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

We are also appreciative of **UBC's Sociology Students' Association**. Thank you for continuing to see the value in providing undergraduate students with an opportunity to refine and showcase academic work.

We would also like to recognize the **Faculty and Graduate Students in the Sociology department** at UBC for being staunch supporters of this journal, and for generously donating their time, expertise, and enthusiasm to our endeavor.

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Letter from the Editors-in-Chief

Volume 14

Dear Readers,

As co-Editors-in-Chief, we are honoured to inherit a legacy of academic excellence. Undergraduate journals hold an important role in academia, as undergraduate students rarely get the opportunity of publishing original research. Sojourners has had the privilege—for over a decade—of providing undergraduate students this opportunity. With this edition, we celebrate the achievements of all of our authors, we share in the accomplishments of our editorial team, and we present to the academic community a collaborative work of curiosity, critique, and academic vigor.

Volume 14 features a variety of writing styles, research methods, approaches and topics ranging from UBER to queer desire. Of thirty-nine submissions from universities across Canada, seven papers were selected for their contributions to the field, originality, and academic merit. We begin this issue where we left off with Volume 13: COVID-19. Richy Srirachanikorn qualitatively investigates digital connection through a content analysis of five virtual worlds (MMORPGs) for socialization that have become popular since the pandemic and presents an original concept of the digitized other. Next, Kyara Liu makes a strong contribution to the literature on the Healthy Immigrant Effect by exploring the impact of immigration and gender on mental health. Beth Patrick proceeds by offering us a critique of the multicultural narrative that Canadian universities (namely, the University of British Columbia and the University of Toronto) use in international student recruitment. Alexandra Black takes us in a different direction by providing readers with a review of

the controversy surrounding Megan Thee Stallion's release of Wet Ass Pussy (WAP) in light of the impact of slavery and the history of Black women's fetishization. In a similar vein, Anupriya Gupta takes on regulation and oppression of the body in her theoretical paper on Robert Egger's The Lighthouse. In a timely response, Rachel Doody questions Canada's liberal narrative of being a fair and equitable nation through an analysis of the Delagmuukw v. British Columbia trial, ultimately putting forth a new definition of reconciliation. Finally, we leave you with Alexander Wilson's crucial probe into UBER's entrance to B.C. and its impact on the low-paid, marginalized work of driving services.

Each paper published in this journal demands a rethinking into how things are done, whether it is consuming media or interpreting the law. As Co-Editors-in-Chief, we are so proud of the hard work both our authors and editors have put into this edition of Sojourners; we know that they will all continue to be excellent students, humanitarians, activists, writers, thinkers, academics, and critically engaged members of the world. We only hope that as they do so, they remember to reach out and support those who have just begun.

In Community,

Pooja Ramachandran & Esme Stumborg
Co-Editors-in-Chief
Sojourners

Volume 15

Dear Readers,

Sojourners is proud to present its 15th volume, celebrating the hard work and dedication of our talented authors and editors. As a journal for undergraduate students, each year the Sojourners team is appreciative to receive so many submissions that demonstrate the care and passion of sociologists and academics beginning their path, and we are grateful to be able to showcase a select few of these thinkers. Having received twenty-five superb submissions both internationally and across Canada, the 4 selected papers were chosen for their timely topics, academic rigour, and additions made to ongoing sociological discourse.

As you begin your sojourn through Volume 15, our authors ask the reader to contemplate more enduring factors that influence our lives. In particular, each author is able to delve into how our social background—such as our childhood, racial identity, social media presentation, and community ties— affects our emotional wellbeing and identity formation in adulthood. To begin, Aida Ardelean explores how attachment styles developed in childhood affect participation and emotional health in university hookup culture. Through qualitative interviews and survey data, Ardelean demonstrates how attachment style relates to self esteem, regret, and feelings experienced for a casual hookup partner, including a perceptive take on "situationships." Next, Makena Zimmerman considers how colourism on social media impacts the social construction of the self and identity creation. Zimmerman centers Goffman, in combination with scholarship on social media behaviour, to bring an insightful look at how forms of identity construction can maintain colourism on social media, with the notable example of "finstas." In a similar vein, Gabrielle Abando examines YouTube comments that focus on one

of the most popular couples featured on the TLC program *90 Day Fiancé*, in order to consider the double-commodification of the Filipina through a Marxist lens. Abando astutely contextualizes these examples of the discourse surrounding the show within a discussion of mail order brides and the sex tourism market. Lastly, Zainab Saleh develops a meta-analysis to investigate how rates of postpartum depression among Indigenous women are linked to research on Canada's evacuation policy, which requires pregnant Indigenous women living in rural areas or remote reservations to leave their communities between 36 and 38 weeks to await labour and birth. Saleh incisively illustrates how evacuation policy is related to increased rates of stress among Indigenous women, which may relate to other adverse health effects.

Each of these authors is able to skillfully explore original topics, while maintaining a strong standard of excellence and use of their own academic voice. The range of methods and contemporary topics exemplifies the ability of these scholars to apply their sociological knowledge to personal and emerging topics surrounding identity formation and emotional wellbeing. I hope you enjoy reading these pieces as much as I did, and consider how the common themes illustrate the need for sociological thinking in navigating our own identities and in understanding how we are connected to the relevant issues of today. As a final note, I would like to truly thank each of the authors and editors on this volume for their diligent work and devoting their time throughout the publishing process, as the journal would not be possible without you. I am so proud of all the work you have done, and wish you all the best going forward.

Sincerely,

Beth Patrick
Editor-in-Chief
Sojourners

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Contained in Crises:Youth's Experience of (Digital) Familyhood During COVID-19

Richy Srirachanikorn
University of British Columbia

Abstract. During COVID-19, children confined in households experience prevalent levels of loneliness and relationship conflict. To mitigate this challenge, youth have proliferated their use of digital media and virtual worlds (MMORPGs) for socialization. To understand their experiences, I conducted a quantitative content analysis on five games of an MMORPG website that is popular with children since the pandemic. This method is coupled with non-revealing in-game screenshots of players and settings where these practices occurred. I identify these five titles as family-themed, scoring higher in markers of differentiation, connectedness, and lower on family depictions. These results aligned with the primary hypothesis, which predicted a higher frequency of differentiation and connection on the games' home pages than its family codes. A discussion of the data highlighted the symbolic nature of digital familyhood, meaning making, and opportunities for the *differentiation* of the self, per Bowen's *Family Systems Theory* (1976). Implications are explored for the increasing use of technology and the concept of digital connection. Moreover, I warn of the pitfalls in relying too much on technology to socialize, through my original concept of the *digitalized other*.

Keywords: youth, family, COVID-19, MMORPGs, interactionism, digitalized other

Contained in Crises: Youth's Experience of (Digital) Familyhood During COVID-19

During the COVID-19 pandemic, change and conflict have become synonymous. Although violence and relationship conflict in the family is not unusual during and after crises (Bradbury-Jones & Isham, 2020), the challenges of COVID-19 present family scientists and researchers with what Lebow (2020) has called a "once in a lifetime international experiment about family life" (p. 309). In this current 'experiment,' research has documented widespread domestic violence (Roesch et al., 2020), though interestingly, Mazza and colleagues (2020) identified technology as a tool for its confined members to 'cling' onto. Proliferation in digital media use with ages 11-13 by 20% and 14-17 by 30% (Statista 2021a) has emerged behind a cross-cultural backdrop where youth are using technology to mitigate feelings of isolation and loneliness (Cauberghe et al. 2021; Liu et al. 2020). This is problematic, as youth are facing a 'second pandemic' (Gupta & Nebhinani, 2020) where stress and anxiety are the 'new normal' (Hoyt et al., 2021).

Preliminary findings of COVID-19 effects on the well-being of children are not promising (Usher et al., 2020; Phelps & Sperry, 2020). Moreover, researchers call for a better understanding of how youth are dealing with the pandemic at home, demanding solutions that are representative and long-term (Wade, Prime, & Browne, 2020; Liu et al., 2020; Imran, Zeshan, & Pervaiz, 2020). However, when studying technologies related to children in families during COVID-19, the findings have largely been clinical (Limone & Toto, 2021). Notably, Green (2020) calls for members of the public to ensure that children coming out of the pandemic are "engaged with, spoken to, and guided into the future" (p. 1). There needs to be a shift in the focus on the 'double assault' where the prioritization of adult-centered COVID implementations are not made at the expense of containing children inside homes where neglect and abuse occurs. Ultimately, we must begin to understand and remedy the impact of the pandemic and its forced containment on children, as these negative impacts are yet to come, but they are already worrying (Lebow, 2020; Gupta & Nebhinani, 2021).

In family research, external forces of inequality are expressed through the children and the unit, rendering the family as a place to cycle attitudes and norms that contribute to social reproduction (Fox, 2015), and ultimately becoming itself a consequence of this inequality (McLanahan & Percheski, 2008). There are several multiple accounts whereby youth bear the consequences of inequality through contributions of parents or the social environment external to the family (Cavanagh & Fomby, 2019; Cherlin & Seltzer, 2014; McLanahan & Beck, 2010; Powell et al., 2016). By applying a social justice lens, it is this paper's intention to highlight this current challenge by focusing on the experience of youth during two obstacles of COVID-19 family homes: relationship conflict in the unit, and loneliness.

In the search for specific literature, evidence of the experience of children contained at home during COVID-19 was sparse, particularly qualitative and sociological research. In lieu of a stable research consensus, I conducted this study to understand how and why youth are going online to define their digital familyhood. I adopted a content analysis on five of the top ten most popular games of a Massively Multiplayer Online Role-Playing Game (MMORPG) popular with young children during the pandemic. Adhering to a symbolic interactionist lens, these findings contextualize with Bowen's *Family Systems Theory* (1976) as the primary theoretical anchor, offering a sociological explanation of how and why youth are dealing with relationship conflicts in the household, and loneliness. Lastly, I suggest some real world implications on the use of virtual worlds to mitigate and determine the well-being of a player's family. Further discussion centers on the long-term effects of the pandemic on how individuals may move to socialize digitally. The warnings of this endeavour are discussed with my original concept of the *digitalized other* (Srirachanikorn, 2021).

Literature Review

Inequalities and Intimate Partner Violence

Research shows that home isolation puts pressure on the family structure and how members interact with each other in light of COVID-19 regulation (Mazza et al., 2020). In the United States, the pandemic's effects on the economy have left low-income and racialized women with the primary burden of childcare and little prospects for employment (Yavorsky, Qian, & Sargent, 2021). Prior to the pandemic, Fox (2015) presented a 'care crisis' where Canadian employers were miserly with maternal leave while day-care facilities are exclusive to mothers with stable employment. Family research has long associated the education of parents with experiences of inequality, given that such pursuits take up social resources and thus are reflective of the parent's ability to financially provide for the child (Powell et al., 2016; Ellwood & Jencks, 2004). Contemporarily, this sentiment reflects the families under the COVID-19 lockdown, echoing McLanahan and Jacobsen's (2014) observation that the family structure is a consequence of socioeconomic inequality.

For example, a mother's confinements at home during COVID-19 are tense. Qian and Fuller (2020) argue that Canadian mothers of school-aged children are hit the hardest compared to other single and two-person parents, by economic inequalities, citing their self-report of overwhelming childcare responsibilities and less productivity. This sentiment is found cross-culturally in Kowal and colleagues' (2020) study of 26 countries during the pandemic, where mothers' level of stress is positively associated with the number of children per household. Moreover, Hamadani and colleagues (2020) translated a worse experience for low-income and middle-income Bengali families, highlighting a

sharp decline in median family income, lowering food security, mental well-being, and ultimately, intimate partner violence against Bengali mothers. Beyond the scope of this paper, it is noteworthy that mothers are not the only demographic who are experiencing stress under confinement (see Warburton & Raniolo, 2020; Arenas-Arroyo, Fernandez-Kranz, & Nollenberger, 2021; Li & Samp, 2021). Ultimately, these challenges are not only observed at the micro level of family members, but also the macro level of the family as an institution of inequality (Laslett, 1973; Fox, 2015).

Family as the Institution

During COVID-19, children are only able to socialize in the only society they know: the family. Such an institution, as cited in Coser & Coser (1990), requires the instruments, which Durkheim saw "expresses the rhythm of collective activities... [and] assures regularity" (p. 191) in a way of life. The current situation is problematic. Abrutyn's (2021) definition of the institution as realized clusters of social consequences, provides a social environment which grounds, while simultaneously branches out, from the values of roles and duties held by individuals in their ideological spheres. In short, all interaction planes are real situations in their definitions and consequences (Thomas & Thomas, 1928). With the pandemic, these mechanisms which ensured some sustenance to alternative families are no longer a valid scaffolding, given they depend on and occur within a society which is no longer calibrated and open. Individual mechanisms of connection to a larger community which Imber-Black (2020) calls our "rituals... in special time and special places" (p. 913) have also suffered to accommodate the pandemic, though its resilience has birthed alternative forms of public expression, gatherings, and intimate connection through balcony clapping, virtual meetings, and pre-recorded interactions, respectively. These observations establish the testimony that, despite a myriad of adaptive shifts for a society which are inaccessible and unaccommodating, the maxim from Desai and colleagues (2019) persists: the "need to feel supported, valued, and loved" (p. 33) has always remained the same. For children, opportunities to branch out to social actors of ages and interests alike precludes the confinement of their first and sole institution of the home, and a major crisis inside it.

Relationship Conflict and Triangles

Chronic stress is the core route to family dysfunction in Bowen's *Family Systems Theory* (1978). Bowen's focus on a child's reactions to stressful events and how they relate between members are crucial indicators of how a family will function under stress (Brown, 1999). Particularly, this theoretical perspective gives the possibility for an individual to exist within and beyond the family dyad, providing the presuppositions that
(i) emotional states are transferable to the circulation of its members while constructing the unit, formulating the concept of the Triangle which I will discuss further on, and that

(ii) the interaction between society (stressful events) and the family is necessary and healthy to challenge, and thus achieve, a high level of differentiation. Murdock and Gore (2004) echo the sentiment of the latter in that, "under lower stress levels, the difference in psychological distress levels was less pronounced" (p. 332), meaning that the distinction of high and low differentiated selves is more challenging without stress. However, children's abilities to differentiate during COVID-19 are sparse and challenging. Currently, youth are bereft of prosocial institutions when left at home (i.e. friend groups, schools, recreational third spaces). This is concerning when their sole institution- the family- is unsupportive (Fish et al., 2020) and dysfunctional (Rousseau & Miconi, 2020). Thus, this makes the path to differentiation difficult, as stressful members and as such the unit of their families, are likely to *triangulate* (Bowen, 1978).

Triangulation occurs when a strain emerges between two adults and a member from the tensions of the conflict cascade to a third person: the child (termed *outsider*), who is unrelated to the initial dispute. Here, the child remains at the mitigating point of the triangle between two conflicting adults. This way, the entire anxiety of the unit reduces when a newly formed bond between the conflicted parent and the child mitigates any stress *towards* the remaining adult from the first conflict. Empirical research on Bowen's theoretic assumptions towards triangulation mitigating stress have not always produced support. Miller, Anderson, & Keala (2007), for instance, call for specific research into the operationalization of which kind of stress is the experience of what kind of family. Recent research applying Bowen and attachment theories has also echoed these sentiments (Ross, Hinshaw, & Murdock, 2016), though new revelations support the transgenerational effect that lowly differentiated parents predicted a higher triangulation in children overtime, and that stress is a better predictor of whether one will differentiate and face anxiety (Willis et al., 2020). This becomes relevant to the study of children during COVID-19, since *triangulation* can occur between conflicting adults and their child (Bowen, 1978). Although the exact mechanisms and effects of this process have room for more empirical investigation, Bowen's (1978) argument that "the [position of the] winner [may be] in doubt, but the final result is always the same" (p. 77) remains true: no matter the winner, the conflict remains.

In COVID-19, Lebow (2020) notes a similar situation where the question of "who is included in the boundary of close contact and who is excluded" becomes stressful for family members to navigate. Thus, when violations were less severe, conflict-ridden family members took advantage of virtual gatherings to maintain their pre-pandemic distant lives (Mazza et al., 2020). Compared to available statistics, there was indeed support to this claim, as 42% of Americans have moved to socialize virtually with family and friends (Statista, 2021b). In the case of American children, the average amount of hours spent on digital media has increased steadily since 2016 (Statista 2021a; 2021c; 2021d). In the current conflict-households under COVID-19, I argue that this triangulated anxiety propels youth to move away from the household environment, thus moving online.

The Third Member

Where stress confines the society of the child's family, it is possible that anxiety originates and remains with the youth themselves (Hoyt et al., 2021). Adults overwhelmed by their work-home duties cannot serve as the placeholder for a child to mitigate their anxieties, least of all play the role of a comforting parent. Increased technology and social media use is positively associated with the anxiety levels of parents and their children (Drouin et al., 2020). Yet, the lack and lowering of parental care is no less a major concern. Prior to the pandemic, literature in family science provided a consensus that children are negatively affected into their adolescence from missing adult family members due to instability and institutional forces (see McLanahan & Jacobsen, 2014; Manning, 2015; Cavanagh & Fomby, 2019). However, parents do not have to be physically missing or incapable of caregiving in order to yield negative effects on children. In an American parent survey during COVID-19, Patrick and colleagues (2020) observed a parallel effect where only the worsening mental health of parents reflected a tantamount effect in their child's behavioural health. Therefore, a shift to virtual methods of connection by youth and adult members may provide the benefit that Wen and colleagues (2011) note, to "enhance remote families' awareness of each other" (p. 250), despite physically living together during COVID-19.

Reapplied to Bowen's *triangle*, technology becomes the 'third member' between children and adolescents versus their inconsolable stresses (Barr & Copeland-Stewart, 2021). It is important to note that Bowen did not see the presence of triangling in its members as a firm signal for dysfunctions, but rather a tool of discovering reasons and intentions of its members when conflict does occur (Brown, 1999). As such, the widespread involvement of youth and technology in most households do not necessarily mean there are equal amounts of troubling families. Instead, the implication lies in how much a child depends on the virtual space to avoid or attain the relationship of their other members. Crucially, as Brown (1999) notes, the main issue arises here when the pursuit of digital familyhood overshadows and "distracts the members of a dyad from resolving their relationship impasse" (p. 96). Here, I will discuss how intrinsic motivations to elude this conflict can be more damaging to the child while revealing more on the nature of how children define digital familyhood.

Differentiation and Loneliness

As mentioned, stress is the primary route to family dysfunction and inter-member tension (Bowen, 1978). Mitigating this path was the ability to *differentiate*, which depended on the member's level of connection to their family, and their individual reactivity to stressful events (Brown, 1999). Being able to differentiate meant the semi-parting of younger members into making their independent choices while also retaining an affiliation to their family system, or *togetherness*. This way, their attempts to resolve their

own stresses are not a lone journey, hammering the notion that we are all "ultra-social animals" (Tomasello, 2014, p. 192). Akin to "the differentiation of cells from each other" (Bowen, 1978, p. 58), one's pursuit may be explorative, but this is established in the body of the family. According to the Bowen Center for the Study of the Family (Accessed 27 August, 2021), youth in childhood and adolescence can achieve a high level of differentiation through the opportunities given by close family relationships to explore their independence. With a higher level of *differentiation*, there is considerable empirical support to Bowen's proposition (Kerr & Bowen, 1988) that this is key to reducing trait anxiety (Tuason & Friedlander, 2000; Miller, Anderson, & Keala, 2007) and social anxiety (Peleg-Popko, 2002). However, it is crucial to note that this mitigation operated when COVID-19 did not overwhelm parents or disconnect families from wider society.

Cross-culturally, technology is utilized by youth as a method of mitigating loneliness (Cauberghe et al., 2021; Liu et al., 2020). In the current study of digital familyhood in virtual worlds, these motivations to mitigate conflict and loneliness build from Bowen's (1978) argument that "it is impossible for there to be more than relative separation between emotional and intellectual functioning" (p. 65) into how a person expresses themselves. Simply, it is not possible for a digital self to be created and played without any influence on the user's personal emotion or intelligence. There will always be a self before and behind the screen. Thus, the motivations and meanings of such individuals are synthetic (Malaby, 2006) of real world and virtual selves. Earlier, I laid out the second presupposition of Bowen's theory, which remarked that the interaction between society (stressful events) and family members is necessary and healthy to achieve a high level of differentiation.

Pre-Pandemic Experiences of Children in Virtual Worlds

Considerable research on digital affect in children outlines the use of devices and virtual worlds for things that are unattainable in the real-world. For instance, Kafai, Fields, and Cook (2009) found that the common motivation for child users to create and live through their digital selves in an MMORPG was to fulfill a "desire for something they could not have in real life either because it was not allowed... or because it was impossible" (p. 34). Contextualized to my first presupposition of Bowen's theory, the user's desire to reshape their identity with imagined features (e.g., superpowers, radical hairstyles, piercings and tattoos) stems from the intellect of intentional, autonomous choices to increasingly differentiate. Martoncik and Loksa's (2016) finding that the utopian experience and sense of belonging remains in the digital world also echoes the digital world as a choice determined by *autonomy* as part of their differentiation, since "many people use [and return to] MMORPGs to meet their social needs which they are unable to satisfy in the real world" (p. 128). More importantly, this process is to accommodate the self "in real life" (Kafai et al., 2009, p. 34), meaning that what is taken and explored on digital worlds must interact and synthesize to the *self* most lived of the physical world. Remark-

ably, Hota and Derbaix (2016) draws these similarities between its users. Boys try to show dominance and power through game level advancement and power, while girls prefer to improve their social status by owning avatar clothing and accessories. This realization ties itself to the second presupposition, as the *emotional* functioning of one's affiliation to real-world society and family influences is what they retain from that experience as *togetherness* in what they are seeking online, and ultimately, how differentiated they become (e.g., choosing to include their nickname in the username, wearing their favourite sports team item, or indicating their country flag).

So far, I have argued that technology has become a third member for youths to triangulate with, and that the lack of institutional support beyond the only family can create conflict and loneliness for young people. I hypothesize that in the page content of five of the most popular games on ROBLOX, they will have a higher frequency of differentiation and connection depictions, whereas markers of the SNAF and family life will be lower.

Methods

From what we have learnt of conflict in households during COVID-19, it is natural to assume that youth may be seeking diversion and hyper-realist experiences to move away from their confined realities. However, half of the ten most popular games on ROBLOX, a MMORPG popular with children during the pandemic, are family-themed (Statista, 2021e). As the maintenance (Kafai et al., 2009) and motivation (Martoncik & Loksa, 2016) of digital selves is explored, insights are "concentrated only in the real world" (p. 128). As such, I will utilize a quantitative content analysis on the webpages of five of the most popular games on ROBLOX (Roblox.com, 2021). The choice of this Massively Multiplayer Online Role-Playing Game (MMORPG) is due to its popularity with youth populations, given 29% of its users are ages 9-12, and 13% are 13-16 years old (Dean, 2021). More so, its engagement rose significantly from 3.7 billion hours in 2019 to 9.73 billion in the second quartile of 2021 (Dean, 2021). Therefore, a quantitative content analysis on the home pages of five virtual games where youth are expressing their needs, wishes, and interactions can provide deductive insights that are non-intrusive (as opposed to interviews or observations). Data collection occurred in one-sitting in early November to prevent any edits or changes from game developers. November was also an ideal temporal window as festivals are common occurrences in October and December, prompting changes to the page content that may not be as representative as the games were in July 2021 when its popularity surged (Statista, 2021e).

The category of DIFFERENTIATION refers to Bowen's (1978) theory which saw differentiation as a mitigator of stress and tool for individual growth (Kerr & Bowen,

1988) with children and adolescents of the family (Bowen Center for the Study of the Family, 2021). In searching for what these strategies of differentiation may look like in the virtual world, I created sub-codes under the DIFFERENTIATION category inspired by the findings of Kafai et al. (2009) that children's online motivations were to reimagine things unattainable in real life, although simultaneously these affordances also reflected real-world attitudes and norms (Hota & Derbaix, 2016). Observed depictions are coded as 'Self-definition and Creation,' under markers of individualization such as "Be yourself" and "This is your time," while 'male-typed identity' or 'female-typed identity' markers are coded as depictions on the home pages of each game that included gendered digital items such as a boy with a black skull T-shirt, or a girl with a pink dress. Finally, 'Rebellion' markers scored depictions that encouraged the redefinition or breaking of rules, such as the ability to fly, "Do anything you want" or the prospect of "unlimited possibilities" and powers.

Succeeding this, I established the tripartite markers of CONNECTION to address the experience of loneliness noted earlier (Cauberghe et al., 2021; Li et al., 2021). These markers include the Third Spaces (Oldenburg 1999) of community parks, public recreational places, and neighbourhoods under 'Community Connectedness.' In the instances where social interactions and interactions between players were encouraged, these items are marked as 'Social Connectedness.' Lastly, 'Residential Connectedness' marked those depictions which include more intimate places such as personal homes and single houses. This category served to determine whether a part of ROBLOX's popularity for its young users are more from communal sociality or personal connections.

Finally, the FAMILY category takes in account the type and extent of family and companionship in these experiences. To illustrate whether young users join these virtual worlds to escape or to remind them of their family situation, I looked for any depictions of the Standard North American Family, or the nuclear family unit: father, mother, daughter, son. This is placed under 'Parent and Child.' Conversely, 'Non-human members' coded depictions of alternative 'members' such as pets or mystical beings associated with the formation of the player's unit or family. This addresses Cherlin's (2004) foreseeing that marriage was no longer defined by the need of a household companionship; personal connection and 'familyhood' may no longer be limited to immediate members of the household for children during the pandemic, either. Finally, 'Home Structure' included any depictions of a family home, a singular residential structure associated with the SNAF, a unit of close people, or the word family to capture the game's depictions of the family home.

As such, these categories and its sub-codes serve to test the hypothesis from my literature review that, markers of DIFFERENTIATION and CONNECTION will be higher since youth are confined at home from exploring their real-world desires and meeting their friends, whereas FAMILY codes will remain low, following the logic that a stressful time for many families during the pandemic will motivate the child's online journey as a

diversion from, rather than a reminder of familyhood.

Results

Table 1. Categorical marker frequency in five family themed ROBLOX games of 2021.

		Frequency				
Code	**Example**	Adopt Me	Meep City	Brookhaven RP	Royale High	BloxBurg
Markers of Connection						
Residential Connectedness	A picture of village houses, homes	3	1	2	1	3
Social Connectedness	"Play with millions of players"	1	2	2	5	5
Community Connectedness	Cafés, gyms, "magical lands"	1	4	3	6	3
Markers of Differentiation						
Female-Typed Identity	Girl holding pink journal, makeup	2	1	0	11	3
Male-Typed Identity	Boy with headphones, skull t-shirt	2	2	0	1	1
Self-Definition and Creation	"Be whoever you want to be"	1	3	3	4	5
Rebellion	"Buy UNLIMITED furniture!", "use your teleportation sceptre"	0	2	3	4	3
Markers of Family						
Non-human Members	Picture to adopt pets in household	8	2	0	2	0
Home Structure	"Your house", pictures of homes	1	2	2	2	2
Parent and Home	Adult(s) and/or child in a home	0	0	0	0	0

Out of 42 total code inputs in the CONNECTION category, 28.5% were *Royale High* at 12 codes, followed by 26.1% of 11 codes in *BloxBurg*. The lowest coded game in this category was *Adopt Me* at 5 items, or 11.9%. Community Connectedness was the most frequent code in the five games, scoring 17 inputs, while Residential Connectedness was the lowest at 10 inputs only. These results indicate a higher preference for successful ROBLOX games to portray a larger sense of belonging. Notably, *Royale High*'s highest scoring push (6 inputs) for Community Connectedness included a mixture of third spaces and social environments, such as "dream world!", "high school," and a fountain plaza. Interestingly, in Residential Connectedness, depictions of homes and villages are rarely seen in games that purportedly focus on neighbourhood aspects, such as *Meep City* (1), *BloxBurg* (3) and *Brookhaven RP* (2).

Crucially, the virtual world with the most codes for Community Connectedness (*Royale High* = 6) also scored highest for Social Connectedness (*Royale High* = 5), suggesting a link between these communal spaces and sociality. By examining this virtual world in-game, its status as an outlier can be better understood: a community space rich, which, once discovered, is always tied to the potential for socialization. Figures 1 and 2 provide background in this regard.

These spaces are not only mediators of sociality, but also motivators. Figure 1 posits

Figure 1. School-based Social Groups. *Figure 2*. Brand Name Stores as Third Spaces (Oldenburg 1999).

the screenshot of an open-space entrance to a public building, although there are static, non-playable characters that mimic a social group, and a sign enticing players to "Join the Royale High Cheer Squad." From this exact spot, a zoom out reveals the picture in Figure 2 as a line-up of brand name stores which serve as Third Places (Oldenburg 1999) of sociality. Ultimately, these images will contextualize many virtual worlds that drive Community Connectedness. Amongst the five games, three had a higher frequency of Community Connectedness codes than Residential ones (*Meep City* +3, *Brookhaven RP* +1, *Royale High* +5), while also scoring higher in its Social Connectedness than Residential codes (*Meep City* +1, *Royale High* +4, *Bloxburg* +2), echoing the association I suggested earlier.

Of 51 codes in the DIFFERENTIATION category, 39.2% or 20 codes belonged to *Royale High*, scoring highest in the Female-typed Identity marker at 11 codes. This was a stark finding when compared to the four other games, which had a median of 2 codes for female-typed identity markers. However, it seemed that *Royale High*'s gender-typed differentiation was only exclusive to female markers, given that its male-typed identity markers averaged with the lower modes of 1 and 2 when combined with the other titles. When calculating each of the total codes of female (17) and male-typed identity (6), a range of 11 codes or 21% (11/51 total differentiation codes x 100) emerge. Given that *Royale High* was the outlier, I attempt to explain this extraneous input in the discussion. On the other hand, DIFFERENTIATION markers of Self-definition and Creation fared quite consistently across all games, achieving the median of 3 codes, and a smaller range of 4 codes apart, totalling 16 codes as the second-highest coded marker following Female-typed Identity. Notwithstanding the outlier of *Royale High*'s female-typed markers, Self-definition and Creation is the highest marker for ROBLOX's five most popular games. This is consistent with the hypothesis that differentiation markers would be higher in the theoretical and COVID-19 research arguments in the literature review.

The FAMILY category has the lowest number of codes, with 21 entries. However, opposite to the dominance of *Royale High* in two previous categories, *Adopt Me* scored the highest. There is a simple explanation for this. Prior to gameplay, it is noticeable from page content that trading features heavily in the experience and digital economy of *Adopt Me*, highlighting pets as the main function and feature of the game, instead of the player in four other titles. Interestingly, if we ignored the Non-Human markers, *Adopt Me* became the lowest scoring game of the FAMILY category, indicating that again, an extraneous criteria pushed the game to become an outlier, similar to *Royale High* in female-typed identity markers in the prior category. Interestingly, in the absence of Non-Human Members, all five games had a median score of 2 for Home Structures and 0 for Parent and Home. These lacking results suggest that, like the first category's higher scoring Community Connectedness (17) over its Residential Connectedness (10), the sense of family as portrayed in these five popular games are more person-defined, communal-based, and represented as institutional symbols (i.e. "hang out with like-minded people") rather than individuals of the family institution (i.e., a female and male adult with a young kid).

Discussion

Through content analysis, this study attempted to contextualize why youth are increasingly moving online to find a connection despite being at home during the pandemic. As well as providing a family theory and contemporaneous research to ground its argument, the analysis also showed what exactly was attractive to youth populations in a novel setting of connection-seeking. Notably, the analysis shows that connections are shifting from Residential depictions of social settings to Community Connectedness. These results suggest three things.

First, there is a higher volume of CONNECTION depictions for Community codes rather than Residential Connectedness. Also, Social Connectedness is prominent in these games, second only to the top 2 codes for Community Connectedness. Totalling 42 codes, this category's findings support the first section of my hypothesis that the sampled games will score higher on community markers. Furthermore, they are consistent with current literature that young people are using virtual resources to alleviate loneliness (Cauberghe et al., 2021; Liu et al., 2020), by seeking connections outside the home, both virtually and physically. Alternatively, per Mazza and colleagues (2020), these results may apply to children of conflict-ridden homes who "cling to the[se] technologies that allow [them] to know fragments of a distant life" (p. 2) of pre-pandemic third spaces, such as malls, gyms, gardens, and beaches.

Second, the emphasis on the player and their choices, rather than their singular homes resonate with the earlier discussion that a thinking of individualism and personal

growth is exposed to Western families (Cherlin, 2004). It is arguable that a desire for differentiation (which Bowen reminded us, required the support of a family) demands the necessity for a territory to express itself. As I found no codes for family members or the family home, it is assumable that familyhood is person-defined by the children. As such, a space for differentiation may instead be the potential of sociality within Oldenburg's (1999) Third Spaces, environments neither of home or work, but a middle ground for social interaction and reproduction. Earlier, I highlighted the link between Community Connectedness and Social Connectedness with three titles, including a contextualization of two figures from *Royale High* as the outlier.

It is with these findings that the nature of the family may no longer be limited to its immediate family members, but also include any description of it. Per Charles Cooley's wisdom that we are what we think others think of us, it is logical then, that 'familyhood' and belonging are built with ties that are not blood-bound or person-bound either. Social media and virtual worlds, as argued by Childress (2012), do not 'allow' us to be sociable but it is our presence as beings of social potential that allows and makes the space a social one. This study highlights the exploration of familyhood during a time of confinement in stressful homes but did not inquire into how and whether youth established families online. As such, I am only able to argue that virtual worlds may come to influence how (digital) familyhood is found and defined, and that this is likely to be successful if the digital exploration has more familiarity than fantasy.

With the symbolic interactionist viewpoint that the creation of self is due to a collaboration with others, their attitudes, and an environment to realize these desires (James 1890; Cooley, 1902; Mead, 1934), the self must remain active in its search for things they want to be and how to become it (Tavory, 2016). For children during the pandemic, this situation is not difficult to imagine. Confined to their homes and constrained by social distancing and lockdown measures, they lose significant social others such as school friends or neighbourhood playmates. Moreover, without the Third Space (Oldenburg, 1999) of a school where social others, attitudes, and the child can form a sense of self, they must realize the fantasies of their own desires on the internet. While fantasies are an essential part of interaction and self (Strauss, 1959), familiarity makes their pursuit of desire almost accessible and within reach. Much of this familiar fantasy is what fuels the replayability of digital Third Places, as there is always something new yet existing to re-discover. Bart Simon argues (Concordia University, 2010, Accessed April 3, 2022), for instance, that the success of Facebook and social networking sites thrives because things like friendship are able to stay relevant. *Royale High*'s success reflects this with its Community Connectedness codes, as not only access to schools were made with its school-aged players, but that fictional brand name stores reminded them enough of a familiar world to remain interested and not overwhelmed by the fantasies of its fairy-styled game.

Having played all five games since 2019 and prior to the conception of this study, I argue that all titles except *Royale High* are set in an environment where youth players

can only express a reimagined self to trade fictional and mythical pets, maneuver vehicles which they yet cannot drive, and hold jobs and superpowers, which they do not possess. While city-esque games such as *Bloxburg and Brookhaven* RP contain infrastructures that range from workplaces, shops, and recreational hubs, its use can support Role-Playing or in-game progress through employment, rather than as stand-alone sites where value circulates in *Royale High*'s stores and third spaces. *Royale High*'s reiteration of a familiar school environment and a timely convergence of ROBLOX and real-life brands also provide a unique context for its outlier results. Where I had pointed to Hota and Derbaix's (2016) findings that gameplay motivates and expresses youth differently by sex, this study's findings also build onto their sentiment that players of *Royale High* identifying with female-typed items used digital affordances to heighten social statuses and possess cultural capitals. It is therefore unsurprising that female-typed identity markers of differentiation scored so highly in the game that is most familiar to youth players' social environment beyond their homes.

However, social environments are not the only aspect enhanced by ROBLOX's games. As indicated, it is a common finding in youth experiences online to reimagine situations and items that are unattainable in real-life (Kafai et al., 2009). This is even stronger when these items are intertwined with cultural capital and values that are synthetic (Malaby, 2006) and status markers in the real world. Contextually, there is an emergence of cultural capital synergy through collaborative music artist concerts and luxury item brands for ROBLOX players to explore as games or events (McDowell, 2021). As such, I argue that a merged experience between digital affordances and real-life desires only enhances the incentives to differentiate with digital capitals that are familiarly meaningful and monetary via microtransactions. These findings and context do not only support my second hypothesis that differentiation markers will be higher in these games, they also demonstrate the symbolic interactionist relationship of our digital and physical selves.

As hypothesized, markers of family scored the lowest across ROBLOX's five most played games which are family themed. Even with the outlier of *Adopt Me*'s Non-human markers, every title scored lowly on this indicator as well as Home Structures. More importantly, there is not a single code registered for the Parent and Home code. This finding suggests two things. Firstly, the depiction of SNAF as the symbol of family is outdated or unrecognized by these five titles. It seems that contemporaneous symbols of connection and familyhood echo Cherlin's (2004) observation that marriage was no longer affixed to the family. In this case, the SNAF is neither the placeholder or motivation for seeking 'family.' Second, where connection seems to be artificially defined and loosely based on companionship, high-scoring codes for Non-Human Members or pets are evident. Other than its use for trading, as briefly explained with *Adopt Me*, these companions are used for aesthetics or in-game progression within *Royale High* and *Meep City*.

On the *Digitalized Other*

This study highlighted that capitals and symbolic markers- like borrowed words of a thesaurus- are tools which inform and materialize who we are and our identities per Mead's (1934) wisdom that "we talk to ourselves, but do not see ourselves" (p. 174). When interacting with a group and a larger society, Mead points out that an individual first becomes a generalized other before an insider to adopt and replicate its collective values. For digital *selves*, however, the path to belonging and actualizing the self (from the generalized other) is difficult. Where online spheres allow for the creation and realization of the self's greatest desires, one cannot expect the same to occur when the individual is no longer disposed to a device. Simply, not all benefits of the digital world are transferable to the physical (Martoncik & Loksa, 2016). This leaves the self in the physical world with a degree of otherness (Van Looy, 2015) to the one better realized and ideal; their digital self. Upon the integration into a digital world (with Mead's generalized other), a digitalized other also bears the other in its name in that any desires realized online has set the bar too high for when the individual logs off and returns to the responsibilities, shortcomings, and a life one is "obliged to dwell in" (Goffman, 1961, p. 138) of the physical world. As such, this stagnation of the player and person is the *digitalized other* (Srirachanikorn, 2021).

Implications

By adopting a symbolic interactionist viewpoint, I argue that, sociologically, these markers and their successes reflect a general desire of youth at home during the pandemic. As interchangeable as cultural capitals can be, the projections of the self equally intertwine in two modes of existence. This stresses the importance of nurturing the bridge between youth's real-life situations at home where they nurture the *self*, and their digital *selves* who express these shortcomings and deprivations from real world troubles. In short, if they have lived a life full of conflict and loneliness in their home situation, then potentially, these problems can be identified and remedied through its digital definitions and virtual consequences (Thomas & Thomas, 1928). This is a useful framework in the current 'gold rush' for the metaverse as growing consumer demands are tantamount to corporations' efforts to curate and capitalize them (Statista, 2021f; Global Times Website, Accessed 17 December 2021). As we have seen with the success of games that synthesize real-world and digital capitals, there is ample room to speculate our abilities to deliver reliable cultural, sociological, and perhaps clinical prognoses of one's desires and imminent troubles when we submerge ourselves in the reimaginations and reiterations of our lives. With the prospect of growing digitalized others (Srirachanikorn 2021) from alleviating loneliness (Cauberghe et al. 2021) but also an expansion of social technology into the metaverse, we

must remain cognizant of the motivations behind individual's choices and interactions on these platforms. As youth users have done in this study, their desires and benefits of the digital self are taking place in the metaverse. Then, by the same token, we must prepare for the digitalized othering that comes from discrepant reimaginations and reiterations of the self if its benefits and damages are "here to stay" (CNET, YouTube Website, Accessed 12 November 2021).

Even with a two-dimensional emulation, subject loneliness experienced in the digital world when a spousal avatar leaves the environment remains strongly in the physical self (Luhmann et al., 2014), countering the notion preoccupied by previous game-affect studies (Martoncik & Loksa, 2016) that a dichotomy exists between worlds of existence and its effects. The *self*, as I have argued elsewhere, is the motivation to understand (see Srirachanikorn, 2021). It is, akin to Abrutyn's (2021) interpretation that the institution is beyond a reification but a realization of social actions and consequences, a testament that the *self* is an entity which "remains curiously abstract" (Abrutyn & Lizardo, 2020, p. 6). In this case, the distinction between the physical and the virtual *self* as experienced by youth populations under COVID-19 crises is fortunately obvious and distinguishable. However, with a lack of qualitative accounts on how youth are experiencing the pandemic, we can only turn to a symbolic curiosity that what youth *selves* prefer through their digital worlds is reflective of their experience during the pandemic, and a reflection of their primary society of the family. In upcoming cultural changes, we must remain cognizant to situations at home and of the physical self, just as youth have faced this pandemic. This is key to integrating a future physical-digital space where its third spaces do not leave people as *digitalized other* or as perpetual third persons of their environments, living a projected life online of their reimagined needs, but never a reiteration of their wishes. These concerns are apt for the current study's investigation of youth populations, who are currently the social actors of tomorrow's institutions. Furthermore, emphasizing family-related symbols and prevailing conditions of the pandemic is precisely because this is their first, and currently only, society.

Limitations

A decade ago, Cherlin (2010) strongly noted the need for new data collection on family, as his main concern was the "increasingly disconnect family membership from household living arrangements" (p. 38-39). This has now been realized as the familial disconnect of household members who are in the same household from pandemic demands and separation. As such, this study attempted to understand the experience of its youth members' retreat to the virtual world and their seeking for connection. However, the content analysis lacked a second coder, reducing the inter-reliability of the data collection. Additionally, the criteria for the FAMILY category could have included better informed descriptions to

measure the types of companionship and 'family,' which is unique to ROBLOX games. Therefore, the lack of preparation at this stage of the data collection meant that the results were affected by the small sample size of the category codes. As a result, the generalizability of my findings is limited to the observed five ROBLOX games, and its analysis is speculative at best due to the limitations of a quantitative content analysis. In addition, the role of digital capital and virtual economies should be given more consideration to the reasons why youth players choose certain games, and whether they use capital interchangeably between games. Other than this study's result and discussion of *Royale High*'s outlier in female-typed identity markers, there is also considerable literature focusing on the role of digital capital and economy on the experience and expressions of young players (see Lehdonvirta, Wilska, & Johnson, 2009; Zhong, 2011, Ren et al., 2018). Focusing on the role of digital currency in creating a digital self may better portray the sociological picture of the digitalized other: is this negative state more because of an individual's inability to physically realize their digital wishes, or is it because of a burden from the loss of pouring digital currency into a perfect picture which they cannot see beyond?

Conclusion

To conclude, the current study into how individual motivations (i.e., differentiation) and real-world influences of social environments (i.e., conflict-ridden family and stress) provides a novel application into how synthetic ROBLOX, a metaverse, can become with its user's lives. Youth are not only contained in crises of the global threat outside their door, but deep within their homes. These results highlight both the usage and sociological potential to better understand how youth may express and mitigate their real-world sufferings into virtual spaces dominated by capitals and social interactions. This first, original step to anchor Bowen's *Family Systems Theory* (1978) with a symbolic interactionist lens in a unique situation where youth's confined emotions is quantifiable and interpreted is indicative for further study. For a future where the digital sphere is successfully indistinguishable to our most preferred third spaces in the physical world, understanding a *self*'s expressed troubles will be difficult to identify, address, and treat.

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Racial Identity and the Healthy Immigrant Effect: Does Racial Background Affect Mental Health Among Immigrants in Canada?

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Preface. This thesis presents original, unpublished, and independent work by the author, Kyara Liu. No ethics approval was required for the completion of this research.

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Abstract. The concept of the "Healthy Immigrant Effect" emerged through findings suggesting that while immigrants are healthier than the native-born population due to a selection process favouring better health and higher education, their health tends to diminish over time due to the unique challenges they encounter in their new nation of residence (Yang, 2020). In this study, I hypothesize that established immigrants and visible minority immigrants would have worse mental health (as per the Healthy Immigrant Effect) in comparison to established immigrants and White immigrants. Furthermore, I predict that female visible minority immigrants have worse mental health than female White immigrants, due to the application of the stress process model (SPM) to infer the greater psychosocial stressors faced by women of colour (racism and sexism etc.). This study contributes to the literature surrounding the Healthy Immigrant Effect in the context of mental health, while adding dimensions of racial identity and gender producing a more nuanced and greater understanding of the concept. I implemented ordered logistic regression using a hybrid variable consisting of racial identity and length of time since migration in order to investigate social determinants of immigrant mental health. The findings suggest that both White and visible minority immigrants residing in Canada for

10 to 20 years had worse mental health than immigrants who immigrated less than 10 years ago, with implications varying depending on gender due to the different meanings of work attributed to each gender role. Overall, this study makes a strong contribution to the literature on the Healthy Immigrant Effect.

Introduction

Canada is a country built on immigration (Elamoshy & Feng, 2018). The healthy immigrant effect is a phenomenon observed in Canada where, due to their job skills and educational qualifications, immigrants tend to have better health than non-immigrants (Constant et al., 2018; Yang, 2020). However, it has been noted that their health tends to decline over time towards, or even below, the national average (Vang et al., 2017). Declines in immigrant health can begin as soon as two years after arrival (Newbold, 2009). Similar trends have also been observed in the mental health of immigrants (Ng & Zhang, 2020). As the time since immigration continues to increase for the large waves of immigrants entering Canada in the 1990s to 2000s, the long-term impacts of immigration on health can be explored. Whilst this decline in health can be partly attributed to the result of individual lifestyle factors such as diet and smoking behaviour, poor mental health can also cause poor lifestyle choices (Keuroghlian et al., 2013). In addition, the stressors of adapting to a new culture such as facing language barriers, limited economic resources, downward mobility, clashing cultural values, and social isolation can contribute to declines in immigrant mental health (Lee & Hadeed, 2009). On top of immigration, racial identity has been identified in previous studies as an important social determinant of health (Williams & Mohammed, 2013; Ramraj et al., 2016). Experiences of racism, including violence, stereotyping and "cultural assumptions and practices which place non-White or racialized minorities outside legitimate avenues of power and decision-making" can also negatively affect one's mental health (Fleras, 2014, pp. 123-124; Williams, 2018). This includes a greater vulnerability for anxiety, depression and other stress related mental health concerns, thus indicating a need for research and interventions that focus on immigrant visible minority groups (Williams, 2018).

In this thesis, I implement ordered logistic regression for analysis of a sample of immigrants from the 2012 mental health cycle of the Canadian Community Health Survey (CCHS). I approached this plan of analysis as per the theoretical background of the Healthy Immigrant Effect and the stress process model (SPM). The SPM is a useful conceptual model in the analysis of the health declines of immigrants noted in the healthy immigrant effect. It treats "status inequality as the starting point from which marginalized groups are exposed to greater psychosocial stressors that erode their psychosocial resources, eventually manifesting in greater mental health risks than those faced by more privileged groups" (Yang, 2020, p. 3). My analysis is conducted on the immigrants in

the CCHS sample that I stratified by genders as previous literature identifies the diverse experiences of different identities, to further explore differences in the association between time since immigration and psychological distress. I hypothesize that established immigrants would have worse mental health (as per the Healthy Immigrant Effect) and that visible minority immigrants would have worse mental health in comparison to White immigrants. Furthermore, I predict that female immigrants would have worse mental health than their male counterparts due to the higher rates of mental health issues noted in women than men in the literature (Otten et al., 2021). Additionally, due to the patriarchal conditions of Canadian society, the SPM would infer that the greater psychosocial stressors faced by women, such as sexism would result in them having worse mental health. This study contributes to the literature surrounding the Healthy Immigrant Effect while contributes greater nuance to the literature on the Healthy Immigrant Effect through the added dimensions of racial and gender identity.

Literature Review

There is a vast amount of literature exploring the topics of immigrant health and racial health inequality. However, there is a need for more research addressing the experiences of visible minority immigrants, particularly on determinants of negative mental health outcomes (Yang, 2020). Building on Yang (2020), I hypothesize that mental health declines the longer immigrants reside in Canada but especially so for visible minorities because of experiences of racism, further exacerbated in female immigrants (Chuang et al., 2013; Creese & Wiebe, 2012; Ng & Zhang, 2020).

The Healthy Immigrant Effect versus the Healthy Immigrant Paradox

In the past, immigrants have been overlooked in health research due to the assumptions around a 'Healthy Immigrant Paradox,' where despite the challenges faced in the migration experience, immigrants are healthier than nonimmigrants due to the selection process in Canada for their health status, job skills and educational qualifications and health assessment prior to migration (Treas & Gubernskaya, 2016; Yang, 2020). The Healthy Immigrant Effect suggests that this superior level of health is seldom maintained (Constant et al., 2018; Premji & Shakya, 2017). This is due to a range of factors such as poorer labour market outcomes (Creese & Wiebe, 2012; Premji & Shakya, 2017), experiences of discrimination (Noh, Kaspar & Wickrama, 2007) and barriers in health care access (Ahmed, Shommu, Rumana & Turin, 2016). The current literature exemplifies the difficulties immigrants face throughout their migration and establishment in their new country. For instance, language deficiency affects access to resources such as employment, social integration and health care, and therefore has a negative effect on the health

of immigrants (Clarke & Isphording, 2017). Language ability also enables individuals to efficiently utilize these resources for maintaining their health status (Clarke & Isphording, 2017). These barriers manifest as a form of status inequality in that they contribute added stress to the lives of immigrants that non-immigrants do not face. An application of the stress process model demonstrates how the accumulation of stress and disadvantage deteriorates immigrant mental health (Yang, 2019).

Conceptualizing Racism and Discrimination

Racism can be defined as a system of oppression that categorizes and ranks social groups based on racial identity that devalues, disempowers, and differentially allocates desirable societal opportunities and resources to groups deemed as inferior (Bonilla-Silva, 1997; Williams & Mohammed, 2013). It can lead to the "development of negative attitudes (prejudice) and beliefs (stereotypes) toward nondominant, stigmatized racial groups and differential treatment (discrimination) of these groups by both individuals and social institutions" (Williams & Mohammed, 2013, p. 1153). On the individual level, racism can occur in the actions and beliefs of a person, but also in more hidden forms of covert racism and unconscious bias. On the societal level, racism operates through institutions and culture (Williams & Mohammed, 2013). Racism persists in Canadian culture through the portrayal of racial minorities in the news and media. This can create internal racism among racial minorities as well as the *stereotype threat*, defined as the "activation of negative stereotypes among stigmatized groups that creates expectations, anxieties, and reactions that can adversely affect social and psychological functioning" and the stigma of inferiority that causes negative health processes for racial minorities (Williams & Mohammed, 2013, p. 1163). Institutional racism occurs on a greater scale and is deeply embedded in our societal systems on the basis of white superiority and the inferiority of visible minority identities (Phillips, 2011). Some argue that it is the most damaging form of racism, due to its reproduction in policies, education, healthcare and other institutions that shape health (Hansen et al., 2018). These different sub-concepts of racism can be applied to the three aforementioned areas of immigrant distress in the labour market, healthcare access and social integration, which then manifest in worse mental and physical health outcomes.

The Paradox of Immigrant Labour Outcomes

The paradox of immigrant labour outcomes refers to the fact that while Canada recruits immigrants for their skill and credentials, these same immigrants are pushed into work outside of their fields that they are over-educated and over-qualified for (Shan, 2013). As such, this perpetuates the Healthy Immigrant Effect as while these immigrants may enter Canada having high educational and career attainments, their mental health may deteriorate when their work outcomes in Canada do not align with their expectations

and prior experience. Work-related stress has been shown to have an effect on health for reasons pertaining to job security, low levels of perceived control in work and stress from overqualification (Cukier, 2020; Gong et al., 2021). These issues manifest more deeply in immigrant populations who have to navigate a foreign labour market lacking the cultural and social capital Canadian-born workers often take for granted (Creese & Wiebe, 2012; Cukier, 2020). Between 1991 and 2001, it was found that 1 in 4 immigrants who held a post secondary degree were employed in work that required no more than a high school education (Cukier, 2020). Globally, the majority of immigrant workers end up in the "3D" occupations, categorized for being dirty, dangerous, and difficult, occupations that local workers will not take (Creese & Wiebe, 2012; Kosny, Santos & Reid, 2016). Immigrants are also regularly hired for jobs they are overqualified for, often engaging in low-skilled, low-wage, insecure forms of "survival employment" due to the labour market's common demands for Canadian experiences, Canadian credentials, and Canadian accents (Creese & Wiebe, 2012; Sakamoto et al., 2010). Cultural capital, which is most important to immigrant integration into the labour market, is institutionalized such as academic credentials and embodied cultural capital, including accents and other local cultural competencies (Creese & Wiebe, 2012; Nohl et al., 2006). Some immigrants, despite being formally educated in English in their home countries, are treated as if they are incompetent at the language by others upon hearing their accent (Creese & Wiebe, 2012; Cukier, 2020). This results in many immigrants working jobs far below their credentials and skill level which can lead to psychological distress (Harari et al., 2017) and is harmful to the Canadian labour market by deskilling immigrants, who lose access to the occupations they previously held (Creese & Wiebe, 2012).

As such, this emphasizes the paradox in which Canada's immigration policy and labour market contradicts itself, where highly educated newcomers are recruited yet labour market practices deny them the ability to use the skills that allowed them to immigrate there in the first place (Creese & Wiebe, 2012; Nohl et al., 2006). This is further perpetuated in the racialization of the labour market, wherein White and Canadian-born men and women fare better than their counterparts of colour, immigrants, and Indigenous Canadians holding equivalent educational backgrounds and skill levels (Block & Galabuzi, 2011; Creese & Wiebe, 2012). In addition, White immigrants faring better is contributing to a racialized 'economic apartheid' in the Canadian labour market (Block & Galabuzi, 2011; Creese & Wiebe, 2012). In a study of African immigrants in Vancouver, participants noted a devaluation of their educational attainment and skills in order to leave better jobs for White Canadians because "White people don't like [doing that work]" (Creese & Wiebe, 2012, p. 63). A participant of the study also added that while she was told that her "African accent" when speaking English was the justification for limiting her job options, she is convinced that the real reason she was not promoted to a job that interacts directly with customers (one that she is overqualified for based on her credentials) was because she is Black (Creese & Wiebe, 2012). The study also found that African men were more likely to be better educated than their female counterparts at the time of migration,

but were more often trapped in manual labour jobs as they were more likely to be hired for them but were then unable to move up (Creese & Wiebe, 2012). This is an example of how immigrant men of colour face different challenges than women. However, even when female immigrants of colour were highly educated, they were mostly employed in low skilled, manual work, unemployed or homemakers (Fuller & Vosko, 2007). This goes to show how the hardships faced in the Canadian labour market can negatively affect the health of immigrants of colour, limiting women more than men because of the added challenges faced from sexism and the patriarchy.

The struggles faced in the labour market by immigrants can also transfer intergenerationally. Downward assimilation is a concept that outlines the downward social mobility of second generation immigrants to one that is lower than their immigrant parents (Le, 2020; Portes & Rumbaut, 2006). This is characterized by higher rates of substance use, lower education and higher rates of criminal offence which is thought to be driven by economic barriers and exposure to racism (Le, 2020).

Immigrant Health Care Accessibility

One of the declines in immigrant health as seen in the Health Immigrant Effect may be attributed to the barriers to health care utilization experienced by immigrants (Ahmed et al., 2016; Durbin et al., 2015; Edge & Newbold, 2013). As the majority of immigrants to Canada come from countries where neither English or French is spoken, a language barrier in accessing health care presents itself (Ahmed et al., 2016; Durbin et al., 2015). Patient-provider interactions can become difficult as a result and affect their ability to provide more optimal care due to frustration and an inability to communicate effectively. Professional translators often lack clarity in their role and have difficulties with conveying a patient's exact feelings, and as a result their availability is limited in health care settings across Canada (Ahmed et al., 2016). Transportation to these services are also a barrier (Ahmed et al., 2016). Lack of knowledge has also been identified as a barrier to accessing health care for immigrants. New immigrants are not given any orientation about the Canadian health care system and utilizing it or ways of finding necessary health care and resources (Ahmed et al., 2016). As such, this evidence implicates the ideas of the Healthy Immigrant Paradox and strengthens the claims of the Healthy Immigrant Effect, in which immigrant health declines over time due to the barriers they face in accessing healthcare services.

Discriminatory practices in health care present as forms of cultural insensitivity and ignorant treatment from providers, with experiences varying based on the racial/ethnic identity of the immigrant (Edge & Newbold, 2013, p. 143; Durbin et al., 2015). Studies have found that ignorant treatment and frustration in respect to the religious and cultural practices and female physician preferences are commonly seen in Asian, South Asian and practicing Muslim women (Edge & Newbold, 2013; Ahmed et al., 2016). Beyond

this, Asian women and Muslim women often prefer physicians from the same ethnic background because they believe these physicians would better understand their cultural and religious norms, something that becomes more difficult due to lack of representation among doctors in some parts of Canada (Ahmed et al., 2016).

Racial identity and ethnicity further impacts immigrants in health care through patient provider relationships. Internalized stereotypes and beliefs about certain groups of patients are pathways to producing clinically unwarranted disparities in health services, highlighting that even to well-intentioned providers a patient's race-ethnicity can result in unconscious social cognition processes resulting in racial-ethnic inequalities in health care (Shim, 2010). As a result, a physician's personal beliefs and biases about a patient's racial identity can impact their behaviour towards the patient as well as their interpretations of health information which can have an effect on the patient's self-management and acceptance of physician advice (Shim, 2010). This puts immigrants, especially visible minority immigrants, at a further disadvantage in regards to their health care. Characteristics like accent, English speaking ability and knowledge of Western medicine practices are things that impact most immigrant's cultural health capital which in turn affects their health status, but visible minority immigrants have the added dimension of being racialized (Shim, 2010). Overall, the barriers to health care for minority newcomer populations can be traced to "inadequate cultural competency and respect for alternative health values and practices" of the Canadian medical system (Edge & Newbold, 2013, p. 145). Studies have also found that most visible minority groups have lower socio-economic status in comparison to their White counterparts (Williams et al., 2016). As previously mentioned, socioeconomic status affects immigrants' ability to access health care for reasons due to work, it can be suggested that visible minority immigrants are also hit harder with the same disadvantages due to their racial identity. This added barrier of discrimination affects the utilization of health care services and subsequently, the declining health of immigrants.

Struggles in Social Integration

Beyond this, immigrants face the struggle of social integration in society. Differing political ideologies on immigration as well as distrust of outsiders can impact immigrant acceptance by native-born citizens (da Silva Rebelo et al., 2016). Norms of reciprocity, a foundational aspect of *generalized trust*, defined as a predisposition towards engagement and cooperation with others, allows individuals to engage in social, economic, and political exchanges with the belief that others will likewise treat them with respect and honesty (Bilodeau & White, 2016). This concept promotes social interactions, and thus generalized trust is also thought to be an important part of immigrant integration. Due to perceptions of immigrants as 'outsiders,' foreign to the expectations and norms structuring social interactions in their new country of residence, this status has implications for their overall integration into Canadian society (Bilodeau & White, 2016). While the

level of trust immigrants have for Canadians is related to pre-migration experiences, it is suggested that post-migration experiences are more influential (Bilodeau & White, 2016). It is indicated that the quality of relationship with the new country's society declines with experiences of discrimination, and these negative experiences accumulated may be a part of the reason for the decline in trust in other Canadians as immigrants' time in Canada increases (Bilodeau & White, 2016). As a result, this limits immigrant integration into Canadian society which can have consequences for their mental health outcomes. Studies have emphasized the role of integration and sense of belonging to one's community on their mental health (Moeller et al., 2020; Rubin et al., 2019).

Overall, it can be inferred that the issues surrounding the labour market, health care utilization and social integration, further shaped by racial identity and gender, work to drive the Healthy Immigrant Effect in that these factors negatively affect the health of immigrants. However, most studies are more focused on the physical health of immigrants rather than mental health. As such, this study seeks to apply the theoretical basis of the Healthy Immigrant Effect to the mental health of immigrants.

Methods

Sample

This study utilized the Canadian Community Health Survey (Mental Health 2012 [CCHS-MH]) dataset collected by Statistics Canada. The CCHS-MH used a multistage stratified cluster probability sampling of Canadians 15 and older in all provinces and territories. This survey is representative of the population up to 97%, excluding people in military service, Aboriginals living on reserves and people who are institutionalized who made up less than 3% of the target population. The sample in this investigation was reduced to n=3191 by only investigating those who were age 25 and older, because the major components investigated in this study (work and health care access) can be examined more accurately for this age group. The sample was examined separately by male and female gender (conceptualized as sex) as a biological distinction due to the binary nature of the question in this survey's questionnaire.

Measures

Focal dependent variables. Mental health is operationalized as overall mental well-being examined with two variables. Psychological distress is the first dependent variable, measured by the Kessler K10 Distress scale consisting of a 10-item questionnaire intended to produce a measure of distress. It is based on questions about anxiety and depressive symptoms that a person has experienced in the most recent 4 week period, wherein higher

scores indicate higher levels of distress from the respondent (Yang, 2020). Scores ranged from 0 to 40 and were coded into three groups from 1 to 3 for this study. These three groups were rescaled, with responses 1, 2 and 3 coded as 1 indicating low levels of distress, responses 4 to 13 as 2 indicating medium levels of distress, and responses 14 and higher as 3 indicating high levels of distress. This breakdown was done in order to establish 3 distinct groups that will be meaningfully large enough for analysis. The next focal dependent variable is positive mental health. This variable was measured using Keyes' 14 item scale that examined three dimensions of positive mental health: emotional, psychological and social well being (Yang, 2020). This scale is scored from 0 to 70 and was reverse coded into three groups from 3 to 1 so that overall higher scores reflected more positive mental health. This variable was also rescaled so that responses 0 to 50 were coded as 3 indicating lowest levels of positive mental health, responses 51 to 64 were coded as 2 and responses 65 and over were coded as 1 to indicate highest levels of positive mental health. These two variables were chosen to operationalize mental health in two dimensions: mental distress and mental well-being.

Focal independent variables. Racial identity was used as one of the focal independent variables. It was broken down into a dichotomous variable as visible minority and White. I created a six part hybrid variable that combines racial identity and length of time since migration. The original racial identity variable has thirteen categories, including White, Black, seven different Asian identities, Arab, Latin American, other and mixed race. It is not included in the public use file due to the sensitivity of the information. The CCHS defines racial identity as minorities who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour. As such, racial identity is treated as both a physical and socially constructed aspect of identity. In addition, time spent in Canada was investigated as an independent variable as it is thought that the adverse effects of racism and discrimination takes years to manifest. These two variables were combined together as a six-part variable indicating racial identity and length of time since migration. These groups were White and Recent (0 - 9 years), White and Fairly Recent (10 or more years), White and Not Recent (Over 20 years), Visible Minority and Recent (0 - 9 years), Visible Minority and Fairly Recent (10 or more years), and Visible Minority and Not Recent (Over 20 years). To assess the differences in mental health, recent immigrants were set as the reference due to the Health Immigrant Effect documenting that recent immigrants would have the best health in comparison to more established immigrants.

Control variables. Due to previous literature highlighting the importance of demographic and socioeconomic factors, a variety of such factors were incorporated in my analysis (Clarke & Isphording, 2017; Wade & Tavris, 1999; Williams et al., 2016). These were gender, age, household size, marital status, household income, language spoken at home, education, current employment status, full-time/part-time employment status, chronic conditions, smoking and alcohol consumption. Gender was dummy coded as male (reference) and female. Household size was coded as one-person household (reference), two persons, and three or more. Household income was coded into 5 values

as no income or less than $20,000, $20,000 to $39,999, $40,000 to $59,999, $60,000 to $79,999, and over $80,000 (reference). Marital status was coded as single, married or common-law (reference) and divorced, separated, or widowed. Education was coded as less than high school, high school and post-secondary degree (reference). Employment status was recoded as employee (reference) and self-employed. Full-time versus part-time employment status was coded as full-time (reference), part time and not applicable. Language spoken at home was coded as not English or French and either English, French and/or another foreign language (reference). Presence of a chronic condition was coded as yes or no (reference). Smoking was coded as nonsmokers (reference), former smokers, occasional smokers, and daily smokers, and alcohol consumption was coded as nondrinkers (reference), occasional drinkers and daily drinkers. Reference groups were chosen due to logical assumptions in that group having better health than others.

Plan of Analysis

To reiterate, I hypothesize that (a) established immigrants would have worse mental health (as per the Healthy Immigrant Effect) and that (b) visible minority immigrants would have worse mental health in comparison to White immigrants. Furthermore, I predict that (c) female visible minority immigrants would have worse mental health than female White immigrants, due to the application of the stress process model (SPM) to infer the impacts of greater psychosocial stressors faced by women of colour (racism and sexism etc.). Additionally, due to the patriarchal conditions of Canadian society, the SPM would infer that these greater psychosocial stressors would result in them having worse mental health. I used ordered logistic regression to implement my investigation. I created a 6-part hybrid variable to combine categories of racial identity and length of time since migration. I also analyzed men (Table 2 and 4) and women (Table 3 and 5) in separate regressions to highlight the differences as per my hypothesis (c)'s objectives.

Table 1 describes the socio-demographic characteristics of the immigrant sample of the CCHS-MH separately by gender. Table 2 provides the ordered logistic regression of the variables. Model 1 describes the racial identity and length of time since migration variable and psychological distress (K10) variable controlling for age (as it was found to have a heavy influence); Model 2 controls for other demographic characteristics; Model 3 investigates the key variables with demographic and socioeconomic characteristics and Model 4 examines the key variables with demographic, socioeconomic characteristics and health factors. These models will address parts (a) and (b) of the hypotheses to determine whether established immigrants would have worse mental health (as per the Healthy Immigrant Effect) and that visible minority immigrants would have worse mental health in comparison to White immigrants. Table 3 depicts the same sequence of models as previously mentioned, but with the female sample. Table 4 repeats the same model with

positive mental health (Keyes) as the dependent variable instead of the male sample. Positive mental health was reverse coded so that higher scores reflected lower positive mental health to be more comparable to the psychological distress variable. Table 5 proceeds with the same process as Table 4 with the female sample. Regressions with the 'visible minority and recent' category as the reference were also set for each table and model. This was done in order to compare the declines in mental health within each racial identity group and to then examine the outcomes between groups.

Results

Descriptive Statistics

Table 1 describes socio-demographic characteristics of the immigrant sample, separated by gender. A few key things should be noted from this Table. First, due to the historical context of Canadian immigration, proportionately more White immigrants have resided in Canada for over 20 years. When interpreting the mental health outcomes of these immigrants, it is important to consider the historical and political contexts shaping trends of immigration at the time these immigrants arrived in Canada. Literature has suggested the implications of mental well-being for war refugees due to PTSD and other mental disorders (Hynie, 2018). In consideration of these political contexts, a survey collected in 2012 would find that the immigrants who reported their time in Canada as more than 10 to less than 20 years would have immigrated during the period of 2002 to 1992. During this time period, about 20% of White identifying immigrants were Eastern European (Statistics Canada, 2017). Furthermore, proportionately more White immigrants are in the older age groups than visible minority immigrants for reasons tied to the historical context of Canadian immigration. This may affect my results and how I interpret my findings as older individuals could have worse health overall than younger individuals due to old age and in conjunction with the historical context of the migration of some older immigrants. Additionally, a few gender differences stand out. Many more men (58%) and fewer women (37%) indicated engaging in full time work (Table 1). Additionally, more men reported smoking behaviours in comparison to women.

Racial Identity and Length of Time Since Migration: Psychological Distress

In Table 2, none of the comparisons between "White and not recent" and the other White immigrant categories were statistically significant across categories. White fairly recent immigrants were more likely to report higher psychological distress across all models. When "visible minority and not recent" was set as the reference, significance (at the 0.05 level) emerged in Model 3 after socioeconomic factors were controlled for, meaning that visible minority fairly recent immigrants were more likely to report higher

Table 1. Socio-demographic characteristics of unweighted sample (n = 3751)

	Men (n = 1486) %	Women (n = 1,705) %
Kessler Psychological Distress		
1 (lowest)	46.28	44.07
2	45.58	47.22
3 (highest)	6.74	7.34
Keyes Positive Mental Health		
1 (highest)	35.76	35.65
2	45.64	44.26
3 (lowest)	7.09	6.01
Racial Identity		
White	47.44	49.80
Visible Minority	52.03	50.12
Time in Canada		
0 to 9 years	23.60	23.09
10 or more years	15.41	16.10
Over 20 years	60.76	60.61
Racial Identity & Time in Canada		
White and Recent (0 - 9 years)	5.64	4.58
White and Fairly Recent (10 or more years)	4.07	4.10
White and Not Recent (Over 20 years)	37.67	41.01
Visible Minority and Recent (0 - 9 years)	17.85	18.51
Visible Minority and Fairly Recent (10 or more years)	11.34	12.01
Visible Minority and Not Recent (Over 20 years)	22.67	19.45
Age		
25 to 39 years	27.26	26.88
40 to 64 years	43.49	41.61
65 to 80 and older	29.06	31.52
Household Size		
One person	29.01	32.35
Two persons	36.63	34.42
Three or more persons	34.36	33.23
Language Spoken at Home		
English/French and/or another language	73.95	72.38
Not English or French	25.70	27.03

Marital Status		
Single	16.74	10.44
Married/common law	68.31	58.44
Divorce/separated/widowed	14.65	30.82
Education		
Less than high school	14.30	16.74
High school	10.93	13.39
Post secondary	74.53	69.33
Household Income		
No income or less than $20,000	4.88	8.27
$20,000 to $39,999	16.05	23.34
$40,000 to $59,999	24.48	21.81
$60,000 to $79,999	17.79	17.23
$80,000 or more	36.80	29.30
Employment Status		
Employee	48.20	39.98
Self employed	15.58	7.53
Other	36.22	52.29
Work Status		
Full time work	57.97	36.98
Part time work	5.41	10.59
Not applicable	36.22	52.29
Chronic Condition		
Yes	56.45	62.58
No	43.31	37.42
Smoking Behaviour		
Non smoker	34.07	62.58
Former smoker	45.47	28.06
Occasional smoker	5.23	3.20
Daily smoker	15.12	6.06
Drinking Behaviour		
Non drinker	24.30	40.37
Occasional drinker	66.45	55.24
Daily drinker	9.07	4.33

psychological distress than their reference (OR = 1.74, CI = 1.00 - 3.01). Significance was lost when health factors were controlled for in Model 4. This supports my hypothesis that affirms the Healthy Immigrant Effect.

Table 3 examines female psychological distress and racial identity/length of time since immigration. When “White and recent immigrants” were set as the reference, no statistically significant results emerged, nor were any major differences between length of time categories observed among White immigrants. When visible minority recent im-

migrants were set as the reference, similar to the last model, no statistically significant results emerged, nor were any major differences between length of time categories observed among visible minority groups.

Racial Identity and Length of Time Since Migration: Positive Mental Health

Table 4 regresses reported mental health with racial identity/length of time for male immigrants. This variable was reverse coded so that higher scores reflected lower levels of positive mental health and lower scores reflected higher levels of positive mental health in order to be more easily compared to the previously mentioned psychological distress variable. In the first row of the table setting with White and recent immigrants as the reference, no significant associations were observed within the other White categories. When the reference category was shifted in the second row to visible minority and recent immigrants, fairly recent visible minority immigrants were found to be more likely to report worse mental health than recent visible minority immigrants when only controlling for age (OR = 1.71, CI = 1.04 - 2.79). Significance, however, disappears in Model 2 when controlling for other demographic characteristics and reappears when adding controls for socioeconomic characteristics (OR = 1.68, CI = 1.00 - 2.79). Significance disappears when health characteristics are controlled for.

Table 5 examines the relationship between lower positive mental health with the hybrid racial identity/length of time since immigration for female respondents. When White and recent immigrants were set as the reference, Model 1 controlling for just age did not yield any significant associations. However, in Model 2 when adding on other demographic controls, White and fairly recent immigrants were found to be significantly ($p < 0.01$) more likely to report worse mental health than the reference group (OR = 2.40, CI = 1.09 - 5.26). Significance persisted in that White and fairly recent immigrants were found to be significantly more likely to report worse mental health than the reference group when controlling for socioeconomic characteristics (OR = 2.55, CI = 1.17 - 5.54) and health factors (OR = 2.62, CI = 1.17 - 5.88). When visible minority and recent immigrants were set as the reference in order to compare visible minority mental health across categories, no significant associations between the categories were found across all models. These results contradict the proposed hypothesis in that White immigrants had worse mental health than visible minorities.

Discussion

The existing literature emphasizes barriers in the labour market, in accessing health care, and to social integration as important factors in shaping immigrant mental health outcomes, as well as the fact that racism and discrimination have a deteriorating outcome on

Table 2. Ordered Logistic Regression of Racial Identity and Length of Time Since Migration on Psychological Distress (with 95% Confidence Intervals for Odds Ratios Weighted; n = 1486) - MEN

	Model 1 OR (95% CI)	**Model 2** OR (95% CI)	**Model 3** OR (95% CI)	**Model 4** OR (95% CI)
Racial Identity and Length of Time Since Migration				
Visible minority				
Recent	1.039 (0.548 - 1.969)	1.084 (0.585 - 2.010)	1.008 (0.511 - 1.988)	1.141 (0.575 - 2.267)
Fairly recent	1.501 (0.747 - 3.017)	1.605 (0.806 - 3.217)	1.752 (0.511 - 1.988)	1.484 (0.743 - 2.962)
Not recent	1.397 (0.722 - 2.704)	1.264 (0.667 - 2.395)	1.753 (0.816 - 3.764)	1.853 (0.873 - 3.930)
White				
Not recent	1.237 (0.605 - 2.531)	1.001 (0.500 - 2.003)	1.417 (0.697 - 2.876)	1.199 (0.575 - 2.267)
Fairly recent	2.100 (0.949 - 4.647)	1.873 (0.852 - 4.114)	1.949 (0.850 - 4.467)	2.001 (0.915 - 4.377)
Recent (reference)	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
White				
Recent	0.963 (0.508 - 1.825)	0.922 (0.503 - 1.956)	0.992 (0.503 - 1.956)	0.876 (0.441 - 1.740)
Fairly recent	2.022 (1.071 - 3.821)*	1.933 (0.991 - 3.771)	1.933 (0.991 - 3.771) *	1.753 (0.906 - 3.394)
Not recent	1.191 (0.694 - 2.043)	1.166 (0.722 - 1.882)	1.213 (0.683 - 2.154)	1.051 (0.577 - 1.914)
Visible minority				
Not recent	1.345 (0.843 - 2.146)	1.405 (0.855 - 2.309)	1.405 (0.855 - 2.309)	1.300 (0.927 - 2.844)
Fairly recent	1.445 (0.861 - 2.424)	1.739 (0.855 - 2.310)	1.739 (1.004 - 3.013) *	1.623 (0.927 - 2.844)
Recent (reference)	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000

*$p < 0.05$ = *, $p < 0.01$ = **, $p < 0.001$ = ****

Model 1 regresses the dependent variable psychological distress with the focal independent variable racial identity with time since migration controlling for age. Model 2 controls for demographic characteristics, Model 3 adds on socioeconomic factors and Model 4 adds on health factors.

Table 3. Ordered Logistic Regression of Racial Identity and Length of Time Since Migration on Psychological Distress (with 95% Confidence Intervals for Odds Ratios Weighted; n = 1,705) - WOMEN

	Model 1 OR (95% CI)	**Model 2** OR (95% CI)	**Model 3** OR (95% CI)	**Model 4** OR (95% CI)
Racial Identity and Length of Time Since Migration				
Visible minority				
Recent	0.832 (0.470 - 1.473)	0.829 (0.461 - 1.489)	0.802 (0.442 - 1.454)	1.159 (0.595 - 2.255)
Fairly recent	0.877 (0.469 - 1.642)	0.892 (0.467 - 1.704)	0.888 (0.460 - 1.715)	1.197 (0.584 - 2.454)
Not recent	1.003 (0.543 - 1.851)	1.065 (0.566 - 2.005)	1.135 (0.596 - 2.163)	1.355 (0.672 - 2.730)
White				
Not recent	1.500 (0.833 - 2.703)	1.759 (0.923 - 3.349)	1.967 (1.018 - 3.798)	1.801 (0.823 - 3.941)
Fairly recent	1.725 (0.829 - 3.588)	1.861 (0.884 - 3.917)	1.814 (0.854 - 3.856)	1.948 (0.964 - 3.935)
Recent (reference)	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
White				
Recent	1.201 (0.679 - 2.126)	1.207 (0.672 - 2.168)	1.247 (0.688 - 2.262)	0.863 (0.443 - 1.680)
Fairly recent	2.072 (1.083 - 3.964) *	2.245 (1.173 - 4.296) **	2.263 (1.191 - 4.300) **	1.555 (0.812 - 2.976)
Not recent	1.802 (1.116 - 2.910) **	2.122 (1.262 - 3.568) **	2.453 (1.456 - 4.133) ***	1.682 (0.976 - 2.897)
Visible minority				
Not recent	1.205 (0.725 - 2.001)	1.285 (0.771 - 2.143)	1.416 (0.852 - 2.352)	1.169 (0.713 - 1.918)
Fairly recent	1.054 (0.627 - 1.772)	1.077 (0.643 - 1.802)	1.108 (0.664 -- 1.850)	1.033 (0.624 - 1.710)
Recent (reference)	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000

*$p < 0.05$ = *, $p < 0.01$ = **, $p < 0.001$ = ****

Model 1 regresses the dependent variable psychological distress with the focal independent variable racial identity with time since migration controlling for age. Model 2 controls for demographic characteristics, Model 3 adds on socioeconomic factors and Model 4 adds on health factors

Table 4. Ordered Logistic Regression of Racial Identity and Length of Time Since Migration on Positive Mental Health (with 95% Confidence Intervals for Odds Ratios Weighted; n = 1486) - MEN

	Model 1 OR (95% CI)	**Model 2** OR (95% CI)	**Model 3** OR (95% CI)	**Model 4** OR (95% CI)
Racial Identity and Length of Time Since Migration				
Visible minority				
Recent	0.575 (0.296 - 1.906)	0.543 (0.270 - 1.093)	0.542 (0.267 - 1.103)	0.594 (0.278 - 1.283)
Fairly recent	0.981 (0.505 - 1.906)	0.858 (0.421 - 1.743)	0.911 (0.445 -1.869)	0.968 (0.446 - 2.101)
Not recent	0.850 (0.445 - 1.624)	0.758 (0.381 - 1.508)	0.794 (0.394 - 1.601)	0.822 (0.386 - 1.750)
White				
Not recent	0.629 (0.308 -1.286)	0.758 (0.371 - 1.508)	0.643 (0.309 - 1.335)	0.595 (0.270 - 1.308)
Fairly recent	2.020 (0.848 - 4.809)	2.000 (0.820 - 4.877)	2.007 (0.812 - 4.956)	1.874 (0.753 - 4.659)
Recent (reference)	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
White				
Recent	1.738 (0.893 - 3.379)	1.840 (0.915 - 3.700)	1.842 (0.907 - 3.743)	1.684 (0.780 - 3.639)
Fairly recent	3.510 (1.636 - 7.527) ***	3.680 (1.683 - 8.048) ***	3.696 (1.663 - 8.216) ***	3.155 (1.463 - 6.808) **
Not recent	1.093 (0.622 - 1.923)	1.083 (0.605 - 1.938)	1.184 (0.659 - 2.125)	1.001 (0.544 - 1.845)
Visible minority				
Not recent	1.476 (0.918 - 2.374)	1.395 (0.851 - 2.287)	1.463 (0.863 - 2.479)	1.385 (0.811 - 2.365)
Fairly recent	1.705 (1.043 - 2.788)*	1.578 (0.851 - 2.287)	1.679 (1.001 - 2.791) *	1.631 (0.969 - 2.744)
Recent (reference)	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000

*$p < 0.05$ = *, $p < 0.01$ = **, $p < 0.001$ = ****

Model 1 regresses the dependent variable psychological distress with the focal independent variable racial identity with time since migration controlling for age. Model 2 controls for demographic characteristics, Model 3 adds on socioeconomic factors and Model 4 adds on health factors.

Table 5. Ordered Logistic Regression of Racial Identity and Length of Time Since Migration on Positive Mental Health (with 95% Confidence Intervals for Odds Ratios Weighted; n = 1,705) - WOMEN

	Model 1 OR (95% CI)	**Model 2** OR (95% CI)	**Model 3** OR (95% CI)	**Model 4** OR (95% CI)
Racial Identity and Length of Time Since Migration				
Visible minority				
Recent	0.722 (0.416 - 1.254)	0.813 (0.461 - 1.425)	0.784 (0.450 - 1.367)	1.053 (0.568 - 1.952)
Fairly recent	0.874 (0.462 - 1.654)	1.086 (0.574 - 2.053)	1.116 (0.598 - 2.084)	1.466 (0.754 - 2.853)
Not recent	0.711 (0.385 -1.309)	0.918 (0.493 - 1.707)	1.003 (0.543 - 1.853)	1.198 (0.613 - 2.342)
White				
Fairly recent	1.873 (0.930 - 3.774)	2.397 (1.092 - 5.262) *	2.549 (1.172 - 5.544) *	2.617 (1.165 - 5.879) *
Not recent	1.108 (0.607 - 2.025)	1.517 (0.801 - 2.874)	1.636 (0.867 - 3.088)	1.646 (0.840 - 3.226)
Recent (reference)	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
White				
Recent	1.385 (0.798 - 2.405)	1.230 (0.697 - 2.171)	1.275 (0.731 -2.224)	0.949 (0.512 - 1.759)
Fairly recent	2.594 (0.798 - 2.405) **	2.949 (1.467 - 5.927) **	3.250 (1.625 -1.149) ***	2.485 (1.214 - 5.088) **
Not recent	1.536 (0.936 - 2.520)	1.866 (1.090 - 3.197) **	2.087 (1.214 - 3.587) **	1.563 (0.899 - 2.718)
Visible minority				
Not recent	0.984 (0.595 - 1.627)	1.129 (0.685 - 1.860)	1.279 (0.776 - 2.107)	1.138 (0.828 -2.340)
Fairly recent	1.210 (0.706 - 2.076)	1.336 (0.789 - 2.261)	1.424 (0.845 - 2.400)	1.392 (0.828 - 2.340)
Recent (reference)	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000

*$p < 0.05$ = *, $p < 0.01$ = **, $p < 0.001$ = ****

Model 1 regresses the dependent variable psychological distress with the focal independent variable racial identity with time since migration controlling for age. Model 2 controls for demographic characteristics, Model 3 adds on socioeconomic factors and Model 4 adds on health factors.

immigrant health (Berger & Sarnyai, 2015). In my findings, White immigrants who have been in Canada over 10 years stood out right away as being more likely to report worse mental health in comparison to recent White or visible minority immigrants. When recent visible minority immigrants were set as the reference, declines in mental health were also noted in visible minority fairly recent immigrants reporting worse mental health, however appearing to be less drastic than seen in White immigrants.

Labour Market Outcomes on White Identifying Immigrants' Mental Health

There is a significant finding in this sample that among White fairly recent immigrants' mental health was worse than recent White immigrants (when mental health was measured with the Keyes Positive Mental Health scale). There are a few possible explanations for this. White immigrants may come to Canada with higher expectations for what their experiences will be like, such as obtaining a job of similar occupational status as they previously held in their home country. However, after 10 to 20 years, their actual experiences violate their expectations and lead to life dissatisfaction and subsequently, poorer mental health (Baran et al., 2018). Beyond this, labour market outcomes could be a contributor. As discussed previously in the literature review, immigrants are often hired for jobs they are overqualified for, often engaging in low-skilled, low-wage, insecure forms of "survival employment" (Creese & Wiebe, 2012). The finding that immigrant females report worse mental health can also be linked to the patriarchy. Immigrant women, as seen in Creese and Wiebe (2012), are even more disadvantaged in the labour market, which similarly to men, lead to doing overqualified work for their educational qualifications. On top of that, this may further push women into domestic labour or increase stress through a heavy burden of both domestic labour in the household and paid labour in the workforce (Khoudja, 2018). This finding, however, is contradictory to the proposed hypothesis that female visible minority immigrants would have worse mental health than their White counterparts.

The Racial Paradox in Mental Health

Declines in mental health were also observed in visible minority immigrants, though less drastic than the White immigrants in this study. A concept known as the racial mental health paradox could be a potential explanatory factor (Mouzon, 2013). Emerging from research examining Black-White mental health outcomes, studies have found similar or better mental health outcomes among Blacks than Whites (Mouzon, 2013). As such, this may provide some explanation for the mental health of visible minority immigrants in this sample.

Family relationships have been found to be protective of mental health. Previous studies have shown that family members are a critical part of wellbeing in Chinese, Ko-

rean and Indian immigrants in the United States (Cobb et al., 2019). In a study examining aging in racial minority communities, authors found that social support gained from close relationships may reduce stress in everyday life, help maintain positive interpersonal attachments and promote healthy behaviours. In cross tab examinations of the sample (not shown in the paper), more White immigrants live in smaller households, while visible minority immigrants are more likely to have more than three members in their household as seen in Table 1.

In comparison, visible minority immigrants may come to the country with less expectations for themselves in comparison to their White immigrant counterparts, and perceive their migration as a necessary sacrifice for their family and their children (Guo, 2013). This can contribute to a more content life in comparison to White immigrants. Cultures especially rooted in collectivism, and notably East Asian countries, are reflective of these cultural values (Cobb et al., 2019). In addition, female visible minority immigrants may be less affected by labour market stressors by choosing to work in the home, such as in the case of Chinese immigrants, who see it as a way of self-sacrifice for their family and as a way to uphold traditional gender norms (Yu, 2015). Beyond this, other factors may impact visible minority mental health. As mentioned in the literature, social integration and community are integral parts of mental health. Thus the presence of an ethnic community for immigrants may also be a protective factor to immigrant mental health. For example, large ethnic enclaves exist in urban areas such as Vancouver for East Asian immigrants that can foster and strengthen a sense of community (Chu, 2002). However, due to the limitations in the dataset, this can only be speculated.

Labour Market Burdens on Visible Minority Men

Socioeconomic controls strengthened the association for higher psychological distress for visible minority immigrant men, supporting the claims in the literature around the gendered experiences of immigrant labour. This aligns with the stated hypothesis that visible minority immigrants would have worse mental health than White immigrants. While cultural ideologies in visible minority women may allow more cognitive ease in conforming to traditional gender roles these ideals may produce more pressure on minority immigrant men (Yu, 2015). Visible minority immigrant men may face layers of deeply rooted traditional masculinity that intersects with their racial and cultural identity, especially cultures that place high emphasis on traditional masculine ideals of strength and breadwinning (Harris, 2018), thus contributing to the declines in mental health when controlled for socioeconomic characteristics (Table 2, Model 3). As previously mentioned, visible minority immigrants in particular face an array of challenges in the labour market, and often end up in low wage, deskilled work (Creese & Wiebe, 2012; Kosny et al., 2016). Given the traditional male gender role as the primary provider, the unwelcoming atmosphere of the Canadian labour market can cause difficulties in providing for a family, causing feelings of inadequacy in fulfilling their role as the breadwinner, contributing to

mental health declines (Artazcoz et al., 2004).

Cultural Perceptions of Mental Health

It is important to note the cultural context of mental health in Western countries in comparison to others. Studies have found that mental health and illness is deeply stigmatized in many Asian countries, such as China (Seeman et al., 2016). As a result, when completing this survey set, visible minority immigrants may be more reluctant in reporting poor mental health due to unawareness or shame. Visible minority immigrant men face masculine ideals in conjunction with cultural stigma, which may have led to the under-reporting of poor mental health. As such, the differences in the K10 psychological distress scale and the Keyes positive mental health scale may have contributed to the findings for each variable. While K10 aims to determine the psychological distress caused by mental health disorders, the Keyes scales look more closely at mental well being. Clearer disparities in mental health are noted with the positive mental health variable, possibly due to these differences in cultural perceptions around mental health.

Gendered Language Divides in Female and Male Immigrants

White women's mental health worsened after controlling for demographic characteristics such as household size, primary language spoken, home, and income (Table 5, Model 2). As previously mentioned, despite being highly educated, immigrants often end up in overqualified and deskilled work, especially women who face the intersections of their immigrant identity while navigating through patriarchal institutions (Creese & Wiebe, 2012). As a result, many immigrant women may end up unemployed or spending time at home doing unpaid domestic labour, contributing to their mental health outcomes in a few ways. This finding is in alignment with the stress process model (SPM), as the sexism underlying unemployment has been found to lead to poor mental and physical health due to decreases in income, loss of status and self-esteem, and unhealthy behaviours and coping strategies (Premji & Shakya, 2017). Furthermore, unemployment can also socially isolate immigrant women and prevent them from strengthening their English or French proficiency through interactions outside their household which can be a learning resource (Anisef, 2012). Meanwhile, their male counterparts who participate more actively in the workforce are able to raise their English or French proficiency in the workplace and through the social circles they may cultivate, while still speaking their native non-English or French language at home with their family. Language barriers create implications for immigrant womens' mental health in a few ways. It prevents women from integrating into Canadian society and their communities causing further isolation, which has been shown to negatively affect mental health (Lee & Hadeed, 2009). However, connection with their ethnic enclaves may be a protective factor to this. It also further strains their ability to enter the Canadian labour market and creates more difficulties in accessing

health resources (Creese & Wiebe, 2012; Noh et al., 2007; Clarke & Isphording, 2017).

Limitations

Fundamentally, mental health is a concept that is difficult to operationalize and measure. The differences observed in the Kessler K10 versus the Keyes scale is a reflection of this. Due to the subjectivity of psychological distress and positive mental health in addition to the outcomes of multiple intersections such as culture and gender, careful consideration should be given. As self-reported mental health measures may be obscuring, other ways of counteracting this in research may be to measure the number of visits to a mental health professional.

As place of origin and specific racial group was not able to be identified in this study, this places a limitation in homogenizing diverse and unique experiences of immigrants in Canada. A key limitation of this data set is the lack of indication of immigrant status/category (refugee, economic or skilled). As mentioned previously, considering the historical and political contexts shaping trends of immigration at the time of arrival of White immigrants is vital for determining immigrant health. To reiterate, the literature notes the heightened risk of worse mental health for war refugees due to PTSD and other mental disorders (Hynie, 2018). A proportion of these immigrants were migrating to Canada after the collapse of the Soviet Union and other Eastern Bloc countries, which could be a factor in poor mental health outcomes rather than the experiences as an immigrant in Canada itself.

Furthermore, this study also highlights the problematic nature of dichotomizing the racial identity variable. Homogenizing 'visible minorities' as a group dismisses the diversity of cultures and backgrounds and most importantly, the varying levels of racial injustice experienced due to one's racial identity. The dichotomization of this variable can result in obscuring data. However, it does illuminate the experiences of White immigrants and identifies areas of need for this group. In addition, the limitations of the public use data file did not allow for the examination of the country of origin, which proved to be problematic in homogenizing both White and visible minority groups.

Although distinct racial health inequalities between White and visible minorities were not found in this particular study, this does not mean they do not exist. A substantial amount of existing literature supports notions of race and a social determinant of health and inequality.

Conclusion and Further Research

Immigrating to Canada is a stressful and difficult experience, with immigrants facing numerous challenges in the labour market, in accessing health care, and in social integration that can be harmful to their mental health outcomes. Overall, the findings for all immigrants are consistent with the Healthy Immigrant Effect, where immigrant mental health deteriorates over time.

In relation to the stress process model that predicted worse mental health in visible minority immigrants due to exposure to racism, a psychological stressor that erodes health and psychosocial resources, was also found for visible minority immigrants. They reported having slightly worse mental health than White immigrants in some cases (though these results were not statistically significant). Cultural background and values can be both protective and harmful to the mental health outcomes of immigrants in Canada. Due to patterns of immigration, it is suspected that many of the recent immigrants sampled are from non-Westernized countries where mental health is a taboo and unrecognized topic which can result in underreporting of poor mental health. As such, White immigrants who have lived in Canada for 10 years in particular, reported the worst levels of mental health in comparison to their recent White counterparts. Female White immigrants also reported worse mental health than their visible minority counterparts, contrasting from the predicted hypothesis. This may be explained by the built-up exhaustion from challenges in the labour market that deskills qualified immigrants, as well as the potential higher expectations and disappointing actual outcomes for this group. This dataset may have been obscuring the results of visible minority immigrant experiences, whose cultural beliefs and perceptions about mental health differ from Western perspectives, possibly resulting in inaccurate self-reporting and the discrepancies between this study's results and the existing literature.

In reference to the stress processes model and healthy immigrant effect, immigrant mental health would erode as time passes. As this data set was compiled in 2012, at this time, the majority of White immigrants have been established for over 20 years while the majority of visible minority immigrants landed less than 20 years ago. According to previous studies, experiences of racism and discrimination take time to manifest and impact health and mental health. Based on findings around visible minority men's mental health, further research examining this group as distinct categories rather than a homogenous group may be more enlightening and informative, which would allow for more targeted and specific support.

Further research should focus on more recent data as this wave of immigrants will have spent more time living in Canada and a better examination of their health in relation to racism can be explored. In the current political context where xenophobia has increasingly become more prevalent as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic, attention

should be turned to immigrants, especially racial minorities who experience intersecting oppressions due to their racialized and immigrant identities.

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UBC and U of T International Student Recruitment: Continuing the Canadian Narrative of Multiculturalism?

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Abstract. The purpose of this research is to explore how Canadian university recruitment and promotional materials utilize Canada's perceived narrative as a multicultural nation, in order to distinguish their institution in the global competition for international student enrollment. This research analyzes the language and visualizations in a total of 10 promotional videos and 4 websites (N=14 promotional materials) from two case studies of the University of British Columbia and the University of Toronto. The study finds that both the University of British Columbia and the University of Toronto use elements of a multicultural narrative in recruitment of international students, such as transparency of immigration policies, maintaining cultural identity within a broader society, and an emphasis on diversity within the institution. The narrative of multiculturalism is demonstrated through repeated messages in promotional videos, such as "be yourself," and the idea that there is no one way to be "Canadian." However, at the same time, the repeated language in the videos also discusses the idea of "fitting in" and "finding your community," promoting situating oneself within the broader Canadian society. Furthermore, the findings illustrate the marketing strategies of larger Canadian institutions and the omission of relationships between international and domestic students in promotional materials.

Introduction

Over the past ten years, international student enrollment has increased dramatically across the globe, with five million students in 2016 choosing to study at higher education institutions in a country outside of their citizenship (Reichert & Bouajram, 2021). This increasing internationalization has been essential to the financial security of Canadian universities but has also resulted in a growing competition between other global education institutions. This paper aims to investigate possible tactics for increasing international student recruitment in Canada, specifically by focusing on promotional videos and websites at the University of British Columbia and the University of Toronto. Through an analysis of language used in these materials, this study hopes to explore how the promotional and recruitment materials of Canadian universities utilize Canada's narrative as an "accepting, multicultural nation," in order to compete in the global race for international student enrollment.

Literature Review

The global competition for international student enrollment can be considered part of the "great brain race," a term coined by Ben Wildavsky (2010) to describe how increased globalization has led higher education institutions to compete "fiercely for the best minds" (p. 5) and the best student "talent" among global competitors (p. 12). Scholars Creso Sá and Emma Sabzalieva (2018), expand on how the "great brain race" is related to the Canadian "Express Entry" immigration policy, as graduate students with Post-graduate Work Permits can apply through this policy. However, "Express Entry" policy has added additional barriers for international students who wish to become permanent residents, which likely affects the rate of international student enrollment at Canadian universities (Sá & Sabzalieva, 2018). For instance, the Comprehensive Ranking System, which gives applicants a score based on language ability, education, work experience, and current job offers.

In the 2015 survey by the Canadian Bureau for International Education (CBIE), approximately 51 percent of international students in Canada stated an intention to apply for Permanent Residence (CBIE, 2015 as cited in Dam, Chan, & Wayland, 2018). However, in order to receive an application for Permanent Residence in 2015, applicants' score from the Comprehensive Ranking System need to be 450 points or greater. 91 percent of international students in the Express Entry program had scores below 450, with the average score being 408 points (Dam, Chan, & Wayland, 2018). Despite the fact that the number of international students studying in Canada doubled between 2007 and 2016 (Stats Canada, 2020; Dam, Chan, & Wayland, 2018), only 2.8 percent of permanent residents in 2016 were international students, which is a decrease of 170 percent

from 2007 (Dam, Chan, & Wayland, 2018). Since the Express Entry policy was introduced in Canada in 2015, international students have had difficulty obtaining Permanent Residence, yet higher education institutions continue to depend on international students financially, as well as for advancing a reputation of diversity. In contrast to the limitations of the "Express Entry" immigration policy, Reichert and Bouajram (2021) describe how Canada has developed specific "study and stay" programs which encourage international students to stay in Canada after graduation, giving Canada a "distinct competitive edge in recruiting international students" (p. 318). The contradiction in Canada's openness to international students as permanent residents may be related to how Canada is perceived as a multicultural nation, but in practice the same conceptualization of multiculturalism and inclusivity is limited.

Through a comparative analysis of three case studies of universities in Canada, Japan, and the UK, Melissa James-MacEachern addresses how higher education institutions are hoping to further their prestige and reputation as an international institution in the global education sphere (James-MacEachern, 2018). At the same time that higher education institutions are attempting to build prestige, promoting international enrollment is also a financial necessity. International students paid approximately 40 percent of all tuition fees and accounted for approximately 4 billion in annual revenue for Canadian universities in the 2017/2018 school year (Stats Canada, 2020). Specific to UBC, the 2020/2021 Enrollment Report states 15,504 international students were enrolled on the Vancouver campus, representing 25 percent of all undergraduate students and 37 percent of all graduate students. Similarly, at UBC Okanagan, international students represent 21 percent of the total student population (UBC Senate, 2022). The enrollment of international students at U of T is comparable, as in 2020/2021, 24,691 international students were enrolled across its 3 campuses, representing 21 percent of the student population (University of Toronto, 2022). As these two universities have some of the highest rates of international student enrollment in Canada, they provide important case studies as to how universities will adapt their promotional materials in order to protect the dependency they have created on tuition from international students.

The disparity between UBC's international student tuition and the national average, as well as U of T's reliance on international student tuition due to decreased provincial funding, demonstrates how both schools are dependent on international students. In a 2019 article from the U of T student newspaper titled "U of T receives more money from international students than Ontario government," the author explains that international students are responsible for contributing 30 percent, or 928.61 million dollars, of U of T's revenue, while provincial operating grants contribute 25 percent of the university's funding (Takagi, 2019). This demonstrates that the University of Toronto is dependent on the tuition of international students, but also that the student body and public are attuned to this reliance. A similar article was published in the Vancouver Sun in 2017, titled "How international students are filling funding shortfalls" (Neatby and Bogesh, 2017). Tuition rates at UBC vary by program, but domestic tuition for undergrad programs varies be-

tween approximately 5,000 to 7,600 dollars, whereas international students' tuition varies from approximately 40,000 to 50,000 dollars (UBC Student Services, 2022). This difference is slightly larger than the national average found across all Canadian universities, as Stats Canada reports that in 2020/21, international undergraduate students paid an average annual tuition of 32,041 dollars, five times the average for domestic students of 6,610 dollars (Stats Canada, 2020). This difference may be attributed to the fact that UBC tuition can be higher than the average of Canadian universities, depending on the UBC program. Yet, the difference demonstrates that UBC, which heavily promotes itself as the Canadian university with the highest enrollment of international students, also requires higher tuition rates for international students than other Canadian universities. As both UBC and U of T have established a strong reliance on international student tuition, it is interesting to consider how promotional materials often downplay the high tuition costs compared to domestic students, while heavily campaigning the high acceptance rates and cultural diversity of their respective campuses.

In order to increase international student enrollment, James-MacEachern (2018) found that university recruiters were adopting "business-like practices" such as marketing or sales techniques in order to compete against other institutions in attracting international students (p. 248). Similarly, Roger Milian Pizarro (2017) analyzes how Canadian universities "sell themselves to external audiences" (p. 55) as a "survival strategy" (p. 54). Common "selling points" of universities may include the physical appearance of the campus and environment, clubs and activities that are available, and communication of diversity and inclusivity (Saichaie & Morphew, 2014; Pizarro, 2017). Promoting the physical appearance of the campus through images and descriptions, such as old or modern architecture, greenery, and climate, influences prospective students' perceptions of "legitimacy" and "prestige" of institutions, such as "institutional longevity and traditions" (Saichaie & Morphew, 2014, p. 505). Additionally, environmental factors of the country as a whole have shaped perceptions of Canada as an "appealing" country to study in, such as Canada as a "safe and secure environment" or an "open and tolerant society" (CBIE, 2018 as cited in Reichert & Bouajram, 2021, p. 314). Therefore, promoting a multicultural narrative for international recruitment could entail language of safety and acceptance in different environmental contexts, in order to promote acceptance and lessened feelings of Otherness for international students in Canada as opposed to other countries in this global competition.

Another common "selling point" for online recruitment materials includes depictions of "student life" and "what it means to be a college student," such as images or descriptions of students walking or together outside of class, intramural sports, available clubs, etc. (Saichaie & Morphew, 2014, p. 514-515). However, there is a lack of research on how these depictions of "student life" specifically relate to international student recruitment, and I am interested in considering how depictions of "student life" relate to connections between domestic and international students in recruitment materials. While Canadian universities may include a multicultural narrative within promotional materials,

this narrative may disagree with the lived experiences of "student life" for international students, which could in turn affect the marketing strategies. Yan Guo and Shibao Guo investigated the "discrepancies" between internationalization policies in a Canadian university and the experiences of internationalization of 26 international students through qualitative interviews. While the students had a positive idea of "internationalization" and institutions becoming more "global," many students described facing "difficulty developing friendships with local students," as one student stated that domestic students "do not want to understand international students" (Guo & Guo, 2017, p. 858). The participants described limited interaction between international students and domestic students outside of classes, and many participants experienced having to deal with stereotypes and racism from domestic students, such as discrimination due to English language proficiency or accents. As one student stated, "on the surface" Canadians are "very friendly" and "won't discriminate against you," but "there is a deep-rooted racism" (Guo & Guo, 2017, p. 860). I believe Guo & Guo's (2017) noted "discrepancies" connect to how the multicultural narrative implemented in university recruitment materials may be "surface-level" and contain an omission of the relationships between international and domestic students.

These "discrepancies" between Canada's multicultural narrative and the university recruitment materials can also translate into students' decisions to stay in Canada after their studies, and may connect to the barriers created by the "Express Entry" policy in obtaining permanent residence. Netierman et al. (2021) found that many international students recalled experiences with racism and discrimination, and one student described that after interactions with other students in Canada, she felt she "might not be welcome in Canada," making her reevaluate plans she had to stay in Canada post graduation (p. 53). As Pizarro (2017) states, university recruitment constructs a "promise of a specific experience" which may lead to "resentment and discontinuation of study" when the promise is unfulfilled (p. 54). University promotional materials may omit the relationship between international and domestic students as the actual "experience" of this relationship in terms of exclusion, racism, and the perpetuation of stereotypes would contradict the multicultural narrative of Canada as an accepting nation. This idea would coincide with Buckner et al (2021) which analyzed sixty-two "internationalization strategies" of higher education institutions in Canada, the U.S., and the U.K., and found that the documents continually repeated terms such as "diversity" and "culture," but terms such as "ethnicity" and "race/racial" were absent or avoided (pp. 37-42).

MacEachern argues that universities as institutions deliver similar outcomes, so many institutions have developed "unique strategies" to attract international students (James-MacEachern, 2018, p. 249). In Canada, a "unique strategy" of international student recruitment can include promoting the national identity of a multicultural nation, or the "cultural mosaic" concept that different cultures and identities can distinctly exist within the larger Canadian society. It should be noted that I am not arguing that Canada is a perfect multicultural nation, or that other countries are not multicultural. Rather, multicul-

turalism is already entrenched in Canadian identity and policy, so I believe the language in the promotional materials from universities may connect to the perception of Canada as an accepting, multicultural nation. While the past literature establishes Canada in the global competition for international student recruitment, there is a lack of clear research regarding the implementation methods of this multiculturalism narrative into recruitment tools.

Data

Online data was collected from both the University of British Columbia and the University of Toronto. For the University of British Columbia, data was collected from 8 promotional videos that mention "International Students" in the title on the UBC Prospective Undergraduate YouTube page. Additionally, information from the web page titled "UBC's International Student Guide," and a post on the UBC News web page "Ten Things to Know About International Student Enrollment" were also collected. For the University of Toronto, 2 promotional videos, with a longer running time than UBC's videos, that mention "International Students" in the title from the University of Toronto YouTube page were included. The University of Toronto Student Life web page titled "Centre for International Experience," as well as the web page titled "University Life-Toronto and the Greater Toronto Area," were also collected as data. For titles of videos and more details about each source, see Appendices A and B.

Each video was analyzed for recurring words and expressions individually through quotations, and then connections between quotations in all of the videos were categorized based on common themes of: "multiculturalism," "diversity," "individuality," "belonging," "university environment," and "community." These two case studies of UBC and U of T cannot be generalized to all Canadian universities, but instead provide an insight into how the two largest universities in Canada attract international students with online tools. Rather than focusing on the universities with the highest population of international students based on Maclean's or Times Higher Education rankings, UBC and U of T were analyzed because they both have high overall student enrollment and use comparable online promotional strategies, including a YouTube channel and web pages. Both schools have consistently been ranked within the top three universities in Canada according to Times Higher Education, and in terms of "prestige" and "reputation," both have gained comparable name recognition in and out of the country. Both universities have a similar proportion of international students, and as such, I expect the results of my analysis to likely be similar in terms of the strategies implemented. Additionally, UBC and U of T were the best case studies for analyzing online materials as the recruitment strategies of smaller Canadian universities are focused on in-person information sessions and workshops with recruiters, and therefore could not be included in this study.

Findings

Open Immigration Policies and Access to Resources

On both UBC's "International Student Guide" website, as well as U of T's "Centre for International Experience" website, the first resource listed is about traveling to Canada and information about what documents international students need to study in Canada. Both websites offer advising or workshops to help international students understand immigration, travel documents and policies. Similarly, one of the first topics covered in the U Of T video titled, "How to Apply to U of T: OUAC and International Application," is whether Canadian citizenship is a factor in deciding which application should be completed. The recruitment representative clarifies the difference between the applications is based on whether the student has previously studied in Canada, rather than citizenship. This focus on immigration resources and information illustrates how open immigration policies are a large consideration for international students deciding where to study, and how specific immigration policies, such as the Express Entry policy, can influence international student enrollment.

One common theme among the promotional materials at both universities is the idea of international students making the university "home," which coincides with Canada's "study and stay" approach to international student recruitment (Reichert & Bouajram, 2021). For example, in the UBC video titled "UBC-embracing differences," when discussing the differences between Mexico City and UBC, a student said "UBC is 'home-y,' it just feels like home." Similarly, the U of T video "International Students Talk About the University of Toronto" considers how the first-year residences allow students to feel more at home by making meals together.

Multicultural Narrative: Maintaining Identity and Diversity While Finding Community

Through the use of language in the international student recruitment videos and websites, the University of British Columbia and the University of Toronto emphasize how both the institutions and Canada as a whole promote "diversity" and "multiculturalism." A recurring message in all of the materials was encouraging international students to "be yourself." For example, in the recruitment video by U of T, a student from Dubai stated, "Diversity is more than just diversity and culture and colour. It's more about diversity and interest in Canada. You can literally be anyone in Canada." Similarly, in one of the videos posted by UBC Prospective Students titled "International Students at UBC," a student expressed UBC as a "very unique, yet a happy and multicultural environment- that is what I really like about UBC." In the same video, a student expanded the idea of multiculturalism to Canada, "I think in many ways Canada can be a role model to every

country- not in the sense that they have it figured out, but they are on the way of figuring it out." This quote relates well to Canada's multiculturalism narrative, as Canada may not be a perfect model of multiculturalism, but it is a common association with the national identity, and may affect international student enrollment and perception of Canadian universities within the global context.

Another recurring message in both university recruitment campaigns was the concept of "community" and "fitting in." These themes are connected to multiculturalism and the recruitment videos at UBC because they describe "finding your community" as finding a place specifically within the UBC community, rather than Canada as a whole. For example, in the UBC "International Students-How to make New Friends" video, a student advises, "You don't have to fit in everywhere- just be yourself and you will find a group that will be like you." This theme promotes the idea of students at UBC belonging to a larger, collective society, but also being safe to maintain their identity and a smaller community that is compatible with their values. Similarly, in the U of T video titled, "International Students Talk about the University of Toronto," one student discusses how at the "St. George campus, I feel as if I have a community, but just a few steps outside and I'm in the heart of the city." The clear contrast between the campus and the downtown area of Toronto establishes the school as being a source of community, while still considering how this community fits into the larger Canadian landscape.

It is interesting that the majority of videos from UBC equate the sense of "community" with the school, such as in the video titled "Finding Your Community," the first-year student finally "found their community" through a Work Learn position that allowed them to meet people with similar interests. Even the video titled "Culture Shock" was not based around fears of culture shock when traveling to Canada for the first time, but rather how the "diversity of UBC was a shock." The deliberate decision to focus on the "diversity" of UBC rather than actual concerns about racial discrimination coincides with Buckner et al. (2021), as the language promotes the positive aspects of "diversity" and "culture" while ignoring how "culture shock" may be a serious concern for international students moving to Canada. The student elaborated, "there isn't one way to 'be' a UBC student." Promoting the idea of "fitting in" and "finding a community" within UBC rather than Canada as a whole relates to multiculturalism because students are encouraged to express their individual and cultural identity in the university culture, and then consider how that fits into the larger Canadian society. The expression of individual identity within the context of a larger society is also included in U of T's annual "What's Your Story?" photo contest, which is promoted as a celebration of international and exchange students. Promoting artistic expression of international and exchange students demonstrates U of T's advocacy of a global relationship between higher education institutions, as well as the importance of locating individual identity within a larger society.

"Selling Points": Environment, Safety, and Individual Experience

Considering universities as businesses, we can determine possible "selling points" and marketing techniques that influence international student enrollment. A common theme among all of the promotional materials was the discussion of the environment and climate. Each video and website had images of the environment and the landscape of the campus. For example, across the UBC videos were images of skiing and snow, lush green trees and grass, as well as the modern and historical architecture on campus. Similarly, the U of T student life website labels Toronto as a "diverse and urban center." As one student demonstrated in the "International Students Talk About the University of Toronto" video, the environment and climate can be important deciding factors in international recruitment. As the student stated, "I looked at the pictures of the green campus, and decided- I am going there."

Another "selling point" mentioned across the data was the feeling of general safety on campus and in Canada. For example, the UBC videos "International Student Experience at UBC," and "International Students at UBC," describe Canada as a "very safe and welcoming place." Similarly, one student in the U of T video "International Students Talk About the University of Toronto," discussed how he "feels very safe on campus and very safe in the city." While this feeling of safety would not be universal across all students, safety is likely an important factor in international student enrollment when deciding to move far away to a new environment. This corresponds with Reichert and Bouajram's (2021) note that promoting Canada as a "safe and secure environment" has been influential in establishing Canada as an "appealing" country for international study (p. 314).

Lastly, James-MacEachern's (2018) argues that since university marketing is often very similar, distinguishing factors among institutions are "often at the individualized level, providing specific details beyond rankings" (p. 258). Both UBC and U of T include their university rankings as well as possible academic opportunities within many of the promotional videos. However, it is also evident that both institutions have chosen a strategy of emphasizing testimonies and stories from individual students, as the "International Students Talk about U of T" video, and all of the UBC promotional videos, focus on a small number of current international students discussing their experiences. The focus on individual experience aids in constructing a "promise of a specific experience" for international students, which is likely influential in distinguishing UBC and U of T from other universities within Canada and on the global scale (Pizarro, 2017, p. 54).

Relationships Between International and Domestic Students

While it is not the central focus of this paper, there is an interesting lack of research regarding how international student promotional tools are tied to the viewpoint of domestic students, as well as the general Canadian population. For example, the "UBC

News" article discusses "Ten Things You Should Know About International Students," and considers the question, "Do International Students 'take spots away' from domestic students? Are International students subsidized by B.C. taxpayers?" (UBC News, 2017). Even though the article discusses how the answer to both of these questions is no, the fact that these questions are continually asked by Canadian residents and domestic students implies that some underlying motives of international student promotional materials may be to educate Canadian residents and domestic students on the benefits of internationalization in universities, in addition to recruiting international students directly.

The lack of focus on the relationships between international students and domestic students is also reiterated throughout the promotional videos. While the videos discuss how Canada is a nice place to live, the personal relationships discussed in the videos are specific to that of international students, with no discussion of the relationship between international and domestic students. For example, both the University of British Columbia and the University of Toronto videos discussed how classrooms are filled with people from different countries, and in the UBC video titled "International Student Experience at UBC," one student discussed how you will meet and make friends with students who are in the "same boat" studying far away from home. As a marketing strategy, it makes logical sense that the promotional videos are trying to make international students feel more comfortable as there will be other international students in the same situation. However, the omission of how domestic and international students interact in the videos is an interesting finding that could contradict Canada's perceived national "multicultural" narrative if studied further in the future.

Conclusion

Within previous research, higher education institutions in Canada, Japan, and the U.K. vary in their recruitment practices in terms of institutional culture, government policy, and historical structures (James-MacEachern, 2018). This study aimed to consider how the adoption of "multiculturalism" as essential to Canada's identity could be considered a marketable "survival strategy" in order for Canada to compete in the global competition for international students, as these two universities are dependent on international student tuition due to decreased provincial funding. While previous literature has focused on national policy, intended "internalization strategy" documents, and studying recruitment officers at higher education institutions, this study differs by focusing on the online recruitment tools of two universities that are comparable in global ranking, national policy, and size of university. The promotional materials at these two universities reconfirms that "selling points" of highly-ranked global universities include environmental factors as well as communications of diversity and inclusivity (Saichaie & Morphew, 2014; Pizarro, 2017; Reichert and Bouajram, 2021; Buckner et al., 2021).

However, in terms of "student life" as a selling point, this study illuminates how an omission of a relationship between international students and domestic students may contradict the constructed "multicultural narrative" of Canada, as well as demonstrates how recruitment materials may leave international students "unfulfilled" with the "expected experience" outlined in promotional materials (Pizarro, 2017). This draws attention to an area requiring further research, as it would be helpful to investigate whether this omission is actually due to a lack of relationship between international and domestic students. Additionally, the research shows how the language of recruitment materials mirrors contradictions within Canadian immigration policies for international students. Data across both UBC and U of T were found to relate to Canada's perceived narrative as a multicultural nation and the metaphor of a "cultural mosaic," by consistent use of phrases such as "be yourself," and how there is no one way to be a "Canadian." This incorporation of Canada's multiculturalism could indicate a "study and stay" approach to international students (Reichert & Bouajram, 2021). However, recruitment materials also specify students "finding their community" in terms of the labour market, or finding friends with people who are "in the same boat" studying far away from home. The distinct discussion of "finding your community" within the university, rather than Canada as a whole, demonstrates the challenges the "Express Entry" immigration policy places on international students hoping to attain permanent residency (Sá & Sabzalieva, 2018). Ultimately, these narratives of assimilation through the labour market, or encouraging interactions between international students rather than domestic students, could indicate the "multicultural" narrative that Canadian universities promote may need to be questioned.

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Appendix A

Table A1. UBC Promotional Video Materials.

Title	Year	Source	Video Description	Link
"International Students at UBC"	2012	UBC Prospective Undergraduates YouTube Running Time: 1:56 Minutes	International students at UBC describe the "international community at UBC and what it's like to live in Canada."	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P1zwa2wFuzU
"International Student Experience at UBC"	2013	UBC Prospective Undergraduates YouTube Running Time: 3:35 Minutes	Four international students discuss their experience studying at UBC.	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NG4n4jbyEBU
"UBC International Students- Embracing Differences"	2019	UBC Prospective Undergraduates YouTube Running Time: 0:41 Seconds	Fifth-year science student from Mexico City discusses the change in climate at UBC and advice she would have given herself in first year.	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=o1GksUTu77c
"UBC International students -How to Make New Friends"	2019	UBC Prospective Undergraduates YouTube Running Time: 0:51 Seconds	First year Arts student from Moscow, Russia discusses the fear of not fitting in and making new friends.	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v5RDPDKsO_c
"UBC International Students- Getting Involved"	2019	UBC Prospective Undergraduates YouTube Running Time: 0:43 Seconds	Fourth-year commerce student from Indonesia discusses how involvement in UBC Jumpstart and different clubs helped him adjust to living in Canada.	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=esGAKQSw3TY
"UBC International Students- Finding Your Community"	2019	UBC Prospective Undergraduates YouTube Running Time: 0:39 Seconds	Third-year engineering student from Cameroon discusses the challenge of adjusting to UBC with a full course load, and how a Work Learn position helped her find a sense of community.	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jkbsYWKKNQ0
"UBC International Students- Making Your first Connections"	2019	UBC Prospective Undergraduates YouTube Running Time: 0:38 Seconds	Sociology student from Uganda discusses how he felt a part of the UBC community even before applying, and how he made connections in first year.	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Mq4DlVFJ1Pw
"UBC International Students- Culture Shock"	2019	UBC Prospective Undergraduates YouTube Running Time: 0:32 Seconds	Fourth year Economics student from New Delhi, India discusses diversity at UBC and her experience moving to Canada.	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TaInaKPdNzI

Table A2. UBC Website Materials for Promoting International Student Enrollment.

Title	Year	Description	Link
"Ten Things to Know About International Student Enrollment" -UBC News	2017	Pamela Ratner, UBC vice-provost and associate vice president of enrollment and academic facilities, answers the top ten questions about international students studying at UBC.	https://news.ubc.ca/2017/08/28/ten-things-to-know-about-international-student-enrolment/
"International Student Guide" - UBC Student Services	2021	Allocation of resources for beginning international study at UBC, as well as resources for while international students are at UBC.	https://students.ubc.ca/international-student-guide

Appendix B

Table B1. U of T Recruitment Video Materials

Title	Year	Source	Description	Link
"International Students Talk About the University of Toronto"	2015	University of Toronto YouTube Running Time: 5:34 Minutes	International students at U of T discuss their experiences at U of T and why they chose to study at U of T.	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yxQiuoKhtvs
"How to Apply to U of T: OUAC 105 & International Application"	2020	University of Toronto YouTube Running Time: 21:43 Minutes	Discussion of application requirements and English Language proficiency requirements for potential applicants outside of Ontario.	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4dCWJbB6VNQ

Table B2. U of T Recruitment Website Materials

Title	Year	Description	Link
"Centre for International Experience" -Student Life University of Toronto	2021	Allocation of resources for current and potential international students at U of T- includes a photo contest.	https://studentlife.utoronto.ca/department/centre-for-international-experience/
"University Life- Toronto and GTA"- University of Toronto	2021	Description of Toronto and GTA as a "Diverse Urban Centre."	https://future.utoronto.ca/university-life/toronto-gta/

"Bring a Bucket and a Mop" for the Tears of Offended White Male Conservatives

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Abstract. Upon it's release, Cardi B and Megan Thee Stallion's "Wet Ass Pussy" garnered unprecedented controversy for both its sexually explicit lyrics and accompanying music video. Originating primarily from right-leaning outlets, WAP's adversaries chastised not only the song itself, but moreover, the artists for their supposed violation of American morals concerning gender and sexuality. However, gender and sexuality transgressions on their own incompletely encapsulate the overarching systemic oppressions affording WAP its disrepute. This essay examines the critical context underpinning the enormous controversy following WAP's release, namely, the unique manifestation of misogynoir in the context of black women's sexuality. Employing a literary analysis calling on historical and social perspectives, I examine the construction of the controversy surrounding Black women's sexuality in a discursive context. The impacts of slavery and the hypersexualization of Black women ultimately constitute the bedrock of WAP's dissension which inherently demonizes and fetishizes the sexuality of Black women. Although highly controversial for its sexually explicit content, this paper argues that rather than degrading the sexuality of Black women and violating social moral codes, WAP represents an important avenue of empowerment for Black women, featuring a critical reclaiming of sexual autonomy.

Introduction

On August 7th 2020, rappers Cardi B and Megan Thee Stallion released the tantalizing single "Wet Ass Pussy," later abbreviated to WAP. The accompanying music video featuring fountains ejecting water from the breasts of statues, and the rap duo, dressed in ornate, tantalizing costumes, performing an "Olympic-level twerk routine," elicited extensive backlash, mainly from the political right (Holmes, 2020). Sexually explicit music videos and lyrics remain steadfast themes in popular culture, with both male and white female artists producing equally explicit music — and yet Black women shoulder incomparable controversy. Despite veteran pop-music divas, Christina Aguilera ("Candyman," 2006) and Britney Spears ("Womanizer," 2009 & "Work Bitch," 2013), producing correspondingly sexual, blush worthy songs and music videos, Cardi B and Megan Thee Stallion face enormous controversy over WAP and its sexually explicit content. In an industry saturated with sexually mature themes, the content of Black female creators, specifically, remains a fierce source of contention. As such, I argue that WAP's controversy originates not exclusively from its explicit lyrics, but rather, the political nexus of misogynoir and the colonial desire to relegate the sexuality of Black women to the voyeuristic white patriarchal gaze. Further, in spite of this controversy, WAP remains a critical subversion of the controlling images which hypersexualize, fetishize and exoticize Black women's sexuality.

The White Patriarchal Gaze

Despite being naturalized in mainstream media, the white patriarchal gaze constitutes a persistent form of colonial violence. The use and prevalence of a white patriarchal gaze extends beyond the constructed unnatural relationship between Black artists and discourses of empowerment. Colonial practices of othering, which relegated Black bodies to discourses of primitivism and savagery, concretized the naturalization of a white, non-white divide, bearing tangible future social consequences (Yancy, 2008). The social construction of the white male gaze lays the formative foundation for understanding the construction and scrutiny of Black women's sexuality both in the historical and contemporaneous contexts. Critically, the overwhelming presence and authority over the media granted to white figureheads must be acknowledged when considering public discourses surrounding Cardi B and Megan Thee Stallion's "Wet Ass Pussy"; the dynamics and prestige afforded among white and non-white creators remains inherently askew (Griffin, 2014). The historical relationship between the media, Black, and white bodies adheres to the white supremacist desire to occupy the role of "lookers" in possession of an unequivocal right to view others (Griffin, 2014).

Dovetailing colonial-slavery practices, the patriarchal white gaze emerges in relation to the anxieties and myths emplaced on Black bodies; the need to justify the systemic subordination of an entire race to advance and appease the white agenda (Yancy, 2008). In other words, the white patriarchal gaze constitutes "a process of seeing without being seen, that constructs the Black body into its own colonial imaginary"; thus inextricably binding Black women's bodies to a narrow and exploitative paradigm. Consequently, modern media falls victim to reinscribing the white patriarchal gaze; representations of Black women adhere to longstanding colonial attitudes in order to satisfy the beliefs and systems instrumented by white patriarchal figures. For Cardi B and Megan Thee Stallion, the apparent subversion of the male gaze, coupled with violations of the patriarchal expectations for female sexuality, positions WAP at the epicentre of patriarchal controversy. WAP not only rejects the sexual morality emplaced upon women by the patriarchal white gaze but moreover, rejects the classical colonial stipulation of who embodies the role of "looker" versus the "looked at" (Griffin, 2014). The analysis of this paper outlines the nuance, narratives, and images underpinning the white male gaze. Moreover, it underscores Cardi and Megan's apparent subversion of patriarchal voyeurism.

The Controversy and Misogynoir

Within hours of its release, WAP garnered significant controversy for its sexually explicit imagery and lyrics. Republican US House candidate, James Bradley took to Twitter shortly after the song's release in profuse retaliation, stating that:

> Cardi B & Megan Thee Stallion are what happens when children are raised without God and without a strong father figure. Their new "song" The #WAP (which I heard accidentally) made me want to pour holy water in my ears and I feel sorry for future girls if this is their role model! (Bradley)

In the discourse of Bradley and many right-leaning Americans, WAP marks the social degradation of America and yet, sex remains a popular topic in popular culture when explored by men and white women. However, Black female creators Nicki Minaj ("Anaconda," 2014), Missy Eliott ("Work It," 2009) and Cardi B and Megan Thee Stallion experience a unique avenue of oppression: misogynoir. Coined by Black feminist scholar Moya Bailey in 2008, misogynoir refers to "the anti-Black racist misogyny that Black women experience," or in other words, the inextricable manifestation of racism and sexism towards Black women (Bailey & Trudy, 2018). In the context of WAP, misogynoir manifests in relation to the racialized, gendered double standard emplaced upon Black women: Cardi B and Megan Thee Stallion's disregard for female sexual passivity is coupled with narratives hinged on racism and the colonial exploitation of Black enslaved

bodies. Ultimately, the narrative of degradation merely obscures the underlying premise of the WAP controversy; the ongoing anxieties and negative stereotyping surrounding Black women's sexuality.

Misogynoir complicates the navigation, exploration and expression of Black female sexuality in manners not affecting white women. For pop diva Britney Spears, her use of tantalizing lyrics, dance and costumes amassed her a loyal fan base and an iconic reputation for sex appeal (Gurley, 2021). An analysis of tabloid headlines featuring Britney's sexiest images reveals a critical difference in the portrayal of her sexuality. Whereas Britney hails a narrative of sex-positivity, one article even claiming that during a 2001 performance, Britney "pretty much pioneered twerking," a dance move in fact popularized by Black communities and historically originating from African regions, Cardi B and Megan Thee Stallion face fierce reprimand and oppression for staking claims to their own sexuality (Capital FM, 2016; Halliday, 2020, p. 870). Previous and contemporary representations of Spears praise her sexuality; she's a "queen," a "goddess," and a "feminist icon" for owning her own sexuality and creating art that empowers both Spears and her followers to embrace feeling sexy (Gurley, 2021). Conversely, Cardi and Meghan's "Olympic-level twerk routine," featured in WAP's music video, and later recreated for The Grammys Stage, instigated and reinscribed the narratives imposed on Black women's sexuality dubbing them dirty, hypersexual and degrading. Despite twerking's roots and subsequent popularization by Black women, those same women are deemed derogatory and unfit "role model[s]" for "future girls" revealing the role of misogynoir embedded within these discourses (Bradley).

The white patriarchal gaze relies on the colonial practice of negative stereotyping in order to justify Anglo-European domination over a socially and systematically constructed other (Yancy, 2008). By employing and nurturing colonial discourses, the contemporary media remains fixated on controlling and comparing the sexuality of Black women to a revered white-female archetype. This not only superiorizes white patriarchal domination, but moreover, justifies the heightened scrutiny of Black women. Misogynoir operates in accordance with binary thinking where the white female body represents "good womanhood," and thus, Black women come to represent undesirable, dirty, and improper womanhood (Trudy, 2014). This dichotomous thinking, hinged on desirable versus undesirable womanhood, "creates invisibility for Black women's pain and hypervisibility for what are deemed inherent flaws based on Black womanhood" (Trudy, 2014). Therefore, reading WAP's controversy sans its racial components perpetuates the erasure of Black women's experiences with particular regard to their sexual oppression. Black women's sexuality continues to be subjected to the racist tactics of slavery by way of the dehumanizing and hypersexualizing of their bodies "as a tool of violence," and thus, not as subjective entities desiring sexual pleasure (Trudy, 2014). The theme of Black women's sexuality emerges profusely within rap music, usually in the songs of male artists who fantasize the brutalization of the hypersexual Black female body. Their rhetoric resembles conquest, immobilizing Black women's control of their own sexuality, and blatantly

ignoring the possibility that these women can enjoy sex or assume active roles with regard to their own sexuality. Ultimately, the racialized standards surrounding Black women's sexuality inherently render its manifestations deviant to the white standard.

Historical-Cultural Context

Black women's sexuality remains constructed by and for the gaze of the patriarchy, dating back to the violent and traumatic history of enslavement and social subordination. The practice of objectifying Black women's bodies originated, in part, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries where sexual abuse and rape represented tools of domination used by slave owners, usually white men, against female slaves. According to Davis (2019), the specific racism geared towards Black women is hinged on "the assumption that white men – especially those who wield economic power – possess an incontestable right of access to Black women's bodies," a legacy exploited in slave and slave owner relationships where "sexual coercion was... an essential dimension of the social relations between slave master and slave" (p. 175). The exploitative power dynamics of slavery enabled white men to lay the foundations for the construction of Black women's sexuality in order to satiate their personal and economic agendas; these historical events created lasting and damaging stereotypes pertaining to Black women's sexuality. In other words, Black women's bodies bear the historical and generational trauma of objectification; the Black female body remains an "incontestable right," to white men, and thus contributes to the contemporaneous narratives which classify Black women as sexual conquests (Davis, 2019, p. 175).

Under the oppression of slavery, Black women "were classified as breeders," their value within this system stemming from their ability to produce children (Davis, 2019, p. 7). Bailey and Trudy (2008) contend that Black women experience "non-person status because of gender *in addition* to race"; or rather, that the unique intersection of racialization and gender in turn dispossesses the Black female body of agency and personhood (p. 765). In chorus with Davis (2019), the socio-political context of slavery introduced a paradigm which commodifies the Black female body, thus removing agency and personhood. In the slavery context, the Black female body remained the legal property of wealthy white men, a predominant feature of North American Colonial regimes. For white slave owners and their Black female slaves, the justification to legally own and control a human being originates from persisting discourses of conquest over Black females, hyper-sexualizing and brutalizing these bodies to legitimize practices of dehumanization. Thus, the sexuality of Black women is constructed by and for a patriarchal white gaze completely decontextualized from personal agency. In this way, the Black female body remains a privatized commodity owned by those seeking to maintain active control over a subordinate group.

Slavery established critical controlling narratives regarding Black women's sexuality; the presumptions that Black women's bodies remain the rightful conquests of white men continue to objectify the Black female body in contemporary contexts. The prevalence of the white patriarchal gaze attests to this dynamic, by continuing to feature representations of Black women in the media whose characterization appeals to the stereotypic assumptions about Black women's sexuality constructed within the slavery era. Cardi B and Megan Thee Stallion's reclaiming of their own sexuality as Black women, thus, stimulates discomfort amongst those whose idealization of the Black female body emanates from the paradigms of enslavement. Dovetailing the dehumanization and objectification of Black women within the domain of slavery arises the persistent and contemporaneous characterization of Black women's bodies as "promiscuous and immoral" (Davis, 2019, p. 176). According to Black scholar and sociologist Patricia Hill Collins (2002), Black women confront controlling images which leverage stereotypic images of Black women in order to justify ideologies of oppression (p. 69). In other words, colonial practices of othering create overarching character types for Black women, satisfying the white patriarchal gaze by demonizing and dehumanizing the bodies and sexualities of Black women. While Black women face plethoric controlling images embedded within racist assumptions, that of the jezebel "is central in this nexus of controlling images of Black womanhood" (Hill Collins, 2002, p. 81). This image entails the construction of "deviant Black female sexuality," another product of slavery deployed to justify the sexual abuse of Black women by white men; the perceived hypersexuality of Black women allegedly indicated their fertility (Hill Collins, 2008, p. 81). Slavery's function in the positioning of Black female sexuality is thus twofold: Black women were both hypersexualized and objectified; the former condoning the latter.

With slavery profusely comprising the bedrock for the hypersexualization of Black women, Hill Collins (2008) argues that "the historical legacy of the jezebel" loosely translates into "the contemporary hoochie," a greater sexualization of the jezebel image (p. 82). Popularized, in part, by rap music, the hoochie image "is constructed as a woman whose sexual appetites are at best inappropriate and, at worst, insatiable," and thus, disrupts the social status quo mandating female subserviency (Hill Collins, 2008, p. 83). These hoochie-esque characters become the subjects of vulgar, violent, and obscene representations of Black women in music, television and film, perpetuating the objectification of Black female bodies and positioning these bodies as "sexually deviant" (p. 84). Reminiscent of slavery tactics, the modern jezebel remains an objectified caricature representative of white patriarchal strategies for dehumanizing the Black female body. In other words, the sexuality of Black women becomes a commodity separated from overall conscious personhood. By maintaining the hypersexualization of Black women in both historical and contemporary contexts, the oppression of Black female bodies remains normalized, and used, parallel to the slavery era, to justify the oppression of a collective (Herd, 2014). Overall, hypersexualized images confirm the ideologies lynchpinned by slavery; the allegedly sexually promiscuous Black woman's body ultimately does not belong to her.

Furthermore, the sexuality of Black women remains not only demonized for its perceived promiscuous, "insatiable" nature, but moreover, remains the conquest of white men.

Wet Ass Pussy: Reclaiming Sexuality

Contravening the historical and ongoing practices which seek to police and stipulate Black women's sexuality, Cardi B and Megan Thee Stallion critically and importantly reclaim their sexuality from the male gaze. While WAP treads highly sexual territory, its female lyricists describe their sexual desires – how *they* want to be treated during sex, rather than adhering to the narrative which relegates Black female sexuality to the "service of men" (Lorde, 2000, p. 49). Hinged on a historical rhetoric of control, representations of hypersexuality in the jezebel and hoochie characters remove Black women's subjectivity; the residual economic narrative that renders Black women a source of profit - be it financial or sexual - gratification removes individual subjectivity from sexuality. Conversely, Cardi B and Megan Thee Stallion's representation of sexuality hinges on their *own* sexual pleasure. WAP's unapologetically female music video, featuring an exclusively female cast, transports viewers into a necessary female gaze where Cardi B and Megan Thee Stallion portray sexuality on their own terms. In other words, the omission of a male presence during WAP's four minute and thirteen second video enables its creators to reinscribe subjectivity in conjunction with sexuality; the performances of Cardi, Megan, and their companions reclaim Black female agency over their own bodies. Further, Cardi and Megan's repurposing of Frank Ski's 1993 track "Whores in this House" reclaims the sexually derogatory for the female gaze; in so doing, the term "whore," in the context of WAP, no longer represents a derogatory insult. The tactful use of "Whores in this House" disables onlookers from stigmatizing this specific term towards Cardi B and Megan Thee Stallion; thus, this term, as an insult, is made obsolete.

Despite its considerable controversy, WAP, to many, occupies important feminist territory centred around the reclaiming of Black women's sexuality. In addition to WAP's core premise; two Black women taking back the subjectivity of their sexuality, the music video features more subtle images of Cardi and Megan's retaliation against controlling images and the portrayal of Black female bodies in other rap songs. Scholar Aria Halliday (2020) underscores the "necessity to celebrate Black girls' pleasure as they themselves experience it," allowing sexuality to become an avenue of empowerment, rather than a tool of oppression deployed against the Black female body (p. 886). As such, WAP's infamous Fun House, featuring girating statues of women's buttox and breasts, and mysterious rooms featuring Black dancers in ornate costumes invites an unapologetically female, subjective gaze bereft of the typical voyeuristic gaze accorded to Black women. Cardi and Megan navigate The Fun House's corridors taking in impressive routines from Normani, Rosalia and Rubi Rose. In other words, by featuring Black women "using each other as

objects of satisfaction" and in appreciation of the sexuality of other Black women, WAP subverts the tendency for extraneous forces to objectify Black women; rather, allowing these women to embrace their sexuality (Lorde, 2000, p. 54). WAP's lack of male spectators removes the conventional male voyeurism featured in other music videos which reiterate the objectification and hypersexualization of Black women by reproducing the lens, imbued in misogynoir, through which men view Black female bodies.

WAP exemplifies a critical reclaiming of Black female sexuality wherein Cardi B and Megan Thee Stallion reinstate their subjectivity as sexual beings. WAP, thus, represents a critical piece of resistance harboring the potential to transform sexuality into a mechanism of power. Audre Lorde argues that patriarchy, and by extent, it's racist dexterities, emphasize "that only by the suppression of the erotic... can women be truly strong," which, Lorde argues, illustrates society's fear of sexuality's power, for "women so empowered are dangerous" (Lorde, 2000, p. 49, 52). In other words, accessing the erotic actively works against the racially imbued patriarchy and bestows its possessor with the power to enjoy their sexuality while also disrupting the social status quo controlling Black female sexuality for the male gaze and enacting "genuine change within our world" (Lorde, 2000, p. 54). Cardi B and Megan Thee Stallion's "Wet Ass Pussy," not only disrupts damaging images and narratives concerning Black women's sexuality and thus, reclaims said sexuality, but moreover, leverages a platform for discussing the policing of sexuality. Embedded within WAP's controversy resides repressed anxieties and biases directed towards Black women's sexualities, and, therefore, WAP's very existence creates opportunities to identify, dissect and reevaluate these attitudes. By singing about their own "wet ass puss[ies]," Cardi B and Megan Thee Stallion destabilize the thinly veiled expectations for Black female sexuality; acquiring possession of the proverbial talisman of Black female sexuality.

Conclusion

Despite its controversy, WAP's very existence redirects power over their sexualities into the hands of Black women. The ensuing conversations regarding the history, policing and objectification of Black women's bodies are critical and necessary to the anti-racist movement and the protection and validation of Black women's lives. The compounded, bilateral oppression of Black women, identified as misogynoir, creates a specific double bias complicit in the erasure of Black women's oppression and the magnification of their bodies. "Wet Ass Pussy's" ensuing backlash originates from the racially saturated nuances of sexism, which historically and contemporaneously hypersexualize and objectify Black women's bodies, but more profoundly, arise from a distaste for Black female power. WAP lyrics and visual representation necessarily reclaim a Black female gaze wherein Cardi, Megan and the other Black women featured in the titillating music video, sport sexy en-

sembles and steamy dance routines on their own terms, and for their own satisfaction. Ultimately, WAP artfully creates a necessary dialogue surrounding Black women's oppression and the importance of reclaiming sexuality and unapologetically claiming space in popular culture.

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The Siren's Call for Non-Normativity: The Queering of Desire and Time Creates Horror in Robert Eggers' *The Lighthouse*

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Abstract. This theoretical paper takes a social justice lens to unpack the moral predicaments of normative society, normative bodies and reproductive linearity that pose institutional regulation and oppression to the queer or non-normative experiences of reality. Employing queer theory, I analyze Robert Eggers' maritime gothic film, *The Lighthouse* (2019), and explore how the horror genre and monstrous bodies can be used to challenge our normative understandings of psycho-somatic experiences, often ambiguous, in conflict with processes of normative categorization that bring us terror. Through Terror Management Theory, I discuss how the abject body of the mermaid, the queer temporality of the setting of Pilot Rock, and the Lovecraftian existentialism in the film implores audiences to acknowledge the reality of the 'abject' in terms of corporeality and mortality, as a way to escape from regulation and oppression. The anti-hero, Ephraim Winslow, attempts an escape from normative society through a normative body, resolutely denying his own queer embodiment, which leads to his inevitable destruction. The mermaid, read as the queer agent, challenges the barriers set in place by normative society and our conceptions of reproductive linearity so that we may embrace our queer desires and our queer 'non-normative' bodies.

Introduction

The queer monstrous body of the mermaid in Robert Eggers' maritime gothic horror film, *The Lighthouse* (2019), works to instigate, provoke and exacerbate the horror experienced by the anti-hero, Ephraim Winslow. The non-normative body of the mermaid and the queering of time and desire that she represents pushes Winslow to overcome his struggle against social regulation (symbolized mainly by the characterization of Thomas Wake) and ultimately pushes him to his inevitable destruction. The emphasis of the film on bodily horror and disgust, sexual desire and Winslow's quest for enlightenment (in the form of the light at the top of the lighthouse) creates a layered narrative of bodily horror, ambiguity and Lovecraftian existentialism. I will employ queer theory to unpack, firstly, the corporeal and, secondly, the existential horror created by the abject body of the mermaid.

The film is set on a remote island off the coast of Maine in the 1890s and portrays two lighthouse keepers, one young (Winslow) and one old (Wake), dealing with isolation and mysterious happenings while embroiled in a power struggle against each other. First, my essay will examine how the film depicts Winslow's sexual attraction to the sensual feminine form of the mermaid as threatening to his understanding of his own mortality and how his visceral desire for the fish-human hybrid binds him more closely to his sense of corporeality, causing him to commit defensive acts of aggression. Second, I will explore how the mermaid, within the abstruse setting of the remote island of Pilot Rock, queers Winslow's desire for her, queers the narrative with her non-normative body and poses queer time as an existentialist threat to the characters and the audience's sense of normative time. I will therefore argue that the queer underscore of the film threatens and challenges our conceptualization of the world through normative categories and suggests that its disintegration is inevitable. The film can thus be read as a warning against the fragility of such normative structures and as a call to embrace corporeality and the ambiguity of embodiment while asking us to reckon with our instinctive katabasis into a normative escape from regulation.

Corporeal Horror and Mortality Salience

The siren myth dates back centuries and across cultures. A seductive half-woman-half-fish lures sailors with her haunting songs to certain death. The mermaid is the original femme fatale, and her inescapable sexual allure starkly juxtaposes against and complements her deadliness, impurity and evil. Her seductiveness itself, therefore, is what makes her dangerous, and the popularity of this trope (in popular culture, religion and folklore) suggests that "women's sexual allure [is] the principal cause of sin in the world" (Landau et al., 2006, p. 130), evoking lust, temptation and contamination in the man who falls

prey to it. Landau and colleagues, using 'terror management theory,' suggest that ambivalence and aggression towards feminine sexual appeal in (heterosexual) men is caused by fear and distaste of their sexual desires because it "threatens to increase men's awareness of their corporeality and thus mortality" (p. 129). The authors define this awareness as "mortality salience" (p. 129). The bodily horror of *The Lighthouse* lays sheer emphasis on corporeality and bodily disgust by littering the narrative with graphic acts of flatulence, excretion and masturbation. Still, this corporeal horror culminates through the body of the mermaid, a sexual attraction towards whom creates fear and, I will argue, increases mortality salience in Winslow.

Winslow is not only horrified at the discovery of the mermaid but also at his own desire for her abject body, which appears recurrently in his sexual fantasies. When Winslow first discovers the mermaid, he is initially transfixed by her human body but staggers back in terror as his hands trace down from her torso and onto her fishtail, letting out an inhuman scream that combines with the mermaid's (*The Lighthouse*, 50:20-50:45). Her half-human-half-fish body draws intensified attention to her hybrid corporeality as well as Winslow's own corporeality when he fantasizes about having sex with her. In this scene, lingering emphasis is laid first on her human breasts (1:07:42) and right after, on her fish genitalia (1:08:04), while simultaneously, Winslow is shown masturbating vigorously. This hybridity emphasizes horror and mortality salience, as we see Winslow desperately trying to "distinguish human[s] from [other] animal[s]" (Landau et al., 2006, p. 131) and failing. His failure to arouse himself also suggests that his mortality salience has caused an aversion to "pleasurable physical sensation" which the authors note occurs in individuals with higher levels of neuroticism (p. 131). Corporeal horror is accentuated in scenes where the mermaid's body seems to entwine with Winslow's as he imagines them having sex (*The Lighthouse*, 1:08:14) and later, when her body switches with Wake's (1:33:49-1:34:04), as emphasis is laid upon the body and ambiguity between the characters and the monstrous body of the mermaid.

Regulation, Resistance and Refuge

Winslow and Wake's struggle for power is central to the film's narrative, but as Winslow struggles against Wake's oppressive leadership, he reveals a desire for liberation from a deeper type of oppression, which is that of regulation. Landau and colleagues discuss that to protect oneself from mortality salience caused by sexual desire, socio-cultural constructs are created to assign symbolic value to the carnal act of sex, in an effort to "obscure the link between sex and death" (p. 131). Wake's character, therefore, represents and provides regulation and systemic barriers to Winslow's growing desire for the carnal. The clearest way this happens is through the power dynamic between the two. Wake is older and more experienced, and the script only refers to the characters as 'Old' and 'Young'

rather than their names, which emphasizes this dynamic (Eggers & Eggers, 2019). More importantly, Wake holds more knowledge about the past of the island and the keepers that came before Winslow. He also knows what the light at the top of the lighthouse is, and refuses to share that knowledge with Winslow, who becomes increasingly desperate for it. Through the veteran-subordinate relationship, Wake prevents Winslow from, according to Wake, reaching for more than he can cope with by constantly reprimanding him for insubordination but also protecting him from the dangers of the island by warning him.

The veteran-subordinate relationship takes center stage throughout the narrative of the film, and as the plot progresses, Winslow gets more and more frustrated with Wake's constant assertion of superiority. The very first night at supper, it reveals that regulation works differently on the island. As Wake offers Winslow a cup of alcohol, Winslow politely declines, suggesting that it is against regulation, "from them's manual" (*The Lighthouse*, 07:46). However, Wake rejects Winslow's suggestion and states: "then y'do as I say. That's in yer book too" (07:46-08:02). Wake's reaction reifies that Winslow has entered his territory, and what he says or orders Winslow to do, takes precedence. Through the film, Wake also asserts and reasserts his dominance by calling Winslow "lad" and "dog." This treatment evidently displeases Winslow, who does not appreciate being dehumanized in that way and objects multiple times. In a scene that forebodingly mirrors the climax scene between Wake and Winslow, Wake reprimands Winslow for neglecting his duties and calls him a dog, at which Winslow is obviously angered, and speaks out but is shut down (25:55-27:55). In a later scene, Winslow "musters a little courage" (Eggers & Eggers, 2019, p. 29) and tries to correct Wake:

> OLD: Thankee, lad.
> YOUNG: Winslow.
> OLD: –?
> YOUNG: Ephraim Winslow. These last two weeks, I'd… Well, I'd like it, sir, if you'd call me by my name.
> OLD: Listen to ye, giving orders, lad.
> YOUNG: Winslow. (*The Lighthouse*, 31:06-31:25).

As this scene suggests, Winslow expresses resistance against Wake's oppressive treatment of him and does so throughout the narrative. From the onset, Wake forbids Winslow to go to the top of the lighthouse and handle the light – something that Winslow wants more and more as the film progresses. The first time Winslow asks about the light, Wake immediately dismisses him, stating: "the light is mine" (09:34-09:55). Later, we see Winslow struggling to reach the top of the lighthouse dragging a huge oil tank. When he reaches for the hatch, he is interrupted by Wake, who tells him, "you don't go in there!" (19:00-19:03). Winslow then notices that Wake keeps the hatch under lock and key (19:38). In the same scene, Wake abuses Winslow, calls him a "dullard" and dismisses him, to which Winslow responds with an "aye, sir" and we see him display a menacing and vengeful smile (19:44-19:56). This moment is integral to the narrative as it captures

the exposition of Winslow's eventual downward spiral into frustration and madness and sets up his character for a deadly struggle against Wake's authority in the climax. It is also a key moment in the film when Winslow realizes what his true objective on the island is – the light.

Winslow and Wake's friction is established from the start and builds gradually through three key scenes. First, Wake takes it upon himself to warn Winslow of the horrors of the island (I will speak to Wake's warnings separately), and suggests that he drink alcohol to protect himself: "the only medicine is drink," but Winslow dismisses his words as "tall tales" and argues that alcohol keeps the keepers "stupid" (21:13-21:43), asserting his autonomy. Second, Winslow finds a mermaid trinket in his bed as soon as he arrives (06:06), which begins to haunt him, especially after he meets the real mermaid. The idea of the mermaid then begins tormenting him, and Winslow thinks of himself as under some kind of "sea spell" (1:20:08-1:20:15). In the scene where he is fantasizing about the mermaid, holding on to the trinket and trying to get off, he finally breaks down, failing to have an orgasm, and destroys the trinket, continuing to stab it with his knife (1:07:39-1:09:33).

This scene exemplifies the tension in Winslow, who has been resisting the sea spell. The trinket, which clearly acts as a regulator and imposer of the sea spell, is also connected to Wake's presence in Winslow's life. He first finds it in their shared bedroom, and the destruction of the trinket occurs right after Winslow almost attacks Wake with the same knife he later uses to stab at the trinket (1:05:45). This connection becomes explicit later when Winslow accuses Wake of making his predecessor mad "with the charm" (1:20:01) in the same way he makes Winslow mad. Third, is the climactic grisly fight to the death between Winslow and Wake, where the power dynamic finally flips as an argument between the two escalates and leads to Winslow beating up Wake and reducing him to the status of a dog. He then makes him bark and buries him alive (1:35:00-1:39:02), finally overcoming him.

Wake's character is almost like the physical structure of the lighthouse itself, standing erect on Pilot Rock, a concrete regulator in the midst of the stormy sea (which I will later explain also represents horror) and atop the mysterious island with its mysterious creatures. However, not only do they regulate, but they also protect. While the lighthouse provides structural protection from the elements and animals of the island, Wake consistently forebodes terror and warns Winslow to be obedient. It begins with fortune, as he tells Winslow how it is "bad luck to leave a toast unfinished" (07:31-07:34) and repeats passionately that it is "bad luck to kill a seabird" (23:14). In the latter scene, Wake is visibly "terrified," "shaken," and "a shell of himself" (Eggers & Eggers, 2019, p. 21) right after he has delivered an impassioned cautionary tale about the previous lighthouse keeper:

OLD: Aye, went mad, he did. First a strangeness. A quietude. Then wild fancies

> struck him. Ravin' 'bout sirens, merfolk, bad omens and the like. In the end, no more sense left in him than a hen's tooth. He believed there were some enchantment in the light (p. 20).

Wake not only identifies the threat of the mermaid but also foreshadows the threat of the allure of the light. We may also read this as a complement to Wake's possessiveness about the light, and ask if he was really just protecting Winslow by pushing him away from it.

Wake, therefore continuously maintains a boundary between Winslow and his closeness to the mermaid and the horror that she represents. In fact, a key motif is the 'contaminated water' that Wake and Winslow drink in the form of alcohol, water from the dirty cistern and ultimately turpentine. I will speak about the function of water later, but it is important to note here that Wake reminds Winslow that alcohol is medicine and asserts the need to drink: "I won't take no for an answer," he tells Winslow (*The Lighthouse*, 43:19). Wake also utilizes disbelief to create a barrier between Winslow and the horror. He tells him that the old keeper went mad, shrouds things in myth (seabirds and siren songs) and even warns and curses Winslow through the use of myth, almost as if he were possessed (1:00:52-1:02:50). However, in mythologizing the past and restricting the light from Winslow, he inadvertently pushes Winslow towards it. The regulator regulates, but his presence constantly reminds Winslow of what he cannot have, and, therefore, only encourages Winslow to struggle against it.

The Mermaid's Body as the Queer Agent

The mermaid's body acts not only as a monster, emphasizing the link between sexual desire and death, but also as a queer agent. 'Queer' must be defined here, according to Cooper (2018), as "not necessarily a specific sexuality or a person" but "an umbrella term for anything non-normative" (p. 2). In terms of bodily excess in horror, Cooper asserts that, particularly in the horror genre, bodies that are non-normative are "therefore deemed monstrous" (p. 2). The non-normative queer body is deemed monstrous because it "poses a threat to heteronormative society" (Cooper, 2018, p. 4), where 'heteronormative' might refer to binary conceptions of interaction and inter-relationality and normative societal structures and institutions. Cooper argues, "the queer body does not conform to the prescribed "truths" of heterosexuality and instead demands to be accepted as it exists" (p. 4), thus actively posing as horror to our notions of normative society simply by existing.

I will analyze how the body of the mermaid is non-normative by comparing it to Cooper's (2018) analysis of the vampiric queer body. Firstly, vampires are "relegated to the realm of night, without being able to traverse into daylight" (p. 6) which renders their bodies non-normative, much like the body of the mermaid, who is relegated to the

realm of the sea. The mermaid's inability to walk on land 'disables' her body, and this is emphasized in the film when Winslow first discovers her and runs away from her, as she screams out to him, helplessly unable to move on land as her fishtail flails about (*The Lighthouse*, 50:29-50:40). Secondly, the body of the vampire, is "not as human" as it may initially appear with "pale skin" sensitive to the sun, "sharply pointed fangs," and unnaturally coloured eyes (Cooper, 2018, p. 6). The deception of the vampiric body as somewhat human upon first impression makes it more frightening and more monstrous, as it is close to a normative body, but inevitably is different. This familiarity makes the threat of the monster more realistic, brings it closer to the human subject and presents a secondary threat of contamination. In a similar vein, the mermaid has the beautiful, inviting features of a human female, but as Winslow traces his hands along her human torso, he doubles back in horror when he discovers her scaly lower half and fishtail (*The Lighthouse*, 50:14-50:23). The closeness of the monstrous body to a normative human body makes the body more subtly non-normative, exacerbating these differences and making the horror through discovery more potent.

There is a duality to how the non-normative body of the mermaid affects Winslow and therefore becomes the primary instigator of the struggle that he goes through. On the one hand, one would expect that the queering of the mermaid would create a break from heteronormative neurosis and obscure corporeality and thus act as a protection against mortality salience. However, on the other hand, we see that the emphasis on the mermaid's body actually intensifies through her queerness, instead, increasing mortality salience in Winslow. The mermaid's dichotomous half-fish-half-human body brings attention to corporeality instead of obscuring it, as I suggested before. In fact, the film works to entangle the body of the mermaid with Winslow's, and also Wake's at one point. The wrapping of her body with Winslow's, how their cries become one and his inability to tell her apart from Wake's body all contribute to how a fixation on the mermaid's body augments Winslow's sense of his own.

Other ways of building protective barriers between oneself and one's perception of their own mortality, can be ascertaining symbolic value to acts of sex, such as "symbolic immortality" achieved through reproduction – as an offspring would carry on the legacy of its parent (Landau et al., 2006, p. 142). Sex with the mermaid, however, cannot offer Winslow this because there is no chance of an offspring as miscegenation and reproduction are biologically not possible. The film's lingering focus on the mermaid's genitalia in this shot (*The Lighthouse*, 1:08:04) draws attention to that anxiety and the contradiction it poses to Winslow's need to search for something beyond simply his carnal desire. He is not able to penetrate the mermaid's body, which is a reminder of the mermaid's non-normativity. As the mermaid alternates between being animal and human, her bestiality and, particularly, her fish genitalia bring Winslow closer to his corporeality and farther away from his exalted humanness.

Moreover, the mermaid consumes Winslow's body discernibly (1:33:54), and as her

own body becomes ambiguous with the sea, the grotesque imagery of the dead keeper in the lobster trap crawling with sea insects (1:09:40) parallels Winslow's body enmeshed in the kelp, tentacles and insects as well as the seawater in the previous sequence (1:08:09-1:08:33) which further functions to connect sex with death, increasing mortality salience. The fear, anger and aggression in Winslow, therefore, seem to be triggered by this awareness of his own mortality. As Winslow believes that Wake has cast a sea spell on him, he turns his aggression towards Wake. The queer body challenges Winslow to face his more visceral and carnal side, increasing mortality salience and thus defensive acts of aggression, so Winslow fights against his regulator.

The duality of this, of course, is not as simple as a queer body obscuring corporeality and is represented in how Winslow's desire for the queer body queers desire itself. Because Winslow is attracted to a non-normative queer body, his attraction for it is queer. Winslow's failure to get off after fantasizing about the mermaid in the masturbation scene is pivotal (1:08:34) because it reveals that he does not actually desire the mermaid's body for sex, and his struggle is not driven simply by sexual tension but rather, it appears that her body frustrates him because it queers his desire, challenging his perception of himself and his normative body. Winslow's inability to get pleasure from this physical sensation, on the one hand, might be affected by his increased mortality salience, but on the other hand, it might suggest that Winslow does not desire sex with the mermaid at all, but rather, what that sex represents.

The film does not focus on the mermaid, it focuses on what she brings out in Winslow and therefore draws attention to Winslow's desire. This desire takes precedence and demands to be acknowledged. This queer desire challenges not only normative regulation but also Winslow's own fear of corporeality and mortality. It even poses this fear against Winslow's desire to break free from normative regulation, posing the mobilization of this fear as a way for Winslow to find liberation from regulation instead. Queering of desire thus demands that corporeality and mortality be acknowledged and, by extension, also demands an acknowledgement of ambiguity and the dynamic and fluid nature of personhood. The emphasis on queer desire implores Winslow to focus on what is present within and without his body, challenging the binaries that prevent or protect him, placed by Wake, but also his own normative body. As it is clear that Winslow desires liberation from Wake from the onset and before his discovery of the mermaid, the mermaid's monstrous body pushes Winslow to *acknowledge* his desire to escape from the regulator rather than entirely *causing* it. This shows that the regulator's position is fragile and needs to protect itself regardless of the monster. The queer body, on the contrary, is not there to harm Winslow but instead pushes him to liberate himself. We may then pose the question: is the fear of mortality, therefore a representation of a normative understanding of who we are and how we must value ourselves?

Queer Temporality

The presence of the queer body not only queers desire but also indicates the presence of queer time which can be understood by the normative subjects as a threat and in active opposition to notions of heteronormative time. In *Gender Trouble* (1999/2002), Judith Butler critiques the "self-justification of a repressive law" that erects itself upon the essentiality of a "unilinear narrative" (p. 48). A teleological "authoritative" conception of history, within the bounds of a Lacanian dialectic, thus enables a law or such a formulation of time to be seen as a "historical inevitability" (p. 48). This postulation of history then restricts the formulation of not only other imagined histories but also restricts the imagination towards multiple futures. Butler argues that such a conceptualization becomes problematic when it constrains the future to uphold an "idealized notion of the past" and when it subsequently allows a reification of harmful essentializing binaries, specifically the essentialism of gender within a patriarchal feminine-masculine dichotomy (p. 49). Understanding time in such a dichotomous and binary sense that reifies an essentialized and authoritative history calls for a need to move away from patriarchal or heteronormative time and to move more towards a queering of time and structure.

Imagination for social change, as well as the mobility for it, erupts out of envisaging and experiencing temporality as queer and non-patriarchally teleological. Freeman (2019) builds on Du Bois' shift from linear anthropological teleology towards a conception of human existence as "effectively rhythmic" (p. 171). The dynamic between "law, rule and rhythm" according to Du Bois, creates space for an "indeterminate force" that renders "agency possible" (p. 171). In this sense, it is imperative for such a 'queer' deconstruction of linear teleology to affect the movement of human identity and relationality. If what is a social fact, in Durkheim's terms, is seen as an 'object' and normativity as unmoving, then deviance cannot, and morally should not, be imagined, and in this case, would not serve a societal function. However, following Gusfield's assertions that modern social movements require a "conception of societal change as a constant, pervasive and tangible possibility" (p. 130), there is room to think of transformation as inevitable, and viewing temporality as 'rhythmic' allows for this. The subversion of order not only causes immediate effects that may or may not be reprimanded but also "disturbs" the illusion of order, opening up the possibility to "carry out the absurd" and thus for change (p. 135).

Cooper (2018) explains that queer temporality "focuses on the elimination of boundaries" (p. 8). By operating "outside of binaries," queer temporality deconstructs normative categories put in place by a heteronormative society (p. 8). By presenting the monstrous as a non-normative queer body, the horror genre "queers time" and therefore threatens our familiarity with the temporal world as we are used to seeing it (p. 10). What makes this significantly threatening is that if queer temporality challenges our conception of time and linearity itself, it challenges all the structures we build over such a normative conception of time, many of which, as Butler warns, are built on oppressive formulations of history.

If the body of the mermaid challenges heteronormative time, it also challenges illusions of order that maintain normativity as fact, and can thus open up imagination for change. We can identify the existence of queer temporality in the film through the mermaid's challenge of reproductive linearity, her transient nature and the dissolution of time and space within the setting.

The body of the mermaid is a 'transtemporal' body, "as connoting unstable, transient or in-between" while simultaneously involving "transformation, development, creativity, reorganisation and reconstruction" suggests Zigarovich (qtd. in Stuart, 2018, p. 221). In Stuart's analysis of the literary characters, the Beetle and Dracula, he discusses how a transtemporal monster "violates taxonomic, aesthetic and temporal categorization" (p. 221) and through these "trans-potentialities," rebukes normative ideas of linear time and regeneration (p. 222). In the case of the mermaid, she violates the taxonomic by being a hybrid creature, the aesthetic by being monstrous and while she does not as much violate the temporal, she does violate the spatial by becoming ambiguously interchangeable with water (which I will discuss later). The most significant threat posed by the mermaid in this context is her taxonomy and how the desire to have sex with her is not in order to reproduce because this cannot be done. In this way, "sex, understood as procreative, cannot progress" (pp. 223-224), and the desire to have sex with her challenges normative ideas of temporal duration and progress through heterosexual reproduction. Moreover, her animal-human hybrid body also presents an element of bestiality which interferes with a normative understanding of reproductive time and therefore represents a "degeneration so advanced" (p. 222).

Transtemporality is most well-established through the obscure time-space setting of Pilot Rock which creates isolation and separation between its human inhabitants, Winslow and Wake, and heteronormative time. As Cooper (2018) suggests, "queer time destroys heteronormative conceptions of time and the markers that create it" (p. 7), by separating the two normative subjects from the rest of the world, in the middle of a stormy sea, on a remote island, the film already starts to dissolve the markers that distinguish normative time. Further, the film plays at the subjects' as well as the audience's conception of time through the use of unreliable narrators in Winslow and Wake. After they wait for the tender, who does not come, and a storm falls on the island, the following exchange occurs where they discuss time:

> YOUNG: Look, maybe the tender, maybe she did come. We missed her, is all. I can take the dory out–
> OLD: Weeks, Winslow.
> YOUNG: What?
> OLD: What d'ye mean, what?
> YOUNG: Weeks?
> YOUNG is beginning to feel confused, afraid.
> OLD: Weeks, aye. Weeks.

> YOUNG: We slept in. Dead drunk.
> OLD: It's been weeks ago since we missed her, Winslow. And I've been askin' ye to ration fer weeks now, too, and you've kept barking at me like a mad dog, sayin' you can "take the dory out"– (*The Lighthouse*, 53:20-54:04).

This ambiguity is fundamental to the narrative as it sets the tone for horror and mystery on the island created through the uncertainty of time. The significance of time is foreshadowed in one of the first scenes when Wake toasts "to four weeks" (07:27). This uncertainty is integral to Winslow gradually losing his mind, threatening his conceptions of normative time.

While the remoteness and isolation of Pilot Rock dissolve the categorizations of time, the mermaid's abject body dissolves the categorizations of space through the motif of water. The mermaid's relegation to the sea, the way she appears in Winslow's visions, often submerging him beneath the water and her emergence as a monster that has come out of the sea connect her to it, even making her identity ambiguous with the sea. The mermaid, therefore, represents a pull. Winslow is lured out to sea through her song and then sees himself drowning in her waters, immediately after which, the mermaid first makes an appearance, connecting her body to the threat posed by the sea (13:24-13:48). Furthermore, in the context of Dracula's transtemporal body, Stuart (2018) argues that Dracula's seduction reveals deeper anxieties that "the temporal and sexual disruptions embodied by the vampire may pervade the heteronormative public" (p. 225), suggesting that what is more frightening than having a queer monster in one's vicinity is the threat of contamination. The motif of water consistently poses a threat of contamination. The island is surrounded by the sea and is almost lost within it. The stormy weather causes damage to the structure that protects the normative subjects and floods it. The water interferes at every point and is ubiquitous. Wake and Winslow know of this threat and respond to the mermaid's contamination of the water on their own. Water contaminated by Wake and Winslow acts as a regulator to protect the normative subjects from the spatial-temporal dissolution brought upon by the queering of the waters. Wake is always drinking alcohol and persuades Winslow to do the same. Even the water that Winslow first acquires is unclear because of the dirty cistern it comes from (08:48), and Wake is aware of this. At the end of the film, Winslow ultimately gives up on water and starts drinking turpentine, indicating the aggravation and the defensive impulse in Winslow that the mermaid's queer contamination of time and space has caused.

The Abject and the Enlightenment

Winslow's struggle with himself, his own normative body and Wake's regulation has so far pushed him to resist Wake and normative barriers that interfere with his desires; de-

sires that have been brought to focus by the queer agent through the queering of this desire. Winslow, therefore, destroys Wake in order to liberate himself. However, he still continues to operate from his normative body and is not able to truly recognize and reconcile with the reality of the island which pushes him to embrace his corporeality. The mermaid's presence does not enlighten Winslow, instead, all it does is frustrate him and drive him insane because not only does it cause Winslow to struggle against Wake, but it also causes an internal struggle with his own normative body. This is exacerbated through the time-space setting and the transtemporality of the mermaid, which queers time and creates ambiguity and terror, suspending Winslow's notions of time and structure and therefore driving him to his own inevitable destruction.

The abject othered body of the mermaid is there to protect Winslow. Kristeva defines the abject as "what of ourselves we distance from ourselves to create an identity" (qtd. in Cooper, 2018, p. 9). Abjection appears as "a rite of defilement and pollution," as "exclusion," and as "a threatening otherness" but always remains "nameable" and "totalizeable" (Kristeva, 2020, p. 107). Beyond the abject, Kristeva (2020) describes a Lovecraftian sort of horror: "A weight of meaninglessness, about which there is nothing insignificant, and which crushes me. On the edge of nonexistence and hallucinations, of a reality that, if I acknowledge it, annihilates me" (p. 96). In the film, this horror appears as the light at the top of the lighthouse. Throughout the film, Winslow considers this as forbidden fruit and constantly reaches for it. In an attempt to overcome his struggle, Winslow sees the light as a way to achieve a higher purpose and enlightenment – one that will finally separate him from the bestial and ascend his body, finally achieving an ecstasy that will sever him from his mortality. This is portrayed in the climactic moment when Winslow finally discovers the light, and the film lingers on his disconcerting disembodied screeching in its penultimate shot (*The Lighthouse*, 1:43:07-1:44:53).

At the "edge of nonexistence," Kristeva (2020) argues, "abject and abjection are [the] safeguards" (p. 96). Wake knows the truth about what lies in the light but restricts Winslow in order to protect him. While Wake represents normative time and regulation, he also represents queer time by othering himself from it and constantly fighting it, therefore acknowledging and validating its existence. While it appears that the abjection of queer temporality is the true horror because it drives Winslow to madness and there simply is no escape from it, it is, instead, only the rejection of our non-selves. The true *terror* still lies in what is beyond ourselves. By forbidding Winslow from the light, Wake inadvertently draws him closer to it and once he is gone, after having defeated the buffer provided by regulation, Winslow is able to 'achieve this enlightenment,' but it destroys him. Winslow does not, in the end, acknowledge and accept queer temporality and his own queerness, which is the abject. Without the abject, the self erupts. Winslow searches for an escape, and in his Promethean quest, he ends up helplessly sprawled naked on the beach, writhing in pain and getting his entrails eaten out by seabirds (*The Lighthouse*, 1:45:33).

Conclusion and Future Directions

The struggle instigated in Winslow by the queer agent, that is, the mermaid is inevitable. The development of Winslow and Wake's relationship indicates that the struggle driven by queer desirability is not *created* by the monstrous body but is simply brought to light and *revealed* by the monstrous body. The abject body of the mermaid, then, is not creating horror and is not a monster in the sense that she subjects Winslow to pain, but her body is there to remind Winslow of his own corporeality so he may reckon with his deepest anxieties and challenge them. Winslow's inability to identify the queer desire within himself (where queer connotes to his non-normativity) as well as his inability to understand the queer temporality of Pilot Rock as the abject of himself and his inability to accept it and his mortality, leads him on a Promethean quest for enlightenment. While Wake has survived so far through the *rejection* of the abject, Winslow *denies* it. Neither *accepts* this temporality, so they succumb anyway, but at least, Wake is aware of it, which is why the light does not destroy him. Through this denial of his reality, Winslow, in his normative body, attempts a normative escape; but a normative escape is no escape at all.

My reading of *The Lighthouse*, thus, raises questions about the acknowledgement of the abject in terms of corporeality and mortality. In rejecting our monstrous, othered and abject non-selves, we still recognize them, but does the mermaid implore us to do more by challenging the barriers set in place by normative society and our conceptions of reproductive linearity so that we may embrace our queer desires and our queer 'non-normative' bodies? Imagining temporality as unfixed and 'rhythmic' is both an imperative to unhinge ourselves from patriarchal, teleological and oppressive histories and consequently also a way to allow ourselves to conceive of and make room for social change. Further, if transformation is seen as fundamentally inevitable and a constant part of social interaction, then temporality itself may be more suited to be seen as queer, invalidating the existence of a rigid linear temporality. Finally, while the focus of this essay is on corporeality in terms of terror management, the use of the mermaid's body as revelation and the focus of the film on bodily horror can also be connected to both Audre Lorde and Elizabeth Freeman's ideas of the uses of the erotic, where they argue the importance of 'sensation with feeling' and mobilizing somatic experience and the erotic as a way of learning and understanding. Connecting Lorde's arguments of realizing the erotic as a site of empowerment to Butler's push towards deconstructing binary experiences of expression offers us a way to imagine multiple futures through queer temporalities. Further analyses of the film could consider how the mermaid's body not only provides an imperative to transition to non-normativity but also provides avenues and processes to make this transition.

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Our Home on Native Land: An Introspection into *Delgamuukw v. British Columbia* and its Aftermath

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Abstract. This paper critiques the dominant narrative of Canada as a fair and equitable nation and investigates how this narrative negatively affects Indigenous peoples in Canada. This research is important because it addresses the issue of Canada's liberalist definition of reconciliation. This paper demonstrates how the only way to move forward on reconciliation will be for Canada as a culture and a state to let go of this liberalist narrative and redefine reconciliation through continuous consultation with Indigenous peoples across Canada. This is done through a case study of the Indigenous land claim case *Delgamuukw v. Province of British Columbia* and its long term outcomes as demonstrated by movements occurring in Wet'suwet'en Nation territory today. In this paper, a different definition of reconciliation is put forth and is informed by the responses to the liberalist definition of reconciliation and the falsehood of the Canadian narrative communicated by Indigenous peoples — as seen by movements in Wet'suwet'en Nation. Lastly, several baseline suggestions are made to meet this more integrative model of reconciliation by requiring the Canadian government to make an entire systemic overhaul at all levels. In breaking down this discourse through the use of *Delgamuukw v. British Columbia* as a case study, this paper demonstrates how this definition of reconciliation and discourse is, in fact, harmful to Indigenous rights and the obtainment of reconciliation. This paper also presents a theoretical framework for how Canada, as a state, can take steps towards reconciliation.This framework is rooted in holding Canada accountable to their word and actions by integrating Indigenous legal orders with international law.

Introduction

The overwhelmingly dominant narrative about Canadian identity is that all are equal before the law regardless of ethnicity, class, gender, or country of origin. After all, non-discriminatory equality is a right that is protected under the Charter of Rights and Freedoms (s. 15[1]). However, many cases pertaining to Indigenous rights— such as *Delgamuukw v. the Province of British Columbia*— illustrate that this liberalist, multicultural narrative is more an aspiration than a fact. In 1984, several Gitxsan and Wet'suwet'en chiefs— most famously the Gitxsan hereditary Chief Earl Muldoe, who bears the title Delgamuukw— jointly submitted a land claim to the Supreme Court of British Columbia as a way to protect their lands against unwelcomed resource extraction and appropriation. The claim asserted that 133 territories that amounted to 58,000 square kilometers of the interior of British Columbia were under the ownership and jurisdiction of the Gitxsan and Wet'suwet'en Nations (McCreary, 2014; Mills, 2000). This case arose out of repeated failed land claim negotiations between these nations and the province of British Columbia. The negotiations had been occurring because the traditional lands of the Gitxsan and Wet'suwet'en were (and still are) unceded and untreatied. Despite this fact, clear-cut logging took place on their lands without their consent to increase the economic power of Canada. The *Delgamuukw* case ended in 1997 with a monumental decision handed down by the Supreme Court of Canada in which no title was given to the Gitxsan or Wet'suwet'en peoples. Instead, the court ruled that a new trial must be held with more consideration of oral testimony (*Delgamuukw*).

In order to comprehend the importance of this case, one must understand the socio-historical basis in which this case is rooted. Unlike most of Canada, the province of British Columbia's colonial authorities never utilized treaties with Indigenous Peoples in order to establish a legally stable foundation for settlement (McCreary, 2014). Rather, British Columbia restricted Indigenous peoples' space to the confines of reserves, ignoring the question of Aboriginal title for over 200 years. Thus, the Crown acquired its title in what is now the province of British Columbia through its assertion of sovereignty via the sheer volume of settlers brought to British Columbia; therefore, the Crown has no legal jurisdiction or authority over the territory (Culhane, 1998; McCreart, 2014).

Generally, unless Indigenous nations have come to an agreement with the Crown under a treaty or have voluntarily ceded their lands (and therefore, given up all rights associated with those lands), the Crown has the fiduciary duty to protect these lands from settlers who desire to use this land as a homestead or otherwise. These uses include the practice of resource extraction, as established under the *Royal Proclamation of 1763*, which clearly states that all unceded lands and territories are to be protected by the Crown from the infringement of settlers, so long as such lands are deemed to be under the sovereignty of the Crown. In this case, sovereignty is defined as the normative claim to the right to govern a state rather than the actual right to have effective power over the

territory itself.

Reconciliation Through Recognition

Since the 1990s, the Canadian government has been motivated to move forward with "reconciliation." This trajectory began with the development of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal People (RCAP) in 1991 and was finalized in 1996, a year prior to the final judgement in *Delgamuukw*. The RCAP was likely spurred by the Oka Crisis in 1990, in which Mohawk people on the Kanesatake Reserve (in what is now Quebec) were subjected to military force because they were working to protect their lands from the construction of a golf course. However, according to the government, this commission was mandated to investigate and determine solutions to the challenges that fell on the relationship between Indigenous peoples, the Canadian government, and Canadian society as a whole (Supply and Services Canada, 1996). Resulting from this commission, another was mandated by the Canadian government as part of the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement— this commission was entitled the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), which had its final report published in 2015 (Library and Archives Canada, 2015).

Neither of these documents explicitly state what is meant by reconciliation (Filsfeder, 2010). However, it can be surmised from what has been implicitly stated by government officials — both elected and appointed — that the ultimate, aspirational goal of the Canadian government is to accommodate the "prior presence of [Indigenous] peoples with the assertion of Canadian Crown sovereignty" via what has been dubbed recognition politics (*Delgamuukw*). Canada's current Prime Minister, Justin Trudeau, defines reconciliation under his government to be based on "the recognition of rights, respect, co-operation, and partnership," (Government of Canada, 2016). In critical political theory (Culhane, 1998; Coulthard, 2014, 2007; Alfred & Corntassel, 2005; Neizen, 2003; Short, 2005), this is known as a liberalist view of reconciliation in which Indigenous claims are not viewed as requiring a governmental overhaul; rather, the state framework is not restructured because in the eyes of the state, the state is understood to be democratic and legitimate. Instead, all that is provided is greater 'recognition' of Indigenous peoples within the state (Short, 2005). This view of reconciliation is severely problematic as its notions of justice and fairness are comprised of asserting universalized values as a moral foundation for all. Instead, I propose that reconciliation should be individualized to a nation based on negotiations of what each nation may need as a result of the ongoing impacts that colonialism continues to have upon them. The form of reconciliation that the Canadian state perpetuates is rooted in colonial assimilative agendas and thus, must be rethought in order to meet the contemporary political needs and demands of Indigenous nations and sovereignty.

Many political theorists and legal scholars argue that recognition is not enough (Alfred & Corntassel, 2005; Coulthard, 2007; Neizen, 2003; Short, 2005). They argue that recognition is actually a perpetuation of colonialism; it is the recognition rather than the resolution of Indigenous peoples' rights issues that continue to subject Indigenous peoples to oppression. This makes the liberal state itself the ultimate and permanent barrier to change, development, and reconciliation (Short, 2005). Dene scholar Glen Coulthard states that the reproduction of colonial structures of dominance is reliant on forms of recognition that are either imposed or granted to Indigenous peoples by the colonial-state and society (2007). Cherokee scholar, Jeff Corntassel, and Kanien'kehá:ka scholar, Taiaiake Alfred, argue that the category of 'Indigenous' is a constructed identity that is shaped and lived in the politicized context of contemporary colonialism (2005). As such, it is not understood through Indigenous conceptions of their own people and culture but rather through that of the colonial state. Therefore, this imposition further works to subjugate Indigenous peoples by essentializing them to the point of being reductive stereotypes and objects. This turns them into convenient caricatures of their cultures; any recognition is not truly recognitive of anything other than what is held in the eye of the beholder, i.e. the Canadian state and society (Corntassel & Alfred, 2005).

In contrast to this colonial recognition-based sense of "reconciliation," I use "reconciliation" as the implementation and consistent application of Indigenous worldviews and legal order. This means that Indigenous perspectives on Peoplehood, for example, are considered equal to Western worldviews and legal systems within the context of Canadian society. This "nation-to-nation" paradigm allows Indigenous peoples to achieve full sovereignty over themselves, their lands, and their rights (Panagos, 2007; Hausler, 2012). Such reconciliation requires the full sovereignty of Indigenous nations over their land, people, and rights, which ultimately begins and continues with Indigenous peoples across Canada asserting their sovereignty in spite of colonial efforts from the Canadian state (Alfred & Corntassel, 2005; Coulthard, 2007; Coulthard, 2014). If these conditions are met, it is possible that a nation-to-nation relationship between Canada and Indigenous nations can exist. As Alfred and Corntassel have stated, this form of reconciliation does not begin with Canadian society as a whole or the Canadian government. Instead, it begins with the Indigenous individuals reclaiming their identity in terms of Peoplehood (2005).

Peoplehood, according to Alfred and Corntassel, involves the restoration of relationships to kin, community, and the land (2005). However, drawing on Fanon, Coulthard points out that cultural self-affirmation is "an important 'means' but 'not an ultimate end' of anticolonial struggle…" in a liberal, pluralist state context such as Canada (2014). This is because it influences the powers of the Canadian government to engage respectfully with Indigenous peoples in all state matters and to take steps towards reconciliation, while also allowing a reclamation and resurgence of self-identity, cultural identity, and cultural sovereignty. However, this does not end the colonial occupation of lands, peoples, and cultures. Peoplehood must also be achieved through the dismantling of internalized colonialism through this very same process. This demonstration of restoring peoplehood

is shown through the Unist'ot'en Camp movement in Wet'suwet'en territory which, as will be discussed later, uses direct action as a means to spark an anticolonial movement to start working towards the end of a post-colonial state. I posit that the way the Canadian government and its representatives approached Indigenous rights in Delgamuukw illustrates how the government and Canada — as a society and culture — presently nurture colonial attitudes and beliefs about reconciliation. This argument has been stated many times before; yet, in the contemporary context of Canada, it is significant to shed light on how the Canadian state's definition of reconciliation is not only inaccurate according to Indigenous and scholarly perspectives, but is also not being upheld. Moreover, it is important to draw attention to a framework to overhaul the current land claim system, bringing focus to the implementation of Indigenous worldviews and legal orders. This framework can allow space for growth and development towards reconciliation as defined above.

To demonstrate this, I will discuss the many facets of *Delgamuukw* through four sections. I begin by discussing the argument and evidence delivered by the Gitxsan and Wet'suwet'en peoples in *Delgamuukw* and how this argument serves to disrupt colonial sovereignty by framing the relationship of Indigeneity to the Canadian state in a nation-to-nation paradigm (Panagos, 2007; Niezen, 2003; Short, 2005). I seek to illustrate how Indigenous peoples conceptualize and actively implement their unique form of nation-to-nation reconciliation and self-recognition in order to dismantle currently existing colonial systems and paradigms. Following this, I discuss the arguments presented by the Crown and how these arguments act to naturalize colonial ideologies and essentialize Indigenous peoples as a whole, therefore laying the foundation for the judgements made. This discussion will further demonstrate that the Canadian state, culture, and its representatives understand reconciliation in a very narrow scope that limits the potential for growth and development of Crown-Indigenous relations. This narrow definition harbours real and harmful colonial attitudes and perpetuates colonial actions. In the third section, I will analyze the final judgement passed down in the Supreme Court of Canada by Chief Justice Lamer and what this reveals about the status of reconciliation in Canada through its framing of Indigeneity in terms of a citizen-state paradigm, which is ultimately reductionist of Indigenous rights as a whole (Panagos, 2007; Coulthard, 2007; Elliot, 1998; Short, 2005). I aim to illustrate the degree of harm that the state's definition of reconciliation presents to the obtainment of Indigenous rights by favouring colonial agendas and processes. In the final section, I will discuss how the position and approaches in *Delgamuukw* has stymied progress on all types of reconciliation while simultaneously giving space to Indigenous resurgence and survivance strategies based in Indigenous sovereignty. This is exemplified by the Unist'ot'en camp in British Columbia, which will act to place pressure on the Canadian state to work towards actual nation-to-nation relations and take one step closer to reconciliation as defined above (McCreary & Turner, 2019). Despite hundreds of years of ongoing oppression within Canada, Indigenous peoples maintain agency and sovereignty over their lands, which allows for nation-to-nation-based reconciliation. This

model of reconciliation actively challenges colonial powers by demanding a systemic overhaul and refuses state recognition unless it is on their terms. This section comes full-circle by analysing the plaintiffs argument. Indigenous sovereignty exists in Canada, will always exist in this country, and is no longer awaiting state-sanctioned recognition because self-recognition of sovereignty is more than enough.

Methodology

Through a close reading of the *Delgamuukw* case, academic sources, and poli-legal sources, certain patterns of reasoning become apparent and illustrate how the Canadian government maintains ethnocentric and Euro-centric beliefs of cultural superiority. The analysis in this paper is very similar to previous scholars through the primary focus on the Crown and the judgements, while also trying to demonstrate the broader implications of such arguments and outcomes. The analysis is also similar because it attempts to demonstrate the autonomy and agency of the Gitxsan and Wet'suwet'en peoples throughout the case, as well as in current events in Unist'ot'en. Although relevant researchers have heavily influenced this research and the trajectory of this paper, this analysis differs in its direct connection between *Delgamuukw* and current events in the Wet'suwet'en territory with the TransCanada pipeline. Moreover, this analysis goes beyond a surface critique of the evidence and judgements made by the Crown and Chief Justice by connecting this to the broader Canadian culture. Lastly, implications and connections to reconciliation are drawn by assessing critiques of *Delgamuukw* and discussions on the TransCanada GasLink pipeline.

I read the case through several different lenses, all of which expand beyond the surface of the arguments and judgments in order to critique the judicial and governmental systems as a whole. Firstly, I read the case as an anthropology student; by taking this case as an opportunity to learn, I was able to look at the information presented to me as a sample of larger trends that have occurred in a series of instances and not as an isolated event. Anthropology teaches us that nothing in culture is isolated— it is all interconnected. What happened over a hundred years ago can continue to have impacts on the culture and the people living today. By digging deeper into the cultural values that are highlighted in the research and the case itself, it becomes evident how these cultural values (which are often thought by many in Canada to be only existent in the Indian residential schools era) are still nurtured by the Canadian state and by Canadian people.

Furthermore, I read the case as a Canadian citizen who, as any Canadian citizen does, holds the right to critique a flawed system. By reading it as a Canadian citizen, especially one of Euro-settler descent, this comes with certain biases. In being conscious of these biases, I aimed to have a more critical lens that simultaneously allowed me to

show the love I have for this country, while also conveying the many disappointments I have with the handling of the case. I have focused on how the government, academics, and First Nations differ on their definitions and views of reconciliation. With the use of this case, I ask what can be learned about the government and Canada's stance on reconciliation as a whole, demonstrated by the arguments and judgements made. I show how this stance is maintained and enacted through attitudes and actions that run contrary to and effectively halt reconciliation, as to be defined in this paper.

The reasoning for choosing the *Delgamuukw* case is threefold. First and foremost, this case has direct consequences within contemporary issues that are ongoing on the lands of Wet'suwet'en peoples, who are one of the plaintiffs in this case. Moreover, the case itself, as well as its contemporary consequences, demonstrate the two conceptualizations of reconciliation that exist within Canada and the ongoing tensions between them. Lastly, this case lays out the most contemporary test for Aboriginal Title that exists within the legal history of Canada, as well as the currently existing test for its infringement.

The Case of the Gitxsan and the Wet'suwet'en

Land claims in Canada are embedded within a complex colonial history from not only within its border but from other colonial nations that came before it. The complexities of a vast colonial history are integral to Canada as a state, and have shaped the mindset and direction of Canadian culture. This results in the assumptions that underlie such cases to be rooted in deep-seated colonial presumptions about the evolution of cultures, what it means to be civil and "savage" (read: "Indigenous"), and what it means to be considered human. The *Delgamuukw* case and its content are guided by several foundational questions, all of which have been asked during any case to do with Aboriginal title/rights since the eighteenth-century to the present. According to Culhane (1998), these questions are: did the Indigenous peoples in question own and manage their lands and resources before Europeans arrived? If so, have those property rights been extinguished by law at some point in history, or have they continued into the present? If unextinguished Aboriginal rights continue to exist into the present, what are they? Lastly, if unextinguished Aboriginal rights continue to exist, how can they lawfully be extinguished and/or justifiably contravened? The reasons behind why these questions are asked involves the history of Crown sovereignty, and how it fits into the claim put forth by the Indigenous Nations.

The Crown obtained sovereignty through the sheer number of settlers that were imposed upon Indigenous lands in Canada. The Crown justified this through the doctrine of *Terra Nullius*, which states that if land is not being used "appropriately," according to European standards, then it is "nobody's land." Therefore, the land can become the possession of the state through mere occupation (Lindqvist, 2007). Therefore, in or-

der to disprove Crown sovereignty — or rather, to prove ownership —the Gitxsan and Wet'suwet'en Nations must demonstrate their "civility" according to European cultural and societal expectations and standards. The aforementioned questions are shaped by years of colonialism and rely on the nature of how one defines Indigeneity in relation to the Canadian state. These questions are informed by ethnocentric and Euro-centric ideals about other peoples in the world— namely those who are Indigenous to the lands being colonized— in order to justify the colonial intent and actions of the state. Moreover, these questions reflect the current nature of colonialism in Canada and how the colonial history and colonial present are inextricably inseparable.

Against this colonial foundation, Gitxsan hereditary chief Earl Muldoe Delgamuukw states:

> "The challenge for this court is to hear this evidence, in all its complexity, in all its elaboration, as the articulation of a way of looking at the world which pre-dates the Canadian Constitution by many thousands of years…" (Earl Muldoe's opening statement as seen in Culhane, 1998).

From this quote, it is made clear that although the goal of the trial is the obtainment of sovereignty and jurisdiction over the land, Delgamuukw understands that it is the worldview and cultural systems of the Gitxsan and Wet'suwet'en people that are on trial. Moreover, the response of the Crown to these evidentiary facts is demonstrative of how Canada views Indigenous worldviews, culture systems, and peoples— the oral histories given as evidence by the plaintiffs are representative of such aspects. In this section, I will discuss how the question of whether or not Indigenous peoples owned their lands and resources before Europeans arrived shapes this case and is fundamentally problematic in its suppositions. Alongside this discussion, I will discuss the evidentiary factums composed in the case of the Gitxsan and the Wet'suwet'en.

The primary evidence provided by the Gitxsan and the Wet'suwet'en peoples to support their claim to having and continuing to live in an organized society which has borders, laws, concepts of ownership and jurisdiction was based on the oral traditions of their respective cultures. The names of these oral traditions for the Gitxsan and the Wet'suwet'en peoples are, respectively, *adaawk* and *kungax* (Culhane, 1998; McCreary, 2016). These oral histories were presented by chiefs and Elders since the rights to perform specific *adaawk* and *kungax* are inherited and upheld by such individuals and House groups once they take possession of a given territory that these *adaawk* and *kungax* discuss (Culhane, 1998). As such, these oral traditions are an integral part of their governance system that primarily takes place via a feasting complex in which these oral histories are validated or rebutted by the people as a whole (Culhane, 1998; McCreary, 2016; Mills, 1994; Daly, 2003). Therefore, these traditions serve as a sort of peer-reviewed documentation of a house's and a people's history and rights within the larger complex of the nation.

To illustrate, when a Chief and his House would hold a feast to mark an event of some importance, such as the transfer of ownership over a piece of property, the guests at the feast act as witnesses to the transaction or event. In the role of being witnesses, the guests would watch and listen to the performance of the *adaawk* or *kungax* at the feast. If persuaded that the law has been followed, the witnesses validate the event by accepting the offerings of food and gifts presented by the host Chief/House. However, if they are in disagreement with the performance, they make their objections known through delivering a speech to explain their position and further, they do not accept the offerings of food or anything else from the host that could be construed as validating the event or transaction (Mills, 1994, p. 35-38; Daly, 2003, p. 170-173). As such, the oral histories not only provide evidence in the form of historical records about how the Houses' and Clans' occupation, ownership, and jurisdiction over the land was enacted but through the presentation, the Gitxsan and Wet'suwet'en demonstrated before the courts how they governed, and continue to govern, their peoples.

With this being the primary evidence in support of their claim, they had one major obstacle to overcome, which was that the Crown claimed that oral histories should be inadmissible before the court under the "Hearsay Rule" (Culhane, 1998; *Delgamuukw*). Oral histories are traditionally defined as something that an individual heard from a secondary source, such as an individual privy to the original conversation. According to the Crown, oral histories are deemed as hearsay, which is understood as being reliant on the word and experiences of the deceased, who are not available for cross-examination in this case (Culhane, 1998). After the plaintiffs explained to Chief Justice McEachern of the British Columbia Supreme Court that oral traditions are not to be taken in a literal, simplistic understanding but are instead to be understood as the demonstration of a worldview and cultural system, the Chief Justice allowed for *adaawk* and *kungax* to be submitted as evidence on the condition that they are told and retold consistently, thus lending them a certain "enhanced trustworthiness" (Culhane, 1998). The Chief Justice stated that he would accordingly weigh the importance of the oral evidence at the end of the trial, which meant that the plaintiffs had no indication of how he viewed oral history evidence until his Reasons for Judgements (Culhane, 1998).

To overcome this first hurdle, a number of chiefs, Elders, and Gitxsan and Wet'suwet'en peoples, along with an additional thirty-eight expert witnesses testified in the trial (Culhane, 1998). As previously mentioned, these were the chiefs and the Elders who performed the *adaawk* and *kungax*. This is because it is the responsibility of the chiefs and Elders to learn and transmit these oral traditions and therefore, have earned a level of respect, credibility and admiration in their communities (Culhane, 1998). These oral traditions include things such as laws, legends, cosmology, and histories of the Houses and clans (Mills, 1994).

With the delivery of the claim and the evidence before the court, the Gitxsan and Wet'suwet'en specifically stated that each of their respective nations are self-defining and

self-governing and, as such, their Aboriginal Title is demarcated by the feast complex, within which the *adaawk* and *kungax* take place, detailing a number of compositional elements of their collective, national identities such as language, laws, landholding systems, spirituality, and territorial boundaries (Panagos, 2007). The Gitxsan and Wet'suwet'en asked the courts to attentively listen to and understand them on their own terms, which created a context for non-Indigenous people to learn about and develop an understanding of Indigenous cultures on their terms instead of in relation to or in comparison with that of Euro-Canadian cultures.

This created a distinct space in Canadian law for Indigenous peoples to challenge colonial ideals about what is considered "evidence" or "valid" while dismissing the "common sense" narrative, which rejects and puts up resistance to what is not already known to it. In this way, forcing the court to understand them on their terms worked as an enactment to challenge "common sense" on the national stage. Furthermore, by pursuing a space within Canadian law, the Gitxsan and Wet'suwet'en demonstrated their recognition that Canada too is a self-governing and self-defining nation that is on equal footing with them and therefore, holds the same moral status. This approach highlights how using this perspective as a foundation for relationships in the context of reconciliation would be beneficial as it is based on true equality and respect between and within nations. The Gitxsan and Wet'suwet'en argued that they are the rightful owners, in the Western sense of the word, of their territories and that the Canadian government has no right to their lands in any capacity.

In addition to oral traditions, the Gitxsan and Wet'suwet'en employed expert witnesses to bolster their evidence. These expert witnesses were primarily anthropologists, geographers, ethnohistorians, and archaeologists. It is important to note that prior to *Delgamuukw*, expert witness testimony by Elders and Chiefs in their own languages as expert witnesses had been so minimal that it was practically unheard of as it was more common to employ anthropologists who had interviewed Elders and Chiefs as witnesses and would thus translate and analyze the oral histories for the court (Culhane, 1998; McCreary, 2016). In employing these scientists as a secondary form of evidence, the *Delgamuukw* plaintiffs assured the courts that their oral histories were accurate and stood up to scientific scrutiny. The primary scholarly expert witnesses on behalf of the plaintiffs were Dr. Richard Daly and Dr. Antonia Mills (Culhane, 1998). Both Daly and Mills are anthropologists who have done extensive work with Daly studying the Gitxsan and Wet'suwet'en Nations, and Mills studying the Wet'suwet'en economy, cosmologies, and kinship (Daly, 2003; Mills 1994). These experts took the stand to testify and submitted expert opinion reports based on rigorous ethnographic research to the court in order to bolster the evidence of ownership and jurisdiction.

In looking at the case from the perspective of the plaintiff, it becomes clear that multiple definitions exist as to what reconciliation should look like and how to get there. In this case, the plaintiffs maintain— through the method and type of evidence presented—

that reconciliation is the treatment of Indigenous nations as sovereign peoples who have valid and equal legal orders to that belonging to the colonial state (Culhane, 1998; Mills, 2000). Thus, the only way to truly obtain reconciliation is by treating such peoples and their legal orders, and other cultural systems, as being on the same level as those belonging to the Canadian peoples rather than below. Through this employment of a nation-to-nation paradigm, the plaintiffs actively demonstrate how they define reconciliation and its employment while simultaneously developing a space for it to take place,which also allows space for Canada to either uphold the definition of reconciliation set forth by Indigenous peoples or to maintain their narrow, liberalist definition that acts to oppress, subdue, and harm the prospect of reconciliation and the rights of Indigenous peoples.

The Case of the Crown

With the Gitxsan and Wet'suwet'en acting as the plaintiffs (i.e, having the onus of proof on their shoulders), the Crown—who was acting on behalf of Her Majesty the Queen in Right of the Province of British Columbia and the Attorney General of Canada—was responsible for acting as the defendant. In acting as the defendant, the Crown has the responsibility for rebutting and contesting the evidence given by the plaintiffs (Culhane, 1998). In this section, I will discuss the case presented by the Crown, including their case's foundation, their evidentiary factums and witnesses, as well as their cross-examination of the plaintiffs and their witnesses. I will also discuss the implications that underlie the Crown's case, how their case acts to naturalize colonial narratives while simultaneously essentializing Indigenous cultures, and how the Crown demonstrates how surface level the Canadian definition of reconciliation is by naturalizing the colonial narratives and essentializing Indigenous cultures.

The Crown's goal in this case was made clear when they asked the court for a declaration that the Gitxsan and Wet'suwet'en nations, the plaintiffs, have no right, title or interest in and to the claim area and its resources (Culhane, 1998). Representing the province of B.C., the Crown continued by stating that if they had any rights, as found by the court, and if there were any damages to be paid, it was the responsibility of the federal government, not the provincial government, to pay these damages. The Crown, in representation of the federal government, stated that some of the costs should be paid by the province. Despite these differences, the overall foundation of the Crown's case is composed of the following argument.

The first point of argument was based on the level of organization that the societies of the Gitxsan and Wet'suwet'en held. The Crown argued that these Indigenous nations were minimally organized prior to the arrival of Europeans and as such, they held no concept of property law or government that could be viewed as equal to or deserving

of respect by Canadian colonial law (Culhane, 1998; *Delgamuukw*). This argument is clearly in line with the test developed in 1919 by the Privy Council in the case of *Re: Southern Rhodesia* in which the Crown claimed that since these Indigenous peoples were so minimally organized in comparison to European settlers, they did not deserve rights to their lands and resources. This view of peoples being too low on an abstractly conceptualized and racially biased scale of organization is based on the Eurocentric belief that Europeans are the pinnacle of civilization to the point of alienating and disrespecting all other humans. Once used to justify conquest, it is still being upheld as a narrative in courts to justify the mistreatment of Indigenous ancestors, as well as contemporary Indigenous peoples. The underlying evolutionary ideology that is seen in this argument has historically been a cornerstone in other Indigenous rights and land claims cases such as the *St. Catherines Milling and Lumber Co v R* (1888), *Chippewas of Sarnia v Canada* (2000), and *R v Marshall* (1999).

In case this nakedly colonial argument was rejected, the Crown had a backup plan. The Crown argued that the only lands that should be recognized by the courts to hold an Aboriginal title were those that had village sites on them, as these were the only tracts of land that could have been used and occupied to any real extent (Culhane, 1998). This argument continues on a path of presenting the colonial narrative as the only objective fact. This acts to support a Western notion of property and evidence by stating that the hunting grounds and access routes that rest outside the village sites were used only in sporadic incidence and by anyone who found themselves wandering in that region (*Delgamuukw*). Meaning that, according to the Crown, that these areas do not exclusively belong to the Gitxsan and Wet'suwet'en as no management, ownership, consistent occupation or use was ever exercised over these tracts of land (*Delgamuukw*). Despite evidence given by the Gitxsan and Wet'suwet'en that points to the contrary, the Crown argued that no one ever travelled far from the village sites and therefore, no ancestors ever occupied these lands, which conveniently continue to be under lease to a multinational forestry company who were harvesting 3 million cubic metres of timber during the time of the trial (McCreary, 2016; Mills, 2000).

This particular aspect of the Crown's case demonstrates how intertwined private corporations and Canadian sovereignty are (McCreary & Turner, 2019). The Crown is not only acting to protect the political interest of maintaining sovereignty in this region, but also the economic interest as it is this resource extraction that continues to feed into and bolster the power of the Canadian government. That land is extrinsically valuable to the Canadian government only because it is gaining money from investors, such as forestry companies. If there was no money to be made off the land, the Crown would likely have little to no interest in maintaining their sovereignty there to the extent that they are in this case. This suggests that the Crown denigrated an entire peoples and stated that they have no rights to this land in order to lay claim for the sake of profit. However, this land is intrinsically valuable to the Gitxsan and Wet'suwet'en peoples because it is where their ancestors, their culture, and their people belong. It is their land regardless of

how "occupied" it may seem to outsiders.

The third point of the Crown's argument was that any semblance of law and governance that the Gitxsan and Wet'suwet'en had only existed due to the commencement of the fur trade (Culhane, 1998; Asch, 1999). In other words, the Crown suggested that the systems that the Gitxsan and Wet'suwet'en peoples have, regardless of how primal they may seem to the colonial eye, arose out of interactions with Europeans. As with much of their arguments, the Crown bases this on colonial historical record in which Captain James Cook meets with Ahousat Chief Maquinna in 1774. This meeting is the first recorded meeting between Europeans and First Nations people in what is now known as British Columbia and states that the Indigenous peoples of the region held no laws or semblance of civility, as defined by a European colonial.

The Crown also used records from 1822 written by a Hudson's Bay Company trader named William Brown, in which he described the social organization of the Gitxsan and Wet'suwet'en peoples (Culhane, 1998). He describes it as a House and Clan social structure. The Crown states that according to these writings ranging across 48 years, the First Nations peoples of this region had become sufficiently acculturated that they were no longer a "truly aboriginal society" (Culhane, 1998; *Delgamuukw*). This is important as the time frame for legitimate extinguishment of Indigenous rights in British Columbia ended in 1871. According to the Crown's argument, Indigenous peoples were sufficiently acculturated to the point where they no longer held the rights privy to "truly aboriginal societ[ies]" since acculturation was sufficient evidence for implicit extinguishment (*Delgamuukw*).

In essence, the Crown states that even if a form of Aboriginal Title or rights were held by the Gitxsan and Wet'suwet'en peoples, these have been extinguished through the simple assertion of British sovereignty and the assumed acceptance of Indigenous peoples to the imposition of colonial law, as demonstrated by the fact that the Gitxsan and Wet'suwet'en peoples filed a claim to the courts (Culhane, 1998). In doing so, the Crown also makes the supposition that the *Royal Proclamation of 1763* is not applicable to British Columbia since through the assertion of British sovereignty, via the use of colonial laws, a clear intention was made to extinguish the rights of Indigenous peoples (Culhane, 1998; Foster, 1992). The supposition of inapplicability and acceptance by the Crown is problematic as it views the Gitxsan and Wet'suwet'en claim as an acceptance and abidance to colonial rule when it is quite the opposite. As stated in the previous section, the Gitxsan and Wet'suwet'en did not go to court because they conceded to being ruled; rather, they stated in their claim that it is because they are each self-defining and self-governing nations. Moreover, through the demonstration of their case, the Gitxsan and Wet'suwet'en illustrated to the courts their articulation of what it means to be Indigenous within a colonial state and what they hope for it to become: a nation-to-nation relationship rather than colonial subordination.

In continuing the colonial narrative that essentializes Indigenous peoples as primeval, nomadic, unorganized groupings, the Crown states that from the point of 1822 onwards, the Gitxsan and Wet'suwet'en no longer resembled their ancestors and therefore, hold no rights to the land since they were now "civilized" by settlers. Culhane posits that this argument presented by the Crown, in conjunction with those above, is highly problematic due to its reductive and ethnocentric nature as it only considers the points of view of settler-colonial traders and agents and further suggests that the lived experiences of people have no legitimate place in the framework of Canadian law (1998). This demonstrates the narrow lens through which the Canada nation views history, as the Crown, who is a representative of the elected government and the Canadian people, seldom takes into consideration the probability that some colonial figures were wrong and biased. Furthermore, it acts to illustrate how the government denigrates those whom they view as their subordinates and ultimately as their enemies, since it is the Indigenous peoples who threaten the colonial sovereignty that the Canadian government so desperately grasps onto to maintain their facade of liberalism.

The argument of the Crown is ultimately paradoxical in nature as it creates a hypocritical juxtaposition of Canadian values, most evidently in the comparison of the plaintiffs' case and the Crown's case. Ultimately, the evidence put forth by the Crown argues that the plaintiffs were so "low on the scale of social organization" (read: "primitive," different, and inferior) in comparison to European societies (read: "civilized" societies) that they are not to be recognized by the law. As Culhane (1998) and Mills (1994, 2000) points out, this is in spite of evidence given in support of the Gitxsan and Wet'suwet'en, which demonstrates that the plaintiffs meet all conditions set by the questions before the court to understand the regulatory laws and concepts of private property. Culhane (1998) points out that this causes a conflict between Canada, as a culture, maintaining that it is a multicultural nation based on ideologies of acceptance, tolerance, and equality and that these very values are paramount to the governance of the nation. However, in direct contradiction to these values, the Crown argues that the Gitxsan and Wet'suwet'en are not, and never were, in fact, equal to Euro-Canadians and therefore do not deserve the rights that their claim makes.

Moreover, the argument posed by the Crown is in direct contradiction to the way that the government frames reconciliation as it denies recognition of the validity of and respect to the plaintiffs' respective cultures and their worldview while simultaneously denying them any rights that would be associated with such recognition. The government purports that reconciliation is to accommodate the "prior occupation of North America by distinctive aboriginal societies with the assertion of Crown sovereignty" but through the demonstration of the Crown's argument, it becomes evident that what is truly meant by this statement is that Crown sovereignty comes first, and the rights and "accommodation" of Indigenous peoples comes second (*Delgamuukw*). As for the definition that has been put forth in this paper in which reconciliation is a nation-to-nation relationship between Indigenous nations and with Canada, this argument acts to disrupt any such rela-

tionship since it refuses to recognize Indigenous nations on an equal footing with Canada by claiming that any semblance of governance that the Gitxsan and Wet'suwet'en have is due to contact with European settlers and not because they were "civil" enough to have such systems prior to contact.

Ultimately, only if we accept the argument put forth by the Crown in which Europeans and Indigenous peoples are naturally different and unequal human beings will the Crown's argument make sense when presented within a system that supposedly maintains a liberalist ideology. The categorization of humans based on race by the Crown reveals them, as well as Canada as a culture, people, and democracy, as fundamentally racist. Through stating that all humans are equal while simultaneously constructing them as being unequal, the Crown and government acts to racialize, categorize, and denigrate Indigenous peoples under the presumption of ethno- and Eurocentrism. Therefore, the Crown presents a deep-rooted belief that some people are just more deserving of equality than others. Thus, the Crown's argument demonstrates not only how colonial, Eurocentric, and racist ideologies are maintained by the Canadian government, along with how these ideologies interact with law and the economy, but also how they are reproduced in a society and the harmful consequences.

Supreme Court of Canada Judgements

On December 11, 1997, the final judgement for the *Delagmuukw* case was passed down from the bench of the Supreme Court of Canada. The ultimate decision was that an entirely new trial needed to be heard since McEachern, the Provincial Supreme Court Justice, erred in his judgement that Indigenous rights and title had been extinguished in the province of British Columbia prior to 1871 – which is in alignment with the argument presented by the Crown. In more detail, the judgements made regarding the presence of Aboriginal Title and the validity of oral histories by McEachern does not hold true to standards put forth in *Van der Peet* – another Indigenous rights trial which set forth the determinants for what are Indigenous rights (*Delgamuukw*).

Moreover, the content of and test for Aboriginal title had been determined, and the Gitxsan and Wet'suwet'en adjusted their claims accordingly (*Delgamuukw*). In this section, I will be analyzing the three most important questions answered in the ruling. What is the content of Aboriginal Title? How does one test for Aboriginal title? Lastly, what justifies its infringement? Following this analysis, I will illustrate what this judgement reveals about reconciliation in Canada by contemplating how it frames Indigeneity and Indigenous rights.

Content of Aboriginal Title

In this monumental ruling, the Supreme Court of Canada outlined the content of Aboriginal title, as well as a test to determine its presence. Justice Lamer defined Aboriginal title as "a right to the land itself" (*Delgamuukw*). Similarly, Aboriginal title was found to be more than a sum of other Aboriginal rights as Lamer stated that Aboriginal title is a collective interest in the land that arises from both prior occupation and prior existence of Indigenous law and governance systems, which allows for exclusive use and occupation of the land for a variety of purposes (*Delgamuukw*). In essence, the characteristics of Aboriginal title are as follows: it is a collective right, exclusive, inalienable, and contains an inherent limit. I will define and address the issues of each of these individually.

In the ruling that Aboriginal Title is a collective right, Chief Justice Lamer states that "Aboriginal title cannot be held by individual aboriginal persons; it is a collective right to land held by all members of an aboriginal nation" (*Delgamuukw*). This collective nature of title is due to the fact that an Aboriginal Nation has a public character since the Nation represents its community of people and as such, the people as a whole have a say over the land (Elliot, 1998). However, one major difference is that the Province's title originates in the Crown, whereas Aboriginal Title is an allodial form of title (land ownership through occupancy and defense of the land) since it is based in common law as an inter-societal link. Ultimately, the collective right makes sense since it vests the right to the land in question in all members of the Nation making such claims.

In Lamer's definition of Aboriginal Title, he states "aboriginal title encompasses the right to exclusive use and occupation of the land held pursuant to that title for a variety of purposes…" (*Delgamuukw*). This definition is integral for two reasons: 1) those who hold Aboriginal Title potentially have a powerful and constitutionally protected means of protecting their lands from outside interference, including from the Crown and corporations, however, this has stringent limits, as will be seen in the test for infringement; 2) exclusivity raises important questions in regard to overlapping Aboriginal title claims. Territorial boundaries often overlap and often include the interpretations of evidence from different Indigenous Nations. This acts to pit Indigenous Nations in competition with one another over territories that they share solely because of the restraints of a colonial system (Elliot, 1998).

The feature of inalienability means that the lands subject to title "cannot be transferred, sold, or surrendered to anyone other than the Crown" (*Delgamuukw*). In the broadest sense, this means that any and all transfers or sales of Aboriginal lands are outlawed. However, in a more realistic sense, this only outlaws sales to those who are not members of the Aboriginal nation (Elliot, 1998). In essence, a nation that holds title cannot alienate the land to another entity outside this title in such a way as to permanently sever the lands from their territory – at least not without having to surrender their title to the Crown in

the first place (*Delgamuukw*; Elliot, 1998). Although this implies that the Crown should need the consent of the respective Indigenous Nation(s) to perform acts such as resource extraction, this is not the case (McCreary, 2016; McCreary & Turner, 2019).

Based on the concern of maintaining the lands for future generations, an Indigenous Nation's ability to use and manage the land pursuant to title is restricted by an inherent limit. Lamer states that an inherent limit means "lands so held [by title] cannot be used in a manner that is irreconcilable with the nature of the claimants' attachment to those lands" (*Delgamuukw*). However, Lamer emphasizes that this inherent limit in no way restricts the land to traditional uses as this would impose a "legal straightjacket" (*Delgamuukw*). For example, some of these additional uses of the lands could include the exploitation of any minerals on the lands, including gas and oil reserves (*Delgamuukw*). The inherent limit, as defined by the Supreme Court, is the land attachment qualification in which the land must be maintained in such a way as to be able to be used by future generations (*Delgamuukw*; Elliot, 1998).

One of the examples that Lamer uses to explain what breaking an inherent limit is "if occupation is established with reference to the use of the land as a hunting ground, the group that successfully claims aboriginal title to that land may not use it in such a fashion as to destroy its value for such a use (e.g., by strip mining it)" (*Delgamuukw*). In this explanation, Lamer gives two possible accounts of what is meant by "inherent limit." With the first approach, Lamer qualifies the inherent limit historically through the imposition of a safeguard for the original relationship that an Indigenous nation held, and hold, with their territories (Elliot, 1998). In the second approach, Lamer essentializes Indigenous nations to the position of stewards of the land by barring any activities that effectively destroy the land or any bond the Indigenous people may have for future generations (Elliot, 1998). In critiquing Lamer, Elliot (1998) states that the inherent limit is problematic as it acts to impose the exact legal straightjacket Lamer attempts to avoid as it qualifies the only suitable uses of the land as those that are "frozen" in time while limiting Aboriginal title holders from making decisions that would ultimately benefit them both in the present and in the future. Ultimately, the largest issue with this characterization of Aboriginal Title is the uncertainty that it breeds, which may force Indigenous nations to surrender their lands to the Crown to transfer their titles to European-style titles in order to avoid such uncertainties.

Test for Aboriginal Title

According to Lamer, in order to prove Aboriginal title, the land must have been occupied prior to Canada's assertion of sovereignty; the occupation must have been exclusive at sovereignty; and if present occupation is relied on as proof of pre-sovereignty occupation,

there must be continuity between present and pre-sovereignty occupation (*Delgamuukw*). Lamer chose the time of Crown sovereignty for several reasons. First, Aboriginal title arises out of prior occupation of the land. Second, Aboriginal title does not raise the problem of distinguishing between distinctive, integral Aboriginal practices, customs and traditions, and those influenced or introduced by contact. Third, the time of sovereignty is a lot clearer than that of first contact (*Delgamuukw*). All of these reasons are fair and understandable and ultimately benefit the Indigenous peoples in litigation as it allows for more integration of the Indigenous perspective and Indigenous histories (Hausler, 2005).

As for making his second point about exclusive occupation at time of sovereignty, Lamer states that this flows from the principle of exclusivity in the content of Aboriginal title. However, as previously stated, this is problematic since boundaries of territories often overlap (Mills, 1994). To mitigate against this fact, Lamer notes that the context of Indigenous societies at the time of Crown sovereignty must be taken into account (*Delgamuukw*). Although he does not clarify how this would be done, it can be surmised that this would be through the proper integration and weighing of oral histories and the like. Throughout his clarification of his third and final criteria, Lamer does not define what would qualify as evidence for linking present and prior occupation. Understandably, this could change on a case-by-case basis. Moreover, when present occupation is relied upon as evidence, Lamer notes that although continuity is required, an "unbroken chain" is not (*Delgamuukw*). He also notes the strong possibility that the nature of present and historical occupation could have changed but this does not preclude a claim for title since the relationship to the land is maintained (*Delgamuukw*).

Justification for Infringement

The test of justification, previously established in *R v Sparrow* (1990), is a test meant to determine whether or not the infringement of Aboriginal title is justified and has two parts to it. The first part is that the infringement of Aboriginal title must be in furtherance of a legislative objective that is "compelling and substantial" (*Delgamuukw*). The second part is an assessment on whether the infringement is consistent with the fiduciary duty of the Crown to Indigenous peoples (*Delgamuukw*, para. 161). The first part is ambiguous in what is meant by "compelling and substantial"; however, Lamer states that the range of definition is broad and that "most of these objectives can be traced to the reconciliation of the prior occupation of North America by aboriginal peoples with the assertion of Crown sovereignty" (*Delgamuukw*; emphasis in original). Reconciliation used in this sense is in line with liberal recognition politics by maintaining democratic state legitimacy. The Crown's fiduciary duty when in pursuit of a "compelling and substantial" legislative objective is that of essentially giving those Indigenous peoples occupying the land a heads up to the exploitation and dispossession of the land in question (*Delgamuukw*). Similarly,

in Lamer's opinion, some of the legislative objectives that justify infringement include: "development of agriculture, forestry, mining, and hydroelectric power, the general economic development of the interior of British Columbia, protection of the environment or endangered species, the building of infrastructure and the settlement of foreign population to support those aims" (*Delgamuukw*).

Both the purpose and legal process of infringement must be accounted for. The second aspect of the test accounts for this to some extent in which the fiduciary duty of the Crown is primarily to consult with Indigenous peoples with title, without any requirement of consent on their behalf, and to consider the ordering of priorities of any infringement and Aboriginal Title in a fair and just way, though no actual criteria had been set out (Elliot, 1998; Niezen, 2003). The fact that consent is not required by the Indigenous peoples, whether they have title or not, effectively voids the original exclusivity and inherent limit content set out by the Court as it acts to allow the Crown to have discretion over just how exclusive and limiting these criteria are for their own gain. This demonstrates how the limits in place for Aboriginal Title are only there to limit the rights of Indigenous peoples and allow for the Crown to have control over the use of the lands for the Canadian government, which voids any Title held if the lands' inherent limit is breached in the process. Similarly, and most interesting, the ordering of priorities is done at the discretion of the Crown and means that it is more likely for the Crown to place its expansion based colonial agenda above all else (Elliot, 1998).

Overall, the Indigenous peoples get told how their lands are to be used and exploited rather than having a voice in whether or not the lands will be exploited or in what way. In essence, they only get recognized when they stand in the way of the exploitation of resources and lands, but this recognition is by no means protection. The Court acts to recreate Crown sovereignty as an unquestionable entity with a legal license to pursue its own interests as set out in the colonial agenda. Due to this, the courts of Canada, at all levels, are working together to continue the colonial oppression, dispossession, and exploitation of Indigenous peoples while remaining under the guise of a liberalist nation through the use of recognition politics.

Throughout Chief Justice Lamer's Reasons for Judgements, he frames Indigeneity in a citizen-state paradigm characterized by a concern for both Indigenous diversity and pan-Canadian unity, which envelops two types of interactions: interactions between the individual and their bounded communities; and interactions between individuals and the broader political community (Panagos, 2007). This paradigm ultimately suggests that an Indigenous individual has overlapping attachments and loyalties, including to the Crown. Lamer creates this paradigm in his Reasons for Judgements by recognizing that there are multiple Indigenous Nations and societies, which exist within the state, and this identity gives rise to a specific set of rights, which includes Aboriginal Title, that act to maintain and protect Indigenous individuals and their communities. However, Lamer also emphasizes that these rights take place within a broader political community in which the Crown

"is king," so to speak.

This articulation of Indigeneity maintains an underlying supposition that colonial powers such as the Crown and the Canadian nation are more important than Indigenous societies since the broader political community takes priority, as exemplified by the justification for infringement. The framing presented masks the colonial project of assimilation that desperately relies on Canada's ability to appear as an equitable and multiculturally tolerant nation when, in reality, its goal is homogeneity through oppression of difference. In this paradigm, the reasoning for the broader national identity, rather than the bounded community identity, taking precedence is found in the idea that Indigeneity is only a single facet of a person's larger identity (Panagos, 2007). This ultimately affects reconciliation at the level of the state since it places the broader Canadian identity at a paramount and Indigenous identities in a secondary, subjugated position. In essence, this position recognizes that Indigenous identity exists and that it is important, but it is not considered *as* important as the Canadian identity, therefore framing reconciliation within the realm of recognition politics, which rests on placing Indigenous peoples in an asymmetrical and non-reciprocal relationship founded on a state-imposed identity (Coulthard, 2007).

Reconciliation

Throughout this paper, I have raised attention to the implications of arguments and decisions made in the *Delgamuukw* case and how the consequences demonstrate Canada's narrow definition of reconciliation and their inability to uphold this very same definition. Thus far, I have demonstrated that the two existing conceptualizations of reconciliation are aiming for two different objectives and, as such, are in constant tension with one another. This tension exhibits itself in the land claim process and Indigenous resurgence movements by demonstrating the two different conceptualizations existing within the same geo-political space, metaphorically and literally. More than this, however, I have also demonstrated how the Canadian state's definition is not only harmful to Indigenous rights, but also is not being upheld by the state or the culture itself. In this section, I will discuss how the Canadian government failed to uphold their definition of "reconciliation." I will continue the discussion by demonstrating the real-world consequences of the *Delgamuukw* case by looking at recent events on Wet'suwet'en territory and, in doing so, use this case as a prime demonstration regarding the current state of reconciliation in Canada as a consequence of prior litigation. Following this, I will suggest baseline initiatives that can be taken on by all levels of government in order to bring about reconciliation as previously defined in this paper.

As can be surmised from statements made by politicians, judges, and other state officials, reconciliation is conceived of in a liberal social solidarity framework in which

Indigenous peoples' aspirations are framed in a discourse of multiculturalism and recognition politics, therefore placing Indigenous issues within the category of 'minority' issues which simply require more recognition (Coulthard, 2007). This framework emphasizes the categorization of people as minority or majority and relates these categories to the manner in which issues affecting them are dealt with, either through simple recognition of the issues or through drastic structural redress (Coulthard, 2007; Short, 2005). This framework is inherently flawed and paradoxical since it claims that all are equal, but some (read: settler colonials) are more equal than others. This very paradox came up in the Crown's argument when the Crown subverted the nation's values of acceptance, tolerance, and equality by arguing that Gitxsan and Wet'suwet'en peoples, and presumably all Indigenous peoples, are, in fact, not equal— with respect to their cultural, social, and basic human rights— to Euro-Canadians. This is evidenced by the very nature of the *Delgamuukw* case and the current Canadian Land Claims (CLC) system. Within the context of the case, the approach of promoting Euro-centric standards of culture is the method by which the plaintiffs' rights are said to not exist, as seen both in the judgements made and the Crown's argument. This method has existed within the context of colonial nations for hundreds, if not thousands, of years and are what allow for Indigenous populations to be framed as noble savages that must be "elevated" to a level that is "civil" and "proper" (Asch, 1999). It is the method by which oppressive institutions such as the Indian Residential "Schools," missionaries, land claim systems, and so-called democratic and liberal governments have been built. In the context of the CLC system, the inequality that is perpetuated through such institutions is evidenced by the forceful and legally justified, by a Euro-centric legal order, extinguishment of Indigenous rights thus pigeonholing Indigenous populations into agreements that do not achieve the original goal of maintaining their sovereignty and rights but instead force them to pick some at the expense of others.

The categorization of people as majority or minority is seen throughout the *Delgamuukw* case, as well as the consequences of these categorizations on issues concerning the populace. For example, the final judgement passed down from the Supreme Court of Canada declared that any Indigenous rights that may have survived the assertion of Crown sovereignty in British Columbia could be infringed upon by federal and provincial governments with the caveat that the infringement is in line with a legislative objective that is "compelling and substantial" and is "consistent with the special fiduciary relationship" of the Crown to Indigenous peoples (*Delgamuukw*).

As previously established, this can be virtually any exploitative economic venture the governments would like to pursue. Though on the surface, this judgement seems to be in line with reconciliation as defined by the Canadian government, it is actually reproducing colonial oppression because recognition will only be given to Indigenous peoples if it does not place the sovereignty of the Crown into question or jeopardy. This places the well-being and rights of Indigenous peoples secondary to that of the Crown and Canadian government. Again, this gives rise to a paradox in which equality is not only deserted as a prospect, but so too is the government's definition of reconciliation. In

2016, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau stated that the key aspects of reconciliation as set out by his government are "the recognition of rights, respect, co-operation, and partnership" (Government of Canada). However, when recognition, and thus, reconciliation according to the Canadian government, is made conditional on the premise of it not threatening Crown sovereignty, then is it actually recognition? This aspect of the judgement made by Lamer subverts co-operation, partnership, and respect for the unilateral exploitation of resources and lands by giving the Crown free license.

Therefore, this definition of reconciliation reasserts the colonial ideology of cultural superiority by preventing the equal footing that is truly required to achieve reconciliation, as defined in this paper. Ultimately, this framework assumes that all are 'equal' so long as 'all' are like 'us,' therefore erasing and ignoring specific needs and alterities of Indigenous peoples, such as the right to self-determination, self-government, and sovereignty. Lastly, as seen throughout the case, Canada does not uphold their own definition of reconciliation unless it is convenient for them.

Unist'ot'en Camp and Indigenous Governance

The outcome of the *Delgamuukw* case has allowed for ongoing resource extraction practices to take place on the land of the Wet'suwet'en peoples as no title was found. Most recently, the construction of a liquified fracked gas pipeline has been under scrutiny. TransCanada was selected to build, own, and operate a 670 km pipeline, dubbed the Coastal GasLink pipeline, which connects fracked gas production in the northeastern interior of British Columbia to the Pacific coast for global export (Coastal GasLink, 2012).

However, the pipeline transects the unceded territories of the Wet'suwet'en, which allows it to become a contemporary act of land dispossession, which serves to reassert illegitimate state sovereignty (McCreary & Turner, 2019; Unist'ot'en Camp, 2017; Smart, 2020). Beginning as early as the summer of 2015, those associated with the Unist'ot'en Camp and Wet'suwet'en Nation have regularly blocked access to their territories from employees and contractors of TransCanada (McCreary & Turner, 2019). At the core of the dispute between the Wet'suwet'en Nation, TransCanada, and the provincial government is that although the company signed agreements with all 20 elected First Nations chiefs along the pipeline's path, these chiefs, according to *adaawk* and *kungax*, have no actual authority over their peoples since they are elected to their positions due to the imposition of a colonial electoral system (McCreary & Turner, 2019; Phillips, 2020; Unist'ot'en Camp, 2017; Smart, 2020). Moreover, it should be noted that the elected band chiefs only signed such agreements under duress and fear of the militarization of RCMP (Smart, 2020). Thus, the Crown's ability to use this land for resource extraction is void as it did not involve the consultation of hereditary Chiefs. According to Mills (1994) and Daly

(2003), chiefs in Indigenous legal orders of the Gitxsan and Wet'suwet'en obtain their status and authority from ancestral marriages with the spirit of the land. This spirit is how each house, clan, and chief get their name. In essence, the authority of the chief comes from the chief's direct connection to and understanding of the land. Furthermore, with the 2019 implementation of the United Nations Declaration on Indigenous Rights (UNDRIP), consent from Indigenous chiefs is now made mandatory under Article 10 (UN General Assembly, 2007).

Unist'ot'en Camp is a movement that, through the action of Indigenous legal orders and adaptive use of cultural traditions, acts to demonstrate that the definition of reconciliation put forth in this paper is not dead in Canada but instead, has been halted by previous litigations and ethnocentric views that continue to be held by the Canadian government. As such, Indigenous peoples have taken up the torch by demonstrating their understanding of what needs to be done to reach reconciliation. Interestingly, it would seem that the perpetuation of the colonial thesis has led to the development of an antithesis, e.g., the camp, which has ultimately been able to allow space for Indigenous resurgence of cultures, traditions, and practices in Unist'ot'en Camp, as well as across Canada, as seen with their allies. In an almost counterintuitive way of thinking, the colonial directives that are perpetuated and imposed through politics of recognition, such as the outcome of the *Delgamuukw* case, develop a space for Indigenous resurgence and survivance practices, therefore allowing for a stronger counter-colonial initiative— though this is not through means ideal for anyone.

These resurgence and survivance practices are highlighted through the movement of Unist'ot'en Camp as it has been focused on direct action and reclamation of lands and traditions. Direct actions that have been taken by the Wet'suwet'en peoples and other Indigenous Nations across Canada, as well as non-Indigenous allies, include national train blockades, refusal of land access to non-Indigenous peoples at the point of access at Unist'ot'en Camp, sustainable living practices that include the occupation and use of traditional hunting practices of Wet'suwet'en people, and nationwide protests. These direct actions, although thought to be extra-legal, illegitimate in nature, are, in fact, none of these as they work to challenge and directly oppose the maintenance of colonial agendas through the enforcement of Indigenous legal orders and the refusal of colonial impositions. It does so by working against the capitalist market, which is a prevalent source of colonial power as demonstrated by the resource extraction market that Canada so heavily relies on as well as the intrusion on Indigenous lands for transports of such goods.

These actions reassert Indigenous legal orders' primacy and influence colonial power structures through less mediated and more disruptive ways that are integral to engaging in decolonization for Indigenous peoples as it indicates a loosening of internalized colonialism. According to Coulthard, this is a precondition for any truly meaningful change while also building skills and social relationships within and among Indigenous communities (2013). The bottom-up character of the movement is what makes it so transfor-

mative in terms of its capability to decolonize. It is not led by any elected politician, national chief, or paid executive director but rather, it is led by the Wet'suwet'en people as a whole. Moreover, it is a result of this grassroots initiative that it has spoken so loudly nationwide to many Indigenous Nations. This camp acts as a locale or pilgrimage point for community members of all Indigenous Nations to reflect and cope with the trauma of colonization and to reconnect with sustainable and traditional modes of living (McCreary & Turner, 2019) and has become an epicenter for Indigenous resistance efforts (Unist'ot'en Camp, 2017). Through the occupation of their lands and the resurgence of their sustainable lifestyle, the Wet'suwet'en are actively and visibly articulating their rightful jurisdiction, which has helped contribute to the increasing robusticity of Indigenous rights nationally though these acts have been met with extreme resistance from the rest of Majority (read: white) Canada (Laframboise, 2020; McIntosh, 2020; Li, 2020). Interestingly, the actions taken by the RCMP on Wet'suwet'en lands was not deemed to be the same degree of resistance.

In using Indigenous legal orders to demonstrate Indigenous sovereignty, Indigenous peoples further the development of their culture, their rights, and their practices through resurgence efforts while simultaneously asserting their power over their people and their lands in the face of colonial oppression (Alfred & Corntassel, 2005). They demand respect through the demonstration of a nation-to-nation relationship between each Indigenous nation, which sets the expectation for the relationship between Indigenous Nations and Canada. Through the resurgence of cultural traditions, Indigenous peoples will actively rediscover their "peoplehood," dubbed by Alfred and Corntassel (2005), which involves the transcendence of colonialism on an individual basis through the reconnection with community, land, language, and cultural practices. This reconnection slowly expands outwards into the community and broader relationships, which ultimately acts to reshape, strengthen, and redevelop Indigeneity from an internalization of colonial subjectivities to the active rejection of dispossession and assimilative practices and resurgence of Indigenous governance, legal orders, cultural practices, language, and ways of life. With time, this reshaping of Indigeneity results in a restructuring of the colonial narrative and thus, the building of a foundation for reconciliation. There is still hope that reconciliation can occur as long as Indigenous and non-Indigenous alike are all committed to the fair and equitable treatment of our fellow person.

Framework for Reconciliation in Canada

With Indigenous peoples already acting to set a foundation for reconciliation, it becomes time for the state to do the same. To address this issue, I present two recommendations that should be implemented by all levels of the Canadian government in order to truly begin working towards reconciliation. These recommendations address shortcomings of

Delgamuukw, as well as previous and current land claim issues, by holding the Canadian state accountable to international law under the UN, as outlined by UNDRIP, and by integrating Indigenous legal orders into a new system for Indigenous land rights negotiations. This ensures that Canada will be held to a standard above what it sets for itself, but also that a nation-to-nation paradigm will start to develop, therefore making progress towards the paradigm of reconciliation defined at the beginning of this paper.

First, Canada must federally, provincially, and territorially implement and actively use the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP). UNDRIP is a document developed by the United Nations in consultation with Indigenous peoples from around the globe to provide a language to assert and affirm Indigenous rights of self-determination, self-government, informed and prior consent to the use of their traditional lands, and the prevention of their dispossession from those lands in the international arena (Hausler, 2012; Sayers, 2019). UNDRIP was formalized in 2007, with Canada being one among four colonial nations who did not vote in favour of it at the time of its adoption— the other three nations were the United States, Australia, and New Zealand (Hausler, 2012). Although endorsed by Canada in 2012, it was solely recognized to the extent to which it resonated with existing government practice and as an "aspirational document" that reflected only an "ideal relationship" between sovereign and Indigenous peoples (McCreary & Turner, 2019) despite scholars and advocates having stated repeatedly that UNDRIP is not an "aspirational document" but instead, a framework that must be entirely adopted (Hausler, 2012).

In 2019, the province of British Columbia began its adoption of UNDRIP with provincial Bill 41 (Sayers, 2019; Bill 41, 2019). With the development of this bill, British Columbia is now committed to a government action plan to implement the framework set out within UNDRIP to its current and future laws (Sayers, 2019). Moreover, with the implementation of UNDRIP, the First Nations people of British Columbia can now hold British Columbia accountable internationally for any legal shortcomings. This is important as it means that there is now a third party governing these relations rather than only the colonial state. Furthermore, with article 10, 18, and 19 of UNDRIP in place, First Nations peoples have the full capability to say no to projects being conducted on their lands, in addition to providing consultation for how they will proceed (UN General Assembly, 2007). This is extremely important since prior to this point, they were told rather than asked how the project would occur and no consent from Indigenous peoples was required. However, it has been noted by Indigenous scholars that the full implementation of UNDRIP will take some time and since it has only been implemented provincially, and not yet federally, the ability to exercise consent only extends to provincial projects of dispossession and not federal ones (Sayers, 2019).

Second, following the federal implementation of UNDRIP, state legitimacy of Canada, as well as for Indigenous Nations, must be produced and reproduced through legal and equal methods. This can be achieved through negotiations between the Canadian state

and Indigenous peoples on the basis of nation-to-nation relations as developed within UNDRIP (2007). Within this nation-to-nation framework, Indigenous nations would be treated as self-governing and self-defining nations that are separate from the Canadian state and deserve equal respect to that of the Canadian state (Panagos, 2007). Moreover, since these negotiations would be occurring after the adoption of UNDRIP, it means that they are governed by international law and any outcomes are deemed to be international treaties between the Canadian state and the Indigenous nation(s). These negotiations should take place in the stead of the current Comprehensive Land Claims (CLC) agreement process, which is highly problematic since, from the perspective of the state, the purpose of these agreements is to maintain state sovereignty, which means that when Indigenous peoples sign the final agreement, they are required to agree to the extinguishment of any 'undefined' rights, which are not found in the agreement (House of Commons, 2018; Samson, 2016).

Moreover, CLC agreements take place between elected Indigenous chiefs and the Crown; however, as previously stated, these elected chiefs obtain power from a colonial system. Instead, any negotiations that take place in a nation-to-nation framework should be between representatives from the traditional governance systems of the Indigenous Nation(s) (House of Commons, 2018; Samson, 2016). For these negotiations to work, three key criteria must be met: they take place on an equal footing as set out in a nation-to-nation paradigm of relations; the final treaty that arises from these negotiations must be legally binding internationally to hold any and all parties equally accountable; and the treaties that arise must be viewed in the Indigenous sense in that they are living documents – in other words, they must be revisited and maintained by all parties through "check-in" meetings whenever either party calls for it. I suggest a minimum of every four years to coincide with federal change of office.

Conclusion

The belief in equality amongst all is a foundational belief within the Canadian identity. However, as the litigation of many Indigenous rights cases over the years illustrate, this belief in a liberalist and multicultural nation that is built on notions of acceptance and tolerance is more an aspiration than a priori truth. This becomes evident upon a close reading of the case known as *Delgamuukw v. the Province of British Columbia*. The primary objective of this paper demonstrates the falsity of this liberalist narrative, as well as how its portrayal is actually harmful to Indigenous rights and reconciliation, regardless of how you define it. This was accomplished through the examination of the positions taken by the Crown and the Supreme Court Justices, all of whom act as representatives of the Canadian government, and ultimately, the Canadian people.

The secondary goal of this paper highlights Indigenous peoples' demands and initiatives to promote nation-to-nation relations and reconciliation, as defined in this paper. This was completed in the final section of the paper where I discussed the current day protests at Unist'ot'en Camp on Wet'suwet'en territory and developed a foundation upon which to build a framework for nation-to-nation relations and reconciliation. Reconciliation begins by turning one's back on the colonial master and state recognition through Indigenous peoples and nations recognizing each other and strengthening relations with one another with the hopes that this will eventually change the colonial government's methods and ideologies when it comes to relations with Indigenous peoples (Coulthard, 2014). Although colonialism may not be as obvious as it once was, factors such as land dispossession, cultural oppression, and ethnocentric ideals are all maintained as central tenets of the Canadian government, as illustrated in the examination of the positions of the Crown and the Supreme Court of Canada.

The outcome of the *Delgamuukw* case is particularly relevant due to the contemporary consequences of the case, as seen through the protests occurring at the Unist'ot'en Camp on Wet'suwet'en territory today (Unist'ot'en Camp, 2017). These protests demonstrate the current status of reconciliation in Canada as being far from ideal, while also illustrating the importance of Indigenous peoples' assertion of sovereignty through resource governance efforts in forcing the hand of Canada to move forward with true reconciliation (McCreary & Turner, 2019). Essentially, these findings have shown that in order to reach reconciliation's true potential in Canada, an entire systemic overhaul must occur where the federal and provincial governments must revisit their definition of reconciliation with input from Indigenous Nations' traditional leaders and bring it in line with UNDRIP (2007).

Similarly, UNDRIP (2007) must be federally implemented and utilized as a set of guidelines and regulations for negotiations, which must be held to standards of international law. Most importantly, Canada must let go of its ethnocentric ideals and approach Indigenous rights through a nation-to-nation paradigm. Moving forward, Canada has considerable room to improve its relations with Indigenous peoples. To quote Chief Justice Lamer, "we are all here to stay" (*Delgamuukw*, para. 186) and therefore, these relations should be a national priority. Without institutional changes, Canada will fail non-Indigenous and Indigenous peoples alike – after all, this is everyone's home on Native Land.

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Drivers of Dissidence: A Discourse Analysis of Vancouver's Road to Ride-Hailing

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Abstract. In 2012, Uber launched their ride-hailing service in B.C. to a mixed public reception. Initially met with fines from the Passenger Transportation Board (PTB), many fought for UberX (Uber's ride-hailing service, hereafter simply Uber), and ride-hailing was subsequently allowed to run in 2020. During Uber's eight-year road to legality, a lengthy public negotiation in Vancouver took place, pitting the ideals and history of B.C.'s taxi regulations against the purported innovation, efficiency, and customer utility of Uber. While numerous studies attempt to understand how the public and legislators have debated ride-hailing elsewhere (e.g., Brail, 2018; Pelzer et al., 2019; Serafin, 2019), in the unique legislative setting of Vancouver, no analysis of their advertising campaign has yet been undertaken.

My study uses NVivo to analyze key public documents regarding Uber's introduction into Vancouver (2014-2020), pulling from 103 major media articles and four government documents to create a history of Uber's arrival and analyze the frames (terms used to describe Uber, the taxi industry and ride-hailing) which supplemented the debate. I found that Uber's contention that they are an economically sustainable technology service, not a transportation service, played a key role in justifying the final legislation in favour of Uber; able to offset their similarity to the already existent taxi regime, and in conjunction, the paying public's responsibility to the harm Uber's service posed to the already low-paid, marginalized work of taxi driving.

Introduction

On January 24th, 2020, the "largest city in North America" without ride-hailing allowed Uber and Lyft onto their streets (Ligeti, 2020). Vancouver supporters who had long awaited the announcement took to Twitter to voice their excitement: "Finally," one tweet wrote, "Feels great to be part of the modern world" (D.H., Staff 2020). The Vancouver Taxi Association, however, did not share in the celebrations. An organization representing Vancouver's largest taxi companies – MacLure's Cabs Ltd., Yellow Cab Company Ltd., Black Top Cabs Ltd., and Vancouver Taxi Ltd. – the Vancouver Taxi Association (hereafter VTA) came to represent the taxi industry against ride-hailing's advance in public opinion, government consultations, and eventually, the B.C. Supreme Court. In her decision, the B.C. Supreme Court Justice, Veronica Jackson, concluded that the "launch of Uber and Lyft in Vancouver did not arrive unannounced," and further, that the "public interest favours the status quo" (*Canadian Press*, 2020). Responding to the failed injunction, VTA spokeswoman Carolyn Bauer declared: "The public has always been against the taxi industry" (*Canadian Press*, 2020).

In garnering legitimacy for their service, how platform products like Uber are presented in public discourse plays an important role in framing public opinion and, eventually, legislation regarding their service (Lesteven & Godillon, 2020; Serafin, 2019). As Uber representative (and former Obama campaign manager) David Plouffe told the Vancouver Sun in 2015: "I think the key thing is just a lot of public education… It's more about political will than the details, we have found" (Lee, 2015). In agreement with Plouffe, it is the relationship between Uber's public education and B.C.'s political will that is my core concern. The role of media in portraying ride-hailing's rhetoric is essential to how the public understands and evaluates Uber's service – able to thematize major controversies and signal to the public what must be done.

Despite extensive coverage of Uber by the media, few studies have analyzed the effect of media coverage on the final legislative documents (Lesteven & Godillon, 2020). In Montreal and Paris, Lesteven and Godillon (2020, p. 7) have noted how media coverage played a key role in dramatizing the conflict between the taxis and Uber, finding that the media functioned as an "echo chamber" for Uber and taxi representatives. But once the frequent frames are established, media scholars like Lesteven and Godillon have often fallen short of the key endeavour: interpretation of what gives those descriptions their persuasive force in legislation (the new status quo). This is where my analysis comes in, aiming to research not just *that* Uber used the media to legitimize its activity (Lesteven & Godillon, 2020, p. 7), but interpret *how* those media representations appealed to Vancouver before being consecrated into law.

My study adds to the growing literature on Uber's presentation in public discourse with an empirical contribution of a new context, seeking to explain their unique campaign

in one of the last ride-hailing holdouts in North America. With some of the longest taxi wait times and steepest prices in the country, the relationship between the Vancouver public and the taxi industry was fractured not just by Uber, but through a long regulatory and ideological history. This history informs the beginning of my analysis, where I place the relationship between the Vancouver public and taxis in a historical perspective before the introduction of Uber. This sets the stage for Uber's attempts to wield the discontent for Vancouver's taxi service: petitioning city council, launching letter-writing campaigns, holding a TED talk, and creating targeted ads. My discourse analysis analyzes these key moments in the campaign through media and legislative documents, creating a historical account of each discourse that begins with the origin of four themes (taxi corruption, technological futurity, safety, and flexible work) in public discourse before analyzing its impact on B.C. transportation law. The discussion then attempts to explain the rhetorical success of these four themes through the economic shift Healy and Fourcade (2013) have noted regarding boundary and within-market classifications.

Literature Review

Investigating Ride-Hailing's Moral Appeal

Beginning within the grey area, ride-hailing platforms like Uber struggle over different social solidarities to convince publics that the old ideas around transportation are antiquated and that a change in the moral economy is in order (Brail, 2018; Serafin, 2019, p. 187). They originate as an illegal or quasi-legal platform that bids for a change in the moral economy to accept their service (Pelzer et al., 2019) and can therefore be theoretically understood as an illegal market service that bids for legality (Beckert & Dewey, 2017). The success of Uber's technology then depends on their ability to appeal to a public's notion of what legitimate economic behaviour entails (Serafin, 2019). This is effectively what economic sociologists have called the *moral economy*, coined by E.P. Thompson (1971, p. 79) to explain the values and customs which influence how economic behaviour is perceived as despicable or desirable. This reflects an interplay between our understanding of what the economy *is* and what our economy *should be*. Economic services seek our support by influencing how we understand the service (cognition) whilst appealing to the type of service that is thought to be fair (values), therefore leading actors in favour of Uber to distort or emphasize Uber's more desirable qualities.

Uber must prove they are a legitimate economic service by carefully balancing comparison and distinction from their closest relative: the taxi industry. Whereas the taxi industry upheld traditional regulations regarding minimum fares, driver caps, and safety regulations, Uber's model seeks no limitations on the number of drivers and calculates fares according to their market-determined "dynamic-pricing model": "a flexible

approach to setting the cost of a product or service" in which "prices may vary to reflect changing market conditions or to incentivize the behaviour" (PTB, 2020, p. 79). Uber has mobilized this difference to great effect, arguing that their pricing and app is the key innovation of their service over that of the taxi industry (Brail, 2018; Mishra & Bathini, 2020; Murillo et al., 2017), allowing them to argue that their service is both distinct from the taxis and better endowed to provide the same service.

In his study of the Uber court trials in Warsaw, Serafin (2019) found that each initiation of Uber was a political and moral event that affected the ongoing debate over its legitimacy. Serafin argued that the way Uber was debated in the media eventually influenced how Warsaw citizens perceived their transportation 'problem,' and, in conjunction, how they interpreted the wrongness of Uber drivers who were put on trial for operating without a license. Serafin argued that there was a confluence *between* public arenas, meaning that the acceptance of a frame in one public arena (city council) held repercussions in other arenas (the courts). Serafin's focus, however, sticks primarily to an account of the final court proceedings in Warsaw. My account, in contrast, emphasizes Uber's rhetoric as presented in the public discourse and on the key events that informed public opinion, and with time, legislative documents. Like Serafin's research, my discourse analysis understands the public debate in the media with respect to the context of the final legislative decisions.

Discourse Analysis

Uncovering the intent behind Uber's framing is an important but necessarily ambiguous task. As Berger et al. (2018, p. 198) found, "Uber's strategic decisions are deliberately opaque," and so to uncover how a *frame* – the conscious usage of descriptions to give meaning to an often-contested phenomenon (Pelzer et al., 2019, p. 3) – is perceived as promising or harrowing, a method able to interpret and justify the meaning behind that persuasion is required. This ambiguity is why I selected discourse analysis, an interpretive method, to understand Uber's campaign. Discourse analysis is an interpretive research method that pays critical attention to *how* a debate is conducted – looking for contested and dominant frames, exaggerations, metaphors, and silences (Carpentier & De Cleen, 2007).

My discourse analysis utilizes two concepts from Beckert and Dewey's (2017, p. 14) study of emerging illegal markets to make sense of the debate. In investigating public tolerance of illegal services, Beckert and Dewey found that the perceived externalities and hopes for the service were essential to their legitimacy. Initially excluded by current regulation, ride-hailing platforms like Uber present to the public potential "hopes for the future" if their service is allowed: offering to solve long wait times, high prices, and awkward interactions (Beckert & Dewey, 2017, p. 14). Correspondent with this potential hope, however, is the potential harm: the possible negative effect on working conditions,

increased congestion, and harm to the taxi industry (Beckert & Dewey, 2017, p. 4). As part of their quest for legitimacy, new digital platforms like Uber frame their service in such a way that their benefits outweigh the externalities. A public's view of these hopes and externalities are then impacted by Uber's framing in public discourse – describing what Uber is and foreshadowing what it could be.

An Overview of UberX's Externalities and Hopes for the Future

For a global product like Uber, a discourse not only reacts to its local context but also reacts to frames used elsewhere to describe Uber's service (Serafin, 2019). It is then important to consider Uber's controversies and hopes elsewhere, as these concerns and hopes are often attached to any debate regarding their service. Since Uber's beginning in San Francisco in 2009, their ride-hailing service, UberX, has expanded their domain to over eighty countries, everywhere challenging traditional transportation and employment regulation (Brail, 2018; Pelzer et al., 2019; Ranchordás, 2017; Serafin, 2019). The ride-hailing phenomenon has challenged the regulations undergirding the taxi industries, polarizing publics and scholars into being for or against some variant of ride-hailing. Despite protests, Canada has since allowed Uber in all major cities (Bussewitz, 2019).

While many articles are critical of Uber and suggest that their public popularity is due to rhetoric or exploitation of class divides (e.g., Hua & Ray, 2018; Murillo et al., 2017; Prassl, 2018), the public tolerance for services like Uber comes from genuine hopes for their future. The most obvious reason is their app: Uber's app is easy to use and simplifies the relationship between driver and customer by organizing payment and the drop-off/pick-up spot beforehand (Dudley et al., 2017). In Vancouver and worldwide, Uber's service is cheaper and has lower wait times than taxis (Zussman, 2019). As opposed to the taxi industry, which has restricted "originating boundaries" (i.e., Vancouver cab companies can only pick up customers in Vancouver) that result in drivers wasting gas and time to return to their jurisdiction after driving a customer outside their original boundary (known as deadheading), Uber does not have boundaries and therefore mitigates deadheading (Hara, 2018).

There are, however, ample externalities that Uber must either quiet or overcome. Many publics have centralized concern for Uber's safety. In the years 2017-2018, 5,981 sexual assaults were reported out of Uber's 2.3 billion rides in the U.S. (Uber Technologies Inc, 2019). Before this report, the State of California had already forced Uber to stop making public claims about their safety (Zwick & Spicer, 2018). Scholars have also noted how the rating system leaves many drivers subject to racial discrimination, as white 'English fluent' drivers are on average given higher ratings (Hua & Ray, 2018; Jordan, 2017). As the taxi industry is composed primarily of first and second-generation immigrants, this racist feature is even more damaging for taxi drivers who are forced by lowering conditions in their industry to join Uber or Lyft (Hua & Ray, 2018).

Numerous studies have found that the cheaper and unregulated competition of Uber has resulted in many drivers reporting they are paid under minimum wage (Bartel et al., 2019; Mishel, 2018; Wang & Smart, 2020), and further, that by defining workers as 'independent contractors,' Uber leaves them without support or workers compensation (Bartel et al., 2019). Simultaneous to poor conditions for their workers, Uber has also been found to reduce industry standards, specifically impairing the local taxi industry. In the first comprehensive quantitative study of taxi wage fluctuation in the U.S. after introducing Uber to a city, Berger et al. (2018, p. 2) found that taxi wages decreased 10% on average after Uber. In ex-Uber CEO Travis Kalanick's own words, the essential benefit of the Uber model is that it allows their business to "leverage other people's labour and property rather than buying it yourself" (Lashinsky, 2017, p. 81). Indeed, as many academics have pointed out, including Dr. Garland Chow of UBC, Uber's business model relies on the classification of drivers as "independent contractors," thereby allowing them to bypass labour and regulatory costs which the taxi companies incur (Select Standing on Crown Corporations, 2018; Mishel, 2018; Palmer, 2015; Tucker, 2017).

Ahistorical Innovation

When considering the challenge Uber poses to the traditional industry and regulations, it is important for legislators and the public to also consider where these traditions even originate. Without attention to the past, new ride-hailing technologies can justify their neglect of the traditional rules governing the transportation industry (Brail, 2018). As Uber is seen as entirely new, the *ahistorical* frame implies that legislators disregard the relevance of prior transportation regulations for Uber due to their irrelevance for an entirely new service (Brail, 2018). This disregard for taxi history was established in Ontario Law when in 2015 the language used to define the taxi industry was ruled by Ontario Supreme Court Justice to not matter for Uber (Brail, 2018). This indicates a critical frame for understanding Uber. If ride-hailing does not meet the same parameters as the taxi industry, the history of the taxi industry's regulation is not included in the judgement – thereby excluding the taxi industry's history despite its potential relevance for Uber. To include this in my research, part of my investigation compares the history of B.C.'s taxi regulations to the current context and considers how the history of taxi regulations on caps, metres, and jurisdictions is framed in media and legislation.

Methods & Materials

My study purposively sampled 103 articles from Vancouver's leading publications from 2014-2020 (*The Province, The Vancouver Sun, The Globe and Mail, The National Post, CTV, CBC, Vancouver Courier, The Georgia Straight, and The Daily Hive*), four historical

investigations into the Vancouver taxi industry, and four government documents regarding Uber's legislative approval. All of the media articles were searched on the websites of major stations for their popularity and usage of 'Uber,' 'Ride-Hailing,' 'Taxi,' and 'Vancouver,' and then determined by their conformity to important events. All the articles were then organized chronologically (Appendix A) where important years regarding Uber's introduction were overrepresented. Because my method of analysis is interpretive and not frequency-based, representation of multiple stations was achieved but not equal representation (quota sampling). This allowed me to include multiple perspectives in my analysis but not overrepresent small stations and forsake the fact that some stations (like *The Province*) published more influential pieces on Uber. As my analysis spans a wide time period (2014-2020), I ordered my corpus chronologically and according to important events. Figures 1 and 2 (see appendix A) show a timeline of key events pertaining to Uber's arrival in Vancouver, where articles were kept based on their description of the key events.

After the articles and government reports were collected, I uploaded them into NVivo where they were read with attention to the context of the discourse. After an open reading, I divided the issues present in the media into Beckert and Dewey's (2017, p. 14) two concepts, "externalities and hopes for the future," while paying attention to the time and narrator framing Uber's legitimacy or illegitimacy. The externalities voiced in the literature, such as lower wages and safety concerns, were compared alongside the hopes expressed by Uber representatives and finally taken up by the government in legislative decisions. I used an interpretive method (discourse analysis) to allow room for me to reason and justify my understanding of the context and influence of Uber's frame on the broader debate. The narrator (an individual often vouching for an institution's goals, who is purposefully selected to speak about the issue), the arena (in this case, Vancouver media and regulatory networks), and the time all form the relevant context of my analysis. The codes noticed in the media were then compared to four influential government documents regarding Uber's introduction: the 2018 TNC Report, the 2018 Hara Report, the 2019 TNS Report, and the 2020 PTB decision on Uber (Appendix B). I picked these documents because they were cited by the PTB (2020) decision as the "Background Materials" to allow Uber in the Lower Mainland.

The method of my study has two notable limitations: selection and observer bias. The media articles are purposely sampled and may not represent the average article (selection bias). Likewise, the systematic ignorance of facts (the observer bias) is something interpretation is always inherently at risk of. Any assertion of meaning (interpretation) can tend toward ignoring facts which dilute the power of the conclusions. While I have attempted to protect against both defects by carefully considering a large corpus of literature and media with contrasting interpretations of Uber, discourse analysis is nonetheless based on *argumentation* and not conclusive *assertion*. The reader should interpret for themselves whether my conclusions follow the evidence. For these trade-offs, discourse analysis lets me (a Vancouver local) use a diverse array of data to justify what the complex

evidence meant at each turn in the debate.

To answer my research question, whether Uber's rhetoric had any effect on the legislative outcome, I interpreted the conclusions of the government documents with respect to the narratives and silences present in my media discourse. This involved reading and interpreting the PTB decision in light of three questions that the PTB had to affirm for Uber to be licensed:

1. Is there a public need for the service that Uber proposes to provide under the special authorization (s. 28(1)(a))?
2. Is the applicant a fit and proper person to provide that service and is the applicant capable of providing that service (s. 28(1)(b))?
3. Would the application, if granted, promote sound economic conditions in the passenger transportation business in British Columbia (s. 28(1)(c))? (PTB, 2020)

Throughout noting common externalities and hopes for Uber's future in the discourse, I will return to the PTB's response to these very qualitative questions. As the decision was made *after* public opinion was firmly in favour of Uber, I argue that their conclusions aligned with narratives disseminated by Uber and generally accepted by the media.

Findings

Castigating the 'Cartel'

In 2014, Uber's advertising push and petition (over 10,000 signatures) earned them a hearing at Vancouver City Council (*CTV Vancouver*, 2014). At the hearing, Uber spokesman Jeff Schafer framed the urgency of their arrival. "This is an opportunity to embrace all the opportunities of ride-sharing" he told council, continuing: "You risk losing that opportunity. If you leave it to the big four taxi companies, frankly they haven't innovated in years" (*CTV News*, 2014). As Schafer puts it, Uber is providing Vancouver with an opportunity: either choose the benefits that ride-hailing provides or be left with the uncreative incumbent industry. Ex-Uber CEO Travis Kalanick, lawyers, and unaffiliated Uber supporters often referred to Vancouver's taxi industry as a cartel – signalling the monopolistic illegality of a legal institution as they launched a then-unlicensed operation (Morton & Sinoski, 2014; Klassen, 2014; CBC, 2020). As Uber representative Jeff Weshler framed it to the *National Post*: "We should be creating a policy to serve the public, not

the entrenched" (Ahsan & Hensley, 2015). The view of the VTA and BCTA (B.C. Taxi Association) as 'against the public' then became common parlance for Uber supporters.

The taxi industry, unsurprisingly, attempted to oppose this frame to maintain their legitimacy. VTA spokespeople like Carolyn Bauer voiced this desire for a "level-playing" field with ride-hailing: their claim that if ride-hailing is allowed, it should conform to the same economic laws as the taxi industry (such as price minimums and fleet maximums), making for even market competition. But, to argue the level-playing field, the taxi industry had to justify the prior regulations, regulations which resulted in higher fares and longer wait times. With only attention to the consumer benefit of lower fares and longer wait times and not the reasons behind these regulations, taxi justifications could be dismissed as monopolistic greed. This justice, however, originated from the history of the taxi regulations and the attempts at its repeal. Lacking a historical perspective, the reasons behind the regulations are easily lost, and thus the taxi industry's defence of them quickly appeared arbitrary and corrupt. Cast as a self-serving cartel, the taxi industry was understood as uncompetitive, un-capitalistic, and, according to lacking the first two, no longer in service of the greater good – the 'public' (customers). No articles, however, bring up the reasons why this 'cartel' was established in the first place, prompting the obvious question: why did the economic regulations on taxis exist?

Structured within B.C. taxi regulations were sets of pragmatic and moral values (like increased criminal record checks and competition limits) that attempted to pursue desirable outcomes for taxi transportation. While perhaps outdated, these values were not formulated arbitrarily but came through distinct historical circumstances and needs. In B.C., the caps on taxi cabs and limits on pricing were established during the Great Depression (Davis, 1998). When the price of cars was becoming cheap, and more people took to the road and competed with taxis, a devastating collapse in taxi wages resulted (Davis, 1998). Desperate to salvage their business and their employees, *owners* of Vancouver's biggest cab companies formed a coalition to petition the government to establish a minimum fare. This resulted in the establishment of the initial VTOA (Vancouver Taxi Owners Association), which would later become the VTA (Davis, 1998). This system of establishing greater regulation, limits on taxi drivers, minimum fares, and strict pick-up jurisdictions per taxi company (called originating territories) have since become commonplace worldwide (Davis, 1998). Achieving these regulations, Davis writes, the taxi industry then began to operate in a "less chaotic, more ethical way" (p. 7). It is debated whether the taxi industry and employee conditions could survive without these protections. In Lanyon's (1999, p. 38) report on B.C.'s taxi industry, he cited Seattle's attempt in 1979 to repeal the economic regulation which resulted in "ruinous competition" and warned against the same being done in B.C.

These regulations made the Vancouver taxi service inflexible to the growing demands and standards of their consumer base. As Hara (2018) noted in his final report on the taxi regulations, while the cap is beneficial for current drivers, because driver caps

limit competition and predatory pricing, this has resulted in the lowest taxi fleet per capita in Canada and long wait times. Moreover, the price of taxi licenses in Vancouver skyrocketed as the city grew exponentially faster than their taxi fleet. Multiple articles have speculated on just how much they sell for, writing that "taxi medallions" (licenses) were traded for up to $800,000 each (Klassen, 2014; *CTV News*, 2014; Meddah, 2016). As a result, many drivers and owners have placed considerable financial weight on these investments and could be devastated should a rapid drop occur (Hara, 2018).

In the 2018 Select Standing Committee gathered to investigate whether ride-hailing would be appropriate for B.C., there is continued note on the need to investigate the current taxi economic regulations: resulting in the decision to hire Dan Hara to investigate how taxi regulations should be *modernized* to keep up with ride-hailing (Hara, 2018, p. 1). Concerning Uber's lack of economic regulations, however, it was assumed that the market should regulate the service: a decision justified by the "lack of an empirically substantiated basis" on whether unlimited fleet size affects taxi outcomes (PTB, 2020, p. 76). This decision is made despite an earlier clause that stated: "Fleet size was a contentious issue for the taxi industry historically. In times of economic recession, drivers would flood the market, resulting in lower returns for all drivers" (PTB, 2020, p. 66). The historical evidence, however, is dismissed as carrying no import for Uber's 'new' service. Uber's technology and advertising aimed to take advantage of the lack of historical framing by vilifying for the customer the inefficiency ('backwardness') of the taxi industry, allowing Uber's less-regulated business model – no limits on supply, more competition, and therefore lower prices – to be used as the *modern* benchmark in which to evaluate the taxi industry, despite its resemblance to the very system the taxi laws were designed to overcome.

Keeping Pace with the Times

Much of Uber's distinction from the taxi industry rests conceptually in their claim to be merely a technology company (Pelzer et al., 2019; Mishra & Bathini, 2020). As Uber does not own any of their vehicles, nor technically employ their drivers, who are understood as only 'customers' of Uber (Rosenblat, 2019) – they describe themselves as a solely technology-based company. Throughout Uber's introduction to Vancouver, articles stressed Uber's point: "It is a technology service, not a transportation service" (Bailey, 2015). As Brail (2018) argued, Uber exaggerates their innovation to elicit new attitudes towards their regulations. Combined with the vilification of the traditional regulations regarding the taxi industry, the technological frame allows Uber to argue that the old regulations fail to account for their invention. Uber spokeswomen Arielle Goren summed this contrast up well to the *Vancouver Sun*: "Many jurisdictions have recognized that their current outdated regulatory framework doesn't account for new technologies such as ours, and we look forward to working with policy-makers to create smart regulations that would recognize Uber's role in Vancouver's transportation ecosystem" (Constantineau, 2014).

Descriptively distinct from the taxi industry, Uber's touting themselves as a technology company also allowed them to align themselves with the values of Vancouver's 'forward-thinking' economy. In Vancouver, this became the sticking point of their legitimacy – Uber is the inevitable innovation and progression required to loosen the outdated taxi system. In 2016, when Uber spokesman David Plouffe was asked about what changes he expected for Uber in the future, he replied that "The thing about Vancouver is that it's a city renowned for embracing tech innovation, such a global tourism hub, so many millennials moving into the city... It's tailor-made for ride-sharing for all those reasons" (Ip, 2016). As a "city renowned" for embracing tech innovation, Plouffe asserts that Vancouver's reputation leads us towards being open to innovation. Plouffe aligns the idea of Vancouver as a young and innovative city with Uber's mission, which is portrayed here only as a technological innovation.

Nearing the end of 2016, it appeared B.C. was falling behind the technological status quo. Speaking to the Vancouver Board of Trade, David Plouffe framed the misnomer that Vancouver was becoming without Uber: "It is the largest metro area in North America without ride-sharing... We think that is a shame and so we are eager to work with local government officials, the provincial government, to find a pathway forward to bring ride-sharing" (Lupick, 2015). This appearance was helped by an Uber ad, letter-writing campaign, and "future view feature" that ran in 2016. The ad featured Vancouver pedestrians who declared their frustration about Vancouver's lack of Uber. Beginning with a man standing in front of B.C. place, who says, "I'm not sure why Uber isn't in Vancouver. It boggles my mind," the ad runs through Vancouverites who complain about the senselessness of not having Uber (Moriarty, 2016). Likewise, Uber representative Jeff Weshler commented after the ad on Vancouver's slowness to take on ride-hailing, saying that he "believe[d] that Vancouver should not be left behind" (*Daily Hive*, 2017). The key point of Uber's rhetoric was clear: Vancouver is the last big city in North America without ride-hailing. Vancouver was falling behind the times – why?

Province writer Smyth (2017) gave us his answer in his article written at the height of public impatience, "Uber Political Games Leave Public out in the Cold." In this article, Smyth declares, "Vancouver now has the dubious distinction of being the largest North American city that still bans Uber, Lyft and other popular ride-for-hire services." Focussing on the delay of John Horgan's government on their promise to integrate Uber, Smyth continued to tell readers: "Don't kid yourself. The government isn't delaying because ride-for-hire is so 'complicated.' This is a stalling tactic by a government beholden to the taxi monopoly." Smyth finishes with a rallying cry for the government to speed along the service and finally give in to public demand: "It's time for all of them to put up or shut up about making this minority parliament work for the people. It's time for ride-sharing in B.C., and it's time to get it done right now." Published at the peak of public frustration with the government's delay of Uber – and a year after Travis Kalanick's TED talk, Uber's ad and letter-writing campaign – Smyth's call attempts to capture this sentiment: the B.C. government and taxi industry have selfishly withheld ride-hailing to

the detriment of their public.

Smyth (2017) describes the government delay (which is made more extreme by Vancouver's delay behind the status quo of other major North American markets) as one due to their corruption by the taxi industry – dismissing the complications behind integrating ride-hailing. This sentiment began to grow as 2019 approached and ride-hailing was still not approved; and was finally met with relief when ride-hailing was accepted by Parliament in 2019, causing journalists to hail the decision. As Lupick (2019) of *The Georgia Straight* put it: "After years and years (and years) of public debate, endless consultations with the taxi industry, and two different premiers promising they would be available soon, ride-hailing apps like Lyft and Uber are finally—finally—coming to Vancouver." The widespread lauding of the Uber decision by journalists was enough to prompt criticism from *Vancouver Courier* journalists Kudo and Kvetches (2020): "Now that ride-hailing is officially here," they wrote, "journalists need to put down their pompoms and do their job."

The impatience for ride-hailing, however, was justified because Vancouver was perceived as lacking a service that was obviously for the public good. Vancouver's temporal framing as behind the technology, innovation, and status quo of other major markets had caused reason to blame a political system that was behind the times. Like the perceived backwardness of the taxi regulations, Vancouver's backwardness had to be explainable by corruption in the legal body. Uber had pitched themselves as the future, and cities worldwide confirmed this prophecy by accepting their service. Vancouver had to accept Uber if it was to avoid the 'dubious distinction' of being a city stuck with the *regulations* of the past.

Uber thus pitched to the public that they provided a more modern, technological approach than the taxis, and the legislative decision confirmed this consensus. In endorsing Uber's "dynamic-pricing model" to determine supply and wages, the Select Standing Committee suggests that "a more *modern and dynamic approach* would be more appropriate to encourage equitable distribution of service and supply rather than the current model of vehicle caps" (Select Standing Committee, 2019, p. 18 [emphasis mine]). Similarly, in answering whether there was a public need for Uber's service, Uber's framing as *only* a technology service figured heavily in the PTB's final decision. In the highly awaited first investigation of Parliament into whether ride-hailing should be allowed, the Committee begins with Uber's definition of their service as a technology platform, not a transportation company. As they find, Uber "engages *exclusively* in app-based ride-hailing services, connecting passengers with drivers willing to use their personal vehicles to drive paying passengers" (Select Standing on Crown Corporations, 2018, p. v [emphasis mine]). This note on Uber's exclusivity justifies Uber's distinction from the taxi industry and their regulations, as their app-based service is considered unobligated to drivers. In addition to citing the Select Standing decision, the PTB also decided in 2020 that Uber's public need corresponds to their popularity and *uniqueness* from the taxi industry. "TNC's are

unique," (31) they argue, and cite Uber's argument that if Uber "was just another type of taxi" (31), how would that explain their popularity over the taxi industry in other Canadian cities (PTB, 2020)?

This frame then contends that Uber's popularity and public need is demonstrated by the 'innovation' of their service in comparison to the taxi industry, therefore 'overcoming' the opposing argument that Uber's popularity is based upon their avoidance of economic regulation. But, as Professor Chow put forth to the Select Standing Committee, Uber is popular *because* of the low prices which result from their avoidance of traditional limits on supply (Select Standing on Crown Corporations, 2018, p. 8). The regulatory committees, however, took the view that Uber's success was due to the promise of their innovation. The resulting decisions thus emphasized the public need for Uber's technology over the externalities that could ensue – externalities that would have figured more prominently if the import of past regulations were considered relevant to ride-hailing.

A Wild West: Characterizing the Public and their Safety

Similar to how technology and better market pricing were used to complement Uber's service and cast doubt over the taxi industry, public safety was used to cast doubt over Uber. Lacking the same requirements for criminal background checks as taxis in other cities, many were skeptical of Uber's ability to ensure public safety. Describing Uber's relaunch in 2014, Klassen summarized the debate for and against ride-hailing as follows: "While proponents argue free-market capitalism, critics warn of an unlicensed wild west where passengers are at the mercy of potentially dangerous drivers and unmetered pricing determined by supply and demand." Like Klassen, other articles report that "the critics" of Uber believe they are a "bandit taxi" (Lee, 2015; Ahsan & Hensley, 2015). The dramatic insinuation of the word "bandit" and "wild west" portrayed Uber's safety risks as bringing in a new, dangerous, and uncontrolled frontier town.

In 2014, after relaunching their service illegally in cities across Canada, concerns were raised about Uber's care for safety legislation. Championed primarily by transportation regulators, the worry that Uber would not meet the same standard as the taxis became a central concern for public safety. In response to the increased advertising for drivers in 2014, Transportation Minister Todd Stone threatened Uber with raised fines, saying to the *Vancouver Sun* that while he "certainly support[s] additional choice and convenience for customers," he would not do so at "the expense of safety" (Constantineau, 2014). Like Stone, the subsequent NDP Transportation Minister Claire Trevena used the same defence in response to the public's accruing pressure on the government's slowness in adopting the service. Trevena mimicked Stone's initial statement, saying: "British Columbians absolutely want more options and flexibility in how they get around, but with checks in place to make sure their ride is a safe one" (Zimmer, 2018).

After continued allegations against the toxic work culture within Uber itself, in 2017, Uber announced a slew of changes to address their poor treatment of women in the workplace – including the 'resignation' of CEO Travis Kalanick and his replacement with Dara Khosrowshai (Eagland, 2018). In Vancouver, this was recounted by Rob Khazzam, the new general manager of Uber. With the replacement of Kalanick, Khazzam argued that the "company values have grown stronger" and that to improve safety, Uber implemented a limit for the driver's use of the app to 12 hours at a time, with at least six hours of rest (Eagland, 2018). Despite this limit still being four hours beyond the standard workday, the public began to move increasingly towards ride-hailing, and by the end of 2019, ride-hailing legislation had passed in B.C. The solution by Parliament, however, was to implement the same safety regulations in place for taxis – a decision that Uber representatives much-derided (Orton, 2019).

For the PTB, the second question, "the potential risk of harm to the public" (PTB, 2020, p. 38), covered Uber's safety externalities. In response to concerns over their safety, Uber referred to their change of heart, arguing that they were not the "Uber of yesteryear" (PTB, 2020, p. 43) and cited their new programs and record of compliance with other Canadian jurisdictions. To ensure protection, however, the PTB and Select Standing Committee both decided that tantamount safety regulations with that of the taxi companies should be expected of ride-hailing (Select Standing Committee, 2018; PTB, 2020). Uber and Lyft had to perform the same amount of safety inspections as that of the taxi companies and their drivers had to obtain Class 4 (commercial) licenses. The *economic* "level-playing field" that the taxi industry had asked for, however, did not make it into the final legislation. One side of public safety, it seems, had been left out.

Partitioned Publics: Who Speaks for the Workers?

Throughout my corpus, Uber representatives deflected worker-related concerns with the hope their 'flexibility' could provide for workers. Uber attempted to valorize the autonomy they allow for workers through their appeals to flexible work times and accessible entry – something Rosenblat (2018, p. 3) called the "fool's gold" of Uber's rhetoric for its concealment of the low wages and labour exploitation correspondent with the 'flexibility.' Uber representatives often framed their service as a "productive way to make money" (Ahsan & Hensley, 2015), to "empower people to earn extra income" (Ip, 2016), and good for those who want to "top up their income" (Zeidler, 2018). As Plouffe put it in 2016, Uber was the answer to the economic problem of the modern age, as "every government around the world" struggles with the question, "How do we create more flexible work for people?" (Ip, 2016). Uber framed the promise of their service for workers as an opportunity to make good money according to their schedule. But, as Hua and Ray (2018) point out, this part-time flexibility that Uber touts still relies on the existence of a population willing to work extra or be on standby for cheap wages. It also pits part-time drivers against full-time drivers (often ex-taxi drivers) who seek to make a living in this

industry (Hua & Ray, 2018). For Uber and their supporters, however, this was justified because it allowed their workers paying gigs at their 'convenience.'

Counter-discourses from taxi and Uber drivers themselves were rare in my media discourse, where the most concerns for drivers were voiced through the VTA. As Carolyn Bauer lamented after the approval, the constantly reiterated fear was that Uber would bring about "destructive competition" (Sheppard, 2017). But, configured as a cartel, the concerns voiced *by* the taxi owners and not the drivers may have been dismissed by a skeptical public. Thus, as Pelzer et al. (2019) and Levsteven (2020, p. 7) have also found, the media served more as an "echo chamber" for the political controversies of Uber and the taxi industry than as a place for the divulgence of the views of drivers or more impartial agents. The historical or current evidence of "destructive competition" likewise did not come to the forefront of the media, and the taxi industry representatives could have been perceived as only attempting to "politic" their institutional goals by voicing sympathy for their drivers (Pelzer et al., 2019, p. 12).

In the legislative decisions, the economic regulations protecting drivers from Uber's "dynamic pricing model" were what was left out. In response to the PTB's third question, whether Uber would bring about sound economic conditions in B.C., many sent in their concerns that Uber's unregulated service would be devastating for the working conditions of drivers: with the VTA submitting that to allow Uber no restrictions on minimum wage and fleet size would be to write them a "blank cheque" (PTB, 2020, p. 62). In their verdict, however, the PTB dismissed the need for economic protections for drivers, arguing that "We live in a market economy and competition is the norm in marketplaces" (PTB, 2020, p. 101). Citing the Select Standing Committee, they agreed that the "dynamic-pricing model" figured too "prominent" a role in Uber's business model and therefore "should be encouraged" (PTB, 2020, p. 84). The protections for employees were decided in favour of a solely market-based approach, despite concerns about the implications for workers and, specifically, the precarity of the transportation industry. For customers, the service was to be improved, and for transportation workers, their conditions were to be determined by the market.

Discussion

As is evidenced by the outcome of the final legislation, safety regulations on the same plane as the taxi industry were what was finally cemented into law. The other side of the "level-playing field," however, failed. Economic protection of labourers was what was deflected by Uber throughout this discourse. Through the attempts of Uber spokespeople to claim they were merely a technology company, focused entirely on consumer choice, more efficient for the environment and more flexible for work, Uber was able to saturate

the public discourse with articles that reflected these themes. The media's attempts to define Uber focussed on the convenience of the technology, consumer choice, and status quo as opposed to other possible goals such as the improvement of working conditions. What, then, happened to those stipulations? Why was one side of the externalities accounted for and the other not? I think this silence on externalities for working conditions was symptomatic of public distrust of the taxi industry, underrepresentation/stigmatization of taxi drivers in the public discourse, and Uber's appeal to a new moral conception of how our economy should be organized.

As Lanyon (1999) has noted, the B.C. taxi industry is also an industry with a tendency to underreport working conditions to the public. As a result, I think the supporters of the taxi industry could not easily figure out if it was the driver's livelihoods they were supporting when they advocated a "level-playing field," or if it was the taxi owners. In addition, the taxi industry of Canada, as has been remarked by Hua and Ray (2018, p. 272) of the States, exemplifies an industry that has been racialized, primarily relying upon labourers without access to "social and economic networks of support." The same holds for Canada, where many taxi drivers in major cities are first- or second-generation immigrants (Xu, 2012). In Vancouver and Toronto, this is especially true, where over 80% of cab drivers are immigrants (Xu, 2012). Li Xu's (2012, p. 1) study also finds that though taxi work is classified as Skill Level (C) in the National Occupation Classification, about 20.2% of immigrant taxi drivers in Canada have a bachelor's degree or better (255 of which held a degree in medicine) – suggesting that they are often overqualified for their position and take on the job due to discrimination faced elsewhere. This contrasts with Canadian-born drivers, where only 4.8% have a bachelor's degree (Xu, 2012, p. 2).

That is not to say, however, that the concern for the effect of Uber on the taxi industry was not sympathized with at all. Taxi drivers were often depicted as the wary and helpless group, at the whim of the mechanisms of power. If not, they were depicted as part of the self-serving taxi bureaucracy. What was rarely sought out, however, was their actual situation and attitude towards the incumbent industry. The discourse instead focussed on reiterating the basic disagreements and pities of either Uber or the taxis, rarely attempting to divulge the interests of workers who would be affected by this monumental change. So how is it that the clearly indicated risk of Uber's negative effect on working conditions was overcome by the public's view of Uber's hope?

This, I think, is not mere crass neoliberalism or free-market innovation but a more subtle shift in common economic sense, the shift noted by Fourcade and Healy (2013) as favouring the fairness of objective formulas that coordinate services according to the logic of the market; to a future of economic justice that is indeed market-driven but trusted in the hands sophisticated procedures that purportedly consider 'all' equally. The argument given by Uber was primarily one that appeals to a desired future of democratization, to the opening of service to more people, the expansion of the rigid taxi boundaries with flexible Uber work, and the accessible technology which ties it all together.

The same moral logic that Fourcade and Healy (2013) have noted regarding the shift in "boundary classifications" to "within market classifications" in the American credit-scoring system applies to the Uber case. Prior to Uber's arrival, the taxi industry was a highly vetted service, one with a strict "boundary classification" (the public convenience and necessity regime): meaning strict regulations filtering who could work for their service, based upon purchase of forcibly limited taxi medallions. Uber, on the other hand, represents a service that is open to all with the basic requirements, where the driver is vetted solely on the good ratings of passengers and compensated by the formulaic "dynamic-pricing model." Uber's pricing model is thus a system of "within-market classification," one in which the pricing algorithm "objectively" ranks, measures, and scores on an opaque and automated metric (Healy & Fourcade, 2013, p. 562). The within-market classification was proposed to the public not to reduce regulation but to integrate a *new* type of regulation (supported by a different constellation of justifications). This within-market classification is preferred because it formalizes the procedure of rating the 'deserving' price of the service. Formalized systems that operate without the bias of an "interest group" and only in the supposed procedural equality of the whole are important to a society that covets what Weber (1925, p. 186) called "legal-rational authority." Procedural equality seeks to curtail any corruption (self-interest) in its application by mechanizing the equal treatment of the entire "public" categorized under the jurisdiction of that law. But it is misleading to believe that this mechanism can be devised with the interests of the whole public in mind – or that a unified public even exists.

Most importantly, however, is how trust in 'open' and 'democratic' economic procedures leads to silence on its unequal consequences. The virtual interface of Uber's app, combined with its within-market classification, offers us the guise of procedural equality. It provides a worker willing to drive, confirms the established price beforehand, and allows customers to rate the workers they prefer. This system presents a view of economic behaviour which is apparently only connected to the due diligence of the driver to work for the market price. In this sense, Uber has opposed an industry that was legitimated by a boundary classification and transitioned it to a system of within-market classification. In the new market-based, democratic, Uber and Lyft model, however, the same discriminations which excluded educated taxi drivers from other work networks still exist but are instead structured into the norms of supply and demand. If this dynamic is believed in by faith, the market veils the structural factors that determine which workers are dependent upon gig work. As Healy and Fourcade (2013) remind us, "markets see social differences very well, and thrive on them" (p. 562). Indeed, new markets and technology obviously do not affect publics equally, and it is often the case that where new tech provides hope to one population, another faces its externality: a hazard that can only come to light through effective public discourse.

Conclusion

Uber garnered legitimacy through their ability to align themselves with Vancouver's notions of economic progress. The efficiency, objectivity, and boundary-defying facets of their app and "dynamic pricing model" were contrasted against the stagnating, self-serving and tightly regulated taxi industry. Uber's ability to fit their service with the goals of the public complimented their agreement with public demand, as the taxi industry's selfish desire to maintain their working conditions was viewed as against the better interest of the public. In the end, this resulted in support of safety regulations for Uber but not for their economic regulations – since the more legitimate economic regulations already existed, and were established by the market. This aim was complemented by the "ahistoricity" of Uber's presentation, which allowed legislators, media, and Uber to justify that the taxi regulations were not analogous to ride-hailing nor to the goals of Vancouver's future.

Like the public documents themselves, studies of public discourses run the risk of neglecting what the documents ignore. As Fourcade (2017, p. 666) insightfully points out, "the real action in the moral economy may be in the discursive and institutional silences, those areas of social life that do not need to be spelled out or fought about because they have receded into the taken-for-granted background." I have tried to account for this in my section about the exclusion of taxi drivers from the debate, but lacking primary data, I am unable to draw any conclusions about their experience during this remarkable time for their industry. Unable to conduct interviews of taxi drivers and potential Uber drivers, a key demographic of this discourse was concealed. In the future, I aim to correct this shortfall by conducting more open-ended research on taxi and Uber drivers to gather their views on this remarkable transition in their industry.

Though the legal order in Vancouver has affirmed the rhetoric of ride-hailing, the contest over their legitimacy continues to be expressed. The wake and direction of this current continues with every new Uber driver, every contest over the legitimacy of the independent contractor stipulation, and with the woeful cries of a shrinking taxi industry. Yet, like the taxi regulations themselves, the official assurance of Uber's service risks complete habituation. If the impacts of the gig economy are to continue to concern the collective conscience, the negotiation and study of its legitimation must continue. Studying the rhetoric that latently supports our social institutions and comparing it to the rituals which are manifest provides a dialogue in which we can publicly reaffirm or deny the sources of an institution's legitimacy. Through sincere scrutiny, the unidimensional image of legitimate systems can be rediscovered as manifold – potent with myths, potential harms, hopes, and long-neglected silences.

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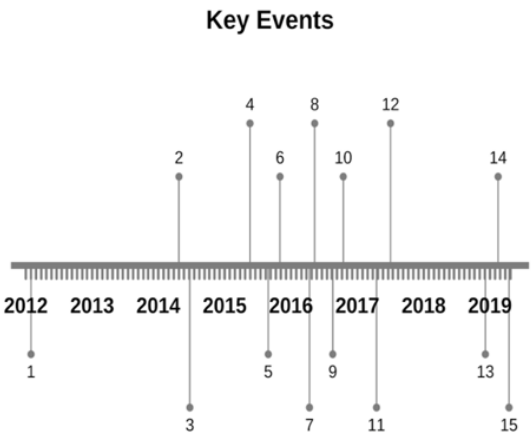
Appendix A

Media Data in Chronological Order

Figures 1 and 2. Key Events Regarding Uber's Introduction.

#	Date	Description
1	2012-04-01	Uber's 'soft launch'
2	2014-09-01	Rumours of Uber's return
3	2014-11-05	Vancouver cab companies sue Uber
4	2015-10-30	Vancouver Council rejects Uber licenses
5	2016-02-16	Travis Kalanick's TedTalk
6	2016-04-26	Green Party proposes first Uber legislation
7	2016-10-19	Vancouver council votes to delay Uber another year
8	2016-11-19	Uber launches ad campaign
9	2017-03-07	Liberals promise Uber if they win election
10	2017-05-09	NDP wins BC election
11	2017-11-23	Provincial committee created to investigate ride-hailing
12	2018-02-15	Provincial committee supports ride-hailing
13	2019-09-04	Ride-hailing legislation passes in B.C.
14	2019-11-19	Vancouver taxis take PTB to court over legislation
15	2020-01-23	Ride-hailing approved to operate in Lower Mainland



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Appendix B

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Volume 15

2023

Examining Attachment Style in Hookup Culture: The Societal Normalization of Trauma-Based Partner Selection

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Author's Note. Aida Ardelean is an Honours student in the Department of Sociology, at the University of British Columbia. This thesis was written in fulfillment of course requirements for a Bachelor of Arts with Honours in Sociology. Dr. Silvia Bartolic, Associate Professor of Teaching, in the Department of Sociology at the University of British Columbia was the Honours advisor on this project.

Abstract. Based on the theory of attachment, individuals are going to love someone the way they themselves have experienced love. As young adults finish their studies and enter their careers, there is a social expectation for many to find a lasting relationship and settle down. If young adults developed an insecure attachment style during childhood, this could lead to the possible recreation of intergenerational trauma when seeking a long-term partner. Much has been written about hookup culture on university campuses and the impacts that it has on mental and emotional health (i.e. Garcia 2012, Machia 2020, etc.), but less has been written on whether the impacts of hookup culture are a product of one's attachment. My project aims to explore how the attachment styles developed in childhood contribute to participation in hookup culture during university. Twenty participants who identified as current or previous students attending a Canadian university and residing in British Columbia were recruited to participate in this study. A series of semi-structured hour-long interviews were conducted following the completion of a preliminary survey. These surveys examined participants' attachment styles and self-esteem levels. Participants were also asked a series of questions about their experiences with hookup culture and casual sex. It was found that participants scoring high on anxiety and avoidance are more likely to experience lower levels of self-esteem than participants scoring low on anxiety. However, participants scoring high on avoidance experienced higher levels of regret than participants scoring low on avoidance. Further, individuals that had a fearful avoidant attachment were more likely to experience feelings for a casual hookup partner. Finally, the study found that participants with fearful avoidant attachment were

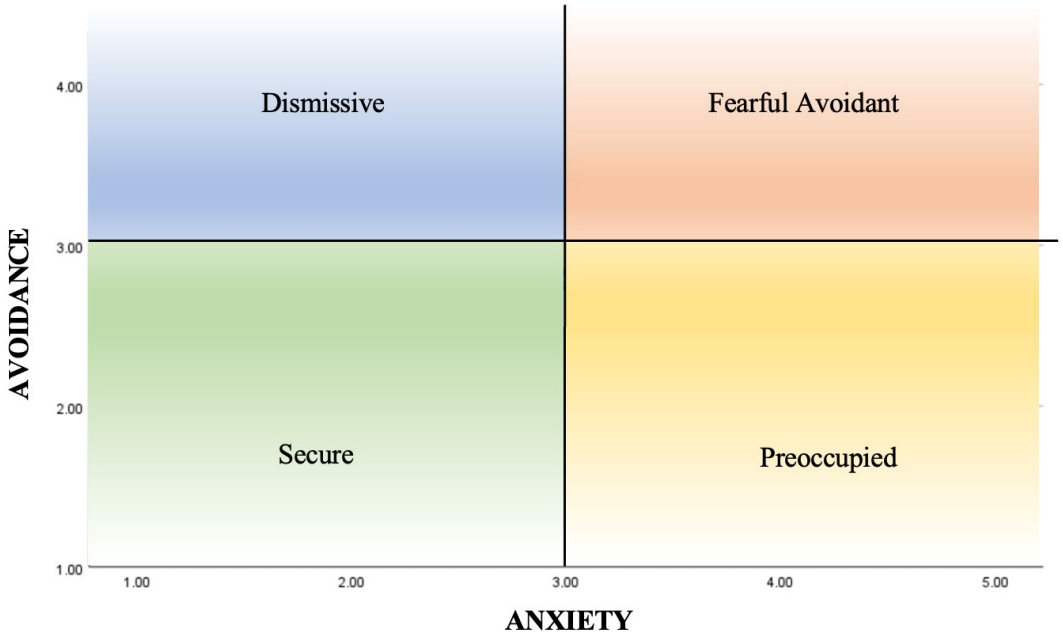
more likely to be single. However, participants with secure attachment were more likely, on average, to have a friend with benefits or one night stand than insecure participants.

Background

Relationships are difficult to navigate and young adults often undertake them with minimal guidance and support. In a study conducted by Levine (2019) of over 300 university students, 73% were willing to sacrifice most of their goals in life for a romantic relationship and yet most individuals know little about the science behind romantic relationships. Individuals are conditioned to believe that the reason they are unable to find happiness in a relationship has little to do with themselves and more to do with external circumstances. Individuals rarely look at themselves as the reason behind their dissatisfaction and even more rarely seek help when their partner suggests they do so (Levine, 2019, p. 127). It has been shown that the best predictor of happiness in a relationship is a secure attachment style and individuals with this attachment style report higher levels of satisfaction in their relationships (Levine, 2019, p. 132) while individuals with insecure attachment styles may look at their relationship history and see a string of unsatisfying relationships and perhaps regrettable decisions (Lawson, 2019, p. 6).

Based on attachment theory, the experience of love starts when individuals are children while they observe and interact with their primary caregivers. However, individuals in society scorn basic needs for intimacy, closeness, and dependency in adulthood while promoting independence and self-sufficiency (Levine, 2019, p. 21). Gillath (2016) found that while attachment theory has been a popular theoretical framework for understanding infant–caregiver relationships for many years, the theory has also become a prominent framework for understanding personality processes and close relationships in adulthood. Attachment theory states that the emotional bonds individuals form in early childhood become unconscious patterns of how we form adult relationships, whether they are romantic or not. There are four primary attachment types. Securely attached individuals have low anxiety over abandonment and low avoidance of intimacy and therefore, they are comfortable with both vulnerability and dependence. Individuals with a dismissive attachment style have low anxiety over abandonment and high avoidance of intimacy while individuals with preoccupied attachment style have high anxiety over abandonment and low avoidance of intimacy. Finally, individuals with a fearful avoidant attachment style are high in both anxiety and avoidance, therefore, they consciously seek vulnerability and dependence but are simultaneously uncomfortable with both. (See Figure 1). Traditionally, attachment styles have been viewed and applied to individuals as static characterizations (Gibson, 2020, p. 24), but researchers now know that they exist on a spectrum and can be transformed or exacerbated over time, depending on one's life circumstances or external norms, namely, those of hookup culture.

Figure 1. Attachment Typologies



Dilemma

Since attachment style forms in childhood, individuals may be unaware of their attachment style, its implications, and how it could affect the trajectory of their relationships. Further, with the increase in casual sex and the social discourse that comes along with it, the modern dating scene has been primed for the maintenance and benefit of insecure attachment styles (Levine, 2019, p. 98). This makes it more difficult for young adults to form close and committed bonds. Young (2021) found that individuals are most likely to return to their baseline attachment style, with circumstances like stress, relationship problems, history of abuse, psychological problems, life-altering events, and other relational experiences. Securely attached individuals tend to maintain high levels of relationship satisfaction, commitment, and trust while insecurely attached individuals report decreasing levels of all three (Levine, 2019, p. 132).

Most insecurely attached individuals (preoccupied, dismissive, fearful avoidant) tend to believe that it is more socially acceptable to maintain a detached persona and mask discontent in relationships (Levine, 2019, p. 101). Young adults tend to experience a lot of hardship when trying to find a partner to settle down with, and yet have had little

focus placed on them by researchers. Attachment theory is important for young adults, as they have not yet had the opportunity to build a healthy and serious partnership, thus, there may be more cause for concern if most of the modern-day dating pool proves to be insecurely attached (Levine, 2019, p. 94). As young adults finish their studies and begin their careers, institutions in society that promote monogamous marriage still expect many to find a lasting relationship. One strategy that individuals in society have adopted to deal with anxiety of abandonment and avoidance of intimacy is hooking up.

This research will examine university students' attachment styles and their participation and satisfaction with hooking up. I hypothesize that:
1. Participants with secure attachment styles will have lower rates of hooking up compared to insecurely attached (preoccupied, dismissive, fearful avoidant) participants.
2. Participants with preoccupied attachment will experience more feelings of guilt than participants with secure attachment. Participants that have dismissive attachment will experience less feelings of guilt than participants with secure attachment.

Literature Review

When it comes to casual sex, even scientists agree that it is rarely casual. From a biological standpoint, kissing alone raises levels of oxytocin, the chemical associated with trust and attachment (Fisher, 2010, p. 218). Sex stimulates the production of dopamine, the brain chemical associated with feeling intense romantic love. Therefore, when individuals have sex with someone they hardly know, it can push individuals toward feelings of passionate romantic love. In Fisher's (2010) study, 50% of women and 52% of men who initiated a one-night stand were eager to begin a longer connection, with one-third of the reported hook-ups evolving into a romantic relationship. However, when hook-ups failed to evolve into a relationship, one of the partners regularly became depressed, suggesting that this individual had hoped for a longer, more meaningful connection (Fisher, 2010, p. 220). Another factor that may influence whether individuals commit to one another is the attachment styles that they develop. Adolescents with poor parental support were found to partake in more risk-taking behaviors, such as the regular use of illicit drugs and alcohol, as well as promiscuity (Kliewer, 2015, p. 551). Such promiscuity is also encouraged by societal narratives in media during the courtship phase, which is the slow, systematic process of pursuing another person (Negroni, 2013, para. 8). Rather than reflecting independence, this illustrates a fear of dependency.

Secure

Securely attached individuals enjoy stronger experiences of love than insecurely attached individuals (Miller, 2015, p. 50). Individuals with secure attachment styles are

generally supportive, available, and open with their friends and partners. They can feel safe while being vulnerable and can also help shift individuals with insecure attachments into a more secure space. A secure relationship is characterized by security, playfulness, collaboration, flexibility, and sensitivity (Tatkin, 2012, p. 49). Nancy Collins (1990) found that people with a secure attachment system seem to function as effective communication coaches and are good at getting others to open up and talk about personal things. Securely attached individuals also engage in more self disclosure, keep fewer secrets, and express their emotions more honestly than dismissive individuals do.

Individuals with a secure attachment style usually don't go through many partners before they find someone that they are happy to settle down with and they take a long time to reappear in the dating pool, if at all (Levine, 2019, p. 94). Subjects with a secure attachment style are also less likely to deceive someone (Levine, 2019, p. 143) due to their natural gravitation towards individuals with similar qualities and their power to enhance the attachment of their partners that may be more insecure.

Dismissive

Dismissive attachment styles generally appear withdrawn, are highly independent, emotionally distant in their relationships, and less likely to connect on an intimate level. They find it difficult to be highly involved with their partners and become overwhelmed when they are relied on heavily and retreat physically and emotionally as a result. They typically had parents who were absent from their childhood so they believe they can only safely rely on themselves (Gibson, 2020, p. 6), however, their view of their childhood tends to be overly positive and they may not even recognize the negative aspects of their upbringing. Therefore, they can confuse neglect with independence and are not in touch with their feelings of abandonment. It may be difficult to help a dismissive individual recognize and accept their avoidant behavior as they often hate being asked to look inward and examine their own actions, both past and present.

During their childhood they were severely criticized or punished as a way for their parents to express their anger and as a result they believe that vulnerability will always lead to disappointment and that they can only truly rely on themselves (Young, 2021, p. 54). When dating, dismissive individuals will often adopt this attitude with new partners and act dismissive of their feelings or uncomfortable conversations. They may see conflict as the end of a relationship and detach themselves easily from their partner as they hold an ideal in their mind of a previous relationship which they believe no one else can ever measure up to (Lawson, 2019, p. 40). Internal narratives like this may lead to dating multiple people simultaneously to avoid forming an attachment to any one person. This has been made easy by online dating sites as they provide a plethora of options for individuals to bounce between and avoid connection by focusing only on the sexual aspects of their relationships.

By perceiving hooking up and their casual partners in a more negative light, they distance themselves to protect themselves from pain. Many insecurely attached individuals choose to forgo relationships all together because they find committed relationships too stressful. This can be extremely easy when hookup culture is normalized, and they are offered multiple casual partners to choose from through online dating websites. If a partner succeeds in breaking through a dismissive individual's defensive shield to catch a glimpse of their insecurities or emotions beneath, they often panic and run to seek either solitude or someone who does not realize they are not exactly what they seem. Therefore, these individuals find it difficult to commit. They are also more likely to be unfaithful to their partner and are prone to addiction with drugs, gambling, alcohol, sex, or work.

Individuals with a dismissive attachment style tend to end their relationships more frequently and since they also suppress loving emotions, they get over partners quickly and can start dating again almost immediately. Therefore, dismissive individuals find themselves single more frequently and for longer periods of time. When individuals meet a new casual hookup partner, the probability that they have a dismissive style of attachment is high, around 25% (Levine, 2019, p. 95). Not only are dismissive individuals cycled back into the dating pool more quickly, but they are also not dating other dismissive individuals, or at least not for long since individuals with a dismissive attachment style tend to end their relationships more frequently and are more likely to divorce (Levine, 2019, p. 94). The chances that they are dating securely attached individuals is also slim, as securely attached individuals tend to be less available. Thus, they will most often seek to fulfill their biological needs for emotional and physical connection from less demanding partners or a variety of partners. Hookup culture further encourages dismissive individuals to spread themselves among many different people so that no one person knows everything about them.

Preoccupied

Preoccupied individuals fear rejection and abandonment just as much as dismissive individuals but instead of withdrawing to protect themselves, they self-sacrifice to please people. This anxiety breeds cycles of giving, resentment, complaint, demanding, temporary satisfaction, and giving again (Lawson, 2019, p. 7). It primarily stems from left over feelings of inadequacy in childhood and being taught to expect rejection (Gibson, 2020, p. 8). While they were provided with the same distance that dismissive individuals were in childhood, they did not have enough space to learn how to self soothe and the withdrawal of their caregiver created a deeper dependency on the parent to be soothed (Gibson, 2020, p. 8). Research shows that this attachment style perceives affection as conditional to appeasing their parents and so these individuals subconsciously believe that others will only abandon them if they prove to be unworthy of their love (Young, 2021, p. 60). As adults they may be people pleasers because they crave validation from others (Young, 2021, p. 25) and they fear that if they do not please others, they will not receive the love

and affection they seek.

For individuals with a preoccupied attachment style, certain individuals, namely dismissive attachment styles, intensify their worries and feelings of inadequacy, while others, such as securely attached individuals, pacify them (Levine, 2019, p. 90). Paradoxically preoccupied individuals often date people with a dismissive attachment style, even though findings highlight adverse consequences (Levine, 2019, p. 91). If preoccupied individuals have been casually dating for a while, they become predisposed to attract the individuals who are least likely to make them happy. Based off this anxious predisposition, when a preoccupied individual meets someone secure and their attachment style remains relatively calm, they conclude that they may not be a suitable partner because they are used to associating an activated attachment style with love and a calm attachment system with boredom and indifference (Levine, 2019, p. 96). Once single, preoccupied individuals fear loneliness so they are quick to jump from one relationship to another and they may even use sexuality to intensify their relationship with others, even if there's no sexual desire (Young, 2021, p. 62). Individuals with a preoccupied attachment style approach their sex lives with a drive to gain reassurance and avoid rejection. Slowly but surely, "bad experiences and relationships can lead you to view relationships in a different light and eventually a once secure attachment will shift into a dismissive attachment" (Young, 2021, p. 31). Similarly, preoccupied individuals can build high levels of avoidance on top of their high levels of anxiety and develop a fearful avoidant attachment style.

Fearful Avoidant

Individuals with a fearful avoidant attachment style tend to be preoccupied and dismissive, constantly shifting between being vulnerable with their partner and being distant. They do not trust easily as they believe betrayal is likely and thus overanalyze micro-expressions and body language. This occurs because they had an untrusting relationship with their caregivers in childhood where some form of abuse was paired with emotional support at infrequent times. Therefore, they feel a sense of connection while subconsciously believing it to be a threat.

Having a fearful avoidant attachment has also been shown to have a direct link to sexuality and women with fearful avoidant attachment, particularly, were found to have a higher number of partners over a lifetime whereas men with fearful avoidant attachment had a more positive response to sexual solicitation (Young, 2021, p. 56). Fearful avoidant habits, such as craving closeness but distancing themselves when things become more intimate, can also lead to a series of short relationships in which these individuals seek closeness only to flee when they actually receive it. These fearful avoidant behaviors result in compulsive sexual behaviors and lower sexual satisfaction. They might do this with one-night stands or short-term relationships and when they start feeling vulnerable, they are likely to avoid sexual intimacy and its accompanying vulnerability altogether.

As fearful avoidant individuals' primary fear is being abandoned, punished, or rejected, this is what they often end up doing to others. This can make a potential partner feel abandoned, intimidated and never good enough. However, the fearful avoidant partner truly wants their partner to move toward them. The partners of fearful avoidant individuals will often complain that they are being pushed away when in fact, the preoccupied individual uses their partner's pursuit of them as proof for themselves that they are loved and that their efforts will be reciprocated (Tatkin, 2016, p. 136). This is rarely the case and they find themselves in one failed relationship after another, repeating the same cycles again and again.

Methods

Data Collection

To be eligible for this study, participants had to be adult university students currently or previously attending a Canadian university, and currently residing in British Columbia. Participants were recruited by posting the research project advertisement on social media websites (Facebook and Instagram) for a period of 3-4 weeks in January 2022. Participants were asked to share their story and help progress the future of relationship research by volunteering to participate in the study. Once individuals indicated their interest, they were contacted via email. Prospective interviewees received a formal email along with the "Pre-Screening Questions" within an email text. Participants were selected based on their responses to the screening questions and were contacted again to request that they participate in a private, hour-long, semi-structured interview. Once the participant agreed to take part in an interview, an individual interview time was scheduled. The consent process and all interviews with participants occurred via UBC hosted Zoom during mid-to-late January 2022. Since the interviews were conducted virtually, participants were asked ahead of time to arrange to be in a private and quiet room without distractions for the duration of the interview. There were no problems with this setting besides poor wifi connection from the participants' end on a few occasions. The interviewer was also at home in a quiet and private space without distractions.

Before beginning the interview with the participant, the interviewer read the consent form aloud to confirm consent. Participants were then asked to complete a self-conducted survey the UBC-hosted version of Qualtrics. The survey consisted of 28 multiple choice questions that were ranked on a 5-point scale from "Strongly disagree" to "Strongly agree." Ten of these questions were to determine the individual's self-esteem using the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (1965) and the other eighteen questions were designed to determine the individual's attachment style using Nancy Collins' Adult Attachment Scale (AAS) (1996). Once the participant signaled to the interviewer that they had completed

the survey, they then moved to the interview. With participant consent, interviews were recorded via local audio recording. All participants consented to recording.

The semi-structured interview consisted of seventeen questions with open ended prompts depending on the participants answers to the questions. Interview questions focused on individuals' personal experiences, including previous romantic relationships, personal opinions on hookup culture, and the challenges encountered. Individuals were interviewed about their experiences with hooking up, including their romantic experiences and their participation in hookup culture. Most interviews took approximately 30 minutes or less, with a few extending to the full 60 minutes. After the interview, participants were provided with a gift card via email to *Somedays*, a Vancouver based and independently owned queer and black business, as a token of appreciation.

After the interview ended, participants were reminded of the researcher's contact information in case they had any questions or concerns. Once interviews were transcribed, each interviewee received a copy of their transcript to review. Research subjects were assigned a code number and pseudonym that were used to identify them on data collection forms and transcripts. The researcher removed or altered elements of the transcripts if they could personally identify participants to maintain confidentiality. A master list was created linking code numbers and pseudonyms to names. This list was kept in a password protected virtual folder that was only shared with the interviewer and project supervisor. Location was not reported by name in the final research report and was replaced by "a Canadian university."

Measures

Twenty-four variables were assessed in the survey. The variables are operationalized as follows:

Attachment style. Using Nancy Collins' Adult Attachment Scale (1996), the following eighteen items were combined to form attachment typologies (Secure, Preoccupied, Dismissing, Fearful) and attachment dimensions (Anxiety and Avoidance). Participants were asked to identify how strongly they related to the following statements: (1) "I find it difficult to allow myself to depend on others," (2) "People are never there when you need them," (3) "I am comfortable depending on others," (4) "I know that others will be there when I need them," (5) "I find it difficult to trust others completely," (6) "I am not sure that I can always depend on others to be there when I need them," (7) "I do not often worry about being abandoned," (8) "I often worry that my partner does not really love me," (9) "I find others are reluctant to get as close as I would like," (10) "I often worry my partner will not want to stay with me," (11) "I want to merge completely with another person," (12) "My desire to merge sometimes scares people away," (13) "I find it relatively easy to get close to others," (14) "I do not often worry about someone getting close to me," (15)

"I am somewhat uncomfortable being close to others," (16) "I am nervous when anyone gets too close," (17) "I am comfortable having others depend on me," (18) "Often, love partners want me to be more intimate than I feel comfortable being." Response categories included: (1) "Strongly disagree," (2) "Disagree," (3) "Neither agree nor disagree," (4) "Agree," (5) "Strongly agree." Using these items, two attachment dimensions were created. In the Anxiety subscale, the following question was reverse scored: (7) "I do not worry about being abandoned." For the Avoidance subscale, the following question was reverse scored: (13) "I find it relatively easy to get close to others," (3) "I am comfortable depending on others," (14) "I do not worry about someone getting too close to me," (17) "I am comfortable having others depend on me," and (4) "I know that people will be there when I need them." The Anxiety subscale measures the extent to which a person is worried about being abandoned or unloved (Collins, 1996) while the Avoidance subscale measures the extent to which an individual is worried about proximity to someone. Collins (1996) suggests using items 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12 to create the Anxiety subscale. In order to improve reliability only items 7, 8, and 10 were used in this study. The Conrbach's Alpha for the Anxiety subscale was reported as .85. For the Avoidance subscale, items 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18 were used based on Collins (1996) recommendation. The Conrbach's Alpha for the Avoidance subscale was .81. In order to develop the Attachment Typologies, high/low categories for both the Anxiety and Avoidance subscales were created using the midpoint as the cut point (low: < 3; high: $>$ or $=$ 3). Using these high/low categories, participants were coded into attachment typologies. Secure individuals scored low on Anxiety and Avoidance. Preoccupied individuals scored high on Anxiety and low on Avoidance. Dismissive individuals scored low on Anxiety and high on Avoidance. Finally, Fearful Avoidant individuals scored high on both Anxiety and Avoidance (see Figure 1). In addition to creating the Attachment Typologies, a dichotomous Secure/Insecure Attachment variable was created by grouping Preoccupied, Dismissing, and Fearful Avoidant individuals into the Insecure category.

Self-esteem. The following ten items were combined to form the self-esteem scale. Participants were asked how strongly they relate to the following statements: (1) "Overall, I am satisfied with myself," (2) "At times I think I am no good at all," (3) "I feel that I have a number of good qualities," (4) "I am able to do things as well as most other people," (5) "I feel I do not have much to be proud of," (6) "I certainly feel useless at times," (7) "I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others," (8) "I wish I could have more respect for myself," (9) "All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure," (10) "I take a positive attitude toward myself." Response categories included: (1) "Strongly disagree," (2) "Disagree," (3) "Neither agree nor disagree," (4) "Agree," and (5) "Strongly agree." Questions 2, 5, 6, 8, 9 were reverse coded. The scores for all ten items were summed. Higher scores indicate higher self-esteem. The Conrbach's Alpha for this scale was reported as .88.

Satisfaction. Participants were asked: (1) "Were you generally satisfied with your previous casual hookup experiences?" Response categories included: (1) "Yes" and (2)

"No." Participants were offered the opportunity to elaborate after each question on why they provided their answer.

Regret. Participants were asked: (1) "Have you ever experienced feelings of regret after a casual hookup?" Response categories included: (1) "Yes" and (2) "No." Participants were offered the opportunity to elaborate after each question on why they provided their answer.

Friends with Benefits. Participants were asked: (1) "How many friends with benefits have you had?" Participants had the opportunity to give an open-ended quantitative answer. *One Night Stands.* Participants were asked: (1) "How many one-night stands have you had?" Participants had the opportunity to give an open-ended quantitative answer. *Dating multiple people.* Participants were asked: (1) "Have you ever dated multiple people simultaneously?" Response categories included: (1) "Yes" and (2) "No."

Views. Participants were asked: (1) "What are your views on casual sex?" Response categories were open-ended.

Hooking up. Participants were asked: (1) "Do you participate in hook ups (i.e., physical or sexual relations with another individual, regardless of if you are dating or not)?" Response categories included: (1) "Yes" and (2) "No."

Hooking up frequency. Participants were asked: (1) "How often do you participate in hooking up per month?" Response categories were open-ended.

Hooking up length. Participants were asked the following question: (1) "For how many years have you been participating in hookups?" Response categories were open-ended.

Pressure. Participants were asked: (1) "Have you ever experienced feelings of pressure or anxiety prior to a casual hookup?" Response categories included: (1) "Yes" and (2) "No." Participants were offered the opportunity to elaborate on why they provided their answer.

Repeat. Participants were asked: (1) "Would you participate in hooking up again?" Response categories included: (1) "Yes" and (2) "No." Participants were offered the opportunity to elaborate on why they provided their answer.

Developing feelings. Participants were asked: (1) "Have you ever developed feelings for a casual hookup partner?" Response categories included: (1) "Yes" and (2) "No." *Religion.* Participants were asked if they practiced any religions. Participants were asked: (1) "Do you practice any religions? If yes, which ones?" Response categories included: (1) "Yes" and (2) "No." If participants answered yes, they were asked to provide an open-ended answer. *Ethnicity.* Participants were asked to specify their ethnicity. Participants

were asked: (1) "What ethnicity would you identify with?" Response categories were open-ended. *Relationship status.* Participants were asked if they are in a relationship currently. Participants were asked: (1) "Are you in a current romantic relationship (i.e., an open or monogamous relationship with another individual)?" Response categories included: (1) "Yes" and (2) "No."

Looking. Participants were asked the following question: (1) "What are you looking for right now?" Response categories were open-ended.

Number of previous romantic relationships. Participants were asked the following question: (1) "How many previous romantic relationships have you had?" Response categories were open-ended.

Longest romantic relationship. Participants were asked the following question: (1) "How long was your longest relationship?" Response categories were open-ended. *Satisfaction type.* Participants were asked the following question: (1) "During your hookups, were you physically or emotionally satisfied?" Response categories were open-ended.

Expectations for a partner. Participants were asked the following question: (1) "Have you ever had any expectations of your partner after your casual hookup and were they met?" Response categories were open-ended.

Expectations for self. Participants were asked the following question: (1) "Do you think your partner had any expectations of you and do you think you met them?" Response categories were open-ended.

Other emotions during a hookup. Participants were asked the following question: (1) "Were there any other emotions that came up for you after one or multiple casual hookups?" Response categories were open-ended.

Analysis Plan

IBM SPSS version 28 was used to conduct the quantitative analyses. Qualitative data (i.e., interview transcripts and open-ended questions) were thematically coded using open coding. Descriptive analyses were conducted on the Attachment Typologies, dichotomous Attachment variable, and other remaining variables in addition to correlation analysis among the variables. ANOVAs were conducted to examine differences between the Attachment Typologies and t-tests were conducted on the dichotomous Attachment variable to determine differences between Secure and Insecure attachment types.

Qualitative data was examined to further discern differences in the attachment typologies. Qualitative data examined type of satisfaction, expectations, and other emotions during a hookup through thematic analysis. These questions were inductively coded into

groups based on attachment style and individual answers for each question were compared within the attachment style groups, as well as between the groups. Thematic analysis was then used to find recurring patterns and themes amongst participant answers and the themes were placed into a flat coding frame.

Results

The final sample consisted of 20 individuals. Fifty percent of the participants identified as White (N=10), 30% identified as East Asian (N=6), and 5% identified as Black, Indigenous, Middle Eastern, and Mixed respectively (N=1). In terms of religion, 60% identified as an Atheist (N=12), 20% identified as Jewish and Christian respectively (N=2), and 5% identified as Islam, Hindu, Buddhist, and Spiritual respectively (N=1). When asked about their birth country, 75% were born in Canada (N=15) and 25% were born elsewhere (N=5). As seen in Table 1, the Anxiety subscale had indicated moderate levels of anxiety toward abandonment on average. The Avoidance subscale showed moderate to low levels of avoidance of intimacy on average. The mean score for self-esteem illustrated moderate to high levels of self-esteem in the sample on average. Through the mean score for relationship status, it was found that most of the sample was single. Looking's mean score demonstrated that most of the participants were looking for something casual. The mean score for dating multiple people proved that most of the sample had dated multiple people simultaneously. The mean score for hooking up showcased that most of the sample did participate in hooking up. The hooking up frequency showed that most of the sample participated in hooking up 3 times per month. Further, the mean score for hooking up length proved that most of the sample participated in hooking up for 1 to 2 years. The mean score for friends with benefits indicated that most of the sample had 1 friend with benefits. The mean score for one-night stands indicated that most of the sample had 5 one night stands previously. Satisfaction's mean score illustrated that most of the sample did not walk away from their hookup experiences with a sense of satisfaction. Regret demonstrated that most of the sample had experienced feelings of regret after hooking up. The mean score for pressure showed that most of the sample had experienced feelings of pressure prior to a casual hookup. Finally, repeat's mean score indicated that most of the sample would participate in hooking up again.

Correlations

A correlation analysis was run to investigate how different levels of anxiety over abandonment, avoidance of intimacy, and self-esteem related to participation in hooking up. As shown in Table 3, the correlation between anxiety and self-esteem is r = -.51, p = .02, indicating that participants scoring high on anxiety are more likely to experience

lower levels of self-esteem than participants scoring low on anxiety. The correlation between avoidance and regret is r = .55, p = .00 indicating that individuals scoring high on avoidance experience higher levels of regret than individuals scoring low on avoidance. The correlation between avoidance and self-esteem is r = -.50, p = .02 which indicates that individuals scoring high on avoidance also experience lower levels of self-esteem compared to individuals scoring low on avoidance. The correlation between avoidance and relationship status is r = -.49, p = .03 which indicates that individuals scoring high on avoidance are also more likely to be single. Having a one-night stand is positively related to the frequency of hooking up (r = .84, p = .00) which indicates that if a participant has previously had a one-night stand, they are more likely to participate in hooking up frequently than participants who have not had a one night stand before. Having a one-night stand is also positively related to having a friend with benefits (r = .50, p = .02), illustrating that a participant who has previously had a one-night stand is more likely to also participate in a friends with benefits arrangement. Finally, dating multiple people simultaneously and participating in hooking up is positively related (r = .66, p = .00), showcasing that if participants had dated multiple people simultaneously, they were also more likely to participate in hooking up than participants who had not dated multiple people simultaneously.

Attachment Styles

Of the 20 participants in the study, 40% were Secure (N=8), 40% were Preoccupied (N=8), 0% were Dismissive (N=0), and 20% were Fearful Avoidant (N=4). Figure 2 plots each participant on the Anxiety and Avoidance dimensions. Hypothesis tests were conducted using the attachment typologies (Secure, Preoccupied, Dismissive, Fearful) as well as a comparison of Secure versus Insecure where insecure included the Preoccupied and Fearful Avoidant attachment types. In this dichotomous comparison, 40% were Secure (N=8) and 60% were Insecure (N=12). Participants with Anxiety equal or greater to the midpoint of 3 on the 5-point scale, were deemed to have High Anxiety over abandonment while participants with Anxiety under the midpoint were deemed to have Low Anxiety over abandonment. Similarly, participants with Avoidance equal or greater to the midpoint of 3 on the 5-point scale, were deemed to have High Avoidance of intimacy while participants with Avoidance under the midpoint were deemed to have Low Avoidance of intimacy. Out of the 20 participants in the study, 60% had High Anxiety (N=12) and 40% had Low Anxiety (N=8). Furthermore, 20% had High Avoidance (N=4) and 80% had Low Avoidance (N=16).

Hypothesis Tests

Hypothesis #1. No significant results were found between the Secure, Preoccupied, and Fearful Avoidant groupings or the Secure versus Insecure comparisons for rates of

Table 1. Sample Characteristics

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Minimum	Maximum	Skewness	Kurtois
Relationship Status	20	1.45	0.510	1	2	0.218	-2.183
Looking	12	1.42	0.900	0	3	0.745	0.053
Number of previous romantic relationships	19	3.26	1.759	1	7	0.510	-0.567
Longest Romantic Relationship	20	29.95	20.004	3	72	0.546	-0.761
Views	20	1.70	0.470	1	2	-0.945	-1.242
Dating Multiple People	20	1.70	0.470	1	2	-0.945	-1.242
Hooking up	20	1.65	0.489	1	2	-0.681	-1.719
Hooking up Frequency	13	3.31	2.562	1	10	1.633	2.997
Hooking up Length	13	1.54	0.877	1	3	1.176	-0.551
Friends with Benefits	20	1.80	1.609	0	4	0.108	-1.640
One Night Stands	20	5.55	11.014	0	50	3.792	15.664
Satisfaction	15	1.40	0.507	1	2	0.455	-2.094
Regret	16	1.81	0.403	1	2	-1.772	1.285
Pressure	17	1.65	0.493	1	2	4.041	16.528
Repeat	20	1.85	0.366	1	2	-2.123	2.776
Self-Esteem	20	35.7500	5.99890	27	50	0.744	0.641
Anxiety	20	2.9833	1.05118	1.33	4.67	0.073	-0.908
Avoidance	20	2.6375	0.59498	1.17	3.67	-0.568	1.277

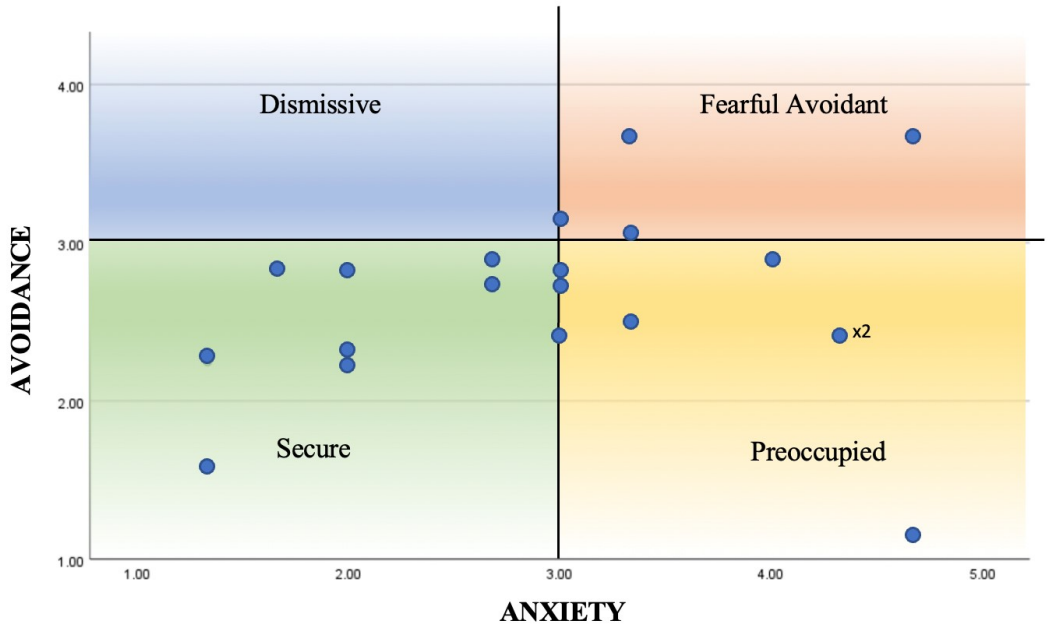
hooking up. However, when analyzing the qualitative data, we see that secure participants have more friends with benefits and one-night stands than insecure participants, which is reflected in the mean differences amongst secure and insecure participants. Secure participants had an average of 2.25 friends with benefits while insecure participants only had an average of 1.50. This indicates that secure participants have more friends with benefits than insecure participants. The average of one night stands for secure participants was 9.25 while insecure participants had an average of 3.08 which shows that secure participants have more one-night stands than insecure participants.

Table 2. Correlations

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Anxiety	1	$r = .160$ $n = 20$	$r = -.513^{*}$ $n = 20$	$r = -.214$ $n = 20$	$r = .025$ $n = 20$	$r = -.230$ $n = 19$	$r = -.210$ $n = 12$	$r = -.182$ $n = 20$	$r = .043$ $n = 13$	$r = .314$ $n = 16$	$r = -.261$ $n = 20$	$r = -.219$ $n = 20$	$r = .193$ $n = 20$	$r = -.330$ $n = 20$	$r = .402$ $n = 17$	$r = .175$ $n = 20$
Avoidance		$r = -.504^{*}$ $n = 20$	$r = -.489^{*}$ $n = 20$	$r = .093$ $n = 20$	$r = .003$ $n = 19$	$r = -.470$ $n = 12$	$r = .340$ $n = 20$	$r = -.032$ $n = 13$	$r = .551^{*}$ $n = 16$	$r = .241$ $n = 20$	$r = .072$ $n = 20$	$r = .236$ $n = 20$	$r = .155$ $n = 20$	$r = -.144$ $n = 17$	$r = .160$ $n = 20$
Self-Esteem			$r = .125$ $n = 20$	$r = -.103$ $n = 20$	$r = .174$ $n = 19$	$r = .201$ $n = 12$	$r = .130$ $n = 20$	$r = .107$ $n = 13$	$r = -.265$ $n = 16$	$r = .273$ $n = 20$	$r = .248$ $n = 20$	$r = -.279$ $n = 20$	$r = -.028$ $n = 20$	$r = -.330$ $n = 17$	$r = -.233$ $n = 20$
Relationship Status				$r = -.066$ $n = 20$	$r = .118$ $n = 19$	$r = .554$ $n = 12$	$r = -.390$ $n = 20$	$r = .526$ $n = 13$	$r = -.289$ $n = 16$	$r = -.141$ $n = 20$	$r = .235$ $n = 20$	$r = -.127$ $n = 20$	$r = -.066$ $n = 20$	$r = -.176$ $n = 20$	$r = -.183$ $n = 20$
Views					$r = -.187$ $n = 19$	$r = -.614$ $n = 12$	$r = .435$ $n = 20$	$r = .313$ $n = 13$	$r = .462$ $n = 16$	$r = .403$ $n = 20$	$r = .288$ $n = 20$	$r = .289$ $n = 20$	$r = .286$ $n = 20$	$r = .090$ $n = 17$	$r = .642^{**}$ $n = 20$
Number of previous romantic relationships						$r = .345$ $n = 12$	$r = .303$ $n = 19$	$r = -.009$ $n = 13$	$r = .087$ $n = 16$	$r = .407$ $n = 19$	$r = .311$ $n = 19$	$r = .196$ $n = 19$	$r = .511^{*}$ $n = 19$	$r = -.350$ $n = 17$	$r = .151$ $n = 19$
Looking							$r = -.043$ $n = 12$	$r = -.026$ $n = 10$	$r = -.553$ $n = 11$	$r = .138$ $n = 12$	$r = .245$ $n = 12$	$r = -.646^{*}$ $n = 12$	$r = .056$ $n = 12$	$r = -.140$ $n = 12$	$r = -.204$ $n = 12$
Hooking up								$r = c$ $n = 13$	$r = .179$ $n = 16$	$r = .775^{**}$ $n = 20$	$r = .350$ $n = 20$	$r = .036$ $n = 20$	$r = .663^{**}$ $n = 20$	$r = -.452$ $n = 17$	$r = .572^{**}$ $n = 20$
Hooking up Frequency									$r = .053$ $n = 13$	$r = .396$ $n = 13$	$r = .843^{**}$ $n = 13$	$r = .470$ $n = 13$	$r = .153$ $n = 13$	$r = .420$ $n = 13$	$r = c$ $n = 13$
Regret										$r = .195$ $n = 16$	$r = .122$ $n = 16$	$r = .224$ $n = 16$	$r = -.182$ $n = 16$	$r = -.041$ $n = 16$	$r = .303$ $n = 16$
Friends With Benefits											$r = .502^{*}$ $n = 20$	$r = .086$ $n = 20$	$r = .543^{*}$ $n = 20$	$r = -.349$ $n = 17$	$r = .393$ $n = 20$
One Night Stands												$r = .275$ $n = 20$	$r = .288$ $n = 20$	$r = -.131$ $n = 17$	$r = .217$ $n = 20$
Longest Romantic Relationship													$r = -.164$ $n = 20$	$r = .418$ $n = 17$	$r = .351$ $n = 20$
Dating Multiple People														$r = -.528^{*}$ $n = 17$	$r = .336$ $n = 20$
Pressure															$r = .059$ $n = 17$
Repeat															1

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).
**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
c. Cannot be computed because at least one of the variables in constant.

Figure 2. Participant Attachment Typologies



Hypothesis #2. When analyzing the variables between Secure and Insecure participants, a significant difference was found between groups for self-esteem (t = 1.96, df = 18, p = .07). The mean level of self-esteem for the secure group (N=8) was 38.75 with a standard deviation of 6.92, while the mean level of self-esteem for the insecure group (N=12) was 33.75 with a standard deviation of 4.55. By examining the mean levels of self-esteem for the secure versus insecure groups, we can determine that secure individuals have higher self-esteem than insecure individuals. Young (2021) found that a positive view of the self means lower anxiety whereas a positive view of others means lower avoidance (p. 49) and individuals with secure attachment had a higher self-esteem, higher social competence, and exceptional communication satisfaction and adaptability. Therefore, those participants with secure attachment who have higher self-esteem may also experience higher levels of satisfaction.

Additional Insights

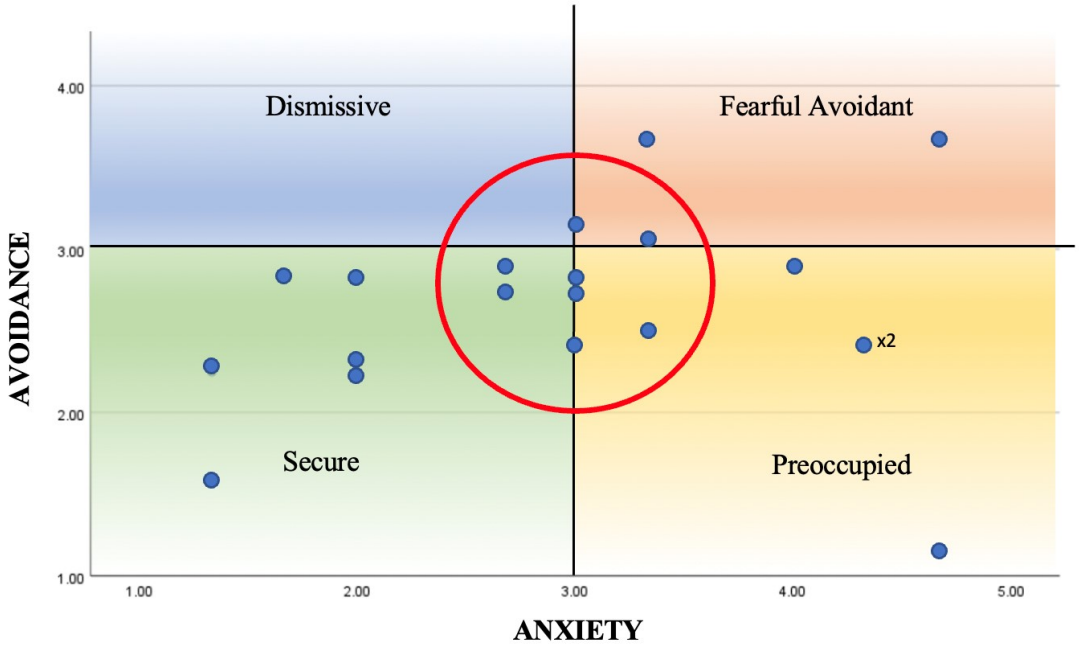
Participants scoring high on avoidance were found to experience higher levels of regret than participants scoring low on avoidance. Between the Secure, Preoccupied, and Fearful Avoidant groupings, a positive significant difference was also found between groups when asked whether participants had ever developed feelings for a casual hookup partner. The analysis of the variance model is significant (F = 3.78, df (2, 13), p = 0.051). Post hoc analysis shows that between the groupings, it was the individuals that had a

fearful avoidant attachment that experienced feelings for a casual hookup partner. The mean difference between secure and fearful avoidant attachments was .54 (p = .04) and the standard error was .23. The mean difference between preoccupied and fearful avoidant attachments was .67 (p = .02) and the standard error is .25. No significant difference was found when analyzing the variables between Secure and Insecure participants.

Discussion

While individuals who are dismissive or fearful avoidant claim to not be ready for a relationship, preoccupied individuals can seem immature to someone who is securely attached. These same insecure behaviors can be seen in individuals who fall close towards the center of the anxiety and avoidance dimensions. In the study sample, within each of the four attachment styles (Secure, Preoccupied, Dismissive, Fearful Avoidant) there is significant variation in terms of levels of anxiety and avoidance. Several of the participants in this study fell toward the center of the two dimensions, making their patterns similar to one another despite being in different categories. (See Figure 3).

Figure 3. Participant Attachment Typologies Midpoint Data



"What are you looking for right now?"

It was hypothesized that participants with secure attachment styles will have lower rates of hooking up compared to participants with insecure attachment styles. In this study, participants who had previously participated in hooking up also had one-night stands, participated in friends with benefits arrangements, and were more likely to claim they would participate in hooking up again. Participants with fearful avoidant attachment were more likely to be single, however, this does not mean they were more likely to participate in hooking up. In contrast, the average of one night stands and friends with benefits for securely attached participants was higher than that of insecurely attached participants. While securely attached individuals may be more open to sexual exploration, dismissive individuals may feel more uncomfortable with their sexuality and avoid hooking up altogether. However, as noted in Figure 3, securely attached individuals can have higher levels of avoidance or avoidant tendencies as a behavioral response to the extremes of hookup culture. In comparison, participants with fearful avoidant attachment, that are close to the midpoint between fearful avoidant and dismissive, may also hold many avoidant tendencies. Individuals with avoidant tendencies are more likely to claim they have never been in love and when dismissive individuals engage in sexual activities, they tend to disconnect their emotions to avoid closeness (Young, 2021, p. 52). One fearful avoidant participant stated:

> "For me, it's just more fun. You get to know the person and I don't really take hooking up that seriously. I definitely don't get attached to people through that." (Participant #13, Fearful Avoidant)

This distant and self-protective behavior is similar to how dismissive individuals approach their sexuality. They might also abstain from sex, sometimes choosing to rely on masturbation (Becker Phelps, 2014, p. 20). While there were no participants with dismissive attachment in the study, those individuals with higher levels of avoidance mimic this behavior as well. One participant that had high levels of avoidance stated:

> "I love the idea of casual sex. Though, I usually just choose to stay home instead, watch a movie at home, and maybe masturbate instead of seeking out another person." (Participant #7, Secure)

These behaviors are a part of their approach to sexuality and may have served as another explanation for the low average of hooking up amongst insecure participants.

"Situationships"

A "situationship" is defined as the space before a committed relationship but after a relationship is no longer platonic (Hsieh, 2021, para. 1). Unlike "friends with benefits" or relationships, there is no consensus or conversation regarding the expectations or "label"

of the relationship. Within these arrangements, it is common to see individuals dating multiple people simultaneously as a way to avoid commitment but still reap the benefits of the emotional intimacy a relationship could provide (Levine, 2019, p. 268). This study demonstrated that if participants had participated in hooking up, they were more likely to participate in a friend with benefits arrangement. Further, if participants had dated multiple people simultaneously, they were also more likely to participate in a friends with benefits arrangement. It was also found that participants of this study with fearful avoidant attachment were more likely to experience feelings for a casual hookup partner. Participants that have fearful avoidant or preoccupied attachment may find expressing their emotions more difficult due to a fear of abandonment and rejection.

Participants were also asked if there were any other emotions they felt after a casual hookup. Some participants expressed they felt confusion, a common internal conflict many individuals have when they find themselves in a situationship and it is clear that even securely attached individuals can fall victim to the stressful back and forth of these relationships. A preoccupied participant stated:

> "I think the main thing that I have experienced after casual hookups has been questioning where we go from here and what does this mean for us? I tend to future trip whereas it seems like people around me can just have sex with someone and then just move on." (Participant #15, Preoccupied)

The drive to find a sense of security is especially heightened when an individual is scared of losing a partner and they instinctively return to familiar childhood attachment behaviors. Fearful avoidant individuals often experience a hyper-fixation on relationships and limit their self development in desperate search for a partner (Lawson, 2020, p. 35). Since they hate being alone even for a short period of time, they may turn to hooking up or serial monogamy (Lawson, 2019, p. 36). Within the study, participants who claimed they did not date multiple people simultaneously tended to have a preoccupied or fearful avoidant attachment style. This may be a result of preoccupied and fearful avoidant individuals' tendency to hyper-fixate on one person who they have formed an attachment to (Young, 2021, p. 66). If they choose to participate in casual hookups, it is likely that individuals with fearful avoidant attachment will develop feelings for a casual hookup partner due to the close link between sexual intimacy and emotion. This can also be seen in the lower average of hookups amongst insecure participants in this study, as they give their full attention to their partners and find themselves unable to hook up with anyone else.

Anxiety and Regret

Unsurprisingly, if participants had experienced feelings of pressure or anxiety before or during hooking up, they were less likely to date multiple people simultaneously.

This may be related to negative experiences they had while hooking up that heighten avoidant or anxious tendencies and encourage individuals to choose a serious romantic partner over a casual hookup. When it comes to regret, participants with fearful avoidant attachment were more likely to regret their experiences compared to participants with secure attachment. This means that having a secure attachment style is protective from psychological distress following a hook up. Meanwhile, a secure participant with high levels of avoidance seemed unaffected emotionally after hooking up. They claimed that:

> "Not much shifted after a hookup. I used to think I would go and tell my friends about this person I met, but with my hookups it wasn't like that. It wasn't worth telling any of my friends about it. I felt a bit lonely after those hookups, but I would move on pretty quick so it wasn't a deep feeling of loneliness." (Participant #7, Secure)

This is similar to the impartial way dismissive attachment styles approach negative feelings around hooking up.

Limitations and Future Directions

A limitation of this study relates to the study population. A sample size of twenty participants served as a limitation since this may not have been representative of all university students in BC, certainly not nationally or globally. However, for means of preliminary examination, this sample size was sufficient for building a foundation for further hookup research. The study was a mixed methods study which allowed for more depth in participant responses through interviews. A survey would be more beneficial to gather a wider range of responses in the future. Second, there were no participants with a dismissive attachment style which prevented the collection of data for this attachment style grouping, as well as its comparison to other attachment styles. This may be due to the fact that dismissive individuals are not normally interested in relationships (Lawson, 2019, p. 41) and may not have volunteered to participate in the study.

Third, as attachment style is a spectrum based on anxiety and avoidance dimensions, there are limitations to using groupings or classification schemes. Many participants were similar to one another, located near the centre of the graph and close to artificial cut points that create categories. A larger sample would provide the ability to look at only the extremes in each category which would allow for further clarification on attachment types and behaviours. Finally, another possible limitation was reporting bias. The attachment style and self-esteem survey that participants completed prior to their interview requires self-disclosure. While the interviews were confidential, they were not anonymous and there may have been hesitation in sharing personal stories with a researcher.

When considering future directions, research needs to focus on how negative dating and hookup experiences can lead to or heighten a dysfunctional attachment style, as attachment style can also be influenced by trauma obtained in adulthood (Young, 2021, p. 83). Furthermore, it's important to also analyze the intersectional perspectives of race, religion, culture, ethnicity, and class in regard to attachment styles, as well as potential mental health disorders or conditions that may hinder social skills. All of these could potentially make the road to a secure attachment style more difficult and may instead promote hookup culture as an easier coping mechanism.

Conclusion

This project aims to fill gaps in the current research on attachment styles by exploring how the attachment styles individuals develop in childhood contribute to participation in hookup culture as young adults. It was hypothesized that participants with secure attachment styles will have lower rates of hooking up compared to insecurely attached (Preoccupied, Dismissive, Fearful Avoidant) participants. The study found that participants with fearful avoidant attachment were more likely to be single. However, participants with secure attachment were more likely, on average, to have a friend with benefits or one night stand than insecure participants. Furthermore, it was also hypothesized that participants with preoccupied attachment will experience more feelings of guilt than participants with secure attachment, and participants that have dismissive attachment will experience less feelings of guilt than participants with secure attachment. It was found that participants scoring high on anxiety or avoidance are more likely to experience lower levels of self-esteem than participants scoring low on anxiety. Further, participants scoring high on avoidance experience higher levels of regret than participants scoring low on avoidance. Finally, the analysis showed that individuals that had a fearful avoidant attachment were more likely to experience feelings for a casual hookup partner. However, all attachment styles said they would consider hooking up with someone again. This may be a result of the societal or peer pressure many individuals expressed they felt to participate in hookup culture. Attachment theory is a tool that may help individuals understand why they think the way they do and choose the people they choose. It equips individuals with the necessary habits to make better and more informed decisions. The more aware individuals are about their attachment style, the easier it will be to navigate life and relationships with others.

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Likes, Comments, and Colourism: The Construction of the Self and the Promotion, Maintenance, and Reproduction of Anti-Black Colourism on Social Media

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Abstract. Colourism— or the preferential treatment of people with lighter skin tones that occurs within and across racial groups— is a pervasive public issue. However, while colourism has become a social issue that is embedded within social institutions and hierarchies, it has gone understudied in academia. Social media platforms such as Instagram provide users with the ability to like, comment, and share content that they deem entertaining and worthy of attention while allowing these same users to carefully construct and manage a depiction of their self. The growing role of social media in everyday interactions and in the creation of identity becomes troubling when considering the presence of colourism on social media platforms. Colourism is a social issue that effectively reproduces cycles of oppression. Its presence and persistence on social media must be addressed and dismantled in order to establish true racial equity both online and off. By applying contemporary sociological theories to recognize the role of social media in the construction of our identities, examining the history of anti-Black colourism, and considering social media platforms as sites for the reproduction of colourism, this project suggests ways to fully deconstruct colourism on social media and work towards the eradication of the intergenerational harm that colourism inflicts upon Black communities.

Key words: colourism, identity, social media, Blackness, darker, lighter

Introduction

Don't touch my hair.

This is a phrase that Black people are familiar with. I grew up in a suburb of British Columbia where I was one of the only Black people in my elementary school, high school, dance academy, and community. People really wanted to touch my hair. Some people would ask. Some would not. My hair could be up, out, braided, or straightened, and people would always want to touch my hair.

Black hair— like most other symbols of Black culture— is appropriated, fetishized, ridiculed, mocked, and used to deny opportunities to Black people. When Black culture, Black music, Black vocabulary, Black history, Black art, Black speech, and Black activism are appropriated and trivially appreciated, our hair becomes a visible way to reclaim and celebrate our Blackness. I am a mixed lightskin Black woman with type 3B/3C hair; my hair is not very kinky and can be made to look like what has been socially defined as "good (Black) hair". People do not immediately assume that I am Black, but once they make that discovery, I become the subject of allure and interest because my Blackness is light enough to make non-Black people feel comfortable. My lighter Blackness is more accessible to non-Black people and is easier for them to understand and relate to than darker Blackness. My hair and my skin tone are lighter compared to other Black people, but darker compared to other non-Black people. My hair texture and the relative lightness of my skin afford me privileges because I am not too Black, yet I am subjected to discrimination within society because I am Black enough.

It is not the state of being a Black person that is the source of my oppression or my privilege. Colourism— or the preferential treatment of people with lighter skin tones which occurs within and across racial groups— is a pervasive public issue that overwhelmingly harms those with more melanin both in physical spaces and on social media (Craddock et al., 2018). Although colourism is similar to racism, racism creates divisions between racial groups while colourism strengthens these definitions by creating divisions across all racial and ethnic groups. Colourism is, regardless, commonly viewed as a subsection of racism rather than as its own, independent, public issue. Consequently, colourism has been allowed to develop subliminally in physical, social, and digital spaces. Colourism does not only affect Black people or other racialized groups. Colourism— like other social issues— is intersectional in its impacts and produces harm and privilege for all social actors of all skin tones. Anti-Black colourism has created divisions within Black communities by attributing more worth, beauty, prestige, and value to those with a skin tone lighter than a paper bag, which, consequently, encourages discrimination against Black people with darker skin (Mitchell, 2020). Colourism allows me to have experiences and opportunities that are not awarded to Black people who have darker skin than me. At the same time, colourism obstructs me from other experiences and opportunities

because I am not white enough.

As social actors who require interaction and social relationships to survive, people have always pursued social validation from others in order to create and inform their own identities. While social interaction historically took place within the public sphere (e.g., the capitalist marketplace, the industrialized workplace, and spaces dedicated to bourgeois leisure), social media platforms have shifted these interactions into a highly meaningful, yet ephemeral digital space (Trigg, 2001). Social media platforms— such as Instagram— provide users with the ability to like, comment, and share content that they deem important, entertaining, and worthy of attention while allowing these same users to carefully construct and manage a depiction of their ideal self (Kang & Wei, 2020). The management of the self to appear as a whole and socially correct person— in addition to online interactions with others to confirm or deny performances of the self— are key elements of interaction that now take place on social media, and, therefore, on a global scale. Instagram has digitized interaction and has made the dependency on in-person social interactions for the creation and validation of the self less salient. Erving Goffman[1] popularized theories of the self, identity, interaction ritual, and face work (Goffman, 1959). The norms and practices that he once observed and scrutinized now effectively and meaningfully take place on social media.

Social media has facilitated the sharing of knowledge, culture, and expression on a scale that was once thought to be impossible. Through processes of globalization— or the contraction of time and space— social media has become integral to the daily lives and interactions of individuals, collectives, and communities, and has, consequently, become essential to the development and presentation of their identities (Kang & Wei, 2020). The benefits from social media and the technological progress that it has allowed for cannot be underemphasized; it has allowed for the global sharing of ideas, cultures, and methods of thought. Unfortunately, social media platforms also present significant issues, as they are consistently used as a forum to share, expose, and ignite global outrage. The long-term impacts of social media on mental health, youth, globalization, communication, physical health, and society are unknown, as is the use of social media platforms in the construction of oneself (Jairoun & Shahwan, 2020). While the virtues of social media should be noted, social media— such as Instagram— have gained the capacity to meaningfully communicate, maintain, and reproduce social inequalities.

Through likes and comments, Instagram users are able to share their opinions and deem some bodies, identities, and groups to be more valuable than others. As the bodies and identities that draw the most attention, popularity, support, and user engagement are

[1]Although Goffman made significant contributions to the discipline, his positions of racial-neutrality, removal, and ignorance is a personal problem that I continue to have with him. Sociologists, such as myself, can take his work and apply it to our own, but it is important to recognize that Erving Goffman was a painfully disappointing person, who's continued presence in the sociological canon signals immense white, socioeconomic, and gender privilege.

often white, homogenous, and heteropatriarchal, social media becomes problematic as it is used in the maintenance of colourism. Through social media, certain characteristics are socially constructed and reified as desirable, good, and virtuous, and this narrow stratification ostracizes those who are unable to fit into binary and homogenous categories. The deep entanglement of social media with the creation and performance of the self should draw critique and perhaps, even be a cause for alarm. Many social media platforms including Instagram (as well as Facebook, Tik Tok, and Twitter) have faced problems with body image, beauty standards, mental health, and the maintenance of social harm (Aalbers et al., 2019). Eurocentric conceptions of sexuality, gender, race, and ethnicity are all very present on social media, especially on platforms that are based on the sharing of images like Instagram. If social media is effective at maintaining social inequalities such as colourism, social media presents a threat to users with darker skin.

This thesis provides theoretically informed research into the history of colourism, the construction of identity, and the role that social media plays in the maintenance of both. While this thesis does not engage directly with quantitative, empirical, or qualitative methods, this work is necessary and meaningful; it seeks to fill a notable gap in the current sociological canon and draw attention to a social issue that has gone markedly understudied. The interconnected relationship of these three themes will, therefore, be assessed through an argument informed by historical methods and contemporary sociological theory. The questions guiding this thesis are as follows: Does colourism influence the construction of online identities? How might social media affect the construction of the self? How does social media reinforce colourism? In what ways does colourism on social media harm people with darker skin?

By examining the presence and the implications of anti-Black colourism on Instagram, this thesis aims to understand a largely overlooked social issue. It is academically and socioculturally important to make social media platforms such as Instagram more accessible, anti-racist, and safe, regardless of the skin tone and colour of its users. Colourism is a relevant, harmful, hateful, and derogatory social issue that effectively reproduces cycles of oppression. Its presence and persistence on social media must be addressed and dismantled in order to establish true racial equity both online and off. By examining the history of colourism, applying contemporary sociological theory to recognize social media in the construction of our identities, and considering social media platforms as sites for the reproduction of colourism, this project will identify the most effective ways to fully deconstruct colourism on social media and work towards the eradication of the intergenerational harm colourism inflicts upon Black communities.

Colourism: History, Theory, and Present-Day Effects

Colourism targets identity by challenging and privileging certain presentations of Blackness over others; colourism strengthens divisions across and within groups and has played a key role in the institutionalization of oppression, discrimination, and prejudice for Black, Indigenous, and non-white people. The implications of colourism are pervasive and harmful, yet there has been little research on the history of colourism, its presence in technological spaces, and as a force for social stratification. Although there is little scholarship on colourism, much of the existing literature works to confirm the harmful effects of colourism on non-white groups and its effect in the maintenance of social hierarchies and cycles of oppression. The negative implications of colourism are ubiquitous and dangerous, thus the history of colourism and its continuation into the present day makes colourism a social issue worthy of immense scrutiny in both academic and non-academic spaces.

Mitchell (2020) provides an excellent discussion on the history of colourism and the practices of skin lightening and whitewashing that it would go on to produce. Mitchell writes that "colourism, interracial and intraracial racism" are heavily based in American enslavement where white slave owners would rape enslaved Black women (Mitchell, 2020). The children would have one white parent and one Black parent and would gain privileges over other enslaved Black people because of their lighter skin. The resulting division between light and dark enslaved Black people is what is seen as the basis of colourism by many scholars, as "some light skin tone house Negros [sic] began to look down on the Black dark skin tone field Negros [sic]" (Mitchell, 2020). This idea of a "better than Black elite status" (Mitchell, 2020) is a racist construction heavily informed by colourism that still exists today, where some Black people will look down on other Black people for being the "wrong" type of Black person (Kendi, 2019). Although colourism has been informed by a variety of events across history, the role of colonialism and enslavement in the perpetuation of colourism is fundamental.

Mitchell (2020) continues that after the Civil War, divisions between Black people continued; lighter Black people would "establish their own clubs, churches, and other organizations, known as the Blue Vein Society. They did not let dark skin tone Black people into their spaces" (2020). The gatekeeping of public spaces after the American Civil War encouraged white people to deny Black people in their entirety, and, consequently, for lighter Black people to deny darker Black people. The paper bag test and the brown door test, for example, were used by lighter Black people to discern which Black people were light enough to enter their spaces (Mitchell, 2020). Mitchell (2020) suggests that these practices occurred largely because lighter Black people began to treat their skin tone as social capital; light skin should be sought after and used to gain privileges that are not afforded to darker Black people. Most notably, Mitchell argues that "colourism would determine if someone were socially accepted based on the colour of their skin. Once a

person was socially accepted, they were considered superior over darker skin tone individuals" (Mitchell, 2020). Mitchell's study confirms the relationship between colourism, identity, self-worth, social acceptance, and how this has effectively divided Black communities for centuries.

Phoenix continues the work of Mitchell and describes the history of colourism as an academically unexplored feminist issue and the effect that it has on women and girls of colour (Phoenix, 2014). They examine pop culture to identify how colourism produces intergenerational harm through its effective mechanisms of division and by constructing colourism as an issue that can only be solved by people of colour. They remind us that colourism exists across ethnicity in Europe, South Asia, Southeast Asia, South America, Africa, and around the world; the preference and privilege awarded to people with lighter skin is not constrained to Black communities nor to North America (Phoenix, 2014). Phoenix confirms that while there may be "no singular history of colourism," anti-Black colourism can be irrefutably identified in "the preferential treatment given to enslaved people with light skin who were the product of slave master rapes of, or 'relationships' with, [B]lack slaves" (Phoenix, 2014). They recognize that colourism may predate colonialism and enslavement, but that the influence of colonialism on the expansion and entrenchment of colourism is significant (Phoenix, 2014). Phoenix confirms the findings of Mitchell and the long-term effects that slavery has imposed not only upon the institutionalization of colourism, but upon every aspect of society.

Phoenix cites Hunter and Glen to argue that in countries colonized by Europeans, "white skin and associated features were accorded high status and dominance" and that this connotation would continue into the era of segregation and beyond (Phoenix, 2014). After the formal abolition of slavery in the United States, terms such as "passing" and the enforcement of the "one-drop rule" preserved colourism in the post-abolition period. The one-drop rule classified "those with a single drop of [B]lack blood or any known [B]lack ancestry as [B]lack," but many Black people with "skin light enough to 'pass' as white" chose to assume white identities and leave their families during this time (Phoenix, 2014). Renouncing one's Blackness to avoid persecution created extreme divisions within Black communities, and, today, Black people who are "white passing" experience similar privileges and sociocultural separation. The work of Phoenix can be assessed in relation to Mitchell to confirm the complex and widespread origin of colourism and how its presence both institutionally, online, and cross-culturally makes colourism an issue that will be difficult to dismantle.

Theories of Colourism

Mitchell (2020) provides an analysis of theories that have been used to explain colourism and defines colourblindness and Critical Race Theory. Colourblindness is the belief that differences in race do not have any substantial meaning and should not be acknowledged. Colourblindness assumes that race, shade, or colour do not impact one's experience and that everyone has equal access and opportunity (Mitchell, 2020). Colourblindness, as an ideology, has grown in popularity because it allows for racism to be expressed more easily and with more subtlety. Colourblindness is more covert than previous practices of racism by relying on microaggressions to indirectly perpetuate oppression. Critical Race Theory (CRT) is at the forefront of current anti-racist discourse. In relation to colourism, CRT can be assessed to further explain the relationship between colourism and colourblindness and how this relationship presents problems for Black people with darker skin. CRT exposes how many people, both white and non-white, believe that society has reached a post-racial state and that neither racism nor colourism are systematically reproduced in social structures (Mitchell, 2020). CRT has become a controversial topic in legislation, education, and in anti-Black colourist discourse, particularly in the United States. However, CRT is relevant to the discussion on colourism because the belief that racism and colourism no longer exist is detrimental to the progress needed to counteract and deconstruct racism and colourism.

Colourism and Skin Lightening

As the previous section makes clear, colourism is not a new issue. It is one that has been deeply informed by historical events to reproduce ongoing privilege and oppression in modern spaces. The progression of colourism over history and its modern-day expression takes many forms, but an example of colourism that illustrates its historical legacy is skin lightening. This is discussed by Craddock, Dlova, and Diedrichs in their examination of how colourism affects adolescents in a variety of modern milieux. Craddock et al. note that colourism can affect people through pop culture, in perceptions of beauty and body image, and in educational, criminal justice, and occupational spaces (Craddock et al., 2018). Craddock et al. explain this disparity through their expert examination of skin lightening, which "has been identified as a serious, yet overlooked, public health and social justice priority due [to] its negative health outcomes and intersection with colourism" (Craddock et al., 2018). Skin lightening is one of the most prevalent examples of modern day colourism and is highly informed by historical and ongoing forms of colonization and imperialism. Although colourism creates negative experiences regardless of gender or sexuality, colourism most commonly harms women of colour. Global standards of beauty have constructed the lighter female body as worthy of more social capital and

beauty capital (Craddock et al., 2018). Lighter Black women are seen as more desirable, sexual, beautiful, and genteel, which leads to significant "prejudice, stereotypes and discrimination as a consequence of colourism" (Craddock et al., 2018).

Craddock et al. further recognize the specific dangers presented by colourism, as skin lightening and colourism threaten "the health, wellbeing and life opportunities of adolescents of colour" by associating their worth with the lightness and darkness of their skin (Craddock et al., 2018). They note how "research indicates that skin lightening product use is also correlated with negative mental health outcomes" and that depression has a significant correlation with skin lightening (Craddock et al., 2018). Craddock et al. conclude that "given the systemic nature of colourism, intertwined with issues of race, sex and class... advertisement regulation, education and employment policy" is necessary to combat the global influence of colourism (Craddock et al., 2018). Craddock et al. confirm the harm that colourism presents to people of colour in modern contexts and illustrate how colourism— as a reified source of social subjugation— has evolved over time and become entrenched into society.

Like racism, sexism, ableism, and other social issues, colourism is embedded within the institutions and structures of societies. Colourism, however, does not seem to be considered as problematic. Colourism works to divide groups, and because the groups that colourism presents the most harm to are groups of colour, colourism becomes an issue of colour and, therefore, one of little consequence to dominant groups. Colourism is seen as a personal problem that only impacts Black people with darker skin, and because colourism has been constructed in this way, it is not deemed an important social issue for dominant social forces to care about or deconstruct. Colourism makes the white European body the ideal body, thus it upholds white supremacy and white matrices of power. Colourism divides by denying and accepting certain identities, and if colourism continues to be disregarded and seen as a "Black" issue, colourism will continue to reproduce harm on generations of Black people. Much of the existing literature focuses on external conceptions of beauty, skin lightening, and self-worth while there is less research on how colourism informs identity. Further, if colourism is present throughout all types of media, and social media acts as a conglomeration for multiple media forms, colourism becomes concentrated in all aspects of social media (Craddock et al., 2018; Laybourn, 2018). By examining the work of scholars to examine the history of colourism, relevant theories, and the modern example of skin lightening, a working definition of colourism— as a large-scale social problem and an understudied concept— has been established.

The Social Construction of the Self and the Creation of Identity

Social media has become significant not only in the perpetuation of colourism, but as a space for the construction and verification of identity. Websites, apps, and accounts have gained increased importance in our lives and especially among young generations, placing self-worth in social identities and creating new ways to construct oneself. As technological advancements are made and as globalization continues to expand the world, we have sought out new and meaningful ways to present ourselves, and social media has proved effective in this endeavour. Goffman's theory of the self is one of the most notable theories to be developed in the field of sociology, and can therefore present a highly applicable praxis to examine the maintenance of colourism on Instagram and how the constructed reality of the self may be revealed. Goffman's theory of self— in addition to theories of control, face work, performance, interaction ritual, self-management, and symbolic interactionism— can be applied to understand why popular social media platforms are effective at constructing the self and integral to the maintenance of colourism on social media.

Goffman discusses how humans engage in both conscious and subconscious face work when interacting with others in social situations. Goffman writes that we, as social actors, are committed to the maintenance, reproduction, and presentation of our own face in addition to the preservation of the face of others (Goffman, 1967). We are motivated to pursue successful interactions and will modify our behaviour to enact a successful performance. Goffman defines face as "the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself [sic]" (Goffman, 1967). Face work, therefore, suggests the continual reproduction of our self by creating, wearing, and then presenting a mask during interaction (Goffman, 1967). Through interactions with others, the mask we construct and display becomes a conglomeration of the characteristics that we have come to value, and, most importantly, is designed to embody the traits that we assume others will value as well. Notably, Goffman suggests that because we act to maintain a face that must be constantly verified, our face is not ours. Our most personal attribute— our face— is only "on loan to [us] from society; it will be withdrawn unless he [sic] conducts himself [sic] in a way that is worthy of it" (Goffman, 1967). Therefore, face and face work are meaningful social constructions that determine the content, success, or failure of our interactions. As actors who are constantly constructing our own faces, we have the ability to imagine ourselves in the position of others; when a performance of the self proves insufficient, is exposed, or is disrupted, we will act to save the face of others (Goffman, 1967). Most relevantly, a mask will be donned during online interactions as well, with the hope that the intended audience will overlook the more variable and realistic self that lies behind this mask (Bullingham & Vasconcelos, 2013). Social media, thus, acts as a modern embodiment of Goffman's theory; we engage in a performance that we hope will be successful and it is only through

a successful performance of self that we gain verification from others, such as through likes and comments.

Goffman writes extensively on how the self is a performance of practiced norms, contending that a metaphorical mask is worn during these performances and will become noticeable if the performance is disrupted or challenged (Goffman, 1959). By managing the mask to align with the face, masks will represent our most valued attributes, embody the characteristics we believe others will similarly value, and communicate our self (Goffman, 1959). It would be nearly impossible to discern the true self from what has been imposed upon the self through processes of socialization and repeated interaction. Thus, this mask that can never be fully removed is completely constructed from feedback, reactions, and responses from others; there can be no true core self if the self is constructed externally to the individual.

Symbolic Interaction

No object— physical, social, or ideological— possesses inherent meaning. The ascription of meaning onto objects is work that is constantly done and redone by humans seeking to give meaning to their lives. Symbols acquire meaning through consensual agreement and the reproduction of shared values, and when acted or oriented toward, develop a symbolic significance that is truly meaningful. The assignment of meaning onto objects establishes valid, influential, and real significance for individuals, collectives, and institutions. The social consensus that was used to originally ascribe meaning onto symbols is forgotten over time, and the meaning behind such symbols becomes seen as innate and permanent; the reification of objectified symbols provides them with their continual meaning. Thus, symbols take on socially constructed yet significant meaning— especially when given collective attention— that can then be mobilized and acted toward to greatly inform the construction of self.

By teaching us that interaction has significant implications for the creation of our self, symbolic interaction theory recognizes the malleable and highly constructed nature of identity. Symbolic interaction is defined by Blumer as processes of interpretation and identification— rather than simply reacting— that occur during interactions with others (Blumer, 1969). Blumer suggests that the interpretation of meaning will greatly inform the nature of human beings and their association and coordination with others; the interpretation of symbols and meaning mediate human interaction (Blumer, 1969). Blumer thus illustrates how symbolic interaction plays a central role in group organization and suggests that society is composed of individuals who have a self and are able to meaningfully deploy it during interaction (Blumer, 1969). Symbolic interaction can, therefore, be defined as the collectively-agreed-upon placement of meaning onto inherently mean-

ingless objects— such as like buttons and comment sections— in order to effectively and appropriately construct the self and participate in society.

Symbolic interaction is, evidently, highly correlated to the functional and experiential production, maintenance, and performance of the self. As explained by Goffman, humans do not possess an innate core self; we, as actors in pursuit of a well-received performance must actively construct a mask to symbolize and define our self (Goffman, 1959). Strauss— in his extensive discussion on the transformation of identity through development— expands upon this and recognizes the connection between symbolic interaction, demeanour, and the self (Strauss, 1962). Strauss writes that "...the stability of a given social structure rests largely upon a proper preparation" for the performance which composes interaction (Strauss, 1962). As the self is fully constructed through the social environment and processes of socialization, we are forced to locate and attribute meaning to all aspects of our life in order to feel whole. For example, our skin tone is not inherently symbolic, but as we engage with others and institutions through interaction, we come to construct our self through consensual, agreed-upon meaning; our colour becomes integral to our constructed identity, face, and mask.

Further, Turner— who discusses the function of social roles— provides expert analysis on the importance and influence of roles in the construction of self (Turner, 1978). Turner describes the process of merging to illustrate how the wide array of social roles that we perform become internalized and deeply informative to the self; roles will be compartmentalized, and behaviour will seek to sustain and reproduce this role performance (Turner, 1978). Through agreement, reproduction, and reification, certain elements of social life take on meaning, and through these interactions, come to take on constructed yet meaningful social significance. The meaning provided by symbolic interaction is, therefore, essential in constructing, enhancing, and sustaining the self.

Interaction Ritual and Impression Management

Goffman suggests that impression management consists of both external and individual constraints which greatly inform interaction. He indicates that the external constraints on impression management are scripts, actors, props, and setting, in addition to the individualized performance frequency, emotional distance, and use of expressive equipment (Goffman, 1959). These constraints are used to control and manage impressions for the individual to perform their best, most accurate, or most relevant self. As the impressions that we provide and distribute are controlled both consciously and subconsciously, the theory of impression management is, therefore, used to define the factors employed to monitor the self we choose to convey (Goffman, 1959). In order to effectively manage impressions, we engage in "...a potentially infinite cycle of concealment, discovery,

false revelation, and rediscovery" to inform and perpetuate our consolidations of face (Goffman, 1959). The impressions we give off on social media will either be verified or dismantled— such as through likes, comments, or engagement— by those we interact with, and may become rigid and fixed to consistently reproduce the portrayal of an accurate depiction. Additionally, interaction rituals will include the significant sources of social solidarity that are used to bind society together; micro-interactions provide us, as actors, with the emotional responses needed to engage in effective interaction. It is through interaction rituals that worth, respect, and meaning are communicated, internalized, and utilized in the construction of the self. Goffman continues that through the repetition and practice of ritual, we are expected to mobilize as self-regulating participants in social encounters (Goffman, 1967). Further, Goffman suggests that we will experience embarrassment or shame when "in wrong face or out of face," which will prompt us to seek face-saving tactics to regain support and validation (Goffman, 1967). When an interaction exposes or threatens our constructed image of self rather than validates our performance as we have come to expect, we feel bad, and will act to repair our inadequate performance; if our face is not confirmed by others, we must work to fix it.

The performance of self is, clearly, a labour-intensive process, and it can be questioned why humans have been conditioned to allocate such effort towards the appropriate and effective performance of self. The answer to this question, as illustrated by Goffman, is deference. Deference is the ritualized elements of conduct that are meant to communicate an appropriate amount of respect during interaction. The accumulation of respect and prestige occurs through exchanges of deference within interaction rituals; touching, eye contact, and avoidance all meaningfully communicate the amount of deference owed and expected. When engaging in interactions, we expect to receive a certain amount of respect, and, conversely, provide an amount of respect to the other. The amount of deference one is awarded will therefore be contingent upon the symmetrical or asymmetrical power dynamics present during the interaction; the internalized expectations that we rely upon establish an understanding of the deference that is to be expected. The exchange of deference communicates status relationships and social hierarchies, thus greatly and meaningfully impacting the construction of self, impression management, face work, and the creation of appropriate masks. As actors on a highly stratified stage, rewards are sought after and behaviour, masks, and impressions are constantly managed, altered, and reshaped to earn the appropriate amount of deference. On Instagram, users are able to cultivate and expand their amount of positive social value by constructing their self in a way that earns them the most positive feedback, verification, and, most crucially, deference. Thus, the exchange of deference in interaction plays an integral role in the communication of status relationships and in the design of social hierarchies.

The Construction of Identity Through Social Media

As illustrated above, the construction of the self is a complex, important, formidable, and deeply personal experience, and the development of social media platforms may provide people with the tools to do this elaborate work with ease. Instagram was launched on October 6th, 2010, with the goal of sharing pictures and photography on a global scale (Evans, 2018). Since then, Instagram has amassed 1 billion monthly users and is one of the largest social media platforms worldwide (Dean, 2022). Instagram is predominantly a photo and video sharing app that allows users to share pictures, gain likes, and read through comments from their peers or from the broader Instagram user base. Instagram offers a way to refine an online identity and present only the aspects that a user wants to share; users can like and comment on the posts of other users and can post and edit nearly any picture they desire. Comments, followers, engagement, and likes all continue to contribute to the significance that Instagram has gained in the creation of online identities and in the affirmation of oneself. Social media such as Instagram have become commonplace in the daily lives of many, yet the long-term implications of social media on mental health, body image, communication, relationships, physical health, and identity, are quite unknown. Instagram has become a predominant way for people to create an identity that is truly significant and meaningful, and the possibility for Instagram to simultaneously produce harm by providing tools to confirm and deny identities is incredibly relevant to this discussion on colourism.

Kang and Wei provide an excellent assessment of the role of social media in the construction of the self, and employ Goffman's theory to Instagram and "finsta" accounts. A "finsta" (or fake Instagram) is a secondary account held by the same user that is far more casual, realistic, and low barrier when compared to the highly tailored and monitored main account. Kang and Wei suggest that Instagram can be viewed as the front stage, as this space showcases the identity cues that are relevant in fostering the desired self-image (Kang & Wei, 2020). Goffman's theory of the front and backstage— or dramaturgy— is deeply connected to the theory of self; the front stage is where performance takes place while the backstage is where the performance is determined, informed, revised, and most vulnerable. Kang and Wei continue that because "we are highly motivated to present our best self (i.e., one's identity that consists of positive, socially desirable attributes) to other individuals," we will only showcase our controlled front stage in order to have our performances of self verified by others (Kang & Wei, 2020). We aim to present our best self at all times, and social media have created accessible, meaningful, and incredibly effective methods to achieve this.

Social media provides users with the agency to construct their self in whichever way they please. Users make conscious and subconscious choices in order to present a constructed face that we expect will bring the most deference and verification. This is well-discussed by Wiederhold, who analyzes the impacts of Instagram accounts on

teens. Wiederhold suggests that the main Instagram accounts of respondents were highly correlated to "the identity they choose to share with the larger world" and were highly informed by the "pressure to present a tailored representation of one's life" (Wiederhold, 2018). Although the finsta account allowed for respondents to begin the construction of their identities, Wiederhold discovers that "the pressure to receive likes, comments, and followers can culminate in high anxiety and social pressures" that can accurately "detect early signs of mental illness" (Wiederhold, 2018). In comparison to other social media, Instagram presents the most negativity in regard to body image and appearance, and notes that Instagram is particularly effective at setting "unrealistic expectations, feelings of inadequacy, and low self-esteem" (Wiederhold, 2018). Individuals must constantly monitor their presentations of self and judge these presentations based on their mass reference groups. By putting such a large amount of significance into receiving verification from others on Instagram, identity is highly informed by this social media platform, and the performances that are considered desirable (e.g., white, normative) are effectively communicated.

Instagram has notoriously promoted unhealthy body standards through edited and unrealistic images and generally seems to reward and recommend content that features whiteness or white traits. Peterson conducts a study on the experiences of a Muslim Instagram user named Leah, who acts as a social media interrupter by using her influence to facilitate discussions on racism, colourism, body image, injustice, and the marginalization of voices on the platform. Peterson finds that Instagram is home to popular feminism, a branch of feminism that largely caters to and uplifts women who are "white, straight, middle class, and cis-gender" (Peterson, 2020). Leah remarks that while some women and some bodies are celebrated on Instagram, any "expressions that critique patriarchal structure and systems of racism and violence are obscured" (Peterson, 2020). The embodiment of white supremacy and imperialism on social media reinforces racist stereotypes of non-white inferiority (Peterson, 2020). Peterson further discovers that on Instagram, the female body is highly surveilled, monitored, reprimanded, and remodelled to align with positive feminism, thus promoting judgements based on white heteronormativity (Peterson, 2020). By identifying and reinforcing characteristics that are seen as good, some performances of self will gain more verification than others. These performances are often limited to whiteness, and thus Instagram contributes greatly to the construction of self and to the maintenance of colourism.

Baumann and Ho— who write about cultural schemas in media— note how all forms of media play a key role in the reproduction of "stereotypical depictions of social groups, including racial groups, that are shaped by dominant cultural schemas of identity" (2014). It seems that old and new forms of media may be intrinsically linked to issues of inequality, and the relevance of social media in our daily lives makes the problems presented by Instagram particularly troubling. Instagram provides users with the ability to comment on, share, engage with, and like content that they enjoy and understand as deserving of praise while simultaneously encouraging these same users to surgically

manage an account that subjectively portrays them in the ways that they desire. Instagram users seek out deference, verification of their presented self, and affirmation of their identity by managing their account and their self in the ways they think are the most valuable. Although users can present their identity as authentically or inauthentically as they wish, Instagram accounts can never be more than a stage upon which identity is performed. Problems arise when the performances and identities of people with darker skin are awarded less deference; colourism will emerge when identities are valued unequally and when social media platforms support this imbalance. If colourism problematizes identity and identity is meaningfully created on social media, social media plays an integral role in the maintenance of colourism, and social media platforms must therefore make sweeping changes to prevent this.

Limitations and Directions for Future Research

As with all sociological research, this thesis contains several limitations. A key limitation of this work is the absence of qualitative or quantitative analysis. The above research has outlined a detailed theoretical and historical argument that can be applied to further studies into this area. Interviews, surveys, or the analysis of data gathered from Instagram will all be important and valuable additions to the existing body of work. Originally, this thesis was going to conduct a survey of Black Instagram users to identify their experiences of colourism on Instagram, and this could be an effective secondary step in my research. This thesis has constructed a persuasive theoretical justification for future research into colourism and identity construction on social media, and hopefully this work can be used to inspire and situate further quantitative or qualitative research.

Another limitation is the scope of this thesis. This research examined the construction of identity through the work of one key theorist (Goffman) with little critique, and is thus limited to one episteme. Further, this research discussed anti-Black colourism in a North American context on Instagram. Colourism can be examined throughout societies and within all social structures, thus the possibilities for research into colourism are expansive. Further, my own position, privileges, and identities as a lighter Black woman from Canada, effects and affects this work in a myriad of ways. Thinkers who do, and do not, look and think like me, must be included and encouraged in the continuation of the sociological study of colourism, social media, and identity.

A notable example of colourism that was not included in this research is colourism in rap music. Misogynoir— a term coined by Moya Bailey and Trudy— recognizes "the anti-Black racist misogyny that Black women experience," and this framework could contribute to a more comprehensive theoretical assessment of colourism (Bailey & Trudy, 2018). Colourism in music that targets Black women is a primary method for the re-

production of colourism outside of social media, and so should be included in future research. Hierarchies of hair texture are also a predominant way for colourism to be identified; Black hair is separated into socially constructed and inherently colourist categories, where "good hair" is defined by straightness and is often viewed as preferable to thicker, kinkier, natural, and coiled hair. Future studies should take into closer account the immense cultural and historical significance of Black hair, the continued cultural appropriation of Black hair, and how hair within the Black community is often used to preserve and reproduce colourism.

In order to make social media platforms safer spaces for darker Black people, education on the history of colourism and on the externality of the construction of the self must occur. Colourism is a vastly understudied phenomenon, thus comprehensive and intersectional education on colourism, its history, and its present-day modalities, must be supported. Colourism on social media contributes to the continued subjugation of historically oppressed groups; it will be necessary to diminish the role of social media in the construction of our self to establish true structural equality. In addition to education, social media platforms must recognize their unprecedented role in the construction of identities and in the mediation of interpersonal interactions. Instagram should seek out information about how colourism is impacting its platform and how colourism's presence is significant and harmful for Black users with darker skin. Several changes must occur in order to make social media more equitable, and this will begin with education on the topic of colourism and the harm it presents to darker Black people.

Conclusion

By providing a historical overview of colourism, investigating Goffman's theories of identity and the self, and examining the role of social media in the reproduction of colourism, this project has successfully demonstrated the danger that colourism presents to identities on social media. Structural changes and education must be established in order to make physical, social, and digital spaces accessible and safer for darker Black people. The above literary research strongly suggests that colourism will influence the construction of online identities by placing significance into the successful performance of the self and one's online identity. Social media can affect the construction of the self by awarding some with more deference than others and can reinforce colourism through the use of likes and comments. Colourism on social media can therefore harm people with darker skin by devaluing their identities. Social media reproduces, maintains, and perpetuates colourism because colourism is an issue that challenges identity, and identity is significantly informed by social media.

The implications of colourism must be taken seriously and the harm that it presents

to Black people with darker skin should be considered a source of social stratification. It is with hope that this work could be used to inspire future research into the formation of identity and the presence of colourism on social media. The harm that colourism presents to the identities of darker Black people on Instagram is significant, but, hopefully, changes can be developed and implemented to eradicate colourism in all spaces and contribute to the creation of racial, ethnic, and colour equity.

To deny my privilege as a lighter Black person would be to deny the institutional struggle faced by darker Black people. I face discrimination and prejudice because I am Black, but I am privileged by this same Blackness. My experiences with racism should not be dismissed or invalidated, but I must recognize how my lightness awards me opportunities, advantages, and safety that are not awarded to others. Colourism will continue to impact me, Black people, and all other people unless institutionally informed changes are developed to combat it and dismantle it. The deconstruction of colourism both online and off will not be an easy endeavour, but the creation of spaces that validate all identities is an important and worthy pursuit. Colourism will continue to create barriers for some and open doors for others. My skin and my hair will continue to privilege me, and my skin and my hair will continue to disadvantage me. The significance and cultural omnipresence of colourism is extensive and permeative, and by centering the experiences of darker Black people, it is possible that the dangers of colourism— both online and off— can be prevented.

Don't touch my hair.

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The Double-Commodification of the Filipina: Neocolonial Exploitation in the Entertainment Era

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Abstract. Even in the absence of explicit colonizer presence, the Filipino government has profited off the sexualization of Filipinas under the white male gaze, enabling a thriving sex tourism industry and mail-order bride market which pumps foreign currency into the national economy (Cunneen & Stubbs, 2000). Thus, Filipinas use the awareness of their exoticism as a 'survival' mechanism to circumvent increasingly restrictive immigration policies and a dwindling local economy – at the risk of their own lives (Cunneen & Stubbs, 2000). Filipinas being marketed as marriage and sexual commodities to white men have been studied extensively – a new phenomenon has arisen in response to these relationships. The following paper will be concerned with outlining this 'double-layered commodification' phenomenon whereby Filipinas are first commodified through the origins and continued existence of the mail-order bride and sex tourism market, and then the new commodification of these relationships as entertainment products. As audiences consume the new entertainment product, underpinning systems of inequality, already obscured by the mail order bride and sex tourism market, are further obscured. Moreover, increased engagement with the product only promotes the propagation of the commodity, further reinforcing and feeding into underlying systemic inequality. This paper will outline this process through (1) a literature review detailing preconditions of Filipina commodification and the mail order bride/sex tourism market and (2) an analysis of YouTube comments under clips from Rose and Ed's segment on TLC's *90 Day Fiancé*, a TV show that follows the love stories of international couples. Ultimately, this paper will bridge the literature and empirical data together to outline and propose this 'double layer commodification' process.

Introduction

In 2020, TLC's program *90 Day Fiancé* debuted a segment following the love story of 23-year-old Filipina Rose Vega and 54-year-old 'Big Ed', a couple who had met via Facebook and were now meeting in-person for the first time.[1] The segment was hugely popular, with the clips amassing a total of 99.1 million views on TLC's YouTube channel since its original release in 2020. For the most part, audiences fell in love with Rose, praising her resilience through each painful episode of her relationship with Ed. The publicity following the show dramatically changed Rose's life, going from living in a cement and metal-sheet home to a two-storey house and lot with her family. And in the meantime, Ed was made the laughingstock of the internet. To the audiences of *90 Day Fiancé*, Rose is a modern female success story in every way: using her 'exotic femininity' to her advantage, she had made a mockery of the sad foreign man who thought he could make a fool of her and has come out of it independent and self-sufficient. The current audience's overwhelming support for Rose reflects a dramatic shift from previous depictions of Filipina mail-order brides that portrayed these women as immoral, selfish women leeching off foreign men (Cunneen & Stubbs, 2000). Instead, *90 Day Fiancé* viewers praise Rose: rather than vilifying her use of her 'exoticness' as predatory, they instead hail for her clever subversion of the male fantasy for her own personal gain. However, the paradox of audiences praising Rose's agency is that her search for autonomy required a complete surrender of it. There is a sense of awareness about her appeal, and in that is also an understanding of Filipinas' position of subordination.

American military presence in the Philippines in the early and mid 1900s cultivated a burgeoning prostitution district around the bases for soldiers' rest and relaxation – a prostitution district that still lives on today as a popular site for sex tourists (Ralston & Keeble, 2009). A report by the Philippine Women Centre of B.C (2000) found that at the beginning of the 2000s, the Philippines topped all other countries in Southeast Asia for the number of women in prostitution, standing at 600,000. And in response to increasingly strict immigration laws abroad and the dwindling economy in the Philippines (Root et al., 1997), Filipinas turned to arranged marriages to foreign men in 'First World' countries through mail-order bride sites, 'pen pal' sites, and sex tourism agencies to help provide for their families and carve out pathways to immigration (Cunneen & Stubbs, 2000; Root et al., 1997). Filipinas who enter these marriages face a disproportionate risk of violence compared to women in the general population of their new host countries. According to Cunneen & Stubbs (2000), the representation of Filipinas among victims of domestic

[1] An important note: it could be argued that Rose was truly interested in Ed. While this may well be the case, the television show places heavy emphasis on storylines implicated with mail-order bride-related issues (eg. The premise of the show predicated on the K-9 visa, Rose's sister asking Ed for money, Ed's friends fearing he's being 'scammed'). For this reason, the audience is led to interpret the storyline in this manner. As audience consumption of 90 Day Fiancé is the focus of the second part of this paper, the relationship will be viewed through the lens of the mail-order bride market.

violence-related homicides stands at six times that of the general Australian population, speaking to the dangers of the culture of white supremacy. These conditions have set the stage for shows like *90 Day Fiancé*, which capitalize on men like Ed travelling across the globe to find their perfect foreign wife. And yet all of this is concealed under the guise of selling a story for the sake of reality TV. The entertainment value of the show generates audience responses that validate these systems of inequality in the name of a false sense of individual female liberation.

The following paper will analyze this double-layered commodification of Filipino mail-order-brides and prostitution through a number of theoretical lenses including Marxist understandings of class and commodity fetishism, Frantz Fanon and W. E. B. DuBois' theories of race, various Filipino scholars' work on the condition of Filipinos, and some mention of work by feminist Charlotte Perkins Gilman. It will take an intersectional approach to understanding the historical and contemporary oppression of Filipinas and attempt to interpret the implications of audience responses to these 'success stories.' It will begin by discussing the conditions set by the colonial period that enable the first commodification of Filipinas as sex objects. It will then propose the existence of a second layer of commodification which capitalizes on relationships formed through sex tourism and mail-order bride markets to produce entertainment commodities. This will be done using primary research on audience responses to the TV program *90-day Fiancé*, taking a sample of 600 comments from the YouTube comments section of Ed and Rose's segment on the show to understand audience responses. The findings from this analysis will then be connected to existing literature to deepen an understanding of the current state of Filipina objectification in the entertainment and mass media age. Ultimately, this paper will use these theories to argue that these two layers of commodification work in tandem to conceal the continued oppression of Filipinas and justify global systems of inequality that 'necessitate' mail order bride markets and prostitution.

Creating Oppression: Theories of Colonization, Race, and Gender

In recent history, voices calling for the empowerment of women have advocated for fighting against the image of the woman as docile and demure. Such arguments begin with the work of feminist scholars such as Charlotte Perkins Gilman, who scrutinizes these restrictive roles for women (Perkins Gilman, 1898). Pointing out the relative agency and productivity that the female sex has in other animal species, Perkins Gilman criticizes the patriarchy in subordinating women and creating cultural scripts that marginalize them (Perkins Gilman, 1898). While she is somewhat cognizant of women in other societies as having a better social position (Perkins Gilman, 1898), her explanation for this lies almost exclusively in economic relationships. While certainly important, her analysis

discounts the role of particularly Western social institutions' roles in moralizing and oppressing women, not to mention omitting conversations of race. Looking at the position of Filipinas before and after colonization can provide important insight into how women have been oppressed and the role of Western institutions (beyond the economy; including legislation, education, and religion, among others) that have factored into this oppression. In the Philippines, these Western institutions form the first layer of Filipina oppression: creating the conditions that enable the commodification of Filipinas.

From what is known of Filipinas' position prior to colonization (and when looking at indigenous groups that maintain their customs) women enjoyed an equal position to men. In an ethnography by an American anthropologist dated in 1943, the author writes of the Filipino people: "It is difficult to imagine an attitude of more complete non-discrimination between the sexes" (Kroeber, 1943, pp. 155). Far from their counterparts in the West, Filipinas enjoyed privileges such as the freedom to dissolve marriages, own property, and manage income and wealth (Kroeber, 1943; Benitez et al., 1937). But when the Spaniards arrived in 1521, so did Christian moral standards of women's place in society. More specifically, women are entirely reliant on men, highly restricted, and relegated to the 'nonprofitable' housework so criticized by Perkins Gilman (Aguja, 2013). While interpretations of women in the bible have changed over the years, those at the time stressed the need to control women (Aguja, 2013). From the temptation of Eve who unleashed suffering unto humanity to the words of prominent Christian figures such as Saint Augustine proclaiming that women are "unstable animals," misogyny was coded into the Christianization of Filipinos (Aguja, 2013). Archived letters detailing the voyage of colonizer Miguel López De Legazpi in the Philippines denounce the insolence of the Filipinas roaming freely around the trading zones, "an evil which Legazpi, although he posted sentenials [sic], was unable to stamp out" (Blair & Robertson, 1907). With the imposition of Christian moral standards and the enforcement of a racial hierarchy, Filipinas were doubly oppressed as women and 'natives' (Aguja, 2013).

Like many other colonial subjects across the globe, the introduction of racial hierarchies brought about an internalization and awareness of Filipino's own inferiority, what W. E. B. DuBois refers to as the 'double consciousness' and what Fanon describes extensively in his own work on colonial mentality (DuBois, 1903; Fanon, 1952). Filipino psychologist E. J. R. David furthers Fanon's work in his own book, *Brown Skin, White Minds*, detailing the specific manifestations of colonial mentality in the Philippines and how the internalized psychological processes borne from both Spanish and American colonization primed Filipinos to praise, prize, and serve white people (David, 2013). Much like Fanon's observations, this internalized inferiority culminates into a desire to abandon their heritage and completely assimilate themselves into white society (Fanon, 1952). This is evident in the mass migration of Filipinos outside of the country, the disdain with which such immigrants speak about the Philippines and their heritage, but also in the presence of unconscious psychological bias (David, 2013). In one of the various psychological studies by E. J. R. David and Sumie Okazaki, when presented with Filipino-related stim-

uli prior to completing a fill-in-the-blank task, participants were more likely to complete the ambiguous word '_ _ _ ERIOR' (which could be completed in other ways including 'interior', 'exterior, etc.) with the word 'INFERIOR' (David, 2013). In contrast, when primed with American-related stimuli, participants were more likely to complete the ambiguous word with 'SUPERIOR' (David, 2013). To test the replicability of these results, the same study was also carried out recruiting participants from a regional Filipino conference, under the assumption that these individuals would be more likely to take pride in their heritage (David, 2013). Despite this, researchers observed the same patterns (David, 2013). The forces of colonization consequently guide how one experiences and operates in the world: as a racialized body first and a person second (Fanon, 1952). And in the words of DuBois, awareness of one's position of inferiority, or the awareness that all interactions will be colored by others' responses to their racialized body thus creates an awareness that one cannot exist as their authentic self in the world (DuBois, 1903). But here, one may also notice a gendered lens to Filipina double-consciousness: not only is she aware of her Filipino-ness but is also aware of her womanhood in the context of her Filipino-ness.

Also worthy of note is the thought processes of the oppressors in justifying the commodification of Filipinas. Nestled at the gateway between the Americas and East Asia, the Philippines was an important strategic location for the American military (Ralston & Keeble, 2009). After claiming the Philippines from the Spanish, the Philippines would enter yet another period of colonial rule (Ralston & Keeble, 2009). Combined with a decline in the agricultural sector, Filipinas were pushed to the cities, finding work as prostitutes for American soldiers around the military bases (Ralston & Keeble, 2009). Thanks to the Filipino and American governments' promotion of prostitution as a legitimate need for the rest and relaxation of soldiers, a booming sex district was born (Ralston & Keeble, 2009). In another callback to Fanon's work, once the American men returned to the United States to find women's power movements in full swing, Filipina women were made even more attractive for what they lacked compared to white women: a sense of liberation[2] (Ralston & Keeble, 2009). As a result, much like Fanon's observations of how the racialized person exists not as themselves, but in relation to their white counterparts (Fanon, 1952), the appeal of Filipinas is tied directly to their white counterparts. These attitudes continue to this day, with Ralston & Keeble's (2009) ethnography on sex tourists in the Philippines noting that a very common point of conversation among the men is their disdain for liberated white women and their subsequent preference for the affectionate, kind Filipino girls. Following this logic, to foreign men, Filipinas are compliant, submissive, and prizing the attention of white men – all qualities borne from internalized racial inferiority – which makes them the perfect wives (Ralston & Keeble, 2009). All these elements: the double-

[2]This is not meant to insinuate that Filipinas are docile or submissive, as this would only reproduce the silent stereotypes that Filipina feminism aims to resist. Rather, this is intended to highlight the extent to which Filipinas became aware of their subordinate position in the 'racial hierarchy,' and that as a result of colonization the general social climate had become such that ideas of the 'well behaved Filipina woman' set stricter limits on the extent to which this liberation may be practiced and how well it would be received.

consciousness, internalized racial inferiority, dependency on men, and an openness and desire to be a part of the colonizer's world all culminate into the first layer of Filipina commodification: the mail-order bride market.

Marx and Mail-Order Brides

In her book *Women and Economics*, Charlotte Perkins Gilman states that the work done by women is unproductive, and the deskilling of women in the home contributes to their increasing dependency on men (Perkins Gilman, 1898). While this was certainly true in an industrial context, in a service economy, especially in a country that relies so heavily on tourism and entertainment, 'feminine' work is now productive work. Somewhat tragically and prophetically, Perkins Gilman states that it would be barbaric and inhumane if women were quantified for the quality of their work as mothers (Perkins Gilman, 1898) – but this is precisely the current experience of Filipinas. Filipino immigrants are undergoing a 'feminization of migration,' in which females are disproportionately represented among immigrants (Philippine Women's Center of B.C, 2000), but more importantly, they are quite literally being commodified for their potential as wives. Cunneen & Stubbs (2000) detail the disturbingly dehumanizing processes through which foreign men can 'purchase' Filipinas, including 'add to order' buttons, filtering by age, height, and weight, and freebies of wallets and erotica with one's 'order.' Though published nearly 22 years ago, upon investigation of the sites mentioned in the paper, it was discovered that some of them are still very active.

When describing the mail-order bride in the context of commodification, it is firstly important to understand mail-order brides in the context of Marx's models of labor, production, and his definitions of commodities. In Karl Marx's original work on commodity fetishism, he described a process whereby the increasing degrees of separation between producer and consumer under industrial capitalism have erased the personal and social nature of transaction (Marx et al., 1981; Marx et al., 1993). Prior to industrial capitalism, transactions formed direct social connections between producer and consumer: consumers knew the work being put into their commodities, and knew the people behind the production (Marx et al., 1981; Marx et al., 1993). This encouraged consumers to pay for commodities in direct proportion to the value of the commodity as well as the labor put into it (Marx et al., 1981; Marx et al., 1993). But without those bonds, value can be assigned without consumers having to consider the work put into the commodity: thus to the consumer under capitalism, the commodity exists divorced from human hands, what Marx called 'commodity fetishism' (Marx et al., 1981; Marx et al., 1993). As such, items can be priced and revenue can be distributed to maximize profit for capitalists while minimizing earnings to the workers who put the labor into producing said commodity (Marx et al., 1981, Marx et al., 1993). As Marx discussed commodity fetishism, production,

and labor, most of his work focused on the production of material goods (Marx et al., 1993; Marx et al., 1981). This is to be expected, as he was writing within an industrial context. However, within a mail-order bride market, the 'commodities' are individuals themselves: Filipinas as the idealized image of the perfect wife. On the Filipina's part, therefore, 'labor' is all that being a wife to a foreign man entails. And, like Marx's understanding of creating commodified products, the laborer, the woman, is subordinate to this product of her labor (Marx et al., 1981). For some of the few women who do try to detach themselves from this 'product' they have generated and find a sense of independence away from their husbands, they pay with their lives (Cunneen & Stubbs, 2000). And even for those who don't, a report by the Development Action for Women Network (DAWN) based in the Philippines found that Filipinas who return from sex work in Japan describe a sense of dissociation, and describe themselves only in physical terms rather than other traits (Montañez et al., 2003), a marker of the all-encompassing and individual-erasing nature of their labor (Marx et al., 1981).

Key to a Marxist analysis of the mail-order bride market is understanding the earnings of their labor (Marx et al., 1981). Beyond securing a life for themselves, Filipinas 'labor' for their families, with many Filipina mail-order brides sending remittances back home (Philippine Womens' Center of B.C [PWCBC], 2000). Filipinos abroad, including mail-order brides, are the Philippines' top generator of foreign currency (PWCBC, 2000), to the point where emigration is even endorsed by the World Bank and International Money Fund as development strategies (Ralston & Keeble, 2009). Human capital also stands as the nation's number one export (PWCBC, 2000). Profit generated by the labor of the women, therefore, is appropriated by the government and the initial commodification of Filipinas must be understood as an exploitative relationship. One example is the government support of Filipinas sent to work in Japan as 'Performance Artists.' These women are scouted by 'talent agencies' that recruit young Filipinas to work as 'Performance Artists' in Japanese entertainment bars, but upon arrival are confronted with numerous responsibilities not mentioned in the job description including going on dates with patrons (many of which end with intimate activity) (Montañez et al., 2003). Though the government outwardly condemns the practice, institutions made by the government to protect the dignity of these women partake in issuing the 'Artist Record Books' required for these women to continue their work in Japan (Montañez et al., 2003). In summary, exploitative sexual labor practices must be understood as a practice of commodification by a government that appropriates their earnings – not just objectification by individuals.

The commodity fetishism involved in purchasing Filipina mail-order brides is extensively discussed in existing literature. In a quite literal fetishization of Filipinas, consumers (white men) idolize the image of a perfect wife, concealing all that is behind the labor that goes into creating that product. What is less obvious is the role that television programs and popular responses to these stories play in validating systems that continue to commodify Filipinas. This paper will now turn to *90 Day Fiancé* as an example.

Methodology

The following analysis will focus on the case of Ed and Rose, a couple consisting of Ed, a white male from the United States, and Rose, from the Philippines. The most recent 100 comments on 6 clips relating to Ed and Rose's segment on TLC's YouTube channel were collected, totalling to 600 comments. Though the most popular comments could have been sampled, the most recent comments were deemed to be more reflective of the general population, including more distasteful comments that may not be widely accepted by viewers but are still important in understanding a general population's response to the show. Comments were entered into NVivo coding software, where open coding was performed on the comments. Coding methods were derived from Johnny Saldaña's 2016 coding manual (Saldaña, 2016). Codes were then aggregated into common themes found among the comments.

Results

Audiences may interact with the show through the act of sharing, liking, and commenting, all of which indicate engagement with the entertainment commodity. Many comments are indicative of the interpretive nature of watching a reality TV show.[3] In line with Saldaña's (2016) coding methods, multiple processes were coded throughout the transcripts that displayed how audiences engage with the show. These codes included processes such as interpreting (2) (3) and empathizing (1).

(1) God she must hate herself for dating this asshole. I'm so sorry for her, I really am !!! That her circumstances were that bad that she needed to be intimate with that horrible person. I can't even imagine what she's been through ..

(2) Rose looks disappointed somewhat. Sitll trying to digest the truth about his appearance. Whatever she is saying to him, sounds more like she is being polite and not offend him.. but Ed has many doubts for the start itself.. like STD? Really..

(3) Ed's main issue was he saw her as a mindless trophy/fantasy that he could mold. But not being fluent in a particular language and being a fool are two different things.

[3]Each comment is intentionally so written. Spelling and grammatical errors are transcribed verbatim, as corrections may change the meaning of the message or the intended informality of the digital space.

As reality TV is ultimately a storytelling medium, following characters throughout the story arc are a large part of consuming entertainment commodities. One common response among the comments analyzed included praising Rose. Comments about Rose also tended to empower Rose and praised the success she saw after the show. Many comments praising her success included terms such as "better life" and "upgrade." Notions of 'hard work' and 'upgrading' as seen in (4) and (5) praise the 'work' she did to get where she is today. Exactly what this 'work' is will be interpreted in the discussion section. Notions of 'upgrading' also appear to be tied to a global hierarchy of countries as seen in (5) which rest on the implied inferiority of the Philippines. Colloquial phrases such as 'yasss' (4) and 'Queen' (6) are also terms that are commonly associated with feminine role models, implying a degree of admiration, idolization, and highlighting the exceptionalism of a subject.

(4) This was recommended to me after I watched Rose's new home tour😊. She worked hard to provide a better life for her family without a man. Yasss Rose 🌹🤷

(5) Wow, Rose really upgraded! Maybe one day she'll be living in my country.

(6) I just watched Rose's video of her renovating her room and came back to see this. Pretty amazing how Rose has come up. Queen😇😈

Rose also supplemented the entertainment quality of the show, with many comments responding to her reactions, emotions, and attitude throughout the show, indicating investment and connection with Rose as a character.

Of the 600 comments analyzed for this paper, 157 in some way mocked or insulted Ed, by far the code with the largest number of recorded cases. Common points included his needing to go to another country to search for women and his intolerance of the living conditions in the Philippines, but by far most comments mocked his physical appearance.

(7) Deep inside rose mind is I CANT BELIEVE THAT THERE IS A DWARF IN FRONT OF ME.🤣🤣🤣 i watched long time ago but can't still stop laughing watching this again 🤣🤣🤣

(8) The way the sister was looking at ed with otter confusion and wtf is this 💥🤯 I don't blame her 🤣

(9) My mom said "HE HAS NO NECK HOW WILL HE GET TO TURN TURN VERY SHORT NO KISS FOR HIM" i bearsts in tears and laughed 😂😂🤣🤣🤣🤣🤣🤣

Many comments about his appearance tended to especially belittle him in a way that emasculated him, with words such as “baby” or “little” appearing frequently among emasculating comments as seen in comments 10-12. These comments were frequently accompanied with phrases such as “lol” (laughing out loud), “lmao” (laughing my ass off), emojis indicating laughter (such as the sobbing emoji, laughing crying emoji, or other smiley emojis), or other expressions of amusement or laughter.

(10) Oh my God! Is he wearing tights or leggings with his baby boy shorts?...lol

(11) Discusting little man without neck

(12) He should be referred to as Rosemarie's baby.

These expressions of amusement indicate that the show succeeds in eliciting response from the audience, a key component in the consumption of reality television. Important to note is that this comedic value also enabled the propagation and longevity of the entertainment commodity through processes of sharing the show with others (9) or rewatching the show (7). Other emotional responses to the show notably included expressions of disgust or anger. Though many of these comments did seem to acknowledge the problematic power dynamics at play in the relationship, very few comments recognized systems of oppression at play. Rather, the vast majority of these expressions of disgust were displaced onto Ed, who is portrayed as the ‘bad actor’ in the situation. This ‘individualization effect’ was also applied to Rose and her family, with some comments blaming Rose or her family’s greed.

(13) Never understood. How men can be that stupid About trying to get love in such poor part of the world.

(14) I get he’s more reserve then ED but going to a third world country for love and some badussy is the most failed man with negative testosterone move

(15) Im sure her dad forced her 😆😆

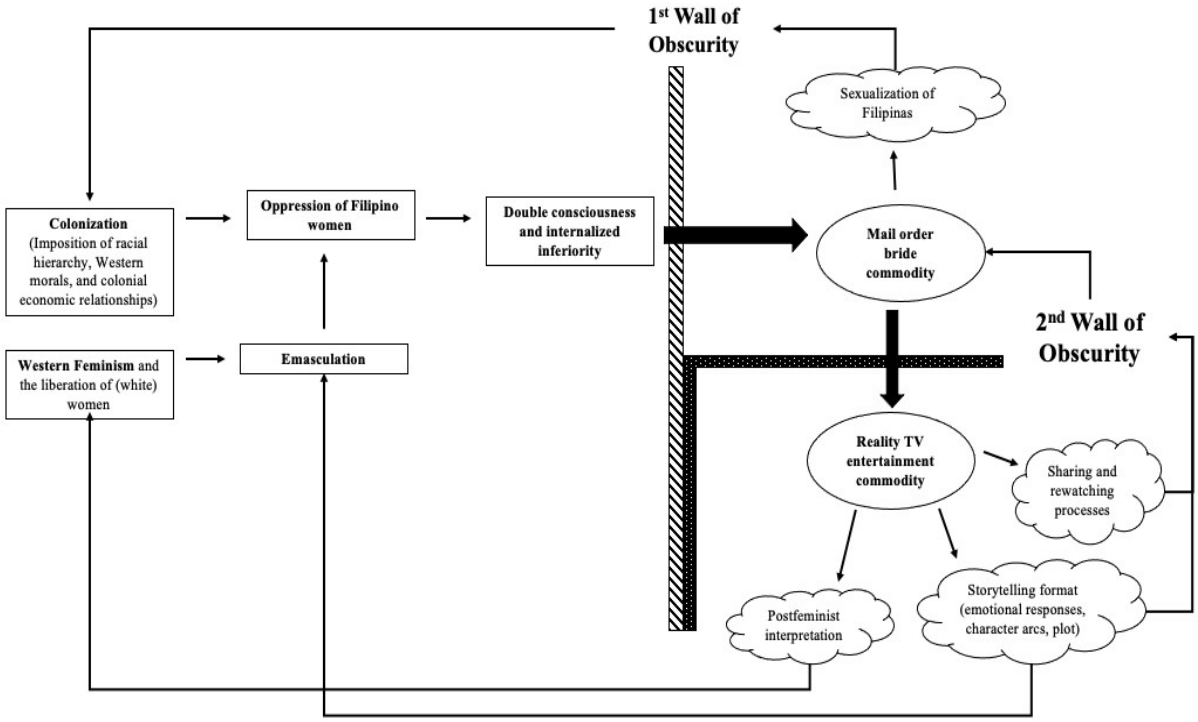
(16) Anything for the US Citizenship 🤣🤣🤣🤣🤣🤦‍♂️🤦‍♂️🤦‍♂️🤦‍♂️🤦‍♂️

The next section will attempt to summarize and interpret the aforementioned findings by incorporating the results with theory discussed in previous sections and expanding on those theories.

Discussion

Up to this point, this paper has discussed the first layer of commodity fetishism and has also outlined through empirical evidence how audiences engage with the new entertainment commodity. This section will proceed to interlink these two layers through integrating previous theory with the data gathered. It will outline how these two layers of commodity fetishism interact and reinforce one another to generate a more complex understanding of Filipina oppression in a contemporary entertainment age. To aid in illustrating these processes of interaction and reinforcement, refer to Figure 1.

Figure 1. Model of Double-Layered Commodification.



The processes on the leftmost side of the diagram are largely what have been discussed in the literature review section of this paper. Here, two 'lines of processes' can be observed: processes of colonization (the upper row of processes), and gendered processes (the lower row). Both have been previously discussed in the literature review and theoretical overview, and the diagram illustrates the interconnectivity between these systems of gender and colonization. The diagram also makes a new intervention in understanding the persistence of these systems. It includes the commodities that have arisen from these systems and highlights how consumption (fetishization) of these commodities generates

a cyclical reinforcing effect of inequality maintenance and commodity production and consumption.

As a short summary of the model, colonization's unequal distribution of wealth, construction of a racial hierarchy, and Western morality create the preconditions for the social and economic subordination of Filipinas. The oppression of Filipinas is reinforced by Western feminism creating a sense of emasculation in white men, leading them to seek companionship in disadvantaged foreign women. Awareness of and immersion in these systems creates a double consciousness and internalized inferiority that manifests in the existence of mail-order bride partnerships as a survival tactic: the first commodity. Then, reality television has stepped in and commodified the first commodity, generating a new entertainment commodity.

Another key intervention of the diagram is the inclusion of 'walls of obscurity': mental barriers formed through the process of commodity consumption (and thus commodity fetishism) that obscure the underlying oppressive systems of colonization and gender. Therefore, as entertainment commodities (reality TV) commodify existing commodities (mail-order brides), the original systems of oppression are increasingly concealed through new walls of obscurity. This 'multilayered obscurity effect' is illustrated in a double-layered wall that now stands between the 'reality TV' commodity and the underlying systems. It is important to understand that these walls of obscurity do not erase these underlying systems, but make it so more effort is required to see them. Specific mechanisms of obscuring (and therefore processes of fetishization) are illustrated in cloud bubbles and are what have been gathered as primary data for this paper. This paper will now turn to a deconstruction of the primary data to illustrate these processes at work.

Gendered Processes: Interpretations and Constructions of Men and Women

To begin, highly gendered processes are present in the data: namely, the construction of men and women. Previously, the implications of Western feminism's success on the desirability of Filipinas to white men was discussed. One other effect of the progress of Western women has also been ideological changes within the field of feminism. At least in the West, feminists have succeeded in achieving the basic demands outlined by the work of classical feminists like Charlotte Perkins Gilman (successes which have mostly been restricted to white, cisgender, heterosexual women). In response, the trend that has arisen in recent years is a tendency towards 'postfeminism.' Postfeminism stresses the power of women as consumers and the market's power in shaping social institutions, and as such tends to take an individualized and therefore neoliberal approach towards female liberation (Banet-Weiser, 2018). It is a micro-level approach about how women choose to operate within the patriarchal system rather than problematizing it (Banet-Weiser, 2018). Postfeminist approaches also tend to take a highly narrow understanding of female oppression which does not integrate intersectional approaches (Banet-Weiser, 2018). In

doing so, postfeminism denounces the need for feminism so long as the individual takes the initiative to find her own freedom, thus invisibilizing intersectional feminist struggles such as the struggles of Filipinas (Banet-Weiser, 2018). These sentiments were seen continuously throughout the discourse analysis data, as evidenced in comments praising Rose's success. Comments that praised her tended to include notions of her initiative and hard work, which stand in line with neoliberal postfeminist ideas of liberation. These comments also perceived her success as a woman as divorced from her position as a Filipina, thus ignoring the differential inequality that she faces, which also stands in line with postfeminism's tendency to lack intersectionality. Through the lens of postfeminism, Rose is interpreted as agentic and autonomous despite the position of vulnerability that she and women like her must put themselves into (and as discussed previously, sometimes with lethal consequences). Understanding these audience responses can provide important insight into the state of feminism today. Considering how responses to Rose's segment of *90 Day Fiancé* validated rather than problematized these unequal dynamics in the name of entertainment due to their postfeminist stance, the cycle of oppression and commodification continues (Figure 1). In this way, the continued oppression of Filipinas is at the hands of 'feminism'[4] itself.

As discussed previously, the empowerment of Western women has prompted the withdrawal of white men from Western dating pools and incentivized partnerships with foreign women including Filipinos. A lot of the appeal of foreign sex tourism or partnerships is rooted in a sense of emasculation or a need to affirm one's masculinity, either due to spitefulness towards feminism or women not finding them attractive (Cunneen & Stubbs, 2000; Ralston & Keeble, 2009). As evidenced in the abundance of emasculating responses to Ed, participating in Ed's emasculation is a strong driver for engagement with the show. Often accompanied with expressions of amusement, comments often called his appearance "disgusting," comparing him to a baby, and generally expressing shock as to how he could possibly attract a woman. These comments unknowingly affirm the very reason why Ed and men like him participate in sex tourism and foreign partnerships (Ralston & Keeble, 2009). Moreover, not only do these comments continue to perpetuate the cycle of emasculation and predation, but they also obscure the danger inherent in this predation. Previous literature has asserted the heightened risk of Filipinas who enter these partnerships. But by emasculating, infantilizing, and mocking Ed, the potential for problematic or dangerous outcomes are obscured. Such responses and interpretations contribute to the continued preference for foreign women, contributing to the subordination of Filipinas. Not only does this emasculation factor contribute to engagement with this particular segment of *90 Day Fiancé*, but it was popular enough that Ed returned on TLC with multiple recurring segments on *90 Day Fiancé* spinoff shows such as *90 Day Fiancé: Happily Ever After* and *90 Day Fiancé: The Single Life* (TLC, n.d). In

[4]Scare quotes are used intentionally here to emphasize that rather than being a valid feminist approach, postfeminist feminism is more of a misguided but highly popular interpretation of feminism compared to the many other existing feminist traditions that are more inclusive of universal female liberation.

short, emasculation from audiences, one form of engagement with and fetishization of the entertainment commodity, obscures the effects of emasculation and reinforces cycles of commodifying Filipina women to fulfill a need to reassert one's masculinity (Figure 1).

Bad Actors, Not Bad Systems

Critical to an understanding of how engaging with entertainment commodities contributes to the ongoing obscuring and maintenance of systems of inequality is understanding how the storytelling nature of reality TV personalizes system-level issues. Or, in other words, how system-level issues are displaced onto individual 'bad actors,' taking the liability away from the systems that enable their behavior. This process of 'personalization' was a strong theme seen in the data. Viewers had tended to blame Ed for Rose's mistreatment or blame his personal desperation and lack of appeal for his decision to search for foreign wives. Both behaviors, which are rooted in colonial-era racial hierarchies and gender dynamics respectively, are instead personified by Ed's existence. This enables audiences to have an individual to focus their attention and direct their blame to, obscuring the mail-order bride market and the demand for mail order brides as sexual commodities (Figure 1). Instead, this relationship is interpreted as a one-off, individual instance. And comments that do recognize the sexual exploitative undertones of the relationship (those able to see past the 'second wall of obscurity' created by reality TV) still fail to recognize the colonial-racial roots of the exploitation of Filipinas, and isolate the sin of sex tourism to the individual men participating in it (and can therefore be said to fail to see past the 'first wall of obscurity'). Colonial exploitation is thus reinforced as sex tourism continues to make a profit and television networks continue to create new entertainment products that generate profit (Figure 1).

Watching Practices Indicating Engagement with Commodity

Finally, the ultimate goal of the commodity under capitalism is to produce more of itself to generate maximum profit. Establishing that viewers are engaging with the TV show, sharing the TV show bringing in new viewers (consumers), and rewatching the show indicates that the entertainment commodity is successful. Marxist analyses of consumption stress that it is crucial to understand that consumption under capitalism obscures exploitative production processes (Marx et al., 1981; Marx et al., 1993), and analyzing audience responses to *90 Day Fiancé* provide empirical support for what Marx theorized. The success of the commodity promotes continued production, which creates cycles of exploitation that continue to go unacknowledged.

Conclusion

This paper has provided a new way of understanding Filipina commodification by identifying the phenomenon of double commodification, with each new layer further obscuring underlying systems of inequality. It has also deconstructed the mechanisms by which this obscuring happens by applying a Marxist commodity fetishism lens to understanding engagement with commodities, particularly entertainment commodities. Through an analysis of Youtube comments on clips of *90 Day Fiancé*, a television show that commodifies relationships that are themselves built on commodification enabled by systems of colonization and gender dynamics, this paper has interpreted how audience engagement with entertainment commodities are reflective of this 'double-layered commodification' process. The information gathered from the literature review and primary data analysis allowed for the proposal of a model that illustrates the cyclical process of commodity fetishism fortifying walls of obscurity, which in turn uphold systems of inequality that give rise to further commodification and commodity fetishism. Some of these mechanisms of fetishization include postfeminist interpretations of female empowerment, the storytelling format of reality TV displacing system-level oppression onto personified 'bad actors,' and watching practices promoting the propagation of the new entertainment commodity. As this entertainment commodity obscures the pervasiveness and harm of the mail-order-bride and sex tourism markets, the original gender dynamics and colonial relationships underpin the continued exploitation of Filipinas. Expanding beyond Marx's original conceptualization of commodity fetishism, in a post-industrial era where human bodies are themselves capital, it is vital to understand who is most vulnerable - and how that vulnerability can be multiplied by the effects of race, colonial history, and gender. Though Rose has seen her success from the show, many women are not as lucky. Thus, this paper calls for a more intersectional, global, and especially anticolonial direction for feminism: while (some) Western women have earned their freedoms, feminism is far from over.

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The Relationship Between Colonialism and Public Health in Canada: The Effects of the Evacuation Policy on the Rates of Postpartum Depression for Indigenous Women

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Abstract. The purpose of this research is to illustrate the effects of colonialism on the maternal health of Indigenous women, and to highlight the importance of their agency in the incorporation of Indigenous epistemologies in healthcare contexts. Indigenous people in Canada experience significant social, political, and economic disadvantages as a direct outcome of colonialism. This research investigates the effects of the evacuation policy on the rates of postpartum depression in Indigenous women living on-reserve or in rural areas. The evacuation policy is a federally enforced health policy that requires the medical evacuation of Indigenous women from their communities into urban areas/hospitals in order to create accessibility to maternal health services. Existing research shows that the evacuation policy is typically unfavoured among Indigenous women in Canada, as they have reported negative experiences and sentiments towards the policy and expressed preference to local birthing centers instead. In addition, existing research proposes that this policy is not effective in promoting the health of Indigenous mothers; rather, it creates adverse health outcomes as medical evacuation is associated with increased rates of stress as a result of a variety of factors, including mistrust in the healthcare system. This study's research is significant because of the limited amount of literature about the perpetuation of colonialism in Canada through Westernized health policies. The findings indicate that the evacuation policy increases the rates of stress in pregnant Indigenous women, which may contribute to the increasing rates of postpartum depression (PPD). The findings also highlight the opinions of the evacuation policy being unfavorable for Indigenous women and their preference in incorporating Indigenous traditions.

Background

The consequences of colonization continue to manifest within Canada's health policies, serving to negatively affect Indigenous people. One such policy is the evacuation policy, which exacerbates negative health outcomes on Indigenous people (Czyzewski, 2011). This policy requires Indigenous women who live on-reserve to evacuate their communities, families, and support networks in order to access healthcare and perinatal services in urban medical centres (Lawford & Giles, 2012). Health care workers will often arrange for the transfer of pregnant women to hospitals about 36 - 38 weeks gestational age, medically referred to as the "confinement period," where mothers are often left alone to navigate these medical processes in unfamiliar contexts (Parenteau, 2022).

In 1892, the Canadian federal government implemented the evacuation policy based on claims that it would be effective in reducing mortality in Indigenous infants and mothers (Parenteau, 2022). In the early 1900s, the government had established a surge of healthcare providers within reserve communities, in attempts to further assimilate and colonize Indigenous people by enforcing the Euro-Canadian model of health (Lawford et al., 2018). The Euro-Canadian biomedical model of health has been purposefully used to systemically assimilate Indigenous people and eliminate their traditional health epistemologies (Lawford et al., 2018). Indigenous health traditions, medicines, and ceremonies were positioned as inferior epistemologies, and the imposition of Western health practices in hospital settings resulted in the generational loss of knowledge regarding traditional birthing practices (Varcoe et al., 2013). Furthermore, the isolation from community and family, exclusion of traditional knowledge, and experiences of racism are all linked to increased rates of postpartum depression (Lawford et al., 2018). All of these factors compound to negatively impact the health of Indigenous women. Despite ongoing advancements in Canadian public health research and practice, Public Health Canada continues to maintain this historic medical evacuation policy.

This research is significant because it will demonstrate that colonialism is systemically embedded into healthcare policies, which can cause cultural, physical, mental, and spiritual harm to Indigenous women (Amundsen & Kent-Wilkinson, 2020). This research will highlight the importance of decolonizing Canada's medical practices for the well-being of Indigenous people and communities. In addition, Indigenous women in Canada are 1.9 times more likely to develop PPD than non-Indigenous women; therefore, in order to address this health inequity from its root cause, it is essential to evaluate current health policies and public health measures (Leason, 2021). This research will also highlight the significance of agency and community self-determination for Indigenous women in Canada (Richmond & Cook, 2016).

The conceptualization of birth and pregnancy for many Indigenous women differs from the Western perspective, which informs the foundation of the evacuation policy that

is applied to pregnant Indigenous women (Sokoloski, 1995). Prior to its medicalization, the birth of an Indigenous infant was regarded as a community event, in which family and the community would participate in a ceremony, welcoming the child into their Nation with connections to culture, language, and land, acknowledging the passing of a life from a spiritual world into a physical one (Doenmez et al., 2022). While Western perspectives of birthing include more medicalized individualistic practices in hospital settings, Indigenous perspectives emphasize the importance of community, where the birth of the child is viewed as a communal responsibility rather than an individual event (Hayward et al., 2021). The experience of birth has now become one that many Indigenous mothers endure alone, in isolation from their communities and land. Furthermore, Canadian healthcare tends to exclude traditional Indigenous medicines and communal practices, which can affect the Indigenous patient's self-determination. It has become a process that cannot be done without the use and reliance of the Euro-Canadian biomedical model, in which Western doctors are assumed to be "experts" and colonial policies are assumed to be optimal, ultimately discrediting Indigenous epistemologies. Incorporating and acknowledging Indigenous rights and traditions will help to facilitate improved health equity in Canada (Smylie et al., 2016). Studies have shown that many Indigenous women's identities are enhanced and strengthened through experiences of local birth within their communities (Kornelsen et al., 2010). When pregnant Indigenous women are forced to evacuate their communities, the lack of implementation of culturally safe resources may also increase rates of stress, ultimately intensifying rates of PPD. Overall, this evidence highlights the significance of being critical of policies that pertain to Indigenous women — policies that are enforced by the same system responsible for the historical and ongoing subjugation of Indigenous people (Lawford et al., 2018).

As this research delves into the experiences of Indigenous people, it is important to acknowledge that "Indigenous" is an internationally-recognized, umbrella term. Within Canada, it is used to describe diverse groups of people with various beliefs and traditions. To allow appropriate, comprehensive health promotion for the numerous Indigenous groups in Canada, the existence of this diversity must be recognized.

Research Question

What are the effects of the evacuation policy on the rates of postpartum depression in Indigenous women living on-reserve and in rural areas in Canada?

Objectives

An objective of this research is to determine how the social determinants of health uniquely impact Indigenous women intergenerationally, and the effects of colonialism on current adverse health outcomes. Through investigating the experiences of Indigenous women

and the effects of the evacuation policy on the development of PPD, conclusions pertaining to unjust policies as a result of colonialism will be presented from historical and contemporary contexts.

Moreover, this research also aims to highlight the importance of agency for Indigenous women and the incorporation of their traditional health practices and epistemologies to aid in processes of decolonization. Such practices include the resistance of Indigenous women to the evacuation policy by planning home births with Indigenous midwives. In addition, this inquiry will illustrate the ineffectiveness of the imposition of Western health practices and medical evacuation on Indigenous people, and the rejection of Indigenous traditions, highlighting the importance of self-determination.

Methods

Description of Study Population

The study population of interest includes articles about Indigenous women living on-reserve or in rural areas in Canada, who are either pregnant or recently had a child, from 1995 until 2022. This is the chosen study population because the evacuation policy mainly pertains to pregnant Indigenous women living on-reserve or in rural areas in Canada.

Search Strategy

The search strategy, developed with the help of the University of Toronto Scarborough (UTSC) Health and Society librarian, included the key concepts: postpartum, birthing services, Indigenous and Canada. The MEDLINE (Table 1) and APA PsychINFO (Table 2) databases were both searched and only included literature from 1995 to 2022. The MEDLINE database was utilized to retrieve a robust amount of journal articles, and the APA PsychINFO database was chosen since postpartum depression pertains to the subject of psychological sciences. The subject headings and keywords are included in Table 1 and 2. Subject headings and keywords were chosen based on concepts derived from the research question. The boolean operator 'or' was used to combine subject headings and keywords for each search concept, then 'and' was used to combine all search concepts. Two Indigenous journals were used, titled "International Journal of Indigenous Health," and "International Journal of Indigenous Peoples," and were both suggested by the UTSC online library under the "Indigenous Health Resources" category. Gray literature, including popular press and government reports, were searched from governmental and non-governmental websites with content pertaining to Indigenous health determinants or postpartum depression. Government reports were found through citation searching of popular press articles.

Data Analysis

A meta-analysis was used to analyze the data from the literature, combining both quantitative and qualitative research. Quantitative data pertaining to rates of PPD was used to compare rates of PPD in Indigenous and non-Indigenous women. A qualitative approach was used to analyze data pertaining to Indigenous women's attitudes and experiences towards the evacuation policy.

Findings

Objective 1

An objective was to understand the ways in which the social determinants of health uniquely impact Indigenous women, and the effects that colonialism has on adverse health outcomes, specifically postpartum depression and its relation to medical evacuation policies. Findings from various articles indicate that Indigenous women in Canada overall have significantly higher rates of PPD in comparison to Canadian-born non-Indigenous women. One study found that the rates of PPD in Indigenous women are 11.1% compared to Canadian-born non-Indigenous women at 5.6% (Daoud et al., 2019). In contrast, another study found that Indigenous women in Canada had an 87% increased chance of developing PPD compared to non-Indigenous women (Black et al., 2019). Through synthesizing the relevant research, the causes for such disparities include determinants of health such as education, income levels, pre-existing depression, and the lack of social support services (Bowen et al., 2009). These are all factors that exist as a result of colonial legacies and intergenerational trauma, which pertain mainly to Indigenous populations (Public Health Agency of Canada, 2018). In addition, trauma and chronic life stress were found to be critical factors that contribute to the development of PPD in Indigenous women (Pember, 2016). Key themes from the experiences of Indigenous women with the evacuation policy include the coercion/influence of healthcare providers in decision-making, the isolation/cultural harm that often presents itself with birthing away from the community, and the importance of community support for pregnant women (Kornelsen et al., 2013). Policies such as the evacuation policy perpetuate colonialism in Canada through the imposition of the Euro-Canadian biomedical model of health and birthing services, ultimately leading to adverse health outcomes in Indigenous mothers (Amundsen & Kent-Wilkinson, 2020). This is a result of birthing experiences that involve medical racism, social isolation, and the rejection of Indigenous traditions, which are all linked by Indigenous women to the development of postpartum depression (Lawford et al., 2018). Additionally, this Western model of health has historically been used to systemically harm and attempt to assimilate Indigenous people, including through the removal of traditional

birthing services from Indigenous communities (Lawford et al., 2018).

Objective 2

An objective of this research was to highlight the importance of agency and self-determination in the incorporation of Indigenous traditions and epistemologies. Additionally, it illustrates the ineffectiveness of the imposition of Western health practices and the rejection of Indigenous traditions. The evacuation of Indigenous women living in rural areas from their communities before labour can have negative mental health impacts on the mother, due to increased exposure to stressors, such as the lack of social supports (Chamberlain & Barclay, 2000). Local birthing experiences enhances community ties, cultural identity, and the connection to traditional territories (Bowen et al., 2009). Culturally safe, patient-centered birthing services that cater to the needs of Indigenous women lead to better health outcomes (Sharma et al., 2016). In addition, the mistrust of healthcare providers and the healthcare system as a result of historical issues, such as the sterilization of Indigenous women and the abuse of Indigenous children, increases stress and hesitancy in accessing services (Rodriguès, 2021). Enabling Indigenous women to have agency and to determine what medical route is best for themselves is essential in beginning to bridge health disparities in Canada and begin to decolonize the medical system.

The incorporation of Indigenous epistemologies and traditions in birthing services is illustrated through Indigenous women's resistance to medical evacuation. "Aboriginal Midwifery" blends traditional Indigenous knowledge, healing practices, and medicine with Western services, providing higher quality and culturally safe maternal health services for Indigenous women (Skye, 2013). This approach also aids in improving community healing, the revival of Indigenous culture, and community cohesivity. Moreover, despite the evacuation policy that places Indigenous women in the care of Westernized birth services, infant mortality rates and overall rates of adverse health outcomes remain significantly higher for Indigenous women. Therefore, the evacuation policy has not been found to be effective (Lawford & Giles, 2012).

Discussion

Epistemic and Systemic Racism

Current health policies in Canada, including the evacuation policy, perpetuate systemic colonialism through the imposition of the Euro-Canadian biomedical model on Indigenous people. The enforcement of colonial practices on Indigenous people suggests the existence of epistemic dominance within Canadian healthcare systems and health policy (Browne et al., 2016). Many Indigenous people may prefer their own traditions, which

have been shown to be more effective and result in positive health outcomes. However, the Canadian state, which has been responsible for the historical abuse, subjugation, and cultural assimilation of Indigenous people, is also responsible for the medical evacuation of Indigenous mothers (Gone et al., 2019). As the findings indicate, the evacuation of Indigenous mothers does not improve maternal health conditions, but rather, worsen them as there are significantly higher rates of infant mortality and PPD for Indigenous women when compared to non-Indigenous women in Canada (Lawford & Giles, 2012). A study conducted by The Public Health Agency of Canada in 2018 found that infant mortality rates were 3.9 times higher in areas inhabited by majority Inuit people, 2.3 times higher in First Nations communities, and 1.9 times higher in Métis communities (Public Health Agency of Canada, 2018). Furthermore, the leading cause of death for First Nations and Inuit children is sudden infant death syndrome, whose rates are over 7 times higher in comparison to non-Indigenous children (Hayward et al., 2021).

Where improving access to health services is typically seen as a factor in health promotion, for many Indigenous people, it can be a determinant for adverse health outcomes as a result of cultural unsafety. The current Canadian health system and policies are not culturally safe, including the evacuation policy, as they neglect and eradicate Indigenous cultures and continue to assimilate Indigenous people into Canadian society. Systemic racism is the idea of the unjust and inequitable distribution of power that is perpetuated through governance (Matthews, 2016). The Canadian healthcare system is founded on systemic racism, through the imposition of social, political, economic, and cultural dominance as a result of colonialism. This is made evident through the enforcement of health policies and the Euro-Canadian biomedical approach to health. Given the historic context of this model of health, one that has been purposefully used to systemically assimilate Indigenous people, its continued imposition suggests the presence of systemic racism in public health.

Epistemic racism in the context of health can be described as a system of healing that is built to privilege one group of people over another, through the imposition of a particular worldview, while undermining another (Matthews, 2016). The neglect of Indigenous birthing traditions and the enforcement of mainstream services, primarily through medical evacuation, which can increase rates of PPD in Indigenous women, is an example of epistemic racism. Additionally, the provision of services and policies that cater to Indigenous people yet favour worldviews distinct from those preferred by Indigenous people can be seen as a form of epistemic racism. For instance, the evacuation policy disproportionately impacts Indigenous women, and aims to cater to their maternal health needs, yet imposes a Westernized worldview on healthcare and discredits Indigenous epistemologies. The evacuation policy reinforces ideas that assume the Western way of knowing is superior and will always result in optimal health outcomes, disregarding Indigenous epistemologies. This worldview has had detrimental impacts on the Indigenous community, as not only has it impacted the medical treatments they receive, but it also allows for the perpetuation of cultural genocide through the enforcement of harmful poli-

cies that result in the loss of Indigenous knowledge. Epistemic and systemic racism are both intertwined in the context of Canadian healthcare, ensuring that the Euro-Canadian biomedical model of health is implemented and enforced on all, despite it resulting in adverse health outcomes (Matthews, 2016).

Gendered Colonialism

In the context of this research, it is essential to understand the concept of gendered colonialism, since women are affected by the colonially constructed evacuation policy (Bourassa et al., 2004). Gendered colonialism looks at the ways in which gender inequalities stem from the imposition and continuation of social structures built on the basis of colonialism, capitalism, and racism (Hunt, 2019). Indigenous women disproportionately experience inequities in Canadian society. This contrasts with historic Indigenous traditions, where women were considered the source of spiritual and political power, and carried the responsibility for the stability and well-being of society (Sutherland & Leason, 2022). The Indian Act demonstrates the significant effects of colonialism on Indigenous women as it challenged the traditionally valued role of women in Indigenous communities (Day, 2019). For instance, the Indian Act disallowed women to vote from band elections, although they had played a pivotal role in community decision-making prior to colonialism (Barker, 2008). Federally enforced colonial policies that specifically harm Indigenous mothers serve to perpetuate gendered colonialism and reinforce colonial social structures.

The Maintenance of Cultural Identity and Health

The findings suggest the significance of local birthing experiences for Indigenous women, including the enhancement of community ties, cultural identity, and the connection to traditional territories (Bowen et al., 2009). The sentiments highlighted among Indigenous women who have experienced the evacuation policy include the coercion/influence of healthcare providers in decision-making, the isolation and cultural harm that often presents itself with birthing away from the community, and the lack of community support for pregnant women (Kornelsen et al., 2013). These findings illustrate the importance of policies being appropriately catered to the populations whose health they supposedly should be protecting (Cidro et al., 2020). In addition, the hindrance of cultural identity is categorized as both a distal and intermediate determinant of health, one that draws on health through social, political, historical and economic contexts, and community infrastructure, resources, social supports, housing, etc. (Hayward et al., 2021). The lack of local birthing services in many Indigenous communities across Canada disrupts cultural ties and increases stressors, ultimately increasing rates of PPD.

Conclusion

Overall, this research explores the effects of the evacuation policy on the rates of PPD in Indigenous women in Canada living on-reserve and in rural areas through the analysis of existing literature. According to the findings, the medical evacuation of pregnant Indigenous women is associated with increased stress, which can ultimately affect rates of postpartum depression. Findings suggest the need for birthing services for Indigenous women that accommodate their culture, especially for those living on-reserve or in rural areas. Women should not be forced to jeopardize the health of themselves and their children in order to access maternal health services. Research indicates that the incorporation of Indigenous epistemologies that blend Western and Indigenous traditions in maternal health services support the health of Indigenous women. Rather than allowing the historic evacuation policy to continue inflicting physical and spiritual harm on Indigenous women, grassroots local birthing centers should be supported by the Canadian federal government and "Aboriginal Midwifery" should be further encouraged in order to decolonize healthcare and lessen the disparities in maternal health inequities.

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Appendix

Search Terms Tables For Databases and Journals

Table 1. Search Terms Table for MEDLINE Database

	Postpartum depression	**Birthing Services**	**Indigenous**	**Canada**
Subject Headings	Depression, postpartum	Maternal Health Services Perinatal care Preconception care Prenatal care Health services accessibility Rural health services	Health Services, Indigenous Indigenous peoples	Canada
Keywords	Postpartum depression Antenatal depression Perinatal depression Postnatal depression	Evacuation policy Health Canada	Indigenous First Nations Metis Inuit Inuk Aboriginal	Canada Canadian

Table 2. Search Terms Table for APA PsychINFO Database

	Postpartum depression	**Birthing services**	**Indigenous**	**Canada**
Subject Headings	Postpartum depression	Prenatal care Healthcare services	Indigenous Populations	Canada
Keywords	Postnatal depression Antenatal depression Perinatal depression Postnatal dysphoria Puerperal depression	Evacuation policy Health Canada	Indigenous First Nations Metis Inuit Inuk Aboriginal	Canada Canadian

Table 3. Search Terms Table for the International Journal of Indigenous Health

	Postpartum depression	**Birthing services**	**Indigenous**	**Canada**
Subject headings	Postpartum depression	Maternal health	Indigenous	Canada
Keywords	Postpartum depression Antenatal depression Perinatal depression Postnatal depression	Evacuation policy Health policies Prenatal care Health services	Indigenous First Nations Metis Inuit Inuk Aboriginal	Canada Canadian

Table 4. Search Terms Table for the International Journal of Indigenous Peoples

	Postpartum depression	**Birthing services**	**Indigenous**	**Canada**
Subject Headings	Postpartum depression	Maternal health	Indigenous	Canada
Keywords	Postpartum depression Infant mortality	Evacuation policy Health policy Health services	Indigenous First Nations Metis Inuit Inuk Aboriginal	Canada Canadian