Sojourners

Undergraduate Journal of Sociology

VOLUME 5 | 2013

Sojourners:
Undergraduate Journal of Sociology

VOLUME 5 | 2013

ISSN 1918-9052

Published by the Sociology Students Association of the University of British Columbia, Vancouver

Sociology Students Association
c/o Department of Sociology
6303 NW Marine Drive
Vancouver, BC
Canada V6T 1Z1

SSA: socio@club.ams.ubc.ca
Submissions, purchasing requests, general inquiries, etc.: socijournal@gmail.com
Editor-in-Chief: sojourners.eic@gmail.com
Sociology department and *Sojourners* online: http://soci.ubc.ca/

Sojourners: Undergraduate Journal of Sociology is a peer- and faculty- reviewed journal published annually by the Sociology Students Association of the University of British Columbia, Vancouver. Our mandate is to provide a venue for the publication of outstanding undergraduate writing. Submissions are accepted in the fall of each year. Original research is preferred. Book reviews are limited to books published within the past five years. Information regarding submissions, journal sales, and more is available on the web at soci.ubc.ca. For more detailed information about manuscript submission, please contact the Editor-in-Chief at sojourners.eic@gmail.com.

Are you interested in volunteering for *Sojourners*? Do you have questions or comments about this year's edition? Do you have a paper you would like to submit?

Please contact us at socijournal@gmail.com.

Sojourners: Undergraduate Journal of Sociology
Volume 5—2013

Special thanks to:

Dr. Neil Guppy, *Sociology Department Head, for his unfailing encouragement and support.*
Kristin Sopotiuk, *Office of the Department Head, for her on-going assistance.*
The Faculty of the Department of Sociology at UBC *for being staunch supporters of this journal and for generously donating their time, expertise, and enthusiasm to our endeavor; with special thanks to Professors* Amy Hanser, Elizabeth Hirsh, Thomas Kemple, G. Keith Warriner, Rima Wilkes, *and* Carrie Yodanis, *and PhD Candidates* Darryn DiFrancesco, Sherrie Dilley, *and* Kamila Kolpashnikova.
The Faculty and Graduate Students of the Departments of Geography and Philosophy *for sharing their time, expertise, and enthusiasm; with special thanks to Professor* Sylvia Berryman, *and PhD Candidate* Leigh Barrick.
Yun-Jou Chang, *previous Sojourners' Editor-In-Chief, for her continued assistance.*
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.*

Table of Contents

Letter from the Editor

Dear Reader,

Sojourners has grown tremendously since its launch in 2008. This year, we received almost fifty submissions from twenty-eight authors (so many that we had to recruit the help of two supporting editors in order to evaluate them all!), from institutions across Canada. The journal has also continued to develop interdisciplinarily in all facets of its constitution. Volume Five's authors range in specialty from psychology and linguistics to political studies and, of course, sociology. Our associate editors, with backgrounds in the fields of English literature, law and society, philosophy, and international relations—to name only a few—brought diverse experience and expertise to the selection process. Further, our faculty review panel comprised faculty and graduate students from the University of British Columbia's departments of philosophy and geography, as well as sociology, bringing another level of interdisciplinary knowledge to *Sojourners*. Narrowing the list of impressive submissions down to just six for publication was very difficult, but with the sacrifice of many hours that could otherwise have been spent in study or in relaxation, the dedicated Volume Five editorial staff eventually succeeded.

The articles in this volume are varied, but all equally rigorous, relevant, and, we hope, compelling. The sociological methods employed range from quantitative data analysis, to qualitative interviews, to theoretical consideration and personal experience, showcasing the range and depth of student involvement and achievement in sociologically-themed work.

The offerings in this volume, as in all the previous editions of *Sojourners*, are as diverse as the students who wrote them. Three of our authors deal with subjects which we suspect are close to home for most of our readers. Sania Ahmed seeks to discover whether the role we take in task-oriented

groups—such as those for group projects in class—are related to our positions in the power hierarchies of everyday life's various relationships. Emily Blamire, Rebecca Laturnus, and Andrea Perez-Leon's investigation into the effects of our vocabulary choices similarly touches on a matter of relevance to soon-to-graduate students: first impressions. Focussing on the university itself, Renee Ng examines diversity (or lack thereof) in the ethnic makeup of three major Canadian university faculties. Moving out of the university environment, but remaining local, Ryley Humphry uses 2006 census data to explore the intersecting influences of various socio-economic conditions on the lives of British Columbian Aboriginals. Our last two papers address more global themes. Matthew Wei analyses the recent trend towards securitising the Canadian border, while Patricia Louie considers the problems and effects of transnational cosmopolitanisation through rural Guatemala.

An exceptional undergraduate, peer-reviewed journal like *Sojourners* can only be produced through the time and effort of many students. This year, supporting editors Mo Ismailzai and Justin Kong donated large chunks of their winter breaks to assist the editorial team in reviewing submissions. Associate editors Tara Chan, Leora Courtney-Wolfman, Jimmy Ho, Caleigh McEachern, Julia Park, Shadyar Shirmast, Courtney Tait, Paz Villar, and Irene Wu spent much of the school year reviewing, selecting, and editing submissions. Without their hard work and insight, *Sojourners* could not possibly be the success it is. Thanks are also due to Serena Chan, who has once again contributed her expertise in graphic design, and Marco Firme, whose cover art continues to provide *Sojourners* with its distinctive face. Finally, we would like to express our heartfelt appreciation for the courage of the many students who bravely shared their hard work with us, the assistance and encouragement of UBC's faculty, staff, and graduate students—particularly those in the Sociology Department—and the generosity and support of you, the Reader, which have allowed the journal to flourish. I am very grateful to have had the opportunity to participate in *Sojourners*' support of undergraduate research and sociological work, and hope that you will be as impressed and pleased with the results as I am.

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

Power Across Relational Contexts and Task-Oriented Groups

Sania Ahmed
University of British Columbia

Throughout students' academic careers, they are commonly assigned to group tasks. Informal power hierarchies develop almost immediately upon the formation of task-oriented groups (Fisek & Ofshe, 1972), and power has critical implications for the quality and degree of an individual's participation in the group (Anderson & Berdahl, 2002; Kirchmeyer, 1993). Although various relational contexts have dissimilar patterns of power differences (Buhl, 2009), there has been little research into how these patterns are associated (De Goedde, Branje, Delsing, & Meeus, 2009). Furthermore, researchers commonly measure power using self-reports of decision-making (Bentley, Galliher, & Ferguson, 2007; Felmlee, 1994; Galliher, Rostosky, Welsh, & Kawaguchi, 1999; Kirchmeyer, 1993), relative influence (Anderson & Berdahl, 2002; De Goedde et al., 2009; Grauerholz, 1987; Tucker, Updegraff, & Baril, 2010; Ridgeway, 1987; Ridgeway & Diekema, 1989), authenticity (Neff & Suizzo, 2006), and attitude expression (Anderson & Berdahl, 2002), yet never have all four measures been combined into an overall power score, nor have associations among all four been compared using scores from the same sample. These combinations and comparisons are essential in order to have a multidimensional measure of overall power to use in future studies.

This study hopes to fill a void by uncovering associations between power positioning in romantic, sibling, parent-child, and friendship relational con-

texts. It seeks to investigate how power in these relational contexts predicts power in task-oriented groups. How will overall power scores in different relational contexts predict overall power scores in task-oriented groups? Will overall power scores in task-oriented groups with strangers differ from overall power scores in task-oriented groups with friends? Additionally, the current study aims to examine associations between four relationship power subscales—decision-making, relative influence, authenticity, and attitude expression—asking if these commonly used measures of power correlate positively with one another.

First, I will briefly outline social exchange theory and measures of power. Subsequently, I will discuss previous research investigating power across relational contexts, and will then examine research that explores power in task-oriented groups. Lastly, I will conclude with a summary of the literature and this study's hypotheses. I argue that this study will provide insight into how common measures of power relate to one another and will reveal the associations between having power across interpersonal contexts, particularly how power in romantic, friendship, sibling, and parent-child relational contexts predicts power in postsecondary task-oriented academic groups.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Theorising and Quantifying Power

Social exchange theory, which includes resource theory and equity theory, is an informative explanation of power (Emerson, 1962; Foa, 1971; Sprecher, 1985). Guided by resource theory, many researchers define power as a difference in control over valuable resources in interactions (Emerson, 1962; Magee & Galinsky, 2008). Equity theory adds to this by maintaining that individuals will attempt to maximise their benefits and minimise their costs in interactions (Sprecher, 1985). However, there is debate around the use of resources as indicators of power (Galliher et al., 1999; Grauerholz, 1987; Sprecher, 1985). Although initially Grauerholz (1987) found that power in dating relationships was related to interpersonal variables and not to resource inequities, Galliher, Rostosky, Welsh, and Kawaguchi (1999) successfully utilised contributions of emotional resources and decision-making to illustrate power inequities among dating couples. However, this conflict is not necessarily in opposition to social exchange theory, as many of the items that Grauerholz (1987) referred to as interpersonal variables, such as

commitment, can also be seen as symbolic resources (Van Yperen & Buunk, 1990). Commitment was among the many symbolic resources that Van Yperen and Buunk (1990) outlined from couples' reports of what they valued in their relationships, while Sprecher (1985) examined power inequities among couples using symbolic resources, such as commitment to the relationship. Similarly, this study views the measures of power it utilises as symbolic resources that one contributes in interactions.

Prior research has commonly measured power by asking participants to report their own sense of power (Anderson & Berdahl, 2002; Bentley, Galliher, & Ferguson, 2007; Felmlee, 1994; Galliher et al., 1999; Sprecher, 1985). This study does not do so, as the direct usage of the word "power" is limited due to the likelihood that there is variation between individual participants' definitions of power. This study will use four other common measures of power: contributions to decision-making (Bentley, Galliher, & Ferguson, 2007; Felmlee, 1994; Galliher et al., 1999; Kirchmeyer, 1993), relative influence (Anderson & Berdahl, 2002; De Goedde et al., 2009; Grauerholz, 1987; Tucker et al., 2010; Ridgeway, 1987; Ridgeway & Diekema, 1989), authenticity (Neff & Suizzo, 2006), and attitude expression (Anderson & Berdahl, 2002). Although these measures have been widely used, they have not previously been combined into an overall power score, nor have associations between them been examined over multiple contexts. Doing so will yield a multidimensional overall power score for use in future studies, which captures the most common aspects of power rather than focusing only on one or two aspects of it.

Power Across Relational Contexts

In a comparison of different relationships, Buhl (2009) found that though adults perceived equality with their romantic partners, mothers, and siblings, they perceived themselves to possess less power than their fathers. Although this study did not explore associations between relationships, it revealed that patterns of power differences vary across relational contexts. Power differences in familial relationships have been shown to decline over time for both parent-child and sibling relationships, although the hierarchy remains (Tucker et al., 2010). In contrast, research on patterns of power differences in romantic relationships has been less consistent, although this may be a function of the tasks conducted in the studies (Bentley, Galliher, & Ferguson, 2007; Galliher et al., 1990; Grauerholz, 1987). For instance,

although one study observed equity among dating couples who participated in a discussion of their relationship (Galliher et al., 1999), another study employing a problem-solving task revealed inequity (Bentley, Galliher, & Ferguson, 2007). Not only do patterns of power differences vary across relational contexts, but individuals may behave differently with a friend who is more powerful compared to an acquaintance, such that they are less likely to use persuasion strategies to influence low-power friends versus high-power friends and high-power acquaintances versus low-power acquaintances (Miller, 1982). The manipulation of power in scenarios by changing the occupational titles of the friend or acquaintance in relation to the title of the respondent severely limits the findings, as it may be tapping into status position rather than power.

Little research has investigated associations between patterns of power in various relational contexts (De Goedde et al., 2009). Over a five-year period, De Goedde, Branje, Delsing, and Meeus (2009) found that parent-child relationships influence friendships strongly from early to middle adolescence, while both relational contexts have equal influence on each other from middle to late adolescence. However, their study is limited in generalising about change over time as it examined two different cohorts rather than a single one. Further research is needed to understand how power in romantic, friendship, and familial contexts are associated.

POWER IN TASK GROUPS

Power plays a fundamental role in task-oriented groups (Fisek & Ofshe, 1972). Research has demonstrated that having increased power in task-oriented groups influences an individual's speaking time (Anderson & Berdahl, 2002) and contributions to decision-making (Kirchmeyer, 1993). Anderson and Berdahl (2002) demonstrated that being assigned to a high power versus a low power condition based on formal allocation of resources in a decision-making task results in participants having higher levels of attitude expression and of talking. Although their study was limited in its ability to investigate the spontaneous development of power in groups, as it featured formal allocation, it did clearly demonstrate the influence of power on group participation. It also identified the personality trait of dominance as possibly being associated with relative influence and attitude expression displayed by participants in the study. Not only is group participation a

result of having power, it is also an integral determinant of achieving power in a group. Ridgeway (1987) and Ridgeway and Diekema (1989) show that a confederate's display of dominance cues did not result in increased influence in a same-sex task-oriented group, but rather the confederate's power was increased by his or her contribution to the task. Due to its implications for students' participation, it is essential to investigate power in academic task-oriented groups. As such, the current study aims to investigate whether the power an individual possesses in relational contexts can predict their power in temporary task-oriented groups.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Power is a fundamental feature of social interactions (Emerson, 1962). Despite patterns of power having been demonstrated to vary across different relational contexts (Buhl, 2009), research has yet to investigate the associations between patterns of power in multiple relational contexts as well as how power in relationships predict power in task-oriented groups. Although sufficient measures of power have been used in research, four commonly used measures have never been applied simultaneously. To begin filling these gaps, this study asks: What are the associations between having power in romantic, sibling, parent-child, and friend relational contexts?; How will power in these different contexts predict power in task-oriented groups?; and, Will power scores in task-oriented groups with strangers differ from those in task groups with friends? This study will also investigate whether scores on relationship power subscales of decision-making, authenticity, expression of attitudes, and relative influence correlate positively with one another.

Guided by the research outlined in this review, I present four hypotheses regarding these questions. The four measures of power utilised in this study have all been used commonly as indicators of power (Anderson & Berdahl, 2002; Bentley, Galliher, & Ferguson, 2007; Felmlee, 1994; Galliher et al., 1999; Grauerholz, 1987; De Goedde et al., 2009; Kirchmeyer, 1993; Neff & Suizzo, 2006; Ridgeway, 1987; Ridgeway & Diekema, 1989; Tucker et al., 2010). Therefore, Hypothesis 1 predicts that power scores on the relationship subscales of decision-making, relative influence, authenticity, and expression of attitudes will all be positively correlated in each independent context (romantic, sibling, parent-child, friend, and task-oriented). As task-oriented studies are often utilised in analysing power among romantic and friend

relationships (Bentley, Galliher & Ferguson, 2007; Galliher et al., 1999; Miller, 1982), Hypothesis 2 predicts that overall power scores in romantic and friend relationships will be positively correlated with reported power scores in task-oriented groups. Based on Miller's (1982) findings that individuals may less actively attempt to influence low versus high position friends and high versus low position acquaintances, which suggests that individuals are less hesitant to overtly persuade acquaintances if they are lower in position to the acquaintance, Hypothesis 3 predicts that overall power scores in task-oriented groups with strangers and in task-oriented groups with friends will be negatively correlated such that low overall power scores in task-oriented groups with strangers will correlate with high overall power scores with task-oriented groups with friends. Finally, stemming from the finding that familial hierarchies are permanent (Tucker et al., 2010) whereas task-oriented groups are temporary, Hypothesis 4 predicts that sibling and parent-child relationships will not be correlated with overall power scores in task groups. Hypothesis 5 predicts that Hypotheses 2 and 3 will not hold up after controlling for the personality trait of dominance, which research suggests is possibly associated with relative influence and attitude expression (Anderson & Berdahl, 2002).

METHOD

Participants

Participants were 25 university students enrolled in a 300-level undergraduate sociology quantitative survey methods course. The sample consisted of 76% females (n = 19) and 24% males (n = 6), with ages ranging from 19 to 30 years old (M = 21.0 years, SD = 2.58 years).

Procedure

This study employed a cross-sectional design using a convenience, non-probability sample drawn from the course. Participants were handed an anonymous paper-and-pencil survey during class time and told in a cover letter that the survey was being administered to learn more about the different relationships in the lives of university students. Informed consent was indicated by completion of survey. Once the survey was completed, participants returned it to a table at the front of the classroom. See Appendix A for the full survey.

Measures

Power in task-oriented groups. Power in task-oriented groups was assessed using two statements, each followed by four questions representing different measures of power (decision-making, attitude expression, relative influence, and authenticity). If they had not worked in groups in the past year, participants were instructed to think of the most recent time they had worked in groups with classmates. The first statement read, "When I work on a project with a group of classmates that I do not know very well..." and the second read, "When I work on a project with a group of classmates that I am friends with..." Each statement was followed by items representing the four power measures. The decision-making item (1), modified from one of Galliher et al.'s (1999) 3-item romantic partner decision-making scale, was "I usually make the final decision." Modified from Anderson & Berdahl (2002), the attitude expression item (2) read "I usually say I agree with the group even though I actually disagree." Also modified from Anderson & Berdahl (2002), the relative influence item (3) was "Others in the group have more control than I do." The adapted authenticity item (4) was "I am able to act like my real self" (Neff & Suizzo, 2006). Response categories for each of the items following both statements were: (4) "Strongly Agree," (3) "Agree," (2) "Disagree," and (1) "Strongly Disagree."

The decision-making item (Item 1) and the authenticity item (Item 4) were coded such that higher scores represented high levels of power, while the attitude expression item (Item 2) and the relative influence item (Item 3) were reverse-coded such that higher scores represent lower levels of power. Scores on Item 1 and Item 3 were each weighted at .35, while scores on Item 2 and Item 4 were each weighted at .15. Contributions to decision-making (Bentley, Galliher & Ferguson, 2007; Felmlee, 1994; Galliher et al., 1999; Kirchmeyer, 1993) and relative influence (Anderson & Berdahl, 2002; De Goedde et al., 2009; Grauerholz, 1987; Tucker et al., 2010; Ridgeway, 1987; Ridgeway & Diekema, 1989) have been more often linked to power and have been suggested in previous studies to be more indicative of power, playing a larger role than attitude expression (Anderson & Berdahl, 2002) and authenticity (Neff & Suizzo, 2006). After reverse-coding the appropriate items and applying the weightings to each individual score on the four items for each of the two statements, the four items were summed and divided by four by each respondents in each case for each statement to compute

the overall power score for each statement, to yield a power score for task-oriented groups with strangers and a power score for task-oriented groups with friends. In addition, these two power scores were also combined into an overall task-oriented group power score by averaging the two scores.

Power in other contexts. For assessing power in the other relational contexts, the same procedures were used as in assessing power in task-oriented groups, with the four power items modified for each context (that is, friends, romantic partners, parents, and siblings). The statement preceding the four power items for each context was: "When I talk with my [friends/romantic partner/parents/siblings] about important things..." Before the section on siblings, a contingency question—"Do you have one or more sibling(s)?"—was asked, with response options of "Yes" or "No." If participants answered "No," they were instructed to skip the subsection on sibling relationships.

Control variables

Personality dominance. The personality trait of dominance has been identified as possibly being associated with relative influence and attitude expression (Anderson & Berdahl, 2002). To assess personality dominance, two subscales from the Revised Interpersonal Adjective Scales were used (Wiggins, Trapnell, & Phillips, 1988). The Assured-Dominant subscale lists the adjectives: (1) "self-assured," (2) "self-confident," (3) "assertive," (4) "persistent," (5) "firm," (6) "dominant," (7) "forceful," and (8) "domineering." In contrast, the Unassured-Submissive subscale lists the adjectives: (1) "timid," (2) "bashful," (3) "shy," (4) "meek," (5) "forceless," (6) "unauthoritative," (7) "unbold," and (8) "unaggressive." Response categories for both subscales ranged from (8) "extremely accurate" to (1) "extremely inaccurate." To prevent these adjectives from influencing participants' responses on the power in relationships questions, this section was placed at the end of the survey. Also, the Assured-Dominant and Unassured-Submissive adjectives were presented in alternating order. The Assured-Dominant and Unassured-Submissive subscale scores were combined by reverse coding the Unassured-Submissive items such that higher scores indicated lower dominance levels, and then all 16 items were summed and divided by 16 for each respondent.

Age. Age was assessed by a single open-ended item asking "How old are you?" These values were viewed as raw scores indicating participants' ages.

Gender. Gender was measured by a single item, "What is your gender?" with the response options of "Male" or "Female." Responses of "Male" were coded as 1, while responses of "Female" were coded as 0 for the data analyses.

DATA ANALYSIS

Data from the survey were analysed using the statistical software IBM SPSS Statistics, Version 20.0. First, descriptive statistics were conducted to obtain mean, medians, modes, standard deviations and range of all variables included in the study, as well as frequencies for the two dichotomous variables of gender and whether individuals had a sibling or not. To test all four hypotheses, bivariate one-tailed Pearson correlations were conducted. Correlations among power subscales of decision-making, attitude expression, relative influence, and authenticity within each interpersonal context were obtained to test the first hypothesis. To test the second, third, and fourth hypotheses, correlations were obtained to compare associations between overall power scores for task-oriented groups in general, task-oriented groups with strangers, task-oriented groups with friends, friend relationships, romantic relationships, parent-child relationships, and sibling relationships. Lastly, partial correlations were used to examine whether the relationships between the overall power scores remained after controlling for the personality trait of dominance.

RESULTS

Demographic characteristics, average overall power scores for each interpersonal context, and average personality dominance scores of the sample are presented in Table 1. The sample consisted of 76% females ($n = 19$) and 24% males ($n = 6$), ages ranging from 19 to 30 years old ($M = 21.0$ years, $SD = 2.58$ years). Most, 76% ($n = 19$), of the sample has siblings and subsequent analyses testing the association of overall sibling power scores with power in other interpersonal contexts were conducted using only the data from these respondents. However, the analyses testing the associations of the entire overall power scores of the other interpersonal contexts (task-oriented, friend, romantic, and parental) used the total sample ($n = 25$).

Table 1

Demographic Characteristics and Overall Power Scores Across Interpersonal Contexts of Sample ($n = 25$)

Variable	M	SD	Range
Gender: Female	.76	0.43	
Age (Years)	21.0	2.58	19-30
Have Sibling	.76	0.43	
Personality Dominance [a]	4.98	0.87	3.19-6.88
Overall Power [b]			
Task-Combined	0.70	0.12	.54-.94
Task-Stranger	0.65	0.15	.29-.88
Task-Friend	0.75	0.12	.58-1.00
Friend	0.75	0.15	.32-1.00
Romantic	0.76	0.15	.32-1.00
Parent	0.70	0.12	.44-1.00
Sibling [c]	0.76	0.16	.48-1.00

Note. – Means and standard deviations are represented by the abbreviation *M* and *SD*, respectively.
[a] Measured on a Likert-scale from 1-8.
[b] Measured on a Likert-scale from 1-4.
[c] $n = 19$.

Hypothesis 1: Correlations Among Power Sub-scales

The first hypothesis predicts that scores on power subscales will all be positively correlated with one another within each independent interpersonal context. To test for this, bivariate correlations were run between the four measures—decision-making, attitude-expression, relative influence, and authenticity—within each interpersonal context of task-oriented groups with strangers, task-oriented groups with friends, friendships, romantic relationships, parent-child relationships, and sibling relationships. The results are presented in Table 2. Overall, the findings do not fully support the hypothesis, although they are, for the most part, in the predicted direction. Only two of the total of thirty-six correlations reported are in the negative direction, both within the parental relationship dimension, and in both cases are nearly equal to zero. A number of other associations, ranging in the area of .30 and up, are non-significant but nevertheless are of a magnitude generally considered moderate in analyses employing more standard sized samples, and their significance is undoubtedly affected by this study's small sample size.

In terms of the various interpersonal contexts, the intercorrelation of the subscales regarding parental power stand out, with only decision-making

Table 2

Correlations Among Power Subscales Within Each Interpersonal Context (n=25)

	AE	RI	AU
Task-Stranger			
DM	.30	.67**	.41**
AE	–	.57**	.37**
RI		–	.55**
Task-Friend			
DM	.41*	.68**	.16
AE	–	.36**	.26
RI		–	.28
Friend			
DM	.59**	.64**	.26*
AE	–	.76**	.43*
RI		–	.39*
Romantic			
DM	.46*	.48**	.37*
AE	–	.67**	.30*
RI		–	.40*
Parent			
DM	.04	-.50*	-.01
AE	–	-.04*	-.19
RI		–	-.08
Sibling			
DM	.14	.74**	.37*
AE	–	.44**	.49*
RI		–	.43*

Note. – DM = Decision-making; AE = Attitude expression; RI = Relative influence; AU = Authenticity.

*$n = 19$.

**$p < .05$ ** $p < .01$.

and relative influence achieving significance in the predicted direction, and the remainder all clearly not strongly associated. This suggests that the extant alternative measures of power in relation to young adults and their parents may be inadequate, and particularly that the more self-identity based indicators, attitude expression and authenticity, may play less of a role than more traditional relations reflecting either dominance or rebellion. In any event, the general lack of positive associations relating to this interpersonal context does help to make the case that, in terms of measures of social power, the interpersonal context needs to be considered, particularly in the case of more normatively defined roles, such as those between parents and children,

teachers and students, employees and supervisors or perhaps more generally just age-based. On the other hand, in terms of relations among peers, strangers or friends, romantic partners or siblings, the four sub-scale measures all exhibit a fairly uniform set of positive associations consistent with the hypothesis. Overall, within the five peer-based interpersonal contexts being examined, all the intercorrelations are positive with the average per context ranging only between .36 (task-friend) to .51 (friend). In other words, among one's own age and class-based peers, all four sub-scales are reasonably and positively associated, suggesting that all utilise a conceptually similar definition of power.

Additional Hypotheses: Correlations with Overall Power and Personality Dominance

The second hypothesis predicts that overall power scores in friend and romantic relationships will be positively correlated with power in task-oriented groups. One-tailed Pearson correlations among overall power scores and personality dominance scores across all interpersonal contexts studied are shown in Table 3. Power in neither friend nor romantic relationships is significantly correlated with task-oriented groups with strangers and task-oriented groups with friends separately, as can be seen by viewing the correlations of friendships and romantic relationships with task-stranger and task-friend scores in the second and third rows of columns 4 and 5 of Table 3. However, power in friend relationships was moderately positively correlated with power in task-oriented groups in general ($r = .41$, $p < .05$). This may point to the possibility that power exercised in romantic and friendship group contexts may be different from power exercised in groups working on academic tasks, even if such task-oriented groups are with friends. Thus, this result indicates that the amount of power, and possibly the strategies of power, that people exercise in groups varies by the type of task that individuals are working on (that is, academic tasks in task-oriented groups versus more relational tasks, such as emotional disclosure, in romantic and friend relationships).

Moreover, the third hypothesis—that power in task-oriented groups with strangers and in task-oriented groups with friends would be negatively correlated—was not supported. Power in these two interpersonal contexts was found to be moderately positively correlated, as can be seen in the second row of column 3 in Table 3 ($r = .46$, $p < .05$). This result may suggest

that individuals use similar strategies of exercising power with both friends and strangers when working in in task-oriented groups. As predicted by the fourth hypothesis, power scores in parent-child and sibling relationships were not significantly correlated with power in task-oriented groups, as is evidenced by viewing the correlations listed in the first, second, and third rows of columns 6 and 7 in Table 3. This speaks to the relative permanence of the familial hierarchy, resulting in the exercise of such power not being related to power in other more peer-based interpersonal contexts.

Table 3

Correlations Among Overall Power Scores and Personality Dominance by Each Interpersonal Context (n=25)

	2. T-S	3. T-F	4. F	5. R	6. P	7. S	8. P-D
1. Task-Combined	.89**	.82**	.41*	.24**	.01	-.06*	.63**
2. Task-Stranger	–	.46**	.36*	.25**	-.01	-.09*	.65**
3. Task-Friend		–	.33*	.14**	.02	-.00*	.41*
4. Friend			–	.56**	.01	-.38*	.67**
5. Romantic				–	.10	-.52*	.46*
6. Parent				*	–	-.29*	.19**
7. Sibling						–	.20**

*$n = 19$.
** $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$.

In line with the fifth hypothesis (that the second and third hypothesis would no longer be supported after running partial correlations controlling for personality dominance scores), almost no significant correlations remain among overall power scores of the interpersonal contexts studied once personality dominance is taken into account, as shown in Table 4. These partial correlations were run to see what the correlation between interpersonal contexts was after removing the effects of the personality trait of dominance. After running this analysis, power in friendship and romantic groups is not significantly correlated with power in task-oriented groups (Hypothesis 2), just as the correlation between power in task-oriented groups with strangers and power in task-oriented groups with friends is no longer significantly correlated (Hypothesis 3). This may point to the importance of personality in predicting how much power one will possess across interpersonal contexts in life.

Table 4
Correlations Among Overall Power Scores by Each Interpersonal Context After Controlling for Personality Dominance (n=25)

	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.[a]
1. Task-Combined	.81**	.80**	-.03	-.08	-.15	-.25*
2. Task-Stranger	–	.29**	-.13	-.07	-.17	-.31*
3. Task-Friend		–	.08	-.05	-.07	-.09*
4. Friend			–	.39	-.16	-.34*
5. Romantic				–	-.02	-.49*
6. Parent				*	–	--.29**

[a] $n = 19$.
* $p < .05$
** $p < .01$.

DISCUSSION

This study investigated how power in various relational contexts predicts power in postsecondary task-oriented academic groups and examines associations between four commonly used power subscales. Partially supporting the first hypothesis, it is found that scores on power subscales are not all uniformly positively correlated with one another within each interpersonal context. Instead, significant positive correlations between subscales varied for each interpersonal context. This is a particularly important finding, as it suggests that different measures of power are suitable for assessing power depending on the interpersonal context of interest.

Additionally, it is found that power in romantic relationships was unrelated to power in task-oriented groups, while power in friend relationships was moderately positively correlated with power in task-oriented groups. As such, the power one holds in romantic relationships may not relate to academic group work, but may relate to other types of group tasks. Contrary to initial expectations, power in task-oriented groups with strangers and in task-oriented groups with friends is moderately positively correlated, even though previous research has suggested that individuals may use different power strategies in these two types of groups (Miller, 1982). As expected, power in parent-child and sibling relationships was unrelated to power in task-oriented groups. After controlling for the personality trait of dominance, nearly all correlations among overall power scores across interpersonal contexts were no longer significant, such that the second hypothesis is no longer supported. This last finding points to the importance of further studies

into the influence of personality on the amount of power one exercises across interpersonal contexts.

Taking the perspective of equity theory, correlations between subscales vary from the interpersonal context because, perhaps, different resources are valuable in different contexts (Emerson, 1962; Foa, 1971; Magee & Galinsky, 2008; Sprecher, 1985; Van Yperen & Buunk, 1990). This study views the four measures of power as reflecting different symbolic resources and the results suggest that the importance of these resources may vary depending on the context. The finding that relative influence and decision-making scores are most commonly correlated with other subscales for each interpersonal context could be explained in several possible ways. Firstly, contributions to decision-making (Bentley, Galliher & Ferguson, 2007; Felmlee, 1994; Galliher et al., 1999; Kirchmeyer, 1993) and relative influence (Anderson & Berdahl, 2002; De Goedde et al., 2009; Grauerholz, 1987; Tucker et al., 2010; Ridgeway, 1987; Ridgeway & Diekema, 1989) have in studies been more often linked to power than attitude expression (Anderson & Berdahl, 2002) and authenticity (Neff & Suizzo, 2006). Perhaps, both of these measures make use of valued resources an individual holds in all interactions across contexts, while authenticity and attitude expression are valued only in certain contexts. Decision-making and relative influence also may both be relying on a similar, but not identical, construct of power, seeing as they were moderately positively correlated with each other in every interpersonal context in this study.

Of particular interest to this study are the correlations between power subscales within the context of task-oriented groups. In task-oriented groups with strangers, significant moderate positive correlations are found between decision-making and relative influence, decision-making and authenticity, relative influence and attitude expression, and relative influence and authenticity. In task-oriented groups with friends, significant moderate correlations are only found between decision-making and relative influence, and between decision-making and attitude expression.

The finding that authenticity is correlated with both decision-making and relative influence in task oriented groups with strangers is in contrast with task-oriented groups with friends, where authenticity is unrelated to decision-making and relative influence. This may be due to individuals only feeling comfortable enough to be authentic with strangers during

group tasks if they have higher contributions to decision-making or higher influence relative to other members, while having more of a say in decision-making and having influence on others are not necessary for individuals to allow themselves to be authentic with friends when they are working on an academic task together. This points to the possibility of valued symbolic resources in task-oriented groups with strangers being different from those in task-oriented groups with friends (Van Yperen & Buunk, 1990). Further results also support this speculation of discrepancies in the value of different resources between task-oriented groups with strangers and those with friends. For instance, decision-making and attitude expression are unrelated in task-oriented groups with strangers, but related in task-oriented groups with friends. Also, relative influence and attitude expression are unrelated in task-oriented groups with friends, but related in task-oriented groups with strangers. Further research is needed to investigate these differences regarding which subscales are correlated within these two types of task-oriented groups.

In addition, it is interesting to note that in regards to power in friendships, attitude expression has the most number of correlations with the other subscales, such that it is correlated with all subscales, while decision-making and relative influence are only positively correlated to each other and to attitude expression. This suggests that attitude expression may be a salient indicator of power in friendships. In romantic relationships, the relative influence subscale has the most number of correlations with other subscales, seeing that it is correlated with all subscales. On the other hand, decision-making and attitude expression are each only related to two of the three possible subscales and authenticity only to one. Therefore, relative influence may be particularly prominent in the power dynamics of romantic relationships. This may be one of the factors playing into the discrepancy between Bentley, Galliher, & Ferguson's (2007) finding of inequity in romantic relationships and Galliher et al.'s (1990) finding of equity. It could be possible that the former study's utilisation of a problem-solving task entailed more of a detection of differences in how much influence one partner has over the other, while the latter measures who speaks and contributes more to the conversation.

In parent-child relationships, only the decision-making and relative influence subscales were found to be related. This possibly results from the

more hierarchical structure of the relationship (Tucker et al., 2010). Power in sibling relationships differed slightly from power in parent-child relationships such that in addition to the relationship between decision-making and relative influence, attitude expression and authenticity were also correlated. This finding suggests that although power in both parent-child and sibling relationships is influenced by the familial hierarchy, it manifests differently in the two types of familial relationships (Tucker et al., 2010).

Moving to the second hypothesis, power in friend relationships is moderately positively correlated with power in task-oriented groups in general, but neither friend nor romantic relationships are significantly correlated with task-oriented groups with strangers and those with friends separately. This is surprising, considering that task-oriented studies are often utilised in analysing power among romantic and friend relationships (Bentley, Galliher & Ferguson, 2007; Galliher et al., 1999; Miller, 1982). Perhaps this lack of association is due to power in romantic relationships itself varying as a function of types of relationships (Bentley, Galliher, & Ferguson, 2007; Galliher et al., 1999; Grauerholz, 1987). Therefore, the association between power in romantic relationships and task-oriented groups may vary depending on the type of task, such that the power one holds in romantic relationships may not relate to academic group work, but may relate to other types of group tasks. Further research is needed to investigate how power in romantic relationships relates to power in different group tasks using both self-report and experimental studies.

The fact that a positive, rather than negative, correlation is found between power task-oriented groups with strangers and in task-oriented groups with friends seems to be in conflict with Miller's (1982) findings, which suggest a difference in an individual's likelihood to actively persuade friends in comparison to acquaintances. However, this is not necessarily the case. Increases in levels of decision-making, attitude expression, relative influence, and authenticity in task-oriented groups with strangers may be accompanied by increases in these same measures in task-oriented groups with friends, despite individuals being less hesitant to use overt persuasion strategies with acquaintances than with friends (Miller, 1982). Thus, using different strategies may not necessarily mean obtaining different power outcomes.

Although power differences decrease over time in parent-child and sibling relationships, the hierarchy still remains (Tucker et al., 2010). In con-

cordance with this finding, this study finds power in parent-child and sibling relationships to be unrelated to power in task-oriented groups and to scores on the personality trait of dominance. However, personality dominance is moderately positively correlated with all other interpersonal contexts in this study and, in fact, all but one significant correlation disappears among overall power scores of interpersonal contexts when personality dominance levels are controlled for. This may point to the importance of personality in predicting how much power one will possess across interpersonal contexts in life. For instance, Anderson and Berdahl (2002) demonstrate that being assigned to a high power versus a low power condition in a decision-making task results in participants having higher amounts of attitude expression, but they also identify the personality trait of dominance as associated with relative influence and attitude expression displayed by participants in the study. But, this is inconsistent with studies finding that a confederate's display of dominance cues does not result in increased influence, but rather power is increased by contributing more to the task (Ridgeway, 1987; Ridgeway & Diekema, 1989). More research is needed to determine the influence of the personality trait of dominance in predicting the power that one exercises across interpersonal contexts.

The findings of this study should be considered in light of certain limitations. Most importantly, the study utilises a non-probability convenience sample of students in an undergraduate 300-level sociology survey methods course. Thus, the results are not generalisable or representative of postsecondary students in general, nor are they even representative of sociology undergraduates in the University of British Columbia. Also, the study has a small sample size. However, this small sample size can actually be considered a strength, because it is less likely that these findings are due to chance alone, since the small sample size actually renders some normally moderately sized correlations non-significant.

Despite these limitations, this study has several strengths. A major strength of the survey is that it asks actual university students to rate their levels on power subscales in terms of working in groups and other relational contexts. Therefore, the data featured in this study may be more related to participants' real life experiences with power across interpersonal contexts in multiple life domains, rather than an artificial manipulation of being assigned to a high power versus a low power condition in an experiment

(Anderson & Berdahl, 2002). Additionally, this study utilises four of the most commonly used measures of power in unison in order to investigate associations between them, possibly capturing differing aspects of power by combining decision-making, attitude expression, relative influence, and authenticity into a single power score. Future research could use this self-reported overall power measure to assess power in various contexts, both to assess the effects of experimental manipulations and to assess real life levels of power.

Another strong aspect of this study is the fact that it asks about power in task-oriented groups with strangers and power in task-oriented groups with friends separately. This allows for the detection of possible differences in correlates of power in task-oriented groups with strangers and those with friends, since students sometimes are assigned to groups with strangers and sometimes can choose to work with friends. The survey also includes a measure of the personality trait of dominance, which allows for the examination of personality's effect on associations among power exercised across various interpersonal contexts. Therefore, the survey instrument used in this study could be modified for use in future studies, as it includes four common measures of power, a measure of personality dominance, and looks at multiple interpersonal contexts across major life domains. In order to gain a broader and more accurate assessment of power, future research can combine the four indicators of power used in this study into an overall power score that could be both used in self-report studies and in lab studies where behaviour is being rated. Due to its implications for students' quality and degree of participation (Anderson & Berdahl, 2002; Kirchmeyer, 1993), it is essential for future research to investigate determinants of and correlates of power in academic task-oriented groups using a variety of methods.

REFERENCES

Anderson, C., & Berdahl, J. L. (2002). The experience of power: Examining the effects of power on approach and inhibition tendencies. *Personality and Social Psychology, 83*, 1326-1377. doi:10.1037//0022-3514.83.6.1362

Bentley, C. G., Galliher, R. V., Ferguson, T. J. (2007). Associations among aspects of interpersonal power and relationship functioning in adolescent romantic couples. *Sex Roles, 57*, 483-495. doi:10.1007/s11199-007-9280-7

Buhl, H. (2009). My mother: My best friend? Adults' relationships with significant others across the lifespan. *Journal of Adult Development, 16*, 239-249. doi:10.1007/s10804-009-9070-2

De Goedde, I. H. A, Branje, S. J. T., Delsing, M. J. M. H., & Meeus, W. H. J. (2009). Linkages over time between adolescents' relationships with parents and friends. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 38*, 1304-1315. doi:10.1007/s10964-009-9403-2

Emerson, R. M. (1962). Power-dependence relations. *American Sociological Review, 27*, 31-41.

Felmlee, D. H. (1994). Who's on top? Power in romantic relationships. *Sex Roles, 31*, 275-295.

Fisek, M. H., & Ofshe, R. (1970). The process of status evolution. *Sociometry, 33*, 327-346.

Foa, U. G. (1971). Interpersonal and economic resources. *Science, 171*, 345-351.

Galliher, R.V., Rostosky, S. S., Welsh, D. P., & Kawaguchi, M. C. (1999). Power and psychological well-being in late adolescent romantic relationships. *Sex Roles, 40*, 689-710.

Grauerholz, E. (1987). Balancing the power in dating relationships. *Sex Roles, 17*, 563-557.

Kirchmeyer, C. (1993). Multicultural task groups: An account of the low contribution level of minorities. *Small Group Research, 24*, 127-148. doi:10.1177/1046496493241009

Magee, J. C., & Galinsky, A. D. (2008). Social hierarchy: The self reinforcing nature of power and status. *The Academy of Management Annals, 2*, 351-398. doi:10.1080/19416520802211628

Miller, M. D. (1982). Friendship, power and the language of compliance-gaining. *Social Psychology, 1*, 111–121. doi: 10.1177/0261927X8200100202

Neff, K. D., & Suizzo, M. (2006). Culture, power, authenticity and psychological well-being within romantic relationships: A comparison of European American and Mexican Americans. *Cognitive Development, 21*, 441-457. doi:10.1016/j.cogdev.2006.06.008

Ridgeway, C. L. (1987). Nonverbal behavior, dominance, and the basis of status in task groups. *American Sociological Review, 52*, 683-694.

Ridgeway, C. L., & Diekema, D. (1989). Dominance and collective hierarchy formation in male and female task groups. *American Sociological Review, 54*, 79-93.

Sprecher, S. (1985). Sex differences in bases of power in dating relationships. *Sex Roles, 12*, 449-462.

Tucker, C. J., Updegraff, K., & Baril, M. E. (2010). Who's the boss? Patterns of control in adolescents' sibling relationships. *Family Relations, 59*, 520-532. doi:10.1111/j.1741-3729.2010.00620.x

Van Yperen, N., & Buunk, B. (1990). A longitudinal study of equity and satisfaction in intimate relationships. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 20*, 287-309.

Wiggins, J. S., Trapnell, P., & Phillips, N. (1988). Psychometric properties and geometric characteristics of the Revised Interpersonal Adjective Sales (IAS-R). *Multivariate Behavioral Research, 23*, 517-530.

APPENDIX A

Section A **WORKING IN GROUPS**

In this section, you will be asked some questions about working in groups with classmates. Think about how you have behaved in general in the past year when you worked in groups with classmates. If you have not worked in a group in the past year, please think back to the most recent time you have worked in a group with classmates. Please circle the numbers to indicate your extent of agreement with the statements below.

A1. When I work on a project with a group of classmates that I do not know very well…

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1. I usually make the final decision	4	3	2	1
2. I usually say I agree with the group even though I actually disagree	4	3	2	1
3. Others in the group tend to have more control than I do	4	3	2	1
4. I am able to act like my real self	4	3	2	1

A2. When I work on a project with a group of classmates that I am friends with…

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
5. I usually make the final decision	4	3	2	1
6. I usually say I agree with the group even though I actually disagree	4	3	2	1
7. Others in the group tend to have more control than I do	4	3	2	1
8. I am able to act like my real self	4	3	2	1

Section B **FRIENDSHIPS**

In this section, you will be asked some questions about how you behave with your friends. Think about how you have behaved in general in the past year when you are with your friends. Please circle the numbers to indicate your extent of agreement with the statements below.

B1. When I talk with my friends about important things…

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
9. I usually make the final decision	4	3	2	1
10. I usually say I agree with my friends even though I actually disagree	4	3	2	1
11. My friends tend to have more control than I do	4	3	2	1
12. I am able to act like my real self	4	3	2	1

Section C ROMANTIC RELATIONSHIPS

In this section, you will be asked some questions about how you behave with your romantic partner. Think about how you have behaved in general in the past year when you are with your romantic partner. If you have not had a romantic partner in the past year, think about how you have behaved with the most recent romantic partner you have had. Please circle the numbers to indicate your extent of agreement with the statements below.

C1. When I talk with my romantic partner about important things…

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
13. I usually make the final decision	4	3	2	1
14. I usually say I agree with my romantic partner even though I actually disagree	4	3	2	1
15. My romantic partner tends to have more control than I do	4	3	2	1
16. I am able to act like my real self	4	3	2	1

Section E DEMOGRAPHICS

In this section, you will be asked some questions about how you behave with your family. Think about how you have behaved in general in the past year when you are with your family. Please circle the numbers to indicate your extent of agreement with the statements below.

D1. When I talk with my parents about important things…

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
13. I usually make the final decision	4	3	2	1
14. I usually say I agree with my parents even though I actually disagree	4	3	2	1
15. My parents tend to have more control than I do	4	3	2	1
16. I am able to act like my real self	4	3	2	1

21. Do you have one or more sibling(s)? Please circle appropriate answer.

Yes No

D2. When I talk with my sibling(s) about important things…

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
13. I usually make the final decision	4	3	2	1
14. I usually say I agree with my sibling(s) even though I actually disagree	4	3	2	1
15. My sibling(s) tend(s) to have more control than I do	4	3	2	1
16. I am able to act like my real self	4	3	2	1

Section E DEMOGRAPHICS

In this section, you will be asked some background questions about who you are. These questions are to provide information on if your answers in the previous sections are similar to others with similar backgrounds as yours.

26. How old are you? Please fill in the blank with the number of years: _____

27. What is your gender? Please circle the appropriate answer.

Female
Male

E4.Please circle the number that indicates the extent to which each word is accurate of you.

	Extremely Accurate							Extremely Inaccurate
28. Meek	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
29. Self-confident	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
30. Timid	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
31. Persistent	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
32. Unbold	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
33. Bashful	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
34. Forceful	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
35. Unauthoritative	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
36. Assertive	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
37. Dominant	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
38. Shy	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
39. Self-assured	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
40. Forceless	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
41. Domineering	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
42. Firm	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
43. Unaggressive	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1

Should you have any comments and/or concerns, please write them down in the space below:

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Profanity Across Gender and Age

Emily Blamire, Rebecca Laturnus, and Andrea Perez-Leon
University of British Columbia

Swear words have a peculiar role in language and culture. Swearing naturally gives rise to particular social perceptions as it is deemed inappropriate by society and the use of such language is often restricted by influential institutions like religion, media censor groups, and courts of law (Jay, 2009). In this paper, we investigate how individuals are perceived by others when using swear words or what are known as replacement swear words (RSWs). RSWs are expletives of lesser intensity and of a less taboo nature than the swear words from which they are derived (see section 2 for motivation and examples). We include RSWs so as to examine their effects on perception relative to full-force swear words. We also investigate whether these perceptions vary based on the relative age and gender of the speaker and listener. Specifically with respect to age, this study investigates how individuals from two generations, referred to here as "Generation Y" (young) and "Generation M" (mature), perceive users of swear words and RSWs. Generation Y encompasses ages 15-30 while Generation M is over the age of 40.

Our findings indicate that no significant cross-generational differences exist in the perceptions of those who use swear words. Differences do arise, however, with respect to the listeners' impression of the emotions of the talkers, based on their use of swear words and RSWs. We found that particular speech characteristics are attributed to particular genders, and

using language that does not pertain to these gender attributions results in a more critical judgment of the talker. Section 2 of this paper provides background information on vocabulary and theories of swearing relevant to the experiment conducted (as described in section 3), the results presented (section 4), and to our subsequent analysis, which is presented in Section 5. Section 6 discusses limitations of this study and outlines further research, while Section 7 concludes.

BACKGROUND

Swearing has become a part of daily life and speech, commonly heard in media representations and in social interactions. A number of terms are used interchangeably in the literature, including *expletives, taboo words, curses,* and *swear words*[1]. Vivian De Klerk (1991) uses the term "expletive" to refer to any words concerned with sex, bodily excretion, and anything considered sacred by a religious community (p. 157). "Cursing" may also include insults and ethnic-racial slurs, among others (Jay, 2009). Murphy (2010) utilises the term "taboo language" in a similar fashion. Stephen Pinker (2008), on the other hand, uses the generic term "swearing" to denote five categories of words, three of which are used in this study: "the supernatural," "bodily effluvia and organs," and "sexuality." We omit words from the other two groups because they are either very dated or isolate particular groups of people. We use the term "swear words" in this study to denote and examine words that are considered taboo, regardless of context (for example, *Jesus Christ* is not a swear word, but using the phrase as an expletive would count as swearing to many people. The word *fuck*, however, is always considered swearing). We felt this distinction was important for excluding words that target only specific people or groups. The aforementioned alternative terminology, we believe, more naturally include this category of targeted insults.

In terms of its functions in discourse, Pinker (2008) outlines five ways in which people swear. Our investigation focuses on two of these groups: emphatic and cathartic swearing. Emphatic swearing is when swear words are used to emphasise a particular word or topic (such as *That damn dog keeps eating my flowers*), while cathartic swearing is the use of swear words to release strong emotions (such as yelling *Shit!* when a toe is stubbed). The use of swear words as modifiers and as expletives in this study are examples of emphatic and cathartic swearing, respectively.

1 See Jay (2009) and Murphy (2010) for further discussion of this issue.

Social Factors

One's social status determines, in part, the rate at which one swears (McEnery, 2006). Tony McEnery (2006) found those with a higher social rank tend to swear significantly less than those of a lower rank. In religious groups, researchers have concluded that swearing is not prevalent, with RSWs (for example, *heck*, *frig*, *shoot*, or *crap*) in more common use (Jay, 1992, 2000, 2005; Janschewitz, 2008).

These findings, in particular, motivated our inclusion of RSWs in this study. We were curious to see whether listeners would judge speakers who used RSWs instead of regular swear words to be of a higher social background than their swearing counterparts.

Gender

Gender effects and differences have been studied extensively in the literature on taboo words. It has been found that women are likely to use fewer swear words than men, less intense swear words, or not to swear at all (de Klerk, 1991; Lakoff, 1973; Foote & Woodward, 1973; Trudgill, 1972). Prior research also indicates that it is less socially acceptable for women to swear than men (de Klerk, 1991; Sapolsky et al., 2010). We therefore hypothesise that participants will judge a female speaker more critically when swearing than they will a male speaker.

Nonetheless, more recent studies have found that women do in fact swear, and do so in a similar way to men (Thelwall, 2008; de Klerk, 1992; Hughes, 1992). This change in findings may be the result of actual changes in the vocabulary or behaviour of men and women, or it may be due to a change in the perception of women by academics and society. With this in mind, we feel it is important to analyse participant gender in addition to participant age. We hypothesise that, since recent literature shows less prominent differences between genders when swearing, younger women may use and perceive swear words differently than their older counterparts, whose perception may still be consistent with earlier findings.

Age and the Influence of the Media

We expect the above hypothesis regarding generational differences in perception among genders to hold true between generations as a whole. That is, Generation M participants are expected to judge swear words and those who use them more harshly than younger participants largely due to

the influence of media discussed in recent literature. Sapolsky and Kaye (2005) explain that the "language used in television has always been milder than that used in everyday conversation, but over the last few decades it has become coarser as it more closely reflects real-life conversation" (p. 300).

Many have argued television still contains too many offensive words and phrases. Foul language is found more on broadcast television, and less offensive language is found on cable or satellite (Sapolsky et al., 2008). Broadcast television in this context refers to specialty channels that are not part of generic television packages, such as the Home Box Office (HBO) channel. The competition between broadcast television and regulated cable has seen a large increase in the amount of swear words they use in their programming, with regulated cable allowing more swear words in their programming to keep up with broadcast television (Aucoin, 1999). Many networks have permitted more taboo language on-screen, as advertisers on such networks have begun to target a younger audience that is used to hearing profanity, assuming that younger audiences expect to hear coarse language on television (Rutenberg, 2001).

The use of taboo language to intensify humourous situations has also greatly affected television and influenced young audiences. Comedies on prime-time television in particular have begun to include a great deal of double-entendres, sexual jokes, and put-downs, which often rely on taboo language to achieve their comic effect. Research has shown that characters in such shows now use more crude words in humorous than in non-humorous situations (Sapolsky, 2005).

EXPERIMENT

Participants

66 participants took part in this experiment. Of these participants, 30 were female and 36 were male. The distribution of participants is summarised in Table 1.

Table 1

Age distribution of Participants

Generation	Number of participants	Percentage
Generation Y (15-30)	36	62.1%
Generation M (41+)	22	37.0%

Our target participants were monolingual English speakers born and raised in or between the provinces of British Columbia and Ontario, Canada. Participants were drawn in large part from the social networks of the experimenters (Blamire, Laturnus, and Perez-Leon), and consisted of friends, family, acquaintances, and coworkers asked to complete the experiment online. Though this convenience sampling created a degree of inherent bias in our participant pool, we made every effort not to discriminate when contacting potential participants, so as not to further bias this pool.

In order to track the geographic distributions and ages of our participants, each participant provided demographic information about their location, age, gender, race, religious affiliation, and current education level, as mentioned above.

Methods

Participants were asked to listen to a short audio clip, approximately two minutes in length. The talker in each audio clip told roughly the same story about a mildly frightening encounter with a polar bear at a zoo. There were six different audio recordings, three with the same male talker and three with the same female talker. Participants were randomly assigned to one of the following six conditions:

1) male talker using swear words
2) male talker using RSWs
3) male talker using no swear words
4) female talker using swear words
5) female talker using RSWs
6) female talker using no swear words

When recording the story, the talkers were presented with storyboards, which they used to recount the events. They were given a list of swear words and substitute swear words from which to choose, instructed to incorporate as many as they could while still sounding natural. The words presented were *fuck*, *shit*, *damn*, *ass*, *hell*, *asshole*, *frick*, *shoot*, *butt*, *heck*, *darn*, and *jerk*. The recordings were controlled so that the two talkers used approximately the same number of swear words or RSWs in approximately the same ways, as illustrated in Table 2.

Swear words were not used as direct insults (abusive swearing), but were only used as modifiers and expletives. We recorded the talkers us-

Table 2
Swear word frequency across all conditions

	Male Talker - RSW	Female Talker - RSW	Male Talker - Swearing	Female Talker - Swearing	Male Talker – No Swearing	Female Talker – No Swearing
Darn	1	1				
Heck	3	3				
Frick	3	6				
Jerk	1	1				
Shoot	1	1				
Butt		1				
Ass			2	1		
Hell			1	1		
Bitch				2		
Fuck			3	8		
Shit			2	2		
Damn			1	1		
Asshole			1			
Total Swearwords/ RSWs used	9	12	10	15	0	0

ing a Marantz Portable Solid State Recorder PHD660 borrowed from the Department of Linguistics at the University of British Columbia.

The survey that participants filled out was created and presented on Google Docs, an online tool for creating and distributing questionnaires. The survey began with six general open-ended questions about the story's plot, such as "What kind of bear was in the story?," to check that participants were paying attention (all participants answered these questions correctly). Next, participants were presented with questions such as whom the story-teller was addressing, the level of education of the story-teller, and how many hours of television he or she watches a day. They were also asked about the story-teller's race, sexuality, and socioeconomic status. These questions were given in multiple-choice form (see Appendix A for the list of questions and available answers). Participants were then asked to rate various emotions the story-teller felt while recounting the events on a seven-point Likert scale. The word "story-teller" was used in the experiment instead of the more common "talker" or "speaker" in order to make it as clear as possible

Table 3
RSW frequency across all conditions

	Male Talker - RSW	Female Talker - RSW	Male Talker - Swearing	Female Talker - Swearing	Male Talker – No Swearing	Female Talker – No Swearing
Darn	1	1				
Heck	3	3				
Frick	3	6				
Jerk	1	1				
Shoot	1	1				
Butt		1				
Ass			2	1		
Hell			1	1		
Bitch				2		
Fuck			3	8		
Shit			2	2		
Damn			1	1		
Asshole			1			
Total Swearwords/ RSWs used	9	12	10	15	0	0

to participants about whom they were answering the questions, without revealing our interest in their reactions to the story-teller's speech style.

Procedure

We explicitly requested that participants be alone in a quiet place before starting the experiment, and that they wear headphones. After filling out personal demographic information, participants listened to one of the six randomly-assigned audio clips and then were prompted to fill out the survey. Upon completion, they were presented with an on-screen, written debrief on the purpose of the experiment. Participants who requested to know the outcome of the study were also sent a draft of this paper explaining the results, once all data had been collected and analysed.

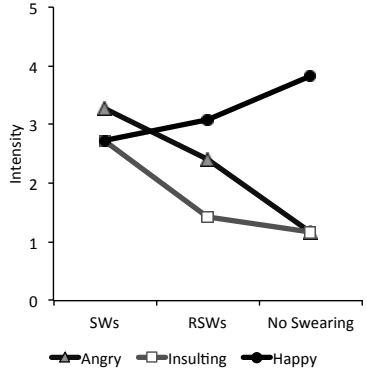
RESULTS

Participants' responses were compiled into spreadsheets. Two-tailed t-testing was used to rank, order and perform statistical analyses, and to determine the statistical significance of several variables. The data show

interesting results concerning how our male and female talkers were perceived when using RSWs. When judging the female talker, it seemed that RSWs were understood traditionally, that is, as expressing strong—but mitigated—negative emotion. So, when asked, "How angry did the story-teller sound?" participants found the female talker the most angry when swearing, the least angry when not swearing, and only moderately angry when using RSWs (see Figure 1).

Figure 1

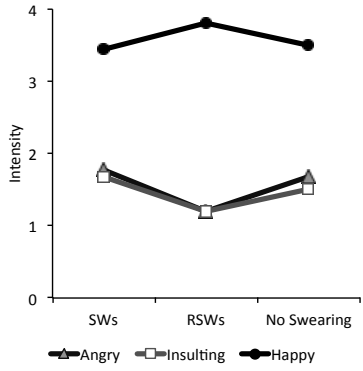
Female talker's perceived emotions



With our male talker, however, the perception of the speaker when using RSWs and when not swearing at all appears inverted. When asked the same question about the male speaker, participants found him most angry when swearing, but found him the least angry when using RSWs, and in-between when not swearing. This reversal of RSWs and not swearing between the male and female talker was found in judgments of how "happy," "angry," and "insulting" participants found the talker to be. The RSW/not swearing inversion was only significant for the perception of "anger" ($p = 0.003$), though all other differences were strongly trending towards significance. With more participants we might expect these results to be significant.

Interestingly, though one might expect the stronger emotion associated with swear words to cause individuals using swear words to appear more excited, the perception of the female story-teller's excitement was reversed between RSWs and regular swear words. Participants considered her most excited when using RSWs and second most excited when using swear words, while the male talker was considered most excited when swearing and second most excited when using RSWs. These results were not significant, however. When asked to judge how "enthusiastic" (which is similar to "excited") the talker was, participants judged both the male and female talker as most enthusiastic when swearing, next most when using RSWs, and least when not swearing.

Figure 2.
Male talker's perceived emotions



There are interesting results that arise in the interaction between participant gender and perceptions of talkers. There was a statistically significant difference in how male and female participants judged the female talker when swearing, with female participants finding her more insulting than male participants did ($p=0.0157$). Another pattern was found in perceptions surrounding the male talker. When he used swear words, the male talker's sexuality was always judged to be straight, but when he used RSWs or did not swear, male participants sometimes (two out of six participants) judged him to be gay.

Surprisingly, we found no correlation between the style of speech used by a participant and his or her perceived social status. The level of education for the female talker was consistently considered lower than that of the male, though she was reliably judged to have a middle-class or higher socio-economic background. The male talker, in contrast, ranged in each condition between high and low levels of education and class, with no significant or trending differences between conditions.

In regards to age, there was no statistically significant difference between how Generation Y and Generation M viewed the talkers across conditions. The only noticeable generational difference was that while Generation Y males occasionally judged the male talker's sexuality as gay when not swearing, Generation M participants never did. This could merely be due to a smaller sample size of Generation M, or to other reasons explored below.

All other factors, including participant religion and education level as well as perceived race and hours-per-week watching television (see Appendix A for all categories), held no significant patterns.

DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS

The average rating of the six conditions with respect to "excitement" and "enthusiasm" suggests that swear words and RSWs are both viewed as expressions of strong emotions, which fits with Pinker's (2007, 2008) idea

that swear words are used to release strong negative emotions and to force others to experience these emotions. This connection to strong negative emotions is further supported by the data showing both talkers were considered most angry and insulting, and the least happy, when using swear words. This effect is further emphasised by the story's emphasis on a frightening experience, which would enhance the perception of negative emotions (e.g., anger) but not those of more positive emotions (e.g., happiness).

The difference in perceptions of the male and female talkers when using RSWs may be due to the male being taken less seriously when using RSWs than the female talker when doing the same. In our discussion below, we explore the possibility that, because women are usually believed to use RSWs more than men, when men use these kinds of words they are viewed as less masculine, since the words have become more aligned with the female gender. This suggestion is supported by data from a related study in which participants were asked to make judgments on a series of swear words and RSWs, and report how often they personally used each word (Blamire et al., 2011). Female participants in that study self-reported using RSWs more often than men did, as seen in Table 4.

Table 4

Self-reported usage rates of RSWs across genders

RSWs	Female	Male
Frig	3.104	2.79
Shoot	2.987	2.258
Darn	2.779	2.161
Heck	2.558	2.694
	11.428	9.903

Note. – From Blamire et al., 2011.

The male talker, therefore, rather than being interpreted as insulting or angry when using RSWs, is seen as slightly comical (by breaking out of traditional gender boundaries). This tinge of comedy causes participants to perceive him as happier and less angry and insulting than when he uses no swear words. If RSWs are socially more aligned with the female gender (again, see the discussion below), then there is no comical effect created in breaking from traditional gender boundaries when women use RSWs. Thus, as hypothesised, using RSWs causes the female talker to be perceived as more "angry" and "insulting" and less "happy" than when not swearing at all, unlike the male talker.

Male participants were more likely to rate the male talker as being gay when he used RSWs, or when he was not swearing. In accordance with traditional research, which finds that women swear less than men, the usage of RSWs can be perceived as a feminine attribute. This is interesting because it appears that males, who have been found to have more dense social networks and thus police each other's language more (Milroy, 1987), are more judgmental about a male participant's choice of words than women. Therefore, because the male talker used language that was found to be an attribute of the language of females, male participants were more likely to consider him gay.

Female participants' tendency to find the female talker more insulting when swearing than male participants did could be a result of women being more sensitive to swearing, and also having ingrained in them the stereotype that it is worse for women to swear (Sapolsky, 2005). If women believe it is more socially taboo for women to swear than men, they will find a woman who swears to be more insulting than men, who may be less aware of this stereotype since it does not apply to them, might. Women may therefore be more critical about policing other women's language because they consider them to be in-group members (Milroy, 1987). In addition, while men have denser social networks and do more policing of each other's language, this has generally been males policing males, and not males policing females (Milroy, 1987; Rudman & Goodwin, 2004).

The lack of significant differences found between the reactions of Generation Y and M to each condition counters our hypothesis, as we had predicted that Generation M would react more harshly than Generation Y when the talkers were swearing. We thus expected to see Generation M finding the talkers more insulting and angry when using swear words, but this is not the case. We instead found a generational difference in the use of RSWs, where one could argue it is Generation Y males, rather than their older counterparts, who are judging the male talker more harshly; only Generation Y male participants considered the male talker gay when not swearing. We speculate that this difference could be related to Milroy's (1987) theory of policing of language in male social groups. Since the male talker was a member of Generation Y (every participant perceived him as falling within this age range), he had no connection but gender to Generation M's male participants, and so would not be viewed as a member of their social

network. Male listeners from Generation M would therefore be less likely to police the talker's language. On the other hand, the fact that the talker is of the same approximate age as Generation Y participants would include him in the participants' social networks, thus making him eligible for policing.

The lack of pattern in perceived socio-economic background of the talker based on each condition was surprising, as we expected to see changes depending on whether the talker was swearing, not swearing at all, or using RSWs, based on the research done by McEnery (2006). This lack of pattern could also be due to the content of the story and the youth of the talkers. Cues in each story point to a summer job. This, combined with their age, implies that the speaker is a student, and most participants judged the talkers to be of an appropriate age for high school or post-secondary education. The female talker in particular, as mentioned above, was judged to have an education level of high school or less, which we believe is largely due to her perceived age. The combination of being a student and working a summer job does, at least according to stereotype, somewhat restrict the potential perceived socio-economic background of the talkers.

LIMITATIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH

Because this study relies on comparing the perceptions of swear words across genders and across two different age groups, it would have been preferable to acquire data from more individuals in Generation M.

Although participants were not randomly selected, all mostly being members of our own social networks, we tried to ensure that participants were equally distributed across the different experimental conditions. Each of the experimenters was given four conditions out of the six for which to find participants. This means that each of the sound files was given to participants from the social networks of two of the authors (Blamire, Laturnus and Perez-Leon), at the exclusion of the third.

Many participants, particularly older individuals, had difficulties playing the audio clips and using the Google Docs survey format. Google Docs did not allow us to stream the audio files, so individuals were redirected to another website on which the audio was hosted, where they could simply click on the file, and listen to it being streamed. However, Adobe Flash was required for this, and while most participants already had this installed, those who did not had difficulties installing it when prompted.

A final issue with this study is that in each recorded condition of the story, the talker only used one speech style. That is, the talker either swore, used RSWs, or did not swear at all. In regular, unscripted speech there is likely to be a mixture of these styles, not one to the exclusion of the others. The artifice of this style, despite our attempts to create natural speech by using storyboards instead of a script, may have amplified qualities such as the comical effect of using RSWs, whereas the use of fewer RSWs, or RSWs interspersed with swear words may not have had same effect.

One issue that we did not address in this study is how status within a family affects swearing. That is, do parents perceive swearing differently than adults without children? Do parents with young children perceive swearing differently than those with older children? Does being an older versus younger sibling or an only child affect one's perceptions? It is common to try to refrain from swearing or to try to mitigate swearing by using RSWs in front of young children, so it seems reasonable that those regularly around children may have different swearing patterns than people not around children. One may then expect perceptions of swearing to vary with respect to how much time is spent with children or younger individuals. Parental and sibling status were not questions addressed towards participants in this study, but would be worthwhile areas of attention in future experiments.

CONCLUSION

Our study reveals that whether an individual uses swear words, RSWs, or no swear words, their style of speech affects how they are perceived by others. While judgments do not generally vary cross-generationally, significant differences were found across genders. For our female story-teller, some emotions were perceived as heightened when she used swear words and minimised when not swearing, with RSWs falling in the middle of the scale. The male story-teller, by contrast, had the most extreme levels on either end of the scale when using RSWs for several emotions, with not swearing on the polar end and swear words falling in the middle of the scale. These are examples of how, within genders, there are differences in how critically talkers are judged in terms of gender-differentiated attribution of speech characteristics. This is particularly relevant in that in-group judgments appear to result in a high degree of policing of another's language, assigning a particular style of speech to a particular gender. However, with

more participants we may find generational differences in line with studies that have found that Generation Y is exposed to more swear words than Generation M, and thus judges users of swear words less harshly than the older generation does (Sapolsky et al., 2010). The societal implications of our study are important because they reveal that one's language largely influences how one is perceived by others. Taboo words are commonly found in daily conversation and in the media, but one does not usually attend to the perceptions of others when such words are used.

REFERENCES

Aucoin, D. (1999, September 25). Can they say that on TV?: Television is pulling its pants down and swearing as loud as it can to get people's attention. *The Gazette*, D13.

Blamire, E., Laturnus, R., Perez-Leon, A. (2011). *Swearers and swear words across gender and age.* Unpublished manuscript.

de Klerk, V. (1991). Expletives: Men only? *Communications Monographs* 58:156-69.

de Klerk, V. (1992). How taboo are taboo words for girls? *Language in Society, 21*(2), 277-289. Retrieved from www.jstor.org/stable/4168346/

Foote, R., & Woodward, J. (1973). A preliminary investigation of obscene language. *Journal of Psychology, 83*(2), 263-275.

Hughes, S. (1992). Expletives of lower working-class women. *Language in Society, 21*(2), 291-303. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/4168347/

Janschewitz, K. (2008). Taboo, emotionally-valenced, and emotionally-neutral word norms. *Behavior Research Methods, 40*, 1065-1074.

Jay, T. (1992). *Cursing in America: A psycholinguistic study of dirty language in the courts, in the movies, in the schoolyards and on the streets*. Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamins.

Jay, T. (2000). *Why we curse.* Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamins.

Jay, T. (2005). American women: Their cursing habits and religiosity. In A. Jule (Ed.), *Women, religion, and language* (pp. 63–84). New York, NY: Palgrave-MacMillan.

Jay, T. (2009). The utility and ubiquity of taboo words. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, *4*, 153–161.

Lakoff, R. (1973). Language and woman's place. *Language in Society, 2*(1), 1321-1330. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/4166707

Milroy, L. (1987). *Language and social networks* (2nd ed.). Oxford: Blackwell.

McEnery, T. (2006). *Swearing in English*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Murphy, B. (2010). *Corpus and sociolinguistics: Investigating age and gender in female talk*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Pinker, S. (2007). *The stuff of thought: Language as a window into human nature*. New York, NY: Viking.

Pinker, S. (2008, September 10). The stuff of thought: Language as a window into human nature [Episode]. *The Science Network's The Science Reader.* Retrieved from http://thesciencenetwork.org/programs/the-science-reader/the-stuff-of-thought-language-as-a-window-into-human-nature/

Rudman, L. A.; Goodwin, S. A. (2004). Gender differences in automatic in-group bias: Why do women like women more than men like men? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 87*(4), 494-509.

Rutenberg, J. (2001, September 2). Hurt by cable, networks spout expletives. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from http://www.nytimes.com/

Sapolsky, B. S., & Kaye, B. K. (2005). The use of offensive language by males and females in prime time television entertainment. *Atlantic Journal of Communication, 23*(4), 292-303.

Sapolsky, B. S., Shafer, D. M., & Kaye, B. K. (2008). Rating offensive words in three television program contexts. *Mass Communication and Society, 14*(1), 45-70. doi:10.1080/15205430903359693

Thelwall, M. (2008). Social networks, gender, and friending: An analysis of MySpace member profiles. *Journal of the American Society for Information Science and Technology, 59*, 1321-1330. doi:10.1002/asi.20835

Trudgill, P. (1972). Sex, covert prestige and linguistic change in the urban British English of Norwich. *Language is Society, 1*(2), 179-195. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/4166683/

APPENDIX A

Audio Instructions

You will listen to a short audio clip of a story that someone is telling. If possible, please find a quiet room and headphones, and follow the instructions below. 1. Open a new window or a new tab in your browser (File >> New Window, or File >> New tab). PLEASE DO NOT CLOSE THIS PAGE. 2. Copy and paste the link at the bottom of this page into the new window or tab in your browser. 3. Press play to listen to the audio clip. Listen to the clip in its entirety, and listen to it ONCE and only once. 4. Return to this survey and press continue on this page, after having listened to the sound file. SOUNDFILE (copy and paste into a new tab or window): http://goo.gl/Qhudw

Post-audio questions - general

Please answer the following questions about the story you listened to in the previous audio clip.

What kind of bear was in the story?

What was the bear doing at the very beginning of the story?

What was the story-teller doing throughout the story?

What did the bear do at the end of the story?

Who is the story-teller addressing (i.e. to whom is the story-teller telling the story?)

*Choose all which apply.

- Close friend
- Co-worker
- Acquaintance
- Older friend
- Younger friend

What is the haircolour of the story-teller?

- Blonde, brunette, red, black

What is the education level of the story-teller?

- less than high school, high school, some college or university, completed college or university degree, masters degree, doctoral degree

What is the age of the story-teller? *

15-17, 18-21, 22-25, 26-30, 31-40, 41-50, 51-60, 61 or over

How long has the speaker been in Canada? *

- their whole life,since they were a young child, ten years, five years, two years, one year, less than one year

What is the race of the story-teller? *

White, Black, Asian, South-East Asian, Hispanic/Latino, First Nations, Other

How many hours of television does the story-teller watch a day, on average? *

- seven hours or more, six hours, five hours, four hours, three hours, two hour, one hour, less than one hour

What is the sexuality of the story-teller? *

- Gay, straight, bisexual, transsexual

What is the socioeconomic class of the story-teller? *

- upper class, upper middle class, middle class, lower middle class, lower class

Post Audio Survey Part II

Please answer the following questions truthfully. 1 = not at all 2 = not very 3 = neutral 4 = somewhat 5 = very

How HAPPY is the story-teller? *

	1	2	3	4	5	
Not at all						Extremely

How BORED is the story-teller? *

	1	2	3	4	5	
Not at all						Extremely

How CONCERNED is the story-teller? *

	1	2	3	4	5	
Not at all						Extremely

How EXCITED is the story-teller? *

	1	2	3	4	5	
Not at all						Extremely

How ANGRY is the story-teller? *

	1	2	3	4	5	
Not at all						Extremely

How AFFECTIONATE is the story-teller? *

	1	2	3	4	5	
Not at all						Extremely

How SAD is the story-teller? *

	1	2	3	4	5	
Not at all						Extremely

How AMUSED is the story-teller? *

	1	2	3	4	5	
Not at all						Extremely

How FRIGHTENED is the story-teller? *

	1	2	3	4	5	
Not at all						Extremely

How ENTHUSIASTIC is the story-teller? *

	1	2	3	4	5	
Not at all						Extremely

How INSULTING is the story-teller? *

	1	2	3	4	5	
Not at all						Extremely

How CONFUSED is the story-teller? *

	1	2	3	4	5	
Not at all						Extremely

Ethnic Diversity among University Faculty:

The Issue of Representation in Canadian Higher Education

Renee K. Ng
University of British Columbia

In a country with an increasingly ethnically diverse population (Statistics Canada, 2006), the leading universities of Canada fail to reflect this change in their faculties. The top three universities in Canada, as ranked by annual world university ranking lists, are the University of Toronto (UT), University of British Columbia (UBC) and McGill University (McG) (Academic Ranking of World Universities, 2012; Times Higher Education: World University Rankings, 2012; Maclean's University Ranking, 2011). While ethnic diversity continues to increase among the student population of each campus (UBC, 2011; UBC, 2012; UT, 2011; UT, 2012), the diversity of the faculty has not kept pace. As will be seen, the data on the distribution of faculty members by colour suggests that there have been unequal hiring and inequitable promotion processes regardless of the universities' existing equity policies. Indeed, although all three universities have guidelines in place that ostensibly promote diverse hiring practices, the pace of diversifying the faculty remains slow.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Altonji and Blank (1999) define labour market discrimination as occurring when persons who are equally productive, in a physical or material sense, are treated unequally in a potential employment opportunity due to persons' observable characteristic such as race, ethnicity, or gender. The Employment

Equity Act defines visible minorities as "persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour" (Statistics Canada, 2009b). While research has shown a consistent pattern of wage gaps correlated with racial ethnicity in the USA, employer discrimination does not begin with the individual's salary, but at the hiring process. Recent studies show that in the USA and Canada there is a significant hiring bias due to potential employees' ethnicities. For example, there is consistently a large gap in callback rates between resume applicants with ethnic-sounding names and similarly qualified individuals with American- (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004) or Canadian- (Oreopoulos, 2009) sounding names.

Studies of labour market discrimination around the globe have found specific trends relative to the culture of the studied areas. Specifically, studies based in North America have shown that this pattern of white Eurocentric privileged labour market discrimination can be found in both the USA and Canada. In an American study, Bertrand and Mullainathan (2004) found a fifty percent callback gap between applicants with White-sounding and African-American-sounding names when education, location, and experience are held constant in resumes submitted in response to blue-collar jobs. When resume qualities were manipulated, Whites with a higher quality resume had a callback rate 27% higher than Whites with a lower quality resume; however, with the same contrast there was only an eight percent difference for African-Americans. These last findings illustrate a rather striking problem as approximately 60% of recent immigrants have an undergraduate degree, in comparison to only twenty percent of Canadian-born of similar age (Statistic Canada, 2008).

In similar studies, Oreopoulos (2009, 2011) has found similar discriminatory hiring patterns in Canada with electronically submitted resumes. His results showed a 40% callback gap between English-sounding names and Chinese, Indian, and Pakistani names when education and work experience were held constant. While a degree from a relatively unknown institution may potentially be costly to an employer, a degree from a prestigious school should be a potent consideration for an employer if all other factors are identical between applicants. However, statistics show that callback rates for applicants with ethnic-sounding names were not substantially affected regardless of the prestige and ranking of foreign postsecondary schools. The second strongest factor after names was the location of work experience;

those with Canadian work experience had a callback rate twice as high as those with foreign experience (Oreopoulos, 2009).

Despite equity policies in postsecondary institutions, there remains a lack of ethnic minority faculty members in postsecondary institutions (Smith, Turner, Osei-Kofi, & Richards, 2004). The Employment Equity Act's definition of visible minority may be misleading at times since ethnic minority groups are the visible majority in some jurisdictions. Thus, this paper will use the term "ethnic minority" except when referring to the data taken from Statistics Canada, which uses the working definition from the Employment Equity Act. In UBC, McG, and UT, each institution has an equity office with the mandate to remove barriers, promote ethnic diversity, and to ensure compliance with the Employment Equity Act ("Employment Equity," n.d.; "Employment Equity Guidelines," 2013; "Academic Employment Opportunities," 2008). Each of the faculty hiring advertisements of the three institutions state that "all qualified [persons/applicants] are encouraged to apply"; however, McG and UT both give preference to "Canadians and permanent residents" ("Employment Equity Guidelines," 2013; "Academic Employment Opportunities," 2008), which can potentially incite racial hiring discrimination similar to the issues identified by Oreopoulos (2009). Furthermore, the decision of what constitutes as "qualification" may be subjected to potential bias of department heads and senior faculty when developing recruitment plans, including how "scholarly productivity" is measured, and how publications and research are credited (Smith et al., 2004). The formal acknowledgment of the Employment Equity Act and its language in employment recruitment media does not necessarily equate to an ethnically diverse faculty.

It has been suggested that the lack of faculty diversity is due to what is known as the pipeline limitation (Smith et al., 2004). The pipeline limitation argument suggests that the relatively low percentage of students of visible minorities earning doctorates restricts the pool of potential hires. For example, if only 15% of PhD graduates in a specific field are of ethnic minorities, then approximately only 15% of new hires in that field would be of ethnic minority, everything else being equal. Administrators and faculty—like the former president of Harvard University, Neil Rudenstine (Roach, 1999)—tend to use the convenience of the pipeline argument to explain the lack of faculty diversity. Although there is a tentative positive correlation between new

faculty hiring and the available doctoral attainment pools (Aguirre, 2000), faculties continue to lack diversity even in disciplines with a larger pool of ethnic scholars (Trower & Chait, 2002). To be inclusive, this paper includes postdoctoral fellowships and graduate student department members in the data collection to test if this pipeline argument has credence in the Canadian case.

Trower and Chait (2002) suggest the pipeline argument does not apply as there is a lack of positive correlation between the growth of faculty of colour and the increase of ethnic graduate students. Although there has been a growth in ethnic minority participation in faculty (from 9.3% in 1983 to 12.2% in 1993), full-time faculty members in the United States continue to be predominantly white: 95% of all faculty members in 1972 were white and 83% in 1997. The faultiness of the pipeline argument is most prominent when considering that even in fields with a relatively ample supply of minority scholars, there remains a large discrepancy of percentage between the ethnic minority and white faculty members at predominantly white institutions (e.g., in fields of study such as psychology and mathematics) (Trower & Chait, 2002).

While most literature on the topic of faculty of colour revolves around the pipeline limitation argument, there is a lack of literature regarding the implicit prejudices found within institutions. The implicit attitudes of the search committee for faculty hiring and the equity committee would be an important area of any institution to study. Most people do not want to be sexist or racist, but prejudice occurs due to the differences between one's explicit attitudes, which are one's publicly expressed views, and implicit attitudes, which are unconscious mental associations between a target and a given attribute (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995). Nonetheless, there is evidence that even non-prejudiced people demonstrate prejudicial reactions at an unconscious or "automatic" level (Banaji & Dasgupta, 1998). Devine (1989) demonstrated that individuals of low explicit prejudice, as measured by the Implicit Association Test (Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998), exert conscious vigilance to reduce stereotyping and prejudice. Although committee members may be consciously trying to adhere to the equity policies of their institution, when their conscious control is minimized, even those who are relatively unprejudiced, as rated by the Implicit Association Test, can

slip into "automatic prejudice" (Devine, 1989). This could be a potentially crippling factor if search committees are understaffed or pressed for time.

To return to the ineffectiveness of equity policies employed in institutions, the lack of ethnic minority faculty members neither begins nor ends at the hiring process. An institution's environment has a large impact on an individual's feeling of being treated fairly and equally by their peers. The term "campus climate" refers to the "behaviors within a workplace or learning environment, ranging from subtle to cumulative to dramatic, that can influence whether an individual feels personally safe, listened to, valued, and treated fairly and with respect" (Campus Climate Network Group, 2002). A chilly climate is an academic environment where "individuals or groups often feel isolated, marginalized, and even unsafe" (UC Regents, Campus Climate Report 2007). One of UBC's more widely documented instances of a chilly climate occurred in 1995 within the political science department, when graduate students lodged complaints of pervasive racism and sexism. The McEwen Report (1995) by lawyer Joan McEwen upheld the charges, finding a prevalence of sexual harassment, racism, and sexism within the political science department. Since then, there have been tentative attempts to deal with the chilly climate, like the implementation of an equity department. However, it is plausible that the chilly climate continues to be an issue on the UBC campus, as demonstrated in an article entitled "Does UBC have an equity gap?" from *The Ubyssey,* a student-run paper. The article, written from the student body's perspective, states that most discrimination reports filed by students, faculty, and staff to the UBC Equity Office have been disposed of without proper resolutions. Though structural changes may have been made within the institution regarding equity and discrimination, this article suggests that some students and faculty members may still be aware of and experiencing these issues.

Although faculty hiring practices regarding racial diversity on campus is an issue, the retention of ethnic minority faculty members is also a concern. For example, 58% of new under-represented ethnic minority faculty hires served to replace departing faculty of colour in 28 institutions in California (Clayton-Pedersen et al., 2007). That is, for every five new ethnic minority faculty members hired, only two increase the existing racial diversity of the faculty on campus. This low retention rate may be due to the chilly climate on campuses. It is suggested that the presence of a chilly climate may alienate

those who deviate from the norm (Trower & Chait, 2002; Turner, Myers, & Creswell, 1999) through social isolation. Even with a high recruitment rate that suggests successful employment equity strategies, a low retention rate of under-represented ethnic minority faculty may imply that the campus lacks true equity and diversity practices.

Another example of ineffectiveness of equity policies employed in institutions is the gendered inequality in faculty pay. For example, in 2010, UBC implemented a study to find the sources of the existing gender differences in professional salaries of faculty staff inspired by pay equity reports of 2007 and 2009 from UBC's equity office. The analyses indicated that, after accounting for the factors of under representation of females at the full professor level, experience, and differences in the gender balance across departments, a pay differential of two percent that could only be explained by gender remained (UBC DATA Working Group, 2010). To address the pay differential of two percent, all UBC full-time, female-identified tenure and tenure-track professors are getting a two percent raise. This two percent raise, to begin in 2013, will only temporarily fix the existing salary gap, but does not actively correct or prevent further causes of salary inequality, such as systemic discrimination. Even though the equity office of UBC has formally acknowledged problems of inequality, their method of addressing inequality is superficial and may not result in a more comfortable working climate.

While university institutions like UBC and McG are willing and able to address some gender issues regarding pay inequality (UBC DATA Working Group, 2010), there remains a lack of actual acknowledgement of and intervention in racial hiring discrimination. This suggests that the lack of faculty members of ethnic minority groups in institutions may be due to a combination of multiple factors, such as the pipeline argument, discrimination, and restrictive structural process employed by institutions.

DATA AND METHODS

Data on the ethnic distribution of UBC, UT, and McG faculties were collected from only their respective Departments of Sociology and Departments of Mathematics in 2012. These three universities were selected due to their international prestige, academic presence, and their location within the three largest census metropolitan areas in Canada. Using these three universities also enables a comparison of their ethnic diversity profile with ethnic

diversity profile of the city in which they are located. The departments were selected based on the discipline's cultural specificity or lack thereof: while mathematical theories are applicable worldwide, not all sociology theories are applicable to every community due to cultural differences. The data were retrieved from each respective department's online full-time faculty listing and the universities' equity website. All full-time faculty members were tracked. Professors emeriti, guest professors, and adjunct professors were excluded because they lack a consistent presence in the department. Thus, their inclusion could create an inaccurate portrayal of the constant ethnic demographic of the department. Postdoctoral fellowships and graduate students were included in the data collection in order to test the pipeline argument.

All full-time professors and postdoctoral fellowships were tracked by their name, faculty, department, and position. They were then identified as ethnic minority or non-ethnic minority[1] based on linguistic cues available from their first and last names (see Nakhaie, 2001), and visual cues when photos were available.

FINDINGS

The preliminary findings show that while there is ethnic minority representation in each university's mathematics and sociology departments, there is an overall under-representation of ethnic minority faculty members (see Table 1). With 301 full-time faculty members, only 25.2% are identified as ethnic minority. When the department data are isolated, the two of the three mathematics departments have a higher ethnic minority employment rate than the respective sociology departments. Ethnic minority faculty members make up 28.9% of UT, 36.2% of UBC, and 15.0% of McG's Mathematics Department, compared to only 18.5% of UT, 19.2% of UBC, and 21.1% of McG's

1 The Employment Equity Act states that the term "members of visible minorities means persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour." This includes individuals of non-white or non-Caucasian origin from Europe, Australia, New Zealand, South America, Africa or any other part of the world. It does not include persons of Portuguese, Spanish, Greek, Italian, or Ukrainian descent, or other ethnic groups who are considered to be white or Caucasian in origin.

The term visible minority also infers that those personal groups are quantitatively less than the "not a visible minority" group (Statistics Canada, 2009b). While this definition holds true in certain locations, in certain jurisdiction the visible minority is actually a majority in terms of population. Instead of using visible minority and non-visible minority, this paper uses "ethnic minority"' and "non-ethnic minority" due to the difficulties of the definition of visible minority.

Table 1

UT, UBC, McG demographics by faculty [a] and perceived ethnicity

Institution	Department of Sociology		Department of Mathematic	
	Percentage of Demographic		Percentage of Demographic	
	Non-Ethnic Minority	Ethnic Minority	Non-Ethnic Minority	Ethnic Minority
UT	81% (44)	19% (10)	71% (49)	29% (20)
UBC	81% (21)	19% (5)	64% (51)	36% (29)
McG	79% (15)	21% (4)	85% (45)	15% (8)

Note. – In parentheses is the number of faculty members.
[a] Not including postdoctoral fellows and graduate students. There were no data on postdoctoral fellows posted on all three institutions' Department of Sociology websites.

Sociology Departments. McG's Sociology Department has a higher ratio of ethnic minority than their Mathematic Department.

As a country that endorses multiculturalism and equality, this imbalance in hiring equality in public education institutions is troublesome. Even with equity hiring policies in place at all three institutions, the percentage of faculty members that are identified as visible minorities is lower than the percentage of visible minorities of the corresponding city (Statistics Canada, 2006), except for Montreal (see Table 2). Montreal has an approximately equal ratio of visible minorities in the area's population and faculty members. Toronto has the largest census metropolitan area (CMA) and boasts a population composed of 43% of visible minorities; however, there is only a tentative 24% of minority representation in UT's faculty. Vancouver, the city with the second-largest Canadian CMA, is composed of 42% of visible minority while there is only approximately 32% of visible minority faculty representation in UBC. This pattern of discrepancy between city and faculty ethnic demographics suggests a trend of under-representation of visible minorities in faculty members, even with the institutions' compliance with the Employment Equity Act.

Previous research has suggested that the underrepresentation of full-time faculty members identified as ethnic minority is due to the limited pool of ethnic minority students earning doctorates. The data suggest that the ratio of diversity is higher among postdoctoral fellowship faculty members (see Table 4) and graduate students at the PhD level than full professors (see Table 3). In all three institutions' Mathematics Departments, the ratio of diversity within the postdoctoral fellowship members and graduate students (Table 3) is higher than the overall diversity ratio for their faculty members

Table 2
Visible minority percentages in Toronto, Vancouver, and Montreal

	Toronto	Vancouver	Montreal
Total Population	5 072 075	2 097 965	3 588 520
Total Visible Minority	2 174 070	875 300	590 375
Percentage Visible Minority	43%	42%	16%
Percentage Born Outside of Canada	46%	40%	21%
Percentage of Visible Minority Faculty members in selected faculties of respective Institutions	24%	32%	17%
Percentage of Visible Minority Postdoctoral and Graduate Students in selected faculties of respective Institutions	38%	47%	26%

(Table 2). This higher diversity ratio among graduate students implies there will also be a more diverse hiring pool in the immediate future (assuming that these students successfully graduate). If the pipeline argument is valid, the hiring pool's increasing diversity ratio should lead to a future faculty staff with greater diversity. Unfortunately postdoctoral fellowship members' data were not collected from the Sociology Department of all three universities, as the information was unavailable on each institutions` respective website. Without extensive data on the nation's entire potential hiring pool's ethnicity for faculty positions, no strong claims regarding the credence of the pipeline argument in the Canadian case can be made. However, based on current data collected, with each successive faculty level there is an increase of diversity. In the Mathematics Department, there are only 21% (UT), 18% (UBC), and 16% (McG) of ethnic minority full professors in comparison to 55% (UT), 19% (UBC), and 26% (McG) of postdoctoral fellows. Similarly, there is 32% (UT), 52% (UBC), and 26% (McG) of graduate students. With the increase of immigrants and ethnic minority students in present day, it suggests that there will continue to be an expanding pool of ethnically diverse potential faculty staff.

However, even with a potential increase of future hiring of ethnic minority scholars for faculty positions, the progress of change towards a more diverse faculty may be very slow. In both departments of all three institutions, ethnic minority faculty members consistently hold lower academic ranks

Table 3
UT, UBC, McG Department of Mathematics and perceived ethnicity of Postdoctoral Fellow and Graduate Students

Institution	Postdoctoral Fellow		Graduate Student	
	Percentage of Demographic		Percentage of Demographic	
	Non-Ethnic Minority	Ethnic Minority	Non-Ethnic Minority	Ethnic Minority
UT	45% (19)	55% (23)	68% (83)	32% (39)
UBC	81% (21)	19% (4)	48% (55)	52% (59)
McG	74% (14)	26% (5)	74% (59)	26% (21)

Note.– In parentheses is the number of faculty members.

than non-ethnic minority faculty members (Tables 4a and 4b). Aside from the position of Mathematic Department Chair of UT, which is filled by an Indonesian male, non-ethnic minority individuals overwhelmingly occupy the top ranked positions in both departments at UT, UBC, and McG. For example, non-ethnic minority individuals make up 80% (UT), 82% (UBC), and 84% (McG) of full professors in Mathematics Departments (Table 4a). More shockingly, non-ethnic minority individuals make up 88% (UT), 100% (UBC), and 83% (McG) of full professors in the Sociology Departments (Table 4b), whereas assistant professors and other faculty positions are predominantly occupied by ethnic minority individuals regardless of department or institution.

Although non-ethnic minority individuals at UT, UBC, and McG predominantly fill the higher hierarchical faculty positions, this may be due to the cohort effect of past hiring practices and hiring pool availability. Base on the promotion pattern of universities, the assistant professors accounted for in this sample were hired approximately in the 1990s and 2000s after the implementation of the Employment Equity Act. In comparison to the diversity ratio of full professors and associate professors, there is a greater percentage of ethnic minority members at the assistant professor level and lower. For example, in the Mathematics Departments, ethnic minorities make up 63% (UT) and 83% (UBC) of assistant professors, whereas only 21% (UT), 18% (UBC), and 16% (McG) of full professors are identified as ethnic minorities (Table 4a). The data pattern is also found in Sociology Departments: ethnic minorities make up 45% (UT), 67% (UBC), and 60% (McG) of assistant professors in the Sociology Departments (Table 4b). While the diversity ratio of postdoctoral fellows (Table 3) are less drastic than the assistant professors (Tables 4a and 4b), the percentage of graduate students

Table 4a

UT, UBC, McG Department of Mathematics and perceived ethnicity

Institution	Position	Number of Faculty Members			Percentage of Demographic*	
		Total Faculty Members	Non-Ethnic Minority	Ethnic Minority	Non-Ethnic Minority	Ethnic Minority
UT	Department Chair	1	0	1	0%	100%
	Full Professor	44	35	9	80%	21%
	Associate Professor	7	6	1	86%	14%
	Assistant Professor	8	3	5	38%	63%
	Postdoctoral Fellow	42	19	23	45%	54%
	Others*	9	5	4	56%	44%
	TOTAL	111	68	43	61%	39%
UBC	Department Chair	1	1	0	100%	0%
	Full Professor	39	32	7	82%	18%
	Associate Professor	14	6	8	43%	57%
	Assistant Professor	6	1	5	17%	83%
	Postdoctoral Fellow	21	17	4	81%	19%
	Others*	20	11	9	55%	45%
	TOTAL	101	68	33	67%	33%
McG	Department Chair	1	1	0	100%	0%
	Full Professor	38	32	6	84%	16%
	Associate Professor	0	0	0	0%	0%
	Assistant Professor	0	0	0	0%	0%
	Postdoctoral Fellow	19	14	5	74%	26%
	Others*	14	12	2	86%	14%
	TOTAL	72	59	13	82%	18%

* This position category includes "Lecturers", "Sessionals", "Adjunct Professors" and "Clinicals."

identified as ethnic minority group members (Table 3) is greater than full professor and associate professors at all three institutions.

While the current percentage of ethnic full professors is only slightly higher than 1997's 11% (Trower & Chait, 2002), there may be potential for a general shift to a more diverse faculty demographic. Approximately five percent of faculty members leave UBC each year, due to retirement or alternative employment opportunities, and another five percent are added as new hires (UBC DATA Working Group, 2010). Another major factor aside from seniority is the availability of openings. The five percent of new hires may not only be concentrated at the assistant professor level, but the lack of openings at the associate and full professor levels could prevent an increase of diversity at those levels.

It must be clearly noted that this study is limited by the subjective nature of one's definition and perception of ethnicity. First, this study was not done with double blind methods. Secondly, individuals were categorized into ethnic and non-ethnic based on the researcher's perception of their ethnicity through their names, and photos when available. First and last names may often be a good guide for assuming a person's ethnic background, but it is not infallible as, among other factors, interracial marriages and personal preferences for Anglicised names may be misleading (Nakhaie, 2001). Thirdly, there are cases where ethnicity is unknown even with the aid of name dictionaries and charts. In this study, when ethnic identity could not be ascertained they were placed in the ethnic minority group. Lastly, first and last names do not report true ethnicity but instead suggest race. This is the largest issue with this study and with other similar studies that use names to identify ethnicity.

CONCLUSION

With more than half of immigrants entering Canada through the Point System as economic immigrants since 1994 (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2009), it is possible that even though we import highly skilled individuals, our economy fails at employing them to our advantage. The current immigration point system selectively chooses individuals with the credentials of an average white-collar worker, but the lack of employment for these skilled individuals can potentially harm the Canadian economy. The data from this study reflect the findings of previous research suggesting

Table 4b

UT, UBC, McG Department of Sociology and perceived ethnicity

Institution		Number of Faculty Members			Percentage of Demographic*	
	Position	Total Faculty Members	Non-Ethnic Minority	Ethnic Minority	Non-Ethnic Minority	Ethnic Minority
UT	Department Chair	1	1	0	100%	0%
	Full Professor	26	23	3	88%	12%
	Associate Professor	16	14	2	88%	13%
	Assistant Professor	11	6	5	55%	45%
	Postdoctoral Fellow	0	0	0	0%	0%
	Others*	0	0	0	0%	0%
	TOTAL	54	44	10	81%	19%
UBC	Department Chair	1	1	0	100%	0%
	Full Professor	7	7	0	100%	0%
	Associate Professor	15	12	3	80%	20%
	Assistant Professor	3	1	2	33%	67%
	Postdoctoral Fellow	0	0	0	0%	0%
	Others*	0	0	0	0%	0%
	TOTAL	26	21	5	81%	19%
McG	Department Chair	1	1	0	100%	0%
	Full Professor	6	5	1	83%	17%
	Associate Professor	7	7	0	100%	0%
	Assistant Professor	5	2	3	40%	60%
	Postdoctoral Fellow	0	0	0	0%	0%
	Others*	0	0	0	0%	0%
	TOTAL	19	15	4	79%	21%

* This position category includes "Lecturers", "Sessionals", "Adjunct Professors" and "Clinicals."

inadequate ethnic minority faculty member presence in institutions of higher education (Smith et al., 2004). There is a pattern of discrepancy between an institution's faculty of visible minority demographic ratio and the surrounding CMA visible minority demographic ratio. This discrepancy is expected, as a university faculty will differ from the general public on many attributes, with ethnicity being just one of them. At the moment, these findings of under-representation of ethnic minorities within these institutions is suggestive of hiring and promotion inequalities of the past and present, but this data set cannot supply a causation of the inequalities. With the progress of technology and the globalization of economy and education, there is hope that institutions' faculties will soon reflect the diversity found in their students and city demographics.

However, the process of achieving equity should not stop once there is an increased presence of ethnic minority faculty members in institutions. If the pipeline argument is valid, then the current disproportionate academic rankings between ethnic minority and non-minority faculty members should eventually reach equality. These data cannot confirm the pipeline argument, but they do demonstrate the disparity of academic positions between ethnic minority and non-minority scholars in the higher positions of academic employment. As discussed earlier, this pattern may be due to previous hiring practices and the cohort effect. The data may not indicate the cause of these inequalities in academic positions, but they suggest that structural changes such as the Employment Equity Act and the establishment of equity offices may have been effective in increasing faculty diversity, even if only minimally. The data suggests that after the passing of the Employment Equity Act in 1995 there has been a drastic increase in hiring of visible minority group faculty members as displayed by the diversity ratio at the Assistant Professor level across departments and institutions. While the lower diversity ratio in the postdoctoral fellow group could be attributed to a regression to the mean after the spike of hiring of ethnic minority group in the previous cohort, a continuous process of intervention and structural change to would be required to increase the presence of certain minority groups as faculty members within the institution.

Other statistics indicate that this may not be merely a supply issue as there are approximately 54% of self-identified minority undergraduate students and 52% of graduate students (UBC, 2002). Even with a faculty

of ethnic minority members that appears proportionate to the student and city demographic of the institution, there may still be discriminating forces working upon ethnic scholars restricting their success in academia.

While there are certain limitations with the data collected as listed above, they are still more holistic than the employment equity reports released by these particular institutions. Even though all three institutions have an active employment equity policy, only UT and UBC have their employment equity reports publicly available online. Although UBC does offer their 2009 and 2010 survey report to the public, the figures in the survey reports can be misleading due to the low survey completion rate. If all three institutions had their employment equity survey results publicly available, this paper would have used those figures to supplement current data. Even if the data were based on employment equity surveys, the reader should be skeptical of information voluntarily released by Equity departments that can potentially tarnish or enhance an institution's reputation.

REFERENCES

Aguirre, A. (2000). Women and minority faculty in the academic workplace: Recruitment, retention, and academic culture. *ASHE-ERIC Higher Education Report, 27*(6), 1-141.

Banaji, M., & Dasgupta, N. (1998). The consciousness of social beliefs: A program of research on stereotyping and prejudice. In V. Y. Yzerbyt, G. Lories, & B. Dardenne (Eds.), *Metacognition: Cognitive and social dimensions* (pp. 157-170). London: Sage Publications.

Bertrand, M. & Mullainathan, S. (2004). Are Emily and Greg more employable than Lakisha and Jamal? A field experiment on labour market discrimination. *American Economic Review, 94*(4), 991-1013.

Chui, T., Tran, K., & Maheux, H. (2007). *Immigration in Canada: a portrait of the foreign-born population, 2006 Census: findings,* 2006 Census Analysis series, Statistics Canada Catalogue number 97-557XWE2006007

Campus Climate Network Group. (2004). Enhancing department climate: A Chair's role. Women *in Science & Engineering Leadership Institute. University of Wisconsin-Madison. Retrieved from: http://wiseli.engr.wisc.edu/climate/ResourceBook_09.pdf/*

Devine, P. G. (1989). Stereotypes and prejudice: Their automatic and controlled components. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 56(1), 5-18.

Greenwald, A., & Banaji, M. (1995). Implicit social cognition: Attitudes, self-esteem, and stereotypes. *Psychological Review, 102*(1), 4-27.

Greenwald, A., McGhee, D., & Schwartz, J. (1998). Measuring individual differences in implicit cognition: The implicit association test. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 74*(6), 1464-1480.

Macleans.ca. (2011). *Maclean's 2011 university rankings.* Retrieved from: http://oncampus.macleans.ca/education/2011/10/26/macleans-2011-university-rankings-2/

McGill University. (2013). Employment equity guidelines-academic recruitment. Retrieved from https://www.mcgill.ca/apo/deans-and-chairs-guide/employment-equity

Citizenship and Immigration Canada. (2009). Facts and figures 2008: Immigration Overview – Permanent and temporary residents. Ottawa, O.N.: Citizenship and Immigration Canada. Catalogue no. Ci1-8/2008E-PDF. Retrieved from: http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/pdf/research-stats/facts2008.pdf

Nakhaie, M. R. (2001). Ethnic and gender distribution of sociologists and anthropologists, 1971-1996: Canada. Canadian Journal of Sociology, 26(2), 215-232.

Oreopoulos, P., & Metropolis British Columbia. (2009). *Why do skilled immigrants struggle in the labor market: A field experiment with six thousand resumes.* Vancouver, B.C.: Metropolis British Columbia.

Oreopoulos, P. (2011). Why do skilled immigrants struggle in the labor market? A field experiment with thirteen thousand resumes. *American Economic Journal-Economic Policy, 3*(4), 148-171.

Roach, R. (1999). Blacks in crimson. *Black Issues in Higher Education, 15*(25), 32-37.

Shanghai Ranking Consultancy (2012). Academic ranking of world universities - 2012. Retrieved from: http://www.shanghairanking.com/ARWU2012.html

Smith, D. G., Turner C. S., Osei-Kofi, N., & Richards, S. (2004). Interrupting the usual: Successful strategies for hiring diverse faculty. *The Journal of Higher Education, 75*(2), 133-160.

Statistics Canada. (2006). Immigration in Canada: A portrait of the foreign-born population, 2006 census. Catalogue no. 97-557-XIE2006001

Statistics Canada. (2007a). *Montréal, Quebec (Code462)* (table). 2006 Community Profiles. 2006 Census. Catalogue no. 92-591-XWE. Retrieved from: http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2006/dp-pd/prof/92-591/index.cfm?Lang=E

Statistics Canada. (2007b). Toronto, Ontario (Code535) (table). 2006 Community Profiles. 2006 Census. Catalogue no. 92-591-XWE. Retrieved from: http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2006/dp-pd/prof/92-591/index.cfm?Lang=E

Statistics Canada. (2007c). Vancouver, British Columbia (Code933) (table). 2006 Community Profiles. 2006 Census. Catalogue no. 92-591-XWE. Retrieved from: http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2006/dp-pd/prof/92-591/index.cfm?Lang=E

Statistic Canada. (2009a). Table 4 Distribution of total population, total immigrant population and recent immigrants, Canada and census metropolitan areas, 2006 and 2001 censuses. Retrieved from: http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2006/as-sa/97-557/table/t3-eng.cfm

Statistics Canada. (2009b). Visible minority of person, Definitions, data sources and methods. Retrieved from: http://www.statcan.gc.ca/concepts/definitions/minority-minorite1-eng.htm

Times Higher Education (2012). World University Rankings – Top 400. Retrieved from: http://www.timeshighereducation.co.uk/world-university-rankings/2012-13/world-ranking

Trower, C.A., & Chait, R.P (2002). Faculty diversity: Too little for too long. *Harvard Magazine*, March-April, 33.

Turner, C.S. V., Myers, S. L., & Creswell, J. W. (1999). Exploring underrepresentation: The case of faculty of colour in the midwest. *The Journal of Higher Education, 70*(1), 27-59.

University of British Columbia. (n.d.). Advertising guidelines. Retrieved from http://www.hr.ubc.ca/faculty-relations/recruitment/advertising-guidelines/

University of British Columbia. (n.d.). Employment equity. Retrieved from http://equity.ubc.ca/employment/

University of British Columbia. (2002). Visible minority distribution, Vancouver. Retrieved from University of British Columbia, Vancouver, Planning and Institutional Research (PAIR) website: http://www.pair.ubc.ca/statistics/students/students.htm

University of British Columbia. (2010). An analysis of the gender pay gap in professorial salaries at UBC: Report of the pay equity (DATA) working group. Retrieved from University of British Columbia, Vancouver, Faculty Equity and Diversity Initiatives website: http://vpacademic.ubc.ca/faculty-equity-and-diversity-initiatives/gender-pay-equity-information/

University of British Columbia. (2011). UBC annual report on enrolment, 2012/2013 Vancouver campus. Retrieved from: http://www.pair.ubc.ca/statistics/students/students.htm

University of British Columbia. (2012). UBC annual report on enrolment, 2012/2013 Vancouver campus. Retrieved from: http://www.pair.ubc.ca/statistics/students/students.htm

University of Toronto. (2008). Academic employment opportunities. Retrieved from https://utoronto.taleo.net/careersection/10050/jobdetail.ftl

University of Toronto. (2011). Facts and figures report. Retrieved from: http://www.utoronto.ca/about-uoft/quickfacts/factsandfigures

University of Toronto. (2012). Facts and figures report. Retrieved from: http://www.utoronto.ca/about-uoft/quickfacts/factsandfigures

Wakefield, J. (2012, March 15). Does UBC have an equity gap? A look at the independence and integrity of the Equity Office. *The Ubyssey.* Retrieved from: http://ubyssey.ca/features/does-ubc-have-an-equity-gap692/

Intersecting Inequality:

Examining Socio-Economic Status of British Columbian Aboriginals Using 2006 Census Data

Ryley Humphry
University of British Columbia

In 2005, over 28% of Aboriginal males living on British Columbian reserves were unemployed, a rate 5.6 times higher than their non-Aboriginal (NA) counterparts in other areas of the province; within the same demographic, 46% had not completed a high school education (compared to 13% for NA males) (BC Stats, 2006). These statistics express the substantial inequality faced by British Columbian Aboriginals (defined in the Census of Canada as self-identified persons of First Nations, Metis or Inuit identity [Stock, 2009]) in terms of socio-economic status when compared to the general public (Pendakur and Pendakur, 2011; Wilkes, 2010). Many studies have analysed Aboriginal economic success, educational attainment and incomes independently, yet few studies have combined these three measures to examine how they converge. This paper will utilise the theory of intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1991; Hankivsky & Christoffersen, 2008; Yuval-Davis, 2008; Veenstra, 2011) to acknowledge the importance of all aspects of a person or group's identity that contribute to the oppression and inequality they face. Studying any one of these influences without the others "obscures the complex realities of inequality that emerges from [their] intersections" (Oxam-Martinez et al., 2005, p. 256). For Aboriginal people, each aspect of their identity including but not limited to their race, ethnicity, gender, education, socio-economic status and the historical and present day implications of colonisation intersect to impact their place in Canadian

society; with this in mind, the current analysis will use economic success, educational attainment and income as measures of socio-economic status to compare males and females and those living on and off reserve with the NA population, gaining insight into the interplay of such factors in the lives of Aboriginal Canadians.

This paper is split into two sections to allow for a unique inquiry into the intersectionality of gender, life on or off reserve, economic success, educational attainment and income for Aboriginal people. An intersectional analysis acknowledges that these are not the only factors influencing the lives of Aboriginal people; however, due to space limitations and data availability, only the aforementioned categories have been selected. Results from the 2006 census are used in Section I to compare economic success, educational attainment and income for Aboriginals. In Section II, educational attainment and income levels for this same group are combined, highlighting the importance of education for present and future generations. In both sections, data from the BC Non-Aboriginal population has been included as a reference group, allowing for the consideration of the "relative position" of this group (Wilkes, 2010, p. 314).

LITERATURE REVIEW

Previous literature and Canadian census data have documented multiple aspects of inequality faced by Aboriginal Canadians, yet few authors have combined measures in an intersectional analysis. Four main themes have been identified in past work, which will be combined for this study. First, many examine Aboriginals compared to NAs, finding worse outcomes for the former (Luffman & Sussman, 2007; Mendelson, 2004; Pendakur, 2011; Wilson & Cardwell, 2011); differences between those living on-reserve and those living off-reserve have been studied (Drost & Richards, 2009; Mendelson, 2005; Wardman, Clement & Quartz, 2005; Wilson & MacDonald, 2010); scholarship has examined gender differences between all groups of Aboriginal Canadians (Bourassa, McKay-McNaab, & Hampton, 2004; Pendakur, 2011; Wilson & MacDonald, 2010). Finally, education is widely recognised as an important factor in labour outcomes such as income for this group (Preston, 2008; Mendelson, 2008; Sharpe et al., 2007; Waslander, 2009; Wilkes, 2010).

Much of this work has focused on Aboriginal populations across Canada. However, Aboriginal people across the country and in different regions will

experience these issues differently due to variable ways of life, demographic realities and economic impacts (Wilkes, 2010). This paper will only make reference to socio-economic outcomes for Aboriginal people in British Columbia in order to avoid generalisations across provincial and territorial borders. The following section includes an overview of how the concept of intersectionality is analysed as a theoretical perspective, and a discussion of the impact of colonialism for the Canadian Aboriginal population and significant themes in past literature.

Intersectionality

Intersectionality was coined in 1989 by Kimberle Crenshaw (Yuval-Davis, 2008), and "addresses the manner in which racism, patriarchy, class oppression and other discriminatory systems create inequalities that structure the relative positions of women, races, ethnicities, classes and the like" (Yuval-Davis, 2006, p. 197). Crenshaw (2001) describes intersectionality as what occurs when an individual from a minority group "tries to navigate the main crossing in the city. . . . The main highway is 'racism road.' One cross street can be Colonialism, then Patriarchy Street" (as cited in Yuval-Davis, 2008, p. 196), and there may be many others such as Capitalism Street; these power dynamics are forms of oppression that cross and intersect to create multiple levels of discrimination. Previous work that has analysed only one aspect of inequality or discrimination such as gender, life on-reserve, Aboriginal status or lack of education (Helmer & Richards, 2009; Mendelson, 2008; Sharpe et al., 2007) is limited without reference to how these aspects of a person's identity interact. An intersectional analysis allows for the study of the convergence of colonialism, patriarchy, globalisation and capitalism in our society and in the lives of Aboriginal Canadians. The intersection of these oppressive systems creates racialised and gendered hierarchies, evident in the socio-economic status of Aboriginal people.

Colonialism in Canada

A study of the Indigenous population in Canada is incomplete without recognition of the past and present manifestations of colonialism, racism and social exclusion and the impacts of these determinants on all aspects of Aboriginal success and well-being (Bourassa, McKay-McNabb, & Hampton, 2004; Kelm, 1998; Reading & Wein, 2009). Colonialism is a process that includes geographic and socio-cultural dislocation, the establishment of

external political, social and economic controls and restrictions, and the creation of an ideological framework based on race and skin colour that situates the coloniser in a higher position of power than the colonised (Kelm, 1998; Reading & Wein, 2009, p. 21). In Canada, European settlers dispossessed Indigenous people from their land, stripped them of their rights to self-determination, subjected them to assimilation efforts, and prohibited them from practicing their languages, cultures, and traditions. Furthermore, many Aboriginal children were torn from their homes and communities and placed in assimilation-focussed residential schools where they suffered physical, emotional and mental abuse, malnourishment, disease, illness, and high rates of mortality (Mussell, 2008; Reading & Wein, 2009). The impacts of colonialism in the present day are closely related to and intersect with all aspects of the socio-economic status of Aboriginal peoples and therefore must be acknowledged.

Aboriginal versus non-Aboriginal Canadians

In Canadian census data, Aboriginal people have been found to have consistently lower socio-economic outcomes than the rest of the population (Luffman & Sussman, 2007; Mendelson, 2004; Pendakur, 2011; Wilkes, 2010; Wilson & Cardwell, 2011). Mendelson (2004) uses census data from 1996 to 2001 to examine work and unemployment rates for this group. Despite small advances in labour market attainment, Aboriginal unemployment rates remain higher than the rest of the Canadian population. In 1991 and 1996, Aboriginal Canadians were more than 2.5 times as likely to be unemployed than the rest of the population (Mendelson, 2004). This trend continues in the 2001 census data, which reported Aboriginal people to be more than twice as likely to be unemployed (19% compared to only 7% of the NA population) (Wilkes, 2010, p. 321). Similar work in 2005 found that despite improvement in labour participation in British Columbia and Alberta, unemployment remains twice as high for the Aboriginal population (Luffman & Sussman, 2007).

Extreme gaps also exist in income levels for this group. Between 1995 and 2005, Aboriginal people had significantly lower incomes than NAs when controlled for age and education (Pendakur & Pendakur, 2011). More recent work has found that the median income for Aboriginal peoples in 2006 was $18,962, which is 30% lower than the median income for NA Canadians. Furthermore, even when NA people live and work on a reserve, they continue

to take home larger wages then their Aboriginal counterparts (Wilson & MacDonald, 2010).

Aboriginal Canadians living on versus off-reserve

Comparing variables and outcomes for Aboriginal Canadians living on-reserve and off-reserve provides a practical measure of the variations between the two. Much research has examined factors such as access to services and overall life quality (Wardman, Clement, & Quartz, 2005), as well as age distribution, labour participation and unemployment (Mendelson, 2004). Through the majority of scholarship on the topic, Aboriginal Canadians living on-reserve exhibit lower levels of achievement and success in income and education (Drost & Richards, 2009; Wilson & MacDonald, 2010). Mendelson (2004) compares unemployment rates for Aboriginal Canadians residing on and off reserve. In 2001, unemployment was twice as high for those living on reserve compared to those living in urban areas. This paper will combine the relevant impact of life on reserve with that of gender, showing the intersectionality.

Aboriginal Canadian males versus females

Aboriginal women experience negative outcomes in many areas including health, (Bourassa, McKay-McNaab, & Hampton, 2004), victimisation, violent crime, (Wilson & MacDonald, 2010) and income (Pendakur, 2011). Nevertheless, recent work has documented that, compared to their male counterparts, Aboriginal women continue to attain higher levels of education, including post-secondary (BC Stats, 2006). Therefore it is essential to look at gender differences critically, recognising the various advantages and disadvantages that both men and women experience. A study of gender alone leaves out many other sites of oppression in the lives of Aboriginal people that become evident through an intersectional analysis (Crenshaw, 1991; Denis, 2008; Yuval-Davis, 2006).

Connecting education to multiple outcomes

Education is cited as one of the most important factors for improving labour market success, income, productivity, and other social indicators (Drost & Richards, 2009; O'Donnell & Tait, 2004; Sharpe et al., 2007; Tait, 1999; Wilson & MacDonald, 2010). At present and in past census data, Aboriginal people fare much worse in educational attainment (Mendelson,

2008; O'Donnell & Tait, 2004; Preston, 2008; Sharpe et al., 2007; Tait, 1999), for reasons including the legacy of colonialism and residential schools (Mendelson, 2008), significant differences in the quality of education on reserves (Preston, 2008; Ricards & Afolabi, 2008), inadequate funding and styles of instruction that do not recognise important language and cultural uniqueness (Mendelson, 2008; Preston, 2008), and family responsibilities and financial reasons (O'Donnell & Tait, 2004, p. 22). Many scholars focus on the benefits of increasing high school completion, as it will not only contribute to increased success and well-being for this group, but will also contribute to the Canadian economy (O'Donnell & Tait, 2004; Sharpe et al., 2007; Tait, 1999). Others focus on the need to increase success in post-secondary and university-level achievement (Waslander, 2009), as it allows people to increase their earning potential and employability. This paper will look at education and its relation to other measures of socio-economic status, with special attention paid to income.

DATA AND METHODS

Data used for the two sections of this study is from the 2006 Census found on the BC Stats website. This source includes British Columbian residents that have declared themselves as Aboriginal, including First Nations, Metis and Status Indians. In 2006, 196,075 Aboriginal people were surveyed in BC, compared to 3,878,310 Non-Aboriginals (Province of BC, 2013). This data source is the most recently published census, providing a detailed account of many aspects of the socio-economic status of BC Aboriginals. By using this census data, this paper updates previous scholarship that used previous census data (Luffman & Sussman, 2007; Mendelson, 2004; Pendakur, 2011; Wilkes, 2010; Wilson & Cardwell, 2011).

For Section I (Table 1), six data sets from the 2006 census were used: "Earnings Profile of Aboriginal Peoples"; "Unemployment Profile of Aboriginal Peoples"; "Work Pattern Profile for Aboriginal Peoples"; "Labour Supply Profile of Aboriginal Peoples"; "Educational Profile of Aboriginal Peoples (Part 1)"; and "Educational Profile of Aboriginal Peoples (Part 2)" (BC Stats, 2006). Gender and life on- versus off-reserve were chosen as relevant variables as they provide the widest range of comparison, and allow for an intersectional analysis of the way such factors converge. In Table 1, Aboriginals living on- and off- reserve are divided by gender and compared

to the NA population on educational attainment, labour force participation, unemployment and income (and a number of sub-categories). In Section II, data from a table titled "Earnings By Skill Profile of Aboriginal Peoples – 2006" (BC Stats, 2006) is used to show the relationship between educational attainment and average income for Aboriginal Canadians living on- and off-reserve in BC compared to the NA population. This is further split up into two age categories, 15-24 and 25-54. Next, the difference between average income for Group A (NA population) and B (Total Aboriginal population) is calculated, with findings presented in the last column of Table 2 (A – B = C). This calculation allows for a clear comparison of earnings when educational attainment is constant.

The findings from Section 1 are broken down into four categories to look at the intersectional influences of gender and life on- versus off-reserve for British Columbian Aboriginals. These categories are "education," "labour market participation," "unemployment," and "income." An analysis of the findings from Section 2 follows with two categories: "education and income" and "differences between groups."

SECTION 1

Findings. Table 1 demonstrates that Aboriginals living on-reserve have significantly lower achievement than those living off-reserve in terms of high school completion, post secondary education, including apprenticeships, trades certificates or diplomas, and non-university certificates or diplomas, and university level certificates, diplomas and degrees. When compared to the NA population, Aboriginal people living both on- and off-reserve report substantially lower educational attainment in all categories, labour force participation, employment and income, and higher rates of unemployment. Males and females show differing results within these categories: while women tend to do worse on most outcomes, the female Aboriginal population on- and off-reserve reports higher education levels than the male population, a trend that is consistent (though not as drastic) in the NA population. Furthermore, while income gaps exist between genders for all three categories, the gaps in Aboriginal populations are much smaller than for the NA group. Future research would be required to provide a better understanding of the underlying dynamics which contribute to these findings.

Table 1

Education Profile, Labour Participation, Unemployment and Average Income for Men and Women living both on and off reserves in British Columbia

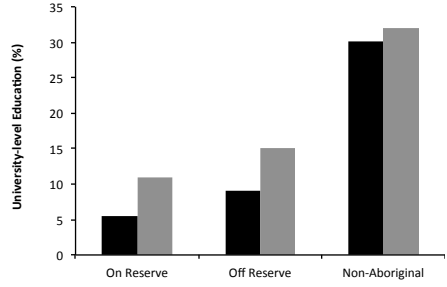
	Education-No High School (%)	Education-High School (%)*	Education-Post Secondary (%)*	Education-University level (%)*	Labour Participation (%) **	Self Employment (%) **	Full Time Work (%)**	Part Time Work (%) **	Unemployed(%)	Average Income (%)***
On Reserve										
Male	46.4	19.1	34.4	5.4	75.8	6.0	45.3	22.4	28.6	$33,542
Females	39.4	20.6	40.0	10.9	67.8	3.5	48.3	28.7	20.7	$29,350
Off Reserve										
Males	29.6	25.9	44.5	9.1	84.9	8.3	60.1	20.6	11.9	$44,207
Females	23.5	26.0	50.4	15.1	73.8	6.5	48.8	35.7	11.9	$33,110
NAs										
Males	12.5	24.7	41.6	30.1	90.2	11.0	72.0	15.7	5.3	$56,285
Females	10.7	27.1	48.0	32.0	80.0	8.2	54.6	34.0	5.9	$39,842

Note. – Highest level of completed educational credential, ages 25-64, 2006.
Post secondary: includes apprenticeship, trade certificate or diploma, non-university certificate or diploma.
*University Level includes university certificate, diploma or degree.
** Participation in the labour force, age 25-64, 2006 (full time work measured as 30 hours a week or more).
***Average income based on 40 or more weeks of work in 2005, mostly full time.

Education. There are stark gender differences in educational outcomes between those surveyed. In all three groups (Aboriginals living on-reserve, off-reserve and non-Aboriginals), men displayed the worst outcomes in high school completion rates: 46% of Aboriginal men on-reserve do not have their high school diploma, compared with 29.6% living off-reserve and only 12.5% of NAs. While high school non-completion/dropout rates are lower for females, they remain significant, with the gap closing between men and women in the NA

Figure 1.

University-level education for Aboriginal males and females living on- and off-reserve compared to their NA counterparts.



Note. – Black bars show results for males and grey bars show results for females.

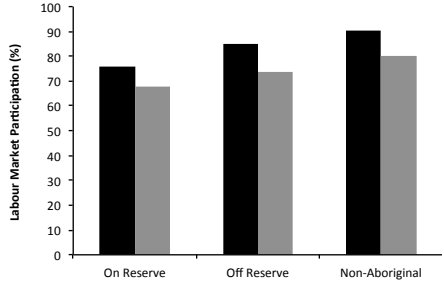
population. For all three categories, women scored higher on high school completion, post secondary education and university level education. The greatest gender difference is seen in the completion of university level education on reserves, with twice as many women holding this credential (10.9% of women compared with only 5.4% of men). This is seen in Figure 1 where there remains a gap between Aboriginal groups and the NA population of BC in terms of post-secondary educational attainment.

Gender and life on reserve are seen to intersect, resulting in the poorest outcomes. Aboriginal males living on reserve experience negative outcomes in terms of high school completion, post-secondary and university-level credentials. While more studies must be conducted to further analyse reasons for lower educational attainment, location plays a huge role in this outcome, as those living on reserve may have less access to good quality educational institutions (Ricards & Afolabi, 2008; Sharpe et al., 2007). Furthermore, school curricula may not be adequately designed to acknowledge historical issues of colonisation, generational trauma and memories of residential schools. Schools do not always teach culturally-specific content such as Aboriginal languages, art and cultural practices, which has been noted as a flaw in the current education system (Mendelson, 2008). Other social factors could include an individual's need to work resulting in an inability to attend school, and familial factors that prevent school success (such as no help with homework, no parent to encourage studying and school participation). Clearly, many intersecting factors leave Aboriginals in BC with lower educational attainment than the NA population.

Labour Market Participation. Two trends are evident in Figure 2, and through the comparison of labour market outcomes for these groups. First, women consistently lag (more than 10%) behind men in all three categories. There are more self-employed men than women, though more women hold part-time work than men. While this research cannot suggest causality, it may be hypothesised that child-care and child rearing may play into this gender difference in labour market participation, with more mothers staying at home with their children.

Second, those living on-reserve consistently lag behind individuals living off-reserve, and the NA comparisons in this category. This holds true in labour market participation (where the highest levels are for NA men and women),

Figure 2.
Labour market participation for Aboriginal males and females living on- and off-reserve compared to the NA counterparts.



Note. – Black bars show results for males and grey bars show results for females.

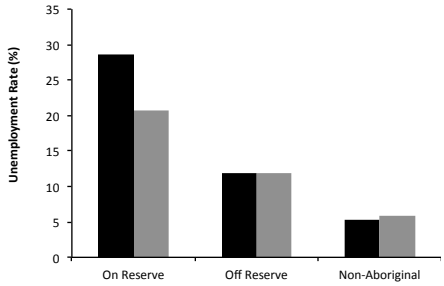
self employment (highest levels of self employment are for the NA group), and in full time work over part time work (fewer Aboriginal people had full time work on-reserve than off-reserve, while the results are reversed for part time work). However, this trend is not consistent when looking at women in all three categories, as NA women hold the highest levels of part time work, with on reserve women holding the lowest. This may suggest that when childcare is taken into account, NA women have more opportunities to work part time than do Aboriginal women.

Gender and life on-reserve intersect to disproportionately affect Aboriginal females in labour market outcomes. Only 67% of females on-reserve participate in the labour force, compared to 75% of men. At the opposite end of the spectrum, 80% of NA women work, compared to 90% of NA men. While these differences could be related to alternate gender roles in childcare, other factors may be involved, such as unequal access to work. Analysing these converging sites of inequality offers a springboard for further research and initiatives to make change.

Unemployment. This category shows the greatest disparity between Aboriginal individuals and NA in BC. As seen in Figure 3, NA people hold the lowest unemployment rates, at 5.3% for men and 5.9% for women. Aboriginal people living off-reserve have an unemployment rate of twice this, at 11.9% for both men and women, while on-reserve populations have the highest rates of unemployment, with 28.6% of men without work and 20.7% of women. Figure 3 shows a slight gender difference in unemployment rates for the NA population and no gender difference for the Aboriginals living off reserve. However, Aboriginal men living on reserve are seen to experience the highest rates of unemployment of all groups. This extremely high rate of unemployment can be associated with the location

and existence of seasonal work in specific areas which leaves some individuals to rely solely on social assistance during the off-seasons (Preston, 2008, p. 14). While tax exemptions improve the situation for those living on-reserve, they do not account for the entire income discrepancy (Sharpe et al., 2007, p. 45). However, without data that allows for region-specific comparisons, we cannot sufficiently draw conclusions about unemployment differences (Wilkes, 2010).

Figure 3.
Unemployment rates for Aboriginal males and females living on- and off-reserve compared to their NA counterparts.



Note. – Black bars show results for males and grey bars show results for females.

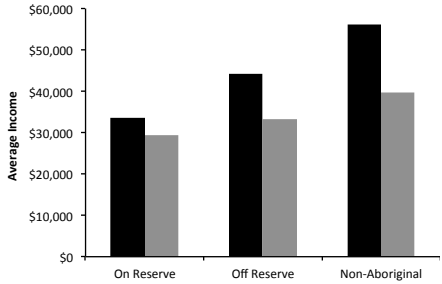
Studying how these variables intersect suggests that in order to lower unemployment rates for all Aboriginals, a special emphasis should be placed on training and job creation for men living on-reserve. In addition, educational attainment can decrease unemployment; thus, investment and attention must be paid to both high school and post-secondary completion and success (Mendelson, 2008; Preston, 2008; Wilkes, 2010). Training programs could focus on providing education to meet skill requirements needed for jobs found in rural areas, and on-reserve. Future research and policy work should consider the diverse factors which intersect to impact unemployment for Aboriginals in British Columbia.

Income. Shown in Figure 4, Aboriginal individuals report consistently lower wages then NAs, with women in all categories showing the lowest incomes. The male NA population in BC has an average income of $56,285. By contrast, Aboriginal men living on- and off-reserve earn significantly less, with the former earning only up to 60% ($33,542) of the average NA male income. These findings could be related to the educational attainment of men in each category and access to employment based on race and living location.

Women in all three categories receive a much lower average income than men. On-reserve women make 88% of what men make ($29,350 versus

$33,542); off-reserve, women make 75% of what men make (33,110 versus $44,207); finally, within the NA population, women make only 71% of what men make ($39,842 versus $56,285). These findings are surprising, as women in all categories report higher education levels than males. When factors of inequality intersect (gender and life on reserve), the outcomes are the worst. This is seen for Aboriginal women living on-reserve, who make only 52% of what the NA male population makes ($29,350 versus $56,285). This intersectional analysis shows a more complex picture of income inequality faced by Aboriginal groups and by women in BC.

Figure 4.
Income for Aboriginal males and females living on- and off- reserve compared to their NA counterparts.



Note. – Black bars show results for males and grey bars show results for females

SECTION 2

Findings. Education and income are positively correlated for all three groups examined. Lower educational attainment for Aboriginal British Columbians is one factor in their lower average incomes, as compared with the NA population. However, this study shows that this is not the only factor at play, leaving room for further analysis into alternate sources of inequality. Findings from this section are split into two categories to expand upon the intersections of education and income, leaving Aboriginal individuals disadvantaged within the BC population.

Education and Income. The relevance of intersectionality is seen in Section 2 as educational attainment influences income levels for all groups studied. This connection has been widely cited as relevant to the wellbeing and success of Aboriginal people in BC and in Canada (Mendelson, 2008; Preston, 2008; Sharpe et al., 2007; Waslander, 2009; Wilkes, 2010). As seen in Table 2, income rises significantly for Aboriginals and NAs in both age categories with higher levels of education. For the total Aboriginal population, average incomes rise from $17,962 without a high school

Table 2

Incomes as they relate to Educational Attainment for Aboriginals Living On Reserve and Off Compared to the Non-Aboriginal Population of British Columbia

Education Level	Age group	On Reserve	Off Reserve	Total Aboriginal (B)	NA Population (A)	Difference (A-B=C)
Less than HS	15 – 24	$15,548	$18,571	$17,962	$20,676	$2,714
	25 – 54	$30,185	$34,696	$33,523	$38,520	$4,997
With HS Grad	15 – 24	$17,490	$20,790	$20,437	$22,245	$1,808
	25 - 54	$29,360	$38,964	$37,415	$43,137	$5,722
Apprenticeship/ Trade certificate Diploma	15 - 24	$21,281	$23,594	$23,277	$26,738	$3,461
	25 - 54	$30,748	$42,874	$40,770	$47,649	$6,879
College of other non-university certificate or diploma	15 – 24	$18,178	$24,258	$23,414	$26,142	$2,728
	25 – 54	$32,346	$39,806	$38,398	$48,290	$9,892
University Certificate, diploma or degree	15 – 24	$16,531	$27,134	$26,055	$26,714	$659
	25 - 54	$41,314	$51,103	$49,431	$61,379	$11,948

education to $26,055 with the highest level of education. This gap is even larger for the 25-54 age group ($33,523 compared to $49,431). Similar trends seen in the NA population confirm this pattern. An additional finding from this table is the income difference between the Aboriginal and NA population for the two age categories, 15-24 and 25-54; the income gap is significantly higher for the older than the younger demographic. This could suggest that income inequality increases over the course of the life span, as NA may receive greater raises, and progress faster in their careers. This trend is evident at all education levels, and especially when comparing the Aboriginal and NA populations with a university certificate, diploma or degree. For those ages 15-24, the income gap is only $659 ($26,714 - $26,055) while for the older demographic, the gap is $11,948 ($61,379 - $49,431). Further research should be conducted on the impacts of age on income inequality.

Differences between groups. Table 2 shows the difference between average incomes for Group A (NA population) and B (Total Aboriginal population) in the final column (A – B = C). Even when groups exhibit similar education levels, Aboriginal groups both on- and off-reserve fare worse than their NA counterparts. For those with an apprenticeship or trade certificate diploma, Aboriginals aged 15-24 earn $3,461 less per year than the NA group, while those aged 15-54 earn $6,879 less. This income gap between Aboriginals and NAs persists in all categories of educational attainment, and has been observed in previous census data (O'Donnell & Tait, 2004; Sharpe et al., 2007; Tait, 1999; Wilkes, 2010). For all education levels, the income gap was less for younger groups than older, which may suggest that wage inequality may increase over time, or that younger generations do not face the same income inequity when starting their careers. Longitudinal data on income levels is needed to help explore these differences, and further explain the cause for income differences by generation.

LIMITATIONS

Although this paper utilises data from the 2006 census to demonstrate the importance of an intersectional analysis when addressing difficulties within BC's aboriginal population, the outdated nature of this data poses some limitations to this study. Additionally, it was not possible to study how education and income differs between men and women for the educational levels shown in Section 2 due to limited data. Further research should examine this level of analysis to increase understanding about intersections between the variables. This analysis does not suggest causality for any patterns or findings. Future research focusing on such causality can make significant contributions to the literature.

CONCLUSION

Through an intersectional analysis, this paper has explored sites of oppression that converge in the lives of Aboriginal Canadians, resulting in lower rates of success for educational attainment, labour market participation and income. Section 1 provides an examination of the intersections between gender, life on- versus off-reserve, and measures of socio-economic status, showing a clear relationship between the three. Section 2 addresses the

intersection between educational attainment and income levels, revealing that discrepancies persist between earnings of Aboriginals and NAs with similar education levels. Intersectionality allows for a more comprehensive study of socio-economic status for Aboriginals in BC. Future studies, government policies, and program and service development for this group should acknowledge the multiple sites of disadvantage in order to reduce inequality and increase the well-being of those indigenous to Canada.

REFERENCES

Bourassa, C., McKay-Mcnabb, K., & Hampton, M. (2004). Racism, sexism and colonialism. *Canadian Woman Studies*, *24*(1), 24-30.

BC Stats, (2013). *Census statistical profiles of aboriginal peoples*. Retrieved from: http://www.bcstats.gov.bc.ca/StatisticsBySubject/AboriginalPeoples/CensusProfiles.aspx/

British Columbia statistical profile of Aboriginal peoples 2006: Aboriginal peoples compared to the non-aboriginal population with emphasis on labour market and post secondary issues. (2006). Retrieved from http://www.bcstats.gov.bc.ca/StatisticsBySubject/AboriginalPeoples/CensusProfiles/2006Census.aspx

Crenshaw, K. (2001). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity, politics and violence against women of color. *Stanford Law Review*, *43*(6), 1241-1299.

Denis, A. (2008). Review essay: Intersectional analysis. *International Sociology*, *23*, 677-694.

Drost, H., & Richards, J. (2009). *Income on- and off- reserve: How aboriginals are faring*. Retrieved from http://dspace.cigilibrary.org/jspui/handle/123456789/13563

Hankivsky, O., & Christoffersen, A. (2008). Intersectionality and the determinants of health: A canadian perspective. *Critical Public Health*, *18*(3), 271-283.

Kelm, M. E. (1998). Colonizing Bodies: Aboriginal Health and Healing in British Columbia, 1900-1950.

Kelm, M. E. (1998). *Colonizing bodies: Aboriginal health and healing in British Columbia, 1900–50*. Vancouver: UBC Press.

Luffman, J., & Sussman, D. Statistics Canada, (2007). *The Aboriginal labour force in Western Canada* (Catalogue no. 75-001-XIE)

Mendelson, M. (2004). *Aboriginal people in Canada's labour market: Work and unemployment, today and tomorrow* (Vol. 1). Ottawa: Caledon Institute of Social Policy.

Mendelson, M. (2008). *Improving education on reserves: A First Nations education authority act* (p. 3). Caledon Institute of Social Policy.

Mussell, W. J. (2008). Decolonizing education: A building block for reconciliation. *From Truth to Reconciliation: Transforming the Legacy of Residential School*, 321-240.

Niccols, A., Dell, C. A., & Clarke, S. (2010). Treatment issues for aboriginal mothers with substance use problems and their children. *International Journal of Mental Health and Addiction*, *8*(2), 320-335.

O'Donnell, V., & Tait, H. (2004). Well-being of the non-reserve Aboriginal population. *Canadian Social Trends*, *72*, 11-008.

Oxman-Martinez, J., Hanley, J., Lach, L., Khanlou, N., Weerasinghe, S., & Agnew, V. (2005). Intersection of Canadian policy parameters affecting women with precarious immigration status: A baseline for understanding barriers to health. *Journal of Immigrant and Minority Health*, *7*(4), 247-258.

Pendakur, K., & Pendakur, R. (2011). Aboriginal income disparity in Canada. *Canadian Public Policy*, *37*(1), 61-83.

Preston, J. P. (2008). The urgency of postsecondary education for Aboriginal peoples. *Canadian Journal of Educational Administration and Policy*, *86*, 1-22.

Reading, C. L., & Wien, F. (2009). *Health inequalities and the social determinants of Aboriginal peoples' health*. Prince George, BC: National Collaborating Centre for Aboriginal Health.

Richards, J., Hove, J., & Afolabi, K. (2008, June). Explaining the Aboriginal-non-Aboriginal gap in student performance in BC schools. In *Annual Meeting of the Canadian Economics Association, University of British Columbia*. *Vancouver*.

Richmond, C. A., & Ross, N. A. (2009). The determinants of First Nation and Inuit health: A critical population health approach. *Health & place*, *15*(2), 403-411.

Sharpe, A., Arsenault, J. F., & Lapointe, S. (2009). The potential contribution of Aboriginal Canadians to labour force, employment, productivity and output growth in Canada, 2001-2017.

Stock, C. (2009). Business indicators, August 2009. *BC Stats*, 09-08.

Tait, H. (1999). Educational achievement of young Aboriginal adults. *Canadian Social Trends*, *52*, 6-10.

Veenstra, G. (2011). Race, gender, class, and sexual orientation: intersecting axes of inequality and self-rated health in Canada. *International Journal for Equity in Health*, *10*(1), 3.

Wardman, D., Clement, K., & Quantz, D. (2005). Access and utilization of health services by British Columbia's rural Aboriginal population. *Leadership in Health Services*, *18*(2), 26-31.

Waslander, B. (2009). Focusing Indian and Northern Affairs Canada's post secondary education program: Targets and impacts. *A paper prepared for the Assembly of First Nations*.

Wilkes, R. (2010). Indigenous peoples. In B. Edmonston & E. Fong (Eds.), *The Changing Canadian Population* (pp. 313-329). Montreal: McGill Queen's University Press.

Williams, T. (2009). Intersectionality analysis in the sentencing of Aboriginal women in Canada. *Intersectionality and Beyond: Law, Power and the Politics of Location*, 79-104.

Wilson, D., & Macdonald, D. (2010). *The income gap between Aboriginal peoples and the rest of Canada*. Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives.

Yuval-Davis, N. (2006). Intersectionality and feminist politics. *European Journal of Women's Studies*, *13*(3), 193-209.

Securing the Canadian Border:

The Banopticon, Governmentality, and Biopolitics

Matthew Wei
Queen's University

The event of September 11, 2001 represents a catalyst for the rapid increase in the call for greater border security. Canada, as a neighbour to the United States, is not immune to this phenomenon of rapid border securitisation, which is taking front stage in political rhetoric. More than eight years after 9/11, there is still a misconception that the hijackers entered the US from Canada, leading to increased criticism of the lack of border security between the US and Canada (CBC 2009; McLaughlin, 2011; Speigel, 2009; Toronto Sun 2010). The construction of a "weak" Canadian border against threats to national security from terrorists and non-citizens leads to a heightened sense of risk to domestic security. This causes an outcry for greater protection from the government against unknown persons or *l'étranger* and the potential risks associated with these individuals. To secure themselves against these potential threats, the Canadian and American governments implement stricter border policies and procedures. The purpose of this article is twofold. First, it is to demonstrate the securitisation of the Canadian border as a multidimensional phenomenon featuring Michel Foucault's notions of governmentality and biopolitics, Giorgio Agamben's thesis on bare life and the state of exception, Didier Bigo's concept of the banopticon, and identity politics. Second, it is to argue that the securitisation of the Canadian border is indicative of the Canadian government re-establishing its sovereignty and legitimacy.

The rationale for re-establishing a state's sovereignty and legitimacy comes from Ulrich Beck's (1992) notion of risk society, where modern society faces a new set of problems where the risk distribution dominates the traditional problems of the welfare distribution. According to Beck (1992), risks are the unintended consequences of rapid industrial modernisation in societies. However, while Beck's notion of risk originally referred to pollution and environmental problems, this definition is applicable to the point of system immanence and universalisation. In other words, risk is a part of the structure of society and is global. Risk is not just external to the individual, it is a part of the individual, which presents potential risks to others. However, Klaus Rasborg (2012) notes that Beck's recent work sought to distinguish voluntary and involuntary risks, similar to Niklas Luhmann's distinction between risk and danger. The important point here is not the distinction between risk and danger, but rather the underlying notion of fear. It is fear that drives humans to exert control over the material; it is fear that drives the distribution of risk among populations to reduce potential costs to an individual or group. Fear is a central tool which bestows upon the sovereign the power to manage risk and in turn the population.

Michel Foucault offers the term "governmentality" or the "art of government" (Lyon & Topak, forthcoming, p.6). According to Foucault (1991, p.92), governmentality is essentially "the correct manner of managing individuals, goods and wealth within the family." Charlotte Epstein (2007, p. 151) summarises Foucault's notion of governmentality as a broad conceptual framework with an "overall tendency toward increasingly efficient forms of population management." According to Barder and Debrix (2009, p. 398), increased surveillance and control of the population in the post-9/11 world started as a response to the Madrid and London bombings, which "radicalised the idea that the enemy is beyond any form of restraint, located in a domain where it no longer obeys any political rationality." This reconceptualisation of the enemy proves to be a threat to the state's legitimacy because the state loses its ability to secure the health and safety of the population (Bell, 2006). According to Barder and Debrix (2009, p. 399), states generally resort to the Hobbesian solution of creating a "sovereign power with a primary capacity to offer protection from violence [which] necessitates a concentration or centralisation of fear." Thus, governmentality exerts power in a Hobbesian state of nature, where fear must be "produced and reproduced to establish

control, supervision, or enhancement of the social body through multiple mechanisms of measurement, calculation, improvement, and preservation of life" (Barder & Debrix, 2009, p. 400). Therefore, the state apparatus has the power to mobilise life and death.

Foucault theorises about state power over life and death through the notions of biopolitics and biopower. Foucault defines state power as the "constant possibility the state will take away life" to a "power [that] passes through the individual" (Barder and Debrix, 2009; Foucault, 2003, p. 29). For Foucault, death is "something permanent, something that slips into life, perpetually gnaws at it, diminishes it, and weakens it" (Foucault, 2003, p. 244). Therefore, if death is in a state of permanence, the object of biopower is the proper governance of the population as it lives through surveillance and discipline (Bell, 2006). Thus, biopower refers to the "numerous and diverse techniques for achieving the subjugation of bodies and the control of populations" (Foucault, 1978, p. 140). Any government exercising biopower is operating in a bio-political form or in biopolitics, which is a control apparatus over the population's natural biology such as the rate of reproduction, fertility of a population, birth-to-death ratio, mortality rate, and longevity (Foucault, 2003). Biopolitics is an apparatus designed to allow biopower to intervene in prolonging biological life, such as problems of birth rates, mortality rates, reproduction, accidents, infirmities, various anomalies, and environmental risks (Foucault, 2003). One form of biopolitics is border control, which defines the limit of power and sovereignty of a government.

The Canadian border is "thickening," especially after the events of 9/11 (Muller, 2010). This process of "thickening" refers to the securitisation of borders through the "dramatic increase in surveillance of various sorts, … increasing regimes of compliance[,] and an institutional transformation of border management to both sides of the Canada/US border, away from a visa/immigration regime and towards a surveillance/security regimes" (Muller, 2010, p. 76). For example, the US launch of the Western Hemisphere Travel Initiative (WHTI) and the panoply of compliant programmes and documents are instrumental tools for surveillance (Muller 2010). The term surveillance, according to David Lyon (2006, p. 403), is "a routine and focused attention to personal details for the purposes of influence, management, care and control." At the border, surveillance evolved from the physical act of watching to a combination of traditional forms of surveillance and biometric

technologies to identify safe citizens (Muller 2010). Muller argues that this shift redesigns the safe citizen as "'becoming digital' and thus 'knowable' to the state and non-state authorities allied with the state" (2010, p. 77). At the border, the identification of the so-called unsafe citizen or non-citizens gives governments the power to restrict access to their territory to unwanted persons, or in Didier Bigo's terms, the *banopticon*, to express the selective surveillance of those kept at a distance (Basaran 2008).[1] According to Bigo (2008, p. 6), the banopticon is a "form of governmentality of unease, or Ban, [that] is characterised by three criteria: practices of exceptionalism, acts of profiling and containing foreigners, and a normative imperative of mobility." At the border, Bigo's banopticon "operates not just by means of disciplinary omnivoyance over coerced bodies, but also by way of normalised exclusion (or ban) or targeted individuals and groups" (Barder & Debrix, 2009, p. 409). An example of banopticon is the exclusion of select individuals seen on the no-fly list and the exclusion of individuals crossing the border due to ethnicity, race, or religion.

The banopticon's existence at the Canadian border represents Agamben's state of exception, where border policies and practices are an "exception to ordinary liberal politics based upon the rule of law" (Basaran, 2008, p. 340). The state of exception is "the opening of a space in which application and norm reveal their separation and a pure force-of-law realises a norm whose application has been suspended" (Agamben, 2005, p. 40). Additionally, it is "a 'threshold of indistinction' that suspends law by differentiating what is included in the legal order from that which is excluded" (Kruger et al., 2008, p. 99; Werbin, 2009). Furthermore, the threshold of indistinction is "an interval or limited space — that suspends law and destroys legal and political boundaries through the contradictory act of forging them" (Kruger et al., 2008, p. 100). For Agamben, the most dangerous aspect of the state of exception is the capacity to create and define a space of exception in which there is no legal restraint on the sovereign power, since the sovereign power is the ability to forge laws that override existing legal and political boundaries (Kruger et al., 2008).

Agamben's state of exception links to his notions of bare life. Agamben's work on bare life builds on two Greek terms of "life": *Zoe* and *bios* (Agamben,

1 Didier Bigo's banopticon is a play on words of Jeremy Bentham's panopticon. Michel Foucault reconceptualises the panopticon in *Discipline and Punish* as a metaphor of the ability of permanent visibility as a form of power.

1998). *Zoe* simply expresses a state of living common to all, while *bios* refers to the form or way of proper living (Agamben, 1998). In terms of the state of exception and borders, Agamben creates a critical relationship between law and life in that the *habeas corpus* exemplifies the intersection of law and life (1998). Due to the *habeas corpus*, democracy is borne of the ideas that the individual's freedom is tied to the body, or *zoe* (Agamben, 1998). Consequently, "law, face, juridical rule and biological life" are no longer distinguishable; rather, law and body are inseparable (Agamben, 1998, p. 187). In terms of border and the banopticon, one example is the denial of access pass the border for an individual as biometric readings identify the individual as an 'unwanted' individual. Katja Aas (2011) builds on Agamben's notion of bare life as she refers to Schinkel's two distinct forms of social control: zoepolitics and biopolitics. Zoepolitics refers primarily to individuals outside the state, while biopolitics is "internally directed and aims to control population within the state's territory but which are discursively placed outside the domain of hegemony marked as 'society'" (Schinkel in Aas, 2011, p.339). Hence, zoepolitics aims to identify the citizen from the human, while biopolitics aims to classify the life of the social body, and the control of the population already occupying the state's territory (Aas, 2011). Zoepolitics, then, represents a more banoptic objective of exclusion similar to border surveillance and control. However, Aas calls into question the effectiveness of border surveillance. In William De Lint's (2011) article, he incorporates Manning's use of Goffman's dramaturgical analysis in surveillance, that the border is a site for staging a security performance. Aas (2011, p. 342) would agree as she argues that "walls function theatrically, in that they stage sovereign power, at the same time as they reveal the sovereign impotence in stopping the flows of people from reaching the territory." Though biopolitics now seem irrelevant, the securitisation of borders clearly connects with zoepolitics. Aas (2011) reminds us that these forms of control are not mutually exclusive; rather, zoepolitics and biopolitics often exist in mutual interaction. Governmentality aims to create the good society by managing the citizen population through biopolitics and by distinguishing the citizen from the non-citizen. One method to achieve this aim is the use of the NEXUS programme, which Muller (2011) argues is the redesign of safe citizenship.

As Muller (2011) argues, the post-9/11 world is a redesign of contemporary citizenship, whereby the visibility – and thus the knowability – and govern-

ability of citizens intertwine. Linking with Foucault's notion of governmentality, Lyon (2009, p. 90) argues that "we are increasingly 'governed by identification' since the start of the 21st century." Certainly, this paradigm shift regarding the 21st century citizen is emerging with shared conceptions of netizenship, where citizenship and network "raised in relation to the effects networks have on economy, society, and politics" (Muller, 2011, p. 77). In the case of border surveillance and security, the implementation of the WHTI and NEXUS programmes not only exemplifies the notion of governing through risk, but also redesigns citizenship (Muller, 2011). The rollout of the WHTI initiative, centred around the NEXUS programme, gives citizens a choice to travel by conventional means, a government-issued passport, or via the trusted traveller programme, NEXUS (Muller, 2011). The programmes have social sorting characteristics in that there are essentially two groups of passengers of distinct interest to the government. The first group of travellers are "crimmigrant bodies" (Aas, 2011). According to Aas, "crimmigrant bodies" describes the notion of immigrant bodies intersecting with and often equating with crime and criminal behaviour (2011). Opposite to crimmigrants, bona fide travellers experience the luxury of a sped up process at border crossings, making travel a seamless experience (Aas, 2011). Enrollment in border crossing programmes such as NEXUS renders the citizen as safe in the eyes of the state since the citizen has become readable and knowable data (Aas, 2011; Lyon, 2009; Muller, 2011). However, these new border programmes, while resting majorly on the principle of fluid economic movement, also paradoxically underscore the extent to which the redesign of contemporary citizenship is less about accelerating movement as it is motivated by increasing the panoptic gaze of the state (Lyon, 2009; Muller, 2011). Furthermore, the NEXUS programme, as well as new biometrics technology, such as Canada's forthcoming e-passports, represents this redesign of safe citizenship (Passports Canada, 2012). Biometrics enhances new forms of identification. This simultaneously digitises and networks the citizen to create the netizen, where one's citizenship status as "safe" or "not safe" depends on the availability of the amount of information or lack of information to the government (Muller, 2011). In other words, by enrolling in trusted traveller programmes such as NEXUS, the individual consents to forego his or her privacy to the government in order to be classified as a safe citizen and have the convenience of smoother travelling experiences.

From the perspective of the state, trusted traveller programmes and other data collection methods are synonymous with greater security (Muller 2011). In terms of zoepolitics and biopolitics, these programmes screen for crimmigrant bodies from outside and within the state based on the physical body.

After 9/11, the border became an increasingly important security issue for the Canadian government due to the threat of potential terrorist attacks. A crucial part of a state's sovereignty and legitimacy is the ability to protect one's citizenry. Thus the Canadian state exerts governmentality in the biopolitical form as increased surveillance and securitisation of the Canadian border. By "thickening" the border through various programmes such as the WHTI, the state uses the concept of the banopticon to identify and to ban the crimmigrants and those the state deems as unsafe from crossing the border. The border is able to employ the banoptic methods as it exists in a state of exception where normal legislative rules do not apply. This state of exception allows the government to fulfill its aims in biopolitics and in zoepolitics through border policies and programmes such as WHTI and NEXUS to distinguish the bona fide traveller from the crimmigrant. The Canadian border is a multidimensional phenomenon demonstrating notions of governmentality, zoepolitics, biopolitics, banopticon, state of exception, and identity politics. By securitising the border, the Canadian government reestablishes its sovereignty and legitimacy. However, the implications of this process and this article are neglecting important questions of equality and justice for migrants and asylum seekers and discourses in human security.

REFERENCES

Aas, K. F. (2011). "Crimmigrant" bodies and bona fide travelers: Surveillance, citizenship and global governance. *Theoretical Criminology, 15*, 331-346. doi:10.1177/1362480610396643

Agamben, G. (1998). *Homo sacer: Sovereign power and bare life*. Retrieved from http://solomon.soth.alexanderstreet.com.proxy.queensu.ca/cgi-bin/asp/philo/soth/getdoc.pl?S10023905-D000001

Agamben, G. (2005). *State of exception*. (K. Attell, Trans.). Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Barasan, T. (2008). Security, law, borders: Spaces of exclusion. *International Political Sociology, 2*, 339-354. doi:10.1111/j.1749-5687.2008.00055.x

Barder, A. D., & François D. (2009). Nothing to fear but fear: Governmentality and the biopolitical production of terror. *International Political Sociology, 3*, 398-413. doi:10.1111/j.1749-5687.2009.00083.x

Beck, U. (1992). *Risk society: Towards a new modernity*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Bell, C. (2006). Surveillance strategies and populations at risk: Biopolitical governance in Canada's national security policy. *Security Dialogue, 37*, 147-165. doi:10.1177/0967010606066168

Bigo, D. (2008). Globalized (in)security: The field and the ban-opticon. In D. Bigo & A. Tsoukala (Eds.), *Illiberal practices of liberal regimes: The (in)security games* (pp 5-49). Paris: L'Harmattan.

CBC. (2009, April 24). McCain defends Napolitano, insists 9/11 perpetrators came from Canada. *CBC*. Retrieved from http://www.cbc.ca/news/world/story/2009/04/24/mccain-border-canada-911.html

Chan, W. (2005). Crime, deportation and the regulation of immigrants in Canada. *Crime, Law and Social Change, 44*, 153-180. doi:10.1007/s10611-005-9000-6

De Lint, W. (2008). The security double take: The political, simulation and the border. *Surveillance and Society, 5*, 166-187. Retrieved from http://www.surveillance-and-society.org

Epstein, C. (2007). Guilty bodies, productive bodies, destructive bodies: Crossing the biometric borders. *International Political Sociology* 1:149-164.

Foucault, M. (1978.) *The history of sexuality, volume 1: An introduction*. (R. Hurley, Trans.). New York: Pantheon Books.

Foucault, M. (1979.) *Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison*. (A. Sheridan, Trans.). New York: Vintage Books.

Foucault, M. (1991). Extracts from governmentality (R. Braidotti, Trans.). In G. Burchell, C. Gordan, & P. Miller, Eds.), *The Foucault effect: Studies in governmentality* (pp. 87-104). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Foucault, M. (2003). *Society must be defended: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1975-1976*. (D. Macey, Trans.). New York: Palgrave.

Jenkins, R. (2012). Identity, surveillance and modernity. In K. Ball, D. Haggerty, & D. Lyon (Eds.), *The Routledge handbook of surveillance* (pp. 159-167). New York: Routledge.

Kruger, E., Van Loon, J., & Magnet, S. (2008). Biometric revisions of the 'body' in airports and U.S. welfare reform. *Body and Society, 14*, 99-121. doi:10.1177/1357034X08090700

Lyon, D. (2006). Airport screening, surveillance, and social sorting: Canadian responses to 9/11 in context. *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice, 48*, 397-412. doi:10.3138/cjccj.48.3.397

Lyon, D. (2009). *Identifying citizens: ID cards as surveillance*. Malden, MA: Polity.

Lyon, D., & Özgün E. T. (Forthcoming). *Promoting global identification: Corporations, IGOs and ID card systems*.

Manning, P. K. (2006). Reflections on risk analysis, screening, and contested rationalities. *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice, 48*, 453-470. doi:10.3138/cjccj.48.3.453

McLaughlin, S. (2011, February 1). U.S.-Canada border called 'grossly underprotected'. *The Washington Times*. Retrieved from http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2011/feb/1/us-canada-border-called-grossly-underprotected/

Muller, B. J. (2010). Unsafe at any speed? Borders, mobility and 'safe citizenship'. *Citizenship Studies, 14*, 75-88. doi:10.1080/13621020903466381

Passport Canada. (2012). *ePassport*. Retrieved from http://www.ppt.gc.ca/eppt/index.aspx?lang=eng

Rasborg, K. (2012). '(World) risk society' or 'new rationalities of risk'? A critical discussion of Ùlrich Beck's theory of reflexive modernity. *Thesis Eleven, 108*, 3-25. doi:10.1177/0725513611421479

Speigel, L. (2009, April 22). Blame Canada?. *ABC News*. Retrieved from http://abcnews.go.com/blogs/politics/2009/04/blame-canada/

Toronto Sun. (2010, October 19). Doer: 9/11 attackers didn't come through Canada. *Toronto Sun*. Retrieved from http://www.torontosun.com/news/canada/2010/10/19/15747416.html

Werbin, K. C. (2009). Fear and no-fly listing in Canada: The biopolitics of the 'war on terror'. *Canadian Journal of Communications, 34*, 613-634. Retrieved from http://search.proquest.com.proxy.queensu.ca

The Cosmopolitan Consumer:

Observing Cultural Hegemony in Rural Guatemala

Patricia Louie
University of British Columbia

> Your time is the time, your beauty is the beauty, your faith is the faith. From my vision, everything goes backwards. — Ronny Alvarado, Guatemalan Anthropologist

Who is the cosmopolitan consumer? In order to investigate the relationship between cosmopolitanism and consumption, it is crucial to define the rather intangible concept of cosmopolitanism. The modern idea of cosmopolitanism dates back to ancient Greece, when Diogenes declared himself a "citizen of the world." Building on this idea, the Enlightenment philosopher Immanual Kant stressed the need for a world community based on the notion of human interdependency and shared morality. In its earlier forms, cosmopolitanism was used to define a type of political world-view. In the twenty-first century, Ulrich Beck (2000) has reinvented the idea of cosmopolitanism by adding a socio-cultural dimension to the political vision. Cosmopolitanism is a framework to understand cultural, political and economic reality.

This paper reconsiders Ulrich Beck's (2000) well-known thesis that cosmopolitanisation is an equalising force that will bridge the gap between the Global North and Global South. I take an ambivalent cosmopolitan position, arguing that cosmopolitan consumption continues to perpetuate existing inequalities along a North/South divide. In the first section, I lay out a theoretical framework for analysing who and what the cosmopoli-

tan consumer is. With reference to my observations at three sites in rural Guatemala—Nebaj, Xela, and El Palmar—I assess whether the ideal of the cosmopolitan consumer holds in practice. The consequences of the cosmopolitanisation of products, interactions and policies are explored in detail. Although Beck envisions cosmopolitan consumption as creating "citizens of the world" who are politically active outside the nation state, I argue that the current trend of cosmopolitan consumption is an extension of Western cultural hegemony. This paper concludes that there is a disconnect between Beck's vision of the cosmopolitan consumer and the actual ways in which cosmopolitanisation unfolds and impacts the lives of poor people at the margins of globalisation.

The emergence of a cosmopolitan ethic has resulted in a paradigm shift in consumption, from local products within the nation state to the purchase of global products that are available in several countries. Through the purchase of international products, the distinctions between highly developed and underdeveloped countries are shrinking. According to Beck (2000), in the cosmopolitan paradigm of the second age of modernity, time and space are compressed between Northern and Southern societies via consumption. Thus, cosmopolitanisation works as an equalizing force in which privileged capitalists as well as marginalised groups are all brought together beyond national space. Drawing on classic notions of cosmopolitanism, I characterise the cosmopolitan consumer as a "world citizen," that is, a consumer whose orientation transcends any specific cultural or geographic setting.

Through the consumption of global products, group identities within nation states "become plural and relate in plural and loyal ways to different nation-states" (Beck, 2000, p. 91). By purchasing products from abroad, individuals gain a political and cultural awareness that makes them "citizen of the world" as opposed to citizens of nation states (p. 90). The ability to live in Canada but read newspapers from India, watch Indian television, buy Indian food and listen to Indian music creates a cosmopolitan consciousness. Beck notes that in the first age of modernity, non-Western societies were defined by their foreignness and otherness, or their "tradition" and "pre-modern" character. In the second age of modernity, individuals must locate themselves in a global space that encompasses both Western and non-Western societies, and realise that citizens of both face the same challenges in a cosmopolitan world (p. 88). In support of this view, Iris Marion Young (1998) argues

that we have moral obligations to act justly towards those being exploited outside of our nation state "by virtue of the social processes that connect us" (p.160). For April Carter (2001), consumers have the power to mobilise social and political change in the global market. By boycotting corporations that exploit the poor or pollute the environment, consumers have the power to act politically (p. 78). Carter (2001) employs the example of the widespread boycott of South African produce during the apartheid era (p.78). Beck (2000) views this as the essence of the cosmopolitan consumer putting "human rights before national law" (p. 83). It is in the hands of globally conscious individuals to use their purchasing power to foster the cosmopolitan ideal of social justice.

Despite the potential for a cosmopolitan ethic to create bonds between the Global North and Global South, Beck (2000) poses the question: "is there only a class of cosmopolitans or a cosmopolitanization of classes?" (p. 91). The consumption of global products is one way in which an experience is shared across borders. For example, the availability and affordability of global products produced by corporations such as Pepsi provides an opportunity for less economically privileged people to express cosmopolitan values. The consumption of Pepsi by a Guatemalan boy in Xela and by a Canadian girl in Vancouver collapses the time and space between the two worlds. Marcuse (2011) suggests that the illusion of classlessness emerges when the worker and the employer enjoy the same commodities (p. 408). The illusion that one's needs are being satisfied serves to garner the consent of the masses to preserve the existing status quo. The current state of cosmopolitan consumption is perpetuated by this Marcusian logic, wherein individuals are implicated into an oppressive system dependent on constant production and consumption (p. 406). It is the consumption of commodities which have prescribed attitudes and feelings attached to them that bind the consumer to the producer. Thus, the material world becomes an extension of one's mind and body.

There is little reason to think that egalitarian consumption of Pepsi does very much for creating a classless society, or contributes to solidarity amongst strangers. There is a fundamental difference in the richness of experience between the child in Guatemala who purchases Pepsi and the "wandering student" who actively seeks to learn and experience other cultures through travel and study (Carter, 2001, p. 77). It is in this "worldly"

quality of cosmopolitanism that I see the "true" cosmopolitan consumer being reserved for the economic elite. It is those with buying power (that is, the class of cosmopolitans) in developed nations that have the ability to choose what they consume. For example, people in developed nations can make the conscious decision to buy fair-trade coffee in order to support better working conditions for farmers in Brazil. The additional cost of buying fair-trade is relatively negligible to cultural omnivores in the North. According to Peterson (1992), a cultural omnivore is an individual who superficially consumes culture and "command[s] status by displaying any one of a range of tastes as the situation may require..." (p. 254). In addition, the ability to boycott corporations that are exploiting workers or the environment is much more available to consumers in the Global North than those in the Global South. The power to make political change through consumption seems reserved for the economic elite in developed countries. Thus, cosmopolitan consumption reinforces the North/South divide in which one class of people can afford to be cosmopolitan and the other must improvise their cosmopolitan identity. The cultural omnivores in the Global North have greater economic capital and can thus purchase a more expansive cosmopolitan citizenship than those in the Global South. This reality runs contrary to Beck's (2002) vision of cosmopolitanism as a two-way process in which the North can learn from the South (p. 98).

Carter (2001) is critical of the idea that conscious consumers should be recognised as serious global citizens (p. 95). Preferentially buying fair trade coffee or sweatshop-free clothing may not dramatically affect the lifestyle of a cultural omnivore in the North at all. Carter goes so far as to suggest that cosmopolitan consumption pacifies one's conscience at a minimal cost. Yanacopulos and Smith (2007) discuss consumption in terms of charity: however, their argument is useful in highlighting the way that by spending money individuals can feel better about themselves without altering the terms of engagement (p. 308). This is a way of dealing with the symptoms of cosmopolitanisation rather than the actual systematic injustices embedded within the global system. A radical critique suggests that Northern consumers need to do more than purchase selectively: they must alter their excessive lifestyles to achieve goals of social justice.

The class relationships that exist between the Global North and Global South as well as within the Global South are further perpetuated by cosmo-

politanisation. Through the television, magazines and billboards, images of whiteness and Northern ideals are disseminated throughout Guatemala. The omnipresence of whiteness in Guatemala has resulted in the valorisation of Western ways of life. The symbolic significance of American clothes serves to create class divisions in Guatemalan society. American clothes have become symbolic of wealth and modernity and thus are valued above the traditional Mayan dress. The consumption of products from the Global North from stores such as *Ropa Americana,* a second-hand American clothing store in Nebaj, further enforces the Global North's cultural hegemonic project. Such clothes are the Global North's castaways, yet they are held in the highest esteem in Guatemalan society, serving as markers of wealth, privilege and modernity. Van der veer, a critic of cosmopolitanism, claims that cosmopolitanisation is part of a colonial process of domination and appropriation where external value systems (from the Global North) are imposed (as cited in Yanacopulos and Smith, 2007, p. 302). In this way, the Bourgeoisie or the Global North "creates a world after its own image" (Marx and Engels, 2008, p. 39). Iris Marion Young's (1988) conception of cultural imperialism in her pivotal essay "Five Faces of Oppression" is a useful tool for understanding the oppressive force that American clothes have had both on traditional dress and class relationships in Guatemala.

Instead of wearing the traditional dress *(traje*), Guatemalan women purchase used North American clothes from *Ropa Americana*. The symbolic value of North American culture means that Guatemalan women purchase a new cultural identity that carries with it the mark of modernity and progress. This is an identity that is not their own, but one which they can purchase second-hand. The American identity becomes the norm, the universal and most desired identity. The traditional dress is marked as "Other" in relation to North American clothes. Consequentially, the Mayans who continue to wear traditional dress are stereotyped as deviant, inferior and poor. Young (1988) contends that the stereotype marks and defines the culturally dominated (p. 286). For example, people wearing traditional dress face discrimination so extreme that they have been refused jobs and entry into restaurants, schools and/or clubs. Thus, the cultural capital associated with North American products is further perpetuated through the cosmopolitan consumer project. The valorisation of American clothing not only positions American culture as superior, but also radically exacerbates class relationships within Guatemalan society.

The other side of cosmopolitan consumption is the establishment of cross-cultural interactions, which Beck (2000) believes will enable people to relate to the "otherness of others" by exchanging different ideas, products, traditions, skills, and technologies (p. 100). Beck refers to this process as institutionalised reflexive learning. In his second age of modernity, no culture, ideology or way of life is privileged over others. The institutional reflexive learning process is not static, but a reciprocal relational process in which "citizens of the world" can learn from one another (p. 98). However, in a cosmopolitan world, this relationship is asymmetrical—the class of cosmopolitans with money and capital in the Global North have disproportionate control over what those in the Global South must learn, observe and internalise. The institutionalised reflexive learning process becomes an unequal relationship wherein the consumer tastes of the North are privileged.

In the first week of the Global Citizenship programme, a programme run by the University of British Columbia, my classmates and I studied at a Spanish language school called Pop Wuj in Xela, Guatemala. The Arts Term Abroad in Global Citizenship: Guatemala is a summer programme that gives students the opportunity to explore the ways in which abstract theories play out in a specific social context. Students were encouraged to investigate the potential as well as the limitations of using social theory to help us understand the challenges posed by poverty, violence and global capitalism. While I was in Xela, I met a textile weaver named Maria, whose story exemplifies the way that this institutionalised reflexive learning process can be employed by individuals in the Global South for personal gain. Maria is an *Ixil* woman, who lives two hours outside of Xela. She is the only woman who speaks Spanish in her community and thus is the person who represents her community as a seller at Pop Wuj. Through "perpetual interaction" with other individuals and cultures, people like Maria can creatively reconfigure the way they express themselves in a cosmopolitan age (Beck, 2000, p.82). For Maria, the identity she has claimed involves "selling" her desperation. Through interactions with tourists, she has realised that she can commodify pity in order to make sales. This is a mutually gratifying experience, wherein Maria makes a sale and the consumer feels that they have helped a suffering person. By commodifying her desperation, however, Maria is in fact reinforcing colonialist power relations in which the superior status of the Northern consumer is conflated and the weakness and desperation of the Indigenous Guatemalan is reified.

In a cosmopolitan world, the class of cosmopolitans are able to keep their dignity, while the poorest members of society must sell their self-respect. Maria takes on the role of a beggar, undermining the exceptional skill and talent required to weave the garments she sells. Her relationship with customers is paradoxical, wherein she is the best seller in her community and an extremely talented weaver, yet she also claims an abject identity. Carter (2001) states that "belief in universal human equality and human rights is a basic tenet of cosmopolitanism" (p. 81), yet it seems unlikely that a society of equals will be created through cosmopolitan consumption when the current process actively reinforces disparate power relations. On one hand, Maria is resourceful and able to manipulate the consumer's emotions for her own benefit, but on the other, her behaviour is self-deprecating and marks her as the "Other."

Through the reflexive learning process, Maria is able to commodify pity in order to sell her textiles to tourists. As a result, she confronts us with "the other side of capitalism" and the conditions that compel people to demean themselves to make a sale. We are forced to "critically reflect" on our consumer actions and our role in the process (Yanacopulos and Smith, 2007, p.309). In this way, Maria has unintentionally extended the social-cultural reach of her experience and the experience of the *Ixil* community beyond the borders of the nation state. However, this realisation comes at the cost of Maria's dignity.

The institutionalised reflexive learning process is also used to inform policy in Guatemala. The Guatemalan government endorses this reflexive learning process as a strategy, for example, to further the cosmopolitan project at the coffee and macadamia nut cooperative Comunidad Nueva Alianza. Nueva Alianza is a community-owned organic coffee and macadamia cooperative located in El Palmar, Guatemala. The organisation has undertaken numerous income-generating projects to pay off debts and to improve the health conditions of the people within the community. These projects include ecotourism, a biodiesel project, macadamia and organic coffee plantations, selling purified water, and making furniture from bamboo. Although Nueva Alianza is to an extent self sufficient, the cooperative does not generate enough capital to grow and expand without government funding.

At a June 2012 meeting on the coffee cooperative, the Agricultural Ministry advised the staff of Nueva Alianza to learn English, to learn

about Northern consumer interests, and to create an efficient business model. Instead of offering financial support for community development, the Ministry has pushed Nueva Alianza in the direction of commercialisation. The Agricultural Ministry failed to acknowledge the successful sustainability and environmental projects of Nueva Alianza and instead focussed solely on the necessity for Nueva Alianza to get a bigger share of the global coffee and macadamia nut market. In a cosmopolitan world, states are no longer accountable for their citizenry and all relationships are reduced to "cash payments" (Marx and Engels, 2008, p. 37). The Agricultural Ministry has embraced cosmopolitanisation as a way for nation states to transfer their political responsibility to civic associations within their borders to the global market. The Northern traveler is seen solely as a consumer, and thus as a window into a wealth of information about how to break into North American consumer markets.

In this way, institutionalised reflexive learning acts as a disciplinary project, wherein Nueva Alianza must observe, learn and internalise Northern values in order to effectively sell its products. This exchange is assymetrical as Nueva Alianza is dependent on Northerners, while the Global North is not dependent on it. The reflexive learning process is optional for the Northern consumer because his or her livelihood is not dependent on adapting to other cultures. On the other hand, the reflexive learning process is much more pertinent to Nueva Alianza because its local development depends on its ability to globally market to Northerners. In this light, institutionalised reflexive learning is detrimental, denying Nueva Alianza the ability to establish itself outside the influences of the global market.

Kevin Jimenez is a member of the community and the eco-tourism project manager at Nueva Alianza. He had little faith in the government to support Nueva Alianza's projects. Jimenez blatently states, "we can't rely on the government to help us, we have to help ourselves." Here, Jimenez realises that "everyone's hands are tied constrained by market and regulative imperatives" (Young, 2002, p.174). For Young (2002), the self-development project for civic associations is reliant on the economic support of the state (p.156). However, institutionalised reflexive learning provides a way for civil associations to extend their reach beyond the nation state for economic gain. Although Nueva Alianza is tied to its land, it also exemplifies the cosmopolitan perspective through eco-tourism, the hotel, and by exporting

coffee and macademia nuts. Through its social-cultural connection with people abroad, it can seek economic support from sources outside the nation state (p. 178). This is a way for Nueva Alianza to develop its projects and land without relying on the Guatemalan government for economic subsistence.

I take an ambivalent cosmopolitan stance toward institutionalised reflexive learning, recognising both its detrimental effects as well as its potential for creating networks for civic association to self-develop independently of the state. On one hand, it is an unequal process in which individuals and associations in the Global South must subscribe to Western values in order to be successful. On the other hand, there is space for resistance and creativity within the reflexive learning process, which subaltern groups can navigate for their own gains.

Although, in theory, the idea of world citizens committed to each other beyond the nation state holds potential, the current trend reveals the immense cultural hegemonic force behind cosmopolitan consumption. In the present global climate, the inequalities between the North and South are further perpetuated by cosmopolitan consumption. The purchase of global products such as Pepsi and second hand American clothes create a false sense of modernity and classlessness in Guatemalan society. In reality, these consumption habits create greater divides by perpetuating the notion that Northern values are superior to those of the South. Through interactions with Northerners, Guatemalans shape their business models to appeal to Northern preferences. Furthermore, the cosmopolitan project extends into governmental policy, resulting in the Guatemalan government abandoning their responsibility to grassroots civic associations such as Nueva Alianza. Instead, the government employs a cosmopolitan ideology, relying on foreign capital to support economic growth within the country. Rather than developing a world wherein everyone can be a world citizen, cosmopolitan consumption has created classes of cosmopolitans that reproduce inequalities along a North/South divide. The second age of modernity has not yet established the conditions for actualising a cosmopolitan world where people of different ethnicities, religions, and cultures can relate to each other and participate reciprocally in a world community.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thank you to Tom Kemple and Sylvia Berryman for giving me the opportunity to participate in the Global Citizenship Programme in Guatemala.

REFERENCES

Beck. U. (2000). The cosmopolitan perspective: Sociology of the second age of modernity. *British Journal of Sociology, 51*(1), 79-105.

Carter, A. (2001). *The political theory of global citizenship*. London: Routledge.

Gramsci, A. (2003). From selections from the prison notebooks. In A. Hodgkinson and M. Foley (Eds.), *The civil society reader* (pp. 190-202). Hanover, NH: The University Press of New England.

Green, L. (1994). Fear as a way of life. *Cultural Anthropology, 9*(2), 227-256.

Marcuse, H. (2011). One-dimensional man. In S. Appelrouth & L. Desfor (Eds.), *Classical and contemporary sociological theory* (2nd ed.) (pp. 404-412). Sage Publications, Inc.

Marx, K., & Engels, F. (1848/2008). *The Communist Manifesto*. London, GBR: Pluto Press.

Peterson, R. A. (1992). Understanding audience segmentation: From elite and mass to omnivore and univore. *Poetics, 21*(4), 243-258.

Timeline: Guatemala. (2012, July 3). Retrieved from http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/country_profiles/1215811.stm

Vidgin, L., & Schechter, D. (2010). History of Guatemala. Retrieved from http://www.lonelyplanet.com/guatemala/history.

Wallerstein, I. (1983). Three instances of hegemony in the capitalist world-economy. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology, 24*(1-2), 100-08.

Yanacopulos, H., & Smith, M. (2007). The ambivalent cosmopolitanism of International NGOs. In A. Bebbington, S. Hickey, & D. Miltion (Eds.), *Can NGO's make a difference? The challenge of development alternatives* (pp. 298-315). London: Zed Books.

Young, I. (1988). Five faces of oppression. *The Philosophical Forum, 19*(4), 270-90.

Young, I. (2002). *Inclusion and democracy*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

APPENDIX A

In order to situate Guatemala as a nation state within the global system, it is important to understand how Guatemala's colonial past has shaped the current state of the country today. The colonisation of Guatemala dates back to 1524 when the Spanish overthrew the Mayan empire (Vidgen and Schechter, 2010). The Spanish enslaved the Mayan people, forcing them to work on their own land, while collecting the economic benefits of their labour. By the time Guatemalans asserted their independence from Spain in 1823, rigid stratifications had been engrained into Guatemalan society (Vidgen and Schechter, 2010). The colonialist hierarchies had placed European-born Spaniards at the top, followed by people born in Guatemala with Spanish blood, *criollo*s, then people with Spanish and Mayan blood known as *ladinos*, and at the bottom were the Mayans. The effects of these colonial systems resonate into modern day class systems in Guatemalan society. In 1873, Guatemala had a period of economic growth, modernisation and development of industries including the army and coffee plantations (BBC, 2012). In 1960, the Guatemalan government's waged a 36-year civil war against left-wing rebel groups and indigenous Guatemalans. During this time, the country was swept by death squads that engendered distrust and fear amongst the Guatemalan people (Green, 1994). With over 200,000 people murdered during the civil war, the government of Guatemala and their military army have been denounced for committing genocide against the Mayan people and for rampant human rights violations against civilians of Guatemala (BBC, 2012). In 1996, the elected president Alvaro Arzu signed a peace agreement ending the civil war (BBC, 2012). That being said, remnants of the civil war pervade modern day Guatemalan society. A culture of fear still exists in Guatemala as well as widespread poverty amongst indigenous populations (Green, 1994). The government is still rife with corruption and injustice, leaving Guatemala in a state of insecurity and vulnerability. The tumultuous history of Guatemala has shaped the current state of economic instability, suggesting that the nation has not yet reached the capacity to engage as an equal trading partner in a cosmopolitan world.

About the Authors

Sania Ahmed
Sania is in the final year of her B.A., double majoring in Sociology and Psychology. She is currently working as a Project Assistant at UBC's Stigma and Resilience Among Vulnerable Youth Centre (SARAVYC) where she is able to partake in research aimed at ending health inequities for marginalized youth. Sania has a strong interest in the topics of social justice, law, power, and social determinants of health that she hopes to pursue further in research and practice through a graduate program in either Psychology, Sociology, or Law.

Emily Blamire
Emily received her B.A. from the University of British Columbia in 2011 with an honours in Linguistics and minor in English, language. She is now studying at the University of Toronto for her Master's degree in Linguistics and will be staying there and continuing on to her Ph.D. in September. Her main research interests are in socio- and psycholinguistics, and her current research focuses on the socio-phonetics of gender and sexuality. She also thoroughly enjoys dancing around her apartment to musical theater classics and singing loudly when she thinks her roommates can't hear her.

Ryley Humphrey
Ryley Humphry is in her fourth year at UBC, majoring in Sociology with a minor in Health and Society. Her research interest centers around the social determinants of health and social inequality, with a focus on the health and well-being of disadvantaged groups including those dealing with homelessness, addiction and mental illness. Outside of academia Ryley is passionate about her involvement with many local non-profit organizations, including her co-op term at Union Gospel Mission, and her role on the Board of Directors at Positive Women's Network. After she graduates, Ryley will continue her current employment with BC Women's Hospital Foundation, and hopes to pursue a Masters of Public Health in the future.

Rebecca Laturnus
Rebecca Laturnus completed her B.A at UBC in 2012, with honours in linguistics and a minor in French. She has worked at UBC for the past year as the Program Coordinator for Cognitive Systems, continuing her research and taking graduate courses in linguistics. She will begin her PhD in linguistics at New York University in September, 2013. Rebecca's academic interests include semantic processing and lexical access, as well as the role of memory and experience in speech processing and acoustic phonetics. When not in the lab, she enjoys reading, wine and arts and crafts of all media and variety.

Patricia Louie
Patricia Louie is graduating from the University of British Columbia this May with a B.A. in Honours Sociology. Patricia's research interests include race, gender, health and immigration. This past year, Patricia has broadened her sociological skills by working as a Research Assistant, Teaching Assistant and standing as the Co-President of the Sociology Student's Association. She plans to spend the next year in travel and research before pursuing her PhD in sociology. In her free time, she enjoys blogging about social issues and participating in sports.

Renee K. Ng
Renee K. Ng is in her last year as a Psychology and Sociology double-major. She looks forward to pursuing graduate school after completing her undergraduate degree. Renee has a strong interest in the study of how cultural and social psychology contributes to the development and propagation of social inequalities, and their sociological ramifications. In the future, Renee hopes to apply her research in restructuring public and private institutions' power imbalance between the privileged and the exploited: genders, sexes, and the ethnic minorities.

Andrea Perez-Leon
Andrea Perez-Leon graduated from the University of British Columbia in 2012 with a Bachelor of Arts degree in Honours Speech Sciences. She is currently enrolled in the Masters of Science program at the University of Alberta, for Speech-Language Pathology. Andrea's interests include language acquisition (particularly that of bilingual and multilingual individuals), social use of language, communication in children with Autism Spectrum Disorders, and baseball and softball.

Matthew Wei
Matthew Wei recently graduated from Queen's University with a BAH in Sociology and Political Studies. He is a self-described information junkie, always wanting to know more. This Taiwanese-Canadian's curiosity has led to a diverse range of research interests and a diverse collection of thought from

his travels. However, he is specifically interested in the interaction between citizens and governments on the topic of security and surveillance. He is passionate about improving Canadian public policy in his future endeavours and looks forward to pursuing a Master's degree to that end.

About the Editors

Tara Po Kwan Chan
Tara is in her fifth and final year working on a double major in sociology and English with an emphasis in language. When she is not going on exchange to Quebec, volunteering in Australia, or working in Alberta, she is volunteering and working on the side to keep her life exciting. Her primary interests include gender, sexuality, and family studies. Regardless of which career path she will pursue after graduation, she plans to continue to keep up her interests in writing and editing for the rest of her life. Tara is really grateful for the experience gained through *Sojourners* because it made her realise how much she loves to edit.

Leora Courtney-Wolfman
Leora graduated from UBC this past May with a B.A. in Sociology, where she was especially interested in conflict theory and social facts. In addition to *Sojourners*, she held a Work-Study research assistantship with the Sauder School of Business, and was a peer mentor for UBC's Immigrant Vancouver Ethnographic Field School (IVEFS). This fall, Leora will begin her MSc in socio-ecological economics and policy at the Vienna University of Economics and Business, where she plans to research the intersection of natural disasters, disaster resilience, hard infrastructure and global economic "social facts."

Jimmy Ho
Jimmy is going into his final year at the University of British Columbia, majoring in sociology with a minor in law and society. He takes special interest in power and oppression, crime and justice, and community development. Apart from academics, Jimmy's hobbies include cooking and taking walks around his neighbourhood in Richmond. Jimmy is especially thankful for being recommended to and accepted by *Sojourners*, and having worked with the authors, editors, and the Arts faculty staff to create this volume.

Mo Ismailzai
Misagh Mo Ismailzai discovered early on that there are three kinds of people in the world, those who know math and those who do not. Having accepted the fact that he was unlikely to be awarded a Fields Medal for brilliance in mathematics, Mo decided that as a consolation prize, he would instead study brilliant mathematicians in the field. Mo is fond of speaking and writing about himself in the third-person, especially during parties, and has developed an in-person parenthetical citation format that requires the use of arm-brackets. Mo is entering his fourth year of study and is a sociology honours student. He plans to continue his studies until he reaches the lifetime limit on student loans or until an employer agrees to pay him to write about himself in the third-person.

Justin Wing Chung Kong
Justin is a fourth year student in the process of completing his honours degree in sociology. His intellectual passions include consumption, migration, social theory and media. Following the completion of his degree next year, he hopes to explore the sociological implications of comedy in graduate studies. In his spare time, Justin enjoys people watching, playing video games, trying new things and getting new perspectives on life. He is ever grateful for those who have helped him through his time at UBC.

Caleigh McEachern
Caleigh is entering her fourth year of studies at the University of British Columbia, with a major in English literature and a minor in philosophy. In the summer of 2012, Caleigh participated in the Go Global Arts Term Abroad in Guatemala, where she studied sociology and philosophy in both theory and practice. Caleigh has since presented as a keynote speaker at the 2013 UBC Go Global Group Study Pre-Departure Day, during which she facilitated a discussion on the topics of locating privilege, examining assumptions, and engaging in critical self-reflection during group studies. When Caleigh is not reading theory or engaging in philosophical debates, she can be found hiding in her fortress of books, contemplating whether 42 really is the answer to life, the universe, and everything. Though not yet fully convinced one way or another, Caleigh suspects that the cake is indeed a lie.

Julia Jeong Hyun Park
Julia graduated from UBC in 2013 with a major in English literature and a minor in sociology. She has done research on international language study students in the Department of Sociology and has worked in the Centre for Korean Research at the Institute of Asian Research. She aspires to work in as many different educational environments as possible before applying for graduate studies in comparative and international education systems with a commitment to evaluate and improve the state of education in developing countries.

Laurel Rogers
Laurel will graduate from the University of British Columbia in the fall of 2013 with an honours degree in English literature. She hopes to pursue graduate education and a career in editing. Over the two years that she has been involved with *Sojourners*, Laurel has continuously found the hard work and talent exhibited by undergraduate students both humbling and inspiring. She is honoured to have been a part of *Sojourners*.

Shadyar Shirmast
Shadyar is in the fourth year of her Sociology and International Relations double-major, aiming towards an honours degree in her fifth year. Her interests lie in economic and organizational sociology, with an emphasis on inequality. She hopes to pursue graduate studies in Sociology and a career in research upon graduation.

Courtney Tait
Courtney just graduated from UBC with her Bachelor of Arts degree, majoring in sociology. She plans to return to the Okanagan and gain work experience while figuring out what she wants to do.

Paz Villar
Paz is a fourth-year sociology student with a background in film studies and English-Spanish translation. Within sociology she is particularly interested in gender relations and plans to dedicate her last year to an honours thesis on the subject. She is very involved in both the sociology department and the SSA. Last year, she volunteered as an associate editor for *Sojourners* and worked as a teaching assistant. Recently, she has been elected as a co-president of the SSA. She is also working on a research project with Neil Guppy analyzing gender representation in science textbooks.

Irene K. Wu
Irene recently graduated with an honours sociology degree from the University of British Columbia. Irene's main research interests include international and transnational migration, identity construction and negotiation amongst immigrant children, race and ethnicity, education, labour markets, and consumption. Irene's honours thesis bridged her research interests with empirical data as she explored the ways race and ethnicity, citizenship, education, and consumption played a role in assisting transnational 1.5 generation Chinese Canadian young adults to navigate the complex terrain of their hybrid identities. After completing her studies, Irene looks forward to continuing her research in immigration during her upcoming internship abroad. Irene has served as an undergraduate teaching assistant in the department of sociology. She is very grateful and excited to have worked with the editorial team for Volume 5 of *Sojourners*.