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Volume 2—2010

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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, whether as authors or editors.*

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Dear Reader,

Last year, after much hard work from editors, authors, staff, and faculty members, we produced *Sojourners: Undergraduate Journal of Sociology*, Volume One. It was well received by staff and students alike, and proved to be quite popular, with all printed copies sold within a month of publication. All those who contributed to the journal's success are justifiably proud of this accomplishment, and we would like to thank you, the Reader, for your part in that success.

Working on the journal for its second year I feel we are beginning to hit our stride. Our first year involved, unsurprisingly, many firsts, and the establishment of a publication with procedures, standards, and a format that could carry it into the future. Kyle Peatt's contribution to the journal's layout and design in Volume Two has built upon that strong foundation. I hope the alterations made this year will help cement *Sojourners* as one of UBC's finest undergraduate journals, and that the eye-catching cover art from Marco Firme will provide us with a distinctive and recognizable face.

While *Sojourners* provides a platform for the dissemination of sociological undergraduate work we are not department-specific. This year half of our authors have sole or dual majors outside of Sociology. Our editorial team is similarly diverse: Yun-Jou Chang, Elyse Economides, Lara Maestro, Michael Kehl, and Mania Nematifar brought various perspectives to both our peer-review process and their work as editors. The Department of Sociology has continued to be extremely supportive, with faculty members providing advice, serving as faculty reviewers, sharing the journal with their classes, and recommending papers for submission. The journal is becoming an important vehicle for fostering greater interconnection within the department, honing students' editorial

skills, and providing undergraduate opportunities for students to refine and showcase their work.

The papers published in Volume Two cover a wide range of sociological topics. Sierra Skye Gemma and Michael Kehl conducted quantitative research—she described sex segregation in the Faculties of Arts and Science at UBC, while he explored the relationship between socioeconomic status and belief in a just world—and their articles here provide new insights to these topics. Simon Cheng and Ryan Vandecasteyen used personal interests and experiences to initiate discussions of social structures. Simon wrote about the detrimental effects of the temporary employment sector, after witnessing some of these effects first hand. Ryan questioned the potential for misuse of government regulations during the Vancouver 2010 Olympics, and followed up by reporting on his and others' observations during the event. Two other authors explored previous sociological work in their writing. April Dutheil examined the relationship of black masculinity to feminism through the writings of bell hooks and Patricia Hill Collins. Andrew Herman argued the importance of the scientific method while defending Hempel's definition of 'explanation.' This selection of articles hints at the enormous breadth and depth of sociological issues that interest students at the University of British Columbia, regardless of departmental affiliations.

The authors and staff of *Sojourners* are grateful for the opportunities this journal has afforded us. Our heartfelt thanks go out to the passionate professors in Sociology and other departments who cultivate their students' sociological interests. The generosity of the faculty, staff, and graduate students of the Sociology Department at UBC, the assistance and encouragement of our friends and families, and the continued interest and support from you, the Reader, are what have allowed us to continue in our efforts to create an undergraduate journal to be proud of. I feel we have succeeded, and as I pass the reins to next year's Editor-in-Chief, Yun-Jou Chang, I look forward to reading more insightful volumes of *Sojourners* in the years to come.

Sincerely,

Hilary McNaughton

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF, *Sojourners: Undergraduate Journal of Sociology*

Occupational Sex Segregation in the Faculties of Arts and Science at the University of British Columbia

Sierra Skye Gemma

WITH A TOTAL ENROLMENT OF OVER 45 000 STUDENTS, THE UNIVERSITY of British Columbia (UBC) is the third largest university in Canada (The EI Group, 2009; UBC, 2008). Throughout the sprawling Vancouver campus, female students have been the majority at both the undergraduate and graduate levels since 2002, perhaps earlier (UBC, 2002).¹ The strong female student presence, however, is not matched by a strong female presence among faculty. Data on the distribution of faculty members by sex suggest that the Faculties of Arts and Science—UBC’s two largest faculties—have engaged in unequal hiring and inequitable promotion processes that have led to the over-representation of women in certain disciplines and in lower ranked positions. The presence of horizontal and vertical sex segregation across and within these two faculties signifies the need for the implementation and enforcement of gender equity policies that actively address these problems.

In order to add to the academic literature on gender inequality within universities, which has primarily focused on universities in eastern Canada and in the United States, this paper explores current patterns of sex segregation within and across the Faculties of Arts and Science at the University of British Columbia. To begin, I will introduce the theoretical and conceptual

¹ UBC only has publicly available statistics on the distribution of students by gender for the year 2002.

frameworks that are relevant to a discussion of sex segregation in academia. These theories and concepts will serve to frame both the interpretation of the literature on gender disparities within disciplines and universities, and the results of this study. A discussion of the findings in light of these theoretical and conceptual frameworks, with possible reasons and potential remedies, will follow.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Sex segregation in academia occurs both horizontally and vertically. Horizontal segregation is apparent in the overrepresentation of women in some disciplines and under-representation in others. Vertical segregation is evident in the unequal distribution of female and male faculty in leadership positions within the ranks of professorship, in the various departments and faculties, and in the university as a whole.² Horizontal and vertical segregation represent two different manifestations of sex segregation and thus they require different theoretical and conceptual approaches.

Charles and Grusky (2004) have defined horizontal sex segregation as the segregation of men into manual occupations and women into non-manual occupations. At the university level, horizontal segregation begins with the uneven distribution of female students across those disciplines that will lead to future academic positions. Horizontal segregation is pervasive at the student and faculty levels at universities in Canada and abroad (Charles & Bradley, 2002, 2009; Davies, Hancock, & Condon, 2004; Madsen, 2000; Wall, 2008). The principles of *gender essentialism*, which underpin horizontal sex segregation, appear to be at work in the gender inequities in arts and science faculties. Charles and Grusky explained: “In understanding such [horizontal] segregation, one has to be struck by the strong correspondence between (a) the traits that are regarded as distinctively male or female (gender essentialism) and (b) the task requirements of manual and nonmanual labour” (p. 15). In the academic realization of these two concepts, traditionally defined “feminine” characteristics, such as emotionality and intuition, are seen as more compatible with the arts,

² Horizontal and vertical segregation are also referred to as *field of study* and *tertiary level segregation* respectively (see Charles & Bradley, 2002).

while “masculine” characteristics are viewed as natural requirements for the more technical and task-oriented experiments and research in the sciences (Knights & Richards, 2003; Valian, 1999).

While, as Charles and Grusky (2004) have noted, there is an association between gender essentialism and manual/non-manual labour distinctions, gender essentialism likely has a direct influence on horizontal segregation. For instance, the historical association between masculinity and rationality may shape the arts/science sex segregation divide independently of any manual/non-manual labour conceptions. Gender essentialism’s direct and independent impact on horizontal segregation might be evidenced by a preponderance of male faculty in a mathematics department, despite the scarcity of manual labour involved in this discipline. Charles and Grusky’s explanation of the mechanics of horizontal segregation does not specify whether gender essentialism impacts the supply side (e.g., faculty members’ career pursuits) and/or the demand side (e.g., employer bias) of the academic labour market, although an employer’s preference to hire the most suitable candidates would constitute gender essentialism in practice if those deemed most suitable were disproportionately men or women.

Charles and Bradley’s (2009) cross-national study of sex segregation has demonstrated that horizontal segregation is something that occurs not simply as a result of employer bias, but also through self-selection into gendered fields of study. The authors argued that *gender-essentialist ideology* combines with *self-expressive value systems* to “create opportunities and incentives for the expression of ‘gendered selves’” (Charles & Bradley, 2009, p. 924). In Western countries, cultural beliefs of inherent gender differences combine with equally strong cultural beliefs of individual self-expression, and result in a gendered self-segregation that is supported and managed by societal expectations (Charles & Bradley, 2009). Thus, horizontal segregation is not merely a division of women and men into non-manual and manual occupations, but a system of connected processes that involves both bias—in the form of gendered societal and employer expectations about the attributes and abilities of women (and men)—and self-selection—based on cultural beliefs in self-actualization and socialized

gendered inclinations and aspirations—to result in a segregated academic labour force.

This sex-segregated academic workforce is glimpsed in the literature on gendered differences in degree attainment and university faculty placement. Considering that doctoral degree attainment is nearly universally required for Canadian professorships, the horizontal segregation in degree attainment provides a picture of the segregation of the potential pool of applicants for academic positions. Gluszynski and Peters' (2005) report on the results of the Survey of Earned Doctorates, 2003/2004 found that the proportion of female doctoral graduates in Canada was highest (over 60 percent female) in the disciplines traditionally associated with helping, healing, and teaching: psychology, health sciences, and education. Gluszynski and Peters also documented that the lowest percentages of female graduates were found in the disciplines of engineering, physical sciences, and computers and mathematics (Table 2.2, p. 24). King's (2008) report on the Survey of Earned Doctorates data for the following school year revealed the same pattern (Chart 4, p. 14). Similar patterns of sex segregation have been found in academic positions in the United States. Frehill's (2006) research on the state of sex segregation in American academia between 1973 and 2003 demonstrated that female faculty members had a consistently stronger presence (approximately 30 to 50 percent of faculty) in psychology, life science, and social science departments, but continued to be under-represented (less than 20 percent of faculty) in engineering, physical sciences, and mathematics. Horizontal segregation, however, is only half of the story.

Vertical segregation is the segregation of women into lower-ranked positions and men into higher-ranked positions within the same field, organization, or occupation. The underlying principle of vertical sex segregation is *male primacy*, where men are deemed "more status worthy than women and accordingly more appropriate for positions of authority and domination" (Charles & Grusky, 2004, p. 15). Valian's (1999) theory of *gender schemas* illustrates how male primacy is sustained. Valian has defined gender schemas as our nonconscious "intuitive hypotheses about the behaviors, traits, and preferences of men and women" (p. 11), which impact both expectations and

evaluations of women's and men's work, such that women's work is subtly, yet consistently, underrated, while men's work is generally overrated. Due to widely-held gender schemas, women begin their professional lives at a disadvantage because a woman is "less likely than a man to be viewed as a serious professional" (Valian, 1999, p. 5). Over time, Valian reported, minor under-evaluations of women's work accumulate into large disadvantages, whereas men's over-evaluations accumulate into substantial advantages. The result of gender schemas and the accumulations of women's disadvantage and men's advantage in academia is male dominance in the higher-ranked positions of full professor, department head, and dean. The product of gender schemas, the resultant accumulation of (dis)advantage, and male primacy is employer bias in hiring and promotion.

A frequently used conceptual framework for vertical segregation in academia, which does not presume (but may include) employer bias, is the *leaky pipeline*. Many researchers use this metaphor to describe the progression of students from graduation through to tenure-track positions within their academic fields (the *academic pipeline*) and the seemingly inevitable demographic diminutions between the consecutive stages in this process (*academic pipeline leaks*) (Bilimoria, Joy, & Liang, 2008; Harris, 2007; Lynch, 2007; Marshall, 2008; Pell, 1996; Wolfinger, Mason, & Goulden, 2008, 2009; van Anders, 2004). The reductions in female representation at various points along the pipeline have been attributed to a variety of causes, from the impact of the birth of children to academic cultures and environments that are inhospitable to women (Kulis, Sicotte, & Collins, 2002; Mason & Goulden, 2002; Sanders, Willemsen, & Millar, 2009; Stark, 2008). Whether women self-select out of the pipeline in order to raise families or because academic environments are not woman- or family-friendly, or whether they are systematically disadvantaged by gender schemas that support male primacy, vertical sex segregation is a prominent part of academia.

In Canada and the United States, women hold a smaller proportion of tenure-track and tenured positions in academia, despite the fact that women's post-secondary educational attainment has increased dramatically over the past four decades (Kavathas & Soong, 2001; Stewart & Drakich, 1995; van Anders, 2004). Stewart and Drakich's (1995) study on the status

of female faculty at 17 Ontario universities revealed that the percentage of female faculty in relation to the percentage of degrees awarded to women actually decreased slightly between 1980 and 1989. Furthermore, Stewart and Drakich noted that the greatest gains were made in the lower ranked positions of lecturer and assistant professor and in non-tenure track positions. In other words, women's increased degree attainment has not corresponded with an equivalent increase in faculty representation, particularly in higher-ranked positions.

Studies focused on discipline-specific gender disparities have demonstrated that inequities in hiring and promotion vary across disciplines. Steinpreis, Anders, and Ritzke (1999) found that psychology's higher percentage of female doctoral graduates is not reflected in university departments. Considering that peer review is a key component of hiring and promotion processes, Steinpreis et al. performed an experiment in which 118 female and 120 male academics from university psychology departments were asked to appraise candidates' hireability and tenurability based on curricula vitae that were identical aside from the gender of the name. In line with Valian's (1999) claims, Steinpreis et al. found that both male and female survey respondents were more likely to hire the "male" candidate and to rate him higher on research, teaching, and service experience. In Canadian geography departments, Berg (2002) and Kobayashi (2002) have demonstrated that female full professors make up less than 2.5 percent of geography faculty. The percentage of female full professors in computer science is only slightly better at 7 percent (Davies et al., 2004). Shifting to economics departments in the United States, Ginther and Kahn (2004) found that female economists, in comparison with other female academics, "are less likely to get tenure and take longer to achieve it" (p. 193). In Canada, where women's participation in post-secondary education has surpassed men's participation at the undergraduate level and has nearly reached parity with men's participation at the graduate level (Canadian Association of University Teachers, 2003; van Anders, 2004), the evidence points to women's under-representation, in comparison to with their degree attainment, in most disciplines.

In the disciplines of sociology and anthropology, the proportion of female professors has substantially increased. Nakhaie (2001) reported gains in women's employment in Canadian sociology and anthropology departments: from 27 percent of faculty in 1992 to 31 percent in 1996. In a newsletter of the American Sociological Association, Spalter-Roth and Scelza (2008) revealed that the percentage of female sociology faculty increased from 38 percent in 2001 to 46 percent in 2008. Despite this increase, Spalter-Roth and Scelza noted that women are still entering sociology departments at a pace much slower than their degree attainment would suggest. In addition, Spalter-Roth and Scelza found that women's promotions from assistant professor to associate professor appear consistent with men's promotions, but women's promotions to full professor are not occurring in the time expected. Some departments are moving towards gender equality, even if slowly.

These studies give a general picture of gender inequity within North American universities. They illustrate the necessity of keeping gender issues at the forefront of self-conscious academic assessments. Although it appears that universities have moved past overt sex discrimination, Charles and Grusky (2004) have argued that progressive gender ideologies and sex segregation in the workplace often run parallel, which results in horizontal segregation. The evidence on vertical segregation in academe is even more striking. Yet, there is a void of data on the status of female faculty in western Canadian universities. In light of this particular paucity of research, the purpose of this study is to contribute to the sparse data on sex segregation in this region of the country by reporting the current state of horizontal and vertical segregation within the two largest faculties at the largest western Canadian university, the University of British Columbia.

DATA AND METHODS

Data on the gender distribution of UBC faculty were collected on every discipline classified as a department or program within the Faculties of Arts and Science.³ These departments included: Anthropology; Art History, Visual Art and Theory; Asian Studies; Central, Eastern, and

³ For simplicity, I will subsequently refer to departments and programs as departments.

Northern European Studies; Classical, Near Eastern, and Religious Studies; Economics; English; French, Hispanic, and Italian Studies; Geography; History; Linguistics; Philosophy; Political Science; Psychology; Sociology; Theatre, Film, and Creative Writing⁴; Women's and Gender Studies; Botany; Chemistry; Computer Science; Earth and Ocean Sciences; Mathematics; Microbiology and Immunology; Physics and Astronomy; Statistics; and Zoology. The data were retrieved from departmental web listings of full-time faculty.⁵ In all but one department, these faculty members were distinguished from part-time or sessional instructors, often through different Internet links. I included all full-time faculty that the department advertised on their website, excepting professors emeriti. I reasoned that these retired professors, who were predominantly men, would skew the results. Their inclusion would not lead to an accurate portrayal of current departmental composition by gender. I tracked the last name, gender, faculty, department, and position of each full-time faculty member. Positions included Dean, Head, Full Professor, Associate Professor, Assistant Professor, and Other.

By retrieving the data from departmental websites, which are publicly available, I did not have to go through any particular channels or hurdles to access the information. Gender was easy to determine in most cases. All departments offered Internet links to more information about their faculty. Faculty profiles always had full names and they frequently displayed pictures of the faculty as well. Some faculty had personal information on their web pages. I checked the profiles of faculty with unusual or gender-neutral first names (e.g., Chris, Leslie, Morgan). Only in a few cases, did I have to investigate beyond the professor's profile to determine gender.⁶

4 Subsequent to the writing of this paper, the Department of Theatre, Film, and Creative Writing has been divided into the Department of Theatre and Film and the Creative Writing Program.

5 Although UBC publishes data on the gender and rank of professors by faculty, the university does not provide these statistics for the individual departments. Thus, it was necessary to find this information elsewhere. Departmental websites are available from <http://www.ubc.ca/directories/facultieschools.html>

6 I discovered that www.ratemyprofessors.com was the best resource for uncovering gender when the name and picture did not definitively indicate a male or female professor. On this website, which is searchable by professor name and university, students speak candidly about

There are limitations to this data set that must be acknowledged. First, these easily accessed Internet data sources may contain omissions and errors. Departments may not make updates to websites on a regular basis and there may be a delay between hiring or promotion and the reporting of this information online. However, I believe that the probability of data mismanagement is low. Most departments wish to have an online presence that meets the needs of current students and draws in prospective students.⁷ Thus, it is in the department's best interest to have up-to-date information. Furthermore, the overall trends in hiring and promotions that are revealed in this study would not be contradicted by the infrequent error or omission in the data. Second, this study is limited in scope, both temporally and topically. The data set represents only a single snapshot of current academic appointments and only in the Faculties of Arts and Science at UBC. Therefore, I cannot identify trends over time. These data cannot show whether the gender parity at UBC is progressing, stagnating, or regressing. Neither can the data set uncover what gender disparities may be occurring in the other faculties at UBC. Nonetheless, considering the lack of studies on female faculty in western Canadian universities, I believe the data will add to the current literature on sex segregation in the academy. The value of such a study will be further increased if used as a baseline for comparison with future research.

FINDINGS

The defining feature of the data is women's under-representation. With 244 female and 579 male full-time faculty, women make up only 30 percent of the faculty positions in UBC's two largest faculties. When the gender distribution is separated by faculty, the Faculty of Arts has higher rates of

their interactions with faculty—always relaying gender with the use of subjective personal pronouns.

7 I was present at a Sociology departmental meeting in which this topic was addressed specifically. I have also discussed the importance of departmental websites with the Head of the History Department. Additionally, totals from my data set closely correspond to totals published by UBC (2009). UBC (2009) reports that women comprised 38.7 percent of the Faculty of Arts and 21.4 percent of the Faculty of Science during the 2008/09 school year, whereas my results indicate 38.7 percent (Arts) and 19.8 percent (Science) for the same time period, a difference of 1 to 1.6 percent respectively. Thus, I believe this claim is reasonable.

women’s employment than the Faculty of Science. In the Faculty of Arts, there are 165 female and 261 male faculty. In the Faculty of Science, there are both far more men (318) and far fewer women (79). Women make up 39 percent of the full-time faculty in the Faculty of Arts, compared with only 20 percent of the Faculty of Science. Even though neither faculty approaches an even balance of female and male professors, the differences in gender inequality between these two Faculties follow the pattern of horizontal sex segregation.

Aside from the rank of Dean, which is filled by a woman in the Faculty of Arts and by a man in the Faculty of Science, men overwhelmingly occupy the top-ranked positions in both faculties. For example, men make up 94 percent of the department heads in Arts and 78 percent in Science. Out of a combined total of 26 department heads, only three are women.⁸ Similarly striking numbers are found among full professorships. Only a little over a quarter of the full professors in Arts are women and, embarrassingly, only 7 percent of Science full professors are women. Male primacy is the outstanding feature of Table 1.

Table 1. UBC positions by faculty and gender

Position	FACULTY OF ARTS				FACULTY OF SCIENCE			
	Number of faculty members		Percentage of each position ¹		Number of faculty members		Percentage of each position ¹	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
Dean	1	0	100	0	0	1	0	100
Department Head	1	16	6	94	2	7	22	78
Full Professor	35	99	26	74	12	156	7	93
Associate Professor	58	76	43	57	35	72	33	67
Assistant Professor	52	56	48	52	14	56	20	80
Other	18	14	56	44	16	26	38	62

¹Percentages have been rounded to the nearest whole number.

Gender inequity in hiring and promotion is not inevitable. The Appendix contains Tables 2 and 3, which show the distribution of women and men in the various positions within each department in the Faculties

⁸ Notably, the only department or program that does not have a “Head” is Women’s and Gender Studies.

of Arts and Science. In the Faculty of Science, Zoology shows the highest rate of women's employment with a faculty that is 33 percent female. In the other Faculty of Science departments, women make up 11 to 26 percent of the composition of the department faculty. In the Arts, there is more variation in the distribution of female faculty. From only 21 percent in Economics to 100 percent in Women's and Gender Studies, finding a gendered balance of professors is unusual. Some Arts departments, whether intentionally or unintentionally, have less gender disparity, such as the departments of Art History, Visual Art and Theory; Central, Eastern, and Northern European Studies; and Psychology. The only department to have perfect gender parity is Sociology.

DISCUSSION

These findings demonstrate that horizontal and vertical sex segregation are present in the Faculties of Arts and Science. There are nearly twice as many female faculty members in Arts as there are in Science. These data do not indicate the cause of these horizontal inequalities (e.g., employer bias or self-selection). Even so, other statistics indicate that it is not merely a supply-side problem. In UBC's Faculty of Arts, women make up 64.5 percent of undergraduate students and 65.3 percent of graduate students (UBC, 2002), but only 40 percent of faculty. The Faculty of Science has an undergraduate student population that is 52.6 percent female and a female graduate student enrolment of 35.9 percent (UBC, 2002), which is still much greater than the 20 percent of academic appointments filled by women. What these numbers suggest, aside from a leaky pipeline between a bachelor degree and a professorship, is that women are much more prevalent in the arts, at all levels, than they are in the sciences. Sex segregation by academic discipline affects women's lives because some disciplines provide more opportunities for elevating an individual's status and for providing greater financial returns (Davies & Guppy, 1997). These data cannot confirm employer bias, but they do demonstrate that women are noticeably underrepresented in the Faculty of Science. Employer bias may still be a factor—particularly in light of a 2009 UBC Faculty survey in which 87 percent of respondents reported that they believed there were gender

inequities at UBC that favoured males (Bakker, 2010)—but it is one that is difficult to prove (Chan, 2010).

Horizontal sex segregation may be intensified at UBC because of the university's designation as a research institution. Spalter-Roth and Scelza's (2008) finding that women sociologists were making fewer inroads into departments at Research I and Research II universities in the United States is suggestive of the more pronounced gender inequalities at research institutions. Modern research is a rational process. Therefore, gender essentialism may sustain perceptions of research as "men's work" due to the aforementioned persistent association between masculinity and rationality.

Regardless of the degree to which horizontal segregation may be attributed to demand-side considerations, it is important to remember that even what appears to be independent self-selection (i.e., the supply side) is not as simple as individual preference. As Charles and Bradley (2002) have argued, horizontal segregation persists even in societies with egalitarian value systems because this type of segregation does not necessarily conflict with academic and labour regulations regarding gender equity. It is the "equal but different" argument, where gender essentialist ideology impacts "student's schooling choices and preferences, and educational counselor's placement decisions in subtle ways" (Charles & Bradley, 2002, p. 575). Although student socialization begins upon entry into the educational system, this problem cannot be brushed aside as a primary or secondary school issue that begins too early for universities to influence.

Rather, research indicates that universities have a significant role in shaping women's movement into male-dominated disciplines. For example, Canadian girls do not start their secondary education with a preexisting aversion to math. In surveys of Canadian eighth-grade adolescents in the mid to late 1990s, girls who reported that they "like mathematics" or "like mathematics a lot" were only slightly outnumbered (by about 1 percent) by boys, and girls' actual achievement in math surpassed that of boys (Charles & Bradley, 2009, Table B1, p. 968). These girls represent those women who may have entered post-secondary education at the start of the millennium.

Once women have entered post-secondary education, female students are more likely to choose additional classes or majors in male-dominated

fields of study if female professors teach the introductory classes. For example, Bettinger and Long (2005) found that female instructors of introductory geology, mathematics, and statistics courses increased future female student participation in those fields. Working with a data set from a university that required all students to take particular math and science courses that had standardized syllabi and tests from randomly assigned professors, Carrell, Page, and West (2009) found that female professors of introductory courses had a substantively positive influence on female students' performance, future field of study participation, and graduation with a science, technology, engineering, or mathematics (STEM) degree. Additionally, Carrell et al. reported that the impact of female instruction was even stronger for female students with high mathematics affinity and achievement. In fact, after controlling for other variables, Carrell et al. found that the gender gap in course performance and choice of a STEM major disappeared when high-achieving women were first introduced to university-level mathematics and science by female faculty.

This research demonstrates the importance of having a strong showing of female professors in male-typed disciplines. In light of this evidence, the comparison of female degree attainment with female faculty appointments, while useful for showing problems in the pipeline and patterns of horizontal segregation, should not be used as a justification for sex-skewed faculties and departments. Creating a critical mass of female faculty in male-dominated fields is necessary to combat gender essentialism, and thus horizontal sex segregation, in academia (Charles & Bradley, 2009). Significantly increasing the number of female professors in the Faculty of Science will not only reduce the horizontal segregation at UBC, it will likely result in a lessening of the segregation at the student level by influencing more women to pursue degrees and careers in the sciences. As more female students pursue male-typed fields of study, gender equality at the faculty level is liable to become self-sustaining. Thus, it becomes not an issue of whether the gender distribution among faculty "matches" the gender distribution of graduates, but whether women's student participation will progress to mirror the representation of female professors.

The findings of this study of sex segregation at UBC also demonstrate that women are vertically segregated into lower ranked positions within the Faculties of Arts and Science, which suggests inequitable promotion processes. In most departments, women are clustered in the lower ranks (see Appendix). Another study of gender equity at UBC revealed that female professors are 10 percent less likely than men to become full professors (Boyd, 2010). Furthermore, women in the Faculty of Science take an average of 13 years to become full professors, whereas men average only 10 years (Boyd, 2010). Considering that the potential pool of female candidates has increased dramatically over the past few decades, while the time from assistant to full professor usually takes less than 15 years (Aanerud et al., 2007; Ornstein, Stewart, & Drakich, 2007; Stewart & Drakich, 1995), this slow progress is inexcusable.

Gender schemas that presume (in)competence and the accumulation of (dis)advantage help frame women's lived experience. Langton's (2010) personal account illustrates how gender schemas may impact the assessments of women's research abilities during a peer review and the consequences of such assessments. Langton sat on a committee evaluating applications to a prominent Canadian academic research grant. Over the course of reviewing many applications, Langton had observed that when a female applicant was appraised on her contributions to collaborative projects, her ability to work independently was questioned. In contrast, Langton noted that when a man's collaborative research contributions were evaluated, he was applauded for his ability to work in partnerships. This experience demonstrates gender schemas in practice in the peer review process and the accumulation of (dis)advantage. In academia, high-profile grants may lead to further occasions for funding, networking, and acquiring prestige in the discipline, elements that affect whether a professor receives tenure (Pell, 1996). With each missed opportunity, the disadvantage accumulates for women. Thus, peer review, a process that is fundamental to filling academic positions and granting tenure, may provide many small openings for gender schemas to disadvantage women in the short term (Ornstein et al., 2007). The larger, long-term result is male primacy.

The picture is not entirely bleak. As noted, the Sociology department has an equal distribution of female and male professors. Moreover, the department has parity at the rank of full professor and has approximated parity at of the other ranks of professorship. Nakhaie (2001) has questioned whether the increase in women sociologists in academia is due to the receptivity of departments or women's self-selection into sociology, or both. In the case of UBC's Sociology department, the gender parity is likely due to a number of factors. First, the department is fairly young. Until only a few years ago, it was part of the Anthropology and Sociology Department. Recently, the two departments became large enough to split. Second, this young sociology department has grown considerably over the past decade and has been able to make multiple additions to its faculty over the past few years. Considering sociology's propensity for problematizing gender stratification, it is possible that some sociology departments consciously attempt to hire and promote faculty equitably. The Sociology Department's website states that UBC sociologists advance "knowledge of and engagement with the social world, with a special focus on social processes involving inequality, justice and change" (UBC, Department of Sociology, 2007). The Sociology Department provides an excellent example of the gender parity that is possible when departments are conscious of gender issues in workplace organization. Although the data on the gender distribution of faculty members suggest that the Faculties of Arts and Science have potentially engaged in inequitable hiring and promoting processes that keep women clustered in lower ranked positions, some departments—particularly those in the Faculty of Arts—display less sex segregation.

The horizontal and vertical segregation across and within the Faculties of Arts and Science signifies the need for more effective gender equity policies, especially in the sciences. Increased opportunities for women to teach, particularly introductory courses in male-dominated fields of study, may increase female student participation in underrepresented disciplines. In "Academic Careers and Gender Equity: Lessons Learned from MIT," Bailyn (2003) advocated taking proactive measures to stop the leaking academic pipeline and to ensure that faculty gender composition more closely resembles the student population, yet this is only part of the solution. According

to Anne Condon, the Associate Dean of the Faculty of Science, department buy-in is a crucial element to making changes to improve equity (personal communications, January 11, 2010). A critical mass of female professors on department committees will help ensure this buy-in. Ornstein, Stewart, and Drakich (2007) have demonstrated that university cultures are impacted by the ratio of women to men within faculties. In their recent study, Ornstein et al. noted that women progress through the ranks of professorship faster in disciplines where female faculty have reached a critical mass.

But how can this critical mass be realized? The end of Langton's (2010) peer review committee story illustrates: after observing the trend in the unequal appraisal of women's and men's collaborative work, she voiced her concerns and the committee agreed to re-review all of the applications. I am not suggesting that women pin their hopes for equality on one observant committee member. Rather, equity training should be mandatory for all professors who sit on the committees that decide whether an academic is hired or tenured (Boyd, 2010). The stated short-term goals of all departments should include women's faculty participation that matches degree attainment. The long-term goal should be gender equality at all professorial ranks. Deans, department heads, and other decision makers must be held accountable for the implementation of transparent, equitable, and measurable policies and procedures for the hiring, promotion, and retention of faculty, as well as the allocation of teaching assignments and resources. Statistics on a wide range of faculty variables, such as frequency and percentage of female professors and the number of years spent at each rank of professor, must be recorded so that trends can be identified and addressed. Furthermore, a centralized body should provide monitoring and enforcement of policies and procedures and investigate concerns or accusations of gender inequities as they arise. By having an external ethics board, department-specific problems or inequities can be removed from the power and authority of a single individual or a small but powerful or persuasive group. With effort, it should not take another 40 years to achieve gender equity.

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APPENDIX

Table 2. UBC Faculty of Arts positions by department/program and gender

Position	Number of faculty members		Percentage of each position ¹	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
ANTHROPOLOGY				
Department Head	0	1	0	100
Full Professor	0	2	0	100
Associate Professor	3	5	38	63
Assistant Professor	3	4	43	57
Other	0	1	0	100
TOTAL	6	13	31	68
ART HISTORY, VISUAL ART & THEORY				
Department Head	0	1	0	100
Full Professor	0	5	0	100
Associate Professor	4	1	80	20
Assistant Professor	4	2	67	33
Other	3	3	50	50
TOTAL	11	12	49	51
ASIAN STUDIES				
Department Head	0	1	0	100
Full Professor	1	5	17	83
Associate Professor	4	6	40	60
Assistant Professor	4	2	67	33
Other	2	0	100	0
TOTAL	11	14	44	56
CENTRAL, EASTERN, & NORTHERN EUROPEAN STUDIES				
Department Head	0	1	0	100
Full Professor	0	3	0	100
Associate Professor	1	3	25	75
Assistant Professor	4	1	80	20
Other	3	1	75	25
TOTAL	8	9	47	53
CLASSICAL, NEAR EASTERN, & RELIGIOUS STUDIES				
Department Head	0	1	0	100
Full Professor	0	1	0	100
Associate Professor	3	6	33	67
Assistant Professor	2	3	40	60
Other	2	1	67	33
TOTAL	7	12	37	63
ECONOMICS				
Department Head	0	1	0	100
Full Professor	2	14	13	88
Associate Professor	1	6	14	86
Assistant Professor	4	6	40	60
Other	0	0	N/A	N/A
TOTAL	7	27	21	79
ENGLISH				
Department Head	0	1	0	100
Full Professor	14	9	61	39
Associate Professor	8	7	53	47
Assistant Professor	6	5	55	45
Other	0	0	N/A	N/A
TOTAL	28	22	56	44
FRENCH, HISPANIC, & ITALIAN STUDIES				
Department Head	0	1	0	100
Full Professor	2	4	33	67
Associate Professor	5	1	83	17
Assistant Professor	2	4	33	67
Other	3	4	43	57
TOTAL	12	14	46	54

¹Percentages have been rounded to the nearest whole number.

OCCUPATIONAL SEX SEGREGATION

Table 2. UBC Faculty of Arts positions by department/program and gender (cont.)

Position	Number of faculty members		Percentage of each position ¹	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
GEOGRAPHY				
Department Head	0	1	0	100
Full Professor	1	9	10	90
Associate Professor	3	3	50	50
Assistant Professor	1	3	25	75
Other	1	0	100	0
TOTAL	6	16	27	73
HISTORY				
Department Head	0	1	0	100
Full Professor	0	5	0	100
Associate Professor	6	11	35	65
Assistant Professor	2	7	22	78
Other	2	2	50	50
TOTAL	10	26	28	72
LINGUISTICS				
Department Head	0	1	0	100
Full Professor	0	3	0	100
Associate Professor	3	3	50	50
Assistant Professor	1	1	50	50
Other	0	0	N/A	N/A
TOTAL	4	8	33	67
PHILOSOPHY				
Department Head	1	0	100	0
Full Professor	0	9	0	100
Associate Professor	1	2	33	67
Assistant Professor	1	2	33	67
Other	1	1	50	50
TOTAL	4	14	22	78
POLITICAL SCIENCE				
Department Head	0	1	0	100
Full Professor	3	11	21	79
Associate Professor	1	1	50	50
Assistant Professor	4	8	33	67
Other	0	1	0	100
TOTAL	8	22	27	73
PSYCHOLOGY				
Department Head	0	1	0	100
Full Professor	6	14	30	70
Associate Professor	3	6	33	67
Assistant Professor	8	3	73	27
Other	0	0	N/A	N/A
TOTAL	17	24	41	59
TOTAL	12	14	46	54
SOCIOLOGY				
Department Head	0	1	0	100
Full Professor	3	3	50	50
Associate Professor	4	5	44	56
Assistant Professor	5	3	63	38
Other	0	0	N/A	N/A
TOTAL	12	12	50	50
THEATRE, FILM, & CREATING WRITING				
Department Head	0	1	0	100
Full Professor	0	2	0	100
Associate Professor	5	5	50	50
Assistant Professor	2	2	50	50
Other	1	0	100	0
TOTAL	8	10	44	56

¹Percentages have been rounded to the nearest whole number.

SOJOURNERS: UNDERGRADUATE JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY

Table 2. UBC Faculty of Arts positions by department/program and gender (cont.)

Position	Number of faculty members		Percentage of each position¹	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
WOMEN'S AND GENDER STUDIES				
Department Head	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Full Professor	3	0	100	0
Associate Professor	3	0	100	0
Assistant Professor	0	0	N/A	N/A
Other	0	0	N/A	N/A
TOTAL	6	0	100	0

¹Percentages have been rounded to the nearest whole number.

Table 3. UBC Faculty of Science positions by department/program and gender

Position	Number of faculty members		Percentage of each position¹	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
BOTANY				
Department Head	0	1	0	100
Full Professor	2	9	18	82
Associate Professor	3	6	33	67
Assistant Professor	1	5	17	83
Other	0	0	N/A	N/A
TOTAL	6	21	22	78
CHEMISTRY				
Department Head	0	1	0	100
Full Professor	0	22	0	100
Associate Professor	3	9	25	75
Assistant Professor	3	7	30	70
Other	0	1	0	100
TOTAL	6	40	13	87
COMPUTER SCIENCE				
Department Head	0	1	0	100
Full Professor	2	9	18	82
Associate Professor	5	11	31	69
Assistant Professor	1	16	6	94
Other	2	6	25	75
TOTAL	10	43	19	81
EARTH & OCEAN SCIENCES				
Department Head	0	1	0	100
Full Professor	1	17	6	94
Associate Professor	6	9	40	60
Assistant Professor	2	4	33	67
Other	4	6	40	60
TOTAL	13	37	26	74
MATHEMATICS				
Department Head	1	0	100	0
Full Professor	2	29	6	94
Associate Professor	6	13	32	68
Assistant Professor	4	6	40	60
Other	0	2	0	100
TOTAL	13	50	21	79
MICROBIOLOGY & IMMUNOLOGY				
Department Head	0	1	0	100
Full Professor	1	10	9	91
Associate Professor	1	3	25	75
Assistant Professor	1	4	20	80
Other	0	0	N/A	N/A
TOTAL	3	18	14	86

OCCUPATIONAL SEX SEGREGATION

Table 3. UBC Faculty of Science positions by department/program and gender (cont.)

Position	Number of faculty members		Percentage of each position¹	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
PHYSICS & ASTRONOMY				
Department Head	0	1	0	100
Full Professor	1	28	3	97
Associate Professor	4	12	25	75
Assistant Professor	1	11	8	92
Other	1	5	17	83
TOTAL	7	57	11	89
STATISTICS				
Department Head	1	0	100	0
Full Professor	0	7	0	100
Associate Professor	0	3	0	100
Assistant Professor	1	3	25	75
Other	1	2	33	67
TOTAL	3	15	17	83
ZOOLOGY				
Department Head	0	1	0	100
Full Professor	3	18	14	86
Associate Professor	7	6	54	46
Assistant Professor	0	7	0	100
Other	8	4	67	33
TOTAL	18	36	33	67

¹Percentages have been rounded to the nearest whole number.

Resistance to Space: Examining the Olympics, Vancouver, Homelessness, and Public Policy¹

Ryan Vandecasteyen

HOSTING THE 2010 WINTER OLYMPICS PUTS VANCOUVER IN THE INTERNATIONAL spotlight, providing the city with the opportunity to attract economic investment from around the world. With this opportunity, however, comes the potential for turmoil. The Olympics have often been associated with conflicts over space between socioeconomic classes; the 2010 games will likely be no exception. Vancouver has a history of social issues, such as poverty and homelessness, and successful long-term solutions have yet to be devised for these issues in communities like the Downtown Eastside (DTES). Many fear that issues such as these will put a black mark on Vancouver's reputation as a global city. Indeed, homelessness and poverty could be major barriers to promoting the large-scale economic investment that often acts as the driving force behind hosting the Olympic Games. Host cities for other major events have tried to eliminate these "undesirable" elements through city planning initiatives and public policy changes prior to hosting an event; historically, this process has resulted in the restructuring, displacement, and marginalization of many low-income urban communities. While the Vancouver Organizing Committee for the 2010 Winter Games (VANOC) is ostensibly committed to social inclusion as part of their sustainability platform (VANOC, 2010), attempts have

¹ Editor's Note: This paper was written before the XXI Olympic Winter Games took place. A brief afterword from the author was added after the completion of the Games.

been made at both the city and provincial level to create public policy tools to “clean” the streets prior to the Games. Drawing on global and local examples of large-scale international events such as Expo '86 and past Olympic Games, which resulted in the displacement and marginalization of the poor through public policy, this paper argues that the Assistance to Shelter Act recently passed by B.C.'s Liberal government is an attempt to create a tool that can be used to hide Vancouver's homelessness issues from the world, by providing legal justification for the removal of the homeless from Vancouver's public spaces during the 2010 Winter Olympics.

CONFLICTS BETWEEN HALLMARK EVENTS AND POVERTY

Host cities have much to gain from hallmark events such as the Olympics. Hallmark events are defined by their scale: huge amounts of money are involved in preparing for the event and it is expected that there will be national and international recognition for the host location (Newman, 1999). Studies by Brown, and Toohey and Veal, have indicated that these events can act as conduits to promoting national pride, restarting an ailing economy through urban development, building modern sports infrastructure, and generating increased tourism through image enhancement (as cited in Burton, 2003, p. 36). Burton (2003) has argued that host cities use the Olympics to redefine a city's image and add depth and dimension to “national brands”: past Olympiads have shown that an organizing committee for the Olympic Games may enter the bidding process thinking almost exclusively about economic impact and city imagery and little about the value of sport or the Olympics. Unfortunately, the benefits of hosting such events are often distributed unequally between socioeconomic classes. While the goal of urban renewal may be to increase citizens' quality of life, it often does so through the gentrification of lower income neighbourhoods, marginalizing and displacing the lower socioeconomic classes rather than striving to resolve the issues that create inequality and social disorder in the first place. Consequently, the poor disproportionately absorb the costs of societal change such as dislocation caused by urban renewal (Eitzen, 1996).

Some planners and developers consider visible poverty a barrier to the goals of urban renewal and economic stimuli that result from hosting

a hallmark event, and the Olympic Games and other such events have often resulted in tradeoffs between development and the displacement and marginalization of the poor. This notion of tension between poverty and development is based on the broken windows theory popular among government officials, social psychologists and police (Perkins & Taylor, 1996; Smith, 2008; Wilson & Kelling, 1982). According to this theory, one broken window left unrepaired will encourage the breaking of more windows; that is, a small public disorder will inevitably lead to larger problems. Wilson and Kelling (1982) have applied the broken windows theory to the presence of what they call “disreputable or obstreperous or unpredictable people: panhandlers, drunks, addicts, rowdy teenagers, prostitutes, loiterers, and the mentally disturbed” (p. 29). If these elements are present in a community, even when crime rates are comparable to other “more orderly” neighbourhoods, the perception of the risk of violence and vandalism increases and residents will modify their behaviour by passing quickly through the area while avoiding any interaction, or by avoiding the area altogether (Wilson & Kelling, 1982). Surely, this type of behaviour is prohibitive to the image-enhancing, pride-building, and urban renewal goals driving a city to host hallmark events.

SETTING THE PRECEDENT: PREVIOUS CONFLICTS OF SPACE BETWEEN THE OLYMPIC GAMES AND THE URBAN POOR

Many low-income communities have been reconfigured or lost in the name of urban renewal and development in host cities of recent Olympic Games, and planning and public policy in these cities reflects Wilson and Kelling’s (1982) interpretation of the broken windows theory. The 1996 Summer Olympics in Atlanta presents an extreme case. To make way for the Atlanta Games, 15 000 public housing residents in at least five sites were evicted in order to redevelop low-income neighbourhoods into Olympic venues and mixed income communities (Malfas, Theodoraki, & Houlihan, 2004). While these redevelopment projects included provisions for low-income housing, the low-income units were not completed until after the Games and many residents did not return (Newman, 1999). In fact, 9 500

low-income units were lost during the redevelopment process (Malfas et al., 2004).

Decision making and planning for the Atlanta Olympics was initiated and guided largely by the private sector for the benefit of business interests (Newman, 1999). The limited opportunity for public debate once decisions had been reached by business leaders and elected public officials has been seen as biased against low-income African American communities, which had far less success in protesting Olympic development in their neighbourhoods relative to higher income, predominantly white communities (Newman, 1999). During the two weeks of the Games, human services organizations were offered financial incentives to convert homeless shelters into backpacker-style accommodations for tourists (Malfas et al., 2004). *Street sweeps* were conducted shortly after Atlanta won the bid, where homeless people, sex trade workers, and panhandlers were harassed by police, evicted from downtown neighbourhoods, and often arrested (Lenskyj, 2000). Attempts were made to criminalize poverty at the state level via several bills, one of which made it unlawful to remove any item from a public trash container (Malfas et al., 2004).

The 2000 Summer Olympics in Sydney provide another example of Games driven by goals of urban renewal and development. Wait (1999) has argued that the 2000 Sydney Summer Games epitomize one of the key characteristics of a post-modern city, with city-marketing strategies that demonstrate government policies informed by entrepreneurial rather than welfare aims in response to deindustrialization. Sydney's low-income neighbourhoods faced gentrification challenges, destabilizing its poorer neighbourhoods in the years leading up to the 2000 Summer Olympics. Rent in Sydney's Olympic corridor—an area occupied predominantly by low-income tenants and with unemployment rates in some areas as high as 38 percent—increased by up to 23 percent in the period between 1997 and 1998 (Malfas et al., 2004). Without the financial resources to cope with such steep rent increases, residents of these low-income areas were effectively excluded from the spaces they considered home.

The 1988 Winter Olympics in Calgary provide a Canadian example of how hallmark events often result in tradeoffs between development,

and the displacement and marginalization of the poor. The 1988 Winter Olympics were an important stage in the planned image transformation of this former western-Canadian “cow town” to that of a more international city—a city that presents its inhabitants and visitors with world-class recreational activities, high-tech manufacturing opportunities, and tourism thrills (Olds, 1998). The hosting of the 1988 Games in Calgary required the construction of a new stadium, to be situated next to the community of Victoria Park, which already faced continued threats of development from the Calgary Stampede (Olds, 1998). Victoria Park is one of Calgary’s oldest and poorest neighbourhoods, and has, since the 1960s, provided some of Calgary’s most affordable housing in the form of older single-family houses, the majority of which had been converted into rooming houses (Olds, 1998). Many believe that the constant threat of displacement prevented the establishment of the Victoria Park community, and is responsible for the urban decay and trends of out migration the neighbourhood experienced during the 1980s and early 1990s (Olds, 1998). Despite strong community opposition and legal action against the building of the stadium, city and provincial governments controversially neglected local community desires and participatory democracy, and proceeded with construction, arguing that “there was a need to demonstrate to the World Olympic Committee that Calgary was capable of hosting the Winter Olympics” (Olds 1998, p. 23). Calgary’s prioritization of development in the name of marketing and image transformation over the social welfare and community desires of its poorest neighbourhood demonstrate yet again how hallmark events can negatively affect the lower socioeconomic classes.

SPACE CONFLICTS IN VANCOUVER: THEN AND NOW

Vancouver has a history of hallmark events that negatively impact low-income spaces. Vancouver’s Expo ’86 was hosted on the north side of False Creek, which lies adjacent to the DTES, an area often referred to as “Canada’s poorest postal code.” The event resulted in major conflicts over space in the DTES between the occupants of low-income, long-term residency hotels and those trying to claim the space for high-income-generating tourist accommodation. In the years leading up to Expo ’86, advocacy groups made

several unsuccessful attempts to protect residents of the DTES by lobbying City Council for support for amendments to the provincial Residential Tenancy Act and the City Charter, both of which provided no protection for occupants of residency hotels at the time (Olds, 1998).

Unfortunately, the pleas fell on deaf ears and inaction on the part of provincial and municipal governments resulted in a significant loss of space for low-income residents of the DTES. Olds (1998) has estimated that beginning in February of 1986, the demand for tourist accommodation resulted in between 500 to 850 evictions in the DTES. Having failed to protect the residents of these long-term, low-income units, Vancouver City Council was pressured into establishing a short-term *clearing house* to help relocate those who were displaced by the housing impact of Expo '86 (Olds, 1998). This clearing house temporarily accommodated those who were displaced until new housing for them could be found through the provincial *housing registry*, a program designed to help those in need to find vacant subsidized housing. However, the provincial housing registry has been a controversial solution. Rather than protecting residents of low-income spaces *in situ*, the housing registry has encouraged the relocation of evictees, often to suburban social housing developments far from their community, paving the way for redevelopment of the DTES (Olds, 1998).

Today, the DTES continues to be a space associated with poverty, homelessness, and other serious social issues. In response to the upcoming 2010 Winter Olympics, Vancouver City Council has attempted to pass by-laws excluding marginal groups, such as the homeless, from public spaces by criminalizing their presence (Smith, 2008). When Vancouver won the bid for the 2010 Winter Olympics, then-mayor Sam Sullivan saw the Games as a catalyst to solving the city's public disorder concerns (City of Vancouver, 2006). Part of Sullivan's Project Civil City proposed a new "No Sit No Lie" by-law, which applied the broken windows theory in an attempt to reduce public disorder, making it illegal to sit or lie down in public spaces such as streets and sidewalks (Smith, 2008). Other initiatives included increased use of beat police officers, increased use of surveillance cameras, and a public awareness campaign on the dangers of giving money to panhandlers (Eby, 2007).

Project Civil City was terminated on February 13th, 2009 by newly elected mayor Gregor Robertson, who ran on a campaign to significantly reduce homelessness; however, some of the project's spin off initiatives continued. For example, increased fines for by-law infractions, enhanced municipal ticketing enforcement, and a number of community initiatives encouraging local responses to neighbourhood-level public disorder remained in effect (Smith, 2008). One proposal introduced by Project Civil City required garbage containers larger than one cubic yard to be kept locked, preventing the poor from searching through them for returnable beverage containers (Eby, 2007); this initiative is currently in force under the Solid Waste By-law (Solid Waste By-law 2010). These spin off initiatives, coupled with the continued beautification and revitalization projects in preparation for the games, demonstrate a softened but continued adherence to "broken windows" style public policy (Smith, 2009).

THE ASSISTANCE TO SHELTER ACT

The Assistance to Shelter Act received Royal Assent on November 26th, 2009 (Assistance to Shelter Act, 2009). The bill established a scheme for issuing and cancelling extreme weather alerts and enables police officers to transport persons at risk to emergency shelters when extreme weather alerts are in effect (Assistance to Shelter Act, 2009). Under the new law, those who refuse relocation may be met with *reasonable force* (Assistance to Shelter Act, 2009). This bill could be used to "clean" homeless people from the streets during the 2010 Winter Olympics. In fact, a recent City of Vancouver (2009) Administrative Report suggested that, although it would give police unjustified power to forcibly remove the homeless, the Extreme Weather Response shelter program should be implemented during the 2010 games regardless of weather conditions, as a means to meet demands for additional shelter capacity. Rich Coleman, the B.C. minister in charge of homelessness, has claimed that this bill was created in response to the death of a forty-seven-year-old woman last December who burned to death while trying to keep warm with a candle after refusing three attempts by police to provide shelter (as cited in Mason, 2009). While many homeless individuals in the DTES live with mental illnesses that may place them in jeopardy

during extreme weather events, the timing of this new law is controversial. The close proximity of the passing of the law to the start of the Olympics leaves advocacy groups little time to build support for bill reversal prior to the start of the 2010 Games in February.

Is this law an attempt by the provincial government to facilitate the “beautification” of Vancouver while it is in the international spotlight, with the goal of encouraging economic development? A close look at the provincial government and the history of its current leader Gordon Campbell is perhaps the first step in answering this question. The Government of British Columbia has described the Games as “an incredible opportunity to showcase our province and our country” and “a launching pad to lift British Columbia and Canada to new heights and prosperity” (Point, 2010). During Expo ’86—the last time Vancouver hosted an event of similar scale—Campbell sat on city council and voted against initiatives by DTES advocacy groups trying to protect low income housing (Olds, 1998). Campbell also supported the provincial housing registry as a solution to the loss of low-income housing post-Expo ’86, which, Olds (1998) has suggested, provided the opportunity for inner city redevelopment by relocating former residents to distant suburban social housing units. Given the province’s recognition of the opportunities the Games provide to showcase Vancouver, and Campbell’s track record of supporting policies like the provincial housing registry that echo the broken windows paradigm and facilitate urban redevelopment, the Assistance to Shelter Act is likely an attempt to create a tool for removing “undesirable” elements from Vancouver’s urban centre.

CONCLUSION

While the provision of additional temporary shelter for Vancouver’s homeless addresses housing shortages in the short-term, issues of homelessness and poverty continue to plague the DTES. Rather than trying to remove the homeless through public policy and planning, long-term solutions that address root causes of poverty should be implemented. If the city launches the Extreme Weather Response shelter program during the games, it would provide additional bed space to house Vancouver’s homeless. However, with the new Assistance to Shelter Act, police now

have unjustified power to relocate the homeless by force. It is questionable whether the Assistance to Shelter Act will be used for the intended purpose of protecting those who may be at risk during extreme weather events, or if it will be used as a tool to clear Vancouver's streets of the homeless in an attempt to minimize the negative portrayal of Vancouver's social issues while the eyes of the world are upon it. Having failed at attempts to remove the homeless at the municipal level with Project Civil City, one could argue that the provincial government is now attempting to create new legislative tools for accomplishing this purpose. The Government of B.C. recognized the Games as an opportunity to highlight Vancouver, and believes it would be advantageous to display Vancouver at its prime to attract international development. Gordon Campbell's track record on issues of housing and displacement of the poor during previous hallmark events in Vancouver certainly lends further credence to this assertion.

Unless warranted by an extreme weather event, the Extreme Weather Response shelter program should not be put into full effect during the 2010 Winter Olympics in its current state. Two possible solutions implemented at the municipal level could ensure the protection of the rights of the homeless during the games. First, temporary shelters opened during the implementation of the Extreme Weather Response shelter program could take a different form—one that does not give police the power to forcibly relocate people from the streets. Second, the Extreme Weather Response shelter program could be amended so that temporary shelter would still be provided, but police use of force—as allowed under the Assistance to Shelter Act—would not be permitted unless justified by an extreme weather event determined by a community representative.

If implemented in their current forms during the 2010 Winter Olympics, the combination of the Extreme Weather Response shelter program and the proposed Assistance to Shelter Act would criminalize the homeless and marginalize a community already coping with an abundance of social problems. While seemingly well intentioned, the implementation of these two policies together would create further dissonance in an already turbulent community that consistently faces conflicts of space through pressures from gentrification. The Olympics and other hallmark events have a history

RESISTANCE TO SPACE

of negatively impacting space occupied by those in poverty. The Assistance to Shelter Act echoes city-planning processes and proposed state laws that criminalized the poor during the 1996 Atlanta Games. The proximity of the Winter Olympic Village in South East False Creek to the DTES echoes the geographical layout of Expo '86, creating potential for similar conflicts of space. Implemented in its current form, the new Assistance to Shelter Act combined with city launching of the Extreme Weather Response shelter program will likely lead to the marginalization of the homeless through their exclusion from public space, an Olympic legacy surely unrepresentative of Vancouver's vision for the future.

AFTERWORD²

While the Vancouver Police Department promised on multiple occasions that there would be no sweeps of the Downtown Eastside (DTES), community leaders' reports of police activity and arrests during the final days before the 2010 opening ceremonies were mixed (Lupick, 2010). Extra shelter space was opened during the Games without activating the Extreme Weather Response Program (Inform Vancouver, personal communication, March 1, 2010). Since no extreme weather events occurred during the two weeks of the Games, the Assistance to Shelter Act was not implemented.

Community activists, aware of the threat of displacement created by the Games, established an "Olympic Tent City" in an empty lot in the DTES for the duration of the Games, in the hopes of promoting an end to homelessness, gentrification and the criminalization of poverty. The Tent City had its own community volunteer security to enforce established rules such as no drugs, no alcohol and zero tolerance for violence or harassment. By the end of the two weeks, well over one hundred tents were set up in the Tent City. Although the police force was justly mobilized at one of the smaller protests which resulted in vandalism and rioting, police response to more peaceful community rallies like the Tent City remains questionable. Two police confrontations occurred at the Olympic Tent City. At one point, two undercover police officers were identified and removed from the site; at another, police attempted to enter the area by force (Harsha Walia, Olympic Resistance Network, personal communication, February 17, 2010).

Police activity was closely scrutinized throughout the Games. The B.C. Civil Liberties Association and Pivot Legal Society, both non-profit legal advocacy groups in the DTES, trained volunteer Legal Observers to observe and record any questionable police activity. A number of highly publicized rallies were organized by DTES advocates, and Legal Observer presence was prominent during the majority of these protests. One protest coinciding with the opening ceremonies received much media attention. Approximately 2500 people were rallied, many of whom displayed signs and

2 The majority of information contained in the Afterword was collected first-hand by the author during the XXI Olympic Winter Games.

chanted messages critical of recent police activity demonstrating the public's discontent with its public servants. However, in the midst of criticism, it is important to remember that police activity is informed by public policy.

While large-scale street sweeps may not have occurred during the Games, the Assistance to Shelter Act remains a severe risk for disadvantaged B.C. communities like the DTES. By providing a legal means through which the homeless can be forcibly relocated, the Assistance to Shelter Act facilitates the gentrification of poor communities and established space used by the homeless. The act inhibits the strengthening of poor communities as the homeless face the threat of involuntary displacement anytime the Extreme Weather Response Program is put into effect. Although the Olympics are now over, Vancouver's promotion of investment and development during the Games and persistent provincial and municipal investment in policy informed by the broken windows paradigm can only perpetuate historical socioeconomic conflicts over space.

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Socioeconomic Status and Belief in a Just World

Michael Kehl

AT SOME POINT IN THEIR LIVES, MOST PEOPLE HAVE PROBABLY HEARD THE phrase “you reap what you sow.” This common expression succinctly captures the essence of the belief in a just world hypothesis (BJW), which states that people tend to believe the world is orderly and just, and therefore attribute an individual’s life outcomes—both positive and negative—to that individual’s own actions (Lerner, 1980). This study seeks to examine the association between BJW and socioeconomic status (SES). I hypothesize that, due to varying psychological attribution styles, which are differentially employed by people of varying SES, there will be a positive correlation between BJW and SES. Theoretically speaking, identifying a link between SES and BJW is interesting because it demonstrates how an aggregate of individual psychological beliefs can have real sociological consequences; from a practical perspective, it is important, as it could reveal one of the major perpetrators of social injustice. It is well known that the wealthy stand behind the creation and operation of the majority of political and social institutions. If these same people are more likely to believe that the world is just, then they will be disinclined to support policies or programs which are designed to create a more just distribution of resources—believing that those who are worse-off are deserving of their plight.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The effects of BJW can be seen across a wide variety of domains. In criminal proceedings, individuals with higher BJW have been shown to be more likely to engage in victim blaming. This phenomenon has been demonstrated both among jurors (Kleinke & Meyer, 2006) and judges (Hafer & Bogue, 2005). BJW also plays a vital role in the stigmatization of people with diseases and disabilities (Goffman, 1963; Heatherton, Kleck, Hebl, & Hull, 2003, p. 129). In this context, people are more likely to associate negative attributes with those who are imperilled by disease and disability in order to maintain their belief that the world is just. Recently, BJW has been implicated as one of the primary reasons behind the continued discrimination against homosexuals living with AIDS (Anderson, 2006). Finally, at a macro level, one can observe the impact of BJW in redistributive politics. Bénabou and Tirole (2004) found complementarities between individuals' levels of BJW and two major paradigms of distributive ideologies. The American paradigm—characterized by a high degree of BJW—was associated with more laissez-faire politics. This contrasts with the European paradigm—featuring more pessimism towards BJW—which has a greater emphasis on the welfare state.

Several theories have been posited as to which factors correlate with people's conceptions of the world as just. It is frequently believed that those high in religiosity are more likely to endorse these beliefs (Smith, 1985). Alternatively, advancing from Piaget's concept of *immanent justice*, it has been suggested that we are born viewing the world as just and this continues into adulthood, diminishing as we are exposed to more evidence to the contrary (Benson, 1992). Finally, it has been hypothesized that this is a belief which spreads as part of the prevailing cultural trend of individualism found in western society (Benson, 1992).

It comes as no surprise then that most research on the correlates of BJW has focused on religiosity, age, and individualism. Indeed, there has been little focus on the correlation between SES and BJW, despite the fact that a positive relationship between these two variables seems quite likely. People adopt various attribution styles in order to protect their self-esteem as well as to self-enhance (Aronson, Wilson, Akert, & Fehr, 2005). At a basic

level, attribution theories suggest that people are likely to make internal attributions towards positive events and external attributions toward negative events; for we maintain our positive self-image by believing we are responsible for our successes, while someone, or something, else is responsible for our failures (Aronson et al., 2005).

Attribution theory then provides the logic for the predicted correlation between SES and BJW. The hypothesis is as follows: people of low SES background should be less likely to endorse BJW—essentially sparing their self-esteem by blaming the system, instead of themselves, for their lack of success. Conversely, those of high SES ought to be more likely to support BJW—they must view the world as just, in order to believe that they themselves are responsible for their success. While the hypotheses here are logically sound, the limited investigation of this correlation so far has produced mixed results.

Smith and Green (1984) found that blacks and persons with lower incomes were less likely to view the world as just compared to whites and those with higher incomes. This was supported by the results of a follow-up study by Smith (1985), who found that people of lower SES were more likely to place blame for inequality on mechanisms within political and employment institutions, while those better-off favoured individual differences explanations, and continued to view these systems as just. Contrarily, Umberson (1992) found that blacks and those of low SES were more likely to perceive the world as just than were whites or people of high SES. Umberson believed this was because views of justice are defined more strongly by messages offered by social institutions, including the view that blacks are the primary perpetrators of crime and danger in society—prompting these individuals to believe they were getting their just desserts. Finally, there is evidence to suggest that the only factor correlated with endorsement of BJW is age—this finding was obtained using a model that also included race and socio-economic status as independent variables (Benson, 1992). Clearly, much debate surrounds which factors can predict a person's level of belief in a just world.

Much of this confusion likely stems from the numerous factors these studies try to investigate. The majority of studies have sought to investigate

various combinations of age, religion, and socioeconomic status concurrently; resulting in a large amount of general information on the correlates of BJW, but little about which specific variable components effect the correlation. As one researcher has stated, what is required is “a more intensive test of each explanation, using a variety of measures designed to capture subtle nuances for each [variable]” (Benson, 1992, p. 96). Indeed, by focusing solely on socioeconomic status, this survey seeks to provide this more intensive test.

METHODS

Data for this study was collected by administrating a 49-item questionnaire designed to measure participants' socio-economic status, exposure to hardship, and belief in a just world. As it was my belief that many sociology students would be reluctant to be labelled as high SES believers, I chose to make subjects in this survey “blind” to the actual hypothesis. To this end, the questionnaire was presented as a survey of daily activities and typical beliefs. This questionnaire was administered to a group of 43 students enrolled in Sociology 380 (Survey Methods) at the University of British Columbia. Participants completed this survey during one of their 90-minute classes.

Three constructs were assessed by this questionnaire. The first was socio-economic status. This was determined by two instruments, a self-rating scale and a modified version of the Hollingshead SES scale (Hollingshead, 1975). The self-rating scale consisted of a drawing of a ten-rung ladder, with the top rung representing the most affluent families and the bottom representing the least affluent. Participants were instructed to mark the rung that they believed represented their family's socioeconomic position. The modified Hollingshead scale consisted of measures of education (scored on a 5 point scale), occupation (scored on a 10 point scale), and income (scored on a 6 point scale) for each student's guardian. Individual section scores for each guardian were combined and then added together to yield a total SES index out of 42. I chose to measure the income of students' families, rather than their own, for two reasons. First, the floor effects produced by assess-

ing students' occupational prestige and income would serve to mask most of the variance in answers. Second, students' occupational prestige and income is largely irrelevant to their actual quality of life, as many draw on their families' financial and material resources to support their lifestyles. I assumed that an increase in parental income would translate into a more affluent lifestyle for the child. Of course this is not always the case, thus the inclusion of a second scale assessing exposure to hardship.

To measure exposure to hardship, a scale consisting of 13 questions measuring economic hardship experienced in daily activities was used. Items in this index were each assessed on a scale from 1-10, with a respondent's total score tabulated by adding scores for each item to give an index out of 130. This scale was based on the Survey of Income and Program Participation developed by the United States Census Bureau (U.S. Census Bureau, 2006), but modified to consist of measures more relevant to the predominantly middle-class university student population being sampled. Given the costs of post-secondary education, most university students are of middle- or upper-class background. Within this relatively affluent community, economic hardship is necessarily a relative term. Working from the assumption that all respondents will have their basic subsistence needs met, this portion of the questionnaire focused primarily on access to entertainment and less-essential items—likely the only factors that would produce significant variation amongst responses.

Respondent's belief in a just world was assessed using a 14-item scale. Like the exposure to hardship scale, each item was scored from 1-10, with a respondent's total score being the sum of all scores for each item. This yielded a BJW index out of 140. Half of the items on this scale were designed to be reverse scored. The scale used in this study is relatively standardized, as most of the items used on these types of scales have typically been reworded variations of the same cluster of statements (Lipkus, 1991). Though rewritten to include examples more relevant to Canadians and university students, the statements in this questionnaire have essentially maintained the same meaning as the originals—the idea being that this allows this scale to borrow some of the proven validity of the original scales. This particular scale also consists of about twice the number of items of a typical BJW scale,

potentially allowing for more accuracy, as well as the ability to measure the internal consistency of the items on this part of the survey. The questions that composed the three scales are contained in the Appendix.

All data was analyzed using SPSS 17. All scales were first measured for internal consistency using Cronbach's alpha. Following this, individual pairwise correlations were performed between subjects' scores on the SES and BJW indexes as well their scores on the exposure to hardship and BJW indexes. Finally, a partial correlation between SES and BJW while controlling for exposure to hardship was performed.

RESULTS

The response rate for this survey was 100% yielding a total N of 43. However, due to missing items, the useable n for some of the following analyses drops as low as 19. Due to the relatively small and non-probabilistic sample used, the focus of this study is solely on the identification of correlations between variables. Tests of significance were not performed, as the relatively small sample size would make it virtually impossible for any of these relationships to reach statistical significance.

Internal consistency of each of the three scales in this study was assessed and found to be acceptable in two of the three cases. Analysis of the SES scale and the exposure to hardship scale resulted in acceptable Cronbach's alphas of .795 and .852 respectively. However, analysis of the BJW scale produced a less than acceptable alpha of .558. Regardless, no items were deleted from this scale prior to analysis, as no individual item was obviously responsible for the low alpha.

A strong correlation was observed between personal ratings of SES and those obtained by the modified Hollingshead SES scale ($r(19) = .540$),

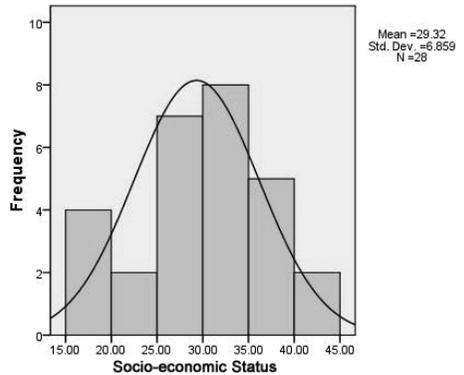


Figure 1. Histogram of respondents' SES scores.

suggesting that respondents were relatively accurate in judging their own SES. Respondents' personal ratings of their families' SES were relatively high ($M = 6.43$, $SD = 1.654$). Average scores on the modified Hollingshead SES scale were also high ($M = 29.32$, $SD = 6.859$), suggesting a relatively privileged sample population. Looking at Figure 1, we can see that this high average was not caused by outliers, as the entire distribution is positively skewed. Neither of these results is surprising given the university student sample used.

Both exposure to hardship ($M = 47.39$, $SD = 19.49$) and BJW ($M = 91.52$, $SD = 12.232$) demonstrated sizeable variation, with neither showing marked floor or ceiling effects. Each distribution was remarkably close to normal in shape. Looking at respondents' exposure to hardship scores it can be observed that respondents tended to be either mildly exposed to hardship or mildly insulated from it. Evidence of the above trend can be seen in Figure 2, which clearly depicts the bi-modal distribution of respondents' scores, with the two modes occurring quite close to the mean. As can be seen quite clearly in Figure 3, scores on the BJW scale reflect an almost perfect normal distribution. This is somewhat surprising given the sample of sociology students used, as one would expect, based on the teachings of this discipline, to observe mild to moderate floor effects on this measure.

To test the assumption that students draw upon family resources to support their lifestyles, family SES was correlated with exposure to hardship.

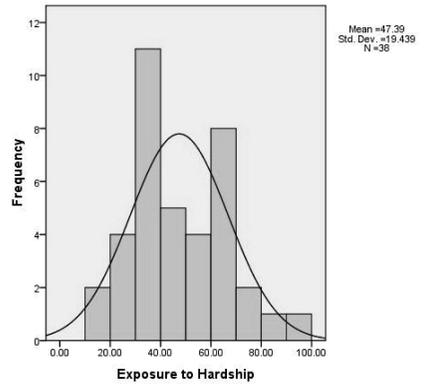


Figure 2. Histogram of respondents' exposure to hardship scores.

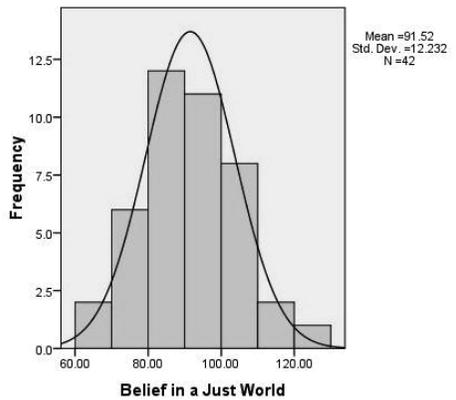


Figure 3. Histogram of respondents' belief in a just world scores.

An inverse relationship was found between the two, $r(25) = -.140$, supporting this hypothesis. Next, respondents' BJW scores were independently correlated with SES and exposure to hardship. As predicted by this study's hypothesis, a sizeable positive correlation was found between SES and BJW, $r(27) = .280$. A more modest positive relationship was found between exposure to hardship and BJW $r(37) = .046$. It should be noted that this second correlation runs in the opposite direction of what the study's hypothesis predicted, as it implies that those with greater exposure to hardship are more likely to see the world as just. Lastly, a partial correlation was run between SES and BJW while controlling for the effects of exposure to hardship. This resulted in a moderate positive correlation between SES and BJW $r(21) = .203$. A summary of all correlations of all variables in this study is presented below in Tables 1 and 2.

Table 1. Correlations.

		Personal Rating of SES	SES as Determined by Modified Hollander	Exposure to Hardship	Belief in a Just World
Personal Rating of SES	Pearson correlation	1	.548	-.560	.170
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.019	-.002	.387
	N	29	18	27	28
SES as Determined by Modified Hollander	Pearson correlation	.548	1	-.140	.280
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.019		.505	.156
	N	18	28	25	27
Exposure to Hardship	Pearson correlation	-.560	-.140	1	.046
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.002	.505		.787
	N	27	25	38	37
Belief in a Just World	Pearson correlation	.170	.280	.046	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.387	.156	.787	
	N	28	27	37	42

Table 2. Partial Correlations.

Control Variables			Socioeconomic Status	Belief in a Just World
Exposure to Hardship	Socioeconomic Status	Correlation	1.000	.203
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.352
		Df	0	21
	Belief in a Just World	Correlation	.203	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.352	.
		Df	21	0

CONCLUSION

The results of this study support the hypothesis that belief in a just world is positively related to socioeconomic status. Substantial correlations were observed between SES and BJW. A moderate correlation was also observed between SES and BJW, while controlling for exposure to hardship. Contrary to this paper's hypothesis, a weak, but positive relationship was found between exposure to hardship and BJW. While all but one of the correlations obtained in this study are consistent with those predicted by the hypothesis, it must be noted that none of those that are central to this hypothesis were found to be statistically significant. However, as mentioned previously, this is not surprising given the small sample size used in this study, as well as the high number of non-responses to items which further reduced the useable n .

While effective as a pilot study, several problems still exist within this study. As mentioned, the BJW scale used in this study demonstrated low internal consistency. Also, the number of non-responses to certain questions caused the useable N for the calculation of some of the correlations to be as low as 19. Problems also exist regarding the sample population. Sociology students spend much of their academic careers learning about how wider society shapes the individual. As such, they are likely to be less supportive of BJW regardless of SES. Lastly, while there is significant variance in SES and exposure to hardship responses, these scales say nothing of how these scores relate to wider society. The responses on this survey represent only those of a particular sample of university students. Thus it is possible that, although these indexes generated variance, this study may still only be measuring the responses of those who occupy the higher end of the overall SES distribution.

To address these issues, three major improvements would be required in future replications of this study. First, there should be an increase in the total number of respondents (SPSS Sample Power suggests a minimum of 138 based on the correlations obtained in this study). Secondly, this survey should be administered to a more representative sample of the population, to avoid the relative homogeneity of educational background in the current sample. Lastly, a more internally consistent version of the BJW scale must be developed. The original scale on which this study's scale was based analyzed three facets of belief in a just world: interpersonal justice,

socio-political justice and fatalism/cynicism (Lipkus, 1991). In creating the abbreviated BJW scale, this survey primarily adapted items from the interpersonal justice category. Redesigning the scale to include items from the remaining two categories may enhance the validity of this instrument. This pilot project represents a first step into a more focused study of the relationship between SES and BJW, but further research will be instrumental to disentangling the various factors that inform this relationship.

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APPENDIX

Questionnaire Items

Socioeconomic Status: Self-Rating

- At right is a ladder. There are ten rungs from the top to the bottom. Think of this ladder as representing where people stand in society in Vancouver. At the top are the best off—those with the most money, most education, and best jobs. At the bottom are the worst off—those with the least money, least education, and lowest paying, or no, jobs. Please circle the number corresponding to the rung on this ladder which you personally think YOUR IMMEDIATE FAMILY should be placed.
- How many vehicles (cars, motorcycles, boats, etc.) do you and your immediate family own?
- How many vacations abroad or out of province have you taken in the last year?
- Besides their primary residence how many other properties does your immediate family own?



Socioeconomic Status: Modified Hollander

(Subjects were asked to indicate which category each of their parents fit into)

Education:

- Partial High School
- High School Graduate
- Partial College
- Undergraduate Degree
- Graduate Degree

Occupation:

- Student
- Farm labourer, day labourer
- Unskilled worker, service worker.
- Machine operator, semi-skilled worker.
- Skilled manual worker, craftsman, police and fire services, enlisted military and non-commissioned officers.
- Clerical/sales, small farm owner.
- Technicians, semi-professional, supervisor, office manager.
- Small business owner, farm owner, teacher (K-12), low level manager, salaried worker.
- Mid-level manager or professional (e.g., architect, engineer, accountant, attorney).
- Senior manager or professional (e.g., physician, university/college professor, politician), owner or CEO of a large company.

Annual Pre-tax Income:

- \$0 – \$19,999
- \$20,000 – \$39,999
- \$40,000 – \$59,999
- \$60,000 – \$79,999
- \$80,000 – \$109,999
- \$110,000 +

Exposure to Hardship

(rated from 1-10 using the anchors “several times annually,” “several times a month,” “weekly.”)

- I avoided taking part in social activities because of lack of money.
- I had to borrow money from friends because I cannot afford everyday items (coffees/snacks, school supplies, groceries, etc...)
- I decided to put off one or more larger purchases (\$200+) because I could not afford them.
- I consciously tried to cut back on entertainment expenses (movies, eating at restaurants, going to clubs/bars, etc...).
- I thought about taking on additional employment in order to make ends meet.
- I declined invites from friends to go to restaurants because it was cheaper to eat at home.
- I consciously considered trying to cut back on clothing purchases.
- I thought about selling some of my material possessions in order to generate some income.
- I thought about modifying my means of transport because of financial reasons.
- I had a hard time coming up with a means to pay my rent/mortgage.
- I had to borrow money from family or friends in order to make ends meet.
- I had to borrow money from friends/family in order to buy groceries.
- I spent time thinking of ways to eliminate little expenses from my daily life.

Belief in a Just World

(Rated from 1-10 using the anchors “strongly disagree,” “neutral,” and “strongly agree.” Items in italics were reverse scored)

- *When I take examinations I rarely get the grade I deserve.*
- Outgoing people deserve a happy life and lots of friends.
- If I live a healthy lifestyle I will live longer.
- When I catch a lucky break it's usually because I deserve it.
- People who work the hardest, and put in the most hours, are the ones who usually get promoted.
- *A person who sticks up for what they believe in hardly ever gets ahead.*
- The layoffs caused by the recent recession have ensured that the only people with jobs are those who deserve them.
- I think I deserve the reputation I have among the people who know me.
- All else being equal, those who put more effort into their assignments will get better grades.
- People who are outgoing and sociable deserve to have more friends.
- In Canada's free market economy the only excuse for poverty is laziness and lack of effort.
- *It is difficult for people to receive a fair trial in Canada.*
- If I drive with caution I am less likely to get in an accident.
- *If I am robbed while walking home at night I simply have bad luck.*

In Defense of Hempel's Account of Scientific Explanation

Andrew Herman

OVER THE PAST FEW DECADES MANY CONFLICT THEORISTS, FEMINIST theorists, and critical race theorists among others have suggested that deductive explanation should not be considered as more appropriate than inductive methods of explanation (Cohen, 1978; Delgado & Stefancic, 2000; Longino, 1990). It is also argued that in many cases, such fields of study may not even be furthered by deductive approaches (Roemer, 1982). It is true that, for example, the individual experiences of violently oppressed women are useful in formulating explanations for trends and phenomena. Such information must be collected in order to properly understand the complexities of a problem. Despite this, deductive explanation still provides the most logically compelling and surest accounts of the phenomena around us. As such, theory has much to gain through defending and applying Hempel's classic account of explanation. Hempel (1965) proposes that an explanation is "an argument to the effect that the phenomena to be explained ... was to be expected in virtue of certain explanatory facts" (p. 336). In both Hempel's deductive-nomological (DN) and inductive-statistical (IS) accounts for explanation, these explanatory facts consist of conclusions drawn deductively from true premises. The main difference between the DN and IS models is that the latter makes room for conclusions which are statistically probable, and thus less predictive than the pure deduction which characterizes the former. I will argue in defense of Hempel's defini-

tion, that in face of modern critiques, a good explanation is deduction accompanied by evidence provided via the scientific method.

This paper is divided into three sections. The first section sorts the wheat from the chaff in our common meanings of the word “explanation.” We distinguish the explanation of an event or phenomenon from the justification of a belief and the transfer of knowledge from one person to another.

In the second portion we discuss deduction, what it is, and what problems are associated with it. It is concluded that deduction, as a logical derivation of a conclusion from a set of premises, encounters epistemic roadblocks; specifically, the infinite regress of causes and Gödel’s theorem of incompleteness. It is shown that in order to surmount these issues, deductive explanation must be supplemented by the scientific method, thus providing it with empirical evidence to assist in deciding between competing explanations.

The third section attempts to clear away one criticism that arises upon the marriage of explanation to the scientific method. Namely, the perspective that science is a social process subject to politics of power and culture and, as a result, its truth claims are highly suspect, and should not be privileged. It is acknowledged that a strong case can be made for this critique; however, the conclusions some critics draw from it are overstated. The scientific method is rigorous and based on principles of reason which human beings use to interpret and comprehend the world. It works. This effectiveness shields the scientific method, and thus also deductive explanation supplemented by the scientific method, from this critique.

EXPLANATION

There are three major interrelated meanings that we associate with explanation, which can be illustrated by three distinct questions. We can ask either, “Explain why this (an event) occurred,” “Explain why you think this (a belief) is true,” or “Explain this (a concept or idea) to me.” What an explanation entails depends largely upon what needs explaining. We can ask for an explanation of a) an event or phenomenon as in the first question, b) a belief as in the second, or c) a concept or idea as in the final question. The first meaning is, I believe, the most pertinent to our cause. Nonetheless,

it is important to understand the distinctions between each of the three meanings, as they help to tease out arguments later on.

The explanation of an event or phenomenon is an account of how or why a given event or phenomenon occurs. This form of explanation generally takes a causal form; indicating, for example, what it was that compelled a woman to marry, an object to move in a certain way, or lightning to flash across the sky. The explanation of an event must be understood as fully distinct from the explanation offered in support of a belief, whose nature is far more epistemic. From here on we will term this second type of explanation *justification*. The explanation of an event differs markedly from a justification for a belief in that the two inquiries aim for two separate pieces of knowledge. It is different to ask for a physical explanation of gravity, and to ask for a justification for why you have a certain belief in gravity. In response to the first question, you might expect an attempt at a causal account or a logical/mathematical model to explain what is happening, while in the second, you might expect an appeal to the philosophy of science along with an appeal to that same causal account or logical/mathematical model. Ultimately, the pursuit of this paper is a *justification* for why deduction is the best form of explanation rather than an *explanation* for why deduction is the best form of explanation.

The explanation of an event is also distinct from the act of explaining. While an individual might not understand the concept of gravity and ask an instructor to “explain” it to them, this form of explanation is not an account of why or how the phenomenon occurs, but rather is a transfer of understanding. In contrast to the two other meanings of explanation, here we are not concerned with offering an account of anything, be it an event, or a belief. When engage in the act of explaining, we are concerned solely with clarifying, or transferring understanding of a concept or idea that already exists.

For brevity, hereafter we will simply call the explanation of an event or phenomenon an *explanation*. It should be clear at this point that an explanation proper should not include either justification or knowledge transfer, as these two processes do not actually pursue explanation. Justification seeks not to explain anything, but to give reasons for holding one's belief to

be true, while the knowledge transfer becomes important only after an attempt at explanation has been made. An explanation should be understood minimally as an attempt to give reasons as to why a given event or phenomenon occurred, generally in the form of a causal argument.

When multiple explanations of a particular phenomenon are forwarded, the scientific method helps researchers select the better explanation by offering a methodical procedure, which aids the development of investigation directions and logical predictions. In short, the scientific method proceeds from theory to hypothesis, from observation to replication, and finally to a re-evaluation of the theory.

DEDUCTION AND THE FOUNDATION OF KNOWLEDGE

Simply put, deduction is the process of logically deriving a conclusion from a set of premises. These premises could take the form of Hempel's strict deductive-nomological (DN) model or the more liberal probabilistic findings of the inductive statistical (IS) model so long as the explanation remains firmly grounded as a conclusion logically drawn from its premises. The two models differ only in that the DN model offers statistical conclusions that are nearly certain, while the IS model offers statistical conclusions of a more tenuous nature (e.g., a patient's likelihood of recovery after the administration of penicillin). It should be noted that deduction is crucial even in the IS model. While the conclusions derived are not logically certain, set premises still inform the statistical conclusion. In the penicillin example, uncertainty arises because the human body's complexity forestalls many of the premises necessary for a logical proof. Nevertheless, a deduction based on the limited premises available would still provide the best possible explanation because it is informed by logic rather than baseless assumptions.

A good explanation should be deductive. Illogical explanations are ineffectual: they would be impossible to comprehend with satisfaction, and impossible to compare against contesting claims. An explanation that is not deductive would offer us no reason for belief. We would be expected to accept the explanation, in childish fashion, "just because." However, this is not to imply that our explanations become certain once they are in deduc-

tive form. It is difficult to justify how we may have an epistemic foundation for truth. Advances in the theory of logic indicate that it may be impossible for any system to be complete and coherent—casting further doubt upon the likelihood of a foundation for truth.

The first concern is epistemic. Many of our premises are untested, and if one demands at each step an explanation for the last, we inevitably fall into an infinite regress of causes until we arrive at the conclusion that there is no epistemic base for knowledge. Foundationalists have been plagued by this problem since the time of Descartes and *cogito ergo sum*.¹⁷ In fact, Descartes (1641/1996) had to lean on his (rather foggy) notion of a “clear and distinct idea” of a non-deceiving God to escape this puzzle and justify his first few premises. An example at the level of explanation clarifies the conundrum. If we were presented with an explanation for gravity based on Einstein’s general theory of relativity, and another based on quantum mechanics, and yet another based on the scholastic tradition of the medieval period (which theologically deduced that all objects tend toward the center of God’s earth-centered universe), we would have no firm reason for recognizing any one as the correct explanation. However, we are not as utterly lost as some critics might claim.

We can reasonably compare explanations through empirical observation, and this is the true value of science. We may not be able to affirm with certainty that any one explanation is correct, but we can express quite properly that given what we have observed in the world, one is a better explanation than another. For example, we can quickly establish the inaccuracy of the scholastic tradition’s explanation since we have repeatedly observed that the sun is the center of the universe. Given that one of their premises is false, the scholastic tradition’s deduction is unsound. Granted that our observations are not always accurate, the scientific method insists upon the importance of replication. Requiring successive observations and the reproduction of findings limits the potential for error in the long term, and allows deductive explanation to reliably produce fruitful results. Upon first looking towards the sun, the observer might believe that the earth is at the center of the universe. After successive observations, however, it becomes increasingly unlikely for the observer to overlook that the movement of the

sun and planets do not support such a view. The processes of observation and replication are alive and well today. Physicists are busy attempting to discover empirical evidence which might help decide between general relativity and quantum mechanics as an explanation for gravity or elucidate an explanation which combines the two (Penrose, 2004).

The second critique of explanation as deduction is one derived largely from Gödel's (1967) incompleteness theory and Suppes' (1972) work on axiomatic set theory. Here we will focus on Gödel's more influential work. Gödel's work is heavily involved in the theoretical substructure of logic, his main accomplishment being the refutation of Russell's logicism, which attempted to express the entire language of mathematics in logical form (Raatikainen, 2005). Incompleteness theory shows that even the logical system of arithmetic cannot be both consistent and complete. That is, it cannot both a) contain either the affirmation or negation of every sentence in the language, and b) contain no contradictions, the affirmation *and* the negation of any sentence. Put simply, if we could make a list of every possible statement of mathematics in logical form, we would expect this list to say either x is true, or x is false for every possible sentence without contradicting itself by including separately both x is true, and x is false. Gödel's theory demonstrates that this is impossible. Either the list will fail to include one or more statements, or the list will contain a contradiction. Gödel's theorem attacked both rationalism and empiricism, as the truths derived from any logical system are "not in general derivable by self-evident steps from self-evident truths" (Quine & Ullian, 1978, p. 65). Thus, in a much more elegant way, we are once more confronted by the potential of no certainty in our explanations. If even arithmetic, a sort of deduction on steroids, cannot establish truths in the rationalist sense, what hope do our pithy explanations have?

However, Gödel's incompleteness theory does not go unanswered. Epistemically, our systems of logic may be incomplete, but the statements derived from it need not necessarily lose their predictability (Hawking, 2002). The scientific method is once again integral to explanation. The deductive statements that the scientific method relies upon provides predictions which can then be tested with experimental conditions. The

predictability and testability of deductive statements within a scientific framework gives it the power to explain. While some may question the epistemic foundation of explanation through deduction (Raatikainen, 2005), prediction has a key function in explanation and we cannot discount deductive explanation when paired with the scientific method.

Up to this point, we have established that a good explanation consists of a conclusion deduced from a set of premises, and that in view of the epistemic critiques of deduction we cannot blithely accept the rationalist dream of deducing all knowledge from known principles. Instead, we redefined an explanation as deduction accompanied by the scientific method. Only in this combination can we explain with any effectiveness. We must now, however, engage with a critique of scientific knowledge as a result of our marriage of deductive explanation with the scientific method.

SCIENCE AS A SOCIAL DISCIPLINE

Like other social spaces, science is subject to political processes and human interaction. It has been suggested, notably by Kuhn (1962), that scientific knowledge does not advance in the idyllic way its proponents claim. Individual scientists may be personally invested in certain theories that keep them from embracing theories better supported by recent data. Certain figures in academia even become rock stars in their own right, with throngs of adoring grad students hanging on their every word, even when those words are misinformed (White, 2008). We may be fools to believe that science is in any sense objective in light of its status as a social construct. Explanation bolstered by such evidence, critics would say, is in an awkward position at best (White, 2008).

There is considerable range of theoretical stances within the critical literature on science. In its weak form, the critique of science as a social discipline is rather benign. Under this interpretation we can assert that science itself is a project of society, that the research it does is largely informed by social attitudes, and perhaps even that in scientific debate, attitudes governed by preconceptions can sway a scientist in their preference of one theory over another (Gross & Levitt, 1994). Explanation can only be supported by the scientific method when the society in which the explana-

tion is taking place holds the scientific method and its findings in esteem. Historical rejections of evolutionary theory and big bang theory are prime examples. Religious matters and dominant ideologies of female subjugation made it difficult for these theories to gain acceptance (Gross & Levitt, 1994). Furthermore, it would be foolish to assert that scientists are entirely objective. As humans, we are all subject to our personal beliefs and biases (Gross & Levitt, 1994). At best, researchers can only hope to recognize their inherent biases and be alert to the potential effects on their studies. A more poignant reality is the scientific community's need for funding. The availability of funding determines which explanations will be assessed scientifically, and which will remain unaided by empirical evidence. However, these arguments are only weak deterrents. We should grant that science is a human process, subject to our failures. But simultaneously we must assert that this does not invalidate the explanatory power of deduction supported by the scientific method. The cases of human failure are few, and are far outnumbered by the cases where remarkable success has been achieved. The notion that explanation is deduction and is best supported by the scientific method remains firmly rooted.

In its strong form, the critique of science as a social discipline is far more exacting. Here, science is a form of discourse localized specifically within one culture at one point in time. It is not a body of knowledge, for its truth claims are hopelessly self-referential, upheld only by appealing to the standards defined by the scientific community itself (Gross & Levitt, 1994). It is more accurate to describe what science calls truth as convention, as it is nothing more than practical adoption of beliefs without epistemic claim to knowledge. Most importantly, scientific knowledge should not be privileged over other forms of knowledge. Explanation supported by scientific evidence is no more valid than any other explanation, having no epistemological foundation from which to claim superiority (Gross & Levitt, 1994; White, 2008).

To suggest that scientific claims are no better justified than randomly formed opinions seems to go too far. Scientific explanation is rigorous, and does not appeal to vague ideals, but rather to principles which have guided human reasoning for millennia. Science merely pronounced and defined

these principles more precisely. Articulation does not reduce the effectiveness of the method. We specify our hypothesis in a logical format, deduce from its premises, and proceed to find evidence for it through observation. Gross and Levitt (1994) captured the value of science succinctly and effectively when they said “science works” (p. 49). That the scientific method continues to produce marvellous results in a very reasonable way is a very strong rejoinder to those who critique it in this light.

The explanation of an event, which we have rightfully distinguished from justification and knowledge transfer, is deduction; however, this is not enough, as deduction itself is beleaguered by problems arising from the infinite regress of causes and Gödel's theorem. We must pair deductive explanation with the scientific method, so as to reasonably evaluate competing explanations for a given phenomenon.

Although science is undeniably a social process, it is misguided to critique Hempel's account of explanation for this reason. The scientific method is powerful and assures progress based on the accumulation of evidence for a deductive explanation. Good science holds truths tentatively, not religiously, though there are exceptions such as the slow adoption and acceptance of the evolutionary framework in the 18th century (White, 2008). Critics of the science-oriented deductive explanation often overestimate the force of their critiques and may well be doing a disservice to their respective fields by rejecting deductive explanation as a potential contributor to the advancement of knowledge within these fields. While they are correct in asserting that other forms of explanation may also be useful, paired with the scientific method, deductive explanation has the remarkable ability to produce reliable and useful results compared to other forms of explanation.

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Low-Wage Temporary Employment: The Structural Demobilization of Human Agency in Labour Market Advancement

Simon Cheng

MY INTEREST IN THE STRUCTURE OF TEMPORARY EMPLOYMENT BEGAN while observing two relatively low-wage temporary clerical workers (database entry positions) at one of my former jobs. I noticed the excessive workload the less-experienced worker (Anne) undertook to impress managers in the workplace. The two workers had different levels of seniority: Tracy had been in the department for two years and Anne for one year. Anne voluntarily took on more tasks for multiple projects, whereas Tracy assumed fewer tasks for fewer projects. As a result, Anne was invited to a staff retreat with the department's permanent employees while Tracy was excluded. The day following the retreat, Tracy complained about the lack of invitation and felt the managers acted disrespectfully by not inviting her despite her seniority. The hiring managers were not obligated to invite any temporary workers to the retreat, but may have seen it as an opportunity to enforce an illusive mentality of *reaping the fruits of your labour*. This system of exclusion within the context of temporary employment creates a new form of exploitation.

The above scenario is problematic in that it presents the illusion that temporary employees can advance into full-time permanent employment if they simply work hard enough. However, Parker (1994) found that though temporary clerical workers express a preference for full-time, year-round employment, the extent to which they successfully transition is significant-

ly overstated by the temporary help industry. The disparity between the expectations and realities of temporary workers' advancement opportunities forms the foundation for this paper: temporary workers are capable of asserting agency for advancement in the labour market; however, corporate restructuring places workers in precarious employment environments that limit flexibility and mobility into permanent employment.¹ I argue that the changing social structure of employment relations limits individual agency through occupational stigma, deskilling of labour, and dispersion of labour.

While debates exist over whether low-skilled temporary employment is "beneficial" or "detrimental" to the employee, my argument follows the latter perspective. Barley and Kunda (2004) have presented two divergent views on contingent employment: the *institutional perspective* and the *free agency perspective*. The institutional perspective argues that contingent labour is detrimental to the labour force overall because it threatens the job security and system of social welfare premised on full-time employment, and undermines the bargaining power of unions. The free agency perspective argues that individuals are free agents for whom contingency is a choice rather than a constraint: its flexibility encourages individuals to develop and market their skills to the highest bidder, allows them to make more money than permanent employees, and enhances flexibility and personal control. However, both perspectives fail to address the exploitation of low-skilled employees in the workplace.

The institutional perspective provides a module for understanding how the labour market may lose a generation of highly-skilled permanent employees while simultaneously forgoing security and welfare. However, this perspective does not apply to low-skilled temporary workers in the *peripheral sector* who are not valued like high-skilled workers and, therefore, do not qualify as a "loss" to the workforce. The free agency perspective is only relevant to workers with marketable skills. Since low-skilled workers are perceived as skills-deficient, they are more exploitable than the highly-valued high-skilled temporary employees. While some highly skilled temporary workers are in a favourable position, temporary jobs are dispropor-

¹ Corporate restructuring describes the shift from the standard employment relationship (SER) to the temporary employment relationship (TER) (Parker, 1994; Vosko, 2000).

tionately lower wage jobs with little employment security, limited access to social, medical and dental benefits, vacations, pension and retirement benefits, and minimal chances of occupational advancement and limited opportunities to utilize existing skills (Bowles & MacPhail, 2007; Fuller & Vosko, 2008; Parker, 1994).

Vosko (2000), Smith (2001), and Parker (1994) have offered three alternatives to Barley and Kunda's (2004) argument, by critically approaching the question of temporary employment from the employees' perspectives. Vosko has argued that the temporary employment relationship is a highly precarious model of employment which reflects the *feminization of employment*.² Rather than delivering the promise of flexibility, temporary workers find themselves trapped in uncertain employment environments, unable to move beyond their temporary status. Smith has argued that corporate restructuring creates a divide between the contingent and the stable workforce. Contingent employees (i.e. temporary workers) experience insecurity, risk, and poverty, while "permanently" employed workers enjoy job security and living wages (Smith, 2001).

Parker's (1994) argument emphasized two aspects of the temporary employment relationship: *exploitation* and *deskilling* of temporary workers. Temporary employees can be exploited due to the lack of solidarity produced by their inability to unionize in assigned workplaces (Parker, 1994). In addition to varied schedules and daily working conditions, temporary workers also face relative isolation as they do not remain with the same employer for extended periods. Granted the temporary workforce's inability to organize and mobilize collective struggles,³ managers can easily exploit workers in isolation. Secondly, while the temporary employment relationship offers corporate firms the flexibility to "hire" and "release" unskilled

2 Feminization of employment entails an increase in *static jobs* with limited potential for mobility as opposed to *progressive jobs* that encourage occupational mobility, and has been tied to women's mass entry into the labour force. Feminization of employment emphasizes the employers' desires for a more disposable labour force with lower fixed costs (see Vosko, 2000).

3 Likened to Marx and Engel's (2003) description of class struggle: they explained that the key component to the success of proletarians' struggle against the bourgeoisie is the "growing unity of the workers" (p. 132). They further explained that this achievement is improved by technological advancements in communications, bringing workers from different localities into contact with each other.

temporary workers, it also creates a deskilled workforce “that steadily witnesses the transference of traditional craft skills and scientific knowledge to new managerial positions and modern production technologies” (Parker, 1994, p. 150). Drawing upon Braverman’s (1974) theoretical framework,⁴ ⁵ Parker (1994) has argued that this deskilling process renders contingent workers incapable of replacing workers with firm-specific skills (i.e. permanent employees). Like Vosko (2000) and Smith (2001), Parker has posited that the over-simplification of temporary worker positions leaves them vulnerable to impromptu replacement or disposal.

Using the theoretical frameworks of Vosko (2000), Smith (2001), and Parker (1994), I argue that although low-skilled temporary employees are able to exert human agency to increase their chances of transitioning into full-time employment, they are severely constrained by the structures of hierarchical exclusion. Such social structures include occupational stigma (e.g. implementing colour ID badges, thereby stratifying employment status), deskilling of labour, and dispersion of labour inhibiting the collective organization of workers.

DEFINITIONS

Scholars have defined temporary employment differently depending on situation and context, and no single definition is widely accepted (Bowles & MacPhail, 2007; Fuller & Vosko, 2008; Parker, 1994). Bowles and MacPhail (2007) have used the umbrella term *casual work* to capture “various forms of work which result in workers experiencing greater economic insecurity, compared to the standard permanent full-time and full-year work” (p. 2). Parker (1994) used the term *contingent worker* and sub-classified different

4 Although Braverman did not comment directly on temporary employment, his insights are far-reaching. He asserted, given the capitalistic control of the workplace, that there has been and continues to be a long-term tendency toward the mechanization, fragmentation and rationalization of work, setting the stage for workers selling their labour power to another. The result becomes deskilling of labour, workers surrendering their interest in the labour process, and alienation from the labour process (Braverman, 1974).

5 Many other scholars have also applied a Marxist framework to understand capitalist exploitation of corporate restructuring (Barley & Kunda, 2004; Parker, 1994; Vosko, 2000). They adopt the view that temporary employees are not treated as *human resources*, but as *commodities*.

forms of contingent workers as: day labourers, guest workers, service workers, temporary clerical workers, temporary industrial workers, part-time workers, involuntary part-time workers, and temporary workers. Fuller and Vosko (2008) have identified the need to treat *non-standard work* as a heterogeneous term rather than a “catch-all” phrase, because it does not elucidate variations between different types of non-standard work with relation to standard work. Consequently, Fuller and Vosko have adopted the Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics’ (SLID) sub-classification of temporary employment into four types: seasonal jobs, contract jobs, casual jobs, and work done through temporary help agencies. According to SLID (2003), a high proportion of contract workers held high-skilled jobs while the majority of seasonal workers were men, with relatively low education levels. Casual employees were mostly women and often worked part time, and temporary workers hired through employment agencies sometimes had high levels of education, but worked in generally lower-skilled occupations (SLID, 2003). While there are similarities across working definitions, I too adopt the SLID’s definition and sub-categorizations of temporary employment, as my discussion pertains to generated data obtained from the same source.

FINDINGS IN THE CANADIAN CONTEXT

Temporary employment is gradually becoming a key element of corporate restructuring in the U.S. labour force. In the 1990s, between one-quarter and one-third of all employees were part of the contingent workforce—temporary workers increased by 175 percent, part-time workers grew by 21 percent, and subcontracted employees grew by 70 percent in the business services industries over this decade (Belous, as cited in Parker, 1994, p. 1-2). Parker (1994) has characterized contingent employment as a practice which “provid[es] U.S. businesses with greater flexibility and other benefits, but [also] implies several negative effects for workers, including lower wages and the loss of such fringe benefits as health care protection, vacations, pension, and retirement benefits” (p. 2). Scholars have often debated the extent to which temporary employment should be seen as a personal choice or involuntary condition caused by demand factors such

as globalization and neoliberal government policies (Bowles & MacPhail, 2007). The *demand* argument contends that corporate restructuring created employer demands for temporary employees, thus involuntarily imposing “flexibility” upon employees who lack alternatives. The *supply* argument contends that employees enter into temporary employment because they value the “flexibility” that it offers. However, accumulating evidence of temporary workers’ lower wages and lack of benefits strongly corroborates the demand argument both in the U.S. and Canada (Parker, 1994; Smith, 2001; Vosko, 2000).

In Canada, we find characteristics of insecurity, lack of benefits, and low wages in temporary employment. Corporate restructuring occurred throughout the 1970s and 1980s (Vosko, 2000). In 2000, temporary work comprised 15.3 percent of the entire Canadian Labour Force (see Table 1). The distribution of temporary work between males and females was relatively equal. Approximately 41 percent of temporary employees were employed as contract workers; 29 percent worked in seasonal jobs; 28 per-

Table 1. Sub-Classifications of Temporary Work

	Total	Male	Female
Seasonal Job	600,000	367,000	233,000
Temporary, term, or contract job (non-seasonal)	854,000	412,000	441,000
Casual Job	595,000	247,000	348,000
Work done through a temporary help agency	48,000	21,000	27,000
Temporary work subtotal	2,097,000	1,047,000	1,049,000
Total	13,721,000	7,105,000	6,166,000
Percentage of temporary work in Canadian Labour Force	15.3		

Note: Adapted from *Benefits by work and demographic variables (PE_SLID-A2)*, Gender and Work Database, York University (2009).

cent worked in casual jobs; and 2 percent obtained work through temporary help agencies. Of the Canadian temporary employees, only 26 percent received additional medical/health insurance plans, compared to 74 percent of permanent employees (see Table 2). Twenty-two percent of temporary employees received additional dental benefits, compared to 69 percent of permanent employees (see Table 3).

Individuals in permanent employment are more likely to be *economically independent* than those in temporary employment. *Economic independ-*

LOW-WAGE TEMPORARY EMPLOYMENT

Table 2. Medical Benefits by Forms of Employment

	Number of Workers with Medical Insurance	Total Number of Workers
Full-time permanent	7,046,000	9,480,000
Part-time permanent	443,000	1,537,000
Full-time temporary	350,000	1,368,000
Part-time temporary	89,000	781,000

Note: Adapted from *Benefits by work and demographic variables (PE SLID E-3)*, Gender and Work Database, York University (2009).

Table 3. Dental Benefits by Forms of Employment

	Number of Workers with Dental Insurance	Total Number of Workers
Full-time permanent	6,534,000	9,480,000
Part-time permanent	406,000	1,537,000
Full-time temporary	300,000	1,368,000
Part-time temporary	78,000	781,000

Note: Adapted from *Benefits by work and demographic variables (PE SLID E-3)*, Gender and Work Database, York University (2009).

Table 4. Average Earnings by Income Decile

	Male average annual earnings (\$)		Female average annual earnings (\$)	
	Full-time permanent	Full-time temporary	Full-time permanent	Full-time temporary
Lowest Decile	7,650	1,158	5,249	1,366
Second Decile	19,038	4,163	12,506	3,216
Third Decile	26,373	6,837	17,484	5,015
Fourth Decile	32,591	9,938	22,040	6,832
Fifth Decile	38,381	13,418	26,371	9,363
Sixth Decile	43,973	17,847	30,204	12,374
Seventh Decile	50,287	22,510	34,662	15,970
Eighth Decile	58,260	30,036	40,632	21,042
Ninth Decile	68,179	40,798	49,592	29,677
Highest Decile	112,852	74,678	74,433	43,595
Total	457,584	221,383	313,173	148,450

Note: Adapted from *Wages by work and demographic variables (PE SLID G-2)*, Gender and Work Database, York University (2009). Bolded numbers indicate earnings below LICO.

ence here refers to the ability to earn above the Low Income Cut-off Rate (LICO). According to Statistics Canada (2007), in 2000, the LICO for a single person living in an urban area with a population of 500,000 or more was \$15,362. As Table 4 indicates, roughly 45-55 percent of male full-time temporary employees and 55-65 percent of female full-time temporary employees fell below LICO.⁶ Comparatively, roughly 5-15 percent of male

⁶ Due to the abnormal distribution of average annual earnings, percentages are only best-guess approximations.

full-time permanent employees and 15-25 percent of female full-time permanent employees fell below LICO. Based on the data, full-time temporary employees were several times more likely to fall below the LICO than full-time permanent employees. Differences persisted even between low-wage permanent employees and low-wage temporary employees. The lowest earning male full-time permanent employees earned on average 6.6 times more than the lowest earning male full-time temporary employees. The lowest earning female full-time permanent employees earned, on average, 3.8 times more than their temporary counterparts. Looking at the highest decile, high earning male full-time permanent employees earned, on average, 1.5 times more than high earning male full-time temporary employees; high earning female full-time permanent employees earned, on average, 1.7 times more than high earning female full-time temporary employees. Although the wage gap decreased moving up the decile ladder, there was still a significant earning difference between full-time permanent employees and full-time temporary employees.

With the majority of Canadian full-time temporary employees earning annual salaries below LICO, coupled with a lack of medical and dental benefits, and questionable job security, temporary employment is less than ideal. Despite its flexibility, the dismal outcomes of temporary employment suggest that workers are unlikely to voluntarily pursue low-wage temporary positions as supply theorists argue. Rather, they are pressed into less desirable employment environments by employer demands. While quantitative data lays the foundation for my thesis, it does not explain the extent to which low-skilled full-time temporary workers are able to transition into full-time permanent employment, thus increasing their chances of becoming more economically independent, gaining medical and dental benefits as well as job security. Using qualitative data and case studies, I discuss how temporary workers' agency is severely limited by structures of colour stratification, deskilling of labour and dispersion of labour inhibiting the collective organization of workers.

CREATING A STRUCTURE OF HIERARCHICAL EXCLUSION

The source of stratification between permanent employees and temporary agency employees lies in disparate hiring processes. Barley and Kunda (2004) have explained that managers engaged highly-skilled contractors through the purchasing department and permanent employees through the human resource department. Permanent employees are perceived as “humans” worthy of respect, whereas temporary employees are reduced to “commodities” or “warm bodies” (Parker, 1994). I intentionally use the term *structure of hierarchical exclusion* to reflect permanent employees’ more privileged positions in relation to temporary employees of comparable job descriptions. When temporary employees lose their “human” qualities and assume “product” status, they are perceived as limited in skills and highly disposable. Negative perceptions of temporary workers’ value and abilities impede their transition into permanent employment.

In this structure of hierarchical exclusion, temporary employees are stigmatized because of their position within the company, the colour of their ID badges, and their less than ideal office space (Barley & Kunda, 2004; Goffman, 1963; Henson, 1996). These factors alienate temporary workers from permanent workers, creating a sense of isolation and indifference. The perception of low-skilled temporary employees as having a limited skill set further promotes their deskilling, limiting their chances of transitioning into permanent employment (Parker, 1994; Smith, 2001; Vosko, 2000). Finally, the dispersion of labour into different companies and organizations inhibits workers’ ability to collectively organize unions to advocate for better wages, medical and dental benefits, and other rights (Kalleberg, 2000; Parker, 1994; Vosko, 2000). Ultimately, because they are unable to organize, temporary employees cannot bargain for company investment in training and other tools that will facilitate their integration into the company as permanent employees.

Creating Stigma in the Workplace: Inherent Perceptions, Colour Badges and Office Space

By definition, of course, we believe the person with a stigma is not quite human. On this assumption we exercise varieties of discrimination, through which we effectively, if often unthinkingly, reduce his life chances. We construct a stigma-theory, an ideology to explain his inferiority and account for the danger he represents, sometimes rationalizing an animosity based on other differences, such as those of social class. (Goffman, 1963, p. 5)

Occupation is the social identity/identifier of an individual. In most adult social gatherings, one often introduces himself or herself to another individual and asks, "What do you do?" The person who responds with a desired occupation is awarded with prestige, whereas the individual who responds with an undesired occupation is attached with stigma. In an example from Henson (1996), Lillian, a college educated low-wage and low-status worker, recalled social embarrassment when her parents commented, "Oh, you're doing temp work still, Lillian? Can't you get a job?" (p. 145). Another temporary worker discussed facing constant reminders of how embedded we are in a status society every time someone enquired about her occupation:

Talking to friends of mine that I went to college with about their jobs and 'Oh, they've just been promoted to this and this. Now what are you doing?' 'Well, I'm still temping now.' 'Oh. Well...' It's kind of feeling that they're moving so far with their career and I'm just kind of staying temping. (Henson, 1996, p. 146)

These are examples of occupational stigma eroding individual employees' self-esteem on a social-interactional level through personal conversations. However, stigma also has a covert effect in the workplace.

Stigma decreases the chances of temporary workers integrating into the workplace and feeling at ease with permanent co-workers. The enforcement of coloured ID badges is a covert strategy of enforcing the prestige and stigma statuses within a work environment. This environment is what Smith (2001) has called *colour hierarchy*: "the colour-coded system means that space, movement and activity are perpetually monitorable: it

is very easy to single out a person whose badge colour doesn't entitle them to be in the area or corridor in which they are located" (p. 93). Barley and Kunda (2004) made similar observations of colour badges enforcing a colour hierarchy. In their examples, they noted that permanent employees often "alter[ed] their behaviour on the basis of colour, especially when they did not know the contractor personally" (Barley & Kunda, 2004, p. 184). Respondents stated that if they saw another contractor (someone wearing differently coloured ID badges) while discussing their projects with permanent employees, they would alter their behaviour and topic of discussion so that they did not inadvertently disclose project information to contractors, thereby running the risk of compromising the project (Barley & Kunda, 2004). A colour hierarchy thus enforces a system where permanent employees must alter their behaviour in the face of highly skilled contractors who may inadvertently or intentionally leak highly contentious information. Similarly, permanent employees may alter their behaviour when they encounter low-skilled temporary employees, socially alienating temporary workers from the work environment. By assigning temporary workers different coloured badges from permanent workers, employers entrench a social and spatial hierarchy.

De-prioritizing the temporary employee's workspace is another covert strategy of reinforcing spatial alienation. Companies typically prioritize the needs of their permanent employees ahead of the needs of their temporary employees. Accordingly, the quality of one's workspace represents *status* in organizations (Barley & Kunda, 2004). In my personal observations at various workplaces, temporary workers (often clerical) are often assigned inferior spaces in an office and sometimes isolated from permanent employees of the same department. The further a temporary employee is physically isolated from colleagues and managers of the same department, the greater the spatial alienation. Systemic spatial alienation limits the workers' ability to develop useful social networks with permanent employees who could help facilitate a smoother transition into permanent employment.⁷

7 Pierre Bourdieu (2001) postulated that social networks are integral to accumulating social capital, which provides individuals with memberships in a group, along with "the backing of the collectively-owned capital, a 'credential' that entitles them to credit in the various senses of the word" (p. 103).

Whether the assignation of colour badges and inferior workspaces is inadvertent or purposeful, it nonetheless perpetuates discrimination between temporary and permanent employees. These practices enforce the structure of hierarchical exclusion, in which permanent employees further alienate temporary employees from the work environment. According to Goffman's (1963) definition of stigma, 'normal' individuals exercise a variety of discriminations to reduce the life chances of the stigmatized other. In the context of the workplace, permanent employees discriminate against temporary employees in order to reinforce the hierarchical status structures within an organization.

Temporary employees' statuses are made clear to them: they are "just the temp." "Temporaries, like the occupants of lower-status roles prefaced with the qualifier 'just,' are identified exclusively (or as) their devalued occupational category" (Henson, 1996, p. 146). Temporary employees are conflated with their low occupational statuses and viewed as incapable of occupying other social statuses, qualifications, abilities and characters. Even the most skilled temporary employees cannot prove their worth if stigma causes their employer to refuse to entrust them with higher profile or challenging work.

Goffman (1963) has indicated that stigmatized individuals learn normative views through the socialization process—acquiring normative identity beliefs and later internalizing these qualities to become "normal." Likewise, in order to protect themselves emotionally, temporary employees devise strategies to deflect stigma by emulating the permanent employees' skills and abilities in order to impress their employers, taking on more work to demonstrate that they belong with the company and that they are more than "just the temps." In my opening example, Anne worked harder than Tracy and took on more tasks for more projects in order to impress the managers. By doing so, Anne successfully dissociated herself from the stigmatized group and was rewarded by being included in the social circle of permanent employees. Tracy, who made no special efforts to manage her stigmatized status as a temporary worker, continued to be excluded.

Deskilling and the Creation of “Warm Bodies”

We perform a function. We’re not actually human beings. We’re tools that perform functions. I think that many of us are tremendously underutilized. God knows I am, but I don’t think that’s unique to me as I talk to my colleagues [at the call centre]. We are all, in fact, capable of all kinds of stuff. But the system isn’t designed to use that. The agency doesn’t want it because [the customer] is given your name only so that you can perform a particular task. They have no idea you could do other things ... that’s the nature of temping. (Vosko, 2000, p. 157)

The structure of the nonstandard employment relationship creates the perception that temporary employees are low-skilled workers, thereby promoting their deskilling. As the epigraph indicates, temporary employees often possess more skills than those outlined by their job requirements. Inconducive to viewing temporary workers as human resources, the structure of the nonstandard employment relationship constrains employees to performing only highly specific tasks. The prevalent belief that employees possess a limited skill set reifies discrimination against temporary workers. One temporary clerical worker stated: “when you are sent out to a job, a lot of people look down on you. They think that temporaries are very unskilled or poor people” (Parker, 1994, p. 112). Other temporary workers reported concern over the lack of varied and interesting assignments (Parker, 1994; Vosko, 2000). Ultimately, the structure of the nonstandard relationship creates the perception of temporary agency employees as “warm bodies” (commodities) so low-skilled that they do not require human capital investment.

Negative perception of temporary employees as low-skilled “warm bodies” can discourage employers from investing in their training. Applying Becker’s (1975) Human Capital Theory to temporary employees in Belgium, Forrier and Sels (2003) contended that temporary employment leads to under-investment in human capital.⁸ Becker assumed that investment in

⁸ Human capital refers to the knowledge, information, ideas, skills and health of individuals. Utilizing Becker’s (1964) human capital theory in the context of work, human capital gain is realized through schooling or on-the-job training.

training results from rational decision-making, where workers and employers would only willingly carry the costs of training if they expected greater returns. Since temporary employees have a higher exit rate, Forrier and Sels hypothesized that employers would be less inclined to fund programs for temporary employees whose contract periods are insufficient to recoup training expenses. They found that most temporary employees received only one type of training, while permanent employees participated in multiple forms of training. Temporary employees were also less likely to receive employer-funded training than were permanent employees. Of all temporary employees Forrier and Sels surveyed, 67.7 percent did not receive any financing for training from their employers. Permanent employees were found to be 60 percent less likely to finance their own training than were temporary employees. Employers' lack of investment in temporary employees' training does not enable temporary workers' upward mobility in the labour market. Limited in their capacity to increase skill sets via employer funded training, temporary workers have tremendous difficulties transitioning into permanent employment.

Immigrants to Canada face cultural and racial barriers to finding permanent employment. Upon arrival, immigrants are told by employers that they need *Canadian experience* (Vosko, 2000, p. 190). Consequently, immigrants turn to temporary employment as a means of gaining this experience. This is problematic for immigrants who are highly educated and highly skilled, as they must settle for low-skill, low-wage temporary employment to obtain "experience" that is without definition or tangible unit of measurement.

There was this one particular instance of this individual... from a Third World country... This guy had more degrees and doctorates than I've ever seen. This is one of the most highly educated people that I've ever seen and he was stacking shelves for us at \$7 an hour. He'd been in Canada about two or three years... (Vosko, 2000, p. 192)

Vosko (2000) has asserted that a racialized division of labour is created when over-qualified immigrants are "placed in [low-wage temporary] workplaces with no prospect for permanent work where immigrant workers dominate" (p. 192). Regardless of immigrants' education and experience in

their home countries, they are confined to work in temporary employment because they lack Canadian experience.

Not only do temporary workers receive a lack of training and experience arbitrary assessment of their “Canadianness,” their ability to integrate into permanent employment is further hindered by the structure of *labour queues* (Reskin & Roos, 1990). Smith (2001) has argued that working as a temporary worker does not necessarily equal deskilling and degradation. Smith examined the “degree of temporaries’ integration into the participative system” as an indicator of which temporary employees were given opportunities to make on-the-spot decisions and confer with one another to problem-solve (p. 100). During an interview with Smith, a CompTech manager stated that he wanted to know why production gets held up, but did not want the assemblers (temporary workers) to expect him to solve the glitches. Therefore, in addition to assembling units, assemblers had to calculate time tables and schedules for completing orders, handle parts shortages, remedy product or process defects, replenish inventories, and assign workers to particular jobs. Many respondents shared the view that temporary employment at CompTech constituted “getting your foot in the door” so that they could integrate into permanent employment (Smith, 2001).

Using Reskin and Roos’ (1990) queue theory, Smith (2001) has argued that temporary workers must wait for long periods of time in a queue for permanent positions to become available. Similarly, Waldinger (1996) argued that within an ethnic enclave, “growth pulls the topmost group up the totem pole, lower-ranking groups then seize the chance to move up the pecking order; in their wake, they leave behind vacancies at the bottom, which employers fill by recruiting workers from outside the economy—namely migrants” (p. 3). Although temporary employees at CompTech may have been able to train themselves on the job, making themselves more marketable to the company, their efforts were nonetheless subject to a labour queue. As permanent employees at the top of the corporate ladder leave their positions (e.g. through retirement), lower-ranking permanent employees within the company move up the ladder, and low-ranking temporary employees fill in the vacancies. However, low ranking permanent job

vacancies may take years to open up, which creates internal competition and division amongst temporary employees.

Dispersion of Labour: Inhibiting Collective Organization of Workers

Temporary employees from the same temporary agencies, dispersed among different companies or different departments within the same company, lack the ability to organize collectively, thus making them more vulnerable to employer exploitation. Because temporary employees are scattered across different workplaces they face legal barriers to unionizing. They cannot easily lobby for better wages, medical and dental benefits, and other improvements in working conditions; nor can they bargain for company investment in skills training and other tools that would help them become more marketable for permanent positions. The dispersal of temporary employees is problematic because it reduces solidarity (Parker, 1994). Since they do not remain with the same employer over time, temporary workers are often subject to inconsistent work schedules, variable working conditions and workplace isolation. Temporary workers' employers are not accountable to a union, and so it is easier to exploit individual employees. Collective organizing would therefore be crucial to giving temporary workers a voice for rights advocacy in the workplace.

Examining immigrant integration in the United States and Canada, Bloemraad (2006) has argued that political organizations (in the context of work, unions) provide political benefits as they concentrate community resources, bring people together on a regular basis, and facilitate sustained collective action over time. Similarly, Putnam (1993) argued that voluntary associations generate trust because they create dense networks of repeated interaction. Furthermore, membership in voluntary associations produces civic communities in which members generate social capital in the forms of dense networks of civic engagement, norms of generalized reciprocity, and universal trust amongst members lacking intimate knowledge of each other (Putnam, 1993). In the employment context, temporary workers' inability to collectively organize through unions limits their ability to forge social ties with one another and to advocate better working conditions, wages, and continuing education.

Employment through temporary agencies results in *triangular employment relations*, which complicate the question of whom temporary employees can collectively bargain with. Since temporary employees are dispatched by temporary agencies (their employers of record) and work under the supervision of an on-site employer, it becomes difficult for unions to organize and identify the employer with whom they should bargain (Kalleberg, 2000). If several temporary employees wanted to bargain for more vacation time, the on-site employer is more likely to grant time-off when approached by a group rather than by an individual. Temporary agency workers are isolated from one another by their dispersal into different companies. Although temporary employees in different workplaces may share the same need, they lack the internal organization to collectively bargain for additional time-off. The structure of triangular employment relations inhibits temporary employees from advocating and bargaining for better working conditions.

Temporary employees are legally unable to form unions for collective bargaining because they do not fit under the provincial and federal definitions of what constitutes a *community of interest*. Consequently, collective bargaining must take place at the worksite. However, it is difficult for temporary workers to unionize because they work in multiple locations, have shorter job tenure than permanent employees, and belong to a wide array of occupational groupings (Vosko, 2000). Since temporary agency workers are dispersed into different companies, they are unable to organize collectivities for concerted bargaining (Vosko, 2000). The structure of dispersal undermines temporary employees' agency in collective organizing.

Collective organization and advocacy are important because they allow temporary employees to barter for better rights in the workplace. However, within the structure of triangular employment relations and spatial dispersion into different companies, temporary employees' capacity for advocacy is limited. In the absence of unions, temporary employees are unable to address the problems of deskilling by bargaining for more employer-funded training. Lack of collective bargaining power limits the prospect of temporary employees transitioning into permanent employment.

CONCLUSION

In Canada, the majority of full-time temporary employees lack medical and dental benefits, and most fall below LICO. Temporary employees strive to achieve occupational mobility by securing permanent employment, but face structures that inhibit labour advancement. Social structures such as stigma, social and spatial alienation (coloured ID badges and inferior work spaces), overt discrimination, perceptions of temporary employees as low-skilled workers, lack of Canadian experience, the labour queue, triangular employment relations, and workplace dispersal work simultaneously to confine temporary employees to unfair working conditions. The advent of corporate restructuring shifted the pecking order by creating a new rung at the bottom of the occupational ladder. The hierarchy remains in place but the prestige of employers and permanent employees is enhanced by introducing low-wage temporary employees as the lowest status level. The key to bridging the hierarchy gap between temporary employees and permanent employees lies in reintegrating temporary employees into permanent employment.

The further we head into a technologically advanced workplace, the more easily disposable labour becomes, leading to deskilling of a permanent workers' duties and facilitating the expansion of temporary work. While Marx and Engels (2003) postulated that technological advancement provided new means for communication to unite workers from across nations in a class struggle, it has also become a means for replacing workers. Ironically, Braverman (1974), a Marxist, observed that the introduction of automated office systems required less and less need for clerical workers to exert discretion at the workplace, thereby deskilling clerical work and making their jobs insecure and vulnerable (to be disposed of). Braverman foresaw this capitalistic tendency to mechanize and fragment labour before corporate restructuring occurred, thereby alienating workers from the labour process. The inherent argument lies in Barley and Kunda's (2004), Parker's (1994), and Vosko's (2000) assertions that temporary employees are not treated as human resources, but as disposable commodities. As more work is replaced by technology, work becomes increasingly deskilled,

creating more room for precarious and unstable temporary employment in the years to come.

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How Hegemonic Black Masculinity Inhibits Men's Involvement in Feminism: An Examination of bell hooks and Patricia Hill Collins

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AFTER RAISING THE TOPIC OF FEMINISM DURING ONE OF OUR CONVERSATIONS, a male friend, and fellow student at the University of British Columbia (UBC), informed me that he was a feminist. On another occasion, a female friend expressed her concerns with feminism after taking a women's studies class. She considered aspects of feminism problematic because they excluded her father, even though she felt that her father was an advocate for women's equality and an example of a man who is both loving and masculine. Across campus, as well as globally, contradictory beliefs about the role of men in feminism continue to drive a heated debate (hooks, 1988). Would a large-scale movement to include men in feminism draw attention away from women's issues? Or, perhaps, is men's inclusion in feminism the next step in uniting all people against the dominating system of patriarchy? I believe that men's role in feminism is the key to re-igniting feminism as a contemporary issue, and thereby also a means of finally achieving the goal of gender equality set by earlier generations. However, there are clearly barriers to including men in feminism. In this paper I examine why black masculinity, often considered masculinity's most dominant, hegemonic, and violent form, requires reform before it can be compatible with and feminism.

Stereotypical black masculinity is the portrayal of idealized hegemonic masculinity to the extreme, and it is frequently used as an example of “manliness” with which to compare all other masculinities. The discussion of black masculinity is therefore helpful in understanding why masculinity in its most exaggerated form is incompatible with feminism. In so doing, I propose a critical focus on the issue of black masculinity by using the lessons of Patricia Hill Collins and bell hooks, both prolific scholars in the study of feminism and black culture.¹ I supplement theory from Collins and hooks with work by masculinity and sexuality experts, Michael Kimmel, Gary Kinsman and R.W. Connell, and others.

To begin I illustrate the historical context which aided the construction of hegemonic hypersexualized heteronormative black masculinity. Due to the experiences of slavery, sexualization, and *othering*, black men face distinctly different challenges than white men, making black men’s blocked involvement with the feminism an interesting lesson to learn from (Collins, 2004; hooks, 2004). Secondly, I draw from Collins and hooks to analyze and critique black masculinity, specifically by examining the sexualization of black men, hustling and gangsta culture, and the role of rap music in perpetuating black stereotypes. Thirdly, by using the work of Michael Kimmel, Gary Kinsman and R.W. Connell, I discuss how the overarching focus on black masculinity as heterosexual masculinity has had detrimental consequences on black society and feminism. Particularly, the denial of black homosexuality enables the homogenization and recreation of stereotypical notions of black masculinity. The perpetuation of black stereotypes narrows identity choices for black men, further hindering men’s involvement with feminism. I conclude by discussing hooks’ resolution of an alternative hegemonic masculinity as a possible way of including men in feminism.

ROOTED IN THE HISTORY OF SLAVERY

Contrary to popular notions of black society as traditionally patriarchal, hooks (2004) has argued that patriarchy, as it exists within the context of North American society, is not inherently synonymous with African cul-

¹ I use *black* and *white*, as hooks does, to emphasize the racist nature of social stratification based on skin color in North America.

tures. Even though men in traditional African cultures often held higher statuses than women, a higher class status was not interpreted as a right to dominate women (hooks, 2004). For black men, asserting strength in the form of violence and dominance against women was learned through the involvement with *plantation patriarchy* (Collins, 2004; hooks, 2004). Black slavery rooted in the plantation field succeeded in emasculating African masculinity, replacing it with a white patriarchal masculinity built upon violence against women (hooks, 2004). Violence, in the form of physical, verbal, emotional and sexual abuse, was used by the typical slave master to control his slaves (Collins, 2004; hooks, 2004). Not only were black men and women dominated in this way, but the slave master also regularly mistreated his white wife and daughters in similar violent ways (hooks, 2004). Even with the formal slave trade subsiding, the concept of patriarchal dominance through violence continued to occupy the minds of black men and has since served as a sign of ideal masculinity in black and white cultures alike (Collins, 2004; hooks, 2004).

WHITE OBSESSION WITH HYPER-SEXUALIZED BLACK MASCULINITY

White obsession with black male sexuality is represented and readily consumed in all facets of white life, ranging from propagation through the media to interpersonal racial interactions with black men (Collins, 2004; hooks, 1992, 2004). The 1970s marked the beginning of white worship towards the physical attributes of the hyper-sexed black male, and illustrated how black masculinity became an entity produced and controlled in the white imagination (hooks, 1992). (Collins, 2004; hooks, 2004). However, popular representations of the black male body as more masculine than the white male body did not increase the status of black men (Collins, 2004; hooks, 2004). Instead, by reducing black men to their body parts, black men's ability to think, reason and make choices for themselves was erased (Abdel-Shehid, 2005; Collins, 2004; hooks, 1992, 2004). As a result, when the myth that black men lack cognitive abilities prevails, black men are regarded purely for their physical attributes and deemed less human than white men (Abdel-Shehid, 2005; Collins, 2004; hooks, 1992, 2004).

The increased importance placed on consumerism in our society further contributes to the dehumanization of black men (Collins, 2004). By denying black men agency, the black male body is commodified as a good that can be bought and sold at the discretion and control of white consumers in search of idealized sexual lust (Abdel-Shehid, 2005; Collins, 2004; hooks, 1992). Adding to hooks' (1992) analysis of how the commodification of the black male body renders the uniformity and powerlessness of black men, Collins (2004) has further argued that the mass media's role in commodifying black culture must be recognized as an area needing reform in order to recontextualize black masculinity. As a result of the mass media's ability to obscure the boundaries between reality and fiction, new racism based on sensationalized media representations of black men emerges (Collins, 2004).

In particular, the obsession with the black male penis as a source of power, described by hooks (1992) as *phallocentrism*, is widely regarded as a sexual ideal by curious white women and envious white men (see also Collins, 2004). hooks (1992) has argued that phallocentric expectations set by white culture deny black men the ability to exercise cognitive thought and result in black men's compromised ability to attain adult maturity. Collins (2004) has also stressed that the black male body is phallocized, as popular culture images of black men "often reduce them not only to bodies but also to body parts, especially the penis" (p. 161). Instead of strengthening black masculinity, hypersexualization weakens black masculinity by stereotyping black men as lacking intelligence, agency, and power (Collins, 2004). Impractical societal expectations placed on black men's phallocentric embodiment further inhibit the formation of equal alliances with black women (hooks, 1992). Phallocentrism reinforces the belief that black men have no control over their bodies and are inherently ruled by their penis (hooks, 1992). Therefore, black men's lack of physical control acts as a threat to all women, who are by default potential victims of sexualized violence (hooks, 1992). In this sense, reducing black men to hypersexualized bodies denies them the decision to seek equality with women. Instead, since black men are automatically deemed sexually aggressive, they become adversaries of women, and because of their danger to women, black men are framed as

unable to become advocates for women or part of the feminist movement (hooks, 1992). Popular representations of black masculinity as an idealized masculinity further illustrate how constructions of hegemonic masculinity exclude men's role in feminism (hooks, 1992).

hooks' critiques of black masculinity are overly simplistic, however, as her discussion of black masculinity further homogenizes black masculinity by excluding class status as an intersecting factor. To illustrate the importance of class, Collins (2004) has sought to dehomogenize blackness by suggesting that black sexuality and promiscuity discourses play out differently in working- versus middle-class domains. Collins has highlighted how class relations intersect with black male sexuality by making a distinction between the working-class black male body, which is hypersexed and violent, and the middle-class black male body, which is apolitical, calm, neutral, and white. For instance, the depiction of Bill Cosby's character on *The Cosby Show* illustrates how "less emphasis is placed on black men's bodies within representations of middle-class black men" (Collins, 2004, p.169). Collins has further suggested that because middle-class attainment enables black men to mimic whiteness, black middle class men are viewed as asexual.

Michael Kimmel (2008) has highlighted the problematic process of homogenizing masculinity by examining the formation of *guyland*, a hegemonic heterosexual masculine culture amongst white male youth. In *guyland*, focus on masculine status attainment is rendered most important and is judged within the context of friendship relationships between heterosexual male youth (Kimmel, 2008). Kimmel's analysis of *guyland*, where the majority of guys report a loss of control of their own destiny, illustrates how the homogenization of masculinity forces one to give up the element of choice and agency in exchange to hegemonic masculinity. From the perspective of Kimmel, hooks' (2004) homogenization of black masculinity as primarily hypersexed and heteronormative may be contributing to the desperation of black men to prove masculinity in these limiting terms. The compartmentalization of black masculinity decreases the socially acceptable choices of masculinity for black men. Kimmel supports the idea that denying choices, like homosexuality, that deviate from hegemonic

masculinity, further disengages men from supporting and engaging with the feminist movement.

ALTERNATIVE LIFESTYLES: HUSTLING AND GANGSTA CULTURE

hooks (1992) has spoken of a time when black men and black women scholars readily criticized what she terms *imperialist white supremacist capitalist patriarchy*. hooks has argued that these critiques were (and are) necessary for the black struggle for equality to progress. However, after the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. and “the slaughter of [other] radical black men, the emotional devastation of soul murder and actual murder, many black people became cynical about freedom” (hooks, 2004, p. 15). In the time following these events, black people became fearful, politically inactive, and more willing to assume the white way of life.

An increased willingness to absorb white culture meant that black people were also becoming further entrenched in a capitalist and consumer culture that favoured material possessions (hooks, 2004). However, the American dream was found to be blocked more often for black men than white men (Collins, 2004; hooks, 2004). Black men began to realize that membership in North American capitalism, including a reliable office job, would not lead to the attainment of wealth (hooks, 2004). hooks (2004) has argued that even black men who become successful within the system face a type of *double jeopardy*. For instance, regardless of earning large paychecks, black men still remained victims of “racially based psychological terrorism” (hooks, 2004, p. 24). The blocked mobility and loathing of imperialist white supremacist capitalist patriarchy responsible for emasculating black men has resulted in “blacks’ conscious rebellion against the system” and the emersion of hustling as a form of desperate resistance (hooks, 2004, p. 19).

Hustling is defined as “a wide variety of unconventional, sometimes extra-legal or illegal activities, often proscribed by the wider community” (Valentine, 2005, p. 2). Examples of activities that constitute hustling include property theft, trafficking of narcotics, or sexually exploiting humans for profit (Valentine, 2005). The term gangsta denotes those who perform the act of hustling (hooks, 2004). Hustling and gangsta culture are especially glorified through popular culture and have become synonymous with

the identity of black men more so than with any other racialized group (hooks, 2004). As hooks (2004) has explained, the allure of hustling for black men is that it offers a chance to break free from the system of white patriarchy in which they feel they do not belong. For black men, hustling is an easily accessible source of income (hooks, 2004). The career of a hustler does not racially discriminate or require a resume, references, or past work experience for selection (hooks, 2004). The only job requirement is that those involved must be willing to risk their lives for the pursuit of financial gain (hooks, 2004). Hustling is continually promoted in popular culture as a normative career choice for black men and provides the false hope that through hustling, black men will be able to reclaim the freedom that was lost under the dominance of white society (hooks, 2004).

Despite the glamorization of hustling as a way to assert agency, in reality black men's involvement in hustling is oppressive as it contributes to the over-criminalization of black men (hooks, 2004). hooks (2004) has emphasized that the majority of crimes that black men risk their lives and serve jail time for involve stolen property under a hundred dollars; making hustling neither commendable nor a useful framework to promote radical change of the statuses of black men. Hustling puts the lives of black men in danger, alienates them from the community through prison sentencing, and further oppresses them within white dominant culture. Yet hooks (2004) has failed to mention that hustling is not specific to black culture, and is in fact a cross-cultural phenomenon. Usually associated with disadvantaged socioeconomic lifestyles of the lower class, hustling is regarded as a means of survival for populations that are dominated by the upper classes (Payne, 2006). Within this line of thinking, hooks' (2004) analyses of black men's role in hustling culture is incomplete, as she again appears uncritical towards the subject of class.

Collins (2004) has provided a more convincing explanation of hustling as a mainstay of black employment and identity. Collins suggested that since working class black men are considered to be more inherently sexual than middle/upper class black men, they are also more likely to be viewed as out of control and violent. Therefore, hustling as an embodiment of black hypersexualization and violence is only projected onto working class black

men (Collins, 2004). Similarly, widespread *black-on-black violence*, often a result of hustling culture, exemplifies the differences between working class and middle class black men (Collins, 2004). Since people from working and lower classes have less power to conduct their business in the privacy of their own homes, hustling and any violence that results from hustling is enacted in public view, often in the streets (Collins, 2004; Maynard, 1997). As a result, when hustling-induced black-on-black violence occurs in a public forum, the media is quick to homogenize hustling as a black problem, instead of a problem rooted in class distinctions (Collins, 2004; Maynard, 1997).

Although Collins' (2004) depiction of the class intersectionality within black masculinity challenges hooks' lack of class analysis, it runs the risk of dichotomizing working- and middle-class relations. Collins' attempt to reconcile the working vs. middle class dichotomy is evidenced in her discussion of Michael Dyson's analysis of the rapper Tupac (as cited in Collins, 2004). While the construction of black male hustlers is often critiqued as influenced by hypersexual and violent representations of black masculinity, Dyson argued that Tupac added dimensionality to the analysis of hustling culture because Tupac Shakur lived the "tension between revolutionary ambition and thug passion" (as cited in Collins, 2004, p.159). I find Dyson's assertion "that revolutionaries and thugs alike share a worldview in which flipping the economic order is the reason for social rebellion" refreshing (as cited in Collins, 2004, p.159), as it challenges the unrealistic expectations of homogenized black masculinity by providing a more realistic depiction of black masculinity: one that is not straightforward, but embedded with contradictions. Similar to the one-dimensional representations of black sexuality, the strong association between black men and hustling further homogenizes black masculinity as violent, uncaring, and uninterested in feminism.

RAP MUSIC: A COMMODIFIED BLACKNESS

Rap music grew out of the struggle for black equality, as did other music genres like R&B, jazz, soul, and blues. Black people created these genres of music as a means of political and personal expression (Conrad, 2009).

However, the commodification of black rap has instead produced a popular rap music that no longer fulfills the role of furthering black equality (hooks, 2006). hooks (2006) has acknowledged the diversity of rap and does not rule out the existence of culturally valuable rap, but argues that rap with political meaning is beyond the reach of dominant culture. Instead rap, once used as a forum for the truthful expression of blackness, has become highly commodified for the use of young, white, and predominantly male consumers—70 percent of the hip hop produced is consumed by those living in white suburbia (Perkinson, 2009). Accordingly, hooks (1992) has depicted phallogentric masculinity in rap music, casting black men as unintelligent, as a way for “white supremacists to [commit] genocidal assault on black men” (p. 109). hooks (2006) has argued that the consumption of rap music occurs within a colonial and imperialist process. Metaphorically, rap music symbolizes the third world country and young white male consumers act as colonizers, taking what they want from the music and disregarding the rest (hooks, 2006). The mainstream popularity of rap music illustrates how black people lose power when black culture is commodified as a good that can be controlled by society’s most dominant.

hooks (2006) has also criticized black male musicians, suggesting that they are completely conscious of their role in the production of destructive rap music. Successful black male rap artists understand that promoting black stereotypes and misogyny through lyrics and imagery can increase their economic success and the popularity of their music (hooks, 2006). It is advantageous for these artists to carefully construct rap as a consumer-focused product for economic gain (hooks, 2006). In this way, successful rappers have commodified blackness by packaging rap alongside oppression, racism, sexualization, gangsta culture, and violence towards women. Even though this may be beneficial for the individual black musician, hooks (2006) has decried the majority of rap music because of the detrimental implications that oppressive rap music has on the larger black community. Also, hooks (2006) has discusses the limited representation of black women within rap music. hooks (2006) has argued that the majority of black women who are presented as desirable in rap music are those women who have light skin and long straight hair. The acceptance of ethnic beauty

on the condition that it mimics white beauty is troubling because it signifies the continued authority of the color caste system in the US (hooks, 2006).

hooks' (2006) analysis of rap music has often overlooked benefits of rap music to the black community. In contrast Collins (2004) has argued that rap music can be valuable, as there is validity in the blurred boundaries between the reality and fiction of rap music.

The depiction of thug life in hip-hop remains one of the few places Black poor and working-class men can share their view of the world in public. Raps about drugs, crime, prison, prostitution, child abandonment, and early death may seem fabricated, but these social problems are also a way of life for far too many Black youth. (Collins, 2004, p. 159)

Collins (2006) also highlights the importance of black women in the hip hop industry by arguing that artists like Queen Latifah have helped to unpack the discourse of black femininity. hooks (2006) instead has chosen to portray the more problematic issues concerning black women's role in hip hop.

However, when Collins (2006) suggests that rap as a form of peaceful resistance has been instrumental for the survival of black people, she too quickly dismisses how contemporary rap music legitimates violent black masculinity. Here, hooks' (2005) analysis of rap music remains superior, as hooks illustrates how popular rap music portrays black masculinity as threatening. In this sense, the form of idolized masculinity that popular rap music perpetuates further isolates black men from forming equal relationships with black women. hooks' (2006) critique of black male rappers exemplifies the barriers to including black men in the struggle for black women's equality. It is difficult to foster alliances between black men and women, as the creators of popular culture rely economically on perpetuating the messages of sexualization and violence as a way for black males to enforce their superiority over black women. To counteract these messages, hooks (2006) has suggested that the current stream of highly commodified rap needs to be understood not as real, but instead as a highly manufactured product of capitalism that is worthy of our critique.

BLACK HOMOSEXUALITY

hooks (2004) has promoted black men's inclusion in the feminist movement because she believes that it will foster unity and equality in the black community. However, hooks' sole focus on hegemonic black masculinity as hypersexual and heteronormative poses the risk of accepting black stereotypes through compartmentalizing black men and their experiences. I believe that hooks' clear-cut approach to black masculinity, while an attempt to make her theory more accessible to the (black) community at large, tends to over-generalize black masculinity, creating additional barriers for black men's involvement in feminism.

The inclusion of homosexuality by way of queer theory is important in establishing equality in the black community. Collins (2004) has recognized the need for "a black liberatory politics that affirms black lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender sexualities" (p. 89). The construction and usage of black male heterosexuality in hooks' theory fails to recognize the spectrum of sexualities within the black community. Solely acknowledging black male heterosexuality only validates and reinscribes stereotypes, causing the construction of hegemonic black heterosexual masculinity to become a barrier for black men's engagement with the feminist movement (Collins, 2004). Collins (2004) has suggested that to engage with black male homosexuality and challenge the harmful constructs of black heterosexuality "one must start by de-essentializing the notion of the black subject" (p. 110), whereas hooks' analysis remains stuck in a heterosexual vortex (McBride, 2005).

Gary Kinsman (2007) attributes the lack of regard for black queer sexuality to the dichotomous nature of our society. By recognizing heterosexuality as "normal" all other sexualities are homogenized into the category of the other. For example, lesbian, gay, bisexual, and queer identities are rendered subordinate and deviant in relation to heterosexuality (Kinsman, 2007). As well, the notion of queer sexuality threatens tradition, specifically the notion of home and the reproduction of the black population (McBride, 2005). Connell (1992) has argued that gender must be understood as a characteristic in a relationship with other genders. A pioneer in the field of masculinity studies, Connell has stressed the importance of

recognizing multiple masculinities as a way of understanding and inciting change. For instance, Connell's 1992 study, which showed how gay men assume the role of straight masculinity, convincingly supported the claim that gender and sexuality exist on equally unstable grounds and are open to change and interpretation. This assertion encourages the rethinking of masculine social roles, acknowledges social progress within one's life history, and encourages collective individual change as effectual for satisfying feminism's goal to transform hegemonic male patriarchy (Connell, 1992). To begin the transformation of masculinity within the black community, gay sexuality must be recognized as a step in allowing gay men, and all men, the choice to assert their own identity without the constraints of social expectations (Collins, 2004). Connell's study on "straight gay" masculinity can be applied to issues of black masculinity in feminism as he illustrates how the disruption of the heterosexual status quo supports people's ability to exercise agency over their gender identity.

Silencing black homosexuality by assuming and taking black heterosexuality for granted has harmful effects for black individuals and black culture (Kimmel, 2008). At an individual level, denying recognition of the black homosexual male body eliminates the opportunity for black gays to charter their own destiny and to escape the "limitations" of the black body (Alexander, 2005). Similarly, recognizing the black homosexual body can pave the way for black heterosexual relations to be reformed. Mercer (1991) illustrated how denying masculinity has hugely implicated the black community both on a local and on a global scale in regards to population health. Since black men are assumed to be inherently heterosexual, homosexuality was viewed as a condition only affecting white men. When the HIV/AIDS crisis was framed as a homosexual problem in North America, racial, gender, and sexual stigmatization played out in a way that denied help to black homosexual men, resulting in the death of many black men (Mercer, 1991). Mercer highlighted how the HIV/AIDS crisis, as a "cruel rhetoric of denial[, ...] can only imply a negation of diversity and difference in black society" (p.196).

AN ALTERNATIVE TO HEGEMONIC BLACK MASCULINITY?

hooks (1984, 1988, 2000) has criticized the lack of an alternative male masculinity within feminist discourse. For example, the only alternative provided for males who choose not to engage in hegemonic masculinity is the option of femininity (hooks, 1984, 1988, 2000). A feminine alternative is not a practical solution because it suggests that masculinity can never change and that the only way to get rid of hegemonic masculinity is for all men to become feminine. Binary gender, with masculinity and femininity the only possibilities, limits individuals' identity options. In her work, hooks (2000) has put forth feminist masculinity as an alternative to hegemonic masculinity, and a solution to the problematic gender binary. Feminist masculinity is based on the feminist vision of love, justice, and freedom and seeks to foster and reaffirm life (hooks, 2000). hooks (2000) has further explained feminist masculinity as a type of masculinity "which loves boys and men and demands on their behalf every right that we desire for girls and women, can renew the [North American] male" (p.71).

Despite hooks' good intentions in suggesting a way of reforming hegemonic black masculinity, I find her solution of feminist masculinity to be overly optimistic. Once again, hooks (2004) has disregarded class by assuming that gender and race are the sole contributors to enforcing hegemonic black masculinity. In her proposed solution, hooks (2000) has overestimated the power of individual agency, as structural problems may be equally responsible for the continuation of stereotypical black masculinity (Gordon, 1999). For instance, the aforementioned high rates of incarceration amongst black men denote how structural factors, such as racial profiling by police have blown the problem of hegemonic black masculinity beyond a scope that is solvable by individual reforms of masculinity alone (Gordon, 1999). In Angela Davis' analysis of the prison system, she described the *prison industrial complex* as addressing the structural problems concerning the over-incarceration of black men (as cited in Gordon, 1999). Davis drew parallels between the prison system and the *military industrial complex* to illustrate how the prison system economically benefits private corporations in response to a social problem, similar to the way in which the military is legitimized as a way to mitigate social problems through war

(as cited in Gordon, 1999). Prison systems are ineffectively operated as corporate economic gains become more important than solving the structural problems of crime (Davis, as cited in Gordon, 1999). Davis argued that sacrificing racialized bodies through the over-imprisonment of colored people allows for the scapegoating of social problems, and for the US economy and capitalism to flourish. In this sense, Davis' argument illustrates how the over-imprisonment of black men negatively impacts black communities by inhibiting the ability for incarcerated black men to develop mature adult identities (as cited in Gordon, 1999; see also hooks, 1992).

Black Men in Feminism

Through her portrayals of black masculinity's relationship with sexuality, hustling culture, and rap music, hooks has hinted at the problematic nature of including black men in feminism. If it refuses to challenge hypersexualized heteronormative black masculine hegemony, the feminist movement will remain ineffective in the black community. Accepting hegemonic black masculinity promotes the notion of black essentialism by inscribing hypersexualization, violence, and misogyny, and by denying black queer identities and the right to black women's equality.

To satisfy the goals of colonialism, slavery, and racial segregation, black sexuality was manipulated by slave masters, resulting in the creation of "tightly bundled ideas of black femininity and black masculinity" (Collins, 2004, p.32). These tightly bundled ideas led to stereotyping, and increased the alienation and inequality between black men and women. The idea of black men as rapists was widely subscribed to, resulting in a stereotypical black masculinity that is conflated with dangerous hyper-heterosexuality (Collins, 2004). Similar constructions of black femininity as hypersexual, essentialized, and closer to nature, framed black women as disempowered and at the mercy of black masculinity (Collins, 2004). The creation of packaged ideas of black femininity and black masculinity also encouraged mutual policing amongst black men and women. Given the history of the construction of black masculinity, black hypersexual heteronormative masculinity is inhibiting feminism in the black community.

Connell (1992) has suggested that "to understand the system of inequality, we must examine its dominant group" (p. 192). Connell's (1992)

examination of homosexual masculinity has demonstrated that the formation of “appropriate” masculinity requires men to withdraw psychologically from women. Similarly, in Kimmel’s (2008) analysis of heterosexual youth masculinity, the roles of “guys” were considered most important, with women seen as a threat to masculinity. The popular trend of *hook-up culture*, characterized “by turning everything off except your body and making yourself emotionally invulnerable” (Kimmel, 2008, p. 215), demonstrates that for young heterosexual masculinity it is now normative to be solely interested in sex. This disconnection blocks the ability to evolve in relationships, potentially signifying an inability to ever truly become part of the feminist movement. Teachings from Connell and Kimmel may contribute to the discourse surrounding the integration of black masculinity into the feminist movement, as masculinity regardless of sexual orientation seems to value the relationship with men and attainment of masculinity as more important than relationships with women.

CONCLUSION

Collins’ and hooks’ analysis of black masculinity has helped to develop feminist thinking in our generation by reexamining the feminist conversation, addressing the concerns surrounding black men’s involvement in feminism, and offering a framework of resolutions where the inclusion of black feminist men is possible. The student group, Allies UBC (2009)—which supports the role of men within feminism by raising issues around dating violence and stereotypical representations of masculinity—is a particular example of how men’s involvement with feminism is achievable. Everyone needs to be an ally in the feminist movement, and only then will the process of coming together for social struggle through dialogue and political action have the potential to act as a self-fulfilling prophecy to narrow the gaps of inequality. We are eager to imagine a world that is improved by our actions. hooks’ (1988) mantra is that “what we can’t imagine, can’t come to be” (p. 176); therefore to re-inspire the young scholars of UBC, it is necessary to return to the works of Patricia Hill Collins and bell hooks for the purpose of imagining a world where gender equality is an attainable goal.

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SIERRA SKYE GEMMA RECENTLY GRADUATED FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF British Columbia with a Bachelor of Arts degree in History and Sociology. She now works at UBC as a Research Assistant for the Human Early Learning Partnership. Sierra's research interests include the social determinants of health, gender and the organization of work, and the history of women's healthcare. She has a passion for old, musty, hardbound books, time well spent with family, and the Brazilian martial art of capoeira.

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ANDREW HERMAN IS A FOURTH-YEAR DOUBLE MAJOR IN SOCIOLOGY AND Philosophy at UBC. He is looking forward to completing his degree and pursuing graduate school. His particular interests are the sociology of knowledge, social epistemology, media influence, and ideology. When he is not at UBC, he is doing yet more reading, and mentoring youth and young adults in Langley.

SIMON CHENG WILL GRADUATE WITH HIS B.A. IN SOCIOLOGY THIS YEAR. While studying at UBC, he has contributed articles to UBC's fitness magazine, worked on theatre productions, and served as Co-President for the UBC Fitness Club as well as Grad Representative for the Sociology Students Association. In the community-at-large, Simon has volunteered with the YMCA, CKNW Radio's Pink Shirt Day campaign, and worked with BC Hydro, the Government of Canada, and most recently, National Broadcasting Company (NBC) for the Vancouver 2010 Winter Olympics. This summer, he will be backpacking Europe.

APRIL DUTHEIL IS A THIRD-YEAR SOCIOLOGY MAJOR AT UBC. SHE WAS recently featured in Ontario's 2010 McGraw-Hill Ryerson Science textbook for the successful completion of her self directed CPR-C project, a life saving project she administered in Northern BC. April is most passionate about health, with an emphasis on Northern and Aboriginal health care issues. Her interest in feminism and sexuality has recently developed due to her work as a sexual health educator and advisor for the feminist documentary, *Constitute*. Her career goals include raising awareness about issues facing Northern regions, and changing the way health care is administered in isolated communities.

About the Staff

HILARY MCNAUGHTON IS GRADUATING FROM UBC THIS MAY WITH A Bachelor of Arts in Sociology. Her academic/research interests include non-monogamy, gender, child development, child sexuality, post-structural feminism, sociological social psychology, and qualitative methods. She has enjoyed working on *Sojourners* for its first two years, and has learned a lot, especially during her time as Editor-in-Chief. Hilary plans to take some time off before considering a master's degree. In non-academic life she enjoys cooking, dancing, singing, costumes, and board games.

YUN-JOU CHANG IS IN THE FOURTH YEAR OF HER DUAL ENGLISH AND Sociology honours degree. Although her primary interest lies in media and cultural studies, she recently developed a fascination with Vancouver neighborhood houses. When time permits, she is a lover of nature, books, languages, chocolate and good food. While seriously contemplating grad school, she plans to work and travel before becoming re-immersed in academia. Yun-Jou is delighted to have had the opportunity of working on *Sojourners* for the past two years and hopes to bring those experiences to bear on her position as next year's Editor-in-Chief.

ELYSE ECONOMIDES IS A FOURTH YEAR INTERNATIONAL STUDENT FROM California who is graduating from UBC with a B.A. in English Language and a minor in Family Studies. After she graduates, she is looking to pursue a career in the publishing industry, while still finding the time to continue

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exploring British Columbia. She is grateful to have been involved in such a through and rewarding editorial process.

LARA MAESTRO IS IN HER FINAL YEAR AT UBC, FINISHING HER HONOURS Degree in Sociology with a focus on gender, race and ethnicity. This was her first experience with *Sojourners* and it has proved to be an informative and enlightening look at the editing process! When not immersed in school Lara obsesses over traveling and new adventures, and she hopes to take her experience with the journal, as well as all that she has learned at UBC, with her as she continues to pursue her education, and the rest of her life.

MICHAEL KEHL IS IN HIS FINAL YEAR OF THE SOCIOLOGY HONOURS program. His primary interests are the sociology of law and class-based influences on post-secondary education. He plans to take a year off before pursuing his Juris Doctor in 2011. He is thankful for being given the opportunity to work on this second edition of the journal.

MANIA NEMATIFAR IS A FORTH YEAR SOCIOLOGY MAJOR AT THE University of British Columbia. Before entering Sociology Mania completed three years of undergraduate biology. Being new to the field of sociology, working with *Sojourners* has been an amazing learning experience for her and she is grateful for the opportunity given to her. In the future Mania wishes to continue exploring social aspects of the criminal justice system with special attention to the roles and functions of community in preventing crime and healing the parties involved.

KYLE PEATT IS A SOCIOLOGY MAJOR WITH A BACKGROUND IN GRAPHIC design who may end up being a graphic designer with a background in sociology. He plans to take some time off after completing his bachelor's degree this spring before pursuing graduate studies. Kyle is considering an interdisciplinary master's degree in user experience that would blend sociology and graphic design, though he is also interested in copyright law. In his spare time, away from school and work, he enjoys taking pictures and flying kites.