

Kogen (2014) further explores how celebrities utilize 'spectacle' in order to advocate for political change, which creates the risk of "oversimplify[ing] issues" (p. 40). She cites Kellner (2003) who predicts that future politics will "depend on...how democracy can be reconstructed and reinvented in the face of the continuing reign of the spectacle" caused by celebrity involvement (p. 42). Beyoncé's relationship to the concepts of 'standing' and political involvement are quite unique. It is therefore necessary that we note how she has previously engaged with politics in the public sphere, before we conduct our analysis of how the media reacted to 'Formation'.

Beyoncé has been able to dominate the music industry in a culture that continually devalues Blackness by exercising discretion when it comes to issues surrounding race. Farah Griffin (2011) expands on this claim in her explanation that Beyoncé has "chosen to reveal and/or hide particular aspects of [her] history in order to move more easily into the American mainstream" (p. 140). In addition to downplaying her race, Beyoncé has negotiated the

persistent linking of "sexual promiscuity to the nature and identity of African American women" through the formulation of her alter ego 'Sasha Fierce' (Littlefield, 2008, p. 677). This persona has afforded Beyoncé agency over her otherwise hyper-sexualized body. Sasha Fierce allows Beyoncé to comfortably occupy both spaces of "respectability" and that of the "bombshell", something unattainable to most other Black female performers (Griffin, 2011, p. 138).

However, despite her hard-earned respect from the dominant public, Beyoncé seldom used her celebrity status to illuminate issues of race prior to the release of 'Formation'. For this reason, she has been heavily criticized by Black communities for 'playing it safe' and remaining silent on such critical issues. Ellis Cashmore (2010) discusses how Beyoncé has set herself apart from dominant celebrity culture in his article, "Buying Beyoncé." He claims, "Beyoncé is prudent, unadventurous and not prone to commenting on issues other than her own products or endorsements… [she] maintains [a] closely controlled private life… [and] safely reduces all things racial to the personal, side-stepping the hard questions of institutionalized racial oppression and white privilege'" (Cashmore, 2010, p. 143). This carefully crafted strategy of neutrality appeals to both White and Black audiences. The history of Beyoncé's lack of engagement with racial issues allowed the release of 'Formation' and the following Super Bowl performance to be a notable, if not shocking, moment—particularly for those who shared these previous understandings of Beyoncé's carefully constructed, apolitical public image.

The Release of 'Formation'

On February 6, 2016 Beyoncé released a song and music video celebrating her Black heritage and paying homage to previous Black activist icons. The music video portrays Beyoncé and her dancers in a variety of frames, either referencing tragedies that significantly affected (and continue to affect) Black Americans, or in spaces which celebrate and reclaim Black history and power. The lyrics reflect the visuals, and Beyoncé makes her strong statement of 'Black is beautiful' quite clear through the words of the song. The next day at the 50th Super Bowl, Beyoncé performed the show during the halftime performance alongside Bruno Mars and her backup danc-

ers. Beyoncé wore an outfit reminiscent of the late Michael Jackson and her backup dancers wore costumes reflecting the garb of Black Panther activists—leather bodysuits, bullet belts, and berets. Throughout the live performance, the dancers consistently returned back to their X formation, making reference to Black activist (and member of the Black Panthers) Malcolm X. Beyoncé thus quite effectively made a clear statement around Black identity and power, both in the release of her song, as well as in her live performance.

The release of 'Formation' marks a significant shift in Beyoncé's public image, as up until this point she had never overtly made reference to her Blackness, or wider social issues situated around race. Our analysis of the media explosion in reaction to Beyoncé's Formation takes this unprecedented nature of her song and performance into account. Is Beyoncé exempt from media discourses that position Black women as deviant and de-valued? This question addresses gaps in the literature that fail to address the ways Black female celebrities may experience racial stereotyping differently than other Black women or even not at all.

Methodology

For our content analysis, we chose to analyze a variety of media articles produced by dominant media outlets. We define 'dominant media outlets' as news companies that do not overtly take a stance on the political spectrum (for example, NY Daily News, UK Daily Mail, CNN, etc). We looked at articles coming out of a variety of English speaking countries, although our final sample included articles from Canada, America, and Britain. We hoped that by including multiple countries that have a different relationship (socially and institutionally) to issues of race, our results would be more diverse.

We began by searching for all articles published between February 7th (the date of the Super Bowl) and March 7th that reported on either the release of Beyoncé's song and video 'Formation', or the Super Bowl performance of the song. The main search terms used were, "Beyoncé", 'Formation' and "Superbowl". From this initial search, we found 50 articles. From this larger pool we selected 18 media articles that did not participate in overtly in-depth discussion

of racial issues, instead claiming to merely 'report the news'. While these 18 articles reported the news on a surface level, they also contained 'metalanguage' around racial politics. The final articles selected best demonstrate how racist notions can be unconsciously coded into everyday, seemingly harmless, descriptive language.

To analyze the mainstream media articles, we organized the articles by outlining recurring themes that insinuated a racialized bias (see Appendix). The themes that emerged were: the use of militaristic language, highlighting specific historical narratives, and the use of the word 'controversial' to describe Beyoncé's performance. We read through the articles twice more and pulled quotes that fell under one of these categories. Each quote was labelled with codes for each recurring theme.

To best define and identify racialized bias, we borrowed from Entman's (2007) methodology of "slant" (p. 166). Entman (2007) argues that identifying bias, the "consistent framing of mediated communication that promote the influence of one side in conflicts" (p. 166) is key for conducting media content analysis. Furthermore, he explains that "to reveal media content biases, we must show patterns of slant that regularly prime audiences, consciously or unconsciously, to support the interests of particular holders or seekers of political power" (Entman, 2007, p. 166). On these grounds and to engage with the Black Feminist scholars cited earlier, we conceptualized racialized bias as wording that criticized Beyoncé on the basis of her body/clothing, her lyrics and performance, and her overall message about Black beauty and power. This initial phase of coding language was central to identifying overarching patterns of 'slant' within the articles.

We drew on the Black feminist theories to explore and draw conclusions regarding the significance of these themes. We anticipated that despite the mainstream media articles' reluctance to engage critically with issues of race, they would inadvertently do so through 'metalanguage' (Higginbotham, 1992),i.e. the coded racialized language and the deployment of hegemonic discourses that implicitly take a stance on race relations.

Additionally, we read many blog posts released in response to

'Formation'. These posts allowed us to gain a better understanding of some of the issues surrounding race, gender, and/or Beyoncé's 'standing' that activists and writers were overtly drawing attention to. We chose not to include an analysis of these posts as these posts were primarily used to educate ourselves as writers prior to engaging with this topic. As non-Black academics who discuss topics surrounding race and Blackness, we felt the blog posts (mostly written by Black American women) served an important purpose in aiding us to engage with 'Formation' through a lens that drastically differed from the mainstream media reports we analyzed. However, these blog posts were seldom in response to the mainstream media reports, therefore including them as part of the main data sample analyzed would have broadened the scope of our research beyond the capacity of this project.

Findings

We organize our findings into three main themes: militaristic discourse, selective historical narratives, and the use of the term 'controversial' to describe 'Formation'. These themes recurred throughout many of the articles we analyzed and exemplify how 'metalanguage' is utilized by mainstream media news outlets to convey coded racist messages to the public.

Militaristic Discourse

Amongst the articles we analyzed, half of them use militaristic language in their description of Beyoncé's 'Formation' performance. For example, overt language used to denounce Beyoncé's performance of 'Formation' as "a promotion of violence", "an incitement of hate speech", and a demonstration of "anti-police sentiment" (Washington Post, 2016; NJ, 2016). The language employed by media outlets suggests that Beyoncé's celebration of Black histories is inherently a 'call to arms.' In this sense, these media discourses reinforce the assumption that anything that is pro-Black is automatically anti-white or anti-law enforcement. Such explicitly negative rhetorics mobilized by Beyoncé's biggest critics allows for 'metalanguage' to be enacted. Another example of coded militaristic language is found in the discourse utilized by Vocativ News (2016), where they describe Beyoncé at the Super Bowl as having "an army of Black Panther-inspired

dancers". In addition to this statement, PopSugar (2016)--a celebrity news website--characterizes Beyoncé and her dancers as "storming the stage" (our emphasis). CBC (2016) describes how the singer and her dancers sported "Black-military inspired costumes" (our emphasis). By using the terms: 'military', 'army,' and 'storming' to illustrate Beyoncé's performance, these articles frame Beyoncé as a threat to the public (White) audience. Invoking this discourse situates the performance as deviant and works to alarm dominant White audiences.

Multiple articles also discuss how Beyoncé "hijacked" the Super Bowl (The Sun 2016, Daily Mail UK, 2016). Such language associates Beyoncé with 'terrorism', serving to depict the singer as a threat to the safety of the American public. The Daily Mail UK (2016) goes on to discuss how the 'Formation' performance risked "setting off a racial time-bomb." Again, we see how a news source triggers American anxieties surrounding terrorism and violent confrontation. News articles position Beyoncé as a militaristic threat to the American public and White supremacist agenda through the use of coded metalanguage. This positions Beyoncé's performance of Blackness as a threat to the mainstream White public, thereby implying it is in need of protection. These articles incite fear based on dominant discourses of terrorism.

Selective Historical Narratives

Another noteworthy discursive theme found in our exploration of media articles is the selective highlighting of certain historical narratives. These historical references further contribute to the militarization of Beyoncé. Given that Beyoncé's performance and the 'Formation' video explicitly reference the Black Panthers , it is expected that the media would draw connections to the history of the Black Panther movement. However, within seven of the 18 news articles, the Black Panther movement was framed as ultra-violent or militant as opposed to more positive depictions that position the group as a Black Liberation movement. A quote from The BBC (2016), exemplifies this by including this description of the Black Panthers: "a militant organisation that rejected the non-violent ideals of Martin Luther King, the party was set up 50 years ago to defend black people against violence". In addition to the negative framing of the Black Panthers, many of the news articles also reference

certain historical events and figures, namely Malcolm X and the 1968 Olympics, in comparison to the performance of 'Formation'. It is significant to note that nowhere in 'Formation' does Beyoocé overtly reference Malcolm X or the 1968 Olympic Black Power Salute. The media's use of these external events and historical figures to report on 'Formation' fuels anxiety in the white audience by constructing a connection between Beyoncé and other historical events/figures widely associated with militancy or radical deviancy.

Five articles within our sample referenced the 1968 Olympics Black Power Salute, a political demonstration where two African-American athletes wearing black gloves raised their fists on the podium as a gesture to the Black Power movement, and were expelled from the Olympic games as a result. The recurring discourse used to justify the athletes' expulsion from the games, was that the Olympics, like other sporting events, were 'apolitical' and should be kept that way (Telegraph UK, 2012). The inclusion of this historical event in articles reporting on Beyoncé's performance invites discourses that critique the Olympic Black power salute to subsequently be mobilized and applied to 'Formation'. By connecting Beyoncé's performance with this historical event, the media legitimates claims that 'Formation' is 'too political' to be performed at the Super Bowl. As New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani summarizes: "This is football, not Hollywood" (The Sun, 2016). Conflating Beyoncé's performance with this historical event allows similar discourses to be mobilized--ones that contend racial imagery does not belong at sporting events as they are supposed to be 'apolitical.'

Seven of the articles also made specific reference to Malcolm X. Out of the many female civil rights leaders they could have compared Beyoncé to, they chose to characterize her by using a man often associated with 'anti-white militancy'--a sentiment some of the articles explicitly expressed. The Sun article positions Malcolm X as being "opposed to Martin Luther King's nonviolent approach to US integration" (2016). It then discusses how Malcolm X prompted "his followers to create their own nation, free of whites" (The Sun, 2016). Including this complex comparison between Black revolutionary figures and positioning Malcolm X as anti-white serves

to associate Beyoncé with these 'militant' forms of resistance. By negatively discussing this historical figure within articles that purport to merely summarize Beyoncé's performance, she becomes immediately tied to Malcolm X and his 'antagonistic' views towards

The Use of 'Controversial'

Our last significant finding lies in the use of the term 'controversial' to describe the entire performance of 'Formation' at the Super Bowl halftime show. We found this specific discourse in four articles, which we differentiate from other news reports that described the 'controversy' that resulted from the performance. The difference is quite subtle, however we argue that attaching the adjective 'controversial' to the performance itself, implies that the political nature of the 'Formation' performance is inherently problematic or unacceptable.

We would like to interrogate what makes something 'controversial' and why certain events are labelled as such. When something is labelled 'controversial' it becomes up for debate. Thus, positioning 'Formation' as 'controversial' positions the content discussed in the song as disputable. As previously mentioned, dominant institutions have labelled sporting events as 'apolitical'-spaces where 'controversial' topics should not be brought up. In opposition to this, we pose that sporting events such as football games cannot be read as 'apolitical'; the bodies of (often Black) athletes are consumed and objectified for profits, hypermasculinity is glorified, state or substate nationalisms are placed at the centre of the competition, and all of these highly politicized endeavours undoubtedly take place on stolen Indigenous land.

What is designated 'political' or 'controversial' is therefore an assertion of hegemonic views; the status-quo is read as 'apolitical' and any challenge to these structures becomes 'controversial.' Thus, taking into account the political undertones of organized sport, we assert that Beyoncé's performance being labelled 'controversial' is a testament to how Blackness remains marginalized in mainstream American spaces. While the statements made by others in support or opposition to Formation can certainly be characterized as controversial because they participate in a wider argument surrounding race in America, we argue that to characterize

'Formation' itself as 'controversial', relays a coded message that racial issues must continually be silenced and pushed out of public spaces and conversations. Multiple article headlines utilize this form of metalanguage such as Popsugar's (2016) headline: "Beyoncé's Super Bowl Halftime Performance Was a Major Political Statement" and The Blaze's (2016) headline: "Did You Catch the Political Statement Embedded in Beyoncé's Super Bowl Halftime Performance?" Designating Beyoncé and her song as 'controversial' demonstrates how 'Black is beautiful' remains a subversive and disputable statement, and is de-legitimized within mainstream media reporting.

Discussion

Looking back to our engagement with of Black Feminist thought, many theoretical frameworks coined by Black women to articulate their experiences can be woven into our analysis of Beyoncé's Formation and legitimize claims that Beyoncé is not exempt from racialized stereotyping by the media. 'Metalanguage' and 'slant' were (Higginbotham, 1992 and Entman, 2007) we represent in every single news article we analyzed, depicting Beyoncé as either militant and radical, or a leader in the fight against Black oppression and White supremacy.

Drawing on Collins (1990) and her discussion surrounding stereotypes of Black women in the media, we argue that dominant media discourses situate Beyoncé as the 'angry Black woman' archetype understood by Collins (1990) as 'the matriarch'. Walley-Jean (2009) explains the 'matriarch' persona as "overly aggressive, [and] unfeminine" (p. 71). Absent from our analysis thus far, is a discussion on the Black body/representations of Beyoncé's sexuality within the media articles. This is because an overwhelming majority of them did not discuss this topic—an absence we found significant. Media depictions of the artist, in the context of this event, downplayed her sexuality and desirability, while over-emphasizing her 'militancy' and 'political nature'. This description of Beyoncé is significant because it implies that a Black woman cannot be characterized by the mainstream media as being both 'sexy' and 'political' at the same time.

We argue that many of our media articles drew upon the 'angry Black woman' or 'matriarch' stereotype to delegitimize Beyoncé's criticism of ongoing systemic injustices against Black people in the

United States. This was accomplished through all three themes of our research findings. By depicting 'Formation' as a dangerous threat to the public through the use of militaristic discourse, comparing her performance to other historical figures or events that have radical associations attached to them, or by labelling her performance as 'controversial', the media attempts to silence Beyoncé and code or conceal their racially biased critiques through 'metalanguage'. Our findings are significant as they point to how Beyoncé is no exception to negative depictions or stereotyping of Black women within dominant media, despite her celebrity status. She is undoubtedly one of the biggest names in entertainment and may be understood as exempt from oppressive discourses that subordinate Black women and their voices, our findings suggest this is not the case. Our research contributes to a wider discussion of how fame does not transcend race. Beyoncé, like many other Black female celebrities, is tasked with overcoming negative racial stereotypes put out by the mainstream media.

Conclusion

The media remains a powerful institution with the ability to constantly influence most members of society at any given point. Due to its far reaching monopoly over representation, the media is an incredibly difficult institution to subvert or counter. We view Beyoncé as someone who can harness the power to simultaneously oppose mainstream media and continue to be heard by the public. However, despite her immense influence, Beyoncé is not exempt from negative media stereotypes that vilify Black women. Beyoncé, as well as countless other Black women and celebrities, have been at the forefront of resisting these negative representations by instead representing themselves as complex, strong and beautiful. Beyoncé's 'Formation' is a song that aims to do exactly this: reclaim and proclaim Blackness in an era where simply doing so is labelled 'controversial'. The song itself foretells the media's reaction to the track through the lyrics: "you know you that bitch when you cause all this conversation". Beyoncé is well aware of what it means to be a female superstar who discusses race and how dominant players will try to brand her because of it. With the exception of a few sentences in her interview with Elle Magazine (2016), the performer

has entirely refrained from commenting on her song 'Formation' and the Super Bowl performance. Beyoncé has allowed the music to speak for itself and demonstrated the power of remaining silent—in this case perhaps making a louder statement than speech itself.

Our analysis of Beyoncé's 'Formation' can be applied to future research to determine whether her newly politicized music and status has had an impact on grassroots organizing. Has Beyoncé been able to influence other celebrities to take more of a political stance within their art? How might this effectively grow or stunt the growth of the #BlackLivesMatter movement?

Lastly, we would like to point out the vital work being done at the grassroots level by activists, especially those working under the #BlackLivesMatter movement. The tireless work of Black people with significantly less privilege and resources than Beyoncé who put their bodies on the line every day has arguably propped up her statement on Blackness. Thanks to their efforts, Black activists and academics have continuously carved out a space in wider societal discourse for conversations on race to take place. They back up Beyoncé's lyrics with action. Though our essay highlights the importance of 'Formation' and demonstrates that Beyoncé is not exempt from 'metalanguage' utilized by the media, there are thousands of noteworthy individuals standing alongside the superstar, working within their communities to create change.

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APPENDIX: Coded Data

Table of comments, quotes, and corresponding articles cited in paper

Title and Source	Quotation	Code
"Backlash to Beyoncé's Super Bowl performance continues to grow" *Fox News*	"Black women who perform at the Super Bowl bring simmering cultural tensions to a full boil, along with really high ratings."	Described as Controversial/ Political
	"So has hers turned out to be most controversial half-time show ever?"	Described as Controversial/ Political
	"Remember when Justin Timberlake "accidentally" ripped off Janet Jackson's top during their Super Bowl performance? Well the backlash from that has nothing on Beyoncé's performance last Sunday"	Highlighting specific historical figures/ narratives
"Beyoncé's Super Bowl halftime show: A primer for those who went for beer" *Los Angeles Times*	"Beyoncé's backup dancers weren't shy about politics"	Described as Controversial/ Political
"Beyoncé's 'black power' salute during Super Bowl 50 halftime show slammed by Rudy Giuliani as 'attack' on police" *New York Daily News*	"provocative Super Bowl 50 halftime show with an African-American history theme."	Described as Controversial/ Political
	"Beyoncé's video for 'Formation' — which was released on Saturday — heightened expectations that she would make a political statement at the halftime show"	Described as Controversial/ Political

	"It's the same gesture, fist high and proud, that Olympic athletes raised in the 1968 Games, setting off a firestorm of controversy."	Highlighting specific historical figures/ narratives
	"Bey's dancers were wearing leather and black berets, a symbol of the Black Panthers, the militant political movement that was formed 50 years ago this October."	Highlighting specific historical figures/ narratives & Militancy
"Queen of cynicism: No stunt's too shameless for Beyoncé, who was once accused of trying to look white but this week posed as a heroine of black power" *Daily Mail*	"...this time the world's most feted female singer was trying to make a serious political statement"	Described as Controversial/ Political
	"...it later became clear the performers had been giving the infamous right-handed black power salute."	Highlighting specific historical figures/ narratives
	"The X formation was a tribute to the radical black separatist Malcolm X"	Highlighting specific historical figures/ narratives & Militancy
	"A row is raging in America over the fact that the gun-toting Black Panthers Beyonce saluted were murderous criminals who shot police, robbed and extorted under the cover of fighting for justice for African-Americans. As for Malcolm X, he opposed Martin Luther King's creed of non-violence and wanted to create a new nation just for blacks."	Highlighting specific historical figures/ narratives & Militancy
	"...hijacking America's biggest family event"	Described as Controversial/ Political
"Beyonce gets political at Super Bowl, pays tribute to 'Black Lives Matter'" *CNN*	"Beyonce gets political at Super Bowl, pays tribute to 'Black Lives Matter'"	Described as Controversial/ Political
	"Asked whether a political message belongs at the Super Bowl..."	Described as Controversial/ Political
"Beyonce unleashes Black Panthers homage at Super Bowl 50" *The Guardian*	"Backing dancers wearing Black Panther-style berets and clad in black leather were photographed after the performance posing with raised fists evocative of the black power salute by Tommie Smith and John Carlos at the 1968 Olympic Games in Mexico City."	Highlighting specific historical figures/ narratives
	"deeply political statement with her Super Bowl show"	Described as Controversial/ Political

"Kicked in the Bowls: Beyonce sparks race row after controversial Black Power Super Bowl half-time show" *The Sun*	"BEYONCE hijacked the Super Bowl — and strutted straight into a Black Power race row." "THE half-time routine saw dancers in an X formation, an apparent tribute to activist Malcolm X. He opposed Martin Luther King's non-violent approach to US integration and wanted his followers to create their own nation, free of whites." "After winning 200m gold and bronze they raised black-gloved fists during the US national anthem."	Described as Controversial/ Political Highlighting specific historical figures/ narratives & Militancy Highlighting specific historical figures/ narratives
"Beyoncé's Super Bowl performance: Why was it so significant?" *BBC News*	"A militant organisation that rejected the non-violent ideals of Martin Luther King, the party was set up 50 years ago to defend black people against violence."	Highlighting specific historical figures/ narratives & Militancy
"Beyoncé's Formation video, Super Bowl gig spark uproar" *CBC*	"Black-military inspired costumes"	Militancy
"Beyoncé's Politically Charged Super Bowl Halftime Performance" *NBC News*	"Beyoncé's Politically Charged Super Bowl Halftime Performance"	Described as Controversial/ Political
"Beyoncé's Super Bowl Halftime Performance Was a Major Political Statement — Here's Why" *PopSugar*	"Beyoncé's Super Bowl Halftime Performance Was a Major Political Statement..." "Stormed the field"	Described as Controversial/ Political Militancy
"Sheriffs: Beyoncé is 'inciting bad behavior' and endangering law enforcement linked to violence against police" *Washington Post*	"carried a dangerous anti-police message"	Militancy
"Beyoncé Sacks the Super Bowl Halftime Show" *NewYorker*	"The video is everything the halftime show historically has not been: politically charged, visually daring, sexy, confrontational, revelling in Southern black femininity"	Described as Controversial/ Political

"Beyoncé's Super Bowl show brings praise and criticism" *CBS News*	"In addition, Beyoncé and her dancers raised a fist to the sky, reminiscent of the black power salutes of the 1960-70s, made popular internationally by Tommie Smith and John Carlos, who raised their fists to the sky after winning gold and bronze at the 1968 Summer Olympics."	Highlighting specific historical figures/ narratives
"BEYONCE HOMAGE TO BLACK PANTHERS During Super Bowl Performance" *TMZ*	"a tribute to the Black Panthers, a '60s group that advocated violence to correct racial injustice." "Tina Knowles posed with the dancers, fists raised high. It's not only a symbol of the Panthers, it's also a gesture used by Tommie Smith and John Carlos during the '68 Olympics."	Highlighting specific historical figures/ narratives & Militancy Highlighting specific historical figures/ narratives
"Protesters plan anti-Beyonce rally following politically charged Super Bowl performance" *Mirror*	"Not everyone was on board with Beyonce making such a political statement, especially as it came just days after she dropped the controversial video for the song."	Described as Controversial/ Political
"Did You Catch the Political Statement Embedded in Beyoncé's Super Bowl Halftime Performance?" *TheBlaze*	"Beyoncé is capturing attention for controversial political messages that were embedded in her Super Bowl 50 halftime show"	Described as Controversial/ Political
"Beyoncé's Halftime Show Was Full Of Not-So-Hidden Style Symbols" *Vocativ*	"Army of backup dancers"	Militancy

Doing Islam: Challenging the Political Through the Personal

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Abstract: Social norms produced by dominant culture are systematically imposed on 'subcultures,' with consequent effects of marginalization. The power they hold to do so is exposed when one defies these social codes by engaging behaviour that is beyond the scope of accepted conduct. Performing Islamic prayers—doing Islam—in public spaces on a Canadian university campus was a personal endeavour to challenge these socio-political norms, and also to critically analyze them. This paper follows an autoethnographic experience and draws on various theoretical works, including that of Du Bois and Goffman. Notions of Canadian multiculturalism are tested, as the norm breaking task of performing Islamic prayers in public reveals many fissures within this celebrated sentiment. This paper deciphers the realities of multiculturalism and explores future objectives towards challenging culturally limiting norms. I contend that the power of norms is only fully appreciated when they are confronted, and that deconstructing social rules imposed by dominant culture can only be possible through the relentless practice of "subculture"- on personal and political platforms.

Introduction

"THE PERSONAL IS POLITICAL." These were the words painted across banners carried by second wave feminists as they marched for social change. They demanded an awakening; one which sees private experiences as not merely personal, but as largely determined by and *determinant of* political structures (Staggenborg, 2012). The power of this message became the fuel for many social movements to follow, movements that analyzed and interrogated "personal" acts through political scopes and conversations. But what does this message really mean? How political is the personal, and how personal is the political? I set out to answer these questions by actively measuring that phrase through "a norm breaking task", to which I attach personal meaning but also view as polit-

ically symbolic. I performed my Islamic prayers in public spaces on campus at my university, the University of British Columbia (UBC), as opposed to practicing these rituals in the private domains of the campus prayer room or home. This norm breaking assignment revealed to me the taken-for-granted power of social conformity, and importantly, social nonconformity. These results are characteristic of any breaching experiment, a qualitative research approach associated with sociologist Harold Garfinkel; "the idea here is to experiment with ordinary social interactions in order to highlight the processes that are at work in rendering them 'normal'" (Garfinkel, 1987, p. 233). However, unlike classic breaching experiments which examine people's reactions to acts which challenge social norms, I sought to reflect on my own reaction, through an autoethnographic approach. My autoethnography made apparent the invisible line that separates dominant culture and subculture, and pushed me to test how inclusive and multicultural Canada is beyond legislative statements. Above all, it left me with important questions, the most pressing ones being: who decides what is culturally normal? What costs do these 'norms' hold on social interactions and ways of life within this society? Importantly, who pays for these costs? This paper aims to unpack my research experience as a Muslim Canadian and critically analyze what it means, on personal and political grounds. I will begin by describing my autoethnographic approach to research and suggesting the strengths and weaknesses I note in the method. Next, I will define what is meant by social norms, dominant culture, and subculture in the context of Canadian society. For the vast portion of my paper, I will guide the reader through my journey by highlighting some important, intimate, and jarring episodes, while employing sociological theories to analyze them. I will provide a thorough reflection of my norm breaking task, assess its meanings for multiculturalism, and lay down my prospects of social change which this experience has helped me develop. Finally, I will conclude with a juxtaposition of my primary understanding of the "personal" being "political" and how much of it I discovered to be true. My paper stands upon the columns of this argument: the extent to which dominant cultural norms control our behaviours in society can only be grasped when these social rules are confronted and resisted by bringing social practices from the margins to the center.

A Brief Overview of Norms and Norm-Producing Culture

To begin, I will provide sociological definitions of social norms, dominant culture, and subculture, for these terms will act as overarching concepts that the remainder of this paper is built upon. In *The Complexity of Social Norms,* Maria Xenitidou and Bruce Edmonds describe social norms as standards of acceptability (Xenitidou & Edmonds 2014). They contend that people decide what to do bearing in mind what they think is acceptable/unacceptable to others around them (Xenitidou & Edmonds 2014). As this suggests, our actions are ultimately controlled and constrained by the expectations of those around us, which is an appropriate framing of the types of thoughts and feelings that consumed me during my attempts to perform prayers around others on campus. Importantly, social norms are not naturally formed, but produced by society. This is where the models of culture come into play. The social group in power decides what is an acceptable/ unacceptable action, conduct, behaviour, and way of speech and dress in society, in accordance to their collective and agreed upon group identity. It is from this branch of culture that social regulations emerge as social constructs of "normal". UBC Sociologist Catherine Corrigall-Brown defines culture as "a system of behaviour, beliefs, knowledge, practices, values and materials [which] shape how we behave." (Corrigall-Brown, 2016) For the purposes of this paper, I narrow down the broad umbrella of culture and focus on dominant culture and subculture. In Canada, the former is composed of mainly white, middle-class individuals, who are "able to impose [their] values, beliefs, and behaviours ... because of [their] political and economic power" (Corrigall-Brown, 2016). On the other hand, the latter culture is characterized by difference and lack of power compared to the dominant culture in its capacity to decide which social norms have the power to impact and shape the rest of society. It is also interesting to note that these categories of culture are not always discrete and definitive, but can be continuous. Certain practices we engage may conform to dominant culture while other behaviours do not; I speak English fluently, which allows me a degree of cultural membership in Vancouver, but I wear the Hijab, which, in some cases, conflicts with other Canadians' values. It is important to note that group membership is less fluid regardless of my personal behaviour, as it is largely constrict-

ed by external, "unchosen" factors: race, ethnicity, gender, religious affiliation, immigration status etc.—things much less elastic than behaviour. In my autoethnography, I experienced how my actions placed and displaced me amongst these categories, and how the gap between them bred a sense of sociocultural strain and shock that I encountered while challenging these norms imposed upon me by dominant culture.

Method: An Authoethnographic Experience

I conducted this research through autoethnography, which Ellis and Bochner describe as an approach to research and writing that seeks to describe and systematically analyze personal experience in order to understand cultural experience (2011). I selected this particular method because my objective was to partake in a personal activity which would reflect socio-political processes; I was a subject of my study, and the university campus was my field of research. Thus, for the purposes of exploring a personal experience in the context of a cultural setting, an autoethnographic approach seemed most fitting. I carried out this method by performing Islamic prayers in various spaces around my university campus over the span of two weeks. Unlike other forms of social research, autoethnography allowed me to understand the functions of cultural norms through first-hand exploration and allowed me the opportunity for deep reflection, which was its greatest strength. Moreover, its inductive, open-ended nature of developing knowledge provided me room to learn things I had not anticipated, which is important to account for in qualitative research. While I gained a rich experience through this approach, it is important to also note its limitations; I was only able to draw conclusions based on my own experience. The weakness of my autoethnography is that it was based on my *individual* social position, gender, class, and race as factors in the cultural context of my research. Throughout the remainder of this paper, I will describe, reflect on, and analyze my autoethnographic experience.

Doing Islam: My Norm-Breaking Challenge

I chose to perform Islamic prayers in public as my norm breaking task because this practice is integral to who I am, an elemental aspect of my daily life, yet one which unfolds privately everyday.

I had only prayed in the closed spaces of my home, mosque, or the Muslim prayer room on campus; namely domains of subculture. There, prayer was entirely natural, unmarked and unquestioned because it complied with the code of social norms in those locations and within Muslim/Arab communities all over the world. However, to perform prayers in social zones wherein this code is not embedded in the presence of those who are neither Muslim nor familiar with Islam renders my prayers unnatural, marked, and questioned in those locations. With all this in mind, I set out to accomplish my task. I anticipated a sociocultural tension would ensue within me, as my Canadian and Muslim identity practices merged within a singular social lane.

Before describing my experience, it is important to explain what Islamic prayer is, such that the reader can have a tangible understanding of what my norm breaking task looked like. Islamic prayer, or *Salah*, is a worship ritual which is to be carried out five times a day at dawn (Fajr), afternoon (Duhr), midday (Asr), sunset (Maghrib) and evening (Isha). *Salah* can be performed alone or with others, the latter being preferred in Islam as a religion which emphasizes community. *Salah* brings together anywhere from two to two hundred to two thousand Muslims, no matter their race, ethnicity, gender, age, mental and physical ability, or class. It marks the most vital organ of being Muslim. I prepared to bring this phenomenon to the very campus where I spend most of my time, the University of British Columbia.

The day I was to begin my assignment, I found myself nervously anticipating the hour of afternoon prayer as it approached. This extraordinary sense of hesitation I felt towards expressing one of the most ordinary parts of who I am as a Muslim, was immensely telling. I asked myself: *Why?* Why did this basic act that I have practiced my entire life suddenly face me like a challenge? Why did it look different now that I was confronting it through the standpoint of non-Muslims? W.E.B Du Bois coins this process as “double consciousness,” (Du Bois, 1994) whereby a member of a minority group in their given society speculates their identity through binaric, divided scopes, while taking into account “minority” and “majority” attitudes.

This term was developed by Du Bois in his 1903 publication, *The Souls of Black Folk,* in a time where race relations amongst white Americans and African Americans were at their height. Du Bois describes double consciousness as follows:

> It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his twoness,—an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder. (Du Bois, 1994, p. 5)

While the concept is timeless in its application uses, it is important to note the differences between Du Bois' context and mine; his was a period of overt discrimination, and mine is a period of covert marginalization. Through one lens, I was viewing Salah as a mundane aspect in the lives of my family, my Muslim friends', and my own as something completely unnoticeable in the sense that it was normal. As I set out to pray in spaces with different sets of social norms, I adopted the viewing lens of my (non-Muslim) peers, colleagues, professors, janitors, librarians, security officers—all those on campus that would, in fact, *notice*. I was reflecting upon my identity as a practicing Muslim from a dominant cultural perspective, and, at the same time, a Muslim subcultural one, which proved to be a jarring experience. In the process of deciphering these thoughts and questions, I learnt how overwhelming the direct act of nonconformity to social norms can be, and that there was in fact nothing *normal* about them. I was struck by how quickly my task became less about being who I am, and more about bringing my private self to the public, and bringing my invisible expressions to the visible eye. Doing the marked, questioned, and apparently abnormal was both concerning and exciting. Throughout this experience, Islam slowly transitioned from being something I was part of, to something I was *doing*.

I chose UBC's Student Union Building as my starter location for performing *Salah*. I *found* a spot in the corner of the basement floor to pray Duhr, the afternoon prayer, beside a fairly spacious lounge area where students sat to eat, facing a busy noodle bar. One reason I picked this location was that it respected the quiet, focused nature of prayer, which was something I wanted to maintain throughout this journey. The greater motive, however, was it was not too uncomfortably exposed of an area. Entering this norm breaking experience proved analogous to entering cold water; I began by dipping my ankles. Indeed, it was difficult to focus on my task because I found myself very conscious of the students in the lounge behind me, wondering if they were looking at me, if they thought my actions were odd, if they knew what I was doing. Du Bois' "double-consciousness" is perfect for analyzing this situation; not only was I viewing myself inwardly, but I was judging my actions outwardly as those passing by would, with the former process tremendously interrupted by the latter. Being Muslim suddenly became complicated. My identity as a Muslim is not at all covered outside this experiment. I wear the Islamic Hijab everyday to university, and it is part of who I am and what I look like to everyone I know on campus. While the Hijab is a clear statement of being Muslim, compared to *Salah*, it is a passive one. It is something I am able to carry on me through my daily interactions at university. It is self-explanatory, and something that Canadians in Vancouver are fairly used to. *Salah*, on the other hand, is an assertive practice of being Muslim, one that could potentially be disruptive to these environments, and one that shifted the dynamics of interaction with others. Not only was praying publically something that was potentially novel to those around me, it was also novel to me. I was unable to practice it like I usually do, with complete ease, concentration and comfort. After this first try alone, I became very frustrated at how willingly I compromised my own values, way of ritual performance, and confidence in my practice of Islam for social desirability. I became consumed with a need to satisfy social norms, one I did not know I possessed until I set out to dismantle them.

I encountered this reality face to face on the fourth day of my experiment, when I was doing some coursework in the ever-buzzing Irving Library at UBC's centre. My self-formulated standards through-

out this assignment were to accomplish quiet and respectful prayers in locations that accommodated this, all while not going "out of my way", so to speak, as I usually do in order to pray. I wanted to bridge the gap between the authentic and performed aspects of who I am such that they could meet halfway and collaborate. In slowly discovering the difficulty of breaking social norms, I developed a slight sense of resentment towards the structural forces that constructed them, while accountably reflecting upon my own contributions to such processes. My project required me to become and to resist simultaneously, as each process interchangingly paved the way for the other. In praying in public spaces, I was *becoming* Muslim, and resisting dominant culture's regulations which do not accommodate for this.

I decided to pray Duhr again when I was in the open, wide space of our main library's computer lab, but suddenly felt overcome with nerves to complete my task. Aside from the aforementioned explanations behind my hesitation, I also found myself disabled by the fear of being recognized and becoming an outsider, despite being an insider at UBC as a student. Within me floated a fear of being judged, as the university environment is generally secular. This was not a cafeteria that I could enter and exit, but a study room where I would have to face my onlookers and sit with them again after breaking boundaries. It felt too *vulnerable*. Indeed, the people around me had a way of socially controlling me without verbally or physically asserting their power. The hierarchy of socioculturally acceptable practices is transparent in structure, yet enduring in manifestation. It demands to be complied with, everyday, such that rejecting it feels marginalizing. Perhaps, in the same way that I had not known I was this afraid of practicing a basic aspect of who I am, others may not know that they have the type of power to suppress it, simply by virtue of belonging to the dominant culture.

Erving Goffman's theoretical works speak well to this experience of discovering the lines between the authentic and performed self through drawing and erasing them. Goffman defines 'performance' as "all the activity of an individual which occurs during a period marked by his continuous presence before a particular set of

observers and which has some influence on the observers" (Goffman, 1959). In my case, Goffman's definition of a performance can be applied to the act of *not praying* when it was time for *Salah*, not claiming this part of myself, nor practicing it, solely due to observers I am surrounded by at campus. When the hour of *Salah* came, and I had wanted to pray but remained seated—alone or with others—I was putting on a show for "the benefit of other people" (Goffman, 1959), while depriving myself of my own benefit of exercising my faith. So, in standing and positioning myself to pray during *Salah*, I was breaking the performance and expanding upon the authentic parts of myself. However, my authentic practice of self then becomes an authentic *performance* for non-Muslims, a performance of Islam which catches the eye like a play would. This theory provides an interesting juxtaposition of the practice/performance of selfhood, one which is important to note in the topic of social construction of behaviour.

Interestingly, this experience did in fact reveal to me the various physical stages, directed by different social regulations, upon which the self conducts and behaves accordingly. This was a new layer and face of social norms which I had not previously considered. Generally, norms are referred to and thought of as imaginary, floating threads of a social system that determine our actions and behaviours. However, social norms also proved to be geographically binded *and* binding throughout my project, particularly because of the nature of Salah, as a religious action and behaviour. Religious rituals tend to be tied to religious spaces,, and prayers are also thought to be performed in one's home. By praying in libraries, halls, corridors and lounge areas, I was bringing religious rituals to geographically unusual locations, breaking physical norm barriers by doing so. While Islam permits Salah in public spaces, the majority of public spaces in Canada do not accommodate for Salah. While they do not prohibit this practice, they also do not invite it, by nature of their physical constructions, which then conceive parallel social constructions. Praying in campus buildings was unusual because a limited set of social norms were binded to those spaces, which in turn were binding in terms of what one can accomplish. This acted as a large deterring factor for me throughout my endeavour.

In the face of these barriers, I began to challenge myself to take greater risks. My mental tactic was to *pretend* that my act of prayer was "normal" to everyone around me, as apparently this acts as a prerequisite to doing anything at all. I knew that performing Salah in the gaze of non-Muslim beholders could in fact be normal, should other Muslims and I continue to *normalize* this ritual by simply doing it. Ultimately, the concept of "normal" must be deconstructed and redefined as to signify an accepted difference, or, in other words, an unquestioned difference. With a refreshed mindset, I began telling all the friends that I encountered, Muslim or not, about my project. I began packing a prayer mat in my bag and bringing it to university to lay it out before me when I needed to pray. I began to take larger steps outside my comfort zone and pray next to entrance doors of buildings, or in small side corridors next to desks occupied by studying students. And, when I had Muslim company, I would even pray by an open wall in a lounge or study area, because that small wave of collectivity was able to diminish the fear of standing out. Because prayer involves lowering my gaze, I was never able to evaluate the reactions of others during the act. This unawareness of how others thought of me was crippling at first, but became fuelling, because I was able to claim myself for those few minutes with a consistency that was not prone to discontinuation by the input of those around me. Not only did I discover new uses of geographical habitat and stretch the strings of social norms, I was also able to take part in a unique form of "silent" social interaction that spoke louder than regular conversations.

My most intimate point of change and success throughout this process unfolded at a time when my friend and I wear praying together in the Clubhouse of my neighbourhood complex. A man sitting on a couch on the other side of the large hall approached us after we completed Salah. To our pleasant surprise, he said "Assalamu Alaikum" to us, in other words, "peace be upon you", which is the main Islamic greeting. He asked us if we spoke Arabic, then introduced himself to us as a new immigrant. We were taken aback because we spotted him when we entered the space beforehand and did not assume that he was Muslin, let alone Arab, like we were.

Then, this man told us that him and his Syrian family were completely new to Canada, and that seeing Muslims pray was his first taste of comfort in this strange, new place. He also expressed to us that he did not know where any mosques or Halal food places were in the city, so we exchanged contact information and directed him to services that would be of use to him and his family. We also offered him consolation to his worries as a new immigrant, and even shared a few laughs. Later, I realized that this social exchange would not have occurred had I not identified myself publicly by performing Muslim prayer. This encounter was an anomaly in my research; I was very consumed by how public acts of prayer would impact my relations with non-Muslims that I had not at all considered how it would impact the ways Muslims relate to and identify with one another. When I initiated this journey, I found myself on the margins of society because I *placed* myself there by defying its code of norms. However, with direct exchanges like these, an indirect acceptance by others through not disrupting my ritual, I felt a strong sense of authenticity as a Muslim member of Canadian society because I was transparent in who I was and maintained my usual social interactions. My task became less about breaking social norms, and more about taking back my agency in creating them. The politics of a society that classifies cultural norms on a hierarchy affected my personal experiences as a Muslim Canadian, someone that belongs to a group that this system marginalizes. So, redefining my personal experiences and validating them through practice was a way of resisting those politics. The personal is political. And there is still much work to do.

Muslim and Canadian: A Gap of Identity

At the beginning of describing my norm breaking experience, I proposed that a great source of socio-cultural tension was the conjoinment of my Muslim and Canadian selves in a singular social atmosphere. This process suggests that these constituents of my identity are mutually exclusive. While this is far from the case, as I am Muslim and Canadian at once, my autoethnography has revealed that there is a slight repelling tension between both components. In the instances of performing Salah, of *doing* Islam, I felt as though I was an “other” on my Canadian university campus, because I ceased to *do* “Canadian” like those around me did. This

begs an important question—what is being Canadian? Or, more importantly, what does it look like? Canada prides itself for its fluidity in its term "Canadian", for its natural wideness and inclusiveness in whom it can encompass and adopt. But is this really the case? If I really am a Canadian and an insider, why does being Muslim make me feel like an outsider? Is Canada as multicultural as it claims to be, if nonconformity to dominant culture means being the face of subculture, or "other"? These are the questions that my social experiment conceived and which compelled me to critically evaluate the limits around identity practice, such as that of faith, and what they say about so-called Canadian multiculturalism.

The Paradoxical Nature of Canadian Multiculturalism

As scholar of sociology Augie Fleras (2017) once said, "Canada is a society of paradox," and a reflection of my project can be perfectly compressed within this phrase. Fleras does an excellent job in complicating the floating term "multiculturalism," in interrogating how true it is to its constitutional implications, and compares multiculturalism on paper to multiculturalism in real life, so to speak. He writes, "the secret lies in acknowledging the multidimensionality of multiculturalism as simultaneously positive yet negative, empowering yet disempowering, constraining yet constructed—depending on specific criteria, context, and consequences" (Fleras, 2017). Indeed, Fleras' analysis of multiculturalism suggests a bifold of meanings in its natural construction; integration or disintegration are both possible, where one can be free or be limited depending on which culture they belong to - visibly and invisibly- in the vertical, conceptual mosaic of multiculturalism (Porter, 1965). In alternating between dominantly "Canadian" behaviours, through passive conformity, to dominantly "Muslim" behaviours, by means of asserting religious ritual, I shifted back and forth between those categories, between integration and disintegration, never fully settling in one or the other.

It is vital to note that while I describe this process as though I pursued it with full agency (which I did to the best of my ability)I was immensely decided for by social norms. In this sense, multiculturalism failed me by not granting me and other Muslims the agency in practicing our beliefs as it promised on paper. My norm breaking

experience initiated as a test of nonconformity to social norms andexamination of the results—but ultimately also became a test of multiculturalism. The term itself is synonymous to integration, but I argue that Canada, as seen on Canadian university campuses, has not moved from the approach of assimilation. Fleras defines integration as "involving a process whereby individuals interact with each other at all institutional levels" (Fleras, 2017), meaning that various practices and expressions of individuality would materialize not only in individual spaces, but spaces shared by all, such as the university. On the other hand, assimilation is referred to as a "one-way process of absorption...entailing various degrees of conformity" (Fleras, 2017) whereby subcultures are to merge into the road of dominant culture; this is something I had not realized I had been doing until I set foot on a new path. While my project was one which carried out an individual agenda and impacted me on a personal level, it ensued an experience that is not at all isolated, but part of a social schema that benefits dominant culture and marginalizes Muslims everyday.

Looking Forward: Towards an Integrated Society

So what is the solution? How can we make the University of British Columbia, a host and harbour for thousands of students from around the globe, a truly integrational place? How can we remove the notion of "safe space" from speculation and realize it? The answer lies in the statement which started, guided, and will end my norm-breaking journey: the personal is political. These are co-constructive frameworks which sustain each other. First, Muslim students must realize that *just because the practice of Islam is personal, this does not mean that it must be private.* Social norms which privatize such practices of freedom set out in the constitutions must be confronted, first and foremost, in order to be transformed. Changing norms would prove impossible without forwardly countering them. This may be deemed radical at first, even jarring, as my experience proved, but eventually it has the potential to be a normalized social behaviour if pushed to the public domain. The wave must begin from the subcultural peripheries to the dominant cultural core through claiming individual freedom in exercising faith. However, a political path must be paved in

order for this personal wave to mobilize. As Fleras emphasized, inte-gration materializes at the institutional level. The geographical marginalization of prayer rooms is a marginalization of Muslim students. Muslim spaces must be established in more popularly student used buildings around campus in order to truly accommodate difference and materialize a safe space. Muslim students must be allowed to pray without fearing social sanctions or stigma. The University of British Columbia must create more prayer rooms and prayer spaces for not only Muslims, but members of other faiths and beliefs. Accomplishing this is also an endeavour which spurred from my initial aim. I realize that countering social norms which only accommodate dominant cultural values is a complex and difficult journey. As norms are reflections of a dominant group's values, challenging these social codes is a way of challenging an ongoing power dynamic. A successful multicultural society is one in which different cultural values are incorporated into daily life and accepted. As I make clear, there is still much work to do before we can say we have achieved this.

Conclusion

The extent to which dominant culture's norms control behaviour can only fully be unveiled when they encounter and are challenged by "subcultural" actions. I saw and experienced this by doing exactly that, by performing the subcultural act of Islamic prayers in the midst of a dominant cultural setting and atmosphere. I stood before the cultural expectations and social regulations that these norms impose upon society, and defied them. This proved to be a challenge in and of itself, and it was in these fissures that I came to witness the power of (non)conformity to social norms. This also proved to me the great paradox of Canadian society, that it is multicultural in ink, but in practicing basic and elemental parts of culture remains a contentious thing. I was at first frustrated by how controlled my actions were by others around me, and how constraining the norms of geographical context were as well. I was surprised by how paralyzed I suddenly felt in doing something that I had known to do my whole life, when I

attempted to bring subcultural acts to the dominant cultural forefronts. Goffman leant his theory of the "presentation of the self" to this by un-packing a type of chasm in selfhood—we perform the self in compliance with how we want others (dominant culture) to perceive us. We also are conscious of such expressions of selfhood not only through our own, inward perceptions of ourselves, but through how others would perceive us, those belonging to the culture of power, a process that Du Bois calls "double consciousness". In the face of social pressure, performing prayers ceased to be personal and became political. I was as much implementing a basic component of identity practice as I was making a statement. Though this journey began as a rude awakening, it left me empowered. Once I was able to defy social norms of behaviour on campus and practice who I am, I learnt something that I will carry with me throughout my career as a sociologist: things constructed can be deconstructed. While this pursuit will prove to be immensely complicated, the stepping stones required to achieve it are readily available to us. They are within us. *They are us.* And with each step taken in rejecting social norms that *exclude*, more steps will be conceived to *include.* Doing Islam against the social streams that attempt to reduce Muslims is an everyday form of resistance.

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Futurity, Visibility, and Voice: Mapping the Possible Futures of Indigenous Languages in Canada

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Abstract: The pasts and presents of Indigenous language practice are well documented in the Canadian public sphere. Many have made the connection between the construction and persistence of the Canadian nation state, and the extreme political and material marginalization of Indigenous languages. However, it is equally worthwhile to examine the possible futures of Indigenous languages, and the relation of these futures to decolonization more broadly. Understanding language as a political and historical entity, this paper theorizes on the particular role of Indigenous language practise in decolonization. This paper examines how Indigenous language interfaces with decolonization theories of Indigenous futurity, visibility, and voice respectively, to argue that a possible future of Indigenous linguistic pluralism is a unique and essential element of decolonizing the Indigenous nations situated in modern-day Canada.

Introduction

Language is an embodiment of culture, history, identity, and narrative for its speakers. That this document is written in English, for instance, signifies its intrinsic relationship with centuries of English speakers' thought in both form and content, privileged by the global influence the language enjoys over academic discourse and artistic expression. Conversely, Indigenous languages do not enjoy hegemony of any kind. Indigenous language use is tied significantly to the material conditions of Indigenous people themselves, as articulated by M ori scholar Linda Tuniwai Smith: "[when] struggling for physical survival, protecting your language … is probably the least important priority" (Smith, 2013). That is, language revitalization efforts are necessarily deprioritized in a hierarchy of more pressing material efforts for survival in Indigenous communities. Smith harkens the entire history of displacement and disenfranchisement faced by Maori peoples

that continues to present a violent physical, emotional, spiritual, and mental threat to Maori individuals and culture. She situates contemporary struggles to sustain Maori language as the direct fallout of the marginalizations that Maori peoples face. Smith therefore articulates the historical and active deprivations of Indigenous languages in New Zealand. It is from this material, historical, and political context that contemporary Indigenous language revitalization programs emerge.

Multiple discourses surround language revitalization programs. Particularly prevalent among these is preoccupation with morbidity: Indigenous languages are 'dying', 'dead', or 'extinct'. Responses to this discourse also vary: many appropriately understand it as evidence for the urgency of language revitalization programs; others hear the familiar intonations of Empire declaring Indigenous cultures as outdated victims of inevitable progress, doomed to extinction (Thobani, 2007). This climate has Indigenous communities, activists, scholars, international bodies, and the Canadian government, to varying degrees, prioritizing language revitalization programs to address some combination of past and present injustices surrounding Indigenous language use.

Adjacent to these important concerns, but often overlooked are discussions of Indigenous languages that are not centered around death, but rather around what Indigenous languages and nations could look like in situations of widespread fluency. In this article, I am most interested in exploring the consequent futures that unfold in settler-colonial nation states, such as Canada, when they are composed of Indigenous nations populated by a significant number of fluent Indigenous language speakers; that is, states that contain an Indigenous linguistic pluralism . I argue that a political understanding of language that accounts for hegemony, combined with Indigenous scholarship, reveals that such a linguistic pluralism is a unique and essential element of decolonizing the Indigenous nations situated in modern-day settler-colonial states.

Methodology

Addressing the contemporary status of Indigenous languages requires knowledge of the histories that contributed to the production of that status. This exposition is necessary because

many discourses of Indigenous languages assume that the erasure of Indigenous languages was a historical inevitability. In the beginning sections of this paper, I provide a brief overview of the material and political circumstances that systematically deprived Indigenous languages in Canada. I rely on the expertise and documentation of Indigenous scholars and international organizations (Obomsawin, 1993; Amnesty International, 2004; Truth and Reconciliation Commision, 2015) in order to highlight, in particular, the effect of these circumstance on Indigenous language practice.

An implicit assumption that I have embedded in this discussion so far is that language itself can even be considered hegemonic, as opposed to inertly existing inside of hegemonic systems. This assumption is certainly not trivial; in fact, significant trends of modern linguistic study are premised upon understandings of language that are strictly depoliticized[1]. Such linguistic paradigms, however, do not account for the magnitude of destruction faced by Indigenous languages since colonial contact that I establish in this text. Many linguists, activists, and scholars (both Indigenous and non-Indigenous) have informatively discussed the intertwined relationship between Indigenous languages and Indigenous cultures, epistemologies, and well-beings (Charlo & Rivers, 2014; Smith, 2012; Gessner et al, 2014). I combine these discussions with new readings of Gramsci's political writings (Ives, 2004) that understand hegemony as intrinsically linguistic in nature.

The purpose of this paper centres around the interface between concerns about linguistic hegemony and, broadly, the concerns of Indigenous communities. The bulk of my analysis is therefore informed by the work of many Indigenous scholars on a variety of decolonization projects. I focus on three separate decolonizing projects – put forward by Eve Tuck, Ruben Gaztambide-Fernández, Dara Culhane, and Audra Simpson – and examine how authentic Indigenous linguistic pluralism would give rise to each.

Tuck and Gaztambide-Fernández's work on curriculum re-

1 - As characterised by the SEP (Scholz, Pelletier, & Pullum, 2016): Externalist linguistic traditions emphasize the structural patterns of utterance, while Essentialist traditions emphasize the universal and innate properties of language. Chomsky, an influential essentialist (Scholz et al., 2016), has clarified his view that politics and language are discrete entities throughout his career (Olson, Faigley, & Chomsky, 1991).

placement (2013) establishes the ways that settler colonial society embeds colonization into educational curricula and academia in general, establishing Indigenous people as a transient "other" relative to the permanent settlers. Their work also discusses the failure of contemporary critical race theory, and multiculturalism, to successfully intervene against curriculum replacement. They then introduce notions of futurity: whereas settler futurity is the colonial logic that gives permanence to curriculum replacement, Indigenous futurity is the set of present understandings and potentialities that inform aspirations towards fully realized and recovered Indigenous sovereignty. I argue that language revitalization programs, and discussions of the possible futures of Indigenous languages, are intrinsic components of Indigenous futurity.

In Culhane's *Their Spirits Live Within Us* (2003), Culhane situates the annual Indigenous Women's Memorial March as resistance to an ongoing regime of disappearance enacted against Indigenous women in Vancouver. The prolific abuse, kidnapping, and poverty of Indigenous women is ultimately rendered invisible to the public by authorities and the press. Culhane establishes that the march carves a domain where Indigenous women take control over their cultural representation and assert their agency and visibility to the Canadian public. I argue that the presence of widespread fluency in Indigenous languages would function similarly to the Indigenous Women's Memorial March.

Finally, Simpson's *On Ethnographic Refusal* (2007) discusses the dialectical relationship between anthropologizing and being anthropologized. Simpson establishes methods of an Indigenous ethnography that can account for the harmful history of anthropologies motivated by imperialism. She formalizes the concept of ethnographic refusal: the tool both anthropologists and Indigenous nations can employ wherein a limit to the information that anthropologists can collect and comment upon is defined, such that representations of Indigenous communities are controlled by those communities. I argue that the existence of living Indigenous languages itself can constitute a form of this same refusal by constructing a domain in which Indigenous knowledge can be produced freely from settler anthropologizing.

These scholars' works, combined with a politically-informed linguistics framework and an accounting of the history of linguistic hegemony, grant a nuanced understanding of the environments under which languages require revitalization. Moreover, they inform how such revitalizations can be evaluated, and what truly living futures of Indigenous languages might look like.

Pasts and Presents of Indigenous Language Marginalization

In 2011, roughly 17% of surveyed[2] Indigenous people living in Canada reported the ability to have a conversation in an Indigenous language (Statistics Canada, 2011). Fluency in English or French among Indigenous people, meanwhile, is near universal (Statistics Canada, 2011). While data is not readily available, it is highly unlikely that a significant number of non-Indigenous settlers have obtained fluency in Indigenous languages. This snapshot of language use demands investigation into how such linguistic disparity came to pass. Why is it that bilingualism in Canada, In this section I review the historical relation between Canada's colonial policies and the deliberate marginalization of Indigenous languages.

The most overt instance of institutional language repression in Canadian history was the establishment of residential schools. Amnesty International's Stolen Sisters report details how the residential school system removed Indigenous children from their communities and "sought to deny [them] their culture and language" (2004, p. 9). These schools discouraged 'bad behavior' from students (i.e. speaking their native language) through ostracization, starvation, and assault (Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2015). This physical displacement of Indigenous children from their homes and into residential schools, however, extends language repression from beyond the children to the communities from which these children came from, by creating a negative space in the language development of that community. Smith discusses the related phenomena of Maori children being "adopted out" of their communities and having to "find their way home" (Smith, 2013). In the case of residential schools, those that could not return to their communities, were precluded from the development of that community's language. For those that did return home, acquiring their native language was

2 The cited survey includes "people who reported having Registered Indian status and/or being members of an Indian band or First Nation" (Statistics Canada, 2011).

hampered by their age: children are better at learning languages than young adults. Moreover, the language repression enacted by residential school was traumatic. Indigenous children were taught to "hate [their] language" (Smith, 2013). Finally, Indigenous languages tend to be linguistically quite distinct from both English and French (Gessner et al, 2014) that they learned during their residential school experience. The human displacement targeting children initiated by residential schooling policies evidently suppresses Indigenous community's ability to maintain and develop their language.

While the last residential schools in Canada closed in 1996, foster homes have largely subsumed their role in Canadian society since then; Indigenous children are four to six times more likely to be removed from their homes and placed in state foster care compared to non-Indigenous children (Amnesty International, 2004). While the conditions of foster care vary across the country, it is noteworthy that Indigenous foster programs received 22 percent less funding than those run in primarily non-Indigenous communities, according to a joint study by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development and Assembly of First Nations (Amnesty International, 2004). While comparative statistics regarding language use in Indigenous or non-Indigenous foster homes do not currently exist, Statistics Canada reports drastic proportional differences in "the ability to conduct a conversation in an Aboriginal language" (2015, para. 7) for those who live on reserves (45%) to those who live off (9%). It follows that the Canadian nation state's ongoing predisposition to pluck Indigenous children from reserves and place them in off-reserve foster homes economically and culturally sanctions the instruction of non-Indigenous languages to Indigenous children.

Language loss did not only come from the displacement of Indigenous children from their communities, but also from the upheaval of entire communities from their ancestral, hospitable land, towards reserves located at the geographic margins of Canada. Canada's deliberate encroachment of desirable land, and subsequent upheaval of the Indigenous inhabitants, has and continues to manifest itself as the following: colonial acquisition of resources and capital and "environmental racism", such as when Indige-

nous communities are placed at risk of exposure to toxic pollutants from industrial sites and remote or nonexistent safe water access (Mascarenhas, 2007, p. 568). These physical threats force Indigenous communities to focus on their survival rather than spend resources required for language revitalization. Furthermore, this environmental racism places these communities as dependents on the Canadian state for their livelihoods, entrenching them further as bilingual (i.e. English or French) subjects by necessity.

Alternative geographic displacements also occur: rural to urban geographic displacement (i.e. pushing Indigenous peoples from their communities and reserves into urban spaces) produces similar struggles for Indigenous individuals to maintain their native language, through dependency on English or French. Regulation surrounding Indigenous status in the 1876 Indian Act, especially the law which "stripped women of their Indigenous status … if they married a man from another community" (Amnesty International, 2004, p. 13) expelled Indigenous peoples from their communities, propelling them into desperate living situations without guarantee of sanctuary. Those displaced, if they have not already, acquire competency in English or French for access to basic state services upon which they are often dependent.

I have focused on 20th century cases in my paper thus far. A longer view of the history of Canadian colonialism confirms that Indigenous language marginalization is not a recent anomaly, but an intrinsic feature of the establishment of Canada. Here I paraphrase Alanis Obomsawin's (1993) summary of a demonstrative 18th century case study: in conflict over land claims, the assumed superiority of European languages on behalf of the English and French colonists is weaponized against the Mohawk nation. In 1716, the Mohawk village Hochelaga was relocated, upon orders from Louis XV of France, from modern-day Montreal to a designated plot of land in former Mohawk hunting grounds: modern-day Kanehsatà:ke. The year after this land was granted to the Mohawk nation, however, Sulpician missionaries arranged with the governor of Montreal and the Kingdom of France to have the land transferred to traders. These transactions were recorded in solely in French, however, so Mohawk

occupants of the land were unaware of the transfer for more than a century and a half. These transactions occurred despite the Mohawk nation continually documenting agreements surrounding land with the French colonists via *wampum* belts, their longstanding documentation methodology. In this action, Quebec settlers —motivated by pursuit of trading opportunity and resource acquisition—privileged French language as the prevailing mode for land transaction. Moreover, this action dehumanized Mohawks, removing them from access to political discourse and illegitimating their language and their documentation methodologies as valid expressions of this discourse. Obomsawin goes on to show that the Mohawk nation did not gain access to land discourse again until one of their members was trained to read and write in French. Joseph Onasekenrat, after being taught written French by the Sulpician missionaries, became aware of the 150-year series of transactions occurring on his people's lands, and began organizing resistance against the Sulpician missionaries. He wrote letters to the Minister of Indian Affairs and produced several statements in rebellion. While Onasekenrat successfully interrupted plans to relocate the Mohawk people further to Ontario, his acts of resistance, by necessity, entrenched French further as the sole language of successful negotiation with Quebecois settlers.

From these cases, the cause for the scarcity in Indigenous language practice in Canada's contemporary political and social landscapes is extrapolated. Negotiation with the Canadian state, with non-Indigenous groups, and in between different Indigenous groups is conducted in either English or French, as necessitated by bilingual policy and precedent. Moreover, the Canadian state's deliberate assimilatory practices have siphoned generations of potential Indigenous language speakers, removing the possibility of any Indigenous languages from threatening Canadian bilingualism. Khelsilem Rivers, a Skwxwú7mesh and Kwakwaka'wakw revitalization activist, notes that there no longer exist "places to be immersed in endangered languages" (Charlo & Rivers, 2014). Partitioned by generations of residential school abuse, community upheaval, and the deliberate mobilization of European language superiority for colonial dominance, Indigenous languages are kept at the margins of Canadian society.

Language, Hegemony, and Indigeneity

The dominant factors I have named in contributing to Indigenous language deprivation—residential schooling, geographic displacement, and deliberate colonial policy—have distinct overlapping effects on Indigenous cultures, material circumstances, epistemology, and political standing. The extent to which language exists separately from these other entities is not completely known. In order to understand how a possible future of linguistic pluralism could function in Canada, the properties of language and language difference need further investigation.

Contemporary influential linguists such as Chomsky might maintain that "the structures from which language operates are not only determinable but also already determined" (Ives, 2004, p. 23) inside of human biology; that is, that the relationship between language and culture, politics, and knowledge is tangential to the fundamental properties of language. Such a framework for understanding language, however, does not seem to properly account for the case for bilingual domination in modern-day Canada. To grapple with the clearly political and historical properties of language, then, one requires a model of language that acknowledges these properties.

Antonio Gramsci faced similar questions surrounding competing conceptions of language. Two dominant trends existed during his time: a positivist trend that "maintained that linguistic change over time and across languages is (strictly) the result of regular laws of sound or phonetics" (Ives, 2004, p. 21), and an idealist trend that sought to standardize and universalize languages and literacy across the European nations. Gramsci saw the former as reductive, and the latter as incomplete. Moreover, neither trend sufficiently resolved the linguistic issues that troubled him: his writings show consciousness of how his literacy and adroitness in national Italian reflected upon his upbringing relative to his working class Sardinian grade school peers, his regrets in not encouraging his son to learn Sardinian, and his compulsion to learn and appreciate several European languages in his lifetime (Ives, 2004). Gramsci's contribution to linguistic theory allowed for acknowledgement of the multifarious ways in which "proper" language use is coerced and consented to in order

to resolve questions surrounding linguistic diversity and unification.

Gramsci formalized these notions by characterizing language as composed of two codependent grammars (the sets of rules governing language use): “spontaneous” and “normative” grammar. Spontaneous grammar refers to the grammar that is intrinsic to language itself: the necessary tendency to speak “according to grammar” (Ives, 2004, p. 41), even if that grammar is not formalized. Normative grammar, on the other hand, is the tendency for societies of speakers to engage in “reciprocal control … reciprocal teaching … (and) reciprocal censorship” over the “norms” of language use (Ives, 2004, p. 41). To Gramsci, all language exists on a continuum between these two grammars, a notion that is both inter- and intra-lingual. For instance, the tendency for a given language to regionalize, or form dialects within sociolinguistic contexts, embodies both spontaneous and normative properties of language; in multilingual societies, similar forces determine the degree to which languages intermix or are discretized. The cultural and social contexts of speakers give rise to both spontaneously developing idiomatic language structures, as well as agreed upon norms of acceptable or understandable utterances. Linguistic norms, then, can be understood similarly to cultural norms, and thus can be mapped to Gramsci’s seminal notion of cultural hegemony. The extent to which people in a society are coerced into, or consent to, speaking one dominant normative grammar over an infinitude of spontaneous grammars existent at a particular time, is the extent to which that society exercises linguistic hegemony over its language speakers.

These concepts underpin the construction of bilingual hegemony in Canada that I describe in the previous section of this article. Canada enacted violent coercion over the language that Indigenous students were allowed to speak, even among themselves, in residential schools. Due to trauma associated with this experience, the extent to which people reject learning or speaking Indigenous languages or are convinced by notions that these languages are ‘dead’ or ‘extinct’, defines the extent to which consent for English/French hegemony is invested in by both Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in Canada. Furthermore, bilingual hegemony functions as

an ideological device that constructs English and French settlers as the "real subjects" of the bicultural Canadian nation, at the expense of both Indigenous and immigrant populations in Canada (Thobani, 2007, p. 145). The historical and present tension between English and French as the normative grammars of the Canadian state, and Indigenous languages as the set of spontaneous/normative grammars spoken by Indigenous communities, is entirely described by some continuum of coercion and consent in this manner.

This framework explains the nature of the linguistic hegemony currently existing in Canada. It also grants the tools to resist such hegemony – changes to the languages that we speak are placed within the realm of human control. Indigenous languages thus have the potential to become normative through successful language revitalization practice.

Indigenous Futurity

In her seminal work, *Decolonizing Methodologies,* Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012) outlines 25 different decolonizing projects that Indigenous communities are currently engaged in, one of which is Indigenous language revitalization. The central goal of this paper is to elaborate on the effects that successful language revitalization could have on projects such as these. I primarily draw from the work of Tuck, Gaztambide-Fernández, Culhane, and Simpson to draw new understandings of how Indigenous linguistic pluralism could serve emancipatory purposes for Indigenous people in Canada.

The first project I draw from is Tuck and Gaztambide-Fernández's analysis of the pasts and presents of educational curricula design in settler-colonial nations. Central to their concerns are "the ways in which curriculum and its history … [have] invested in settler colonialism and the permanence of the settler-colonial nation state" (Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernández, 2013, p. 73). They discuss how the goals and the outcomes of educational curriculum have emphasized the moral virtue and necessity colonization at the explicit expense of Indigenous histories and realities. Additionally, they provide methodologies for resisting these projects. In this section I argue that a similar analysis applies to Indigenous language re-

vitalization.Their analysis is motivated through extended analogy, employing a famous American literary figure Natty Bumppo[3] as the analogue for American notions of Manifest Destiny, and concomitant notions of Indigenous extinction. Natty Bumppo, born white but raised "Indian", embodies the perfect union between Indigenous harmony with nature and white enlightenment – he "learn[s] from the ways of the primitive without becoming them … [and remains] civilized without succumbing to nature" (Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernández, 2013, p. 73). Tuck and Gaztambide-Fernández set educational curricula as the target of the Natty Bumppo analogy: the curricula employ replacement narratives to reimagine settlers as "sovereign" and "natural citizens" of Indigenous land. For instance, settlers are romanticized as religious pilgrims, braving the "terrors of a wintry clime, an inhospitable shore, and a savage foe, that they might find a spot, where, unmolested, they could worship God" (Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernández, 2013, p. 76). When critiques of these curricula arise, like Natty Bumppo, the curricula and those who construct it subsume these critiques to further entrench settler replacement narratives. Tuck and Gaztambide-Fernández characterize identity politics, political correctness, and diversity initiatives as methods which, while initially intended to interrupt replacement, end up being used against Indigenous people to justify status quo policy. Therefore settler replacement exists permanently, absorbing attempts to interrupt it by adapting to and absorbing the logics of those interruptions.

Tuck and Gaztambide-Fernández then formalize the permanence of settler replacement through the notion of settler futurity - the ways that "the future is rendered knowable through specific practices" and "intervenes upon the present through ... anticipatory logics" (Baldwin, 2012, p.173). In simpler words, settler society is invested in maintaining a future in which settlers come to replace Indigenous people as the rightful inhabitants of Indigenous land. Tuck and Gaztambide-Fernández then turn this notion on its head: "Indigenous futurity" as the foil to settler futurity is the project that "foreclose[s] settler colonialism and settler epistemologies" (Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernández, 2013, p. 80) by establishing Indigenous epistemologies as normative.

3 Natty Bumppo is the protagonist of James Fenimore Cooper's The Leatherstocking Tales, a five novel series perhaps most famously including The Last of the Mohicans.

Futurity is also concerned with language practice. Colonization, and particularly residential schooling, have caused English and French to almost entirely replace the practise of Indigenous language in Canada. This replacement is maintained through contemporary policy such as the Official Languages Act that, while recognizing the "the importance preserving and enhancing the use of languages other than English and French" (Official Languages Act, 1985, p. 2), enshrines English and French as the authoritative languages for use in all federal institutions. The near erasure of Indigenous languages from this document – absorbed into the set of all languages "other than" English and French – naturalizes English and French as the past, present, and future languages of the Canadian nation state. Linguistic replacement, like curriculum replacement, legitimizes settlers as the natural citizens of Canada and their languages as the natural languages of its land. Bristling over the English fluency of service workers, and demands for linguistic assimilation, continue to this day. Preservation of bilingual status quo is therefore investment in settler futurity.

Similarly, Indigenous language revitalization projects, and the eventual goal of Indigenous linguistic pluralism, are investments in Indigenous futurity. They represent the permanent investment in Indigenous language, in contradiction to the Official Languages Act. They legitimate Indigenous grammars, in contradiction to the Canadian linguistic hegemony. Finally, they resist Natty Bumpo notions of an ideal Canadian citizen by asserting the validity of Indigenous modes of communication. Given the extent to which language is tied to culture and to context, a society that enables the flourishing of Indigenous languages is a society that has loosened its grip on settler futurity.

Regime of Reappearance

The next project I focus on are the notions of invisibility described by Culhane in her paper, *Their Spirits Lie Within Us* (2003). In this work, Culhane discusses the "regime of disappearance", the Canadian neoliberal institution that "selectively marginalizes and/or erases categories of people through strategies of representation that include silences, blind spots, and displacements that have both material and symbolic effects" (Culhane, 2007, p. 596).

Land displacement allows mainstream Canadian social and political landscapes to ignore Indigeneity due in part to its physical invisibility in these landscapes. Culhane then discusses the annual Women's Memorial March as grassroots resistance to this regime. Rather than shrinking to margins, Indigenous women carve their own space into Canadian urban society at the march. In this action, they simultaneously assert Indigenous sovereignty on the land and their presence as leaders in their community, in opposition to the patriarchally determined gender role they are placed in white Canadian society. This action is an investment in Indigenous futurity.

Culhane's notion of the regime of disappearance extends to language. It is the regime that names languages as dead, or extinguished, employing clinical, "scientific" logics for determining that such Indigenous languages exist in stasis, are doomed to extinction, are too-far-gone to be saved by Indigeneity's enterprising and modernized foil, the Canadian nation state -- despite the fact that Indigenous language speakers still exist, and that many communities are heavily invested in language revitalization programs. Distortions of linguistic terminology become proxy for negative cultural judgements against Indigenous peoples, and Indigenous representation is further marginalized.

The inverse of this logic implies that successful Indigenous language revitalization flips such a narrative. Akin to the Women's Memorial March, active political and social discourse in Indigenous languages disrupts the popular settler notion that Indigenous culture, history, and epistemology is "dead" or "extinct". Thus language revitalization can be understood as part of a regime of reappearance, where Indigenous languages establish visibility in social and political geography. These actions disrupt societal consent for the extinction of Indigenous languages, challenging Canadian bilingual hegemony.

From this framework we see how language revitalization can further goals of decolonization. Indigenous societal invisibility is sutured to the invisibility of its sovereignty. By inserting language revitalization into political landscape, Indigenous sovereignty becomes harder for the nation state to ignore.

Linguistic Refusal

The final project I examine is Audra Simpson's work, *On Ethnographic Refusal*. Simpson (2007) characterises anthropological "studies" of Indigenous peoples by Western scientists as "the means through which Indigenous people have been [and sometimes still are] known" (p. 67): a construction of 'difference' between the supposedly dynamic, objective colonizers and the static, subjective colonized. This difference is thus "contained into neat, ethnically-defined territorial spaces that … [need] to be ordered, ranked, to be governed, to be possessed" (p. 67), producing homogenized Indigenous 'culture' that presents 'differences' to the Canadian cultural mosaic. These differences are then mobilized unilaterally by the state to establish a multicultural veneer, ensuring its settler futurity.

Simpson finds that resistance against this construct can be found in refusal to participate, to have "intellectual commons … controlled by the people who generate that information" rather than as "shared standards of justice and truth" (Simpson, 2007, p. 74) that can be plundered by anthropological pursuit. This ethnographic refusal ensures that Indigenous representations produced through anthropology are constructed not as differences against the Western canon, but as armaments of sovereignty.

I theorize that successful language revitalization can perform a similar representative function to ethnographic refusal. From *Ethnographic Refusal:*

> Within Indigenous contexts, contexts that are never properly "post-colonial," the sovereignty of the people we speak of, *when speaking for themselves,* interrupt anthropological portraits of timelessness, procedure and function that dominate representations of their past and, sometimes, their present. (Simpson, 2007, p. 68, emphasis added)

My emphasis in this quote makes literal the connection between Simpson's work and language revitalization. That is, Indigenous peoples reclaiming their native languages acts as a form of linguistic refusal: the language constructs a domain, or a

voice, where discussions of sovereignty, resistance, and decolonization can take place unimpeded by bilingual hegemony, where language dynamism necessarily replaces perceptions of stasis.

The notion of linguistic refusal has considerable power: it balances historical asymmetry in access to production of knowledge – currently, there is a "struggle over … ownership" of terms (e.g. university), of forms of knowing, of "the human condition" between, in particular, Maori scholars and the New Zealand government (Smith, 2012) – shifting private access of pertinent knowledge to speakers of Indigenous languages, who would then be able to produce knowledge without adherence to Western cultural or epistemic values. For instance, accommodating Indigenous preference of oral dissemination of knowledge over written argumentation. Mobilizing the political leverage of refusal as Simpson describes it enables Indigenous peoples to keep silent what has been forcibly been shared in the past: land, representation, and education.

Conclusion

I have discussed the pasts and presents that have deprived Indigenous people in Canada from speaking their languages. These structures center around a key property: the continuum of coercion and consent that the Canada has enacted and withdrawn from both its Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations. Residential schools, access to public discourse, dependency on economic resources only available in English and French, social and individual environments which devalue Indigenous languages and associate them with trauma: all of these forces exist on a continuum of coercion and consent into Canada's enshrined bilingualism.

I characterize the relationship Indigenous languages have with the Canada as linguistic hegemony, namely the extent to which Canada exerts coercion and consent over language use. This understanding of linguistics grounds language as a political and historical entity, within the realm of human control and influence, rather than as an inert and contingent mode of communication. Formalizing linguistic hegemony through Gramsci's notions of spontaneous and normative grammars gives the tools for both

understanding linguistic hegemony, and resisting it effectively.

From there, I engage with three areas of Indigenous decolonization research to understand the places where successful Indigenous language revitalization extends or augments efforts for sovereignty. Tuck and Fernandez's research on curriculum and settler futurity provides both a cautionary tale, as well as a methodology for resistance. Culhane's notion of 'invisibility' in *Their Spirits Live Within Us* is an inversion of the visibility that language revitalization brings to Indigenous political and social discourse; moreover, that successful revitalization impedes state displacement of Indigenous peoples. I then apply a similar inversion to Simpson's notion of 'ethnographic refusal', establishing that language revitalization grants Indigenous populations unique access to 'voice'. From this voice, linguistic refusal can be employed to protect Indigenous sovereignty and challenge bilingual hegemony.

After this analysis, an answer to my central research question can be imagined: a future where Indigenous languages are widespread to the extent that they become normative is a future that naturally extends existing decolonization methods. There is a necessary connection between social, cultural, and political realities that are sutured to language. Imagining true linguistic pluralism in settler-colonial societies with Indigenous languages is tantamount, in many senses, to imaging the ends of settler-colonial societies. At the very least, the investment in futurity, the assertion of visibility, and the control over refusal all grant Indigenous nations the ability to produce their own knowledge and control their own representations; their ability to do so in their own language is a characteristic feature of these processes.

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Spanking And Satire: The Heart Attack Grill and its Mockery of the Obesity Epidemic

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Abstract: Located in Downtown Las Vegas is an establishment known as the Heart Attack Grill. True to its name, the Heart Attack Grill proudly uses pure lard to deep-fry much of its food — several customers have actually experienced heart attacks while dining on its premises. The blatant unhealthiness of this hospital-themed restaurant is an explicit contradiction to the contemporary values of healthy eating and slender bodies more prominent than ever within North American society. Obesity is portrayed as an epidemic by medical authorities, condemned by mass media and society at large. This obesity epidemic discourse has developed over time through processes of moral entrepreneurship, allowing anti-obesity ideals to grow. This paper identifies and explores three main components of this obesity epidemic discourse: the science, the social norms, and the mass media. Through satire and mockery, the Heart Attack Grill not only illustrates how this discourse functions but also challenges it as well.

Introduction

Las Vegas, a city of legendary indulgence, where so much just seems larger than life. Consider the “Strip”, where behemoths of hotels and resorts stand face-to-face with convincing replicas of the Eiffel Tower, the Statue of Liberty, a 30-story Egyptian pyramid, and much more. Countless opportunities for entertainment, gambling, and nightlife are virtually begging to be taken advantage of. The same can be said for dining as well. One can purchase a 24-hour buffet pass, which grants an unlimited number of visits to numerous buffets across the city for a discounted price.

Of course, sometimes a burger is all it takes to satisfy the stomach’s cravings. In this case, the Heart Attack Grill located in the Downtown area away from the Las Vegas Strip is one such pos-

sible destination. While not an all-you-can-eat establishment, it is very common for the average customer to find themselves unable to take another bite at the end of their meal. Perhaps this is because many choose to order the "Quadruple Bypass" burger, a monstrosity of almost 10,000 calories containing 4 beef patties and an optional 20 bacon slices all drenched with chili, onions, tomatoes, and cheese. In 2013, it was awarded the Guinness World Record for "The World's Most Calorific Burger" (Barrett, 2013). Nowadays, those wanting even more can consider the "Octuple Bypass" burger which comes with 8 patties and 40 bacon slices.

As the naming of these burgers and the establishment itself suggests, eating at the Heart Attack Grill is one of the least health-conscious dining options available to indulge in during one's stay in Las Vegas. This is exactly how the restaurant has been marketed; one of their promotional videos for example explicitly insists that the food is "absolutely as unhealthy as possible" (Fremont Fan, 2014). Not surprisingly, the restaurant has consistently found itself under media scrutiny. This is not only due to the waitresses being dressed as scantily-clad nurses, but because multiple heart attacks have actually been suffered by customers dining at the Heart Attack Grill. Critics also point out that those weighing over 350 pounds can eat for free, accusing the restaurant of actively promoting obesity.

In the present, fatness and obesity are increasingly condemned and associated with poor health in North American society. Health groups like the World Health Organization (WHO), university institutions, and the media have all insisted that obesity has become one of America's gravest epidemics (Catenacci & Wyatt, 2009, p. 415). With this in mind, it becomes clear that the Heart Attack Grill's artery-clogging burgers represent a complete disregard for current food trends and movements where healthy eating and slenderness are examples of the values and bodily images increasingly promoted and expected from citizens.

Altogether, these views and ideals have allowed for the manifestation of an obesity epidemic discourse driven by moral entrepreneurship. Various groups, institutions, and even individual

actors contribute to the construction of obesity as a moral issue, as well as a negative and deviant social problem. Their interests and motivations influence how they define the relationship between consumption and reality. Joanne Hollows and Steve Jones (2010) note how this entrepreneurial process of creating moral panics and anxieties is increasingly considered the most effective way of addressing contemporary societal issues, including obesity (p.308). This paper identifies and critically explores three main components of the obesity epidemic discourse: the science, the social norms, and the mass media. Through satire and mockery, the Heart Attack Grill illustrates this discourse while challenging it as well.

After an introduction of the restaurant's history and Howard Becker's concept of moral entrepreneurs, a review of the scientific landscape in regards to obesity will be conducted. A discussion of the social norms surrounding obesity follows, as well as the ways in which these can be manipulated by different industries and interest groups. Two media samples from ABC News will then be analyzed to illustrate how these interrelated components of the obesity epidemic discourse are perpetuated and reinforced by mass media mechanisms.

Jon Basso's Heart Attack Grill

Behind the creation of the Heart Attack Grill is Jon Basso, a man who does not mind at all to be referred to as Dr. Jon. At one point in his life, Basso was a fitness trainer as well as the owner of several weight loss centres. In 2005, he was drawn into a legal confrontation with the famed burger chain In-N-Out, due to the fact that his fitness facilities contained "in and out" in their own names (Stapleton, 2012). The burger chain is quite popular for various reasons, including reasonable prices, higher quality ingredients than the average fast-food place, and the ability to customize orders and access secret menus. Customers can forego the entire burger bun, for example, to simply indulge in a stack of cheese and beef patties. Fundamentally however, In-N-Out is still a fast food business which profits from serving its customers with food positioned more on the unhealthy end of the nutritional spectrum. This inspired Basso's next business venture, which would evolve into the blatantly unhealthy Heart Attack Grill.

The first Heart Attack Grill opened in Arizona, but the only location still open today is on Fremont Street in Downtown Las Vegas. Their website claims that "Dr. Jon can be found each day, at the griddle, actually flipping hamburgers in his white doctor's lab coat and stethoscope" ("Heart Attack Grill," n.d.). Indeed, the establishment is a hospital-themed place of dining; customers are provided with mandatory gowns to wear over their clothes, waitresses dress as nurses, and other members of the kitchen staff are draped in hospital scrubs or doctor's coats.

From the words of Basso himself, the Heart Attack Grill's menu is "purposely designed to be offensive" and outrageous (Fremont Fan, 2014). In terms of variety, the selection is not large. Customers can order burgers, hot dogs, onion rings, or fries; the novelty here is that with the exception of the buns, everything else is deep fried in pure lard. The restaurant's well-known burgers can be stacked up to 8 beef patties high, along with 40 slices of bacon and various condiments. The milkshakes, made with buttercream, allegedly possess "the world's highest butterfat content". A variety of alcoholic beverages, leaf tobacco, and candy cigarettes are also sold, all of which unquestionably reflects some of society's unhealthiest vices in drinking and smoking. It makes sense then that Basso refers to each item on the Heart Attack Grill's menu as a "legal but lethal commodity" (Fremont Fan, 2014).

Customers unable to finish their food are subject to a "spanking" by a waitress, in front of all the other patrons at the centre of the restaurant. Alternatively, a wheelchair ride of glory to leave the establishment is awarded if a customer manages to finish one of the larger burgers. Outside of the Heart Attack Grill's doors lies a massive scale, a declaration that those who weigh over 350 pounds can dine for free. The theme, the menu, and the practices within the Heart Attack Grill are all celebrations of excessive indulgence and quite bluntly, fatness. All of these factors are what feeds the restaurant's harshest criticisms.

To be fair, being a critic of the Heart Attack Grill is not the most difficult of jobs. The establishment became a global news phenomenon in February 2012 when a customer actually suffered a heart

attack inside, followed by another episode in April later that year. In 2013, spokesperson John Alleman passed away from a heart attack shortly after his usual complimentary meal (ABC News, 2013). Alleman was not even the first Heart Attack Grill spokesperson to lose his life after regularly dining at the restaurant — at the former Arizona location, 575-pound Blair River passed away after falling ill with pneumonia in 2011 (ABC News, 2011). River was only 29-years old. While a direct link between his death and the restaurant was questionable, the media had no issue with portraying it as if it were real.

Obesity as a Morality Issue

River, like many eligible for free meals at the Heart Attack Grill, was considered obese. The WHO defines obesity as "the abnormal or excessive fat accumulation that presents a risk to health" (Guthman, 2011, p. 26). According to the Centers for Disease Control (CDC), obesity involves "having a body mass index equal to or greater than 30, and overweight as having a BMI equal or greater than 25 but less than 30" (Saguy & Gruys, 2010, p.232). Yet these formal definitions are not really that necessary, when considering how most individuals within North American society are well aware of what an overweight or obese person looks like.

This embedded knowledge can be explained by Howard Becker's work on social labelling and deviance. Becker noted that behaviours can only be labelled as deviant when rules that condemn them are created (Monaghan, Hollands & Pritchard, 2010, p. 42). Monaghan and colleagues (2010) applied these ideas to note how anti-fat ideals have been perpetuated and enforced to lead obesity into being "actively constructed in recent years as a global medico-moral problem" (p. 42). Science is used to prove the legitimacy of such claims, and social values define obese behaviours as deviant and immoral. Indeed, slenderness slenderness today is perceived to represent greater status as well as moral virtue and discipline (Saguy & Gruys, 2010, p. 231).

The processes facilitating this are what Becker referred to as moral entrepreneurship. By labelling something as a serious issue, different individuals, interest groups, or even industries can act as

"entrepreneurs" to address it in some way. For obesity, many of these moral entrepreneurs have attempted to solidify its portrayal as a crisis and epidemic (Monaghan et. al, 2010, p. 38). Consider the industrial and corporate interests at play here — the existence of an obesity epidemic will surely provide scientists with greater opportunities to secure additional research grants and resources. Similarly, government health agencies can expand their budgets and programs, while pharmaceutical companies can develop and release new products to the increasingly health-conscious public. The food industry can sell consumers a cake, followed by a healthier alternative right after.

The Science Behind the Discourse

When applying this concept of moral entrepreneurship to science behind obesity, it is not strictly to challenge the seriousness of the issue. The WHO and the CDC have been at the forefront of proving that obesity has reached epidemic proportions, placing more people at risk of poor health and disease than ever. The CDC claims that the prevalence of obesity "nearly tripled between 1960 and 2003-4, from 12.8 percent of the population to 32.2 percent" (Flegal, Carroll, Ogden & Curtin, 2010, p. 235). In 2008, 68 percent of US adults were considered overweight or obese; 5.7 percent of these individuals were classified with extreme obesity (Guthman, 2011, p. 30). These statistics are undeniably quite worrisome.

Rather, moral entrepreneurship is more effective in encouraging an awareness of how scientific authority can conceal biases or inconsistencies and even promote different agendas. The issue with statistics is that they can be manipulated to serve different interests. As Julie Guthman (2011) claims, the "obesity epidemic is an artefact of particularmeasures, statistical conventions, epidemiological associations, and rhetorical moves" (p.25). One illustration of this lies in how obesity is often measured. The calculation of one's body mass index (BMI) is commonly used to serve this purpose, yet it is far from the most accurate method of measurement available. Whereas techniques such as measuring skin folds, underwater weighing, or computerized tomography would provide much more accurate data, these are avoided due to being "prohibitively expensive" for gathering large samples of data (Guthman, 2011,

p.28). In other words, accuracy in measuring obesity is compromised in favour of the efficiency and ease of calculating one's BMI.

BMI is simply a ratio between weight and height, or more specifically a person's weight in kilograms divided by the square of their height in metres (Guthman, 2011, p. 28). As a result, almost anyone can determine their BMI themselves without the need for sophisticated equipment or professional medical advice. Although certainly convenient, the simplistic nature of this formula leads many to disregard other key factors such as bone mass, muscle mass, and the height of an individual (Guthman, 2011, p. 28). Ironically then, a bodybuilder could be considered "overweight" or even "obese" according to the BMI scale.

And even if an individual is more on the portly side, BMI measurements cannot identify the different types of fat within the body. For example, subcutaneous fat or fat under the skin is generally regarded as less harmful (Guthman, 2011, p. 29). Its counterpart in visceral fat, which surrounds the body's organs, can lead to more serious health complications (Guthman, 2011, p. 29). However, it is important to note that high body fat in general has been associated with debilitating medical conditions such as high blood pressure.

It is not surprising then that the debate revolving around the extent and legitimacy of the obesity epidemic features strong and diverse stances. Some research for example, claims that obesity is actually stabilizing, and perhaps even declining (Bombak, 2014). Other studies suggest that the alleged rise in obesity rates are not uniform across the entire American population; rather, the growth is among those already on the higher ends of the BMI scale (Guthman, 2011, p.31). Yet this very conclusion can be countered by CDC stating that "the percentage of children with obesity in the United States has more than tripled since the 1970s" (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2017). Underneath all of these statistics and findings, there is often a "rarely remarked-upon uncertainty" that surrounds studies conducted on obesity (Bombak, 2014, p. 511). The empirical nature of science is what often serves to distract from this reality.

With this in mind, assessing the sources of obesity research becomes even more important. Similar to the tobacco industry and its historical denial of smoking being detrimental to health, conflicts of interest also exist to hinder and bias research revolving around obesity and health. In exploring investigations of sugar-sweetened beverages, Bes-Rastrollo and colleagues (2013) showed that scientific research is not as objective as it might seem. Two research groups were distinguished: one that possessed financial conflicts of interest with the food industry, and one that did not. 83.3 per cent of the conclusions made by the first group suggested that "scientific evidence was insufficient to support a positive association" between weight gain and consumption of these beverages (Bes-Rastrollo, Schulze, Ruiz-Canela & Martinez-Gonzalez, 2013, p. 2). The same figure of 83.3% was shared by the other group, yet their conclusion was that consumption did indeed represent a potential risk factor (Bes-Rastrollo et. al, 2013, p.2). Somehow, the scientific evidence produced by those with a conflict of interest directly contradicted the research of their more unaffiliated colleagues.

Mocking Health and Science

Moral entrepreneurism unsurprisingly takes place within the fitness industry as well, and Heart Attack Grill owner Jon Basso was aware of this. Having worked as a fitness trainer, Basso likened himself to a "slimy, crooked, dishonest peddler of health and fitness services" who promised clients unrealistic changes in their physique in exchange for their money (Stapleton, 2012). After all, the demand for fitness to achieve the ideal body only increases as people are more and more informed of rising obesity rates — in other words, perceiving themselves to be out of shape. Through products like dietary plans, personal trainers, and gym memberships, the fitness industry is able to legitimize obesity as a fixable issue.

In many ways, Jon Basso's Heart Attack Grill is openly mocking this obesity epidemic discourse while simultaneously profiting from it all as an enterprise itself. The hospital serves as an official institution within the field of health and medicine. The Heart Attack Grill chooses instead to parody this setting as a place of celebration, as a tourist attraction, and ultimately as a business. Cheerful, scantily-clad

females in nurse uniforms bring customers food and pose in photos with them afterwards. This even plays into the stereotypes of female submissiveness and hypersexual stereotypes still associated with the 'feminized' practice of nursing today. Real doctors would suggest that we eat in moderation to stay healthy; Dr. Jon and his staff instead encourage their customers to indulge, spanking them if they do not finish their food. Wheelchairs in everyday life might represent a disability or injury; at the Heart Attack Grill, those who manage to complete a Quadruple (or larger) Bypass Burger are awarded a triumphant wheelchair ride out of the restaurant for their accomplishment.

All of the food names used at the Heart Attack Grill possess some sort of medical connotation. As stated on their website, the menu names "imply coronary artery bypass surgery, and refer to the danger of developing atherosclerosis from the food's high proportion of saturated fat and excessive caloric content" . These artery-clogging burgers are known as the Bypass Burgers, labelled "Single", "Double", "Triple", and so on to indicate the amount of beef patties contained. A hot dog slathered with chili is referred to as a Coronary Dog. Deep fried in pure lard, french fries at the Heart Attack Grill are known as Flatliner Fries, a nod to cardiac flatlining. The only menu item lacking a creative medical name are the beer-battered onion rings; these too however are deep fried in pure lard.

The way in which alcoholic beverages are delivered further mocks medicine and medical treatments. Wine is delivered in IV bags connected to IV poles. Vodka jello shots are contained in plastic syringes. For those who want to skip the jello, different splashes of alcohol can be ordered to come in 100 cc pill bottles rather than shot glasses. One might argue that a visit to the Heart Attack Grill is more about the experience than the food itself. More importantly, this experience is the result of deliberate design by entrepreneur Jon Basso. By acknowledging the belief that obesity can be addressed by self-control and discipline, the Heart Attack Grill has created a fascinatingly taboo environment to entice its customers.

Body Standards and Society

The blatant celebrations of fatness and excess taking place

daily at the Heart Attack Grill illuminate a deeper and arguably more meaningful component of the obesity epidemic discourse: its social norms. Being overweight can certainly be detrimental to one's health, but it is not the scientific facts that most people fear in regards to obesity. Rather, a strong argument can be made that the rise of the obesity epidemic has much to do with the "visibility of fatness and the fact that many find it aesthetically displeasing" (Guthman, 2011, p. 25). Fatness today is frowned upon, and associated to low status and undisciplined gluttony.

In the past, these body standards were almost reversed. Historically, when food was scarce, a plump body was recognized as an indicator of wealth; in earlier eras of poor nutrition and thin bodies, individuals actually overstated their weight in attempts to create a better image of themselves (Guthman, 2011, p.29). As noted by Garabed Eknoyan (2006), food consumption historically was more about who "could store the greatest amount of fat from the least amount of… erratically available foods" (p.422).

Perhaps a source of inspiration for Jon Basso's Heart Attack Grill are the Fat Men's Clubs that existed in the United States up until even the early 1900s. As discussed by Steams in Fat History: Bodies and Beauty in the Modern West (1997), reaching a certain weight was one of the requirements for obtaining membership into these prestigious fraternities. Even more important than body weight however was the fact that club members were both wealthy and powerful individuals. Fat Men consisted of various judges, ministers, religious leaders, and other influential people. They met not only to indulge in oyster cocktails and roast suckling pigs, but also to network and socialize as elites. In these clubs, fatness was truly an illustration one's affluence and power.

Of course, the agricultural and industrial revolutions had already initiated the redefining of both the mechanisms and limits in food production. Fatness has gradually been rendered an obsolete illustration of wealth, as shown by today's negative stigma around it. As noted by Foucault, these sweeping social changes not only improved the quality of life but also brought about a transforma-

tion of power and discipline within the entire western world (Lafrance, 2015, p. 351). Repressive rule gave way to more modern and regulatory approaches to control (Lafrance, 2015, p. 351). In terms of food, individuals became "biocitizens" in a free market with a seemingly endless supply of products to choose from (Lafrance, 2015, p. 351). Rather than a governing power above dictating food choices, biocitizenship entailed a constant cycle of self-evaluation, self-scrutiny, and self-questioning based on one's relationships and position within society (Lafrance, 2015, p. 351). Emma Rich (2011) referred to this as a "surveillant assemblage" (p. 5), a system of sorts that placed individuals under surveillance and control through parenting, social class, political discourse, and media mechanisms.

Social norms and subsequently peer pressure are what largely define today's ideal bodies and diets. At the Heart Attack Grill however, there is an obligation on customers to indulge and exercise the gluttony that has been so socially condemned. Customers often find themselves ordering iterations of the Bypass Burgers way too large for them to ever finish; doing so not only creates photo opportunities for social media but actually grants them with a dietary freedom often repressed by today's social norms. Those weighing over three hundred pounds are actually praised for their often obese or overweight bodies, and they are given the privilege of dining for free at the restaurant. While there are social costs to be paid for being obese, there are no costs for food at the Heart Attack Grill for these individuals.

Mass Media Mechanisms

But how exactly are these norms and ideals created? Biocitizenship today is facilitated immensely by the mass media. In the context of obesity, consumers are constantly being bombarded with content on "how to think and feel about what it means to be fat" (Lafrance, 2015, p. 350). At the same time, they are also being instructed "to relate to both their own bodies and the bodies of others" (Lafrance, 2015, p. 350). The result is the system of panoptical surveillance noted by Rich (2011). While the maintenance of weight appears to be a private affair, a responsibility of the individual, their decisions are actually constantly influenced and judged by the public around them.

As Lafrance (2015) observes, negative values surrounding obesity are visibly and "readily discernable in a wide variety of magazines, radio segments, and television shows" in addition to other forms of mass media (p. 350). Reality shows like "Honey, We're Killing the Kids" delves into the lives of obese children and their families. The game show "The Biggest Loser" pits obese contestants against one another in a quest to lose the most weight. Shows like these are just examples of how mass media is able to "other" or stigmatize those who are overweight or obese, enforcing anti-fat norms and creating profitable entertainment in the process at the expense of these individuals. Given how explicitly the Heart Attack Grill operates contrary to anti-obesity ideals, the media has been and remains fascinated by the restaurant. Perhaps this is why the restaurant boldly claims on its website that it "creates media hyper-frenzy without having ever spent a single penny on advertising" . Is this an illustration of the media's concern for the health and well-being of the public?

In an interview with Stapleton (2012), Dr. Jon suggested that "if the media was as repulsed by me as they claim to be, all they would have to do is ignore me". Yet this has certainly not been the case; after all, it is easy to target the Heart Attack Grill and its highly visible and controversial practices. Basso's intention was to point at the media's greedy pursuit to generate as much attention as possible; "because they need content, they have opted to take gallons of gasoline and throw it on this one little match" that is the Heart Attack Grill (Stapleton, 2012). Not only is this statement an example of Basso's provocative marketing techniques, but it is also quite consistent with Lafrance's (2015) concept of putting "fat on the fire" — to place emphasis on "dramatic scientific findings and extraordinary life stories while downplaying structural and systemic factors" of fatness and obesity (p. 353). Such was largely the approach taken by ABC News in its two features on the Heart Attack Grill, which will be addressed next.

In a 2011 segment called "Restaurant Promotes Harmfully Unhealthy Food", ABC newscaster Terry Moran begins the video by reminding the audience of a simple rule: "fatty foods in huge portions are bad for you" (ABC News, 2011). Although expressed very simplistically, this piece of common knowledge is grounded in years

of scientific research and discovery. Moran proceeds with a supporting statistic, suggesting that 112,000 deaths every year can be linked to obesity (ABC News, 2011). Fatness and obesity are clearly condemned and discouraged from the very beginning of the video.

The dramatic emphasis within the video was the focus on Blair River, the 500-plus pound Heart Attack Grill spokesperson who died from pneumonia in 2011 at the age of 29. The reporter asks Basso how much responsibility he felt that he had in River's death. Basso replied, "the equal share with anybody who provided junk food for anybody" (ABC News, 2011). The reporter scoffs, appears unconvinced, and there is no further discussion. But why is this? After all, Basso's response was technically quite reasonable. The Heart Attack Grill is far from the only business selling unhealthy food products to consumers; consider fast food chains and restaurants in general. Ultimately, this focus on an individual's death rather than all those affected by obesity is an illustration of how creating headlines can lead to the neglect of deeper structural analyses.

Interestingly enough, a second ABC News video in 2013 named "Monument to Greasy Gluttony" actually used the phrase "the equivalent of nearly 40 Big Macs" to describe the amount of calories contained in an Octuple Bypass Burger. Images of a McDonald's were then shown to demonstrate how many of America's restaurants were including caloric and nutritional information on their menus to accommodate the increasingly health-conscious population. ABC even draws attention to a provocative painting on the wall parodying The Last Supper; Dr. Jon is depicted as Jesus Christ, "dining with the other industry giants" like Carl's Jr., Wendy's, and even Ronald McDonald (ABC News, 2013). Yet scholars such as Herman and Polivy (2011) have actually discovered that providing information on calories "made no difference to what customers ordered" in their study of adolescent fast-food purchases in New York City (p. 37).

There are several things to note with this ABC feature. Firstly, worldwide fast food titan McDonald's was actually used to illustrate how unhealthy the food at the Heart Attack Grill was. Implying that a single burger from the Heart Attack Grill is equivalent

to forty from McDonald's is surely terrifying, especially with our knowledge today of how harmful fast food can be. Referencing an unhealthy burger from the most well-known fast food brand in the entire world and multiplying its detrimental impact on health by a huge degree creates the dramatic flair to draw viewers in.

Secondly, it is somewhat strange that ABC chose to show the parody artwork depicting Dr. Jon and the others in the fast food industry. While Basso most likely uses the artwork to indicate his superiority within the industry, ABC News chose to condemn only the Heart Attack Grill and not the fast food industry it was positioned within. In the video, Basso proclaimed that "our restaurant serves bad-for-you food, other restaurants serve bad-for-you-food we're honest, they're not" (ABC News, 2013). Yet ABC News had little criticism for these fast food giants; in fact, they even used pictures of McDonald's menus to illustrate how American restaurants were becoming more transparent with the nutritional details of their food.

These ABC News segments are a reflection of the emphasis on criticizing the Heart Attack Grill rather than delving into the deeper and more structural issues revolving around obesity and unhealthy eating. Basso claimed that "if everybody collectively got together and told the world that all restaurant food is bad for you, then maybe we could save a few lives", yet this too was dismissed by the reporter (ABC News 2013). Instead, ABC chose to conclude the feature by redirecting attention to the "really short nurse" that Dr. Jon recently hired.

Quite simply, the Heart Attack Grill represented an easy target for ABC News to create and therefore monetize content. Such a "fat on the fire" approach led them to focus on individual heart attacks and absurdly large burger sizes rather than exploring underlying issues related to obesity. While the second aforementioned video was produced two years after the first, many of the same lines and content were actually repeated: the Heart Attack Grill as a hospital-themed Hooters, America as a country where calories are posted on the menu, and the fact that even the White House has a vegetable garden to illustrate the health-consciousness of American society today.

This lack of originality ultimately supports the argument that ABC News seemed to put more effort into coming up with puns and word-play instead of truly unpacking Basso's controversial responses and philosophies. They referred to Blair River and how the Heart Attack Grill's rise to fame was "in no small part due to this very large man" (ABC News 2011). Showing two large ladies putting on their mock hospital gowns, the narrator described how "the Heart Attack Grill prides itself on pushing limits, along with belt sizes" (ABC News 2013). These videos are illustrations of how social norms and values regarding obesity are defined and enforced; that obesity is deviant behaviour, and that it is acceptable to ridicule and even shun those who are obese.

Challenging The Discourse Through Social Media

It is not surprising then that Dr. Jon and the Heart Attack Grill has taken matters into their own hands with a rigorous approach towards social media and online presence. The Heart Attack Grill website is actually very intriguingly constructed. At the forefront is the restaurant's menu, where large pictures of the food and drinks are accompanied with animated graphics of nurses; one particular nurse appears to be tied up with a large strip of bacon. A notice informing customers of the establishment's cash-only policy refers to how patrons will also need to pay an "8.1% tax for our wasteful Government to squander"; in true Heart Attack Grill fashion, this sarcastic message is excessively repeated seven times. Yet beneath the satire and humour lies another piece of social commentary: are our governments serving us efficiently?

The 'MEDIA INFORMATION' page on the Heart Attack Grill's website houses a massive collection of videos for "all those who wish to download them for use in both private and commercial productions". Most of the footage is quite mundane; viewers can download anything from "Chopping Tomato 2" and "Dr Jon's face looking determined" to "Man celebrating on scale because he weighs over 400 pounds." These titles are not only subtle indicators of the Heart Attack Grill's brand of mocking and sarcastic humour; they also provide the public with a very explicit demonstration of the restaurant's alleged openness. Since videos like these are not readily available for other fast food restaurants,

Basso's claim, of course, supports his aforementioned claim that "we're honest, they're not" is supported (ABC News, 2013).

A "T-SHIRTS" link leads to the restaurant's portal on the Zazzle platform, where over 260 pieces of Heart Attack Grill merchandise are available for purchase. These include not only shirts from sizes S to 5XL, but also bizarre items like mouse pads, ties, and even ping pong paddles. While many of these are outdated (i.e. 2014 Heart Attack Grill Calendars), the sheer amount of branded merchandise here does reflect Basso's desire to go worldwide with the Heart Attack Grill. In his own words, "there is a possibility that every human being on the planet Earth might someday hear about the Heart Attack Grill and about how bad we are" (Fremont Fan, 2014). This bombardment of Heart Attack Grill products can be interpreted as a satirical reflection of the anti-obesity discourse endlessly perpetuated by mass media.

A "SPANKING" link brings viewers to the Heart Attack Grill page on Tout, a social media platform for sharing 15-second videos. At the time of this writing, the Heart Attack Grill has uploaded 64,631 clips of their customers being spanked. However, the most promising of the Heart Attack Grill's social media endeavors lies in its Instagram account. Their page is followed by over 8,000 followers, and has 3,610 pictures posted at the time of this paper. The food, the nurses, Dr. Jon, and of course happy customers are the most commonly captured in these photos. Customers can also send in pictures of their visit to be featured on the page as well; in fact, a large screen inside the restaurant itself displays Instagram pictures uploaded with the hashtag "#heartattackgrill". Such becomes a space where individuals can freely engage in eating behaviours that have been condemned as taboo and unhealthy by the greater powers in society, at their own will.

Conclusion

Posts containing the "#heartattackgrill" hashtag are approaching 20,000 on Instagram, and the Las Vegas restaurant is as intentionally offensive and blatantly unhealthy as ever. Author of Food Politics Marion Nestle suggested that the Heart Attack Grill was simply appealing to the instincts of consumers, and "certainly playing into people's enormous resentment about being told what

to eat" (ABC News, 2013). Food is good, and one would certainly like to believe that they possess agency in their diets. Indeed, there are more food choices nowadays than ever before but the societal pressures defining one's choices have grown just as much. The obesity discourse is an illustration of this — with health officials describing obesity as an epidemic and with the mass media driving social pressures to achieve the ideal slim body, internalized resentment among consumers is undoubtedly justified.

The empirical and experimental nature of science is a large part of why the obesity discourse can be so convincing. The fields of health and medicine are regarded in society with respect and prestige, yet Jon Basso and his Heart Attack Grill choose to openly mock and challenge scientific legitimacy. This involves everything from Basso referring to himself as a doctor despite having no formal credentials whatsoever, to the provocative attire of the restaurant nurses. Yet, as shown by this paper, medical statistics can be misleading and manipulated. It is important to also acknowledge that research on obesity and health is not as objective as one might expect. Rich (2011) illustrated how sponsorships can influence and manipulate studies, especially with "high financial profits at stake" like those connected to the food industry (p. 2).

Individuals are not really going around judging each other's body mass indexes, as arguably there is no need to do so when fatness is so visibly discernible. Today's norms and ideals of slender and active bodies go hand in hand with the mechanisms of surveillance that we have internalized. There is a stigma against those who are overweight, and a focus on the individualistic and moral aspects of fatness. Obesity is treated as deviant behaviour in many ways, and moral entrepreneurs from different interest groups and industries have capitalized on this reality. The fitness industry, for example, portrays fatness as an undesirable but fixable condition. One can subscribe to diet programs, seek the assistance of personal trainers, or purchase expensive gym passes to sculpt and improve their bodies and health.

The mass media is responsible for perpetuating much of this, constantly reinforcing values that link attractiveness and well-be-

ing to slenderness and healthy eating. So when something like the Heart Attack Grill comes along, a perfect opportunity emerges for the media to criticize something which is far outside of the norms they themselves helped establish. The ABC News pieces explored earlier, while merely a tiny sample of the vast mass media landscape, revealed greater efforts in creating dramatic content than actually discussing deeper issues surrounding obesity. More importantly, they further contribute to the negative stigma revolving around obesity.

In today's day and age, social media can grant a voice to all. To challenge and perhaps even reverse the discourse, the Heart Attack Grill on its social media platforms actively mocks the obesity epidemic discourse. Huge images, bold statements, branded merchandise, and more are just examples of how the restaurant is satirically perpetuating its own discourse: a celebration of fatness. Dr. Jon is not afraid to admit that he is a "businessman first and foremost" (ABC News, 2013). The Heart Attack Grill is clearly built upon a model that has figured out how to capitalize on the obesity epidemic and its effect on the food choices made by consumers. Despite its controversies and gimmicks, customers who end up there only have one decision to make: how much would I like to indulge today?

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Media Representations of Accusers Post-Jian Ghomeshi Trial: A Framing Analysis

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Abstract: The powerful influence of the media in guiding public perception contributes to representations of victims/survivors of sexual assault that either resist or reinforce their stigmatization, devaluation, and secondary victimization. This paper explores how mainstream and alternative media coverage of Jian Ghomeshi's accusers during his high-profile trial reflected or challenged dominant representations of sexual assault victims/survivors. Through a framing analysis of articles published during and after the trial, it was found that mainstream sources did not publish overwhelmingly dominant or negative representations of the accusers. Both mainstream and alternative media acknowledged the social and structural factors that impacted the accusers, which demonstrated some resistance towards dominant representations. The results of this study suggest a potential shift in the media's understanding of sexual assault and victims/survivors, an area which could benefit from further research.

Introduction

In October 2014, several women accused Jian Ghomeshi, the then-host of CBC radio show Q, of sexual violence, abuse, or harassment (Willms, 2015). Following an investigation, a trial date was set for February 1, 2016 on "four charges of sexual assault and one of choking," with the eventual outcome of Ghomeshi's acquittal on March 24, 2016 (Willms, 2015). The media coverage of Ghomeshi's accusers and their role in the trial became highly concentrated during the trial's cross-examination period, ranging from strong support for the accusers, to suspicion and blame. As a high profile legal case which received sustained attention across Canada over multiple platforms, the framing of Ghomeshi's accusers is a strong case towards analysing the media's role in reinforcing or re-

sisting discourses of sexualized violence, victim-blaming, and social scripts embedded in rape culture, which is defined as "a complex set of beliefs that encourages male sexual aggression and supports violence against women… and present[s] it as the norm" (Cobos, 2014, p. 38). Thus, this paper uses a framing analysis of ten opinion and editorial newspaper articles published both during and directly after Jian Ghomeshi's trial to investigate whether mainstream and independent media in this case have engaged in reinforcing or resisting dominant representations of sexual assault victims/survivors[1].

Literature Review

According to Entman (1993), the practice of framing involves the deliberate selection of some aspects of reality over others, making them salient within a text that is being communicated. This gives framing the functions of defining, interpreting, and evaluating a problem (Entman, 1993). These functions of framing are important in influencing and guiding an audience's perception of a social problem, especially when aspects of that topic are made more meaningful than others, or when certain features are included or omitted (Entman, 1993). Communicators decide on what is presented, leading to the creation of texts that incorporate "keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information, and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments" (Entman, 1993, p. 52). This process demonstrates a great deal of power, which must be considered in analyzing frames of victims/survivors due to the media's role in reinforcing or potentially resisting dominant definitions, interpretations, and evaluations of victims/survivors.

Expanding on the role of media using Entman's framework, Liu and Blomley (2013) note the material effects of frames and the importance of claims makers. Frames can impact the responses of

1 In their systematic review of research framing those who have been raped as either 'rape victims' or 'rape survivors,' Hockett and Saucier (2015) note that these terms have different implications and can reinforce particular representations of those who have been raped. The term 'victim' has been associated with "perceptions of weakness, powerlessness, vulnerability, the ongoing effects of rape, and innocence," while 'survivor' has been linked to "perceptions of strength, recovery, and the experience of having moved on from the rape" (Hockett & Saucier, 2015, p.2). Throughout my analysis I shall refer to Ghomeshi's 'accusers' as such when referring to particular usages in the media, but I will employ 'victims/survivors' otherwise due an unawareness of the accusers' preferred terms of self-identification and when referencing a generalized group of people who have been raped.

people who are not well-informed about a social or political topic, leading to material effects in terms of public support, policies, and interventions (Liu & Blomley, 2013, p. 121). The framing of victims/survivors is significant in this regard due to its contribution to their stigmatization, devaluation, and secondary victimization (Ferrão & Gonçalves, 2015). In their analysis, Liu and Blomley (2013) identify several claims makers with different levels of power and emphasize a "constructivist view that identifies differently placed social actors who make powerfully rhetorical claims concerning the social world" (p. 122). For my own analysis, this is useful in assessing the social power of each claims maker (mainstream or alternative media source) in relation to the frames that they present.

The issue of power is important in analyzing the framing of victims/survivors in the media, particularly when the victims/survivors are women. In an intersectional feminist analysis, Gilchrist (2010) notes that decisions in news media reporting have been "filtered through a predominantly Western, White, heteronormative, middle-class, male lens" (p. 374), creating a hierarchy of newsworthy victims. Qualitatively, female victims/survivors have predominantly been constructed in ways that emphasize binaries of 'good' and 'bad' women through hegemonic gender assumptions, where innocent good women deserve sympathy while deviant bad women are devalued, and are thus deemed responsible for the violence committed against them (Gilchrist, 2010). According to Cobos (2014), when these representations continue to prevail, this "further shapes public opinion regarding sexual assault and rape cases and perpetuates rape culture" (p. 38). Thus in examining the representation of Jian Ghomeshi's accusers, the qualitative focus of a framing analysis is useful for "understand[ing] the subtle meanings and implications of the text(s)" in a "holistic approach to understanding context as well as content" by analyzing aspects of the texts such as language, tones, and themes (Gilchrist, 2010, p. 378).

Having outlined the usefulness of framing in examining media representations of Jian Ghomeshi's accusers, the framework for analysis will be Chow-White and McMahon's (2012) model of agenda-setting and framing theory, with a focus on the latter. Chow-

White and McMahon (2012) note that framing theory examines "the qualitative meaning" and values inscribed in the media representation of issues (p. 351). They argue that using framing theory allows one to examine how the focus given to an issue by the media gives "them a level of social relevance and importance" and validation (Chow-White & McMahon, 2012, p.350). Chow-White and McMahon's (2012) model examines the perspectives of stakeholders (claims makers) and the power relations involved in these discourses, while also emphasizing the potential of this power to "exacerbate direct and structural violence" (p. 345) and reinforce "historically persistent negative stereotypes" (p. 351). This aspect of their model is especially significant when analyzing representations of victims/survivors by facilitating the further recognition of the material effects of frames and allowing for the identification of texts "that challenge stereotypes" and "expose the structural effects of violence" (Chow-White & McMahon, 2012, p. 367).

Research Questions

The most pertinent question involved in a media framing analysis of Jian Ghomeshi's accusers is the manner in which the accusers are framed in both mainstream and independent news sources. Within these frames emerge additional questions about their larger ideological and discursive roles. First, do these representations align with a binary in which mainstream media reinforces hegemonic discourses and alternative independent media challenges them? Are there different or consistent representations of Ghomeshi's accusers within the same publications? Do certain publications lean towards publishing particular valuations of these women? Finally, does the media's framing reinforce discourses around gender, sexualized violence, and the binary of 'good' women and 'bad' women that exists in rape culture, or has the media resisted these dominant ideological frames?

Methodology

Ten articles published between February 5th, 2016 and February 16th, 2016 were selected for analysis. The articles range in length from 361 words to 1081 words, each identified as an opinion or commentary piece. Three of the articles were published in *The Vancouver Sun*, Vancouver's largest mainstream newspaper,

owned by Postmedia. Another three articles were published in *The Toronto Star,* Toronto's largest mainstream newspaper, owned by Star Media Group. The final four articles were published by independent alternative media outlets. Two articles were selected from *Rabble.ca,* one article was selected from *The Georgia Straight* and finally, one article was selected from *The Tyee.*

The selection of the articles followed an unstructured approach that became more systematic as patterns of appropriate content were identified. Prior to conducting the literature review, I chose several key search terms: "Jian Ghomeshi," "victim," "accuser," and "trial." Using the Canadian Newsstand Complete database, I entered various combinations of the search terms. During this preliminary search, I noticed that a large number of articles had been written during the trial (February 1-11, 2016), and within the days after the trial had ended (February 11-16, 2016). I narrowed my selection criteria to articles written between February 11 and 16, with some flexibility to include dates during the trial if necessary. I also decided to limit my major newspaper sources to *The Vancouver Sun* and *The Toronto Star,* in order to compare the representations of the accusers made between mainstream papers in different major Canadian cities. These two publications were also selected for being owned by different corporations.

Procedures and Treatment of Data

Each article was read with a focus on language use, and the words and/or phrases used to describe Jian Ghomeshi's accusers were either highlighted or underlined. These references were placed into a table divided by author. Noted in this process were many qualitative references made to victims/survivors in general. These were placed into a second table to contextualize references to the accusers and for further thematic analysis.

Using Chow-White and McMahon's (2012) model of agenda setting and framing theory, I began to analyze the specific linguistic references to the accusers. They were coded in a new table (Appendix Table 1: Qualitative Tonal Valuation of Accusers) as either a positive valuation of the accusers, a neutral reference, or a negative

valuation of the accusers. The operationalization of 'positive,' 'neutral,' and 'negative' was fairly subjective, but followed a guideline based on common associations that could be made to the word or phrase, the context of the reference, and the overall tone of the author towards the accusers throughout their opinion piece. If a reference clearly reflected or reinforced dominant constructions of 'bad' victims within rape culture, the reference was coded as negative. If there was resistance to dominant discourses or overt praise for the accusers, the reference was coded as positive. All other ambiguous references were coded as neutral. These usages of language and their tonal valuations were analyzed in terms of their qualitative meanings within the predominant frames found in each article. Keeping in mind the research questions around discourses of gender, dominant ideological frames, and resistance, this led to the identification of several themes or frames within each article (Appendix Table 2: Framing Breakdown and Examples). Finally, the language referring to accusers/victims/survivors generally and to the trial was then revisited and grouped thematically for contextualization to aid the analysis of the frames of the accusers. Through this analysis, four topical categories were constructed and the frames within them were identified and combined into thematic aggregations. These categories are: negative and/or dominant framing of the accusers, positive and/or resistant framing of the accusers, framing of the trial, and framing of survivors/victims (Appendix Table 2).

Results

Negative Framing of Accusers

In some articles, the accusers were framed negatively or using dominant discourses. In 'Blatchford1' (*The Vancouver Sun*), an accuser was "caught in a web of her own making" (Blatchford, 2016, February 9) and in 'DiManno' (*The Toronto Star)* the use of "the lying, stupid" (DiManno, 2016) assigns blame to the accusers for the direction of the trial in favour of Ghomeshi. The accusers are constructed as deceitful and plotting with language such as "self-serving" in 'Blatchford1' (Blatchford, 2016, February 9), and in describing "their collective animus to Ghomeshi" in 'Blatchford2' (Blatchford, 2016, February 12). The notion that the accusers are wilfully lying and omitting information emerges in language of "carefully edited allegations of

dishonest complainant" (Blatchford, 2016, February 9), and the accusers being "caught omitting – cleansing – salient details from their narratives" (DiManno, 2016). Ridicule of a perceived 'overprotection' of the accusers emerges as a frame in "God forbid, victims of sexual assault should accidentally […] be re-traumatized" (Blatchford, 2016, February 12). The accusers were framed as inconsistent and unreliable in the representation that they "misled Toronto police" and "the judge should have 'very grave concerns' about relying on their testimony" (Blatchford, 2016, February 12). Finally, a dominant discourse of accusers as "vulnerable" emerges (Ryan & Robinson, 2016).

Positive Framing of the Accusers

In some articles the accusers were framed positively or in a manner resistant to dominant discourses of victims/survivors. Authors' belief in the accusers' experiences included outright statements of "I believe them" (DiManno, 2016) and owing "a debt of gratitude" to the accusers for coming forward (Tieleman, 2016). Framing the accusers' reactions and behaviours after the assaults as reasonable and typical of victims included discussing a "clinically typical response to the experience of sexual assault: compartmentalization, denial, confusion, self-harm and self-delusion" (Stewart, 2016) and that accusers were trying "to fit that attack into a world she can cope with" (Mallick, 2016). The distress and "very real anguish that is undeniably suffered by sexual-abuse survivors" (Leamon, 2016) was used to frame the accusers. Finally, the accusers were framed as specifically not to blame since "to undermine the accuser's credibility" (Kimber, 2016) denies the discussion of "whether or not he [Ghomeshi] actually assaulted them" (Healey, 2016).

Framing the Trial

The framing of the trial itself was varied (Appendix: Table 2. Framing Breakdown and Examples). The defence and the Crown prosecution were both praised (Leamon, 2016; Stewart, 2016) and regarded as to blame for Ghomeshi's likely acquittal (Blatchford, 2016, February 12; Ryan & Robinson, 2016; DiManno, 2016), and the system was seen as both working (Blatchford, 2016, February 12; DiManno, 2016) and not working (Stewart, 2016; Kimber, 2016) to achieve adequate results for the accusers and other victims/

survivors. Finally, the trial and its outcomes were framed as having many repercussions for both the accusers and for victims/survivors in general (DiManno, 2016; Mallick, 2016; Tieleman, 2016).

Framing of Survivors/Victims

Articles which contextualized Ghomeshi's accusers by discussing victims/survivors engaged in framing of the issue (Appendix: Table 2. Framing Breakdown and Examples). Structurally, the influence of gender socialization impacting women and the systematic difficulties of reporting contributed to this framing, as did discussion of the re-victimization of those involved in the justice system (Mallick, 2016; Healey, 2016; Kimber, 2016; Tieleman, 2016). Finally, discussions of trauma responses framed the accusers as reasonable in their reactions to assault (Ryan & Robinson, 2016; Mallick, 2016; Healey, 2016; Stewart, 2016; Tieleman, 2016).

Discussion

From this framing analysis, three prominent themes emerged. First is the problematization of actors in the trial, conducted through the selection of language which variously assigns blame for the trial's proceedings upon the accusers, Ghomeshi's defence, the Crown prosecution, and the justice system itself. Second, structural factors were identified that had implications for the accusers, including rape culture, gender socialization and internalization, typical responses to assault and trauma, and other issues that impact trends in reporting assaults. The articles' selection and presentation of these issues as causal factors in accusers' actions implied that their identification could assist in finding solutions to them. Third, the effects and impacts of the trials' proceedings for the accusers, as well as for other victims/survivors, emerged in the ways in which the accusers were framed as well as in discussions of their re-victimization by the justice system. Such inclusions indicate an interpretation and moral evaluation of the situation.

What are immediately observable in the results of this analysis are the variety of frames of the accusers across news sources, and the prominence of positive frames resisting dominant discourses of 'good' women and 'bad.' Framing the accusers as being impact-

ed by social and systemic factors shifts the problematic or blame of the issue towards those factors. Additionally, the evaluation of the accusers as having responded in manners typical of assault victims/survivors normalizes their behaviour while also making salient underrepresented issues of gender roles and stereotypes, the complexities of human experience, and issues in the legal system.

There was a variation in framing between articles written by different authors within the same publications. For instance, both 'Blatchford' articles in *The Vancouver Sun* blame the accusers, construct them as willfully lying in their testimonies, and portray them as inconsistent, plotting against Ghomeshi. Conversely, Ryan and Robinson (2016) convey a sympathetic tone towards the accusers, with thematic focus on victims/ survivors. The fact that two of Blatchford's long opinion pieces were published within a short period of time indicates the potential that *The Vancouver Sun* views her work as salient and reflective of the paper's values. However, it could not be determined which mainstream source was more likely to frame the accusers in a particular way.

Among the articles sampled from *The Toronto Star,* there was more variation in the themes and valuation of language used to refer to the accusers and to victims/survivors, both between articles and within the articles themselves. Variation also appeared within and between the independent news sources, again with a predominant positive and resistant framing of the accusers and of victims/survivors. Three of the four independent articles were exclusively positive towards the accusers, which suggests that alternative media is more likely to engage in resistant representations of Ghomeshi's accusers and other victims/ survivors of sexualized violence.

Despite the prominence of positive frames, there were strong negative frames identified that reflect harmful dominant representations of accusers/victims/survivors and their experiences with the justice system. As noted, the "significant stereotypes and myths portrayed by the news media to the public with regards to sexual assault cases" shape public opinion (Cobos, 2014, p. 38), and can have material effects (Liu & Blomley, 2013). The impact of stereo-

types can include "negative interactions with system personnel," called 'secondary victimization' as "victims often report that the hurtful experience feels like a 'second rape'" (Patterson, 2011, p.329). Attributions of blame are clear in some articles, as are perceptions "that the legal process *does* work" and the viewing of "women as vulnerable" (Larcombe, 2002, p.132). These perceptions lead to attacks on the credibility of those who "did not do what the simultaneously constructed, valorised – and hypothetical – victim would have done" (Larcombe, 2002, p.134), which aligns in this analysis with the framing of accusers as problematic in their inconsistency and unreliability, or as having lied and omitted information.

The variation of frames identified in this analysis likely reflects the "subjective process of news production based on socially and culturally constructed criteria" (Gilchrist, 2010, p.374). As opinion and commentary pieces, the authors of each article are presenting their subjective personal framings of the situation and the actors involved, which themselves are likely impacted by the influence of other media. However, as noted by Gilchrist (2010), there is always the existence of critical responses to dominant discourses in the media. This is evident here in the prominence of frames that resist dominant constructions of victims/survivors and recognize the structural factors involved in the reporting processes, media coverage, and trials themselves. It is significant that there is a prominence of positive frames that define and determine the social and systemic causes of the issues in this case and place importance on sympathetic and resistant language. In representing the accusers in manners that avoid or overtly challenge the dominant discourses presented above, news media can subvert harmful material effects of those discourses, and contribute to a public discussion of the power relations embedded within the circumstances of the case as well as within the media's own framing of it.

A limitation of this analysis is that the sample size of ten articles from five sources precludes an analysis of all opinion and commentary pieces written during the chosen time period. Additionally, the selection of exclusively opinion and commentary pieces omitted the inclusion of frames that do exist in supposedly 'un-

biased' news stories. The limited time period from which articles were selected does not allow for an analysis of whether the predominant framing of the accusers changed within the almost two-year period between the first accusations and Ghomeshi's acquittal.

Given the amount of resistance to dominant frames found in this sample, it would be interesting to see if this is also reflected in non-opinion articles on the topic within the same major publications. Particularly, it would be useful to examine the representation of the accusers over time, especially in terms of which frames are made salient on the issue in non-opinion media. Finally, it would also be important to conduct a larger content analysis on the topic of the Ghomeshi case to analyze of the number of dominant, neutral, and resistant representations of the accusers. This could inform further research on the topic to identify larger trends in the frames presented by publications, whether they have changed over time, and the relations between the salience of claims makers and publication ownership structures.

Conclusion

The manner in which Jian Ghomeshi's accusers were framed by mainstream and alternative media during the aftermath of Ghomeshi's trial reveal a variety of representations which both conform to and resist dominant expectations. Within mainstream publications' opinion and editorial articles, the existence of both positive and negative framings of the accusers suggests an emerging resistance to hegemonic discourses around sexualized violence and assault. The predominance of positive representations among alternative publications confirmed the notion that these sources would be more likely to challenge dominant discourses, though the sample was not representative of all alternative publications. These results suggest that while negative dominant representations and discourses surrounding victims/survivors of sexual assault continue to appear in and influence Canadian media, they may not have overwhelmed resistant representations of accusers in this high-profile case. This indicates the possibility of a shift in mainstream media's framing of sexual assault victims/survivors, towards one that is more aware of the complexities of the issue, and which recognizes its own role in the process of reinforcing or resisting those dominant frames.

Appendix
Table 1. Qualitative Tonal Valuation of Accusers

Article	Valuation	Representation
Blatchford1	Neutral	"collapse…of third accuser's credibility" "third accuser was being grilled" "complainant Lucy DeCoutere" "the woman was regularly reporting in" "the woman had texted DeCoutere" "they shared a publicist" "the two kept close tabs on the case" "but she went out with him again" "since the alleged choking, she had always kept her distance from Ghomeshi" "she had a revelation"
	Negative/ Dominant	"she might just have well have been wearing a suicide vest, so thoroughly she did blow up" "self-serving" "carefully edited allegations of dishonest complainants" "colluding" "gleefully anticipating Ghomeshi's ruination" "raised up on gossamer wings of unproven allegations" "the woman in the witness box found this to be terribly witty, and laughed" "caught her red-handed" "growing list of lies or omissions" "the woman wrote to DeCoutere to say she was tempted to show up at a hearing, carrying a bowl of popcorn" "the least of their vicious, occasionally racist discussion of the fallen CBC star" "the woman still found DeCoutere's little joke funny, and laughed – as though the 48-year-old Ghomeshi isn't on trial" "fully grown women sandbagging police and prosecutors, making 11th-hour revelations and leading the criminal justice system about by the nose" "caught in a web of her own making" "her assiduous courting of the very man she claimed had choked her and cut off her air" "this woman imploded in even more dramatic fashion"

Blatchford2	Neutral	“women being escorted in and out of the courtroom by protectors from the victim-witness office” “women being soothed, IRL and online by their supporters” “never did they defend Ghomeshi by dragging out prior sexual conduct of the complainants” “mid-trial disclosure from the third complainant of a voluntary, consensual contact with Ghomeshi” “never did they beat up the complainants” “he had no hold on them; they depended on him for nothing”
	Negative/ Dominant	“women being caught in lies or omissions on the witness stand and then resorting to justifications for their evasive conduct taken straight from the therapist’s couch or lasted self-help book” “labelling certain blogposts or tweets with ‘trigger-warnings’, lest, God forbid, victims of sexual assault should accidentally wander onto a dangerous opinion or factual situation and be re-traumatized” “litany of inconsistencies that had come from the complainants’ own mouths” “their collective animus to Ghomeshi” “preposterous 5,000-plus messages between Lucy DeCoutere and the third complainant” “various ways they misled Toronto police and why the judge should have ‘very grave concerns’ about relying on their testimony” “only at the 11th hour, on the eve of testifying, was the truth told” “lies they told under oath” “the trio’s collective ‘disregard for the obligation to tell the truth is meaningful,’” “the complainants determined ‘to decide for themselves what was relevant, to only tell half-truths, to withhold information”
Ryan & Robinson	Positive/ Sympathetic	“women were coming forward, unafraid” “Benedet said she was surprised Henein was able to ‘whack’ the witnesses by dragging out undisclosed information” “the witnesses were vulnerable to Henein’s cross-examination” “publicity has ensured every ‘whack’ has been felt”
	Neutral	“women levelling accusations of sexual assault” “actress Lucy DeCoutere outed herself as a Ghomeshi complainant” “cut to a defense strategy that focused on the behaviour of the complainants with such laser intensity”

DiMannio	Positive/ Sympathetic	"I believe them. The three women who testified" "they had not consented" "wince-inducing spectacle that could have been averted had pertinent questions been posed while the complainants were being prepared for court" "I believe you, ladies. Multitudes do"
	Neutral	"the complainants […] weren't flattened on the witness stand because of their conduct before or after the purported battery" "zero possibility the women will be charged with perjury"
	Negative/ Dominant	"accusers were caught omitting – cleansing – salient details from their narratives, or appending them only at the 11th hour" "prosecution lies in tatters" "it's the lying, stupid." "complainants were swaddled in fuzzy investigative treatment" "they were absolutely believed in the absence of any evidence other than their word" [In response to 'it's all about the victims and moving forward'] "No, it isn't, Or damn well shouldn't be the investigative crux" "DeCoutere described the cops as 'warm and sympathetic.' Which puts the lie to rhetoric from feminist evangelicals, that police manhandle purported victims and reflexively doubt them"
Healey	Positive/ Sympathetic	"unwilling to afford real women even a sliver of the same credulity" "Henein has not asked any of Ghomeshi's accusers about the question at the centre of this trial: whether or not he actually assaulted them"
	Neutral	"by pointing out all the seemingly contradictory and counterintuitive details in Ghomeshi's accusers' reactions to his alleged assaults, she brings their reliability into question"
Mallick	Positive/ Sympathetic	"'It never happened' [..] Where have I heard that first line before?" "a woman might try to fit the attack into a world she can cope with. DeCoutere was, like all women, raised to be nice" "'I am a people pleaser.' Oh Lucy, we get that. Most women are" "Henein accused DeCoutere of betraying her feminine virtue by her communications and meetings with Ghomeshi" "DeCoutere stands accused of being a wrong-feeling-haver" "psychological noise in the background […] it's a kind of screaming"
	Neutral	"Two complainants now have described how they tried to make the alleged attack go away" "she said she internalized" "it's over for women who need defending"

Stewart	Positive/ Sympathetic	"sickening display of abuse and re-victimization into a spectacle from which the media and public cannot avert their eyes" "'credibility' of these truth-telling women is shot" "withheld photos and forgotten emails seem to bolster the belief that the women are telling the truth" "these responses are perfectly in line with respect to how we experience trauma" "the game is rigged" "if the word of four women isn't good enough[..] it never was" "groomed his victims" "blaming his acquittal on […] DeCoutere's lawyer […] will be a gross miscarriage of justice"
	Neutral	"most Canadians […] seem to allow that Ghomeshi likely assaulted these women and the 23 other survivors who accused him in the media" "one fact […] corroborated […] Jian Ghomeshi hurt me and he did so without my consent" "there are four women all saying the same thing"
	Negative/ Dominant	"It's a shame that Ghomeshi will probably walk because these women and the prosecution responded so poorly" – Margaret Wente, right-wing columnist
Kimber	Positive/ Sympathetic	"Did he do it? Of course." "complainants have rightly become social media heroes"
	Neutral	"Three women went to police alleging Ghomeshi sexually assaulted them, each story strikingly similar" "the he-said-she-said sexual assaults allegations – with no witnesses, no physical evidence […] create a proof-mountain" " "only recourse is to undermine the accuser's credibility" "Crown and the complainants must show […] that their behaviour was reasonable in context" "complainants shared their stoies with each other in 5,000 emails, texts, social media […] is more problematic"
Leamon	Positive/ Sympathetic	"very real anguish that is undeniably suffered by sexual-abuse survivors"
	Neutral	Henein "vigorous cross-examinations of each of her client's accusers" "confronted them with uncomfortable digital records"
Tieleman	Positive/ Sympathetic	"Sadly and stunningly, the evidence […] is not unusual" "in the Ghomeshi case, we also see how difficult it can be for someone to bring allegations of abuse to court" "owe a debt of gratitude to Lucy DeCoutere for having the courage to step forwards […] defend herself in public" "one of the most incredible people I know" – Ellen Page "re-victimized in court"
	Neutral	"Why would a woman who was allegedly slapped in the face, punched, rammed against a wall or choked have anything more to do with any man who assaulted her?"
	Negative/ Dominant	"women testifying against him subsequently had flirtatious, friendly contact with Ghomeshi afterwards"

Table 2. Framing Breakdown and Examples

Negative/ Dominant Frames	Blaming Accusers	Deceitful / Plotting/ Dramatic	Wilfull Lies and Omissions	'Overprotected' and Inconsistent	Vulnerable
	"caught in a web of her own making" – Blatchford1 "it's the lying, stupid." - DiManno	"self-serving" – Blatchford1 "this woman imploded in even more dramatic fashion" – Blatchford1 "their collective animus to Ghomeshi" – Blatchford2	"carefully edited allegations of dishonest complainants" – Blatchford1 "accusers were caught omitting – cleansing – salient details from their narratives, or appending them only at the 11th hour" - DiManno	"God forbid, victims of sexual assault should accidentally wander onto a dangerous opinion or factual situation and be re-traumatized" – Blatchford2 "they misled Toronto police and why the judge should have 'very grave concerns' about relying on their testimony" – Blatchford2	"the witnesses were vulnerable to Henein's cross-examination" – Ryan & Robinson
Sympathetic/ Resistant Frames	Belief in Accusers	Reasonable Reactions to Assault	Distressed	Credibilty not the Issue	
	"I believe them. The three women who testified" – DiManno "owe a debt of gratitude to Lucy DeCoutere for having the courage to step forwards […] defend herself in public" - Tieleman	"a woman might try to fit the attack into a world she can cope with. DeCoutere was, like all women, raised to be nice" – Mallick "responses are perfectly in line […] how we experience trauma" - Stewart	"psychological noise in the background […] it's a kind of screaming" – Mallick "very real anguish that is undeniably suffered by sexual-abuse survivors" – Leamon	"Henein has not asked any of Ghomeshi's accusers about the question at the centre of this trial: whether or not he actually assaulted them" – Healey "blaming his acquittal on […] DeCoutere's lawyer […] will be a gross miscarriage of justice" – Stewart	

Framing the Trial	Praise for Defence	Repercussions	Blaming Crown	The System Works	The System Doesn't Work
	"perpetrators of sexual assault should be condemned, and its victims respected and understood, criminal defence lawyers play an important […] role" - Leamon	"no sexually assaulted woman without massive bleeding wounds would ever now call the Toronto police" - Mallick	"wince-inducing spectacle that could have been averted had pertinent questions been posed while the complainants were being prepared for court" - DiManno	"puts the lie to rhetoric from feminist evangelicals, that police manhandle purported victims and reflexively doubt them" - DiManno	"he-said-she-said sexual assaults allegations – with no witnesses, no physical evidence […] create a proof-mountain" – Kimber
Framing Survivors/ Vctims	Influence of Gender Socialization	Structures Impacting Reporting	People and Trauma are Complex	Revictimization in Justice System	
	"'I am a people pleaser.' Oh Lucy, we get that. Most women are" - Mallick	"in the Ghomeshi case, we also see how difficult it can be for someone to bring allegations of abuse to court" – Tieleman	"people are complex, trauma is messy, and reactions […] vary enormously from person to person" - Healey	"sickening display of abuse and re-victimization" - Stewart	

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Medicalization and Misrepresentations of Sex/Gender/Desire: Portrayals of Intersex Youth in *Middlesex* and *XXY*

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Abstract: Accurate and empowering media representations of intersex youth are sparse; for this reason, it is critical to analyze the strategies by which current media may or may not accurately portray the embodied experiences, and respond to the discrimination, of this marginalized population. Both Jeffrey Eugenides' novel, *Middlesex*, and Lucía Puenzo's film, *XXY*, are internationally well known for their critiques and subversions of the medicalization of intersex bodies. Interestingly, while Pulitzer Prize-winning *Middlesex* has received a plethora of critical acclaim for its seemingly ubiquitous transgressions of the "normative", the text's problematic underpinnings strain one's capacity to accept it as a complete subversion. By engaging in dialogue with feminist theory through a literary analysis methodology, this paper critically interrogates where these media meet and diverge in their representations of intersex identities. This paper argues that *Middlesex* reifies the dominant dual logic of the sex binary, normative gender, (hetero)sexuality, and phallogocentism; conversely, Lucía Puenzo's *XXY* remains resistant to all the above. Thus, while *Middlesex* preserves the very ideological undercurrents on which intersex medicalization relies, *XXY* presents hopeful new possibilities in place of its absence, which may be drawn upon in further progressive media representations of intersex experiences.

Sensitively interweaving the complexities of adolescence, identity, and societal pressures, both Jeffrey Eugenides' novel, *Middlesex* (2002) and Lucía Puenzo's film, *XXY* (2007) chronicle the struggles of their intersex protagonists, offering space to voices that have historically been silenced and pushed to the margins. As defined by the Intersex Society of North America (ISNA), "intersex is a general term used for a variety of conditions in which a person is born with a reproductive or

sexual anatomy that doesn't seem to fit in the typical definitions of male or female," a condition appearing within 1 in every 1,500 to 2,000 births (Intersex Society of North America, 2008). Due to society's internalized and codified norms of gender and sexuality, this population widely faces stigma, medicalization, and harmful misrepresentation within various media forms, invariably reflected within everyday discourse in society. Especially because this population is larger than many readers may be aware of, positive and realistic representation of intersex individuals, and of sex and gender diversity in general, is crucial. Partly for this reason, Eugenides' *Middlesex* has received a plethora of critical acclaim for its seemingly ubiquitous transgressions of the "normative". In fact, the text's critique of medicalization is often mistaken for a complete transcendence of sex and gender stereotypes. However, its problematic underpinnings strain one's capacity to accept the text as an entirely virtuous subversion; therefore, while not discarding its progressive exploration of the previously largely uncharted territory of intersex identity, it is critical to acknowledge that the text also paradoxically remains anchored in other normative discourses. While on one hand resisting medicalization, *Middlesex* simultaneously reifies other problematic, binary-dependent logics and discourses that are imperative to the justification of medicalization itself. In this paper, I examine where *Middlesex* and *XXY* diverge in their representations of intersex bodies, using the latter as a promising alternative to the representative chasms of the former. Firmly grounded within feminist theoretical analysis, I begin by tracing *Middlesex's* and *XXY's* subversions of medicalization and its concurrent rhetoric of "normality." Next, using both the text and film as critical templates, I deconstruct the ideologies within which medicalization is rooted—sex, gender, and sexuality. Textually and visually-mediated discourses of text and film are important to examine critically; not only do they support or resist the values of our social reality, but they also have the power to influence viewers through reach, rhetoric, visual manipulation, and other various forms of engagement. In conversation with with feminist theories of sex, gender, sexuality, and narrative language, I argue that *Middlesex* reifies the dominant dual logics of the sex binary, normative gender, (hetero)sexuality, and phallogocentism; conversely, *XXY* remains resistant to all the above, and its critique of intersex medicalization

consequently remains unimpeded. Thus, while *Middlesex* preserves the very ideological undercurrents on which intersex medicalization relies, *XXY* presents hopeful new possibilities in place of its absence.

The film *XXY* and the novel *Middlesex* were chosen for analysis because while they do not encapsulate all media forms that represent intersex youth, they capture the diversity of mediums through which intersex youth may be represented. It is important to analyze the different potentials that text and visual-based media can offer through their audiences. The methodology for this paper involved a literary analysis, including text, literary devices (such as metaphor, over and under-exaggeration, imagery, hyperbole), and visuals, and supplementation of the analysis with feminist theory to examine how media reflects current discourses and understandings of the challenges facing intersex youth. I began my analysis with a grounded theory method, looking specifically at passages throughout the novel and movie where medicalization was mentioned.. Subsequently, I found that discourses of sex, gender, and sexuality were intimately linked with those of medicalization. Without initiating the project with a concrete research question, I looked more closely at these significant themes until a research question emerged through patterns in my analysis. My final research question asked whether the two media resisted or reified normative attitudes surrounding the medicalization of intersex bodies, specifically in their engagement with sex, gender, and sexuality. This methodology was able to reveal the ways in which we may unthinkably perpetuate one discourse while attempting to progressively transform another.

I. Resisting Medicalization, Rewriting Normality

Middlesex and *XXY* unarguably align in their resistant ridicule of the pervasiveness of intersex medicalization. According to Sharon Preves (2002), this "refers to viewing a natural phenomenon in a medical framework where the medical view is seen as the authoritative [and] hegemonic view," whereupon the necessity of medical intervention is "never discussed," being "simply presumed" (p.532). Aside from Preves, feminist scholars including Morland (2005), Rubin (2012), Davis & Murphy (2013), Feder (2011), and Fausto-Sterling (1993) have thoroughly interrogated the implications behind intersex

medicalization, particularly the underlying values of "corrective" procedures that unquestionably impose one of two pre-delineated sexes onto ambiguously sexed infants. Affirming that sex assignment surgery is unnecessary for intersex infants' health, Morland (2005) posits, "intersex infants are not born ill; they simply arrive with genitals that are confusing to the adults in the room" (p.335). Thus, proposing intersex surgery is a means through which medical authorities alleviate their own confusion and discomfort; by casting intersex infants as innately abnormal "problems" in need of fixing or saving, a dual-sex system is maintained. Accordingly, when doctors' personal feelings, such as confusion or disgust, "enter the picture of motivating factors [for surgery], it becomes much more difficult to understand the intention to perform [corrective] procedures as 'good,' that is, 'for the benefit'" of the infant (Feder, 2011, p.633). Of course, aside from the doctors' own personal feelings, corrective surgery is also primarily sought for the intended well-being of a child, which, in itself, is an assumption that justifies the centrality and necessity of normative sex and gender. However, though this is easily forgotten, the knowledge of biomedical authorities is not immutably correct—it is made by humans, and thus is implicitly influenced by their own subjective feelings. Yet, through their socially constructed objective medical knowledge and rhetoric, doctors define and reproduce 'normality', justifying the correction of anything falling outside of its confines.

Middlesex and *XXY* both trace the lives of teenage intersex protagonists who face various pressures surrounding undergoing sex reassignment surgery. While the film *XXY* is told in the moments leading up to the protagonist (Alex's) decision, the novel *Middlesex* is told retrospectively, from the point of view of the adult protagonist (Cal), who retells his experiences post-decision. Ultimately, Cal and Alex make different decisions about whether or not to undergo this surgery, and the events and thoughts leading up to this decision are more significant to examine. By honing into specificities of biomedical persuasive rhetoric, *Middlesex* and *XXY* examine the intentions behind ambiguous keywords that are used to justify the seemingly irrefutable authority of medicalization. Anxiety-ridden before his anticipated sex reassignment surgery, *Middlesex's* Cal reflects, "I kept thinking about that word: 'better.' What did my father mean?" (Eu-

genides, 2002, p.422). Mirroring feminist theorist Ellen Fedder (2011), Cal questions the subjective intentions behind the seeming-objective nature of "betterment," suspecting that the surgery may not be for his own benefit. Arriving at an eerie epiphany, Cal begins to understand that "[n]ormality wasn't normal. It couldn't be. If normality were normal, everybody could leave it alone. They could sit back and let normality manifest itself. But people—and especially doctors—had doubts about normality." (Eugenides, 2002, p.446). In these pivotal passages, Cal unravels the objectivity of "normality." One must not underestimate the effects of the intentional typographic repetition of "normal" and "normality" in the latter quote: these highly charged semantic permutations function to destabilize and evacuate precision from the word, forcing the reader to think of its multivalent connotations. While the passage may seem like just a cyclical stream of consciousness, it actually is a linguistic deconstruction; it aims to interrogate the reader, alienating them from their familiarity with the word "normal," in an attempt to strengthen the reader's empathy with Cal's situation. Contextually, Cal reveals the social construction of normalcy—rather than "manifest[ing] itself" (Eugenides, 2002, p.446), normality is constantly altered and manipulated by people. Due to the binary-based nature of Western thought, "normality" depends on the existence of an antithetical, "abnormal" Other, thus functioning as a mechanism of population management and surveillance. The medical construction of intersex bodies as "abnormal" functions to maintain the dominance of "normative" (sex-binary adhering) bodies, proliferating a widespread fear and hostility toward bodies that transgress these norms. In implying that corrective surgery will make Cal "better," his father perpetuates this normal/abnormal polarity and justifies the normalization of sex reassignment surgery as being unquestioned and "simply presumed" (Preves, 2002, p.532).

Upon retrospectively outlining the medical procedures, doctors' appointments, and the "barrage of tests" (Eugenides, 2002, p.20) he's been subject to, Cal abruptly concludes his long-winded objective list with the subjective I: "All I know is this: […] in [my] genetic history, I'm the final clause in a periodic sentence" (Eugenides, 2002, p.20). Metaphorically overturning the power dynamic between doctors and patients, Cal prioritizes his own sub-

jective experiences. He refuses to grant the last word in his story to a medical diagnosis or a clinician's order, instead attempting to reclaim his own voice, subjectivity, knowledge, and authority, through his bodily experience. Hence, Cal positions himself against "the scientist," to whom he feels he is "nothing less than a living experiment" (Eugenides, 2002, p.408) and a physiological object. Resisting the predominant objectivist rhetoric of persuasion of science, which often delegitimizes peoples' lived experiences, Cal situates his body as a valuable agent, rather than a passive resource or medium through which experiments may be executed.

Aligning with Cal's view, Donna Haraway (1988) illuminates the existence of an "us" versus "them" duality between subjectivity and "objective" scientific knowledge. She describes the the latter as "a condensed node in an agonistic power field" (p.577). Consequently, Haraway calls for situated knowledges, emphasizing the importance of the subject in creating partial knowledge to resist and dislocate the disembodied, panoptic power of "objective" scientific truth claims. The only truthful accounts of knowledge can emerge and accumulate when spoken through particular bodies that may be held responsible for it, wherein "the object of knowledge [can] be pictured as an actor and an agent" (p.592). As evidenced in his resistance to medical authorities' control of objectivity, Cal's embodied subjectivity exposes the limits of doctors' knowledge, and positions him as an agent and co-creator of intersex knowledge, grounded in his embodied experience.

XXY's Alex, in solidarity with *Middlesex*, also openly resists the biomedical authorities that incite the medicalization of intersex bodies. Upon discovering that their friend Alvaro's father is a corrective surgeon, they mockingly ask, "Does your father like butchering people?" (Puenzo, 2007). Glancing at them with disgust, Alvaro defends, "He doesn't butcher people—he fixes them, [removing] the deformities" (Puenzo, 2007). His dialogue portrays society's internalization of the normal/abnormal polarity; by viewing bodies that do not fit the confines of socially constructed and medically-defined normality as "deformities," he positions doctors as heroic figures able to "fix" them, implying the necessity of surgical intervention for the (re)production

of normal bodies. However, like *Middlesex's* Cal, Alex is harshly critical of this assumption. In drawing an allegorical correlation between corrective surgery and violence ("butchering"), they display a heightened awareness of the medical sphere's violently uncompromising refusal to accept diverse bodies as normal. Through these metaphorical and discursive representations, *XXY* and *Middlesex* dissect the validity of assumptions upholding intersex medicalization, from medicalizing attitudes to questioning the sex and gender binaries.

II. Sex: Binary or Continuum?

Since both *Middlesex* and *XXY* align in their critical views of medicalization and its rhetoric of normality, it may logically follow that both also oppose dominant discourses of the sex binary, upon which medicalization and its feminist critiques rely on. However, my analysis finds that that while *XXY* unequivocally subdues it, *Middlesex* complies with the binary logic of sex. On the surface, Cal's perception of ascribed sex is progressive; with biting sarcasm, he retorts, "Sing now, O Muse, of the recessive mutation on my fifth chromosome!" (Eugenides, 2002, p.4). His parodic, mock-heroic invocation of a chromosomal muse gestures to the absurdity of placing paramount authoritarian power on the gene in molding human identity. The extent to which Cal intentionally personifies, inflates, and glorifies the chromosome is laughable; however, his humour serves to ridicule society, mirroring how we continue to rely solely on physiological traits (chromosomes, genes, hormones) to determine a person's sex and subsequent identity. By this figurative parallel, Cal shows that the invocation of a chromosomal muse is equally as illogical as labeling chromosomes with pre-determined human characteristics through sex categorization.

Cal also seemingly aligns with the position that sex is socially constructed, as opposed to biologically determined. In his playful satire of the gene, he gestures to the social construction and interpretation of sex. Along a similar vein, feminist theorist Christine Delphy (1993) claims that the categorization of sex emerges from humans' "universal need to establish classifications" (p.4), which is invariably based on a dual, reductive classification made by medical authorities. However, Cal entirely misses the gendered basis of these classifications;

as Delphy posits, gender precedes sex because the sexed categories become binary vessels for the masculine or feminine gendered content that is placed within them. While Cal's mockery of gender and personhood being projected onto chromosomal genes is progressive, it crucially fails to address the inscribed gendered duality within sex categories; because gender precedes sex, the latter is embedded with a constellation of complex, dual roles and expectations.

Extending Delphy's argument, Judith Butler (1999) suggests that as well as being culturally determined, sex is also discursively produced: "prior to culture, [sex is] a politically neutral surface on which culture acts" (p.11). Since a resistance to the discursive production of sex is not achieved in *Middlesex*, Cal's aim to dislodge medicalized biological determinism is even further ruptured. In a discursive metaphor of his (re)birth, he explains:

> "I was born twice: first, as a baby girl, on a remarkably smogless Detroit day in January of 1960; and then again, as a teenage boy, in an emergency room near Petoskey, Michigan, in August of 1974 […] I was first one thing and then the other." (Eugenides, 2002, p.3)

Cal's discursive establishment of being reborn contends that there are only two opposing sexes to be born into, reifying the biomedical perception of a classifiable correlation between sex and gender. He disappointingly upholds a binary mimetic relationship of sex to gender, wherein sex prescribes, mirrors, and is restricted by gender, and conversely. Similarly, his problematic word choice of "one thing and then the other" (Eugenides, 2002, p.3), rather than "another," implies that there are only two dichotomous states of being, rather than a spectrum of sexes. While they are inextricably linked, he seemingly views medicalization as entirely separate from the sex/gender binary, and through this, he conforms to the pressures of both, discursively defining himself in relation to one of two sexes.

Outside of his own identity, Cal's overarching conception of people in society is also wreathed in ideologies of the sex binary. Describing his adolescence, he illustrates his female classmates

undergoing puberty in a manner that typifies biological determinism: “girls are becoming women […] nature is making its preparations” (Eugenides, 2002, p.286). He discursively implies that womanhood and feminine behavior is entirely and immutably inscribed by their sex, impeding his previous claim that sex is culturally constructed. Similarly, at a family gathering, Cal observes, “the house was sex-segregated like the houses in the patrida, the old country; men in the sala, women in the kitchen” (Eugenides, 2002, p.92, emphasis mine). Attributing and naturalizing gender and traditional gender roles to two distinctive sexes, these two quotes strongly undermine Cal’s attempt to change perceptions of sex categorization. Both in youth and adulthood, Cal remains incarcerated within dual-sex discourses of the medical establishment.

On the other hand, *XXY* offers a refreshing perspective by portraying new possibilities beyond the sex binary. Though Alex’s parents certainly attribute sex to gender, unable to comprehend the existence of a sexed identity beyond the duality—Alex’s mother pleads them to consider corrective surgery, and their father conversely assumes that their unwillingness to undergo surgery inevitably means they would like to identify as the “male” sex—the difference lies in Alex’s own perception of sex. When Alex’s family friend Alvaro asks them what sex they are, Alex states, “both,” before turning and walking away, refusing to answer any more of his questions and combatting the “universal need to establish classifications” (Delphy, 1993, p.4). Aside from Alvaro’s interrogation, there are no coherent discursive clues as to which sex Alex identifies as. While their parents continually attempt to classify them into one of two socially constructed categories, Alex is comfortable occupying ambiguous territory, beyond “either/or”. In rejecting their hormone medication, and similarly refusing to act or appear “normatively” in accordance to any particular sex, they are not located specifically within the “male” or “female” sexed category, instead embodying Anne Fausto-Sterling’s (1993) vision of the “vast, infinitely malleable continuum that defies the constraints” of either sex (p.21). Alex’s character illustrates the socially “malleable” nature of sex, because they do not ever conform to the predetermined, distilled content within the categories of the two sexes; instead, they mold their sexed iden-

tity through their own agency. They also embody the "continuum" of Fausto-Sterling's notion, because in refusing to label themselves as one sex, they demonstrate that sex is not pre-packaged and static, but is actively made and remade, continually undergoing shifts. This allows them to remain open to the multiplicity and innumerable complexities of sex, simultaneously refuting the diagnostic lens of medical authorities and the categorization of sex itself.

III. Gender: Performing Coherence or Embracing Incoherence?

It is pertinent to recognize that the dual-sex logic of medicalization is deeply entrenched within normative binary conceptions of gender. Accordingly, unlike Alex, Cal's perception of sex in *Middlesex* remains captive to an unequivocally normative view of gender. Throughout the novel, Cal does not celebrate gender ambiguity, instead seeking to fully integrate into one of two gender categories that are infused into society. All his life, Cal tries to conform to Butler's (1999) notion of "intelligible gender," through maintaining a semblance of "coherence and continuity among sex, gender, sexual practice, and desire" (p.23). In Calliope's childhood and youth, she dresses and acts in a feminine manner, is genuinely upset when boys do not pay attention to her in school, and has heterosexual sex with her friend's brother; through all the above, her gender identity is coherent, unquestioned, and accepted by society. After Cal's pivotal "rebirth" into a man, he similarly asserts the intelligibility of his male gender, discursively and performatively. Through his memoir's persistent intercalary narrative rifts, Cal emphatically stresses his current-day unwavering masculinity: affirming, "I'm not androgynous in the least"; as a man, "everything comes naturally" (Eugenides, 2002, p.41). Here, Cal problematically assumes that gender is a natural entity that results in natural effects; in his belief that gender correlates with "everything" that follows, he overshadows its social construction and denies the possibility of an alternative to intelligible gender.

Continually drawing attention to his "masculine" bodily appearances, acts, and their effects, 41-year-old Cal flaunts his normatively-gendered appearance: "under the armor of my double-breasted suits is another of gym-built muscle" (Eugenides, 2002, p.107), which he claims successfully attracts women. Cal's reiterative descriptions

of his physical style and appearance illuminate Butler's (1999) concept of gender performativity, defined as "the repeated stylization of the body, a set of repeated acts […] to produce the appearance of substance" (p.33). All being performative and discursive aspects of his masculinity, Cal's bodily mannerisms, interactions, and ornamentation with "the cigars, the double-breasted suits" (Eugenides, 2002, p.41), are tiresomely repeated. However, according to Butler (1999), discursive and physical repetition is central to gender formulation: thus, Cal's continual repetition and discursive recitation of his gendered acts evidence his gender conformity. His gender presents what Butler (1988) refers to as a "constituted social temporality" (p.520); over time, his ongoing compliant reproductions naturalize.

Feminist scholars such as Moya Lloyd (1999) have critically illuminated the ambiguities surrounding Butler's notion of "gender performativity," problematizing her equivocal distinction of 'performativity' from 'performance.' Though performativity refers to an ensemble of repeated discursive acts, performance instead signifies a conscious, intentional effort to portray a certain gender, with a real, innately natural "doer" existing behind the artificial "deed." Although *Middlesex's* Cal, in the previous paragraph, demonstrates performative gender, there is a myriad situations in which he consciously performs gender as well. In one instance, upon reflecting on his appearance, suits, and cigars, he admits, "they're a little too much. I'm well aware of that. But I need them […] After what I've been through, some overcompensation is to be expected" (Eugenides, 2002, p.41). Interestingly, Cal's intentional "overcompensation" of masculinity situates gender as an intentional performance, rather than Butler's idea of performativity. By implying the necessity of overcompensation, Cal envisions an "expectant" normatively gendered audience to whom he presents himself, hopes to conform to, and from whom he seeks approval. Cal's overcompensation of gender acts may be read as a bodily manifestation of his internalized hatred and negotiation of his own "abnormality," and in turn, a means through which he attempts completely adhere to "normality." Through this negotiation, he seeks to achieve the authentic, normative status of masculinity that society perpetuates. Disappointingly obscuring the alternatives to conforming to the gender binary, Cal's gender identity

illuminates “a normative ideal rather than a descriptive feature of experience” (Butler, 1999, p.23), and thus reiterates gender normalcy and the gender binary as both natural and desirable. Through Cal’s character, the text portrays a performance, rather than performativity, of gender, implying a problematic theatrical interpretation of gender, wherein there is someone “real” behind the acts of gender.

Conversely, *XXY’s* Alex does not conform to the binary restriction of gender; their character illustrates an “incoherent or ‘discontinuous’ gendered being” (Butler, 1999, p. 23), largely failing to conform to an intelligible gender. In appearance, Alex wears gender-neutral clothing—usually baggy shirts, sweaters, jeans or shorts, and sneakers. Similarly, their body posture and gestures cannot be labeled as either masculine or feminine. The viewer is only aware of their assertiveness, lack of subtlety, and direct, confident manner in which they speak to people, all of which are traits more traditionally associated with masculinity. Throughout the film, various people view Alex as incoherent: people inquire about and try to label their sex and sexual orientation, but they never provide a concrete answer, demonstrating they lack of continuity among sex, gender (expression), desire, and practice. Alex’s societally deemed gender incoherency, however, only exists in relation to those who do conform to intelligible gender, and thus are able to interrogate and attempt to regulate Alex. In the most subtle forms, the implications of Alex’s gender unintelligibility are portrayed through the way that people (namely, intelligible genders), such as their peers and their father’s friends, look at them—people’s’ facial expressions often vividly portray confusion or discomfort, fear, disrespect, hostility, and sometimes even disgust. More blatantly, the implications of gender unintelligibility are shown when Alex is assaulted, being aggressively pinned down to the ground by three boys who demand to know “what she has down there” (Puenzo, 2007), an extreme example of medicalization’s uncompromisingly violent diagnostic urge, and its effect on society. In other words, this traumatizing scene explicitly traces the connection between medicalization —the means of Western thought that provokes our socialized internal desire to label, or diagnose—and physical violence against those who do not conform to the taxonomy of what is considered

normal. The ways in which people are socialized to view and think about gender non-conforming individuals has not only emotional affect, but violent tangible effects on their lives and well being.

IV. Sexuality: The Regulation of Desires

Intimately linked to the medicalization of intersex infants is an underlying implicit assumption of heterosexuality, which is predicated on the existence of a dual sex/gender system. Feminist theorists such as Rich (1980), Butler (1999), and Wittig (1992) have investigated the social expectation of omnipresent heterosexuality. Eloquently encapsulating their critiques, Butler (1999) rhetorically asks, "is gender identity, constructed as a relationship among sex, gender, sexual practice, and desire, the effect of a regulatory practice that can be identified as compulsory heterosexuality?" (p.24). Accordingly, Monique Wittig (1992) argues that heterosexuality has been unconsciously internalized through ideological manipulation and coercion, creating "the straight mind". Expanding these claims, Chrys Ingraham (1994) coins the term heterosexual imaginary to assert that heterosexuality has become so naturalized, taken-for granted, and unquestioned, that it operates outside of anyone's conscious intent; thus, heteronormative underpinnings within even the most critical discourses of gender are widely concealed and left unexamined. This widespread unquestionable normality of heterosexuality (and the resulting obscurity of other sexualities) is in itself a form of regulation and socially constructed compulsion.

While *Middlesex* attempts to subvert intersex medicalization, it synchronously fails to consider the crucial impact of heterosexuality in its regulation. As a result, the heterosexual imaginary diffuses through the entire narrative. Of high school, Cal recalls, "She drops her eraser. No boy brings it back […] at recess girls and boys hold hands, kissing sometimes behind trees, and Calliope feels gypped, cheated. 'Remember me?' she says, to nature" (Eugenides, 2002, p.286). Here, Cal's assumption about the causality between sex and gender is irrevocably entangled with, and subject to, subliminally imposed heterosexuality. Inculcated with the heterosexual imaginary, Calliope's desire to attract a boy reproduces society's idealization and unquestionable naturalness of heterosexuality—particularly in

her enraged condemnation of 'nature' for making her unattractive to boys. Rather than questioning the naturalness and illusory desirability of heterosexuality, Calliope instead questions herself, feeling "cheated" and abnormal. This portrays the immensely pervasive and coercive regulatory power of the heterosexual imaginary: not only are heteronormative representations emulated by everyone that surrounds Calliope, but they also orchestrate her sense of belonging, inclusion, and perception of self-worth. Interestingly, although Cal clearly identifies as male later in life, the concealed regulation of the heterosexual imaginary continues to consistently permeate his experiences. As an adult, Cal repeatedly worries about not having sufficient dating experience that "a man of [his] years should have" (Eugenides, 2002, p. 167). Further, he reflects that least he's "learned to make the first move by now, but not the second" (Eugenides, 2002, p. 232). While clearly elucidating problematic gender norms, this quote is also instilled with heteronormative undercurrents that implicitly inscribe heterosexual dating rituals. Cal is influenced by, and unthinkably reproduces, dominant norms of "compulsory" heterosexuality.

Not to be overlooked, one of the most noteworthy sections of *Middlesex* surrounds Calliope's teenage relationship with her female lover, whom she refers to as 'The Obscure Object.' While their intimacy may certainly be seen as a radical departure from "compulsory heterosexuality" and Ingraham's "heterosexual imaginary," I suggest an alternative interpretation through a close reading of the relationship's manipulative framing. The lovers are rarely depicted as genuinely mutually happy and carefree.Instead, the narrative craftily foregrounds Calliope's excessive worry about the relationship being discovered, her illogical explanations to convince herself not to feel guilty, her anxieties about "having unnatural desires" (Eugenides, 2002, p.375), and even her outright denial. Before reading this relationship in resistance to heteronormativity, one must ask: why are the girls' desires denied and framed as unnatural? And why can't Calliope identify as lesbian or bisexual, or ever at least question her sexual orientation? These unanswered questions impinge on the interpretation of the teenage affair as a depiction of the fluidity of sexuality.

In compliance with heteronormative standards, the framing of

their affair is subject to literary critic Rachel Carroll's (2010) notion of "heterosexual temporality," a term describing the widespread societal dismissal, or not taking seriously, of any non-heterosexual identities before adulthood. Indeed, 41-year-old Cal internalizes this idea in his retrospective narration, when he positions his sexual experiences with the Obscure Object as a distant prelude to his current linear, unchanging heterosexuality, and a precursor to his "real" gender identity. Angus Gordon (1999) draws upon Butler's (1999) "heterosexual matrix" to theorize that society is generally accepting of adolescents' deviations from heterosexual acts, only as long as these acts cease to occur in adulthood. He elaborates: Temporally constituted […], the meaning of adolescence is always understood to become apparent only in hindsight; it is structured by a foreshadowed denouement, which is the subject's arrival at [heterosexual] adulthood […] in the treatment of same-sex desires or experience during adolescence, the discourse of adolescence typically recuperates them as detours (even, at times, as necessary detours) on the path to an eventual heterosexual consummation. (qtd. in Carroll, p.189)

When applied to *Middlesex*, it is evident that Cal's experiences with the Obscure Object function as a digression before Cal's inevitable permanent investment in heterosexuality. Through his framing, Cal delegitimizes his genuine feelings as a teenager, associating both adolescence and queerness to inherent immaturity, confusion, or incompleteness—only an avenue through which to conceive heterosexual identity. As an adult, Cal distorts the authenticity of his experience with the Obscure Object, telling his current girlfriend, "What I told you about myself has nothing whatsoever to do with being gay or closeted. I've always liked girls. I liked girls when I was a girl" (Eugenides, 2002, p.513). Enfolded within the heterosexual matrix, Cal positions his former teenage lover as a literal "object" through which to justify his (hetero)sexuality as constant, unchanging, and determinant of his unequivocal gender identity. The narrative intentionally "obscures" Cal's relationship with the Obscure Object in order to subdue and ultimately deny the possibility of non-heteronormative experiences, which, in many ways, reifies the binary-predicated ideology of medicalization that Cal opposes. In extension, I suggest

that this temporal framing also strongly relies on Cal's perception of an existing causal linkage between sex, gender, and sexuality. In one instance, Cal justifies the relationship as necessary for discovering his "true biological nature" (Eugenides, 2002, p.327), which eerily enough, precisely echoes the medicalization rhetoric of "uncovering one's true sex" (Preves, 2002) that Cal aims to resist.

Similar to *Middlesex*, the heterosexual imaginary proliferates through *XXY's* society. When Alex's family guests find out that they intentionally broke their male friend Alvaro's nose, their family reestablishes the situation in a heterosexual context: "Friend? Or boyfriend? You don't do that to a friend" (Puenzo, 2007). The guests' inability to recognize the capacity for men and women to engage in meaningful non-romantic relations—as well as their immediate assumption that Alex is heterosexual—gestures to the ubiquitous underpinnings of the "straight mind" and the "heterosexual imaginary" in all perceptions of male/female interactions. However, the critical difference is that Alex (and to an extent, Alvaro) do not conform to these heteronormative regulations. Alex's sexual orientation is left ambiguous for the entirety of the film. For example, when Alvaro confronts them in the forest, demanding, "I don't understand. Do you like guys or girls?" they retort, "I don't know" (Puenzo, 2007), then turning around and walking away, again refusing to be subject to his urge to classify and diagnose by answering his questions. Evidently, Alex is comfortable with the unknown, consistently refusing to label their sex, gender, or sexuality.

While it is possible to read Alex and Alvaro's relationship as heterosexual—particularly because Alvaro initially does not know that Alex is intersex—this interpretation becomes convoluted amidst the plethora of ambiguities surrounding their subversions of intelligible gender and the heterosexual imaginary. Most obviously, both in regards to sexual assertiveness and practice, Alex occupies a dominant, typically "male" role, which possibly allures Alvaro. Alex evidently infatuates him, but it is unclear as to what about them he is attracted to in particular. This question is further complicated by his father's insensitive confrontation: when it is time for Alvaro's family to return home, Alvaro informs his father

that he is reluctant to leave because of Alex, to which his father states, “Good—I was beginning to think you were a fag” (Puenzo, 2007). Alex’s arresting reaction evokes viewers’ sympathy and perplexity; not bothering to defend himself, his face fills with shock, breaking into tears when his father leaves. It is ambiguous as to whether Alvaro is straight or queer, as the scene ends without providing a clear answer. Thus, the viewer is left to question: are his ears a result of his irrecoverably toxic relationship with his father, or a manifestation of his unconsciously internalized shame and repression of his queer identity—what Butler (1999) refers to as heterosexual melancholia—rooting from the knowledge that it will not be accepted by the norms of his conservative family? Though the answer is unclear, what is obvious is both his and Alex’s embodiment of sexualities beyond the simplicity of heterosexual imaginary.

V. The Politics of Narrative Voice and Temporality

For a more holistic interrogation of why *Middlesex* reifies the very elements paving the foundation of intersex medicalization, it is pertinent to consider the strategies of the novel’s formal features in relation to the plotline itself. While *XXY* narrates Alex’s experiences as they happen, Cal instead tells his story from his voice as a 41-year-old man, giving temporal primacy to his male intelligible gender. However, what are the implications of Cal’s choice to narrate from this male retrospective point of view? I interpret his retrospective narrative voice as a means of upholding phallogocentric authority, which acts as an aesthetic binding substance for reifying the linear continuity of dominant norms of sex, gender, and sexuality[1].

Feminist theorists such as Helene Cixous (2008/1986) and Luce Irigaray (1989) have written extensively on phallogocentrism, defining it as the insistent “solidarity of logocentrism and phallocentism” (Cixous, 2008/1986, p.361)—that is, the centering of the male point of view, both in language (logos) and in general systems of thought, being a key condition for the continued perpetuation of the hierar-

1 It is pertinent also to consider the implications of the author’s (Eugenides’) own (hetero)masculine identity; however, for the sake of space, I prioritize my analysis to book itself, aligning with literary theories (ie. Barthes, 2008/1967) that consider the locus and unity of a text to be not in its origin, but in its destination. Situating the author—rather than narrator—at the center of a text denies the potential multiplicity of interpretations.

chic dual-sex system. Irigaray suggests that through the male subject, the universality embedded within androcentric language itself functions to "maintain the established order" (1989, p.192) of the gender binary. Most significantly, Irigaray emphasizes phallogocentrism's reliance on "a mechanics of solids:" the male subject must be "undifferentiated" by rhetorically "erect[ing] himself as a solid entity" (p.199). This solid, permanently consolidated identity is precisely what Cal convinces the reader he has acquired. Consciously contrasting "then" from "now," his present male voice from the "innate feminine circularity" (Eugenides, 2002, p.20) of his past narration, Cal attempts to affirm his unequivocal, intelligible masculinity— any ambiguities of his past are discarded or are craftily framed to justify the stability of his present. In various intercalary tropes throughout the novel, Cal interrupts his memoir to self-reflexively confer his present situation to the reader, repeatedly ingraining his solid, authentic heteromasculinity into the reader's mind. Through such narrative prompts, the reader is not permitted to forget Cal's "solid" male identity. As an adult, he does not see Calliope as part of himself, emphasizing his temporal and psychological distance from her by increasingly referring to her in the past tense, then eventually rejecting her completely. Ironically mirroring biomedical rhetoric, he describes Calliope as a deformity or abnormality in his consciousness: "when Calliope resurfaces, she does so like a childhood speech impediment […] It's a little like being possessed" (Eugenides, 2002, p.41). This weakens Cal's attempt to resist the medicalization discourse of the dichotomized sex, as he ironically idealizes and preserves the very normalcy that he intended to interrogate.

Despite *Middlesex's* failure to subvert the mind-forged binary deadlock of sex/gender/ desire, how does *XXY* manage to successfully do so? Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick (2008/1990) insists that to begin to understand the "definitions" of sex and gender, one must remain open to and embrace their incoherency; she suggests, "the more promising project would seem to be a study of the incoherent dispensation itself, the indisseverable girdle of incongruities" of the individual (p. 90). Gender must not be described by way of a diagnostic, stabilizing urge, but rather through one's openness to its incoherencies and inconsistencies. For this reason, Sedgwick

believes that only through a perspective or narrative strategy beyond subjectivity can one begin to understand gender. While this isn't achievable through Cal's consolidated first-person point of view, the omniscient narration offered by *XXY* poses a promising possibility. The film situates human dialogue as its last priority, instead giving precedence to omnisciently charged ambiguity and mystery, nonverbal expression, and unspoken reflection. The viewer has no access to any of the characters' thoughts. Instead, omniscience is diffused through aesthetic parallels between humans and the natural world. In between almost every scene involving human interaction, the camera moves to the sea. In the last—and arguably the most revelatory—scene in *XXY*, the sea finally coalesces with human interaction: Alex has an intimate, near-wordless conversation with their father, sitting by a window overlooking the ocean. Alex's father finally decides that the choice to undergo corrective surgery is ultimately Alex's, and he promises to support them regardless of which decision is made. Alex strikingly replies with, "What if there is no decision to make?" (Puenzo, 2007). A long moment of silence then precedes the end of the movie. In refusing to take their estrogen hormone pills and refusing corrective surgery, Alex decides not to adhere to the male or female sex, but even more importantly, they critique the logic behind the imposition of this decision itself. A clear and thought-provoking resistance to medicalization, as well as to binary systems of sex, gender, and sexuality, their rhetorical question encapsulates the social construction of all of the above. Here, Alex reaches for a potential truth of sex/gender without any irritable reaching for rationality or fact; unlike for Cal, the lack of answers—and lack of "solid entity" (Irigaray, 1989, p.199)—is Alex's answer.

Conclusion

Middlesex's and *XXY's* articulations of the struggles of intersex youth both conclude with vastly diverging outcomes, whether subconsciously (*Middlesex*) or overtly (*XXY*). Without discrediting the importance of *Middlesex's* resistance to medicalization of intersex bodies, I hope to have shown, through engaging in dialogue with feminist theories of sex, gender, sexuality, and language, that the novel simultaneously reifies other critically problematic, binary-dependent logics that are bound up with the justification of medical-

ization itself. Thus, while *Middlesex* is subject to dominant notions of sex/gender/sexuality, *XXY* subdues them. However, as I have shown through a comparative analysis, thinking beyond the binary mentality of sex, gender, and sexuality is not impossible. The solution does not lie in eradicating an institution or structure.up with the justification of medicalization itself. Thus, while *Middlesex* is subject to dominant notions of sex/gender/sexuality, *XXY* subdues them. However, as I have shown through a comparative analysis, thinking beyond the binary mentality of sex, gender, and sexuality is not impossible. The solution does not lie in eradicating an institution or structure. Instead, we must start with the immensely complex task of mentally restructuring our binary-based system of thought—it is only through such "unlearning" that one will learn to embrace ambiguities and remain open to the unknown. As evidenced in the confusion and even physical violence with which society responds to the non-normative, the first step toward equitable representation and social understanding is to reflect upon and shift our ways of thought. "Unlearning" the binary-based systems that frame our understandings and social interactions will create more open-minded individuals, reflected in progressive change within how people treat one another, particularly in learning to embrace diversity. Accurate, equitable, and progressive representation in various media forms plays a significant role in changing the views of its audience, further fostering their understandings of and social interactions with others.

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Gottman and Olson's Prediction Theories Meet Millennial Cohabitation: Enhancing Relational Stability for American Young Adults

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Abstract: This paper considers the rising trend of Millennial cohabitation and its increasingly normative presence as an alternative to marriage. Drawing on John Gottman's family communication theories and David Olson's circumplex model, we induce how marital prediction theories can be applied to cohabitation and its ultimate success or failure. Our analysis considers Millennials in an American context who consider themselves to be in a committed relationship. We also examine and critique current research on cohabitation, relational stability, and role strain. Ultimately, our paper proposes a mini theory that can be extended and reapplied to the trend of Millennial cohabitation while simultaneously considering the factors that influence the stability of the premarital cohabiting relationship.

Premarital cohabitation is now considered a modal relationship trajectory, even in historically conservative societies such as the United States (Huang, Smock, Manning & Bergstrom-Lynch, 2011; Heuveline & Timberlake, 2004). Though this global trend has become especially normative in liberal European nations—with over 75% of French and Finnish individuals reporting at least one premarital cohabitation before the age of 45—the United States now follows with 50% of adults cohabiting before marriage (Heuveline & Timberlake, 2004). While cohabitation itself is not a new phenomenon, its prevalence as an alternative to marriage is reshaping the social norms of family formation and the accompanying roles and role strains of couplehood (Heuveline & Timberlake, 2004). This trend has become especially normative in Millennial cohorts, though middle-aged and elderly couples are also cohabiting more frequently than in previous decades (Novak, 2009). Guzzo (2014) extends Heuveline and Timberlake's (2004) finding that one in

two Americans in romantic relationships cohabit by suggesting that the vast majority of Millennials cohabit at least once before the age of thirty. However, Guzzo (2014) also maintains that American Millennial couples are more unstable than their married counterparts due to high numbers of breakups and decreased likelihood of lifetime commitment. Though Gottman (1994) and Olson (2000) have proposed empirical prediction theories surrounding marriage and divorce, Guzzo's (2014) research demonstrates that American Millennials need more relational stability to produce more enduring unions.

Our goal is to consider the relevant and largely unaddressed concept of cohabitation prediction theories in order to propose predictive and practical implications for cohabiting couples. To do so, we will determine which communication techniques are the most suitable for increasing stability and therefore enhancing the relational satisfaction for cohabiting couples. Drawing on contemporary empirical research on marriage and divorce prediction theories, we will consider John Gottman's (1994) family communication theories and David H. Olson's (2000) circumplex model. By comparing and contrasting these theories with recent sociological findings that specifically consider cohabiting Millennials, we propose the Cohabitation Stability Circumplex Model. This mini-theory presents a novel contribution to family sociology by contrasting established prediction theories with the Millennial trend of cohabitation. Though Gottman (1994) and Olson (2000) maintain that stability is the cornerstone of positive marital outcomes, we argue that the unstable and tentative nature of Millennial cohabitation necessitates the Cohabitation Stability Circumplex Model to help American young adults achieve stronger relationship outcomes.

Literature Review

John Gottman and Marital Stability

John Gottman is a family communications theorist and therapist who has completed many studies about premarital and married couples. Empirical knowledge from his experiments can predict with 90% accuracy[1] whether or not a couple will eventually divorce, largely based on the stability and positivity of communication pat-

1 This percentage is an average of seven longitudinal studies conducted by Gottman and his colleagues.

terns (Gottman, 2015). According to Gottman (1994), communication patterns between individuals in a couple are the most significant predictive indicators of whether or not they will eventually divorce. Specifically, Gottman (1994) demonstrates that couples who have a five to one ratio of positive communication encounters to negative communication experiences are more likely to stay together. This is linked to the idea of reciprocity wherein a positive form of communication is 90% likely to elicit a positive response (Gottman, 1994). In addition, positive behaviours and verbal forms of communication are typically seen as normal in happy marriages, but as unique, one-time occurrences in unhappy marriages. In his research, Gottman (1994) specifies sadness, whining, worry, anger, contempt, and disgust as examples of negative behaviours and affection, humour, influence, interest, and joy as positive behaviours.

In addition to his five to one ratio, Gottman (1994) proposes the "Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse" (p. 414) as a metaphorical depiction of destructive behaviours that threaten marital stability. These include criticising another's character, holding contempt, acting defensively, and stonewalling or ignoring the conflict (Gottman, 1994). Gottman suggests that these behaviours produce a chain effect in which one behaviour leads to another. In other words, the Four Horsemen are closely correlated with negative effects on marital satisfaction and overall stability. Contempt proves to be the most destructive quality and is strongly associated with divorce (Gottman, 2015). In a recent study, he concluded that couples in unstable and unhappy marriages often enter an "absorbing state" (Gottman, 2015, p. 22) – a consuming and negative emotional cycle characterised by constant conflict. Once in this state, it is very difficult to exit. Gottman found that couples are likely to divorce 5.6 years after getting married when the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse are actively present because they lead to an absorbing state in which there is a low positive to negative behaviour ratio. Gottman (2015) and colleagues subsequently found that disengaged couples – or couples who have emotionally checked out of their marriages – are likely to divorce, on average, after 16.2 years of being married.

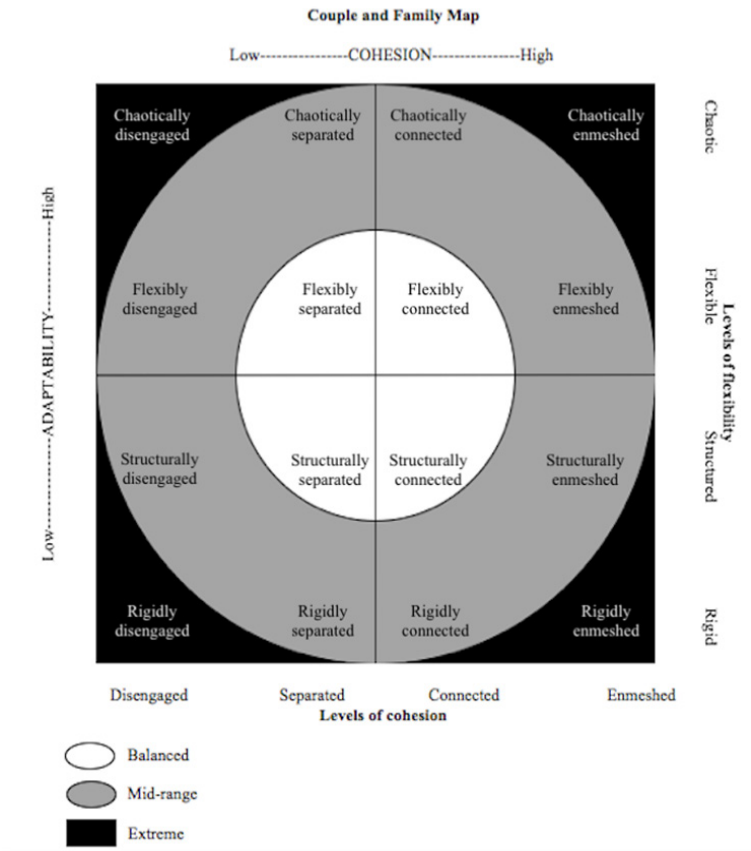
Finally, Gottman (1994) presents the "cascade model of mar-

riage dissolution" (p. 88). According to this model, couples who are likely to divorce tend to follow a staged process whereby there is first a reduced level of happiness with the marriage, followed by the contemplation of separation or divorce, separation, and finally divorce itself. There is a 75% likelihood that couples who reach stage three (separation) will eventually divorce (Gottman, 1994). Gottman's work does not only focus however, on the aspects of marriage that will lead to divorce. He also highlights different measures that couples can take to increase the likelihood of having a happy and stable marriage, and therefore decrease their likelihood of divorce. In addition to ensuring that they have a five to one ratio of positive to negative forms of communication, Gottman (2015) proposes that individuals within the couple can actively and intentionally avoid the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse on a personal level. Instead of complaining or criticising their spouse, he suggests using "I" statements to describe their feelings, such as "I feel frustrated when you don't put your dirty dishes in the dishwasher." According to his family communications model, an antidote for contempt is to focus on the positive aspects of the moment rather than only looking at the troublesome aspects. Moreover, taking responsibility for personal fault can reduce individual defensiveness (Gottman, 2015). As a final technique, individuals who are able to self-soothe for a moment can return to the conflict as active participants instead of acting volatile or ignoring the issue at hand (Gottman 2015). Overall, the breadth and depth of Gottman's research provides a substantial empirical background to predict whether marriage relationships will succeed.

David Olson and Marital Stability

Similar to John Gottman, David Olson is a systems theorist and family therapist who focuses on family and marital relationships. He is the creator of the circumplex model which distinguishes balanced families and relationships from unbalanced and midrange ones (Olson, 2000). The circumplex model specifically considers different levels of flexibility and cohesion within the family and couple systems. Olson (2000) defines family cohesion as "the emotional bonding that family members have towards one another" (p. 145) and separates this variable into four different categories: disengaged, separated, connected, and enmeshed. Similarly, the

flexibility variable is defined as "the amount of change in its leadership, role relationships, and relationship rules" (Olson, 2000, p. 147) and is divided into four categories: chaotic, flexible, structured, and rigid. According to Olson, couples are most balanced when they have moderate levels of flexibility and cohesion (2000).



Couple and Family Map, adapted from Olson, D.H (2000) Circumplex Model of Marital and Family Systems. Journal of Family Theory, p. 148. Online.

Though the communication variable is not directly present on the circumplex model, it presents a third dimension by demonstrating that functional, balanced couples will inherently have better forms of positive communication, which in turn helps the couple function as a balanced unit (Olson, 2000). For Olson (2000), positive commu-

nication includes self-disclosure, improving listening and speaking skills, being clear about intentions, and being respectful. There is a limitation to this analysis, however. According to the sender-receiver model of communications theory, conflict does not have to be verbal: behavioural cues are equally important (White, Klein & Martin 2015). Rausch, Barry, Hertel, and Swain (1974) summarise this effectively: "If what I do has no effect whatsoever on you, then I have not communicated with you. Communication occurs when what I do affects you in some way" (p. 19). This leads us to conclude that Olson's definition of effective communication could be expanded to include a more descriptive analysis of behavioural cues, though his contribution to the discipline of family sociology is undeniably important.

In addition to his circumplex model, Olson's PREPARE and ENRICH programs are inventories used for premarital and married couples with the goal of achieving stability (Olson, 2000; Olson & Olson, 2000). Olson uses analytic methods to create inventories that can determine the relative success and stability of couples before they get married and after they are married, using the PREPARE and ENRICH models, respectively (Olson, 2000; Olson & Olson, 2000) They can also be used to help couples learn how to become more stable and therefore increase the chances of their premarital or married relationships lasting (Olson, 2000). One example of an exercise that is used in the PREPARE and ENRICH workshops is Olson's CHANGE model, which helps couples work together to achieve goals (Olson & Olson, 2000). This exercise focuses on the acronym CHANGE to aid couples in striving towards their goal with the aim of achieving it within one to five years. (Olson & Olson, 2000).

Like Gottman, Olson's inventories can be used to predict which couples are most likely to divorce: PREPARE is able to do so with 80 to 85% accuracy whereas ENRICH predicts with 90% accuracy (Olson, 2000). These inventories are typically used in therapy sessions between couples and family members to help them move one space on either the flexibility continuum or the cohesion continuum so they can become more balanced. Becoming balanced will allow the couples to increase positive communication skills, therefore encouraging system change. Olson (2000) points out that individuals

need to learn how to be more assertive in the way they express themselves in order to be clear about their desires without being too passive or aggressive. In addition, having good communication skills allows couples to better express where they would like their relationship to be on the flexibility and cohesion continuums (Olson, 2000).

From the ENRICH model, Olson distinguishes five different types of couples: vitalised, harmonious, traditional, conflicted, and devitalised (Olson, 1993). Vitalised couples are the happiest ones and are most likely to be older, more educated, and married longer (Olson, 1993). Typically, they hold higher status and higher paying jobs and have lower overall levels of stress (Olson, 1993). Harmonious couples, by contrast, are also very stable and happy in their marriages and are older, though they typically have not been married for as long, have fewer children, and find it harder to reach consensus in parenting (Olson, 1993). The next set of couples are traditional couples. These couples are also satisfied with their marriages and show greater consensus than other couples about religion and child-rearing, perhaps due to stronger gender norms in the relationship (Olson, 1993). Conflicted couples show less satisfaction in their marriages and individuals have a harder time coming to a consensus with one another. Individuals in these types of couples tend to be younger, less educated, and have lower job wages, and they are most likely recently married (Olson, 1993). In addition, Olson (1993) states that the individuals in these couples tend to come from different social and educational backgrounds, which could increase the number of stressors in the relationship and make it harder to communicate positively and effectively. This corresponds with Gottman's (1994) five to one model of family communications theory, which demonstrates the importance of positive and effective communication. Lastly, devitalised couples are similar to the conflicted couples demographically, but have much lower satisfaction in their marriages. In these couples, husbands are more likely to be working more than one job – a significant source of stress – and there is a greater distinction between the religious and ethnic backgrounds of the couple (Olson, 1993). Olson's (1993) results demonstrate that homogeneity in ethnic, educational, and social backgrounds is correlated to stable marriages.

Contemporary Research on Relationship Stability

Beyond Gottman (1994) and Olson's (1993) focus on marriage, Busby and Holman (2009) recently extended a portion of Gottman's prediction model by considering a larger and more representative sample. The purpose of their study was to determine whether matches and mismatches of Gottman's conflict styles – validating, avoidant, hostile, and volatile – influence relational stability in three categories of individuals: dating couples, engaged couples, and married couples. Beginning with 4,746 American couples, Busby and Holman (2009) reduced their sample to consider only the couples who identified as sharing a "committed relationship" (p. 531). Of the 1,983 remaining couples, 28% were steadily dating, 44% were engaged, and 28% were married. Subsequently, 33% had been together for less that 12 months, 29% between one and two years, 22% between 3 and five years, and 8% for six to ten years. The remaining participants had been together for more than ten years. After completing a 274-item questionnaire that considered both self-reported conflict styles and participants' perceptions of their partner, results were aggregated using cluster analysis. Busby and Holman (2009) conclude that matches and mismatches of Gottman's conflict styles play a significant role in determining relationship outcomes: the hostile-avoidant mismatch was most strongly correlated with negative outcomes, whereas a match of validating individuals led to the most positive outcomes, including the highest stability. This research demonstrates that Gottman's emphasis on conflict resolution and communication styles could apply to cohabiting Millennial couples, despite the differences in roles and role strain. Though Busby and Holman (2009) did not indicate whether or not committed couples were cohabiting, Heuveline and Timberlake's (2004) analysis of American Millennial patterns gives us reason to assume that of the 1,428 dating or engaged participants, a significant portion were cohabiting.

In the same way that Busby and Holman (2009) consider both self-reports and reports of one partner to another, Busby, Holman, Neihuis, and Johnson (2009) evaluate the role of self-enhancement patterns in relationship outcomes and overall stability. By self-enhancement, Busby et al. (2009) refer to the differences in self and partner ratings on relationship outcomes, which have been pursued

in detail over the past decades (Fowers, Lyons, Montel & Shaked, 2001; John & Robins 1994). Despite this research, many theoretical questions have yet to be answered, particularly surrounding the importance of self-enhancement in overall relationship satisfaction. Drawing from social constructionist theory – which asserts that individuals construct their views of self and other in order to enhance their feelings of security and satisfaction – Busby et al. (2009) conducted a multivariate analysis of 5,216 American heterosexual couples. Approximately 6% of participants were casually dating, 39% were in a serious dating relationship, 32% were engaged, and only 23% were married. In addition, 34% of the couples had been dating for less than a year, 30% for one to two years, 19% for three to five years, and 17% for six or more years. Busby et al. (2009) sought to determine the importance of positive personality traits, combining agreeable and openness measures – correlated between .48 and .63 with predictive outcomes – into a single measure: affability. This study determined that partners who view their significant other as more affable than themselves are more likely to enjoy positive and enduring relationships than couples who perceive themselves to be more affable than their partner. In a similar fashion to Busby and Holman's (2009) research, 77% of the couples in this study were unmarried and therefore some were likely cohabiting.

Though Busby and Holman (2009) and Busby et al. (2009) both demonstrate that conflict styles and positive personality are predictive of relationship stability beyond the context of marriage, White (2008) reminds us of the tentative, nonlocal qualities of cohabitation partnerships in contrast to marriage. Despite regional and national common law legislations, the agreement of cohabitation does not imply a lifetime commitment and is therefore accompanied by different roles and role strains than in spousal partnerships (White, 2008). White (2008) distinguishes two types of cohabiting couples: those who plan to marry, and who therefore behave similarly to married couples, and those who do not plan to marry, living in tentative, non-committed relationships. White (2008) also notes that couples who cohabit are less likely to associate with religious institutions, whereas those who do cohabit become less religious. Regardless of cohabitation style – planning to marry or tentatively co-residing – White (2008)

notes that uncertainty about relationship longevity contributes to a lack of shared investment in extended family, friends, and communities, therefore reducing many of the social, familial, and financial ties associated with marriage. Overall, cohabiting partners tend to value their independence to a higher degree than married couples (White, 2008). Sassler and Miller (2011) extend White's (2008) emphasis on the alternate roles and role strains that distinguish cohabitation from marriage. This observation highlights the importance of our investigation of Millennial relationships and their subsequent stability.

Guzzo (2014) begins to present relevant data surrounding cohabiting American Millennials and their relationship patterns. The author considers 18 to 34 year-old Americans in 2002, 2006, and 2010, dividing them into five-year cohorts: 18-22 years, 23-28 years, and 29-34 years. Data was produced using the National Survey of Family Growth, considering 17,890 premarital cohabitations. Guzzo's research emphasises the inherent instability of many cohabitation relationships, particularly among the Millennial cohort, by demonstrating that compared to mid-century cohabitations, those formed after 1995 were more likely to dissolve. In addition, Guzzo (2014) determines that there is a higher instability and lower chance of marriage or lifetime commitment for young adults cohabiting after the year 2000, regardless of whether the couple is engaged. In conjunction with this research, Guzzo (2014) presents a novel finding: though many American Millennials express the desire to be married, most are unacquainted with the personal, financial, or social stability necessary for this commitment. This has led to a generational pattern of normative instability in Millennial cohabitation. Guzzo (2014) identifies this pattern as "troubling because it suggests that young adults are having trouble realising their desires and intentions to form more permanent and stable unions, particularly marriages" (p. 840). Despite what appears to be positive intentions, Guzzo (2014) associates the transition to adulthood in America with transitory, unstable relationships that often end in dissolution in contrast to the self-reported desire for stability.

Induction

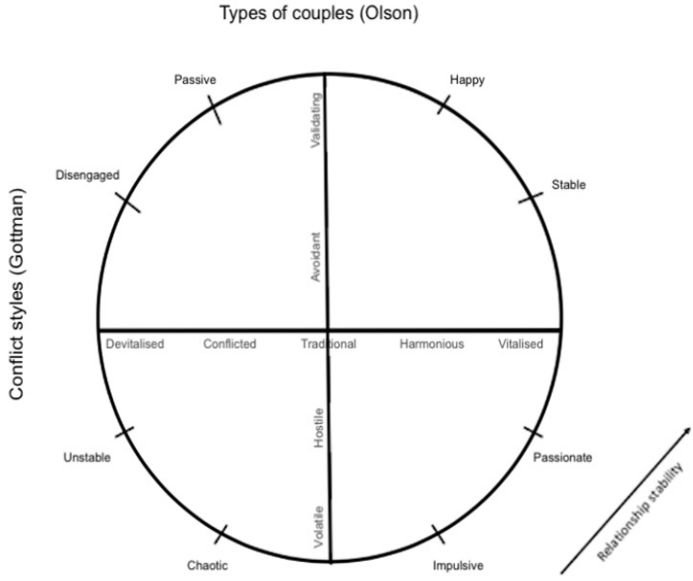
In response to the relative instability that accompanies twen-

ty-first century cohabitation patterns – especially for American Millennials – we predict that Gottman's (1994) five to one ratio of marital stability will not apply to young adults cohabiting in America, as the structure of their relational union is fundamentally different (Guzzo 1994; Ortiz, 2008). Instead of being bound by a legal and sacred union, the role of cohabitation as an informal prelude to marriage lowers the overall costs of leaving. As social exchange theory demonstrates, the higher the costs of breaking the relationship, the more likely an individual will stay with their partner (White et al., 2015). Likewise, propositions from social exchange theory and conflict theory suggest that individuals tend to seek outcomes that serve their best interests (White et al., 2015). Therefore, if an individual partakes in marriage – which ultimately has higher costs of leaving due to formal and informal social sanctions – he or she is more likely motivated to enhance the marriage's stability by applying Gottman and Olson's principles: the greater the stability, the higher their satisfaction (Olson, 2000). In the case of cohabiting American Millennials, an individual can leave the relationship with minimal to no social sanctions: their motivation to stay in the relationship will likely decrease. Yet Guzzo (2014) maintains that American Millennials do desire stability and companionship in the long term, despite their contradictory behaviours. This leaves a significant gap in the literature that must be addressed in order to better understand the relationship patterns of American Millennials. Why do Millennials tend to act in contrast to their self-reported desires? How can the differences in role strain that separate marriage from cohabitation be further identified in order to better understand what cohabiting couples need to increase stability in their relationships? Or—in contrast to these ideas—does the structure of contemporary cohabiting relationships restrict relational stability, regardless of communication patterns?

In light of this investigation, it is important to reconsider Gottman (1994) and Olson's (2000) empirical demonstrations that stability is the cornerstone of positive relational outcomes. If satisfaction is in fact related to stability (Gottman 1994; Olson 2000), cohabiting American Millennials must reconsider the structure of their temporary relationships in order to fulfill their self-reported desire for security and consistency. Specifically, the contradiction be-

tween Guzzo's (2014) insistence that Millennials desire long term stability and his empirical demonstration that this is lacking in their cohabitation patterns necessitates our Cohabitation Stability Circumplex Model. Though our model is limited by the fact that it has yet to be empirically tested, it presents a theoretical framework to begin discussing relational stability for American cohabiting couples in an academic context. Moreover, even if the cohabiting Millennial relationship in America is less conducive to stability than the marriage relationship, stability can be improved or enhanced.

Our circumplex model therefore illustrates the stability of cohabiting relationships based on Gottman's conflict styles and Olson's five different categories of couple types. By combining these two theories, we created a circumplex model that can be applied to American Millennial couples. As couples' conflict styles and relationship categories go up in their respective axes, we predict that the stability of the relationship increases due to the more positive forms of communication and consensus related to validating and vitalised couples.



To produce our circumplex model, we combined Olson and Gottman's theoretical projections. First, we identified and incor-

porated Olson's types of couples on the vertical axis: validating, avoiding, hostile, and volatile. Second, we listed Gottman's conflict styles on the horizontal axis: devitalised, conflicted, traditional, harmonious, and vitalised. Third, from these projections, we induced relationship characteristics that we anticipate will correspond with the relationship stability of cohabiting Millennial couples. Though empirical analysis would be necessary to test our model, it contributes to the discipline of family sociology by maintaining that contemporary role strain in cohabiting couples must be analysed in conjunction with relationship stability. The dimension of increasing relationship stability in our diagram adds to previous conclusions about romantic relationships because it adds a new perspective and dimension to Olson and Gottman's previous theories.

According to this projection, couples in the upper right-hand quadrant will be the most stable and happy. They are likely to display more consensus and have the ability to work together through positive forms of communication. Those in the lower right-hand quadrant, by contrast, will be more passionate and impulsive due to volatile and hostile conflict styles. This does not necessarily have to be negative, however these couples tend to react transparently based on their current emotions. Couples in the lower left-hand quadrant are likely to be less stable because they react quickly due to emotions. This can create chaos and instability for couples because of negative forms of communication that are rooted in emotional outbursts, but lacks the passion present in the previous quadrant. Lastly, couples in the upper left-hand quadrant are more resigned from the relationship or passive to their partners and consensus is unlikely. This can create a lack of harmony between individuals because of being emotionally removed from the relationship. Relationships in this quadrant may be stable, though individuals within the couple are likely to be unhappy.

By relating Gottman's communication styles to Olson's couple types, stability could become more accessible to cohabiting Millennials. In other words, Gottman's (1994) communication styles are closely correlated with relational satisfaction and stability, whereas Olson's couple types also speak to positive and stable outcomes. Cohabiting Millennials can therefore apply these principles to their

relationship structures to enjoy increasingly successful relationships, though more research must be conducted to further consider the possibility for cohabiting Millennial relationships to be stable. As Guzzo (2014) suggests, the cohabiting relationship itself may be prone to decreased stability, particularly in the context of American Millennials.

Discussion

While Gottman and Olson's predictive theories were created to predict marital outcomes, the goal of our paper is to consider whether or not and in what ways these theories can be related to the trend of cohabitation. Though Heuveline and Timberlake (2004) identify six types of cohabiting couples – separating marginal and normative cohabitation practices – for the purpose of this induction we distinguish temporary, non-legal unions from formal marriage arrangements. Likewise, in line with Busby and Holman's (2009) research, our induction does not limit the length of time that a couple has been cohabiting in order to respect the vast array of relationship trajectories characteristic of North American couples. However, our theoretical model is only suitable to cohabiting couples who consider themselves to be in a committed relationship, regardless of its nature. Not only does this justify our use of Gottman and Olson's research which considers formally committed couples, or spouses, it further corresponds with our analysis of Busby and Holman's (2009) study of "committed [couples]" (p. 531) – whether dating, engaged, or married. Finally, we limit our induction to American Millennials in order to specify a population in the literature while considering its normative trajectories.

It is interesting to consider how Olson's five categories of married couples can be applied to cohabiting couples. According to Guzzo (2014), young adults are more likely to cohabit than older ones because marriage is less likely to be on their minds than for older generations. However, Guzzo (2014) also emphasises that American Millennials desire long term stability. Moving in early with a romantic partner may allow for economic and personal convenience as well as testing the waters of the relationship (Guzzo, 2014). Despite its limited stability, American Millennial cohabitation mimics the stable structure of marriage that many young adults eventually desire, due to social constraints or personal ambition (Guzzo, 2014).

Since Olson's (2000) categories state that the devitalised and conflicted couples tend to be younger, newer relationships where the individuals are unlikely to have achieved high levels of education and have not yet reached the point in their careers where they have high status and income, it is likely that many of the cohabiting couples could be in these categories as well. This contradicts Gottman's (1994) statement about traditional couples having more conflict due to the strictness and rigidity of these norms. Together, this suggests that for cohabitation to be successful, a moderate level of role norms needs to be put in place to ensure a degree of organisation and shared understanding of roles, but not so much that it becomes rigid and constricting. Since cohabiting couples typically have fewer normative roles than married couples (White et al., 2015), this could indicate lower levels of cohesion and higher levels of flexibility within the relationship. Randall Collins' interactional theory furthers this contestation: loose norms leave more room to role take and role make, which could act as both an advantage and a disadvantage for Millennial couples (White et al., 2015).

Our induction and development of the Cohabitation Stability Circumplex Model further illustrates the importance of the sender-receiver model, an application of systems theory and a centrepiece of communications theory, meaning selection plays an important role in relationship outcomes, as the receiver's perception of the message as positive or negative in nature – interpreted through the process of decoding – has an important influence on the overall five to one ratio, according to Gottman (1994). Moreover, despite his empirical precautions, Gottman (1994) reminds us that conflict in itself is not entirely negative. This reflects the second and third assumptions of conflict theory: "conflict is endemic [and inevitable] in social groups" (White et al., 2015, p. 181). It can even be beneficial in that it is necessary to bring attention to issues that need to be adjusted and can promote change. What is important is not whether or when conflict happens, but rather how spouses deal with and resolve conflict when they are faced with it (Gottman, 1994). According to our induction however, the conflict facing cohabiting Millennials goes beyond the individual level to the social structure: America is facing a generation of young adults that desire relational stability but they

are not choosing relationship formation patterns that accompany this desire (Guzzo, 2014). Guzzo (2014) attributes the delayed onset of careers to this social pattern whereas White (2008) claims that the secularisation of society has distanced Millennials from the tradition of marriage. Regardless of the cause, it is important for us to highlight how cohabiting Millennial couples can increase their relationship stability in light of ever-changing social norms.

Methodologically, our mini-theory could be used in future research by creating a qualitative scale to measure each of the additional circumplex variables: disengaged, passive, unstable, chaotic, happy, stable, passionate, and impulsive. Though Gottman and Olson's previous research could be used to qualify some of these variables, a more thorough analysis of contemporary cohabitation research must be considered in order to define and test precise measurement scales. In order to test this theory, researchers could first create and validate a Likert scale of psychological attitudes associated with each variable. Second, the scale should be pre-tested with a simple random sample of American young adults in cohabiting relationships. Third, statistical analysis techniques would be used to examine the relationships between each variable. Finally, this data would be considered in conjunction with Gottman and Olson's findings to begin establishing contemporary data surrounding the unique role strains that cohabiting adults face and how these stressors contribute to overall relationship stability. In order to do so, qualitative interviews with cohabiting young adults could contribute to the overall findings of this study by accumulating insights about each romantic partner's feelings towards the cohabiting unit. For example, does each partner feel that a cohabiting relationship is a stable or unstable type of relationship union? What do they anticipate their relationship outcomes to be? What kinds of role strain does each member experience? Data on this topic could help address the gap in the literature surrounding role strain and cohabitation and it could begin to clarify whether or not cohabitation is an unstable form of romantic union, regardless of each romantic partner's contribution.

Conclusion and Limitations

The purpose of this paper is to apply Gottman and Olson's

theories to the trend of cohabitation, ultimately inducing what traits best predict the outcomes of different types of premarital cohabiting couples. Though further research could consider the differences in role strain between the various subdivisions of cohabiting couples—including cohabitation as a prelude to marriage or cohabitation as indistinguishable from marriage (Heuveline & Timberlake, 2004)—our induction presents an important preliminary framework to consider relational stability for cohabiting Millennials. Since cohabiting Millennial couples have a specific need for stability according to Guzzo's (2014) research, our induction responds to an unmet need in the emerging field of family sociology. By combining Olson and Gottman's models, we respond to this problem by presenting a new circumplex model specifically directed at Millennial couples. Though specific empirical research would be necessary to determine which of Gottman (1994) and Olson's (2000) relational properties directly apply to American Millennials and to what degree, this research will continue to unfold in conjunction with increasing knowledge surrounding roles and role strain in cohabiting couples. Our model provides a framework under which to conduct these studies by comparing and contrasting previous research of committed marital unions with the shifting normative patterns surrounding Millennial cohabitation.

It is also worth mentioning the limitations associated with our proposed relationship between Gottman and Olson's marital prediction theories. Although our model focuses on premarital cohabiting couples who consider themselves to be in committed relationships, it would be beneficial to conduct further research about non-romantic cohabiting relationships given that the close proximity to one another can mimic the structure of romantic relationships. In addition, while our Cohabitation Stability Circumplex Model uses empirical evidence from previous studies (Heuveline & Timberlake, 2004; Guzzo, 2008) and theories proposed by Gottman (1994, 2015) and Olson (2000), we have yet to conduct empirical research to demonstrate our proposed findings. Though this is a limitation, is it also an opportunity: our research presents the field of family sociology with a need for specific cross-sectional and longitudinal research in order to determine the degree to which Gottman (1994) and Olson's (2000) principles relate to the stability of American Millennial relationships.

Finally, our mini-theory leaves room for further studies to be conducted about the role of instability in Millennial relationships, such as how it relates to the growing secularisation of American society.

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About the Authors

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MICHAEL HAAF graduated from UBC with a B.A.Sc. in Engineering Physics (2016), and is currently working as a software developer in Vancouver. His interest in language revitalization led him to volunteer with the FPCC. His research interests lie in understanding how computational linguistic advances can be used to directly benefit communities revitalizing their languages. Michael is grateful for the support of his family and friends, and for the insightful guidance provided by the Sojourners' editorial team. Special thanks to Taq Bhandal for encouraging him to publish this piece.

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LILI WENTWORTH is a fourth-year student majoring in sociology and minoring in French. Her time spent at UBC has encouraged her to become involved in many social issues such as helping refugees resettle in Canada. Her decision to study sociology has influenced her outlook on relationships, specifically those related to families. Her experience working with Sojourners has been excellent and the staff is extremely engaging and helpful. She is excited to have her first publication in Sojourners and hopes that the skills learned in the process will help her in future academic endeavours.

About the Editors

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